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# COLLECTIONS

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OF THE

## Nova Scotia Historical Society

///

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

VOLUME XVI.

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HALIFAX, N. S.  
WM. MACNAB & SON,  
1912

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COLLECTIONS



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Journal of the Royal Society of Canada

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VOLUME XVI

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UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO  
110 SPADINA AVENUE  
TORONTO, CANADA



**PEREGRINE THOMAS HOPSON,  
Governor of Nova Scotia, 1752-1753.**

[Copied from portrait in possession of Thomas N. Jeffrey; presented to him by John P. Rowan, Esq., Brooklyn, N. Y., who presented it to Robert Noble, Halifax, 1840].





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## OBJECTS OF COLLECTIONS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

111

ACT OF INCORPORATION.

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CHAPTER 87.

SECTION.

1. Incorporation.
2. May hold real estate.

SECTION.

3. Property vested in corporation.

An Act to incorporate the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

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

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

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

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

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

## AN ACT.

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

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

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

1. The Library of the Nova Scotia Historical Society shall be amalgamated with the Legislative Library of Nova Scotia, and the regulation and management of the Joint Collection and any additions that may be made thereto is hereby vested in a commission of nine persons to be called the Nova Scotia Library Commission, of whom the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province for the time being shall *ex officio* be one, and the remainder of whom shall be appointed annually, one half by the Nova Scotia Historical Society and the other half by the Governor in Council.
2. The Lieutenant-Governor for the time being shall be *ex officio* the President of the Commission.
3. Should the Nova Scotia Historical Society at any time fail to appoint any or all of the Commissioners whom said Society are hereby authorized to appoint, the rights and powers vested by this Act in the Commission shall devolve upon the other members of the Commission.
4. The Librarian shall be appointed by the Governor in Council, and shall be such person as the Commissioners shall nominate, and shall hold office during good behaviour.
5. The Commissioners may make bye-laws from time to time for the regulation and management of the Library and prescribing all matters necessary for the control thereof, but such bye-laws shall not go into force until approved by the Governor in Council.
6. The Commission shall make an annual report of the expenditure, the general state of the Library, and on all such matters in connection therewith as may be required by the Governor in Council, which report shall be laid upon the table of each branch of the Legislature during the session.

# RULES AND BY-LAWS.

REVISED MAY 27, 1910.

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

## OBJECTS.

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

## MEMBERS.

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

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

## MEETINGS, OFFICE-BEARERS, ETC.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

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



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OFFICERS AND MEMBERS  
OF THE  
NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
1912.

---

PRESIDENT.

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

3 VICE-PRESIDENTS.

David Allison, LL. D.                      John Y. Payzant, M.A., K.C.  
A. H. Buckley, Ph. M.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Harry Piers.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

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

TREASURER.

R. J. Wilson, M. A.

AUDITORS.

W. L. Brown,

George E. Nichols, LL. B.

OTHER MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

George E. Nichols, LL. B.

M. A. B. Smith, M. D.

George W. T. Irving,

W. C. Milner.

LIBRARY COMMISSIONERS.

James S. MacDonald,

John J. Power, D. C. L.

Harry Piers,

A. H. McKay. LL. D.

LIBRARIAN OF SOCIETY, AND OF AKINS LIBRARY.

Miss Annie Donahoe.

## THE TREASURER'S LIST OF MEMBERS

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

- Allison, David, LL. D.  
 Allison, J. Walter  
 Almon, Dr. W. Bruce  
 Archibald, Charles  
 Archibald, Mrs. Charles  
 Archibald, R. C.  
 Armitage, Ven. Archdeacon, Ph. D.  
 Armstrong, Hon. J. N., K. C., M. L. C.,  
 (N. Sydney, C. B.)  
 Baird, Rev. Frank, (Woodstock, N. B.)  
 Baker, G. Prescott, (Yarmouth, N. S.)  
 Barnes, H. W.  
 Bars, Wm. L., (Dartmouth, N. S.)  
 Bell, Hon. Senator, A. C., (New Glasgow,  
 N. S.)  
 Bell, Charles  
 Bissett, F. W.  
 Bernasconi, G. A., (N. Sydney, C. B.)  
 Bond, Rev. Geo. J., D. D.  
 Borden, Hon. Sir F. W., K. C. M. G.,  
 (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 Borden, Rt. Hon. R. L., K. C., D. C. L.,  
 (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 Bourinot, John C., (Port Hawkesbury, N.S.)  
 Bowes, F. W.  
 Brown, Richard H.  
 Brown, Wm. L.  
 Browne, Rev. P. W., (St. Jaques, N. F.)  
 Buckley, A. H.  
 Burchell, C. J., K. C.  
 Cahan, C. H., K. C., (Montreal, Q.)  
 Cameron, H. W.  
 Campbell, A. J., (Truro, N. S.)  
 Campbell, Dr. D. A.  
 Campbell, Dr. Geo. M.  
 Campbell, Geo. S.  
 Carter, R. S., (Maccan, N. S.)  
 Chesley, A. E. H., (Kentville, N. S.)  
 Chesley, Judge S. A., K. C., (Lunen-  
 burg, N. S.)  
 Chisholm, Dr. Murdoch  
 Chute, Rev. A. C., D. D., (Wolfville, N.S.)  
 Clayton, W. J.  
 Cobb, A. R.  
 Cox, Miss Mary E., (Shelburne, N. S.)  
 Creelman, A. R., K. C., (Montreal, Q.)  
 Crowe, Walter, K. C., (Sydney, C. B.)  
 Crowell, Rev. Edwin, (Truro, N. S.)  
 Curry, J. M., (Amherst, N. S.)  
 Cutten, Rev. Geo. B., D.D., (Wolfville, N.S.)  
 Daniels, Hon. O. T., K. C., M. P. P.  
 Davidson, A. L., M. P., (Middleton, N. S.)  
 DesBarres, Rev. F. W. W., (Sackville, N.B.)  
 DeCarteret, Capt. W. S.  
 Dennis, Wm.  
 Densmore, Dr. L. D., (Sherbrooke, N. S.)  
 Dimock, W. D., (Truro, N. S.)  
 Doane, H. L., (Truro, N. S.)  
 Douglas, John C., M. P. P., (Glance Bay)  
 Drury, Major Gen., C. B.  
 Dumaresq, S. P.  
 Eaton, B. H., K. C.  
 Edwards, Major J. P., (Londonderry, N. S.)  
 Ellis, Hon. Dr. J. F., M. P. P., (Sher-  
 brooke, N. S.)  
 Falconer, Rev. Prof.  
 Farish, Dr. Geo. T., (Yarmouth, N. S.)  
 Faulkner, Hon. Geo. E., M. P. P.  
 Fenerty, E. Lawson  
 Fielding, Hon. W. S., D. C. L., (Ottawa,  
 Ont.)  
 Fleming, Sir Sandford  
 Fogo, Fred. C., (Pictou, N. S.)  
 Forrest, Rev. John, D. D.  
 Francis, Thos. H.  
 Frame, Joseph F., (Regina, Sask.)  
 Francklyn, Geo. E.  
 Gordon, Rev. Principal D. M., D. D.,  
 (Kingston, Ont.)  
 Harival, S. J.  
 Harris, Prof. David Fraser, M. D., D. Sc.,  
 Harris, Robt. E., K. C., D. C. L.  
 Harvey, W. C.  
 Haslam, Mrs. H. Leo., (Liverpool, N. S.)  
 Hattie, R. M.  
 Hattie, Dr. W. H.  
 Hebb, Willis E.  
 Henderson, Geo.  
 Hewitt, H. W., (Saskatoon, Sask.)  
 Hill, Rev. A. M., D. D., (Yarmouth, N. S.)  
 Howe, Sydenham, (Middleton, N. S.)  
 Hoyles, N. W., K. C., D. C. L., (Toronto, Ont.)  
 Irvin, John, K. C., (Bridgetown, N. S.)  
 Irving, Geo. W. T.  
 Jack, A. M.  
 Jack, Rev. T. C., D. D., (N. Sydney, C. B.)  
 Jameson, Clarence A., M.P., (Digby, N.S.)  
 Jenks, Stuart, K. C.  
 Jennison, J. L., K. C., (Calgary, Alta.)  
 Johnson, Jacob A., (Calgary, Alta.)  
 Johnston, Rev. Robt.  
 Jones, Herbert L., (Weymouth, N. S.)  
 Jones, Dr. J. Edgar, (Digby, N. S.)  
 Jost, Dr. A. C., (Guysboro, N. S.)  
 Kellogg, W. B., (London, Eng.)  
 Kent, W. G.  
 King, Donald, A.  
 Knight, J. A.  
 Knight, Rev. M. R., (Sackville, N. B.)  
 Lane, Charles W., (Lunenburg, N. S.)  
 Lawson, A. E., (Winnipeg, Man.)  
 Leckie, Lt. Col. R. G. E., (Vancouver, B.C.)  
 Lockwood, Dr. T. C., (Lockeport, N. S.)  
 Logan, F. J., M. P. P., (Musquodoboit  
 Harbor, N. S.)  
 Logan, J. D., Ph. D., (Toronto, Ont.)  
 Logan, J. W.  
 Longard, E. J.  
 Longley, Hon. Mr. Justice J. W.  
 Margeson, J. W., M. P. P., (Bridge-  
 water, N. S.)  
 Marshall, W. E., (Bridgewater, N. S.)  
 Martell, Rev. G. R., D. C. L., (Windsor,  
 N. S.)  
 Martin, Comr. E. H., R. N., (Dockyard)  
 Mathers, Isaac H., R. St. O.  
 Maynell, W. B., (Louisbourg, C. B.)  
 Milner, W. C.  
 Mills, Col. D. A., (Beaulieu, Hants, Eng.)  
 Mitchell, Archibald S.  
 Morton, Rev. A. D., (Louisbourg, C. B.)  
 Morton, Rev. Arthur S.  
 Moore, Rev. E. B.  
 Mullane, Geo.

- Murray, Prof. D. A.**, (Montreal, Q.)  
**Murray, President Walter C.**, LL. D.,  
 (Saskatoon, Sask.)  
**Muir, Rev. W. Bruce**, (Annapolis Royal,  
 N. S.)  
**McCurdy, F. B.**  
**McCallum, J. D.**  
**Macdonald, C. Ochiltree**  
**MacDonald, Daniel F.**, (Stellarton, N. S.)  
**McDonald, Hon. Judge James**, (late  
 Ch. Justice)  
**MacDonald, Hon. James, M. P. P.**,  
 West Bay, C. B.)  
**Macdonald, John D.**, (Pictou, N. S.)  
**Macdonald, Roderick**  
**Macdonald, Dr. S. D.**  
**McGregor, His Honor Lt. Gov. J. D.**  
**McGregor, Hon. R. M.**, M. P. P., (New  
 Glasgow, N. S.)  
**McGillivray, Hon. A.**, (Antigonish, N. S.)  
**Macgillivray, D.**  
**McInnes, Hector, K. C.**  
**McKay, Alexander**  
**MacKay, A. A.**, K. C.  
**MacKay, A. H.**, LL. D.  
**MacKay, Prof. E.**, Ph. D.  
**MacKeen, Hon. Senator David**  
**MacKenzie, President A. S.**, D. C. L.  
**McLean, Jas. A.**, K. C., (Bridgewater, N. S.)  
**McLean, Rev. John, D. D.**, (Winnipeg)  
**McLennan, Daniel, K. C.**, (Port Hood, C. B.)  
**McLennan, Donald, M. P. P.**, (Port  
 Hood, C. B.)  
**MacMechan, Archibald, Ph. D.**  
**Macnab, Brenton A.**, (Montreal, Q.)  
**Macnab, John**  
**Macnab, Wm.**  
**McNeil, Alexander, Washington**  
**Nichols, E. Hart**, (Calgary, Alta.)  
**Nichols, Geo. E. E.**  
**Nicolls, Rev. W.**, (Mulgrave, N. S.)  
**Outram, F. P.**  
**Owen, D. M.**  
**Owen, Mrs. J. M.**, (Annapolis Royal, N. S.)  
**Oxley, Col. F. H.**  
**Paint, Henry N.**  
**Parker, Rev. Lewis W.**, (Truro, N. S.)  
**Patterson, His Honor Judge Geo.**, (New  
 Glasgow, N. S.)  
**Payzant, J. Y.**, K. C.  
**Payzant, W. L.**  
**Perry, Mrs. N. Irwin**, (St. Catherines, Ont.)  
**Piers, Harry**  
**Power, J. J.**, K. C.  
**Power, J. U.**  
**Power, Hon. Senator L. G.**, K. C.  
**Prescott, C. A.**  
**Pyke, John Geo.**, (Liverpool, N. S.)  
**Ragsdale, J. W.**, U. S. Consul General  
**Ralston, J. L.**, M. P. P.  
**Ralston, Mrs. J. L.**  
**Rand, C. D.**, (Vancouver, B. C.)  
**Rand, Mrs. C. D.**, (Vancouver, B. C.)  
**Read, Dr. H. H.**  
**Reid, Robie L.**, (Vancouver, B. C.)
- Regan, John W.**  
**Richardson, Ven. Archdeacon, D. C. L.**,  
 (London, Ont.)  
**Ritchie, George**  
**Ritchie, James D.**, (Head St. Margaret's  
 Bay)  
**Ritchie, Hon. Mr. Justice J. J.**  
**Ritchie, Miss Mary**  
**Ritchie, Reginald L.**, (Regina, Sask.)  
**Ritchie, W. B. A., K. C.**, (Vancouver, B. C.)  
**Roberts, Arthur**, (Bridgewater, N. S.)  
**Robertson, T. Reginald**, (Vancouver, B. C.)  
**Rogers, Mrs. H. W.**, (Amherst, N. S.)  
**Rogers, T. Sherman, K. C.**  
**Ross, W. B., K. C.**  
**Saunders, Edward M.**, (Calgary, Alta.)  
**Savary, His Hon. Judge A. W.**, (Annapolis  
 Royal, N. S.)  
**Shatford, A. W.**, (Hubbards, N. S.)  
**Shaw, Leander**, (Vancouver, B. C.)  
**Shortt, Alfred**  
**Simson, Frank C.**  
**Sinclair, John H.**, M. P., (New Glasgow,  
 N. S.)  
**Slade, F. M.**, (Montreal, Q.)  
**Smith, Rev. A. W. L.**, (River John, N. S.)  
**Smith, Edmund A.**  
**Smith, L. Mortimer**  
**Smith, Dr. M. A. B.**, (Dartmouth, N. S.)  
**Soloan, David, LL. D.**, (Truro, N. S.)  
**Stairs, Geo. W.**  
**Steele, Rev. D. A., D. D.**, (Amherst, N. S.)  
**Stewart, Rev. John H.**, (Pugwash, N. S.)  
**Stuart, Geo. W.**, (Truro, N. S.)  
**Tanner, C. E., K. C., M. P. P.**, (Pictou,  
 N. S.)  
**Thorne, E. L.**  
**Tory, James C.**, M. P. P., (Guysboro,  
 N. S.)  
**Townshend, Hon. Sir C. J.**, Ch. Justice  
**Trefry, J. H.**  
**Tremaine, A. De B.**, (Ottawa, Ont.)  
**Tramain, H. B., M. P.**, (Windsor, N. S.)  
**Tufts, Prof. J. F.**, D. C. L., (Wolfville,  
 N. S.)  
**Tupper, Hon. Sir C. H.**, K. C., (Van-  
 couver, B. C.)  
**Tupper, Rev. Joseph Freeman**, (Domin-  
 ion, C. B.)  
**VanBuskirk, G. E.**, (Dartmouth, N. S.)  
**Vickery, Edgar J.**, (Yarmouth, N. S.)  
**Wetherbe, Hon. Sir R. L.**, (Late Ch.  
 Justice.)  
**Whidden, C. Edgar**, (Antigonish, N. S.)  
**White, Hon. N. W., K. C.**, (Shelburne, N. S.)  
**Whitman, A. Handfield**  
**Whitman, E. C.**, (Canso, N. S.)  
**Wilson, R. J.**  
**Woodbury, Dr. F.**  
**Worrell, Rt. Rev. C. L., D. D.**, Lord  
 Bishop of Nova Scotia.  
**Wyld, Col. J. T.**  
**Zwicker, Edward J.**, (Cape North, C. B.)  
**Zwicker, Rupert G.**, (Cape North, C. B.)

A number of persons have been nominated and duly elected, but have not yet qualified by paying their entrance fees as required by Nos. 3 and 4 of the Rules and By-laws. August 20, 1912.

**Life Members.****Macdonald, Jas. S.****Corresponding Members.**

**Goldsmid, Edmund, F. R. S.,** (Edinburgh.)  
**Ward, Robert,** (Bermuda.)  
**Griffin, Martin J., C. M. G.,** (Ottawa.)  
**Wrong, Prof. Geo. M.,** (Toronto.)  
**Pryce, Rev. Geo.,** (Winnipeg.)

**Adams, Chas. Francis,** (Boston.)  
**Prowse, Judge D. W.,** (St. John's, Nfld.)  
**Ganong, Prof. W. F.,** (Northampton, Mass.)  
**Doughty, Arthur, G., C. M. G.,** (Ottawa.)

**Honorary Members.**

**Sir Cohan Doyle,** (London.)  
**Chas. G. D. Roberts,** (London.)

**Rev. W. D. Raymond,** (St. John, N. B.)

XV

# PRESIDENTS,

NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

1878-1912.

---

HON. MR. JUSTICE JOHN W. RITCHIE.....	1878-1879
REV. GEORGE W. HILL, D. D.....	1880-1881
THOMAS B. AIKINS, D. C. L.....	1882-1883
REV. GEORGE W. HILL, D. D.....	1883-1885
LT.-GOV. SIR A. G. ARCHIBALD.....	1886-1892
LT.-GOV. M. H. RICHEY.....	1893-1895
HON. MR. JUSTICE WEATHERBE.....	1896-1897
HON. MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY.....	1897-1904
REV. JOHN FORREST, D. D.....	1905-1906
PROF. ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN, M. A., PH. D. . .	1907-1909
JAMES S. MACDONALD.....	1910-1911
VEN. ARCHDEACON ARMITAGE, M. A., PH. D.....	1911

**VICE-PRESIDENTS,**  
NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.  
1878-1912.

REV. G. W. HILL, D. D.....	1878-1879
DAVID ALLISON, D. C. L.....	1880-1881
REV. GEO. W. HILL, D. D.....	1882
HON. SENATOR W. J. ALMON, M. D.....	1883-1889
THOMAS B. AKINS, D. C. L.....	1890
1891	
THOS. B. AIKINS, DAVID ALLISON, D.C.L., MR. JUSTICE WEATHERBE	1892
MR. JUSTICE WEATHERBE,	HON. SENATOR POWER
HON. M. H. RICHEY.	
1893-1895.	
MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY.	HON. SENATOR POWER.
REV. JOHN FORREST, D. D.	
1896-1897.	
HON. SENATOR POWER.	REV. PRINCIPAL FORREST, D. D.
DR. A. H. MACKAY.	
1898-1901.	
HON. SENATOR POWER.	MR. JUSTICE TOWNSHEND.
DR. A. H. MACKAY.	
1902-1904.	
W. H. HILL. MR. JUSTICE TOWNSHEND. HON. SENATOR POWER.	1905-1906.
MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY.	SENATOR POWER,
MR. JUSTICE TOWNSHEND.	
1907-1909.	
MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY.	SENATOR POWER.
VEN. ARCHDEACON ARMITAGE.	
1910.	
MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY.	VEN. ARCHDEACON ARMITAGE.
DR. M. A. B. SMITH.	
1911.	
MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY.	LT.-COL. F. H. OXLEY.
A. H. BUCKLEY, P. H. M.	
1912.	
DAVID ALLISON, D. C. L.,	JOHN Y. PAYZANT, M. A.,
A. H. BUCKLEY, P. H. M.	

XVII

# COUNCIL 1878-1912.

- |  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| 1878.<br>DR. W. J. ALMON.<br>JAS. S. MACDONALD.<br>REV. T. J. DALY.<br>GEO. E. MORTON.   | 1889.<br>HON. DR. ALMON.<br>THOS. BAYNE.<br>REV. T. W. SMITH.<br>PETER LYNCH.                | 1900.<br>REV. DR. FORREST.<br>REV. T. W. SMITH.<br>REV. DR. SAUNDERS.<br>PROF. A. MACMECHAN.  |
| 1879.<br>DR. W. J. ALMON.<br>REV. T. J. DALY.<br>GEO. E. MORTON.<br>W. D. HARRINGTON.    | 1890.<br>HON. SENATOR ALMON.<br>PETER LYNCH.<br>DR. A. H. MACKAY.<br>REV. T. W. SMITH.       | 1901.<br>J. J. STEWART.<br>REV. DR. SAUNDERS.<br>REV. T. W. SMITH.<br>PROF. A. MACMECHAN.     |
| 1880.<br>DR. W. J. ALMON.<br>J. J. STEWART.<br>G. E. MORTON.<br>WM. COMPTON.             | 1891.<br>HON. DR. ALMON.<br>DR. A. H. MACKAY.<br>J. J. STEWART.<br>REV. T. W. SMITH.         | 1902.<br>REV. DR. T. W. SMITH.<br>J. J. STEWART.<br>PROF. A. MACMECHAN.<br>REV. DR. SAUNDERS. |
| 1881.<br>DR. W. J. ALMON.<br>G. E. MORTON.<br>J. J. STEWART.<br>JOSEPH AUSTEN.           | 1892.<br>HON. DR. ALMON.<br>J. J. STEWART.<br>DR. POLLOK.<br>REV. T. W. SMITH.               | 1903.<br>ARCHIBALD FRAME.<br>PROF. A. MACMECHAN.<br>J. J. STEWART.<br>REV. DR. SAUNDERS.      |
| 1882.<br>HON. SENATOR ALMON.<br>DR. J. R. DEWOLF.<br>JAMES S. MACDONALD.<br>PETER ROSS.  | 1893.<br>HON. DR. ALMON.<br>J. J. STEWART.<br>DR. A. H. MACKAY.<br>REV. T. W. SMITH.         | 1904.<br>REV. DR. SAUNDERS.<br>PROF. A. MACMECHAN.<br>ARCH. FRAME.<br>J. J. STEWART.          |
| 1883.<br>HON. SENATOR POWER.<br>PETER LYNCH.<br>R. J. WILSON.<br>PETER ROSS.             | 1894.<br>HON. JUDGE TOWNSHEND.<br>J. J. STEWART.<br>DR. A. H. MACKAY.<br>REV. T. W. SMITH.   | 1905.<br>REV. DR. SAUNDERS.<br>DR. A. MACMECHAN.<br>J. J. STEWART.<br>ARCHIBALD FRAME.        |
| 1884.<br>HON. SENATOR POWER.<br>W. D. HARRINGTON.<br>DR. D. ALLISON.<br>F. B. CROFTON.   | 1895.<br>HON. C. J. TOWNSHEND.<br>J. J. STEWART.<br>DR. A. H. MACKAY.<br>REV. T. W. SMITH.   | 1906.<br>DR. A. MACMECHAN.<br>J. J. STEWART.<br>ARCHIBALD FRAME.<br>HARRY PIERS.              |
| 1885.<br>R. J. WILSON.<br>DR. D. ALLISON.<br>F. B. CROFTON.<br>W. D. HARRINGTON.         | 1896.<br>J. J. STEWART.<br>MR. JUSTICE TOWNSHEND.<br>REV. T. W. SMITH.<br>PROF. A. McMECHAN. | 1907.<br>J. J. STEWART.<br>J. P. EDWARDS.<br>A. H. BUCKLEY.<br>ARCHIBALD FRAME.               |
| 1886.<br>SIR ADAMS ARCHIBALD.<br>T. B. AKINS.<br>DR. DAVID ALLISON.<br>REV. DR. FORREST. | 1897.<br>J. J. STEWART.<br>MR. JUSTICE TOWNSHEND.<br>PROF. A. McMECHAN.<br>REV. T. W. SMITH. | 1908.<br>JAMES S. MACDONALD.<br>A. H. BUCKLEY.<br>ARCHIBALD FRAME.<br>G. W. T. IRVING.        |
| 1887.<br>JUDGE WEATHERBE.<br>DR. D. ALLISON.<br>PETER LYNCH.<br>REV. DR. POLLOK.         | 1898.<br>REV. DR. FORREST.<br>REV. T. W. SMITH.<br>PROF. A. MACMECHAN.<br>REV. DR. SAUNDERS. | 1909.<br>ARCHIBALD FRAME.<br>A. H. BUCKLEY.<br>G. W. T. IRVING.<br>J. H. TREFRY.              |
| 1888.<br>PETER LYNCH.<br>THOS. BAYNE.<br>DR. POLLOK.<br>PETER ROSS.                      | 1899.<br>REV. DR. FORREST.<br>REV. T. W. SMITH.<br>REV. DR. SAUNDERS.<br>PROF. A. MACMECHAN. | 1910.<br>G. E. E. NICHOLS.<br>A. H. BUCKLEY.<br>DR. A. MACMECHAN.<br>G. W. T. IRVING.         |
| 1911.<br>G. E. E. NICHOLLS.<br>J. H. TREFRY.<br>JAS. S. MACDONALD.<br>DR. JOHN FORREST.  | 1912.<br>G. E. E. NICHOLLS.<br>G. W. T. IRVING.<br>DR. M. A. B. SMITH.<br>W. C. MILNER.      |   |

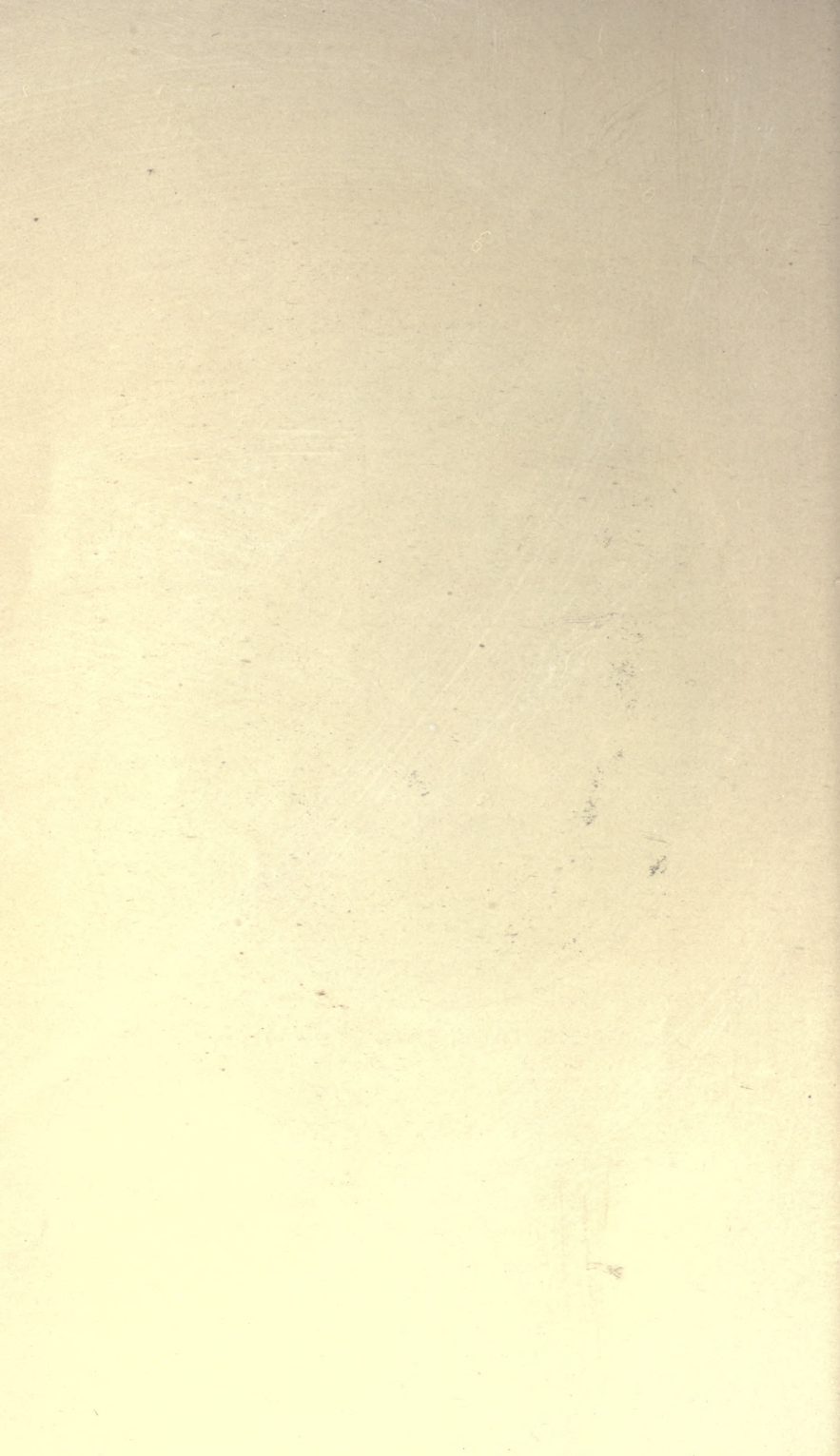




XVII



GEORGE MONTAGU, EARL OF HALIFAX.





**HON. MICHAEL FRANCKLIN,**  
**Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, 1752-1781.**  
[Copied from portrait in King's College, Windsor, N. S.]



## THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

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At the annual meeting of the Nova Scotia Historical Society which was held in the Legislative Council Chamber, Friday evening, 12th April, 1912, the Ven. Archdeacon Armitage, the President, reported that the work of the Society had been carried on throughout the year, with increased interest. Ninety-one new members have been added to the roll of membership.

The outstanding features were: (1) The marking of historic sites by permanent tablets made from aluminum with suitable inscriptions; (2) The reading of a number of historical papers of great interest; and (3), the gathering of valuable material of great historic value.

The following tablets have been placed, viz:—The birth-place of Joseph Howe; the residence of the Hon. Richard Bulkeley; the site of the Great Pontac; the headquarters of General Wolfe; the site of the 1st Printing Press in Canada; the site of the first Court House, and first Meeting of Assembly; St. Paul's Church; St. Matthew's Church; St. Peter's Church (now St. Mary's Cathedral).

The tablet is ready for the marking of the first Grammar School, and meeting place of Assembly, and only awaits the convenience of Premier Murray for its unveiling. It is proposed to unveil the tablet marking the site of the residence of Sir John Moore during the visit of H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught in August. The tablet marking the place of the late Jas. Wm. Johnston will be placed during the spring. The table used by the First Council in 1749, and still in use will be suitably marked by Hon. M. H. Goudge, President of the Legislative Assembly.

The following historic spots will be suitably marked at an early date;—The Chain Rock; Melville Island; Grenadier Fort; Horsman's Fort; The Exchange; The Duke of Kent's town residence.

### Historic Sites.

The Historic Site Committee has under consideration some fifty places in Halifax, and vicinity, and is also gathering material from every County in the Province; It is proposed to mark within the next year or so the more prominent historic spots throughout Nova Scotia.

The Council took appropriate action in regard to the preservation of old forts and battle grounds, sending a memorial to the Federal Government, and securing the co-operation of other historical societies. The Prime Minister, who is a member of our Society, has written us a letter of thanks, and the matter has been favorably acted upon by the Government.

The Aikins Library, which is one of the most valuable on the continent has been catalogued, and is now open to the use of students of history in the Province Library under suitable regulations.

The historical papers read before the Society were of great interest, and were well received. They were as follows:—

Nov. 3rd. Major J. Plimsoll Edwards on "The Militia of Nova Scotia, 1830-67."

Dec. 1st. Mr. H. W. Hewitt on "Historical Sketch of Eastern Passage, Cow Bay, Cole Harbor, and the Islands of Halifax Harbor."

Jan. 5th, 1912. Mr. J. W. Regan on "The Inception of the Associated Press."

Feb. 2nd. Mr. John Y. Payzant on "James William Johnston, First Premier of Nova Scotia under responsible Government."

Marsh 1st. Dr. Allison: "The Military Associations of Sir John Coape Sherbrooke."

April 12th. Mr. Donald A. King on "The Postage Stamps of Nova Scotia."

We have now some ten or twelve papers ready for reading, by as many writers, and it may soon become a question, as to whether we should not hold our meetings more frequently.

### **Union of all Societies.**

There is a movement on foot, initiated by our Council, for union of all our Canadian Historical Societies, in a federation for mutual co-operation. The Hon. Martin Burrell has supplied me with a list from the Archives Department of some 31 societies in Canada, of which there are 3 in the Province of Quebec and 21 in the Province of Ontario.

It is hoped that a volume of transactions will be issued shortly.

The Society introduced a most distinguished and representative deputation to the Premier and members of the Government, urging the erection of a suitable monument on the Province Square to commemorate the great name and services of the late Jas. Wm. Johnston, which met with a most sympathetic reception. It is confidently hoped that steps will be taken to erect the monument in the near future.

I wish to place on record my warm appreciation of the work of the Council of the Society, and of the faithful services of all the officers.

The Society is greatly indebted to Premier Murray for his warm and sustained interest in our work, and for the kind assistance he has secured from the Government, which I have promise for the future will be greater than even in the past, and more worthy of the large interests with which we are concerned. We are sincerely grateful to the Hon. M. H. Goudge, President of the Council, for the use of the Council Chamber, so admirably adapted for our meetings. I wish to thank all who have contributed to the success of the year's work.

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## OBITUARY.

The Society has lost through death some of its most useful members, notably five men of outstanding character, whom it will be difficult indeed to replace, and whose interest in our work was well worthy of commendation.

### DUNCAN CAMERON FRASER.

Lieut.-Governor Fraser, was long an outstanding figure in the political life of the Dominion. He possessed great oratorical powers, and many gifts which fitted him for public life. He was a public spirited citizen who loved and served his country well.

### MATTHEW HENRY RICHEY.

The Hon. Matthew H. Richey, president of the Society from 1893 to 1895, exercising during his long life an influence which made for good. He was proud of his native province and took an abiding interest in its eventful history. His position as Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia was wisely used in the public interest.

### FOSTER HUTCHINSON ALMON.

Canon Almon possessed great intellectual gifts, and was a man who was widely read in many different branches of literature. He took a keen interest in the history of the Acadian Land, and was always able to contribute to our meetings some useful piece of information, or to throw light upon some difficult subject.

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**WILLIAM ROSS.**

The Hon. Senator Ross was a parliamentarian of long and varied experience. He served Nova Scotia and the Dominion with conspicuous fidelity. There were few members of the Society more interested in Provincial history, and fewer still who possessed such a large fund of information. He was a most useful member, and a constant attendant at our meetings.

**GEORGE JOHNSON.**

We have sustained a severe loss by the death of Mr. George Johnson, late Dominion Statistician, a writer of great ability, and a devoted student of our history.

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WILLIAM HARRIS

The first number of the series was published in 1881 and the last in 1882. The series was published in the form of a book and was intended to be used as a text book in the study of the history of the United States. It was published by the American Historical Association and was intended to be used as a text book in the study of the history of the United States.

GEORGE JOHNSON

Mr. Johnson has published a series of books on the history of the United States. He has published a series of books on the history of the United States and has published a series of books on the history of the United States. He has published a series of books on the history of the United States and has published a series of books on the history of the United States.

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**HON. EDWARD CORNWALLIS,  
Founder of Halifax.**



7

MEMOIR  
LIEUT.-GOVERNOR MICHAEL FRANCKLIN,  
1752-1782.

By JAMES S. MACDONALD.

(Read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, at the Council Chamber, Province Building, Halifax, Jan. 23, 1906.)

Towards the close of the year 1752, the ship Norfolk from London, arrived at Halifax, with Military and Naval stores, and a limited number of passengers, who attracted by the glowing reports sent to England, regarding the success of the new settlement, had determined to try their fortunes in this Western field, which had perhaps unknown to those adventurers proved fatal to many of their predecessors.

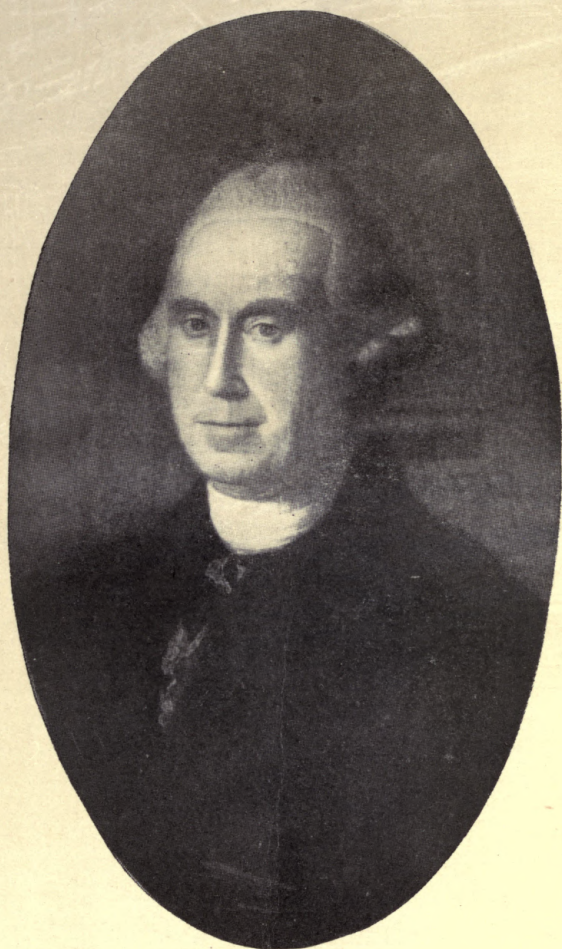
The few passengers in the Norfolk, were a superior class of emigrant, having possession of moderate means, to push their fortunes in this land of promise. Among them was a fine bright Devonshire man, named Michael Francklin, well educated and with good business ideas and training, high hopes, good courage, and endowed with many elements such as a good presence and dignified manner, requisite to succeed in this Britain's latest colony, in which he was destined to achieve honourable distinction.

Francklin, previous to this venture, had been with relatives in business in London, and had been twice across the Atlantic, to the then most prosperous island of the West Indies, Jamaica, in which many London merchants had immense interests. But finding promotion slow, he seized the opportunity of the founding of a new colony, to try his fortunes, in a less trodden field for adventure and possible profit. He was in good health, a man of noble and commanding presence, possessing a good temper and a most resourceful character, and had in his pocket £500 sterling to help him commence the battle, as soon as he could decide upon a line of profitable work and occupation.

On landing on the beach, near the present Market Wharf, he noticed the ferry boat which then plied between Halifax and Dartmouth, approaching the steps, which led to the steep bank at the foot of George Street, and entering into conversation with the Captain upon the state of business and prospects of Halifax, asked Connors abruptly, what he would do, if in his place, in a strange land with only a limited amount of money. "Why," replied Captain Connors, "I would open a-*rum* shop and sell Jamaica, *none other* but the *best*. If you are a good man and sell only good rum, there is more money in it, than in anything else, and I can put you on the track, to open at once, as a friend of mine only left town yesterday for Boston, and I have his place to rent, and it happens to be in the very centre of business."

Before twenty-four hours had passed, Francklin found himself located in a sort of long shed on George Street, just above where the Royal Bank now stands, with two counters, one hundred tumblers, and three puncheons Jamaica rum, and with a license to sell all the rum he could, for the space of one year from date. We must remember, that selling rum at that early day was quite a legitimate business. It was a factor of ordinary existence, a necessity of life, nearly everyone indulged, and to be an absolute abstainer, was to court rheumatism, the curse of the new settlement.

As usual with parties commencing business, Franklin had the fact made known by the Public Crier, a town official, who by Bell and Voice, proclaimed the fact at the Parade, the Barracks, the different gates of the town, and on the principal thoroughfares. Francklin's announcement was a novel and attractive one. "That he would serve free rum to all who would honour him with a call at his place of business anytime before breakfast,—8 o'clock in the morning—any day of the week but Sunday, for one month from date." As a forgone conclusion, the great public called. They called to welcome such a citizen, such a generous whole souled new comer to the town. Francklin with an assistant welcomed the great company. His rum was pronounced good.



**CAPT. THOMAS GRAY, 20th Regiment,  
Secretary to Hon. Edward Cornwallis, 1749-1752.**



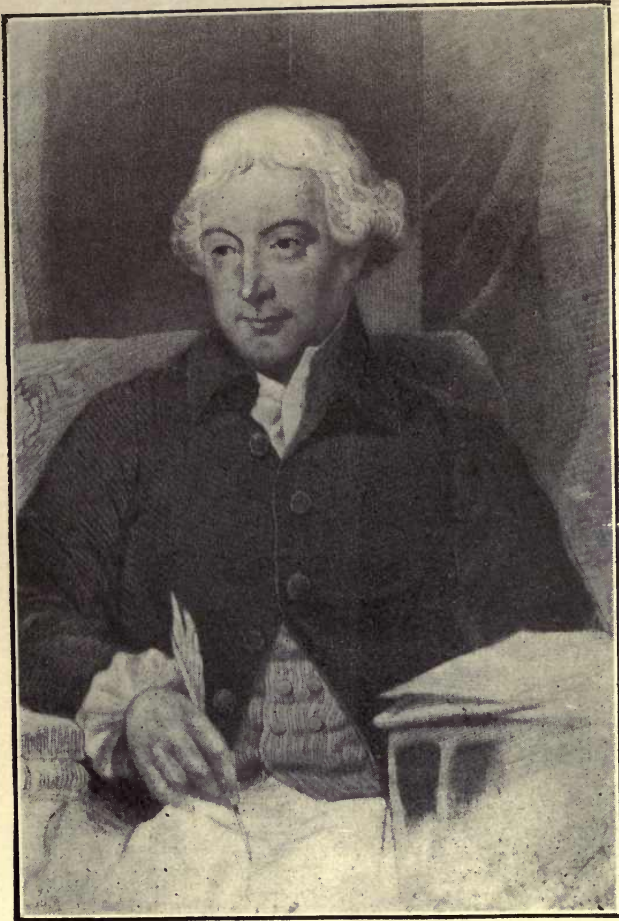


After two or three calls, his patrons who had honoured him by calling so early in the morning for his free liquor, were in honour bound—for there was a code of liquor honours to be observed by all—to drink later in the day, at their own expense. His patrons called frequently. His business increased. He decided that it paid to advertise. So much so, that he in 1753 opened another shop opposite the Dock Yard Gate—again announcing free rum for early customers for the first month—and during the year, started three Trucks for public service, and for the increasing needs of conveyance of his two shops.

He further strengthened his business by taking a partner with some means, Mr. Thomas Gray, a promising young man, son of Capt. Gray, former secretary to Cornwallis and after whom the lane leading from Lockman to Upper Water Street was named. The new firm so well reinforced, came rapidly to the front in public favour, the business became general and wholesale. It was now bread-stuffs and fine wines and Jamaica Rum. As time rolled on Francklin was successfully making his way with the general public. Rev. Mr. Breynton, Rector of St. Paul's and Bulkeley, the Secretary of the Province, soon recognized the genial dignified young Englishman, who had so readily come into favour, and loaned their influence to the coming man of affairs. Francklin appreciated their friendship, and patronage, and his good sense enabled him to avoid all unnecessary means of display or extravagance at a time when our little town was becoming notorious for its excesses.

I have already noticed the fact that Francklin was a well educated man and a good French scholar. From the day he landed in Halifax he took a deep interest in the affairs of the Indians and the Acadians, and used his best efforts to ingratiate himself with the two races, many of whom were giving the town much trouble and anxiety. In time they responded to his kindness, and Francklin was looked upon by them with a cordiality which was known to all.

In 1754, Francklin, accompanied by two Indians who had been noted for their friendliness to him, obtained leave to go outside the pickets for a day's shooting, this was not an unusual request as Francklin was considered the Indian's friend, and had often indulged in shooting with the Micmacs between Halifax and Grand Lake. His command of Fire-water and the French Language were recommendations to their favor which almost guaranteed his safety, but this pleasant state of affairs had an interruption, when about returning to Halifax at the close of the day, he was seized with his two companions by a band of strange indians (Milicite) and at once in spite of the remonstrance of his guides, walked off to Beausejour, and in the course of the next week to Gaspe. By the particular favor of the Micmac indians he was lodged with, he was enabled to stay with them, and saved the fatigue of the long journey to Quebec, where it was first designed to send him. The Indians soon became cognizant of his past friendliness, and in a short time he was put in communication with his friends in Halifax. Francklin with his love of life and adventure, decided to make no undue efforts for release, funds were forwarded to him by his friends in Halifax by the Indians, and in the three months he spent with his Indian friends in the forest at Gaspe, he made use of the time and chance afforded to learn to converse in Mic-Mac. In October he was released and conveyed to Halifax without any display of bad feeling. It was rather a regret to him, to leave the forest and the friends he had made during his absence from Halifax. It was a summer adventure, unaccompanied with hardship and to a man free from family anxieties, it must have been an outing to be remembered with pleasure. Francklin arranged matters that little or no notice was taken of the event of his seizure and detention and the only mention he made of it in his after career, was to acquaint the Government in Despatch 4, May, 1776, of his knowledge of Mic-Mac and his fitness for transacting business with the Indians, from the fact of his having lived a captive with them when a younger man.



**GOVERNOR CHARLES LAWRENCE,**

[Copy from portrait in possession of Robert Martin, 1861, Sydney, C. B.  
The portrait had been in possession of Henry Crawley's family for  
over a century.]



Francklin progressed steadily in public favor, and his business soon became of great magnitude. He gradually abandoned his Rum business, went extensively into Bread Stuffs and fine wines, began exporting Dry Fish to the Mediterranean, and it is said made a fortune in his trade with Naples, then a great distributing fish trade centre of the Mediterranean. In the Autumn of 1755 he made a visit to England on business, returning about the close of the year. By his advice several first class men came out in 1756, and entered into business and all succeeded in doing well, during the next ten years. Thos. Blundell, Henry Holman, and Lawrence Thomas all well known merchants of Halifax, were the leading men who profited by Francklin's advice.

At this date, 1756, the Indians became very troublesome. Their friends the Acadians had been expelled from the colony, and the determination shown by Gov. Lawrence in this action to secure peace to the Province roused the Indians to madness. The French Government offered bounties for English scalps, and Lawrence and the council at Halifax retaliated after the Massacre of the Payzant family at Mahone Bay by issuing on 14th May, 1756, the following proclamation:



CHARLES LAWRENCE ESQ.,

Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's  
Province of Nova Scotia, or Acadie.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas notwithstanding the gracious Offers of Friendship and protection made by us, in his Majesty's Name, to the Indians inhabiting this Province, and the Treaty of Peace concluded with a Tribe of the Micmacks, bearing Date the 22nd November, 1752, the Indians have

of Late, in the most treacherous and cruel Manner, killed and carried away divers of his Majesty's Subjects in different Parts of the Province.

For these Causes We (by and with the Advice and Consent of His Majesty's Council) do hereby authorize and command all Officers, civil and military, and all His Majesty's Subjects, to annoy, distress, take and destroy the Indians inhabiting different parts of this Province, wherever they are found; and all such as may be aiding or assisting them, notwithstanding the Proclamation of the 4th of November, 1752, or any former Proclamation to the contrary.

And we do hereby promise (by and with the Advice and Consent of His Majesty's Council) a Reward of Thrity Pounds for every male Indian Prisoner, above the Age of Sixteen Years, brought in alive; for a Scalp of such Male Indian Twenty-Five Pounds and for every Indian Woman or Child brought in alive; Such Rewards to be paid by the Officer commanding at any of His Majesty's Forts in this Province. immediately on receiving the Prisoners or Scalps above mentioned, according to the Intent and Meaning of this Proclamation.

Given at Halifax, this 14th Day of May, 1756, in the 19th Year of His Majesty's Reign.

By His Excellency's Command,

Chas. Lawrence.

Wm. Cotterell, Secr.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Halifax: Printed by J. Bushell, Printer to the Government 1756.

This paper was about 13 inches long by five inches wide.

In following Francklin's career, I have no need of dilating on this proclamation. It speaks of a time of great provocation and bloodshed when so severe a remedy had to be adopted.

In 1757, 1758, Francklin succeeded in obtaining several most profitable contracts for supplying the Army and Navy at Halifax. In July, 1757, Admiral Holborne arrived in our harbour and landed over 6000 troops which with 6000 under Lord Loudon already landed made with the crews of the Men of War and Transports a force of over 15,000 men to feed. Francklin acquitted himself well in his share in the great emergency, and in the following year, 1758, there assembled at Halifax, the great fleet and forces for the siege of Louisburg under Wolfe, Amherst and Boscawen,—23 Ships of the Line, 18 Frigates and 116 transports, in all 157 vessels with over 12,000 troops. Imagine the gigantic task of feeding this vast assemblage, The Province was sacked for provisions, prices were of the famine order. Francklin supplied an enormous amount of provisions, and in the examination of his accounts, he was commended by Governor Lawrence for his honesty and fair dealings in the great supplies he had made to the Forces. In 1759 Francklin supplied the Fleet with all kinds of provisions, previous to its sailing for the Capture of Quebec. From these immense transactions flowed great compensation, so much so that at the close of 1759, it was currently believed in Halifax, that Francklin had cleared in profits during the war period, or part of four years, over £50,000 Stg. This great inflow of wealth, did not appear to injure him. Well balanced, he could not be spoiled by success, and so popular had he become in Halifax with all classes, that he was unanimously elected to a vacancy in the New House of Assembly as member for Halifax in 1759.

At this time there was an agitation for the incorporation of the town, but it met with determined opposition from the Governor and Council, and particularly from Mr. Bulkeley, Secretary of the Province, who had the imperial idea of Halifax remaining a Fortress; the idea of making it a trade centre, was never entertained by the Home Government. In consequence it fell through. Francklin advocated the measure, but had to abandon it, rather than antagonize the authorities.

In 1760, Francklin lost a good friend by the sudden and untimely death of Governor Lawrence. Francklin was friendly with many of the Indians and Acadians and had by his knowledge of French and Micmac a great influence with them, which joined to his kindly and fatherly manner had made him a favorite with the two races, and a great aid to Lawrence in interviews with them. He ever endeavoured to advise patience on the part of the Authorities, and submission on the part of the Indians and the Acadians who were returning in large numbers, but it was only partially successful. Years after he greatly befriended them but to 1760 he could effect nothing. He held Lawrence in great esteem, knowing well the great difficulties of his position as Governor, and the vacillating character of the Acadians which had culminated in 1755 in their removal from the Province.

In 1760 Francklin built a dwelling house on Buckingham Street, just above the present Army and Navy Depot. It was not a very grand house, but was a well arranged mansion for the time. It had two good reception rooms, decorated with great taste in colors by artists from New York. Sixty years ago I was in the room, before it was torn down and found it still retaining, even in decay its attractive appearance.

On the 21st of January, 1762, Francklin was married in Boston to Susannah, a daughter of Joseph Bouteneau, a leading citizen, connected closely by marriage with Peter Fanueil of Fanueil Hall fame, and other influential families of Boston, the majority of whom being strong loyalists, removed to Halifax, soon after the breaking out of the Revolution. Francklin and his bride returned to Halifax in November, and welcomed their friends in their new home.

Francklin's continued popularity in Halifax was shown by his unanimous re-election as Member for the New House of Assembly. As an influential and wealthy contractor he continued having the arrangement for large supplies for the Army and Navy. In this year by Bulkeley's influence he was further





**GENERAL JAMES WOLFE, 1758.**

[Published with a print of Louisbourg after the capture in 1758].



honoured, by being made Justice of the Peace for the County of Halifax—no small appointment at that time.

At this date Halifax overflowed with all kinds of adventurers, and riot, dissipation, and excess generally, was the rule, not the exception. The presence of so many young men, a large number of whom, were possessed of ample means and freely spent them, together with the distribution of prize money, paid in specie by the Commissariat, all aided to promote a lavish expenditure. The town was often thronged with officers of the Army and Navy. The Citizens treated them with great hospitality, and they in turn marked their keen appreciation of this attention, by entertaining them again with the most sumptuous dinners and expensive suppers. The Great Pontac, the famous Hotel of Halifax reaped a great harvest, all through the war years, there was no busier scene than the neighbourhood of this famous Hotel. It was a large building of three stories in height with three verandas, at the foot of Duke Street, kept first by a Jersey man named DeCarteret, and subsequently by a noted host named John Willis, grandfather of John Willis of the National School. Here was held on a grand scale the Assemblies, Dinners, and all kinds of public entertainments. Day and night for years during the wars, this noted place was scarcely ever closed, and the proprietor reaped an immense harvest. A small dinner given by Wolfe to his friends just before he left Halifax for the capture of Louisburg will illustrate the cost of such entertainments at the Great Pontac.

47 Plates at 20/ .....	£47	0	0
70 Bottles Madeira .....			
50 Bottles Claret .....			
120 Bottles at 5/ .....	£30	0	0
25 Bottles Brandy 7/6 .....	£ 9	7	6
	£86	7	6

10 pcs. Music 10/ . . . . .	£5	0	0
Supplies for Musicians . . . . .	2	15	0
15 Special attendents 4/ . . . . .	3	0	0
Table Master and his supper . . . . .	1	10	6
	<hr/>		
	£98	12	6
	<hr/>		

To Genl. Wolfe  
Halifax,  
24th May, 1758.

John Willis,  
Great Pontac.

There were other Hotels such as The Crown Coffee house, the Jerusalem Coffee house, and a number of others, three or more Assembly rooms for Balls and Suppers and numberless shops filled with all descriptions of jewelry and nick-nacks, expensive wines, the latest luxuries from Paris and New York, and to show how easy the people took matters, for many years, no less than twenty-four public holidays were the order of the day, during which all the public offices were closed.

To speak of the numbers of the population of our town at this time or indeed at any time between 1749 and 1800 would be an impossibility, it fluctuated in a most extraordinary manner, varying from 4,000 to 20,000. At one time owing to the great influx of Military and Naval forces, the town would suddenly rise to energy and prosperity, then when peace came, the population would disappear, and the enterprise and seeming prosperity would fade away. There is nothing more remarkable in the history of Halifax, during the first half-century of its existence than the fluctuation of its population, and in Francklin's time it was very marked indeed.

At this date, Francklin greatly assisted Bulkeley, the Secretary of the Province, in the organization of the Militia, a most important matter for the Province. With the friendly manner of Francklin, his energy and his growing influence, the Halifax

corps became noted for its discipline and appearance. Francklin was appointed Major and by private means, and public example, the City companies compared well in appearance and efficiency with the regular forces, with whom they were often brigaded on the Parade and on Camp Hill drill ground.

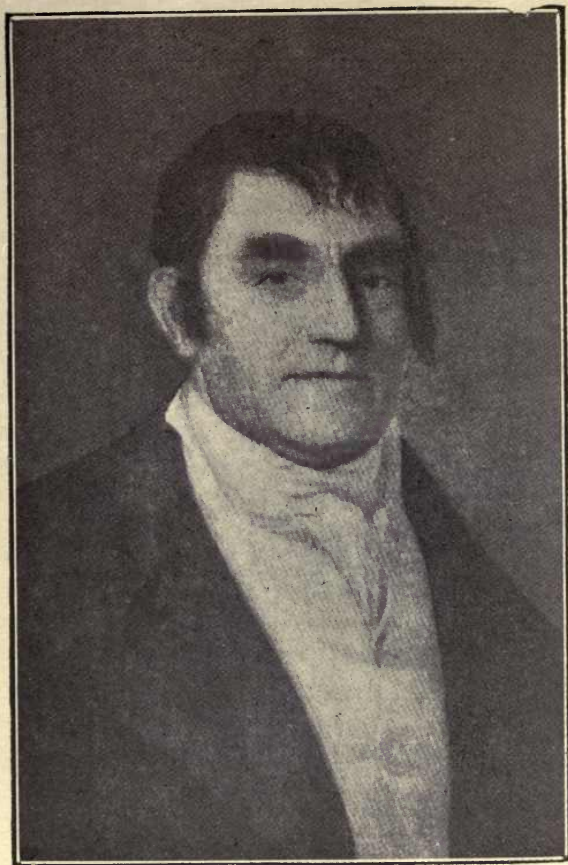
In 1762, Francklin was called to take a seat at the Council board—the old Council of twelve which dominated matters in Nova Scotia until 1838. His popularity was acknowledged by all. Seldom had a man in Halifax attained such a continued and growing esteem of the fickle public, but his genial bearing, his undoubted honesty and anxiety for the general good contributed much to give him a position in the estimation of all whom he came in contact with, which was the mainspring of his success. This year was one of intense excitement to the people of Halifax, the invasion of Newfoundland by the French and surrender of St. John created a terror among our people. In consequence of the alarm a council of war assembled at Government House, 10th July, 1762, at this were present, Lord Colville, Col. Winslow, Col. Rich. Bulkeley, Gov. Belcher, Genl. Bastide, Michel Francklin and Col. Foster. They resolved to make the island of Thrum Cap a place of signals, to arm the Provincial Regiment, to bring 200 Militia from Lunenburg, to arm the Halifax Militia, and to place the present batteries in order, and to construct a battery of 10 guns at Pt. Pleasant, and to order all the County Militia to Halifax. Martial law was proclaimed, and an embargo placed on all shipping.

On the 15th July, a boom of timber and iron chains 120 fathoms long was placed across the North West Arm, to prevent an attack in that direction, and two sloops to protect the boom were well armed and manned and stationed behind it. Other preparations for defence were made, in which Francklin took a leading part. Over 1500 regulars besides 2000 Militia, and the different batteries, made up a good defence against any French who might make a demonstration against Halifax. The excitement was intense during July and August but Lord Colville's squadron, and troops under Amherst in time, and after

great trouble arrived at St. John, and after skirmishing for a few days, and bombarding the town, captured the place. The French squadron escaped, and the French garrison capitulated on 18th Sept. The garrison, 700, became prisoners of war—and were sent to Halifax by the fleet. So ended the scare to Halifax, but while it lasted, it made matters lively indeed.

During the Summer of 1762 the English expedition under Lord Albemarle laid seige to Havana which surrendered on 13th August. The English Fleet numbered 37 Men of War and 150 transports. with 10,000 troops. The plunder was estimated at nearly three million pounds sterling. About half the fleet came up to Halifax to refit in order to proceed to England. They were slow in doing this, and most of the Men of War were moored in Halifax Harbour all winter. The dissipation of our old town during the time these forces were here was something beyond belief. The prize money distributed among so many soldiers and sailors was over 400,000 Pounds Stg. which they almost threw away, the birds of prey drawn here from all quarters by the hope of plunder, made Halifax more like a pirate's rendezvous than a modest British settlement.

The prize Money and wages of this great fleet was paid in Spanish gold and silver, part of the booty captured at Havana. At this date, British Silver was not in circulation in Halifax or in any of the American Colonies, its export from England was prohibited, and so the British Government found it more convenient to pay the troops stationed here in Spanish silver than to import British Gold or Notes. A British Guinea was worth  $23/4$  Halifax currency, the French Guinea was worth  $23/$  Spanish Dollars were worth  $5/2\frac{1}{2}$  and the merchants had a table of values for Spanish coins, which were fixed from time to time by the Commissariat officials at the office of the Imperial Chest Halifax. The assortment of odd coins coming to Halifax from the West Indies and South America at this time was beyond belief. The Spaniards would bring from the Mediterranean and the Levant to their colonies, coins that



**HON. JOSHUA MAUGER, 1749-1770.**

[From a picture in possession of Hon. P. C. Hill, Halifax, 1859].





had been in circulation for centuries. They would be carried to Halifax in payment for fish and supplies, and the Military and naval authorities would in exchange for Bills drawn on the Treasury London, take tons of this old silver for payment of the Army and Navy, at certain rates, advertised, and which the merchants and rumsellers would have to note carefully. A Merchant's till at the close of a busy day, or a large collection at St. Paul's would make the fortune of a collector in the numismatic line to-day, as the variety of coins of all ages and countries was astonishing.

This period of excess continued until the following year 1763 when the Treaty of Paris, closed the war for a brief period to give the combatants a brief breathing spell to accumulate strength for further conflicts.

In 1763, Francklin reported from Hon. Joshua Mauger, Agent of the Province in London, that the last proclamation of Governor Belcher had produced a bad effect in England. It referred to protection of creditors coming to the Province. Governor Belcher charged this report with untruth, which led to great trouble. Francklin complained in a memorial to the government, which resulted in —Francklin's justification and an ample apology from Belcher, but it resulted further in Belcher's losing his position, as Col. Montague Wilmot was appointed Governor before the close of the year. X

Governor Wilmot created considerable amusement for the people of Halifax. He had an idea he was an orator, and some of his speeches were models of clap trap and twaddle. In opening the session of the Legislature, after his arrival at Halifax, he spoke for an hour on the zeal and fidelity of the people of Nova Scotia. The actual work of the sessions, was almost nil, any real legislation was looked after by the Council. Mahogany chairs were ordered for each member, and a grand one for the Speaker. Wilmot closed the session with another long oration in which he says, "I cannot help professing that the event of your deliberations hath more than answered my

most sanguine hopes and expectation. Your minds untinctured with, and divested of all private views have to your honour been directed to the public good, and have sufficiently served to convince me, in the opinion I ever entertained of you, as a prudent and truly worthy people. Long may this happy disposition remain among you. Long may such virtuous principals flourish in this colony, and may I be allowed the happiness with every well wisher, to join in a sincere desire that they may be permanent to the latest posterity." As the principal new business outside of the usual routine bills, was the ordering of Mahogany chairs for the Assembly, we can imagine the amount of bunkum wasted by Wilmot over so small an achievement.

At the suggestion of Francklin, Pisiquid was incorporated into a Township to be called Windsor and to be included in the County of Halifax.

Francklin at this date 1764-5, was actively employed in visiting the different counties and adjusting as far as possible the many troubles of the returning Acadians, and the Indians who were always troublesome. They would listen to him, knowing he was their friend of both races. Francklin was also engaged in keeping as far as possible, the Province in harmony with the Mother country. In Boston and New York the Stamp Act had been resisted and the people were in open rebellion and the Governor's House sacked. Nova Scotia was not so much excited, but it required a kind and firm hand to keep the trouble existing in the colonies south of us from over-spreading our Province. Francklin's talents and personal worth were recognized at this time by the British Government as the only man capable of preserving tranquility among the people in Nova Scotia.

Outside of Halifax, Francklin's interest in Windsor must be noted here. The Township of Windsor was about 13 miles square an area long noted and held in high esteem by the French for its great fertility, the crops of wheat which they raised

were so abundant that for many years previous to the expulsion a great quantity of wheat was grown, and exported to the British market. The new Township of Windsor as incorporated by Francklin, was to have a public market every Tuesday on the hill, and two public fairs on Fort Hill, one in May and the other in October, yearly. These fairs became celebrated for their races. Governors Campbell, Francklin, the Prov. Secretary Bulkeley, and others, all had fast horses entered in these races, and much betting was the order of the day. Tradition has it, that Lord Wm. Campbell owned and controlled the race course, having advanced 1500 Pounds Stg. for laying it off, and a grant of the land round Fort Hill was made to his Lordship's groom, and afterward purchased by the Government to recoup Campbell before leaving Nova Scotia.

Francklin always held a strong interest in this most beautiful and historic locality. He had a large grant of well situated forest cleared up, and the new England families who after the expulsion came to settle about Fort Edward as it was subsequently called, contained many friends of his own and of Mrs. Francklin's. The Francklin farm was a well known centre for the new township of Windsor. The land upon which the first Parish Church was built, was part of the farm as the record reads, "presented by the Hon. Michael Francklin for the purpose of erecting thereon a church, or place of worship conformable to the established Church of England, and for a Grave Yard for the use of the Christian People of the said township of Windsor."

On this large farm Francklin built a very roomy mansion, here the family lived and although he had dwellings at Beausjour and Halifax, still it was at Windsor the Family dwelt for many years, and here his wife and the greater number of their children were buried.

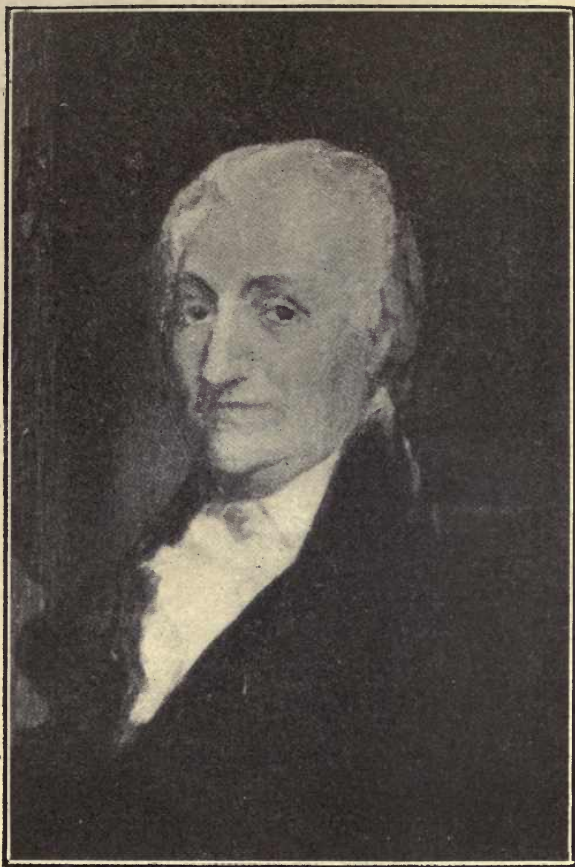
In May Governor Wilmot who had been ill for sometime died suddenly, and Michael Francklin was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, and assumed the command of

the Province on the 9th of September, 1766. Coming to Halifax in 1752, his career was a fortunate one, we may add a phenomenal one, it was a steady progress upward, so that in fourteen years, he had risen from the position of an ordinary emigrant, to the commanding office of Governor of the Colony. The appointment was hailed with great satisfaction by the entire population, even by the Indians and Acadians, those irreconcilables, who had given so much trouble to the authorities. It was celebrated by assembly dinners and suppers. Addresses of congratulation were presented him on his promotion, and the greatest enthusiasm was manifested at the appointment of so popular and well tried a favorite, with all classes and of one who well understood the wants and temper of the Colonists.

Francklin opened the session of Legislature in a most sensible speech brief and trenchant. He congratulated the members on the paternal tenderness of the King and Parliament for the colonies and acquainted them with the fact that the conduct of the Government of Nova Scotia has obtained His Majesty's highest approbation. At this time Nova Scotia had a Governor or Commander in Chief, and a Lièut-Governor, the latter office filled by Francklin.

At the meeting of the Legislature in November, 1766, the death of Governor Wilmot was announced and Francklin requested the House to vote the sum of £245, 11 4 for the funeral expenses as they had done in the instance of Governor Lawrence, but while the House professed great respect for Wilmot's memory, they declined the proposal on the ground of the distress and debts of the Province. Wilmot from his arrival in Halifax until his death was a martyr to rheumatism and terribly embarrassed with debts. In May 1766 he applied to the Home Government for leave of absence of 12 months to enable him to recruit his health in Europe, but for *state reasons* at the time, leave was not granted, and he rapidly grew worse and expired after great suffering..

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**COL. MONTAGUE WILMOT,**  
**Governor of Nova Scotia, 1762-1766.**

[Copied from original. From George Gordon, Boston, 1892].



The town at the date was fast becoming an important centre for trade, and already large fortunes had been made by a number of the merchants by great ventures abroad. Among them Francklin, Thomas Saul, Alex. Brymer, John Butler, Collier, Black, Salter, Gerrish, Newton, Binney and Michael Wallace and the Lawsons were all rated, as worth over £50,000 Sterling.

In November Lord William Campbell was sworn into office at Halifax as Governor-in-chief, and Francklin was confirmed and proclaimed Lt.-Governor of the Province. Campbell stayed for a few months and returned on a visit to England, then came back to Halifax remained a short time, and departed to Britain. He was all the time he was in office from 1766-1773 on the wing, to and from Halifax to England. So that really Francklin had the charge and direction of affairs, Campbell being a good natured figurehead, but his confidence in Francklin was unbounded, and he had the honesty to so represent it to the British Government.

Under Francklin's wise policy in 1768 a great number of the Acadians returned to the Province, took the oath of allegiance and had lands granted them in various parts of the Province. The Chief of the Indians throughout the Province especially from the St. John River came to Halifax on a solemn embassy and after a talk with Lt. Governor Francklin went home again well satisfied with their presents. In 1768 Francklin was appointed Lt. Governor of Prince Edward Island and John Newton Chief Justice. Instructions were sent from England to Francklin to survey and grant lands for settlement to the Island of St. John, now called Prince Edward Island. This did not interfere in any way with his office of Lt. Governor of Nova Scotia. The most agreeable feature in the Annals of Nova Scotia at this time was the loyal and pacific state of mind of the Acadians and Indians. We may trace this to the general justice, humanity and kindness of Lt.-Governor Francklin and his Council as it resulted in

the genuine pacification and submission of these hitherto inveterate enemies of Nova Scotia and British rule.

Francklin and Governor Campbell in the year 1766 paid great attention to improving the town and induced our people to look after the side walks, and he had Barrington and Pleasant Street planked, that is the eastern or lower side from the Parade, to what was then called the Fresh water bridge, foot of the present Inglis Street. This walk was for many years known as "The Mall", and on fine afternoons, the fashion was that everybody of any consequence, should be seen on this popular thoroughfare. Moody and Price were the fashionable tailors and outfitters of Halifax, and all the very latest styles from London would be met with on this popular promenade. The Army and Navy officers and the officials were supposed at that day (1766) to be well dressed,—no free and easy dress as to-day. French styles were fashionable for men and women, and out here in this desert of America, styles were indulged in which would have astonished London. The ladies had the tall headdress of the period, one of fearful dimensions built up from a sort of wicker coronet, set on top of the head filled with flowers, ribbons, feathers, so that it was hard to determine where the head was, so much so that the managers of the Halifax Theatre on Grafton Street which was greatly patronized, requested that the lady patrons dress their heads low, for the performance, so that all present could get a glimpse of the actors on the stage. The promenade dress would today be considered a terror, the hoop was then at its most fearful dimensions. A well dressed man promenading the mall was also a sight, a hat like a large inverted bell, a coat tight at the hips, expanding to a huge size as it extended upward, with shoulders stuffed out in large bunches, a high cravat rising above the chin, breeches bagging at the hips, and buttoned to the knees, shoes with huge buckles, a powdered queue of great size, and a cane of clouded Mahogany with a small satchel dangling to the silver top, containing a card case and snuff box completed a costume not at that day considered sensational, but the very latest and most





**LORD WILLIAM CAMPBELL,  
Governor of Nova Scotia 1766-1773.**

[p. 23].

[From portrait in possession of Hon. P. C. Hill, Provincial Secretary N.S.].



elegant and becoming mode. Our Halifax of 1766 had a number of little varieties particularly in correct dress for the Mall which we, their common-place successors, would be rather disposed to deride. The cost of an outfit then was greatly in excess of that of the present day, and our little town was considered an expensive place to live in, and to dress in, and we might add to die in. The amount of entertaining constantly going on, came hard on the officials whose salaries were small. This promenade "The Mall" with its ever changing fashions was celebrated all over the American Continent, even more so than our public gardens of today, even New York and Boston had nothing at that time in the way of a public and fashionable promenade to compare with it. It continued in popularity until 1820, when from the falling away of the population after the Peace of 1815, the change in the habits of those who were left in our town, the scarcity of money, and the neglected state of the platform, which became in places positively dangerous, the Mall became a memory—one of the departed glories of Halifax.

The Rev. Jacob Bailey who arrived in Halifax in the summer of 1779, one of the refugees who was kindly taken care of by Dr. Breynton, the rector of St. Pauls, thus described "The Mall",—"It runs straight from the Grand Parade near the church on the east side of Pleasant Street, to the water and is a mile in length. This is the most elegant street in Halifax, and is most frequented in fine weather by ladies and gentlemen for their promenade."

After dinner or tea we perceive one gay company, after another in perpetual succession dressed in their most elegant apparel, which affords a fine and most expensive appearance. On this most fashionable walk a splendid view and extensive prospect, can be had of the harbor and ocean, and we can discover every sail coming from the westward the moment it shows itself coming round Chebucto Head." This seems to convey an idea of this promenade which is valuable as a picture of what Mr. Bailey actually saw.

At this date Francklin was greatly interested in inducing the New England people to take up lands and settle in our Province, but the colonists to the south of us, were not convinced about the safety of settling among the Acadians and Indians who were still threatening.

Francklin made every exertion possible to induce a larger emigration, and to confirm confidence in the future, would not grant to the Acadians who were now returning, lands in the Annapolis Valley, from Windsor to Annapolis—lands were reserved for British settlers. St. Mary's Bay, Pubnico and Tusket were granted to the Acadians. In Cape Breton, St. Peters, L'Ardoise and Cheticamp, they formed large communities, but he, in face of much opposition reserved the valley. Francklin judged rightly, that as settlers the Acadians were not inclined to clear the forests from the uplands, they preferred the low lands near the sea. The great bulk of their crops, was raised on the alluvial portions which had been cleared for them by nature, and where they could perhaps build a dyke, so with wise foresight, Francklin reserved the greater part of the Valley of the Annapolis for the British settlers, and we, have to thank him for a policy which was in every way conducive to the future comfort of the Province. If we have doubts, let us visit the most popular settlements of the Acadians on the South shore of the Province, and notice the mediaeval content at Clare, Meteghan, Pubnico and Tusket, and then let us view Digby, Annapolis, Middleton, Kentville, Wolfville and Windsor with all the restless progress and the improvements of the 20th Century, and thank heaven we had such a man of brains decision and foresight as Francklin, who so discriminated, in the distribution of these lands, as to save the Annapolis Valley for men of the British stock for all time.

At this date 1768 Francklin was greatly interested in stock raising and farming. He had a large estate at Windsor where he built a fine mansion, and had on his extensive farms a numerous retinue of assistants and farm hands. He imported several fine horses from England, and became greatly

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**MAJOR FRANCIS LEGGE,**  
**Governor of Nova Scotia, 1773-1776.**

[From portrait in possession of Chief Justice Halliburton, sent to England  
at time of his death].



concerned in breeding horses for the turf. The Halifax races were well attended, and helped to amuse and interest the people for many years, but finally had to be suppressed on account of the attendant evils of betting and gambling which resulted. Near Amherst, Francklin had another large estate, 1,000 acres on which he cultivated wheat. He had a mansion near the old fort Beausejour, The Franklin Manor, and really took a strong and vital interest in agriculture which was an example followed by many in the localities where he farmed and prospered.

In 1771, Lt.-Governor Francklin visited England to arrange and explain to the government matters connected with the settlement of the government of Isle of St. John—now Prince Edward Island—for which he had been censured for exceeding his instructions for surveying the island, this he had the good fortune to satisfactorily settle. He returned to Halifax in 1772, with a gift from the King of £200 o. o. for the repair of St. Paul's Church. In 1772, Francklin visited the greater portion of the Province. In this visit he called meetings of the inhabitants, of the different localities, made inquiries into their wants, and in a most intelligent and kind manner advised and planned with them for the future welfare of the sections and localities they occupied.

In 1773, the Right Honourable, Lord William Campbell, Captain Royal Navy was transferred from the Governorship of Nova Scotia to the command of the Province of South Carolina and Major Francis Legge was appointed Governor-in-Chief of Nova Scotia in his stead. Legge was a cousin of the Earl of Dartmouth. On the 8th of October he arrived at Halifax and was sworn in as Governor. And now we come to a time in the fortunes and life of Francklin which exhibited the man's reserve force, and his courageous calibre in meeting unmerited injustice and the rugged experiences of life, instead of the sunshine and success which had smiled so steadily on his past successful career. The new Governor Legge had been for many years a thorn in the side of his noble kinsman

the Earl of Dartmouth and leading members of the Ministry of the day. He had quarrelled and fought with friends and foes in England, and as a last resort was shipped off to Nova Scotia, to take charge of this new colony, to get rid of his hated presence at home. It was considered better to give him a position with £1,000 a year at the public expense, in the wilds of America rather than have him bothering and squabbling with his unfortunate friends, who took this chance of getting rid of him.

Legge took a violent dislike to Francklin from the start and showed himself insanely jealous, of his popularity with the Council, and the people of Halifax, and in his first letter to the authorities in London writes that the disorders in these colonies have arisen from too much leniency and strongly recommends coercive measures. He suspected all about him of disloyalty, and in regard to the Acadians believes that they, notwithstanding their oath of allegiance will incite the Indians to attack the English settlers, and supply them with ammunition and provisions. His first speech in public in closing the Legislature was characteristic of the man. He said, "How so infant a colony could incur so great a debt as £20,000 and what advantages were supposed would be the effect of it, I am not at present informed, though I shall endeavour to search out and punish the delinquents, etc., etc."

It was a strange and novel experience for the members to be addressed in such brutal terms, after the genial and pleasing records of Governor Campbell and Francklin.

In regard to Cape Breton, he writes the Earl of Dartmouth that the inhabitants are in general such a lawless rabble, that it is a work of great danger to attempt to put the laws in execution. He asks for additional powers, "to timely prevent the glaring and presumptuous attacks on the prerogative of the Crown, as at the time is practiced in all the other colonies in America." In September, 1774, he writes of Michael Francklin to the Earl of Dartmouth, that he now stands on the



registry for over 100,000 acres of land containing valuable tracts of marsh land. These were lands Francklin was holding in trust with Mr. Pernette and others for the Indians. Legge now began his investigations of how the Province had been governed, since the foundation by Cornwallis. He had no order for such work, but he threw suspicion on every one who held office previous to his appointment as Governor, accused Jonathan Binney and John Newton, members of Council of retaining monies which had been voted them for fees for public duties and services rendered, and actually imprisoned Binney for three months. His crowning absurdity was his attempt to cast suspicion on the Provincial Secretary Richard Bulkeley whose long services and high character was ever above reproach. The meetings of Council were a continued scene of stormy invective. Legge was at times a maniac, and the trouble, was what to do with him, he was the representative of the King, and to lay hands on him and give him a thrashing or put him in a straight jacket would be felony. Lt.-Governor Francklin wrote the Secretary of State informing him of the Jonathan Binney matter, and the services of Binney in regulating the fishing troubles at Canso, and his quieting the Acadians, and procuring their oath of allegiance and the amount in question for which he Binney had been jailed by Legge, had been voted to him for compensation, for his great services to the King.

Francklin continues on the injustice of the claim on Binney and thinks the dignity of Government is lessened by it, and particularly is this proceeding objectionable at this time, when a great part of America is in actual rebellion.

Legge writes that five of the Council, in conjunction with Bulkeley the Secretary form a party to prevent any inquiry into the past depredations of the public funds, and "I propose that they should be immediately displaced from their seats at the Council Board." and so on. The House of Assembly turned all the audited accounts down, and in an address plainly tell Legge, "Dictatorial powers may be necessary

to quell insurrections or to rule a disaffected people, but when no such principles exist, the exertion of such powers will create them." The House passed a long address to the King and both Houses of Parliament. The address was forwarded to the Lord Chancellor, Bathurst, and presented by him on the 26th of October, 1775. It was sent independent of Governor Legge, who only heard of it, after it was dispatched to England. It speaks of the troubles with Legge, and asks for relief from many evils in law and equity, among other matters, "We humbly pray to be delivered from the oppression of practitioners in the law, and pray that in all civil actions their fees charges and prerequisites be limited to five per cent." Legge writes Bathurst, "I am informed that the House of Assembly have secretly forwarded an address to His Majesty the contents of which has not been laid before me. It contains only pretended grievances and suggestions which if alluded to will produce, the same convulsions in this as in the other provinces." To add to the troubles with Legge, a terrible and fatal outbreak of small pox took place in Halifax in July, 1775.

At this date Legge proclaimed Martial Law, in Halifax, and Francklin as Lt.-Governor and Head of the Militia in the absence of Bulkeley, had to look to the defences of Halifax, as the regular troops had been withdrawn for the defence of Boston. 1000 men were collected for the garrison of Halifax, and Francklin had his hands full in keeping the people loyal.

On 1st January 1776 Governor Legge enclosed to the Secretary of State Memorials from the inhabitants of Truro, Onslow, and Cumberland, against the enforcement of the Militia law, Legge states that the same spirit exists in all the settlements outside Halifax, and that it will require the most diligent attention to prevail upon them, and prevent their joining with the enemy in case of invasion.

Francklin found that his efforts for the defence of the town, and pacification of the people were met, by the opposi-



This Tablet is to commemorate the convening of the first general assembly of Nova Scotia which met for the despatch of business at the Court House at Halifax on October 2<sup>nd</sup> 1758 in the time of His Excellency Charles Lawrence, Esquire, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of Nova Scotia: Robert Sanderson, Speaker of the House of Assembly, and David Lloyd, Clerk of the Assembly:

**MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY**

JOSEPH GERRISH, ESQUIRE	WILLIAM FOYE, ESQUIRE.
ROBERT SANDERSON, ..	WILLIAM NESBITT, ..
HENRY NEWTON, ..	JOSEPH RUNDEL, ..
JONATHAN BINNEY, GENTLEMAN,	HENRY FERGUSON, GENTLEMAN
GEORGE SUCKLING, ..	JOHN BURBIDGE, ..
ROBERT CAMPBELL, ..	WILLIAM PANTREE, ..
JOSEPH FAIRBANKS, ..	PHILIP HAMMOND, ..
JOHN FILLIS, ..	LAMBERT FOLKERS, ..
PHILIP KNAUT, ..	WILLIAM BEST, ..
ALEXANDER KEDIE, ..	MALACHY SALTER, ..

THIS TABLET WAS ERECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF NOVA SCOTIA IN  
AUGUST, 1908.

HIS HONOUR D.C. FRASER,  
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF NOVA SCOTIA.

HON. G. H. MURRAY,  
PROVINCIAL SECRETARY



tion of Legge at every turn, and that Legge had branded him as a rebel to the Government in England. He therefore in self defence sent the following letter to the Secretary of State "The Earl of Dartmouth, 2 January, 1776."

After mentioning his having held the office of Lieut.-Governor for near ten years, having frequently presided, and held sessions of the Assembly, (the last in 1772) and having met the approbation of his king and his ministers. "This being the case, your lordship will no doubt be of opinion, I had a right to expect from Governor Legge, who now presides, that attention and confidence, which the rank I hold under the king, and my experience and knowledge of the province and of the people entitled me to, but, on the contrary, I have met with every slight and neglect, and at times it has been accompanied with rudeness; but all this I have silently and patiently hitherto put up with, and have resided in the country, that I might avoid giving offence, by opposing measures I could not prevent, and which my duty to the king forbad me to approve."

"It is with the utmost reluctance I am now obliged to inform your lordship, there is great reason to believe, and it is confidently asserted, the governor has made representations to the officers of government, that few or none of the inhabitants of this province in general, not even the officers of this government, but what are disaffected, and are inclinable to give countenance and assistance to the rebels now in arms against the Crown. If it be true that Governor Legge has made such representations, I do avow and assert that such representations are totally untrue, and without foundation, which can be made appear by a thousand instances. It is very true Governor Legge's conduct has been too oppressive, vindictive and ungracious to the people of the first property and influence, and in general to all ranks and degrees of people,—that he has lost the confidence and affection of the King's best subjects; and I am fully persuaded the number of disaffected in the province have been greatly aug-

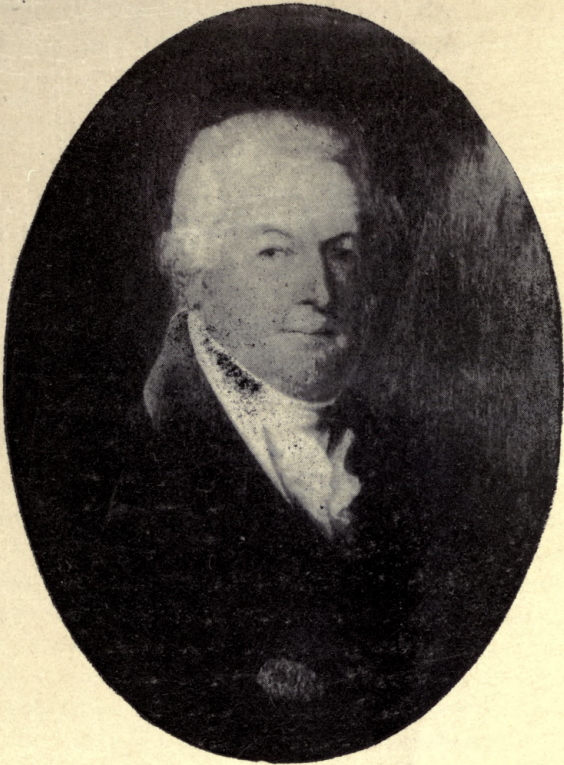
mented by his arbitrary and impolitic conduct. I came to town to pay my respects to Commodore Arbuthnot and General Massey, and to report the offer of my services at this alarming crisis, when we were threatened with an invasion, which will probably be attempted in the spring but as I have no post in the military establishments of the colony, or the *influence and weight of a peasant with the governor*, I am deprived of the power of rendering any considerable service to the King. I thought it my duty to lay so much before your lordship, in vindication of myself and others."

On the 7th January, the Canadian sailed from Halifax to England. Messrs. Binney, Tonge and several others, went passengers in her, and doubtless the representation against Mr. Legge were in Mr. Binney's charge, as he had been the most persecuted individual.

The intrigues and letters to the Earl of Dartmouth by Legge, in regard to Lieut.-Governor Francklin had their effect. He was superseded, and a nominee of Legge's, Com. Mariot Arbuthnot, R. N., was appointed Lieut.-Governor, but the ministry at last waking up to the fact that the Province was being driven into revolt, ordered Legge to England to answer charges brought against him, of oppression by the people of Halifax.

On the 12th of May, 1776 Legge sailed for England never to return, and Arbuthnot the new Lieut.-Governor assumed his duties with Francklin as *President of Council*. Why Britain lost her splendid possessions to the south of us in 1776 can be easily explained in the light of the brutal arrogance of the incompetent tyrant Legge, during his term of office in Nova Scotia. An incident in regard to his departure from Halifax, may be here mentioned as showing the irritation of the people at the time. Legge left the beach, near the present market wharf, in a launch which conveyed him to the Man of War waiting in the stream to carry him to England, on the Market Wharf and Beach were hundreds

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**HON. MICHAEL WALLACE,**  
**A leading merchant of Halifax, 1750 to 1800.**

*Loyalist*

[From portrait by R. Field in possession of John Wallace, Esq., Halifax].





of the people of the town watching the welcome event of his departure, many of them no doubt were friends of Francklin. As the boat left the beach storms of hisses and yells burst our from the assemblage. It so infuriated Legge, that he stood up in the boat, and cursed them most heartily, and the last seen of him, he was standing on the deck of the Frigate shaking his fists at the amused and delighted Haligonians.

From this time, Halifax, freed from the unpleasant presence of Legge, had a fair measure of peace. But Legge had his innings, although away from Halifax, he had sufficient interest with the Government to retain his office until 1782, with salary of £1000 Sterling.

It was a travesty on Government, but such was family influence in that age, that any kind of treatment, just or unjust, was good enough for a colony.

Francklin writing on the 4th of May, to the Secretary of State Powell, in reference to his being superseded in the office of Lt. Governor which he had held for ten years previous, and to his services to government for the last sixteen years, speaks of his numerous family. He writes, "I have felt as a tender father, and as a good subject ought to feel, who receives disgrace instead of reward for his services. As I look upon Mr. Legge's situation as a very unhappy one, I shall only say, that it is to be hoped, for the interest of the crown and for the credit of his noble relative (the Earl of Dartmouth) that he may not be permitted to preside over this colony, for his capacity, temper and disposition render him unfit for a governor; and as I wish at all times to avoid placing an additional weight on any gentlemen already greatly loaded, it was with very great reluctance, and in obedience only to the lords of trades' commands, that I complied yesterday with the summons of the complainants against governor Legge, to answer, on oath, nine interrogatories, which I did as mildly as I could do consistent with truth. '(Promises his assistance to Lieut.-Governor Arbuthnot and General Massey, with whom he is on the

very best terms.") "Some time before General Howe arrived from Boston, and finding the militia were disgusted with a late act of assembly, and that the governor was not likely to raise men for his regiment, and General Massey, pressing me to use my influence to embody men, I proposed to Mr. Legge to enroll a battalion of volunteer militia, to be ready to act under my command, separate or in conjunction with H. M. troops, in case of need. The governor approved, and sent me a commission, and between the 1st and 30th March, 384 able-bodied men were actually enrolled in the townships of Windsor, Falmouth, Horton, Cornwallis and Newport.' I Believe they now amount to 450, being more than nine-tenths of all the able-bodied men in these townships. I doubt not, of similar success in Cobequid and Cumberland, "although some few people in the latter have exhibited marks of disaffection." "I suppose 800 or 900 men would by this time have been embodied, but that I stopped my hand, the commissions for the officers not having as yet reached me." It is scarcely necessary for "me to tell you, that perhaps no other person but myself, could have effected this salutary measure, for want of that confidence in the people to government, which it is the duty of the king's servants to preserve." (Acknowledges his obligation for the promise of a compensation.) Asks for "a permanent salary and emoluments equal to £500 per annum, and that to be given in the following manner: £300 as Lieut-Governor, and £200 as superintendent of Indian affairs;" that he should reside in the County of Cumberland, and that until Mr. Arbuthnot is removed or advanced, he should receive pay as colonel of the volunteer regiment of militia from 28th February last, the date of his commission, until reinstated as Lieut.-Governor. He had been ordered by Governor Legge and the Council to proceed to Cumberland, and a captain, three subalterns, and 50 men of the King's troops, were actually embarked to attend him, when the first division of general Howe's troops arrived at Halifax. He then goes on to write of the work in Cumberland, and says, "My influence in the County of Cumberland is very considerable, from the number of my own

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**SIR GUY CARLETON—LORD DORCHESTER,  
First Governor General of Canada, 1755-1790.**

[From portrait in possession of family, copy sent to Geo Johnson,  
Grand Pré].



tenants, and a still greater number of inhabitants from the North of England, who were introduced into the colony through my means, and great part of the other settlers are under obligations to me for the very lands they occupy; and my having been a prisoner in the hands of the Indians in my younger days, and speaking French, has always given me a very considerable influence among the savages, and it is to be lamented that they have been too much neglected, ever since Mr. Legge's administration, to the great concern of the King's servants here, and the frequent uneasiness of the people.

In 1777, Francklin was appointed Superintendent of Indian affairs in the Province by the British Government, retaining his seat in the Council. Early this year he had a letter from the Secretary of State, explaining Legge's charges against him and the reasons of state that while such charges were pending it was thought advisable to supersede him, by Mr. Arbuthnot. Francklin replies that having always done his duty, he felt more sensibly his loss of position as Lieut.-Governor. He cites his services to the King, and says I was suspended when no fault was found with my conduct, and at the very time I was employed in taking every possible measure for the preservation of the colony, and the means that I have taken, has resulted in keeping the interior of the province tranquil. It may also be expedient I should represent to your Lordship, that the very active part I have taken from the beginning of the American troubles, has so far raised the resentment of the enemy, that they have come to a full determination to remove me out of their way either by a seizure of my person or by assassination. They have also disarmed and plundered my tenants, and ravaged my estates on which I depend for the subsistence of my numerous family and household, from all which your Lordship will perceive I am in a most uncomfortable situation, like a sentinel between two armies, being marked out by the rebels for destruction, and degraded by my sovereign and for no reason unless it be one to have faithfully done my duty to his Majesty and my country.

In 1778, Francklin worked vigorously to keep the Indians loyal and had really hard work to prevent them from attaching themselves to the enemy. Washington had employed emissaries distributing Wampum belts accompanied with most liberal promises of presents and of French assistance. 200 Canoes filled with Indians came down from Mirramichi and Gaspé, and massed themselves on the St. John River. After great exertions by Francklin and by General Massey (after whom Fort Massey, Halifax, was named) a treaty of peace was made at St. John River, with 700 Micmacs and Malecites. The costs of presents to them was £537 2 9 and £40. 0. 0. for the expense of table while the treaty was in progress. The chiefs and people when all was ready, took the oaths of allegiance to his Majesty in a solemn manner kneeling down and taking the prescribed oaths. Francklin's acquaintance with their language and habits, assisted greatly in confirming their minds in their peaceful intent to Britain. Governor Hughes in writing the Secretary of State in regard to this treaty and speaks of the tact, talents zeal and diligence of Hon. Mr. Francklin in whose wise conduct we owe the success of the Treaty, for the savages had actually sent in a formal declaration of war and returned the British Flag to Fort Howe, before Franklin interviewed them, but he succeeded and the chief returned the presents which they had received from General Geo. Washington and also agreed to send the 600 fighting men they had promised the latter, to fight for the British if required to do so. Francklin's success in this Treaty opened the eyes of Britain to his value.

Although during these later years, Francklin had proved his value to the Province, in keeping the Indians quiet and friendly, still the malign influence of Legge with the authorities in England prevented him from being reinstated in his former position of Lieut.-Governor of the Province. Legge who left Halifax in 1776, continued to hold the Commission of Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of Nova Scotia, the actual government being carried on in succession by three

Lieut.-Governors who were officers of the Navy and Governors of the Dock Yard, Commodore Arbuthnot, Sir Richard Hughes, and lastly Sir Andrew Snape Hammond. During these six years Legge through the influence of the Earl of Dartmouth, received the pay of £1000 per annum, as Governor of a Province from which his unjustifiable conduct had compelled the ministry to recall him. It was a case of Russian Justice and Francklin was the victim.

In August, 1781, Francklin visited England for the last time, in the vain hope that justice would be accorded him by the Government, but found that the Dartmouth clique and the Legge influence with the ministry were still powerful, and that his chances for reinstatement in the office of Lieut.-Governor were nil, and he returned to Nova Scotia, disappointed. As Superintendent of the Indians he received £500 Sterling a year. His expenditure in presents, and constant distribution of food, etc., amounted to much more than the salary, but he was rich, and had a splendid income from former business adventures, and although he maintained households at Windsor, Amherst and Halifax, his ample means enabled him to do so, without embarrassment or trouble. He was looked upon by the people of this Province as an ever personal, powerful friend and he retained the respect of all until the last. His brilliant abilities would have gained distinction, on a far more extended field, but he could adapt himself to his situation and proved it by his success in the varied situations he filled so well in Nova Scotia. By the Indian tribes he was looked upon as a sort of demi-god. That a man of such majestic presence and power should speak to them in their own language, such kind words, as he did, gave him a prestige with them all, which we to-day have no way to comprehend or to reason on. No Highland Chief had ever such unlimited powers over his clan, as these Indians voluntarily accorded him, and which we believe he never in any way abused. The fact of his continuous guardianship of their interests, the many presents he was ever making them,

and the high position he occupied, with the very highest of his own countrymen, made him a superior being in their eyes, to be respected and venerated. He had hope till the coming of Parr that he would be re-instated as Lieut.-Governor but with Parr's appearance he lost his spirits and died within a month after the arrival of Parr to succeed Arbuthnot. His end was almost tragic in its suddenness. On the 8th of November, 1782, while arranging with several of the Indian chiefs, about winter supplies of blankets and clothing, in his office on Granville St., just north of the Army and Navy Depot; he suddenly and without a moment's warning expired in the 62nd year of his age, deeply regretted by every citizen of Halifax. He was given a grand public funeral which took place on the 11th of November, 1782, and was buried in St. Paul's in a vault at the left of the altar. Over 200 indians followed his coffin to the church, chanting the death song of the Micmacs. His funeral and the chanting of the Indians was long remembered in Halifax, and among the stories of the olden time in our city, there was no description more vivid or interesting than the weird wail of the savages, as they at his burial mourned their friend and protector. Francklin left a large family and much wealth. He had 5 sons and 5 daughters. His eldest son was James Bonteneau Francklin who occupied the position of Clerk to the House of Assembly for 42 years. James B. Francklin had but one daughter, who became the wife of Rev. R. F. Uniacke, Rector of St. George's, the Round Church of this city, a very talented lady, who for many years enjoyed the noble reputation generally assigned her by the parishioners of St. George's of writing all her husband's best sermons. She was a worthy descendant of her grandfather, charitable and kind in her demeanour, with a dignity characteristic of her family.

Another son of Gov. Francklin was *George Sackville Germain* who studied law at Quebec and had a large practice in that city. He died 8th October, 1799 at Windsor while on a visit to friends. His health having become impaired by reason of his attention and devotion to his profession.



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**HON. ALEXANDER BRYMER,**

**A leading merchant of Halifax from 1755 to 1780.**

[Copied from portrait in possession of George Mitchell, Sr., Halifax, 1810].



Another son Michael Nicholson went to India but subsequently entered business with relatives in London, and died there in 1830, leaving several descendants.

In closing this memoir of one who for so many years, occupied so leading a position in our Province, as Michael Francklin did over a century ago, we have to deplore the apparent want of appreciation by our British rulers, of so useful and distinguished a man. Francklin served his country well, and received but slender recognition of his well tried loyalty, and prudent foresight in emergencies, where his talents for grappling with great matters, shone so conspicuously as they did during that disturbed period, when the colonies to the south of us, were convulsed with riot, rebellion and revolution, a most tremendous crisis in the affairs of this continent when a strong character like Francklin's was required at the helm of Government to direct and encourage the people of this Province, and to confirm them in their loyalty and allegiance to the Crown—which had protected their liberties, and fostered their progress and existence.

His fine record in blazing prosperity as well as in dire disappointment. His calm bearing in the face of undeserved censure. His devotion to the best interests of the people and his unswerving loyalty to his country, deserved a better ending to so patriotic and useful a career. But the verdict of *general life* is ever the same and

“It seems like stories from the land of spirits, if any man “attain that which he merits, or any merit that, which he “attains.”

Francklin was a man of great personal magnetism combined with courage, integrity, energy and independence. His were the qualities which were necessary to a leader, talents rare indeed when wanted. His splendid example, and many virtues were strongly impressed on his own, and possibly, the immediately succeeding generation of the people

of this Province, but today his name belongs to the almost forgotten past, and it comes well within the scope of the privilege of our Historical Society to summon from the shades of a fast darkening oblivion—even for a brief hour, a character so noble, and so worthy of remembrance by Nova Scotians, as that of

MICHAEL FRANCKLIN.

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**DR. GEORGE JOHNSON.**

[p. 41].



## THE TRENT AFFAIR.

By **GEORGE JOHNSON, D. C. L., Dominion Statistician,  
Grand Pre, N. S.**

(Read before the N. S. Historical Society, 2nd December, 1910.)

What was the Trent Affair? About eleven of the States in the Union called the United States of North America got an idea into their heads that the election of Abraham Lincoln as President in 1860 meant the abolition of Slavery. And a long time before that election Slavery had been adopted by those states generally called the Southern States as in the opinion of these people, an institution necessary for the development of the particular crops of cotton and tobacco upon which chiefly they depended for a living. They felt so strongly about it that they prepared for a separation from the other states. The other states did not believe in letting their "wayward sisters go in peace." The Southern States, though they numbered but 8,750,000 inhabitants—over three million three hundred thousand of whom were negro slaves—Against twenty two millions in the Northern States—determined upon secession, South Carolina leading the way.

The war between the two groups of States followed. It was called a civil war, but it was not any more humanely carried on than other wars. There was just the same effort made on both sides to shoot each other, to starve each other and to confine each other in filthy prisons as if the participants had never been near friends and neighbours, borrowing each other's pans and kettles (so to speak) for three quarters of a century. General Sherman, who had large experience of war, in this very war declared as his definition that "war is hell." And the General's definition is among the few phrases which are commonly quoted as pithily in a very vigorous way expressing just what the people think.

The first open act of warfare was the capture of Fort Sumter near Charlestown, South Carolina. This was a United States fortress and the capture was made by the Confederates—as the Southern States called themselves to distinguish the form of government they had chosen from that of the Northern States. The capture took place on April 14th, 1861, just a little more than a month after Lincoln had been inaugurated President.

Then came the same kind of preparation on both sides as was a few years ago seen going on, when the United States gave notice to Spain to give up Cuba and other of her unruly possessions. Among other movements made by the Mother States, or Unionists as they preferred to name themselves, was the blockading of the Southern or Secessionist ports, so that no supplies of food, ammunition, medicines, etc., could be carried in vessels,—and no cotton and tobacco taken out. “Starve them by cutting off all water communication and pound secession out of them by land” was the plan advocated and adopted.

Both the Union government and the Confederate Government sought help from the several Governments of Europe. They sent prominent persons to England and to the continental Countries to enlist their sympathies and secure aid, money and ammunitions.

Ships of war like the famous “290” (the *Alabama* which did great damage to Northern shipping) were needed by the South. The Confederates wanted other nations to recognize them as belligerents. They did not want intervention. The Northern Government and people wanted to prevent the South obtaining recognition.

Men like Maury the great student of ocean storms and oceanic currents—were sent by the Government of the South to England to influence public opinion in favour of the Southern States, while Henry Ward Beecher took the platform and Thurlow Weed and others, the newspapers in advocacy of the



claims of the North to the sympathy of the slave-hating masses of England. The responses from the Governments of Europe were almost all pitched in the same key. Prussia threw cold water upon the aspirations of the Southern States, by declaring that it would be the last to recognize any Government of the disaffected States of the American Union. Austria declared that she "would not recognize *de facto* Governments anywhere." Spain, however she might in view of more recent events now be disposed to resent the treatment received—then came to the help of the Northern States by declaring she would have nothing to do with the rebel party in the United States in any sense." Great Britain said she was in no hurry to recognize the secession as final, but thought the matter not ripe for decision one way or the other.

The truth of the matter was that Great Britain had more intimate trade relations with the Northern States than had any other country. She also had closer commercial ties with the Southern States, than had any other country.

The exports of the United States in 1860 had a value of 316 millions of dollars (not including gold and silver coin and bullion) and of this amount 206 millions were cotton and tobacco from the south, of which 140 millions went to the United Kingdom—practically the whole import of these articles by the Kingdom.

You see then that it was from the Southern States that the cotton operatives of England drew their daily bread. Without the continuous uninterrupted supply of cotton from the Southern plantations famine in Lancashire was inevitable. Self preservation—the first law of nature—was a strong argument in favour of England's sympathy with the South. Then, too, it was urged in England that early recognition of the Confederate States by both Great Britain and France would cause the war party in the North to pause, before plunging the Country into a sad struggle, the results of which would be a tremendous loss of life, a great increase of debt, and an immense

drain of men from the productive force of the Republic—to say nothing of the enormous destruction of property. All of these results actually following in due course;—the public debt increasing from under 60 millions to 2800 millions and the number of men withdrawn from the productive forces and put among the destructive, being equal to 2,300,000 men for three years worth nothing but to shoot and be shot.

Further it was urged that if Great Britain acknowledged the state of blockade, which the Northern States had proclaimed the seaports of the Southern States to be under, she must proclaim neutrality. If she refused to proclaim neutrality, she must refuse to acknowledge the blockade, and must insist upon the right of her subjects to trade with the ports of the South under Treaty and other arrangements. In addition to these arguments it was urged that in many of the Southern Ports there was a large amount of British property (over a million pounds sterling in value) stored in ships ready to sail. To delay recognition was to expose this property to destruction, and those who were waiting for it, to hunger.

Warm partizans of the Northern States as well as the Mercantile community in Great Britain strenuously urged the British Government to recognize or to repudiate the blockade, to accept or respect the character of a neutral power. The British Government had “to do something and that right off.” A great mercantile power like Great Britain, with all the complexities of a widely ramifying commerce has to act promptly on the same principle as that embodied in the old proverb “He gives twice who gives quickly.” Not long ago the United States were in a state of conflict with Spain over Cuba. After waiting for three years the United States Congress passed a resolution (practically) of recognition of the Cuban insurgents. This delay resulted in the deaths of 250,000 persons. It put in jeopardy the lives of 200,000 *reconcentrados* who were in danger of starvation. It impoverished Spain and caused an immense expenditure of treasure. No one can doubt, looking back, that if the United States

had promptly recognized a state of belligerency at an early stage in the game all this loss of life—all the intense suffering—all the destruction of property would have been avoided.

Urged by these motives Great Britain proclaimed neutrality within a month after Fort Sumter had been captured by the Southern States. This recognition very much disgusted the North, whose people saw, or believed they saw, in this act undisguised hostility to them. In fact they were so heated that they could not see that there was any other side to the question but their own. They had been so accustomed to get pretty much all they wanted from Great Britain, that it was a sort of revelation to them, when they found the British Government thinking of the disastrous effect the civil war would have upon millions of persons in England. In the Cuban war the people of the United States hesitated to throw down the gauntlet of war before Spain and one of their reasons was the effect it would have upon a million of starving Cubans who lived by reason of the beneficence of outsiders. How much stronger was Britain's reason for taking such action as would most tend to prevent war between the two sections of the United States when the ones in imminent danger of starvation were her own sons and daughters.

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After the Queen's neutrality proclamation, the blockade of the Southern States Ports necessarily became more than the paper blockade it had been.

Still there were always adventurous men willing to run the blockade, for the sake of the money there was in the business. Into Halifax came vessels of a peculiar type called blockade runners. Their owners bought everything they could lay their hand on. I have seen a man go into a large wholesale Dry-goods store in Halifax and ask the proprietor in the most matter of fact way what he would take for his whole establishment—bar, of course the young men and women—*spot cash* and the purchase would be made in less time than it takes a young woman to select the feathers for her Easter Sunday

hat. Quinine for the fever stricken boys lying in camps by the rivers of Dixie Land was bought up at prices that would be considered fancy to-day—ten times the price now ruling.—and bought up by the 1000 ounce lot if such a quantity could be obtained in Halifax.

Everything was needed and consequently everything in sight was bought. The town was filled with Southern agents. There was gold *galore* and money to burn. Mine host Hesslein of the Halifax Hotel could hardly buy champagne fast enough for the Southerners, with old-fashioned notions of hospitality and with the official classes and the military and navy to win over, put no restraint upon their lavishness. They scattered money profusely. One of the three or four occasions that I have held a million dollars in my hand was when a Southern Agent, temporarily in hiding, entrusted notes of the Confederacy to that amount to my care.

These happenings all tended to create great dissatisfaction with Great Britain, in the Northern States. Yet, as already said, Great Britain had a profound desire to do what was right to both South and North, and if the inclination was towards the South it was quite natural. The South was the under dog in the fight. The North had quite four men to the South's one. Moreover the British Government had received information that Mr. Seward as early as November 1860 had entertained thoughts of finding reasons for having a fling at Great Britain to divert the minds of the people North and South and thus prevent the rupture that was imminent. Lord John Russell, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Feb. 1861 had felt obliged to let Mr. Seward understand that *he was* aware of his projects—probably referring to a possible alliance between Russia and the Northern States which, later on, had countenance given to it by the long continued presence of Russian Men of War in United States Ports, nobody knew why and most only suspected why, when Mr. Seward recouped the Russian expenditure by turning into the Russian exchequer over seven million dollars as the price paid Russia for Alaska.

Lord John Russell wrote to Lord Lyons, then British Minister at Washington, for Mr. Seward to "mark, learn and inwardly digest" that in case Mr. Lincoln, acting under bad advice should endeavour to provide excitement for the public mind by raising questions with Great Britain, Her Majesty's Government felt no hesitation as to the policy they would pursue. They would in the first place be very forbearing. They would show by their acts how highly they valued the relations of peace and amity with the United States. But they would take care to let the Government which multiplied provocation and sought quarrels know that their forbearance sprung from the consciousness of strength and not from the timidity of weakness. They desired to warn a Government which was making political capital out of blustering demonstrations that our patience might be tried too far."

The hint was understood and Seward under pressure from the great President, changed his tactics. All the more discreditable because only a couple of months before the people and the Government of the United States had received the Prince of Wales (the late King Edward) with a cordiality and warmth that presaged, so many fondly hoped, the near approach of the time when the two branches of the English-Speaking people, all differences being brushed aside, would stand together, in all candor and honesty for the development of a christian civilization.

However much Mr. Seward changed his plans in consequence of the very plain intimation that Great Britain had knowledge of them, he still adhered to his purpose of firing the Northern heart against Great Britain and of directing that heart so fired against the South. In October 1861 he sent a circular letter to the governors of the States of the North bordering on the ocean and on the great Lakes, calling on them to take action to provide for the fortification of the sea and lake coasts. This was in effect to suggest that Great Britain, in his opinion, entertained an intention to invade the North by way of these provinces. The effect was not what he intended.

He thought to brow-beat Canada but Canadians at once expressed the belief that such a menace as fortification along the lake shore was a quarrel-breeder. Public sentiment which had been divided or predominating in favour of the North began to change all over the B. N. A. provinces. Mr. Seward had mistaken the spirit of the people as indeed almost all the leading public men of the United States before and since his time, have done.

This act was followed by the **Trent Affair**, which became known in Canada on the 18th Nov. 1861. A dispatch being published in the papers, stating that the steamer *San Jacinto*, a United States war vessel, had arrived at Fortress Munroe having on board Messrs. Mason and Slidell, Ambassadors from the Confederate States to England and France, who had been forcibly taken from the British Mail Steamer the *Trent* in the channel of the Bahamas."

I remember very well the day the news reached Halifax. I had been in the habit of getting my midday lunch in Stewart's restaurant on Sackville Street and of course with others who did the same had generally indulged in verbal fightings over the questions of the day. We were fairly divided in opinion about the North and South, the preponderance of sentiment being at first decidedly pro-Northern. One thing after another had given those of us who sided with the South the best of the argument. We made the most of the threatened fortifying of the great lakes, but still our opponents fairly enough held their ground on the general question. When however, word came over the wires that the North had fired a couple of shots across the bow of a British steamer; that Wilkes had boarded her and taken by force Mason and Slidell from under our flag, indignation knew no bounds. We all swung round like a gate. The North had no apologist excepting Alec. Ritchie, the Editor of the Sun.

In those days there was no cable communication, so we could not tell what the sentiment would be in England where the news could not possibly arrive much before the end of the month

creation of the latter in the same year, 1838, appointed Attorney-General of the Province in 1841, resigned his seat in Council and was elected to the Assembly for the County of Annapolis in 1843, led the Government from 1843 to 1847 when his Government was defeated, led the opposition from 1847 to 1857, when he again became leader of the Government, defeated in 1860, again came into power in 1863. He was appointed equity Judge in 1864 and Lieut.-Governor of the Province in 1873, but died the same year in England before assuming the duties of his high office.

This Province was distinguished in the early part of the last century in possessing a number of public men, eminent in their respective professions, but especially in that of politics, and justly celebrated both here and in England; many of whom would have shed lustre upon their age and adorned public life in any other English speaking Country. I may mention a few; Richard John Uniacke, S. G. W. Archibald, W. B. Bliss, Alexander Stewart, Jas. W. Johnston, Joseph Howe, J. C. Haliburton, Beamish Murdoch, O'Connor Doyle, J. B. Uniacke, Charles R. Fairbanks, besides others of somewhat later date whose memories are justly had in esteem by every patriotic lover of this their country. It is not altogether fair to institute comparisons between them. These were many sided men and some were distinguished in one way and some in another. I am concerned at the present time with Mr. Johnston only, whom, viewed from many different points, I regard as one of the greatest among them.

It is quite unnecessary for me in this short paper to refer at any length to any of these distinguished men, except to him who is the subject of this paper, but it will be impossible for me to consider Mr. Johnston's career, especially that part of it relating to his political activity, to which I shall presently come, without perhaps frequent reference to another, the greatest of that great circle, the Honorable Joseph Howe.

Mr. Howe filled so great a space in the History of those times, that I consider, politically speaking, no adequate

justice can be done to any of these his contemporaries, without taking some account of him, who was so closely associated with them and who had been often and perhaps justly called the "Father of Responsible Government."

Neither of these two men knew anything of University life, they were to a certain extent, I mean in the higher walks of learning, self educated. They were great readers and profound students, both of them. Mr. Howe's reading had been more extensive and varied than that of Mr. Johnston, many of whose earlier years had been fully occupied with the preparatory work for the profession of the law. Mr. Howe had studied first in the Printer's Office, from which School many an eminent man besides him has graduated. Both were men of unflagging industry, loyal to the traditions of their Country, good public speakers, ambitious and strong willed.

It would indeed be unusual if these two strong men did not differ in other respects. Mr. Howe was of a poetic temperament, emotional, a literary man and a lover of literature, a student of books as well as a student of men, loving men and their haunts and loved by them, with a keen sense of humor, abundance of wit and fun, and a gift for sarcasm, with religious sensibilities not very strongly developed. He was called the Tribune of the people, and rightly so.

Mr. Johnston's mind was judicial, with a strong sense of moral responsibility, with abundance of contempt for shams and tricks and subterfuge, and not over handy perhaps in the art of managing men politically. A man of very high ideals, honorable instincts and unbending integrity—a gentleman by birth and training—Affectionate by nature, a good lover and perhaps a good hater, but a man who did not know much of the people and speaking generally was not much known by them, in the way I mean of personal contact. He was called a Tory by men who did not know him. He looked beyond the horizon of the present and in all matters took a broad and comprehensive view of whatever subject was under consideration.



In the meantime our neighbors were making great demonstrations. In New York the event caused great rejoicing, though from some cause the U. S. Government ordered Wilkes when he arrived in New York harbour to proceed to Boston. There Wilkes was banqueted on the 23rd Nov. and speeches commending Wilkes were made by Governor Andrews, Chief Justice Bigelow, Mayor Wrightman and others. The New York Journal of Commerce said it was purely an act of grace that Wilkes allowed the Trent to proceed on her way. The New York Herald's Washington despatch said that the President and his Cabinet were quite elated over the arrest of Mason and Slidell. The Boston Post boasted "we are still able to assert ourselves on the high seas and that, too, on the decks of English vessels." The N. Y. Historical Society elected Wilkes by acclamation an honorary member. Seward was jubilant over the capture. Wilkes, the Secretary of the Navy, wrote, "your conduct in seizing those public enemies was marked by intelligence, ability, decision and firmness and has the emphatic approval of the Department." Congress passed, by unanimous consent, its thanks for "brave, adroit and patriotic conduct."

Resolutions were also passed, that Messrs. Mason and Slidell should be confined in a felon's prison and treated as prisoners convicted of infamous crimes.

One New York paper proposed in the exuberance of its joy that "another 4th of July should be consecrated to Wilkes." Poetry by the mile was written laudatory of Wilkes.

Abraham Lincoln almost alone—deemed the act one to be repudiated. Mr. Blair the Post-master General, went further and declared that Wilkes should be ordered to take a U. S. man of war with Slidell and Mason on board, proceed to England and deliver them over to the British Government. But the few who kept their heads were lost among the many voices lifted up in praise of the hero of the hour.

A few days after the news reached Halifax the Lieutenant-Governor the Earl of Mulgrave spoke to me and said he would like to learn something of the sentiment of the people of the States. I went at once to Portland, where I found some gentlemen waiting for me by whom I was introduced to a very considerable number of persons. One of these accompanied me to Boston where I met a large number. From there I went to Springfield where an open air conversation had been hastily provided. Thence on to New York. In all these cities I was surprised to find that there was a strong counter-current of thought. I found staunch friends of Great Britain. "No war with England" was the sentiment. In Springfield I heard quoted a score of times a statement attributed to Lincoln. He had, I learned, said to a group of men who were discussing the situation: "Boys I reckon we will give them up. It is what we fought for in 1812 and 1813, and we'll drink our own tea, won't we."

To be sure the men and women I met several thousands of them—would stand by their country if war was declared, but in the meantime and there were thousands of them, men of influence, too—they would strain every nerve to win against the war-men.

By this time I had got a clear idea of the Trent Affair, a connected narrative.

Jefferson Davis and his Cabinet had resolved upon sending Mason and Slidell to England and to France. They caused it to be published far and wide that these two men had been appointed and would sail from Charleston at a certain date on a vessels whose name was given. The vessel sailed on the advertised day *without the envoys* to draw off any Federal Cruisers that might be watching outside. A Couple of nights after a heavy rainstorm offered a good chance, and the Commissioners embarked on another vessel, *Theodores*, which ran the blockade successfully and arrived at the British port of Nassau, escaping the cruisers that were sent after it. Thence they went

to Cardenas in Cuba and thence overland to Havana. The United States war-steamer San Jacinto had arrived at St. Thomas about a month before and on information her Captain Wilkes, with the captains of two other U. S. war vessels resolved to start off in search of the Confederate war steamer the Sumter. After cruising around for ten days Capt. Wilkes went to Cienfuegos and learned from the newspapers that Mason and Slidell were in Havana. To that port he at once made his way and on his arrival found that Mason and Sildell were still waiting for the British Mail Packet the Trent which carried his Majesty's Mails between Havana and St. Thomas. Wilkes immediately steamed for Key West to get another U. S. war steamer, but failing to find her he resolved to go alone and communicated his design to intercept the Trent to his Lieut., Fairfax, who protested strongly against the project, and advised consultation with Judge Marvin—an authority on International law. Wilkes would take council with no one and on the 5th of November he left Key West and took position in the Bahama Channel at a point where the channel contracted to less than 20 miles, keeping his vessel in mid-channel. After spending the night there he saw about mid-day on the 8th of November a vessel approaching, when near enough he fired a shot across the bows of the approaching vessel and hoisted the U. S. flag. The Trent (for it was she) hoisted the British flag and kept on at full steam. A shell was then fired which exploded a short distance from the Trent, whereupon the Trent shut off steam. Capt. Wilkes then hailed her Captain and said he proposed to send a boat to him. Capt. Moir of the Trent naturally much annoyed called out "what do you mean by such acts?" No answer was returned. When Lieut. Fairfax reached the "Trent" he boarded her alone and was taken to the quarter deck where Capt. Moir received him courteously but refused to allow him to examine the passengers' list. Lieut. Fairfax said that Capt. Wilkes had information that Messrs. Slidell and Mason were on board and that he intended to find out if they were before allowing the Trent to go on. Mr. Slidell called out "I am Mr. Slidell."

Mr. Mason joined his fellow Commissioner and on being asked pointed out their secretaries.

Fairfax then informed Capt. Moir that he had orders from Capt. Wilkes to arrest the four men and send them on board the San Jacinto. Some uproar arising among the passengers of whom there were four score or more the marines in the San Jacinto's boat swarmed up the sides of the Trent. Capt. Moir remonstrated at this further indignity, and the marines obeyed the order to return to the boat.

Commander Williams of the Royal Navy (retired) in charge of her Majesty's mails in the meanwhile prepared and entered a formal protest as follows:

"On this ship I am the representative of Her Majesty's Government, and call upon the officers of the ship and upon the passengers generally to mark my words when in the name of the British Government and in distinct language I denounce this as an illegal act. An act in the violation of international law, an act of wanton piracy which had we the means of defence you would not dare to attempt."

Mrs. Sildell then stepped forward and expressed her surprise at Capt. Wilkes thus playing the Confederate States game by doing something which would assuredly arouse England. Messrs Slidell and Mason retired to their cabins and refused to go unless compelled by force. The armed marines were called up and the two commissioners with their secretaries were removed from the "Trent" not however, before Miss Slidell had branded Fairfax to his face as "an infamous fellow," he having been her father's guest not ten days before at Havana. Some accounts say she gave him a slap in the face. The ladies declined to be transferred to the San Jacinto. Capt. Wilkes had ordered Lieut Fairfax to take possession of the Trent as a prize. This order, however, the Lieut. did not carry out, but went to the San Jacinto and urged against it reasons strong enough to induce Wilkes to abandon his original intention. The Captain of the "Trent" was then informed that he was free to proceed on his voyage.

The British Admiralty subsequently blamed Capt. Moir for not throwing the *Trent* on the hands of Capt. Wilkes.

(So much for the story of the Trent affair).

On my return to Halifax I found the feeling as strong as ever.

On December 13th the newspapers published the following despatch:

New York. Advices by the Steamer Hansa state that the arrest of Messrs. Mason and Slidell has caused intense excitement in England. Merchants of Liverpool passed resolutions denouncing the act and calling upon the Government to maintain the dignity of the British flag. Consols declined a half."

Notwithstanding this evidence of excitement, Mr. Valandigham on the 16th of November moved a resolution in Congress praising Wilkes, referring to the secretary of the Navy's approval of Wilkes' act and resolving "as the sense of the house that it is the duty of the President to now firmly maintain the stand thus taken, approving and adopting the act of Capt. Wilkes in spite of any demand or menace of the British Government; and this House pledges its full support to him in upholding the honor and vindicating the courage of the government and the people of the United States." The House however, by a vote of 109 to 16 referred the resolutions to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

On the 29th November the British Cabinet met to consider a note Lord Palmerston had prepared for the Queen. Prince Albert prepared another, and this corrected by the Queen was sent to the Cabinet together with Lord Palmerston's draft. These were considered and Earl Russell on November 30th prepared despatches for transmission to Lord Lyons, then Her Majesty's Minister at Washington. The purpose of these despatches was that the United States

Government should propose to the British Government to liberate the four gentlemen and deliver them up to Lord Lyons with a suitable apology, that if Mr. Seward should ask for delay, such request (not to exceed seven days) was to be granted.

And that if at the end of that time, no answer was given Lord Lyons was to leave Washington and repair immediately to London. The general drift of Earl Russell's ultimatum became known to Canada on December 16th. The Montreal Gazette of December 17, said:

"Our columns today contain news which is probably the most important that was ever laid before the people of Canada. The arrival of the Europa at Halifax and of the City of Washington at Cape Race, brings news which places it beyond all doubt that Her Majesty's Government have felt it to be their duty, to make a peremptory demand, for the restoration to the protection of the British flag of Messrs. Mason and Sli-dell. The news produced a tremendous sensation in the streets of Montreal. Business was virtually suspended. No one talked of aught but war and warlike preparations. The extras and evening papers sold like wildfire. There was but one spirit animating everyone. All were ready and willing to arm and do their duty by the old flag. There seemed in fact a cheerfulness produced in men's minds, that doubt and suspense were at last over; that it was at last evident, that Britain meant to defend her honor, and the day of mere talk and wrangling had passed; that we might hear less of the unsufferable scolding and snarling, which has of late assailed our ears, and set to work in earnest. All are happier to see the honor of the flag maintained than to reap the profits of a dishonorable peace". On the 18th the Queen's Messenger arrived at Washington and reported to Lord Lyons.

The news from Halifax had stirred the Northern States, to a ferment, as great as the excitement the people of Britain were experiencing. The press fumed as usual and threatened all sorts of dire calamities; Canada was to be invaded right

off. Privateers were to sweep the ships of Great Britain off the high seas. Almost every editor had a plan of Campaign ready to publish. In the Southern States, the Governor of Virginia voiced the general feeling when he said that his daily prayer was that Lincoln's back-bone might not give way.

On the next day (19) Lord Lyons presented his despatches with his customary courteousness.

A Cabinet meeting was called for the 24th and actually met on the 25th, and the determination to surrender Mason and Slidell and their secretaries was reached on the 26th. Mr. Seward's letter to Lord Lyons making known to him the decision was sent without delay. In it Mr. Seward stated that "the capture was made without direction or fore-knowledge of the Washington Government," and further that "the four persons in question are now held in Military Custody at Fort Warren in the State of Mass. They will be cheerfully liberated. Your Lordship will please indicate a time and place for receiving them."

On December 27th, Lord Lyons acknowledged receipt and after conferring with Mr. Seward, directed the English Sloop of War *Rinaldo* to proceed to Provincetown, a small out of the way seaport in Mass., some miles distant from Boston, to receive the prisoners without unusual parade or show. The latter were conveyed from Fort Warren by the United States authorities and put on board the *Rinaldo* which at once proceeded to St. Thomas to which place they were going when taken off the Trent by Capt. Wilkes.

These movements of course were not known in England till some time after they had taken place. Contemporaneously with the sending of Lord Russell's despatch of November 30, preparations on a large scale were made by the British Government. I took all the more interest in the movements going on from the fact that my brother-in-law Mr. George R. Anderson had volunteered as Queen's Messenger to convey despatches from the Military authorities in Halifax to General

Williams, the Hero of Kars, then in Quebec, holding conference with the Canadian Government on subjects connected with the defence of the Canadas. We had a lively time getting Mr. Anderson ready for his long sled journey across New Brunswick and Quebec to Trois Pistoles. By the time he was ready, he was muffled up as a miner would be in preparation for the journey from the Pacific Ocean to the Klondike region.

In these circumstances, we were naturally on the *qui vive* for the latest intelligence from the States and from England about the progress of events.

Failing cable communication the feverish anxiety for intelligence from Great Britain led to the plan of intercepting the ocean steamers at Cape Race, getting the news and cabling it from Newfoundland to Cape Breton, a cable having been laid between the two islands half a dozen years before by Mr. Gisborne, really the father of Atlantic Ocean cable connection as Sir Sandford Fleming is of Pacific Ocean Cables.

Crowds were all the time around the telegraph office in Halifax waiting for word from Cape Race. We had not to wait very long before the bulletin boards announced that the Arago had been intercepted at Cape Race and had given the information that the *Melbourne* sailed from Woolwich on the 6th of December with troops, arms and ammunition. Then came word that the *Australian* sailed on the 12th, the *Niagara* on the 14th and the *Hero* and *Persia* on the 15th each of the latter two with 1100 men, 6000 stand of arms, etc.

The *Persia* arrived at Bic on the 26th and landed 600 men that night. These started at once for Quebec in *Carioles* most willingly furnished by the Country people. The remainder were landed during the next day. Commodore Judkins starting off as soon as the last boat-load of soldiers left the vessel's side, fearing from the cold weather that had set in, that the least delay would cause his vessel to be caught in the ice. She arrived in due course in Halifax when the Commodore was quite a hero and properly so.



The *Australian* arrived in Halifax on the day after Christmas and proceeded to St. John, New Brunswick. Then came the *Niagara* and part of her troops were transferred to another steamer and carried round to St. John. Other troops were taken to St. Andrews. The troops taken to St. John were carried by rail to Moncton and thence by sleds to Quebec. Those taken to St. Andrews were carried by rail to Canterbury and thence by sleds to Woodstock, N. B. About 5000 troops were in Halifax in the first week of January where the Military displays were of daily occurrence. I remember well the day the Grenadier guards marched through the city in all their glory. The 62nd Regt. had a taste of a real Canadian snow storm on their journey from St. Andrews to Woodstock.

In the meantime British men of war were hurrying to Bermuda, Nassau, Jamaica and other ports in the West Indies. It was a grand display. The sudden emergency; the rapid response of the British Government; the celerity with which the forces were hurled across the Atlantic, and carried by water and by land into the interior of Canada; the systematic business-like way in which everything was done the heartiness with which the people of Canada and of the Maritime provinces responded to the call of the Motherland, the country people placing their sleds and horses *without charge* at the disposal of the Military authorities; the earnestness with which the Bishops and clergy of all denominations called upon their flocks to give all necessary aid—the unanimity of sentiment which characterized all classes and all nationalities—all these things created a lasting impression on all minds both in the Provinces, the Motherland and in the United States.

We were proud enough when word came that Messrs Howe and Tilley—who were in London at the time endeavouring to create interest in the proposed I. C. R.—had splendidly voiced our sentiments at some of the earliest public meetings held in England.

But the last days of the year—that Christmas week of 1861—49 years ago—were gloomy ones to many. The Wash-

ington Cabinet was discussing the question whether to give up Mason and Slidell and the air was full of rumours. November they were going to give them up. Half an hour after, they had fully resolved to hold them. The 25th of December came. There were only two days of the seven left. Those who were eager for war were jubilant over their Christmas dinner. Those who knew what war meant and who felt what war between the Northern States and England would result in in desolation of homes and destruction of property in all parts of Canada, had no task for savoury turkey and good mince meat.

Then on the 26th the papers of British America were in deep mourning and we knew that Prince Albert was dead; that our Queen had added to her grief, over the estrangement of the people of the United States, the more poignant and personal grief of the bereaved wife. The death took place on the 14th and the burial on the 23rd. And our sympathies aroused by the knowledge of what happened in those eventful days to bring sorrow to our Queen, acted upon minds anxious about the decision that must soon be given at Washington, The result was, as may be imagined, that the closing days of the year were days long to be remembered.

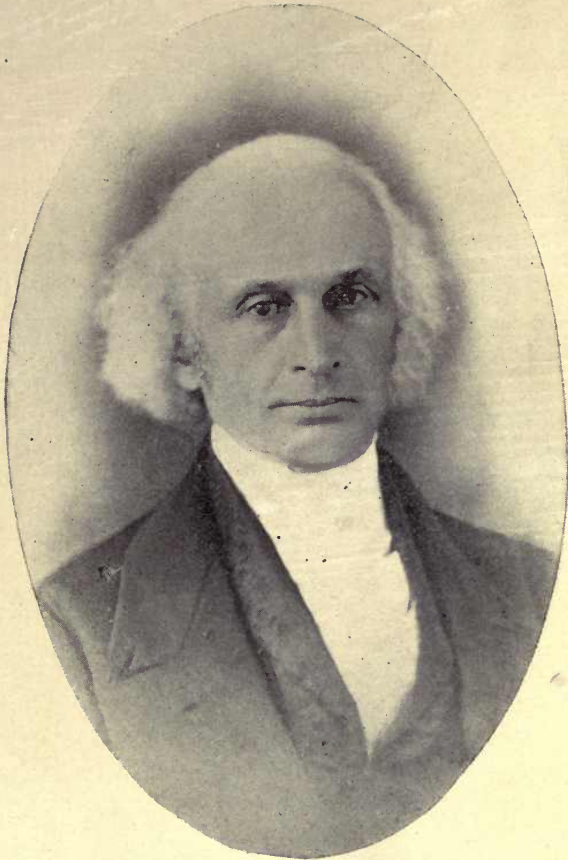
It took the people of the United States a long time to overcome their chagrin, but time has worked wonders. Among my papers referring to the Trent Affair, I find an extract from an old New York Times in which is presented an elaborate argument to show from the case of one Laurent despatched during the American revolution to represent the revolted colonies at the Hague, but taken from an American vessel on which he sailed, by a British frigate—that Wilkes was perfectly justified in doing as he did.

Not long ago I read an editorial in the New York Times (the same paper) in which it was stated; "It is now held that his (Wilkes) Act was wholly without warrant."

Wilkes has long ago passed into oblivion. The turmoil he raised seems at this distance of time like the memory of a horrible night mare. And we all hope that a new order of things has come and that the two countries will be no more opposed but will march all one way striving together to give to all countries a true Christmas, one whose motto is the Angel's message, Peace on Earth.

The first part of the book is devoted to a general  
 introduction to the subject of the history of the  
 world, and to a description of the various  
 countries and peoples which have inhabited  
 it from the beginning of time to the present  
 day. The second part of the book is devoted  
 to a description of the various religions and  
 philosophies which have been taught in the  
 world, and to a description of the various  
 systems of government which have been  
 established in different parts of the world.

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HON. JAMES WILLIAM JOHNSTON.



## JAMES WILLIAM JOHNSTON, FIRST PREMIER OF NOVA SCOTIA UNDER RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

By JOHN Y. PAYZANT, M. A., Halifax, N. S.

(Read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 2nd Feb. 1912).

The number of those in this City and Province who remember the venerable figure of James W. Johnston, as he was wont to go in and out amongst us, who can recall some of his political contests or some of his great forensic addresses, and who knew him at the Bar, on the Bench, in his own church circles or in the quiet of that simple social life he loved so well, is rapidly lessening, and the chances are that each departing contemporary, will carry away with him into the land of forgetfulness some unrecorded fact or historical matter, which if preserved would be highly helpful perhaps to a future generation, in arriving at a correct estimate of the character of him who has gone. This is my only excuse for asking your attention to some points of importance in Mr. Johnston's life. We have no collection of his speeches and writings, no biography, no adequate memorial of him, who half a century or more ago was very much in the public eye, and whose master mind contributed so much in moulding the institutions and stimulating the public character of this Province. We have not been doing his memory even tardy justice. Our Provincial Rulers have hung his portrait in the other Chamber, along with that of his great contemporary and political rival, Joseph Howe. That is good, but it is not enough, we are in danger of forgetting him.

The two volumes we possess of the speeches and letters of Mr. Howe, have been an invaluable help not only in perpetuating his memory, but by handing down to us inspiring records and a noble example, to this and other generations. Let our school books tell of James W. Johnston as well as of

Joseph Howe. Collect his speeches, his letters and state papers. While this Society is worthily perpetuating the memory of events and men by historical inscriptions in different parts of the City, do not forget Johnston. Mr. Murdoch did not bring his history down to a date to include notices of Howe and Johnston. Mr. Duncan Campbell in his history of Nova Scotia gives but brief reference to him. Judge Savary Mr. Calnek and others give fuller accounts, but it has been reserved for the Rev. Dr. Saunders to do something like justice to the memory and eventful life of Johnston. The country, I consider, is greatly indebted to Dr. Saunders for the labor he has bestowed in ransacking newspaper offices, groping in attics and other places among old letter files, and generally delving in the dust of ages for the facts he has so graphically expressed in his recently published book, "The Three Premiers." My only wish is that Dr. Saunders or if the task be too onerous for him, some other lover of the memory of these nation-builders of the past with like industry, fidelity and literary grace to that Dr. Saunders has shown, should do for the memory of James W. Johnston what Mr. William Annand did or is reputed to have done, for Mr. Howe.

It is not my intention to treat the subject of this paper biographically, that would be out of the question considering the time at my disposal; if I can give anything like a simple character sketch of this man, if I can adduce a few facts, some contemporary opinions and a few recollections of my own, something to aid even a little to a wider and perhaps juster view of this great Nova Scotian, it is all I can hope to do this evening, and it is all I hope you will expect of me.

James William Johnston was born in Jamaica on the twenty-ninth of August, A. D., 1792, he was admitted to the Bar of this Province in 1813, appointed Solicitor General by the Crown under Sir Colin Campbell the 29th of July, 1834, was appointed a delegate to meet Lord Durham at Quebec in 1838, appointed to a seat in both Councils, the Executive and Legislative, on the reconstruction of the Executive and the



I knew him well, and the dominating trait of his character that most of all comes home to my memory, aside from his intellectual endowments, was his great moral power. He brought to the performance of every duty of life strong and unshakeable convictions, and whatever were his mistakes, and he was not without mistakes, he never stooped to conquer.

But after you have weighed and measured those two men with all their faults and all their virtues, their strong minds and their loyal hearts, after I say you have weighed and measured them not only with one another but with the distinguished men they wrestled with in the arena of their day, you cannot but be proud of them both, and convinced that they were our greatest Nova Scotians.

The character of Mr. Johnston as I have said was many sided, and to arrive at anything like a correct judgment respecting him, his life must be looked at from different points of view, I know that it has been the habit heretofore to think of him as a lawyer or politician only, and no doubt his great fame has rested mainly on his legal and political work, but this is not doing him justice. To treat adequately of a great man is to publish not only his great achievements, but to seek if possible in the inner life of the man the secret springs that nourished the faculties, the work—of which is, all that is seen by the public eye.

I have not the time to take up every point, but there are four leading features connected with his life and character, which it is my wish to present to you tonight, and the treatment of which will fairly well cover but in very brief and perfunctory manner the most interesting part of his active years. These are connected with him first, as to his Religion, second, as an Educationist, third as a Lawyer, and fourth as a Politician.

*First*, as to his Religion. I have no apology to make for putting this feature first, because, distinguished as he was in the annals and traditions of the Province for many remarkable

traits of character, I believe, knowing what I did of him, that the most important of them all was this one element to which he *himself* considered that all others should be subordinate and the influence of which was not only the solace and comfort, but the great inspiration of his long years of active life. In my opinion any attempt to give a satisfactory portraiture of the man without taking into account this moral element, would fail of the object contemplated, and not adequately account for the remarkable space he occupied in the political and civil life of the Province. It was of not so much consequence to what church he belonged, to what creed he subscribed, although he was not without a Creed and a Church, but the deep religious consciousness of the man, his profoundly religious nature lay back of mere intellectual assent, back of forms and observances, back of everything external to his spiritual nature. Few perhaps who would be with him through the turmoil of the day's political campaign, would realize that at night in the secret quiet of his chamber, the turmoil and strife of the day would be forgotten and the Christian's peace would be his, as he sought his pillow. He carried his religion into his daily life, and that colored no little of the activities of his long years and made him largely what he was. It was the inner power I have already spoken of unseen, perhaps unthought of, by the men he confronted, but very real. That is why I treat this aspect of his life as first, and perhaps most important of all.

Johnston was an attached member of the Church of England, a member of St. Paul's Church in this City, of which the President of this Society is now Rector, a member, at a time too, when St. Paul's was the Church-home of the leading families of the City, families whose names are now historic. A Church of the aristocracy, it was called in those days, where the fashion, the learning and the professional life of the place were wont to assemble. The late Dr. Aikins, our late Provincial Archivist, has humorously described a Sunday at St. Paul's, at that date, I give it in his words: "First, the regiments in garrison, preceded by their brass bands marched in

full dress to St. Paul's, amid the ringing of bells and the sound of martial music. The carriage of the Governor, who in those days was always a general officer in full military costume with his Aide de Camp drove up to the south door of the Church, there being no chancel built there at that time, the whole staff having first assembled under the Portico, which then ran along the southern end of the Church. His Excellency, followed by a brilliant display of gold lace and feathers, the clank of sabres and spurs, and the shaking of plumed hats, of so many officers, many of whom were accompanied by their ladies, on entering the church presented a most brilliant spectacle. All this was followed by the old Chief Justice Blowers in his coach and livery, the carriage of the Admiral and the carriages of several of the Members of Council. All being seated, and the body of the Church full of fashion and dress, the peal of the organ began to be heard, and the clergy in surplices and hood proceeded from the vestry up the east side aisle to the pulpit, preceded by a beadle in drab and gold lace carrying a large silver headed mace, who after the clergy had taken their seats, deliberately walked down the aisle again to the vestry with his mace over his shoulder." Such was a Sunday in St. Paul's in that day. But with all the pomp and circumstance thus surrounding the old church, there were earnest worshippers within its walls, who loved the place for itself with all its hallowed associations, and of such was James W. Johnston. The bells that now each Sunday summon the worshippers to this historic temple, the bells presented to the Church by Andrew Belcher, one hundred years ago, then called the church goers together as now. Few changes have been made since those days to the old building; the vestibule on the north end, the chancel on the south end, and the wings on either side are about all. The gold lace, the feathers and the fashions were of no consequence to an earnest soul like Johnston; notwithstanding it was no common wrench that forced him away from old associates and relations and from the spot of many tender memories and experiences. But he was a man ever distinguished through-

out his whole life by deep convictions and an acute sense of duty. A time came when he conscientiously believed it to be his duty to leave St. Paul's. The story of the rupture in this old Church is now a matter of history, and need not be referred to except in the way of enforcing the point I am making with reference to the religious life of Mr. Johnston. In 1824 a vacancy occurred in the office of Rector in St. Paul's. At that time such appointments were in the gift of the Crown. The congregation was almost unanimous that Rev. Dr. Twining should be appointed to fill the vacancy, but the home authorities favored Dr. Willis, who was accordingly, after long and angry protests and years of strife, duly and canonically inducted and put in possession of all the rights and privileges appertaining to the office. This created a split in the Church, many submitted with an ill grace and remained, many removed to St. George's in the north end, and not a few found themselves adrift. Mr. Johnston as I have said was strongly attached to the Church of England. Religion with him was not merely a Sunday matter or only a business sentiment. It was a rule of life, more important than social ties or even his profession, of which he was a rising member. All professional and political ambitions were as nothing compared with the duty he owed to do what was right. In leaving St. Paul's he need not have left the Church, for St. George's doors were open to him, or if he felt constrained to leave a Church whose government was not sufficiently democratic for him, St. Matthew's might have received him; but a principle was involved. If an act of ecclesiastical tyranny, such as this appeared to him to be, were permissible, from which there could be no appeal or redress, what right had any body of worshippers, what religious liberty could any one enjoy under the sanctions of a system, appearing to him to be so arbitrary and unfair. He was not one to take so momentous a step suddenly, but after long wrestling he with many others of high standing in the community, left the church and united with a small and at that time somewhat insignificant body of Christians; not very much known at that early period

in the larger religious communities; but whose principles of government and practice were in his opinion more agreeable to scripture and the dictates of religious liberty. He believed that these people were right, and action with him always swiftly followed conviction. He threw himself heart and soul into the Baptist Cause, and was thence forward during the remaining half century, till the day of his death, an earnest and devoted member of that Church. Some of us still remember those Sunday morning Communion Services in Granville Street Church, when perhaps after a week of hot debate in yonder Chamber, with the weight of political administration pressing upon him, this busy public man would be found in his accustomed seat, or in his office of deacon would be seen with reverent step carrying the cup and the bread in that little Church to rich and poor alike. A writer whom Judge Savary has quoted in his History of the County of Annapolis, says: "In religious discussions in the Church always the most modest and meekest of men, he nevertheless was intellectually a giant. A most impressive sight it was to see this man with talents which at the Bar and in the Legislative Halls could hold men by the hour in speechless admiration, take his place in meetings of the Church with the manifest humility of one who felt himself 'less than the least.'" Professionally, socially and in every other temporal respect, it will be evident to all that he had nothing to gain but very much to lose by leaving St. Paul's and casting in his lot with the Baptists; and that his action in so doing was entirely in keeping with that trait of his character, to follow at all hazards the dictates of conscience, and that here as always with him, action responded with sensitive exactness to every conception of duty. I present to you therefore as of primary importance this prominent feature of his character.

I will in the next place invite your attention to the same characteristic of the man in his career as an Educationist. Neither Howe nor Johnston were college bred men, but they were both alive to the great advantages of a community possessing

both the common school and the college. They both spoke on various occasions and with great force, of the difficulties under which the youth of the Province struggled in the race and competition with the youth of other countries. The great English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts, was the first apparent agency to make any active effort to educate the people. Efforts were afterwards made to found County Academies and the Government of the day from time to time made liberal grants. Large sums were also raised by the people of the different Counties and an education committee, consisting of a member from each County, presented to the Legislature an elaborate report in 1836 as to the condition of education in the Province. Acts were passed for the encouragement of Common schools, but no government seemed to dare the risk of introducing a measure in the Legislature which would have as one of its fundamental principles the support of schools by compulsory taxation. The country had not been educated up to that point, the people simply would not have it, and when Dr. Tupper with his sublime courage introduced and carried such a measure in 1865, he knew he was taking politically speaking his life in his hand. I advert to it now to say that although finally carried by Dr. Tupper, Mr. Johnston who had been previously Attorney General, gave to Mr. Tupper his enthusiastic support and assisted in framing the bill of 1865. I was at that time a student in Mr. Johnston's office, and well remember the labor he bestowed upon it. Dr. Harding Rand, who subsequently became Superintendent of Education and was at that time applying for the position, and who had been a classmate with me in College, asked me to introduce him to Mr. Johnston, on which occasion many of the provisions of the Bill were discussed.

But it was in the higher walks of academic training that we are to seek for the exhibition of those qualities of mind and heart on Mr. Johnston, to which I have already referred. The educational condition in which he found the Baptists of this Province in 1827, convinced him of the necessity of securing

more adequate means of wider culture and more liberal training for the rising generation of that denomination. Nearly all of those who left St. Paul's at the time of the trouble were educated men, who thoroughly understood and deeply appreciated the value of a college training both in Arts and Divinity. These with other prominent men in the denomination united in founding Horton Academy, and there a few years after, having obtained a Charter of Incorporation and secured the services of eminent professors, they opened the halls of Acadia College.

At this time party political Government was practically unknown in the province of Nova Scotia, Howe and Johnston were both advocates of *Responsible* Government. Mr. Howe had voted for the Charter of Acadia College and had also printed for the Baptists "The Christian Messenger" the organ of that Body, and was supported politically by the very large majority of that denomination. But unfortunately a disagreement occurred. Some financial trouble of a compromising nature arose between him and the proprietors of the paper, with the result that Mr. Howe's action was condemned by many of the Baptists throughout the Province. As time went on, the breach widened, and many who had previously been friends now declared their opposition to him. At this juncture Mr. William Annand, acting for Mr. Howe, who no doubt was smarting somewhat under the disaffection of the Baptists, introduced a Resolution in the Lower House "commending the policy of fostering the then existing Colleges and in favor of establishing one large and central institution instead." The Resolution passed by a small majority and an agitation at once spread over the whole Province, and this was really the unfortunate occasion when Mr. Howe and Mr. Johnston first came into conflict. Hitherto they had loyally worked together in the same Government and however certain these two master spirits were bound eventually to conflict, no occasion had appeared, no question had arisen, which justified the life long political quarrel that followed. Mr. Howe's policy of fostering one College and withdrawing the grants

from the others was no doubt aimed principally at the Baptists, and meant at that time the ruin of Acadia, which depended perhaps for its very existence upon the annual grant from the Province. The heather was on fire. Meetings were held in different parts of the Province with varying results, but on the whole the policy of supporting separate colleges was affirmed. The late Mr. Israel Longworth in a paper read before this Society, gives a humorous description of one of those meetings held in the Township of Onslow in the year 1843. He describes how at eleven o'clock Mr. Howe entered the Church where the meeting was held, accompanied by George R. Young, James F. Gray, William Annand and others, all of whom were against denominational colleges. The two parties lined up in the church, each party claimed the right to appoint a chairman, and at length compromised by having two chairmen. The meeting lasted until after dark. The majority present were Presbyterians, but there was a goodly sprinkling of Baptists. Mr. Young opened in favor of the one college, other lesser lights followed, some on one side and some on the other. At length Mr. Howe arose and spoke for two hours and things began to look bad for Acadia, when a tall commanding looking gentleman arose in a distant part of the building, and to the surprise of all Dr. Crawley who had been one to leave St. Paul's and who had not been recognized before in the crowded house and who was a surprise to everyone, began to speak. It was conceded by both parties that his speech was a most powerful argument against the one college plan. It was a gala day for the people who sat until night to hear these two great speakers deliver assault and counter assault, until in the darkness a vote was taken outside on the green, when there appeared to be a small majority against the one college. Referring to this encounter with Dr. Crawley, Mr. Howe at one time, when repelling the charge of cowardice in not meeting Dr. Tupper at a certain place, replied that if he had not been afraid to meet Dr. Crawley, one of the ablest men in his walk of life he had ever encountered, he was not likely to fear any passage at arms with Dr. Tupper.



We are not concerned at this late date to enquire who was right or who was wrong, *we are dealing with certain features in the characters of Mr. Johnston and his associates, as illustrated in the leading part they took in the founding and support of Acadia College.* This Institution, its object and design were unique, its founders purposed not only to lay the foundations deep and broad in the elements of a wide scholastic culture, but they did not forget the more important obligations of religion and morality. Nothing could better illustrate the *Christian motives that guided Johnston through life,* than the part he took in fostering this Institution. The dispute in his judgment was not so much one as to State colleges versus denominational colleges, or as to large colleges versus small colleges but rather as it was then popularly, and not quite correctly, called Godless colleges versus Christian colleges. Mr. Johnston would not I am certain style any of the institutions then or now existing here as Godless, but the epithets furnish us with the antagonistic ideas then prevalent in the minds of many. Acadia College, as its founders intended, was essentially a religious institution, no central undenominational college could exactly take its place. It stood then for what it has always stood for, what it stands for today and probably always will stand for, an institution in which the influence of religion, not necessarily as a part of its curriculum, not necessarily denominational but in some shape or another should never if possible be absent from it as a college community. Its supporters have always delighted to call it the "Child of Providence." Revivals of religion have at intervals marked its history from its founding to the present. In the day of small things, the women worked with the men to earn funds for its support, so that Mr. Howe once in referring to the possibility of the withdrawal of the public grant from the College, in the House of Assembly, exclaimed in his humorous manner: "You may withdraw your public money but there will be more socks and mittens knit on the hills of Wilmot, more tubs of butter made, more fat calves killed, and more Missionary travellers sent through

the country; and Acadia College, will still stand on the hillside of Horton in spite of the withdrawal of your grants." The point I am making is stated very concisely by Dr. Trotter, a former president of the college. A number of us who were in favor of the amalgamation of all the Maritime colleges, had been endeavouring to bring Acadia into the scheme. Some correspondence elicited from the President a public letter, from which I quote. He did not object to the principle of amalgamation but showed how utterly impossible it was for Acadia, with its ideals of a Baptist College, to join us. After referring to the different kinds of university life, he says:—"Acadia represents a fourth type. It has now no State connection but depends for its support upon the voluntary principle. While embracing in its curriculum all the studies of the secular college, it provides that the work shall be done under distinctly Christian auspices. It is not denominational in the sense of inculcating denominational tenets, but only in the sense of being *controlled* by a Christian denomination. Its founders and supporters proceed upon the fundamental assumptions common to all Evangelical Christians, and believe that the broadest and highest education will take cognizance of these. They believe that that is the truest system of education, which in its study of man, of nature, of God, of the present and the future, has its windows wide open to the Light. In such a college the Christian element is not a permitted and incidental, but a characteristic and vital element. The student is regarded as a being moral and spiritual, as well as intellectual, whose spiritual attitudes and relationships constitute the determinative factor in his life, for time and eternity. It is believed that the spiritual will no more take care of itself than will the intellectual. The Christian College therefore seeks to organize and conduct a type of education, which shall recognize and appeal to the student in his wholeness, and shall aim to correlate the manifold elements of his nature, and whatever increase of learning and power may come to him, in accordance with Christian ideals. In harmony with this Christian conception, the

governors of such a college are elected, its professors are chosen, its curriculum is framed, its daily life is organized and directed, and its atmosphere determined."

"It is not surprising that all men do not feel alike as to the importance of the ideal, but it unquestionably embodies the fundamental obstruction in the case of the Baptists, when asked to let Acadia go, and to merge their work in that of a general institution such as would be possible in an amalgamated scheme." Such were the precise views of Mr. Johnston, such was the ideal of a college of men, who like Johnston, Crawley, Nutting, Manning, and others founded this institution in 1828.

I am not their apologist, they may have been narrow minded and petty in their conceptions of educational training, we are not discussing that, but none will deny that they carried into their educational work the same conscientious convictions of religious liberty, the same paramount sense of moral obligation and fidelity to the truest Christian ideal, as I have depicted above in respect to Johnston. And that is the exact point in Mr. Johnston's character, which in my judgment must ever be estimated and thoroughly understood, as well as those other brilliant qualities upon which the reader of his works must love to dwell.

I now turn to his labors in that great profession which he loved, and all through his life adorned. Let us consider him as a Jurist.

A few days ago I was looking over some old law books which bore his name, and had evidently come down to me from his library, through his son with whom I was for a time associated in partnership. They were text books, not reports, old, and perhaps never consulted now, but rich in legal principles and invaluable a century ago. I was struck with his annotations running through the books in his never to be forgotten handwriting, evidencing that the book had not been casually consulted as a reference, but had been read and studied in course

by one who read and studied for the love of it, and in pursuance of fixed methods; and this must have been in his younger days before the pressure of professional engagements made such deliberate study impossible. There were no law schools in those days, and those who hoped to master the learning and principles of law had to do it by individual labor and patient study. There are few if any, now living, who were the witnesses of his great forensic efforts. I can recall but few of his addresses to the jury or his arguments before the full Bench, but long before I entered his office, as a student, his name was a household word throughout the Province, and suitors believed that if they could only secure his services they were safe. Mr. Arthur Calnek of Annapolis, who knew him well, in a published memoir in 1884 says of him:—"As a lawyer he had few equals either in the knowledge of the principles of law or in the practice of it as then administered," and he describes a celebrated trial at Annapolis, known as *Morse vs. Nugent*, in which Johnston was counsel for Plaintiffs and Lawrence O' Connor Doyle for Defendant. Judge Savary who also knew him well says of him in his *History of Annapolis*:—"Perhaps I ought to say that in 1834 he was reputed to be the ablest lawyer and most accomplished public man of that day in the Province." Heresay evidence of the legal accomplishments of a man long removed from the stage of public life, may not always be reliable and conclusive, but when we consider that Johnston was selected by Sir Colin Campbell from among a number of eminent lawyers then at the Bar, to be his legal advisor in 1834, that his reputation has come down to us through the intervening years, that his services were sought for in all the leading trials of the day, that he held briefs in all the country circuits and was leading counsel in many suits that have become historic, are evidences of contemporaneous opinion as to his standing and eminence at the Bar of his native Province. But I must not omit one rather extraordinary piece of testimony lately come to us. I would like to quote to you the words of the Hon. A. B. Aylesworth, the late Minister of Justice in the Laurier Cabinet, when speaking in this City

on the Fisheries Dispute before the Hague Tribunal. "The question of the right of the United States fishermen to fish in the Bays and Inlets along the sea coasts of Canada was to be ascertained from a document as to the construction of which and around it diplomatic disputes for a long time hovered, but which Mr. Aylesworth claimed was reasonably clear to anyone but a Lawyer. The interpretation put upon it by the United States was that it did not exclude their fishermen from any of the larger Bays in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick or Quebec. Large Bays like the Bay of Fundy, were in the centre of an open sea, they held. This was a right they had never renounced they said, as it was free to all nations. In 1836 the Nova Scotia Legislature, a pioneer in the field of legislation, passed the Acts (6 William 4 Chapter 8) by which regulation of the fisheries within the territorial waters of Nova Scotia was enunciated and defined. Then came an outcry from the States that it was these small pestiferous Colonies that caused all the trouble, doing things that Great Britain would have never thought of doing. That said the speaker was almost the *tone* of the diplomatic correspondence of that day. It was pointed out to them, that that was practically a repetition of a British Statute, and the contention was held by them, that the centre of these large Bays was open sea. Prolonged diplomatic correspondence followed. One of your great men, said Mr. Aylesworth, afterwards Judge Johnston, occupied the seat of Attorney General. No one can fail to recognize his great ability as a lawyer on perusing the State papers he prepared. The opinion of the Crown's legal advisers in Great Britain supported Attorney General Johnston's contention that from all Bays of Nova Scotia the United States was excluded. Finally in 1844 the British Government suggested a means of settlement. It was proposed to Nova Scotia that the Bay of Fundy might be given up, if the others were secured to us. Attorney General Johnston maintained that the making of such a concession would only encourage the States to stand more firmly on their claim. The concession, however, was practically made by Great Britain and the Bay of Fundy, has so

been treated ever since. It is gratifying to Nova Scotians that the principle laid down more than half a century ago by J. W. Johnston in its relation to the point of Supreme importance, namely the question of Sovereignty over the large bays on the coasts, was affirmed by the Hague Tribunal in almost the express words of the great Nova Scotian lawyer. The contention which he submitted as far back as 1840 laid the foundation for the decision which has made the "headland theory" a very practical reality. The settlement of this question is of capital importance to us in these Provinces, because it establishes that our contentions were right and secures for all time, let us hope, property in and control of the bays and inlets along our coast."

I now come to the last and perhaps, in the opinion of many the most prominent feature in the portraiture I am endeavoring to present, namely, his political career.

There had been when Johnston entered politics a House of Assembly for eight years, and a Council from the days of Cornwallis. The powers of the Assembly and indeed of the Council were somewhat uncertain. Chief Justice Belcher, a lawyer of great learning, had in 1755 called the attention of the Lords of Trade, to an important constitutional question, as to the right of the Governor and Council to make laws for the Province, without an Assembly of Representatives to assent to the same. The question was referred by the Home Government to Her Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor General for their opinion, who decided that the Governor and Council alone were not authorized to make laws. The scheme for an Assembly after some delay was finally completed and received the assent of the Home authorities and the first Assembly met on the 7th of October, 1758.

Considering this early date, it is not a matter of surprise that the early Representatives were not as a rule men of over average intelligence and wealth. The principle of responsibility was not then generally understood or claimed, settle-

ments in the Province were few and it took time to create and develop a healthy public opinion. There were at times very great destitution and distress, and English public opinion was not over favorable to conditions in this Province. Mr. Duncan Campbell in his History of Nova Scotia quaintly described the situation as given in a letter from a Dr. Peters, in London to Rev. Jacob Bailey, who appears to have arrived in Halifax nine years before, in considerable destitution. Dr. Peters says in this letter: "This will reach you by the grace of Dr. Seabury, Bishop of Connecticut, who will wait on you and give you his benediction, of more value to you than mine and 26 Right Rev. Lord Bishops. His certificate will be of great service to you at St. Peter's gate, who will admit you at sight of it into Heaven, without touching at Purgatory because that you have resided in Nova Scotia nine years, which must have purged and sweated you." But all comers were not in so bad a case as Mr. Bailey. On the declaration of Independence, vast numbers of Loyalists came to these shores. Many of them had been men of high standing and intelligence in their homes in the States, who brought with them popular ideas of Government, and who began as the years went on to make their influence felt in the House of Assembly. And even before Mr. Howe's time, the Legislature was not altogether a bed of roses, for a power was being introduced into Provincial Politics which was destined to revolutionize public opinion and present methods of Government. There were men who were not satisfied with the theory of Government as then existing. It was not alleged that there was corruption, but they claimed that the people who paid the taxes and voted the money, should have a finger in the pie of administering it. This as I have said, was working in the minds of the people before Joseph Howe. arose. Dr. Saunders says that Howe himself acknowledged that he got his first clear conception of Responsible Government from a Pictou man. But it is to the credit of Mr. Howe that the correct theory of Government was gradually and finally made clear to the people. This man of remarkable ability and

clear insight into things led a crusade personally, and through the paper he conducted, against the Government as then constituted.

There were three evils for reform:—

1st. That the Council should open its doors and let the people know what they were doing.

2nd. That the people of all creeds and public interests should have proportionate representation there.

3rd. That the Government should be responsible to the people as represented in the Assembly.

The cry of equal rights to all was ringing in the air, blood was being shed over it in the Upper Provinces, New Brunswick had fallen into line, and the indomitable spirit of English liberty and ideals of Government was raising an angry voice in the Assembly.

So much for the Assembly. Let us now turn for a moment to the other branch of the Legislature, the Council. This body was composed of many of the heads of the first families in the City. They or their predecessors had sat there since the days of Cornwallis. It was admitted they had governed well, as well as an *aristocracy*, for it was practically a government by aristocracy notwithstanding the Assembly, could do. This was the Council of Twelve,—“twelve respectable old ladies” as the Reformers used to call them. They sat with closed doors, they were to some extent a family compact, and his Lordship the Bishop, and his Lordship the Chief Justice, lent no little of solemn dignity and importance to the august body. But there were men clamoring at their closed doors even before Mr. Howe arrived on the scene. Alexander Stewart, an exceedingly well learned and clever lawyer, afterwards Master of the Rolls, and whose life by his Lordship, the present Chief Justice is found in the bound proceedings of this Society, Lawrence O'Connor Doyle and other men in



the Assembly were loudly calling upon them to open their doors, admit the public and let a little new blood into the venerable body. I need not delay over this stage of the fight, sufficient to say that the happy family in 1838 was broken up, and two Councils created instead of one, the Executive composed of twelve members and the Legislative having nineteen members.

Mr. Johnston who four years before this had been appointed Solicitor General, a non-political officer, was now invited by Sir Colin to take a seat in both Councils. Mr. Johnston had no ambition for politics, the idol of his life was his profession; but there came to him as there often comes to strong men, who are wanted in the battle of life, a time when they are required, perhaps greatly against their will, to gird on their armor and go forth into the contest, and so it was with Johnston. Let me quote a paragraph on this point from his great speech at Mason Hall: "It was not my wish, he says, to engage in politics. From deliberate choice I have abstained from seeking a seat in the Assembly, though occasions offered when I had no apprehensions about my success. My professional engagements gave full employment to my time. My happiness I sought and found in the bosom of my family. When His Excellency, in forming the new Council, (that is the Legislative Council), required my services, I felt it my duty to obey and submitted to him the mode of disposing of those services." But the Governor required his services as legal adviser in the Executive Council as well, and at length after much persuasion he entered Sir Colin's Government.

Mr. Johnston's services had never been more needed than during this and the following years. The old Council without the best of grace had yielded bit by bit. It was no doubt exasperating to the Reformers to be put off from time to time, to have as favors, not rights, doled out to them grudgingly, compelling angry encounters on the floors of the House, petitions to the Crown and frequent delegations to Downing Street; but outsiders were at last beginning to get a fairer

show in the constitution of the Council, the doors of which were now open. But the contest was not ended, much had been gained but the Government was not yet responsible to the people. Mr. Howe's oft repeated challenge was "Why not trust British subjects on the west as well as on the east side of the Atlantic, The British Cabinet was responsible to the House of Commons, let Nova Scotians have the rights of Englishmen."

The phrase "Responsible Government" in the 1830's and 1840's became the great rallying cry of the Reform Party in Nova Scotia. The principle itself had been growing *everywhere* in England's Colonies. It was in the air. It had come to get itself recognized and applied in some shape or another, just as British liberty and British ideals of government have always found their way into every English speaking country. If there had been no Joseph Howe or James W. Johnston, Responsible Government nevertheless at the appointed time, would have duly appeared. Both these men agreed in the Principle, but they differed in the application of it, and their respective attitudes is somewhat a little confusing. I think the difficulty often lay with the *Home* Government. That the English principle of Responsibility should be made applicable to the Colonies seemed to English Statesmen a startling proposition, considering the different conditions of the respective Countries. They could not and would not concur in any such dangerous doctrine as that Responsibility, as they had it in England, should be conceded to the Colonies, and therefore, it was only reasonable that Colonial Governors, and to a certain extent, Colonial Ministers, should have been affected with the same political sentiment. This must always be kept in mind in judging of Mr. Johnston's action as Adviser of Sir Colin Campbell. Mr. Johnston looked at the question from within from the standpoint of English authority. Mr. Howe from outside, from the standpoint of the people. But Lord Durham's Report in 1838 took an opposite view from that of the English authorities and revolutionized to a con-

siderable extent the ideas at the Colonial Office. Doubtless, things became somewhat confused, and the demand of the Reformers that they should have Responsible Government, as it was enjoyed in England, began to have greater force and reason. Besides this there seems to have been some blame attachable to all three of the parties. In the first place, the Home Government had changed its policy and thus to a certain extent, misled its Colonial Officials. In the next place, Sir Colin and his advisers had interposed perhaps unnecessary delays in the Reforms demanded, and lastly the Assembly exhibited excessive impatience because their demands were not instantly granted. Reading the history of this political controversy today, without the blinding prejudices of those years, I am at a loss to understand how simple differences of opinion on a political question like this among a circle of intelligent men, could degenerate into acrimonious and often violent disputes. A little patience here, a little less stubbornness there a little more foresight and a little less of ambitious craving would have gone far to still the tempest of the hour.

I am afraid too, that the differences between Howe and Johnston, the keen rivalry that undoubtedly existed, were too often personal rather than a difference of judgment on a question of public policy. The two men were so differently moulded and looked on life and Government from such different standpoints, that they were bound to clash over something, and thus their antagonisms continued long after the original causes of difference had passed away.

Mr. Johnston's sympathies as well as his theory of Government, whether civil, religious or political were largely democratic. His Friendship with people of every class, high and low, were of the most cordial and hearty character. Nevertheless he was not as popular with the masses as was Mr. Howe. Many things contributed to this. His refinement of manner and culture together with his social position would be easily taken as marks of a social exclusiveness *though very erroneously so*, so with his strict religious habits—so with

his temperance principles for he was a life long abstainer at a time when the habits of temperance were not as marked as now. And one of the great cries against him in his first election was that he was a lawyer and many would ask what good can come from such source. He had been educated with tender care, his training had been conducted in select circles. He was connected with the most influential families in the city. All this would not be calculated, to say the least, to make him a popular hero. Then he had not travelled through the country much: had not been accustomed to live with the people, entering into their sympathies and pursuits. He did not understand the knack of capturing them in this way and if he had was not the man to descend to the task of doing it. Although he was a Baptist and it was said had at one time prophesied that Churchmen would live to see the grass grow on St. Paul's door steps, yet I suspect that when Sir Colin induced him to enter the Council the Episcopalians received him with open arms. This would not help him much in certain circles—circles in which they were accustomed to say, "Oh this is the man Sir Colin delights to honor." But although he had thousands of kind hearted friends and supporters among them and studied their interests too, with a zeal quite as great as that of any other public man of the day he could not exactly be called a man of the People. The truth is many of the public regarded him as and persistently called him a "Tory" although he invariably disclaimed the honor.

Mr. Howe was different. There was a great social gulf fixed between these two men. Howe was distinctively a man of the people and a born leader. He had been educated as I have said in a newspaper office, He had learned through his paper to catch the ear of the public. He had travelled throughout the Province wherever his paper had gone or he could make it go, had sympathized with the people, had won their sympathy and had a wonderful faculty for gauging public sentiment. From the day of his trial for libelling the Magistrates on through the most of his political career, he could under-

stand and handle men, to use a common phrase, as very few public men could do. It was gall and wormwood to this man that what he believed to be an irresponsible aristocracy, should rule, notwithstanding the voice of the people was protesting against it. I have read many eulogies and many adverse criticisms of his character and many of them perhaps are just, for he undoubtedly laid himself open not infrequently to such criticism but we will not stop nor is it our object to investigate. However, let me say this, that any man, who at the age of 31, and without any previous training in the art of public speaking, could for six hours address a Court and Jury on an indictment for libel, without any legal assistance, and capture a verdict of acquittal, and that too in face of an adverse charge from the presiding Judge, was no ordinary man, and let me say further, that any public man who could in the stormy political field of those days command the allegiance of the many stalwart political adventurers and able men of the party, of which he was leader, must have been a man, not forgetting all his mistakes and blunders, of great political ability. His public speeches and letters will ever be a monument more lasting perhaps than the very worthy one erected in the south area of this square.

It must be remembered that Mr. Johnston, although inclined to be democratic in his theory of government, whether civil, religious or political, could not be altogether unaffected by the often insensible influence of social and family relationships. He was never haughty. In religious exercises he was marked by the mien of humility. His friendships with people of every class high and low, were of the most cordial and hearty character. He had a heart as tender and appealing as a woman's. Nevertheless, to many he really seemed to live at a distance from the people. Although he loved the social religious intercourse of the men and women who went up to the Granville Street Church, there was a something that in some way seemed to stamp him as different from other men and marked the instincts of birth.

Let us then understand and frankly acknowledge the plain fact. Howe was demanding Government by the people and for the people, as they had it in England. Why was it not at once conceded? It was not only because Johnston was a Conservative, and Conservatism with him meant judicious delay, clear and concise instructions from England, but the fact was he was afraid of Mr. Howe and his inflammatory methods. They seemed to him to be threatening to injure if not destroy the chances of a real and salutary Reform. He took his stand on this:—"Do not let us be rash, let patience have its perfect work. The English constitution was not made in a day, much less can you expect ours to be. Let it be our task to train our people gradually up to a full enjoyment of a British subject's rights." But there is no doubt that the public mind became irritated and that Mr. Howe, if he had not been loyal to British supremacy, might have made trouble. Then fortunately came Coalition. Mr. Howe and others of the opposition joined the Government, and with them came Responsible Government, and peace spread its white wings over the troubled waters.

The Coalition seems to have been the fruit of the efforts of a distinguished Statesman, Charles Poulett Thompson, who had been successful as a mediator between the contending factions in the other Provinces, in bringing about and establishing the principle of the Responsibility of the executive to the lower Branch.

This clever man was at the time the Governor-General of the Provinces. He, like Lord Durham, was desirous of hearing all sides, of sifting opposing statements, of bringing opposing elements together, and calmly and judicially laying down grounds of common interest between rival parties. Points of agreement were emphasized, concessions, asked for in things non-essential and insuperable difficulties postponed for adjustment to a future occasion, with the result that harmony was established between the two Branches of the Legislature.

But I suspect that the Peace was after all a kind of armed neutrality, and although for three years Mr. Howe served in the Government led by Mr. Johnston, everyone could see that he nevertheless fretted and chafed the while. The truth was he was not born to follow another leader. Then came the end of it. The Coalition died a natural death and two parties came into being over its mortal remains, the Liberal led by Howe and the Conservative led by Johnston. This was in 1843.

It was a joyful hour for Howe when he got rid of the entanglements of the Coalition Scheme and was himself again. It was then he recalled the couplet to his "Old Arm Chair" from which he could again in editorial sanctum dash off the wildest and sometimes the most daring editorials. Let me quote from his own words;—"Thus hampered he says, it was impossible that we could continue to wield a bold impartial pen. Accustomed as we had been to plain speaking and independent action we could wield no other. Thank Providence we are once more unfettered and free to call things by their right names and exhibit men in their true character, independent of the trammels of honorary or official station. For three years and a half our individuality was lost and we sometimes doubted our own identity; we were part of a nine stringed instrument, which sometimes produced harmonies, and sometimes discord, but in which there was no clear ringing tone, either modified or subdued. But now like a lark, we can rise on our own wing, and pour forth our own strains, rejoicing in a sense of freedom that we have not felt for years."

In this year, 1843, Lord Falkland, who had succeeded Sir Colin Campbell as Governor of Nova Scotia, suddenly dissolved the House of Assembly, and a writ for a new election was issued. The *dissolution* took place in Mr. Howe's absence in the Country and perhaps without his knowledge or advice, and no little comment was provoked by such an important Cabinet decision being taken in the absence of an adviser of His Excellency. But Mr. Johnston saw with prophetic

vision that Responsible Government having been established, and party Government imminent, the prevailing point of influence in the Legislature was being shifted from the Council to the Assembly, that it required a strong hand in the Lower House to meet the attacks of a man like Mr. Howe, and great was the surprise in the country when it was suddenly announced that Mr. Johnston had boldly resigned his seat in the Council and was offering as a candidate to the electors of the County of Annapolis, for election, to represent them in the House of Assembly.

The election was duly held; Mr. Johnston was returned by a large majority, and when the new House met, the two parties were found to be nearly equally divided, Mr. Johnston having a majority of one. He conducted the Government, however, for the succeeding four years, greatly to the astonishment and disgust of the Reformers, but in the next general election in 1847, his Government was defeated.

Twice afterwards he was returned to power, until the year 1864, when he took his seat on the Supreme Court Bench, as Judge in Equity.

Speaking in a general way, Mr. Johnston's position in the political History of this Province seems to be this; He was a Conservative, not a radical, not a puller down or leveller, not aggressive, other people sometimes thought they saw abuses where he did not, and when he did see such, his methods for remedying them were Conservative, not radical. He was eminently constructive, and his chief study was to benefit his country by measures of practical utility. His speeches were models of practical eloquence, in which the flowers of rhetoric and studied flights of imagination gave way to the greater matters involving principles of true statesmanship. His fame as an orator was probably not so widespread, either within or beyond the limits of his country as was Mr. Howe's. This is not to be wondered at. Howe's whole life, practically speaking, was devoted to Politics. He was a most accom-



plished student in that school, and a long political life, especially in those days, and especially for one who ever made literature and study the hand-maid to his chosen profession, taken with his very great natural endowments, easily made him one of the first public speakers of the day both at home and abroad, and a man thoroughly qualified for a successful political career.

Mr. Johnston's oratory was naturally forensic, argumentative, deliberate, innocent of the light play and raillery that brightened many of Mr. Howe's addresses, yet rising at times to flights of impetuous eloquence, especially when moved by special circumstances, appealing to the more sensitive emotions of his nature; and anon wielding a weapon polished and keen as a Damascus Blade,—an antagonist that few debaters cared to confront or trifle with. But we are not comparing the two. Some of Mr. Johnston's greatest speeches were addressed to a Jury, or Bench of Judges, an arena of course where Mr. Howe did not appear. One of Mr. Johnston's finest speeches was made in the old Academy Hall at Acadia, on the occasion of an anniversary. It was the first time I heard him, but being then only fourteen years old, I have to rely upon tradition rather than my memory or judgment, but not one of us boys I venture to say, ever forgot the man or the oration we saw and heard that day. I repeat the wish that some one would take in hand the publication of those speeches delivered both on the floor of Parliament and in the different parts of these Provinces.

Mr. Johnston's legal training had no doubt fitted him for meeting and dealing with the great and practical interest of properly governing a country, a point in which he had no superior if equal in any government of the day. Accordingly we find that during the years he led the Government much useful and highly important legislation was placed upon the Statute Book. One of the first Official acts was the introduction and passing of the Simultaneous Polling Act, which provided for the holding of elections on one and the same day.

Previously, the vicious practice had obtained of moving the polls around from place to place, involving loss of time, much expense, and which was far worse encouraging habits of rowdiness, intemperance and bribery. Then came the Counties' Incorporation Act and many other measures of importance. One of his greatest political acts during his administration was the settlement of the difficulties with the General Mining Association, who as assignees of the Duke of York, to whom they had been granted, claimed the exclusive right to the Mines and Minerals of Nova Scotia, and who by virtue thereof possessed a practical monopoly of the coal trade. After a protracted negotiation a compromise was effected, and an agreement entered into by which the General Mining Association ceded to the Government all their right and title to the unworked mines and minerals. Thus was a grievance of long standing amicably settled, and the right to the great wealth hidden in the bowels of the earth secured to the people of Nova Scotia.

It would not be right for me to close this paper without reference to the active part Mr. Johnston took in the Confederation of the British Provinces in Canada. Both he and Mr. Howe had been enthusiastic advocates of some scheme of union for these Provinces, and had advocated it, both on the floors of the Legislature and on public platforms. A writer, whose biographical sketch of Johnston's is before me, described his speech in 1854 in the House of Assembly, when introducing a resolution on the subject as one which for breadth of conception, deep research, fervent patriotism and glowing eloquence has rarely been equalled, and which by many has been considered his greatest effort.

I could go at very great length into much more of the work he accomplished for the benefit of his Country, although very much of this is fast passing away from the public mind or is already forgotten; but as I have already said this paper is not intended as a history of the man or his times, but only a sketch of a lofty character that belongs to us and which we greatly prize; though he himself be long removed from the

scenes of his illustrious career. I have not attempted a comparison between him and any of his contemporaries, much less his great contemporary, Howe. He seems to me to stand apart from them all, unique in character, impossible of comparison; hardly a man you would expect to covet the honor of grappling with the exigencies of Colonial Politics, and who did not originally as a matter of fact covet such honor, as I have shown. I think of him rather as an English jurist or an eminent English Statesman in the massiveness of his character, the incorruptible integrity and intellectual strength of the man, who like many an English Jurist had fought well and fairly in the struggles of his day before being called to the highest post of honor.

Notwithstanding their antagonisms I think these two men liked each other as two worthy foemen should do after nearly a quarter of a century of warfare. When Mr. Howe died I wrote to Mr. Johnston who was then in the South of France, acquainting him with the fact. In due course I received a reply which I have mislaid, but recalling much of the past and speaking in terms almost of affection of him who was gone. Likewise Mr. Howe frequently spoke in terms of respect and admiration of his great opponent, and in referring to the fact that on the death of S. G. W. Archibald, Mr. Johnston who was then the Premier, and had in his hands the gift of filling the office of Master of the Rolls, relinquished his right and gave it to Mr. Stewart, Mr. Howe used these words:—"Mr. Johnston might have been on the Bench. I cannot but admire the consistency with which he has maintained his opinions at every personal hazard."

The History of these parties and their leaders is a long story covering many years, involving many changes, victory perching now on the banners of the one and anon on those of the other, until in their old age, having faithfully served their Country in many different capacities, these two old warriors lay down to their last rest.

As Justin McCarthy exclaimed in the words of Shakespeare while recalling the death of Lord Palmerston, "Unarm Eros the long day's task is *done* and we must sleep."

I well remember the Sunday morning in 1873 when Joseph Howe laid down to his last sleep in the venerable house that had been the home of England's Governors and Generals for almost a century and, as if the tragedy were not complete, James W. Johnston himself, hastening from the South of France, when summoned to fill the same honorable post, passed peacefully away only a few weeks later, on the shores of England, far from the scenes of his labors, his triumphs and his splendid life work.

Who shall not say of these great men, "after life's fitful fever, they sleep well."

## NOTES HISTORICAL AND OTHERWISE OF THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF QUEENS COUNTY.

By R. R. McLEOD, M. A.

(Read before the N. S. Historical Society, March 11th, 1902.)

The Northern District to-day consists of the following villages and hamlets:—South Brookfield, North Brookfield, Pleasant River, Caledonia, West Caledonia, Whiteburne, Devonshire, Hibernia, Harmony, Kempt, portions of Grafton and Northfield, Delong Settlement, Westfield, Rosette and Greenfield. With the exception of the latter village, these localities are continuous settlements, farm adjoining farm throughout. The population is about two thousand. The people are farmers and lumbermen for the most part. As a rule their circumstances are comfortable. There are schools in plenty, and ample accommodations for public worship. Denominationally the ground is covered by Baptists, Methodists, Roman Catholics, Free Baptists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians. Outside of this there are a few scattering heretics, the mavericks of the herd, who have never been rounded up, just enough of them to exemplify what Burns calls the "glorious privilege of being independent," and never feel the loop of a lariat tickle their horns or their hoofs.

This paper will be like wine, the longer it is kept the greater will be its value. If some person five hundred years hence could pull it out of a hiding place covered with the dust and cobwebs of time, he might learn how a little Anglo Saxon community in Nova Scotia was founded in the beginning of the nineteenth century; he could see how the swarm broke away from the parent hive in a natural manner, and got into other lodgement, and set up housekeeping for itself. I am very well persuaded that no such purpose awaits this production. Very likely it will go no further than your ears, and not so far as that unless you graciously lend them.

With the invitation to read a paper on this occasion was a suggestion that I take up some feature of Queens County history. I make this explanation to clear myself of any suspicion of partiality for this region that happens to be my birth-place. I am not so much wrapped up in the notion of its importance as Donald MacDonald, of Prince Edward Island, who informed his Boston employer that he came from "the Island." "What Island?" was the query. Hotly replied Donald—"What other Island is there but Prince Edward Island?"

The subject at present is not calculated to arouse more than a slender interest, and I charge myself with a measure of folly for quitting my cosy fireside to come here with a story about a few families who challenged the untamed wilderness, and made the small district of North Queens. In fact, my appearance here is a good natured response to a kind invitation, rather than a proof of any confidence in my packet of rustic trinkets. Said Pliny, "Nothing so paltry as man." There is truth enough in this remark to make one feel that perhaps a much larger community of people might not afford me a finer field for historic notes. National annals are dismal reading. Bloody battles, weak kings, and wicked courts, are the staple of historians. One lays down their books with a feeling that all the finest sentiments have been assulted. There is some consolation to be found in the fact that historical writers, with rare exceptions, do not tell us how the common people, the real nation, has lived, and hoped, and struggled for righteousness sake. They do not introduce us to the historic and virtuous scenes wherein the national life is kept sweet enough to counteract the evil influences of royal rascals, and all the degrading effects of unscrupulous ambitions and city slums.

The historian devotes whole pages to a court intrigue that from beginning to end was a lurid performance of iniquity; in the same space he might have told us how were ordered the households, far away in the country villages, where historic virtues are the commonplace affairs of life amid poverty and

privations. These communities of boorish people who seem "brother to the ox," are after all the foundation factor of the nation, they are indispensable, they preserve the proprieties and principles that are freely outraged where people huddle into great cities, and push, and pull, and scramble for all manner of prizes, from a crown to the rakings of the sewers. When the cup of civic iniquity runs over then the protest comes from the unspoiled country. Then John the Baptist speaks out his rebuke, and forthwith his head rolls into a platter. Bunyan drops his tinker's tools to cry aloud, and Bedford jail is the answer to his message. George Fox abandoned his cobbler's kit to proclaim the authority of the inward voice, and straightway the prison doors swing open to receive him. The rustic virtues are in some way gotten into a kind of sinking fund to be used for the general good. In the interests of highest civilization the city must exist. No art, nor science, nor literature, unless men of like taste can act together along one or more of these lines. The country is moral, it has no delicate vices, there are no "sweet sinners" as Father Taylor styled his son-in-law!

Some fifty years ago the Northern District sent a Member to the House of Assembly, one of their own raising. He wore a homespun suit, woven by his wife, and spun by his daughters. He could hear the Decalogue and feel no self-reproach, but at the Governor's table it was more than rumored that he drained the contents of his finger bowl down his throat. He made a few sensible useful speeches, and wrote in fairly good English. He was unpurchasable, one could not pull him up by the roots unless the moral law came up with him. He knew nothing of any kind of "log-rolling" but the real thing in the burnt-land, and his acquaintance with the "flowing bowl" began and ended with this simple mishap, and yet his supporters during a whole generation tickled and nudged each other in the ribs over that incident, and lost sight of his valuable services long before they ceased to laugh over a harmless incident that any one of them might have perpetrated. I mention this matter

to show that the rustic must observe the proprieties or his own influence for good is put to peril, both at home and abroad. It is not a matter of morals, but of manners. Said Davy Crockett, "I reckon that people can love just as hard in the country as they can in the city," but that is not all. The real elegancies of the best society have all been won, they are trophies that were fought for, and not the inventions of fobs and snobs.

I am not referring to the mere make believe tinsel of social etiquette, the endless bowing, and scraping, and hand-kissing antics that have not as much heart in them as the nose rubbing salutations of savages, but I am thinking of the wholesome regulations of well ordered homes, the social amenities, and proper courtesies founded on good feeling, good taste, and proper respect for others. These are the "wedding garments" of the parable, the proper passport to desirable circles, and no amount of merit in shirt sleeves can gain admission. The city is more favorable to the evolution of these goodly products than the backwoods, but well mannered, useful, heroic persons arise from the most divergent conditions. Said Demosthenes, "It is a tale brief and familiar to all, for the examples by which you may still be happy are to be found not abroad, men of Athens, but at home." The Bayards, the Sidneys, the Howards, the Nightingales and Garrisons are the conspicuous exponents of underlying and universal virtues that are independent of birth, and vocation. The requirements of a gentleman are so simple that the man who sweeps the street crossing may fill the bill.

But for this readiness of nature to ignore the artificial distinctions, and grow her choice products on every "coign of vantage," we would as a race, still be in a state of pre-apedom. In the city there are dangers from congestion of population, in the country there are disadvantages from too wide separation.

One must not be too thick with moose and bear. There is a shaggy unkempt side to Nature herself that one hand had not



better loll and lallygag with overmuch, if he values the finer fibres of his make up. Knives and forks, and combs and brushes were never suggested by her. It is quite easy to be extravagant in praise of the country; so we find Emerson warmly declaring that a countryman shall be my master of revels, he who knows what sweets and values are in the ground, the plants, the heavens, and how to come at the legal enchantment, is the rich royal man. Emerson always saw his doubt in this imaginary rustic. Not one countryman out of every hundred is naturally selected as a master of these revels amid the high delights of nature. The rule is that the backwoodsman who drives his team through woods, and meadows, and barrens, gives but small heed to the objects and scenery about him from any but a practical point of view. Not for him the alders shaking their tresses in the crisp air of April, sow glistening pollen in the track of the sunbeam, or the Rhodora in leafless bloom is breaking into acres of blushing loveliness. Not for him the evening star is mirrored in the wayside pool; and Orion, grand in starry magnitudes, shoulders up the deep vault, and receives no glance of curiosity, awe, or wonder. The contest for bread, and clothing, and shelter, takes precedence of the finer interest, while it is true that we cannot live our highest and best on bread alone; still we must have the bread, or there will soon be no living of any kind. It is not only "philosophy that bakes no bread," but poetry, and art, and literature, and all the higher sentiments fail to feed these bodies of ours. When Burns breaks into pathetic poetry over the modest crimson-tipped flower that he buried under the sod of his plowshare, and the mouse he had "turned out" with the "cruel coulter" from his "wee bit heap of leaves and stibble," then we know that he is a poet, and by the same sign we know that he is not a farmer. He must get closer to the ground than that if he is to win his bread at first and from old Scotia's stingy soil.

The introduction of so many inventions for agricultural uses have given the farmers more leisure for some purposes, and the opening up of roads, and the means of travel, are fast

making the old conditions impossible. The farmers may yet be able to break into verse over the tragedies of wild life around them, and find the time to make acquaintance with the thrush that sings down the sun, and the flowers that bloom in the fields and fence corners of his goodly acres. It may be of interest for me to here present you with a type specimen of the older order, the vanishing race, the men who loved the soil better than they loved mice, and daisies, and birds. He was a near neighbor of mine, and not many years ago he reached his three score and ten. He lived on a lone farm that he had won from the forest. During his last days as he lay in bed, he requested a neighbor attendant to bring him from a fresh plowed field a goodly measure of the upturned furrow. Propped on pillows, with a box full before him, he took up the fresh earth tenderly to his toil crooked hands, pressed it, and let it go, and gathered it again, over and over, in a silent caressing fashion showing that he had loved this kindly soil, which he had so long plowed and hoed, and planted and sowed, till it was hard to part forever. That man was unacquainted with books, he cared not much for churches, and the higher festivities of nature about him were unheeded. He contracted no debts, was never idle, but seemed ever so practical that no one mistrusted that his sentiments had taken root in the soil, and only the wrench of parting disclosed his secret love to himself and his acquaintances. He was no poet in the ordinary sense of the word, but he was a successful farmer, always had some ready cash to spare a neighbor in a pinch. He might have succeeded in his vocation with more school learning, but the chances are that the closer he got down to the soil he tilled, the better for his larder and pocket book.

I am going to tell you about every day people, about the pioneers of an hundred years ago who went to work after the fashion of their fathers to add an increment of settled territory to the British Empire. Their Anglo Saxon instincts guided them well. They builded better than they knew. Like ants and bears, and bees, when each one had acted according to his

inclination there is an orderly result. No such home makers as these Anglo Saxons; they will take more pains to be comfortable where they expect to remain a month than other men who intended to live there for years. They are no campers, but true children of the soil, making their houses their castles, and determined to get some creature comforts beneath their roofs, be they never so lowly. An Highland Scot will for a lifetime rub his eyes in smoke that after a while finds its way out of a ragged hole in the roof, where an Englishman would have a fireplace, and chimney of sticks and clay if he could do no better, and that in a single month. I am in hope that the slender strain of highland blood in my own veins will save me from any rough repudiation of this remark. As a proper plaster for that wound these mountain Kelts may console themselves that a few drops of their blood goes a long way in fertilizing the more prosaic British strains, with poetry, dash, and vigor of intellectual temperament. Shakespeare, Burns, Scott, Ruskin, Carlyle, and Byron, their pedigrees soon run into the wild glens, to be lost in the clash of claymores and clans.

Two or three years ago M. Demoulin wrote a work in French entitled, "Anglo Saxon Superiority, to what it is due." This book caused a good deal of discussion, for the author was well known, and this theme he exhaustively discussed, after a prolonged experience among all classes of England. He makes this statement Anglo Saxon comfort in the home is the first consideration; he gives less to out door life, and more to home life. He has a way of looking upon his home as the citadel of his independence. He names it by a name which expresses much more than his home, and which, as it has no equivalent in French, I cannot translate—**Home**. This Saxon word evolves an idea less material and definite than our own word "le foyer," the hearth. It means rather the interior arrangement, the comfort, of every day life, which is characteristic of the Anglo Saxon **Home**; whether in the farmhouse, town dwellings, or workman's cottage.

Lile ancient Gaul, Queens County is divided into three parts, and there the similitude ends. If all the Railway surveys made within its boundaries were marked on a map, we would see that it is really divided into many hundred parts, with criss-cross lines like a checker board. Scarcely a rabbit that has not been routed from his hiding place, or partridge unscared from its retreat, these many years, by the axe-men and chain-men, and the retinue of followers. By this simple device that cost much less than a really truly Railroad, the people over there in the woods have keenly enjoyed this imaginary line. One old resident of four score years, as he lost his grip and slipped away, made the gruesome request of me that I should look after it that his "bones had a good ride on the thing when it came;" but I suggested the propriety of securing the services of a much younger man. A young chap, fresh from the country, with a fine conceit of himself, caught a pick-pocket relieving him of his pocket-book before he got out of the depot, he promised to let him go if he would tell him the reason for selecting him as a victim among so many others. Glad of such an offer the thief replied that it was on account of the width of his hat band. I need not make the application of this incident. At any rate the people in the Northern District are now quite content since they have a fine line all the way from New Germany station to Caledonia Corner, and it only lacks rails and locomotives and things to make it all the heart can desire in that direction, and little items of that kind will not be long delayed.

The three parts of Queens County are the Townships of Liverpool and Guysborough and the undelimited region of the Northern District. The coast is occupied by the two former divisions. For a long time the French did a little fishing and fur trading business in Liverpool, or in the vicinity where the town was afterward built, but they made no settlement there. DeMonts found in 1604 a captain Rossignal there in his vessel trading with the Indians, and treated him in a very shabby fashion. A lot of New Englanders from Plymouth and vi-

cinity, for the most part, secured a Grant and began a settlement there in 1760, they were excellent material for an enterprise of that kind. They had been well seasoned in a school of rugged and varied experiences. A large percentage of them were descendants of the Mayflower Pilgrims but three and four generations removed, and say what you will to the contrary, never went better British stuff and stamina to the building of a colony. Writing in 1828 Haliburton says that "Liverpool is the best built town in Nova Scotia. The houses are spacious substantially good, and well painted, and there is an air of neatness in the place, which distinguishes it from every town in the Province." You will notice that the date of their arrival, was at the very time when the fertile and cultivated lands of the expelled Acadians were attracting some New England settlers. Why the proprietors of the township of Liverpool showed a preference for that barren rock-bound region is not readily explained. They were amply informed about the Bay Shore and its opportunities for farming and fishing. One of their number, Capt. Sylvanus Cobb, assisted with his vessel in carrying away these unhappy people, but he built a substantial house in Liverpool at once, and it still remains in good living order. They may have relished the prospect of tackling a rough proposition of that kind. If it was the sort of thing they liked, and sought, then their wishes were surely gratified. During some of the early winters they played havoc with the rabbits, and tided over until the kiaks began to run in the spring. In less than a score of years, the war of the American Revolution came on, and what with the privateering, and other incidents of the struggle, the sun of prosperity rose on the brave community. They were builders of vessels, and sailed them as fearless as Vikings. At the close of the century there was some crowing among them. They had long ago settled the shore in a sparse degree, and pushed up the river a couple of miles to the Falls, that was afterwards called Milton, and they hitched wheels to the fine water powers, and set the stream to sawing boards. Thus far, next to no farming had been done. Fishing, lumbering, shipbuilding, West India trading, and a

little gardening were the forms of industry that kept them in a measurable degree of comfort. If a man wanted a garden thereabouts he could secure it only by doing a great deal of work. There was a superabundance of stones, great and small, out of the ground, and in the ground, the more one dug the more he found. There was just enough mud and gravel to chink in among them, and hold them fast all the way down to bed rock. Among my possessions is a Petition from certain of the inhabitants of Liverpool, more than a century ago, addressed to the local powers, and praying that the aforesaid privileges once enjoyed directly by their pigs, and indirectly by themselves of running at large, might be restored to them. or all pork raising was out of the question. What a pig at large could do towards his maintenance where he could not get his snout under ground, and there was no great thing to his taste out of ground, is a difficulty that comes up afresh every time I chance to come on that time-stained document.

At any rate, after forty years, it was discovered that some twenty-five miles to the northward, on the Port Medway river and its tributaries, there were hills clothed in noble hardwood forests where in all probability good crops could be grown.

At this point I might as well tell something about the surface conditions in a very general way. Like all the Atlantic water shed the whole region is occupied by the slates and quartzites that had their origin in an older land, that many million years ago was beaten into sand and mud by the invading waves that at last wallowed over the foundations of this lost Atlantic. Vast geocentric agencies arising from a cooling, shrinking globe threw these strata into waves that denuding forces attacked as they arose, sweeping away their crests, and exposing their ante-clinal cores, in which are stored the gold mines of the Province.

As if it were but an hour ago in comparison to the age of these Cambrian rocks a vast ice sheet more than a mile in depth, crawled over the land and into the sea; it was the

fringe of a polar ice cap that invaded Northern America almost to Florida, and overwhelmed all our land, and left everywhere the evidences of its operations during thousands of years. These evidences consist of beds of clay, gravel and sands, ledges polished and scratched, and grooved by the irresistible glacier and boulders transported far from their native strata. This ice sheet was melted at last and disappeared, while all the land was drowned in the resulting floods. More than once it came, with intervals of thousands of years between; and we are very likely living in the long midsummer of an interglacial Age, to be closed by a repetition of this overwhelming disaster, that seems to be linked into the astronomical order of our solar system. We need not be fidgety about this impending disaster, for it must be many thousands of years in the future, and all fine projects and public works may go on as if nothing of the kind was on the cards.

It was during the closing of this epoch, that the hills of the Northern District were made, and all the loose material thereabouts was needed to prepare them for human use, and there was nothing to spare for the Southern Townships that must look to the sea for support. These gifts of the glaciers were discovered by the people of Liverpool, but they seemed very far away; twenty five and thirty miles of pathless wilderness, much of it difficult to traverse, but all of it rough and unexplored. Even if one had a farm out there it was no bonanza. There was nothing very tempting in the prospect of owning broad acres beyond the bounds of all neighborhoods of fellow creatures, and yet there was no lack of sturdy men from the Southern District to enter the forest domain with the resolute purpose of making homes for themselves. Reckoned in years they are not far away from us, but considering the changes in the manner of life, in this single century, they seem to belong to a remote antiquity, and their outfit for the work in hand was crude and insufficient, entailing many hardships unknown to this generation. It is very difficult to realize that the men and women who moved upon this wilderness to make conquest

of the haunts of wild things almost within the memory of some of us, were living before the great inventions and discoveries of the nineteenth century that have revolutionized the world. For love nor money not one of them could have obtained a match, a screw auger, or a better light than a candle, not a wire nail, a safety pin, a clothes pin, a clothes line, a cooking stove, or Butterick's patterns and a Ladies' Home Journal could be found in all the wide world! Bread-stuffs were dear, and rum was cheap, and there seems to have been as much appetite for one as the other, and yet drunkards were not at all common. The rum was simply molasses bedevilled in the distillery, but since then man has sought out many inventions, and not the least of them have been the "tanglefoot," and "forty rod" whiskies, and the mysterious cocktails into which have entered more demons than set crazy the Gadarine pigs!

Among the residents of Queens County in the closing years of the eighteenth century was William Burke. He was not born there. His father, Walter Burke, had come from England with his wife, and settled in Halifax. This son was born on the voyage across. The father was a blacksmith, and found work in connection with naval repairs during the few years of his life. At his death the family was broken up, and this small boy was adopted by Mr. Samuel Mack, of Mill Village, and grew to manhood in that respectable family. He was a skillful hunter, a good axe man, and knew the haunts and ways of the wild creation about him. It had been a generation since the Indians had indulged in a scalping fray, and several families of them were living in the outskirts of Liverpool, and Mill Village. Burke became a favorite with them. He had a most amiable temper, was strong and sturdy of body, and well calculated to win their admiration and friendship. They invited him into the northern wilderness to join their hunting trips. They took the usual route up the Medway River. Once in that region the white man saw what the red man could not see. He saw opportunities to make farms, and cut timber and build mills. His enthusiasm kindled at the prospect of making



a home in this virgin district and the intervening hardships did not cool his ardour.

Sixteen years before he had married Mary, a daughter of Edward Foster of Liverpool, but formerly of New England, where the family gave a mother to Rufus Choate, who closed his brilliant career in this city of Halifax by a seeming chance. Although the mother of several young children, this heroic woman did not shrink from the proposal of her husband to be the first settler in this new field of opportunities. She was an admirable mate for her husband, and entered into his project with a good will. They were scantily supplied with cash, but richly endowed with energy, hope and courage. They were wholesomely pious persons, given to the practice of great hospitality, and every other virtue that their humble circumstances permitted. This brave woman lived to see a flourishing community grow up from their small beginnings. Fifty-eight years after her journey into the woods she fell asleep in her 88th year of her long pilgrimage, outlasting her husband by a score of years.

The location of their first home was in South Brookfield, twenty-four miles in the most direct distance from Liverpool. Mr. Burke departed this life in October, 1833, in the 71st year of his age, having lived always in the esteem of all who knew him, and a suitable monument erected by the people of the District, is sacred to the memory of him and his devoted wife.

Within a couple of years, another settler came in the person of James Daley, with his wife, and three or four children. He had come to Shelburne in 1763, in the train of the loyalists from New York. He married in Shelburne, in 1769, Clarissa Buchanan, and the next year moved to Petite Riviere, and shortly to Liverpool, and then to Port Medway where he met Mr. Burke, and went into the new district; the name is now borne by very worthy persons. His son Wentworth, named after the Governor, was the first child of white parentage born in this District. He has no descendants.

I cannot pretend to give the exact order, after this, in which the settlers came, nor will I attempt to name those whose stay was only long enough to convince them that some other corner of the wide world would better answer their purposes. There was a natural selection operating among them; the call came to more than were chosen. The next was James Freeman of Liverpool, son of Samuel Freeman, of Sandy Cove, one of the best known proprietors of the Township. The young pioneer had married ten years before, Hannah, a daughter of David Barss, and with her and five children began the new life in South Brookfield; there he made an excellent farm, and reared a large family of useful men and women. Mr. Freeman did not live much past middle life, but his widow long survived him, and comes easily within my own recollection.

The call came next to Richard Carder, of Liverpool, a native of New England, a boat builder by trade. He had married Mary, a daughter of Lothrop Freeman and Experience Knowls. With his wife and three or four children he pushed on beyond Brookfield a half dozen miles to Pleasant River, where he made a farm and reared a respectable family.

Very likely the next settler was Zenas Waterman, a native of Kingston, Mass., who had been engaged in the battle of Bunker Hill, on the American side of the contest. With him came his wife Eunice Deane, a daughter of James Deane and Hannah Atkins of Liverpool, and several children. They made a good home, and a large family of sons and daughters settled around them: a marked contribution to the intelligence and energy of the District.

About this date of 1804 came Thomas Christopher, an English sea captain, who had during several years sailed out of Liverpool, where he married Mary Parker, a daughter of Captain Benjamin Parker. Mr. Christopher settled in the southern end of South Brookfield, where he finally made a farm, but did not live very long to enjoy the fruits of his labor. A large family survived him, and his sons became active pioneers thereabouts.

A little later came John Cameron, a son of Lieutenant Cameron, of the Orange Rangers, and his wife Lucy Godfrey, of Liverpool, but a native of Chatham, New England, a mingling of Yankees and Kelt. He was a man of great stature and vigor, and came within a few months of rounding out his full century. With him came his wife Hannah, a daughter of Thomas Hayden, of Lockeport. She outlived him and overrun the hundred years. Their home was first made in Pleasant River, but later that holding was sold to James Lohnas, and they began again in the extreme southern end of South Brookfield, where a large family grew up around them, and settled in the vicinity, reached the allotted span of life and passed away.

It will be readily seen that there was no gold mine rush for this new region, where after a dozen years there was not a framed house, and a rough road barely passable with heavy wagons afforded the only means of communication with the coast settlements. In spite of this uninviting outlook there were men ready to come who had sailed the sea, and visited many countries, and had means enough to make themselves very comfortable amid other surroundings.

In 1811 Mr. Burke sold his improvements to Capt. Josiah Smith, a son of Stephen Smith, of Liverpool, a native of Chatham, Mass., who was fifth in descent from Stephen Hopkins, a notable Mayflower Pilgrim. Smith was supplied with some ready cash. His wife was a daughter of Capt. Joseph Barss, of Liverpool, and was then the mother of four little girls. Mr. Smith built the first framed and boarded house, and also a grist mill that must have proved a great boon to the settlement. His hospitable doors were ever open to the needy, and there he closed a long life within my childish recollection. My mother was his daughter, and rode behind him on horseback when a very little girl, as she made her first trip into the country.

About this time John Foster, of Port Medway, followed his brother-in-law Mr. Burke, and made a small farm adjoining that of Mr. Cameron. His wife was Dorcas Smith, a daughter

of Jonathan, one of the Township Proprietors. Mr. Foster lived but a few years in his new home before the final summons came. Descendants of his daughter Hannah, are in the District.

From Milton, near this date, came Wheeler Minard, son of Elijah Minard, with his wife Sarah Slocomb, daughter of Capt. Robert Slocomb, of Liverpool, but a native of England. They settled near the centre of Brookfield. Later in life they moved up the country to Harmony, where he lived to a ripe old age within my recollection, leaving several sons and a daughter, who have all responded to the inevitable "Thou Must," leaving a numerous and respectable posterity.

At this time appeared Barnabas Harlow, of Milton, son of Robert, and his wife Eunice Freeman, daughter of Barnabas. Robert Harlow was fifth in descent from Isaac Allerton of the Mayflower Pilgrims, the notable trading spirit of the group. Barnabas came with his young wife and settled in Brookfield, but he was soon deprived of her company. She was the first to die in the district. He laid her away on the hillside near the schoolhouse, in sight of his window, but he left that locality to make a farm further north a couple of miles, and in time could no longer point out the grave of his first love, though he sought it diligently. He lived a long time, married again, and had other children, and his descendants are with us.

With Barnabas came his brothers Silas and Abial, the former had married Cynthia Freeman, daughter of Enoch Freeman and Rebecca Gardner. The latter had taken to wife Fear Minard, a daughter of Elijah, of Milton. Silas settled in North Brookfield, where he lived to an advanced age, and left sons and daughters who are still with us.

Abial pushed a little beyond Harmony, where he conquered a piece of the forest, brought up a large family in reasonable comfort, came within one year of living a full century, worked hard, was contented with his lot, and died in the esteem of his

neighbors, and I suppose it was for every day people like him for whom God made the world.

John Harlow, a cousin of the foregoing, and son of Abner and Mary Slocomb, about this time, 1820, came from Milton, and made a farm in Harmony. He married Susannah, a daughter of Capt. Josiah Smith, of Brookfield. They reared a dozen children to men and women, and rejoiced in the goodly number, and died in a good old age.

James B. McLeod was a close next in the procession, a native of Liverpool, son of James and Mary Murray his wife, a daughter of William Murray, and Joanna Tupper. The young man got him a wife in Brookfield, marrying Ann, daughter of Josiah Smith. He was a ship builder, and boat builder by trade, but hewed out a farm from the woods, and twelve children they brought up to the estate of men and women, and never was a doctor called to see the mother or one of her children. My own turn came at the ninth birth sixty years ago, and that was so far away that I seemed to have been born in the Stone Age, for I can remember watching my elder brothers get fire in the morning by the use of flint, steel, and tinder, because matches were not yet invented. I can recall that my mother made the candles in moulds for household use, and took one with her when she went to meeting in the little school house, as her contribution to a not very brilliant illumination. My father made two farms, the first in Westfield, and the second in Brookfield, and carried on some lumbering operations, but Nature never intended him for either calling. Both he and my mother lived past their fourscore years.

With my father came Ephraim Hunt, of Liverpool, a son of Ephraim, and grandson of Samuel a proprietor of the Township, and fourth in descent from Governor William Bradford, of Plymouth. Ephraim married Olivia, a daughter of Josiah Smith, and settled in Westfield, a few miles to the westward, where he made a farm and lived a few years till his family was broken up by the death of his wife. He closed a long life in

Grafton, and left four sons and a daughter, all living but the youngest son.

A little earlier, or later, arrived George Harlow, of Milton, brother of John, just mentioned. With him was his young wife Azuba Cole. Mr. Harlow made a farm in the far end of North Brookfield, near the beautiful lakes, where he saw his sons and daughter settle around him in comfortable homes, and the final summons came to him and his wife after many years.

About 1820 there was an addition to the District by the arrival of seven Scotchmen. They were all single men with but one exception. Two were stone masons, two were carpenters, two were wheelwrights. They began the settlement of Caledonia. They were all industrious and helpful men in the community, and had no difficulty to find helpmates among the good families of the County. Alexander Spears, a native of Greenock, son of Robert Spears and Elizabeth Sweet, married Charlotte, daughter of Capt. Benjamin Freeman, and Elizabeth Nickerson, his wife, and cleared a farm on the border of the first lake on the Caledonia road. Later he moved to Westfield, and later to Brookfield, where he ended a long life thirty years ago, his wife surviving him. Their descendants are numerous.

Andrew McLeod, a bare kneed Highlander when he came, married Sarah Lohnas, of Lunenburg County, and made a farm adjoining that of Mr. Spears. This couple lived there the natural span of life, and always worthy of respectful appreciation. They left no posterity.

Allan McLean, another kilted Highlandman, must have been not long from his native heath; my mother remembered his strange garb on his first coming. He soon got himself into a more taking courting rig for our girls, and captured Eliza, a daughter of Thomas Christopher, of Brookfield, and settled at Caledonia, where a large family was reared. Later in life Mr. MacLean followed his children to Boston, where they

were in prosperous circumstances, and there ended his days. His wife had died many years before in the old home.

John Douglas, with a fine face, and a rich accent, won a wife in the person of Abigail Foster, of Port Medway, a daughter of Milton Foster and Phoebe Tucker his wife. They made a beautiful home at Caledonia. A large family grew up around them, but these in turn have all passed away with the exception of two daughters, as it seems to me.

Richard Telfer married a sister of McLean's wife, Mary Christopher by name, and settled on a lot adjoining that of Douglas, where he cleared a good farm. He did not live to great age. Two sons and two daughters are still among our respectable and useful people. His wife long outlived him.

George Middlemas had married in Scotland Margaret Douglas, a sister of our John, and they came with two or three children, and made a home a mile up on the West Caledonia Road. Twice their houses were burned, entailing great hardships. Mrs. Middlemas long outlived her husband, a most useful woman in the whole community, and far past the four-score she told me of her ninety days' voyage from Scotland. Their four sons and a daughter are all dead, but the old couple are represented by a numerous posterity.

David Middlemas, brother of George, married Mary Freeman, daughter of James and Hannah Freeman, of Brookfield, and settled on the West Caladonia road, where he had a comfortable home and lived long enough to see his grand children grow up about him.

Near this time came Capt. Hallet Collins, of Liverpool and his wife Rhoda Peek, formerly of New England. This new settler was a brother of the Hon. Enos Collins, of Halifax. At that time fortune had not very distinctly smiled on the family, and Hallet did not seem to be contented with his lot at home. He had married Margaret Reynolds, of Halifax, who was not well calculated for this pioneer life, and soon gave

up the struggle. Her husband as usual consoled himself with another, a Miss Flower, of Annapolis County. He lived first in South Brookfield, and afterwards in North Brookfield. I don't think he ever cleared an acre of land, but in later years he was the Nabob of the District, driving the first covered buggy and amusing himself sailing his boat. The country seemed to be good for what ailed him, and he stuck to it a long while, in fact as long he lasted, and that was well in to the time for me to recall his appearance. He left two children Francis, a merchant of Liverpool, and Caroline, who married Edward Bishop, of Annapolis.

This new region seemed to have special attraction for sea captains, and the fourth of that calling was Captain Nathaniel Smith, of Liverpool, where he had sailed as master. He was the youngest son of Stephen Smith and Mahetable Eldridge, and uncle to Josiah, of Brookfield. He was able to hire help and soon had a good farm and a comfortable home. He was the first magistrate of the District, at a time when these officials were not so plentiful, that it was a greater distinction to run clear of a commission than it was to receive one. They had a fashion in those days of matching the men with the office, and they dared write on their escutcheons the motto of the Earl of Lonsdale, "*The Magistracy shows the Man.*" The old Romans had the fine saying that "the man should give dignity to his house and not expect his house to give dignity to him." The same rule should apply in official appointments, but we have got into the dispensation of "pulls," and merit does not count in the distribution of desirable plums. You will pardon this little aside, and we will go on to say that Mr. Smith had married Ruth, a daughter of Robert Millard and Ann Crowell, of Liverpool, by whom he had several children. They lived to old age and their descendants are numerous but their children are all dead.

About 1822 arrived Elisha Freeman, son of Peleg Freeman of Milton, and his wife Hannah Deane. He married Marie Coville, daughter of Timothy Coville, of Barrington, and made



his farm in Pleasant River, there the last house he built is yet in fair condition. Mr. Freeman died in middle life, leaving a very large family, and two of them are yet living.

Peleg Freeman, brother of Elisha Freeman, married Rebecca, daughter of Levi Minard and his wife Rebecca Kempton, of Milton, daughter of Richard, the ancestors of all the numerous persons of that name in Queens County. Mr. Freeman settled in Kempt, where he continued till death. A few descendants survive.

Deane Freeman, a brother to Elisha, married a daughter of Timothy Coville, and made a beginning in Pleasant River, but moved to Kempt, where he cleared a farm and reared a family, and went the way of all the earth, leaving sons and daughters to continue his posterity, a matter not at all neglected.

The Freemans were even then a host in themselves; they got a fine start. The first white child born in the County was Simeon Freeman, and among the original settlers of Liverpool was Elisha Freeman and his six marriageable sons, and besides outside of them were two other remotely connected families. Small wonder it is that they overflowed into the northern District in numbers above all other names, but they were ever a sober industrious stock, and good material for the work in hand; and the next on the list is Simeon, a brother of the three last named. He married Mahetable MacLearn, of Port Mouton. Mr. Freeman kept in touch with his brothers, and began his farm near their lines, and made him a home where he did not live to old age. A family survived him but all of them were much scattered up and down in the earth.

Another brother was Bartlett who married Nancy McLearn, and settled in the same locality. Some members of his family are yet alive.

And yet there was another of the sons of Peleg to try the country life in the person of Zoeth Freeman, who married Charlotte Parker, daughter of Major Nathaniel Parker of

X Nictaux, who was the father of sixteen children, who grew to adult life, married and had families. Zoeth settled in Harmony, where he died in the prime of life leaving a large family that yielded three College bred Baptist ministers, two of them still living.

We are by no means done with this stock, and the next is David Freeman, son of Nelson, son of Simeon, son of Elisha, and that takes us back to New England. I had intended to say that David was the son of Mercy Whitman, wife of Nelson, and daughter of John Whitman, and Mary Foster his wife, who were well known pioneers of Annapolis County. In the Autobiography of John Stuart Mill there is no mention of his mother, who was a very worthy woman, but the whole story is saturated with minute notices of his father. For my own part I never had much admiration or use for John Stuart's brains after I discovered that he had no heart. Men are very ready to magnify their importance at the expense of the wives and mothers who have done by far the larger part of all the wholesome tasks and duties that have raised mankind out of the ditch of savagery. I know very well that this remark does not quite belong here, but nevertheless, it explains why I have so persistently kept in view the mothers of the Northern District, whose names were learned at my mother's knee in childhood, and learned so well that this paper was prepared two weeks ago with but slight assistance of memoranda or persons. It may seem like small business to store men's memory with the commonplaces of existence, but after all, "out of the heart are the issues of life," and the humble objects and lowly occupations of everyday people are our best instructor. "The hen gathering her chickens under her wing, the leaven hidden in a measure of meal, the hundred sheep gone astray, the salt that had lost its savor, the candle under a bushel, the fowls of the air, the lilies of the field, the grain of mustard seed, the bruised reed, the smoking flax, two sparrows sold for a penny, the patches on old garments, two women grinding, the sower, the sheep that went astray, the burdens on men's shoulders, the children asleep in the house,

the late comer at his work, the children piping in the market place, the tares among the wheat, the sheep fallen into the pit, the woman searching for a penny," these are a sample of the illustrations by the greatest of Teachers who had learned them at first hand from the common people who heard him gladly.

After this digression we will get back again to our point of departure, to David Freeman, who married Doziah, daughter of William Mack, of Mills Village, and Mary Burbank his wife. They settled in Pleasant River, made a fine farm, reared a useful family, lived till the "grasshopper became a burden," and there were more and better reasons for going than staying.

Perkins, a brother of David, settled in Kempt, somewhat later. He married Lucinda Hayes, of Milton, and his children are living thereabouts.

George Freeman, son of Dennis and Mercy Gorham his wife, and grandson of Barnabas Freeman, a town proprietor, made room for himself and family in the village of Harmony. He married Mary Kempton, of Milton. They passed away in old age, and some of their children, now past the fourscore mark, are still hale and hearty among us.

Another settler in Western Caledonia was George Freeman, son of Simeon, of Milton, and his wife Experience Ford, daughter of Theodosius. Of their family four are living, two of these are Congregationalist Ministers. Their mother was Katherine Kempton, of Milton.

Ford Freeman, a brother of the last named, married Susannah Miles, daughter of John Miles, a native of Norwich, England, and resident of Milton, and Thankful Freeman his wife, daughter of Barnabas. Mr. Freeman settled in Kempt finally, where he lived long, and sons and daughters still survive.

Somewhat earlier than the last named came three Scotchmen, direct from the land of oaten cakes and common schools. They were all married men, and by name John Sheriff, Alexan-

der Sheriff, and William Baxter. The first of the list settled in Whiteburn where he made a farm that he later left to his son while he went to Liverpool and opened a Magistrate's office and remained there till the end came, an intelligent, liberally educated man. His descendants are in the community.

Alexander died not long after his arrival, and his son David took up the pioneer work and fell in the harness a few months ago, in the ripeness of old age, in the village of Whiteburne, where his widow and daughters reside.

Mr. Baxter settled near Caledonia, where he made a farm, and reared a family, and his grandchildren are in possession of the old home.

Mr. Baxter was a native of Aberdeen. His wife was a More. James Bryden, a native of Scotland, with his wife Mary Hogg, was among the settlers before 1830. Several children came with them. He was a scholarly man, and ill-calculated to struggle with the rough surroundings. On his mother's side, by the Ewarts, his grandsons have learned that he was a second cousin of Mr. Gladstone, who gave one of them a kindly reception at his home on the score of the relationship. Mr. Bryden was at one time a merchant in Liverpool, England, but failed there in business. He settled in Brookfield by some turn of chance, where he was magistrate, schoolmaster and farmer. As a very small boy I attended his school, and recall his strong features, his broad accents, long birch rod, and the stories he told us of the soldiering days in the North of Ireland, where he was wounded in a scrimmage, and as a proof of it showed us the scar on the calf of his leg. He was an old man then, and this was a noon diversion for us. His sons were all clever men, but they have passed on.

Job Harrington, another sea captain, settled at North Brookfield Corner, where he made a farm and lived to the end of a long life. He was a son of Benjamin Harrington, of Liverpool, and Bethiah Smith, his wife. He married Sarah Cobb, of Liverpool, and there were no children.

From Shelburne County came Donald MacPherson, where his parents resided. He married Letitia, daughter of Major Nathaniel Parker, of Nictaux, and settled at North Brookfield, where a family grew up about them. John MacPherson, of rare poetical talent, was his nephew, and married his daughter. He was a son of James MacPherson, and his wife a daughter of Nathan Randall, a native of Virginia or thereabouts, but a resident of Liverpool. He, Randall and his wife died in South Brookfield.

A near neighbor to Mr. MacPherson was Luther Leadbetter, an American from the state of Maine, who married Maria Parker, a daughter of Nathaniel Parker, of Nictaux. Like most of the settlers, this couple lived a long time, and left a large family, and two or three are living.

Benjamin Annis, son of James Annis and his wife Lydia Holmes, of Liverpool, arrived about 1830. His father was a son of Thomas Annis, of Barnstable, Mass., and his wife Lydia Deane, who had first married Joseph Barrss, of Hyannis, Cape Cod. Benjamin married Lavinia Morine, of Port Medway, daughter of John Morine and Elizabeth Foster, and made a farm in Hibernia, a couple of miles from Caledonia Corner, where a large family was born to them, and grew to men and women, and some of their descendants are now living in the vicinity.

Thomas Annis, brother of James, married Charlotte Fraser, daughter of Simon Fraser, of Liverpool, and settled in West Caledonia, where their posterity are still living.

James Annis, a brother of the above mentioned, married Eunice Godfrey, of Brooklyn, and made room for themselves near his brother Thomas, where they lived a long time; in fact, Mrs. Annis filled out the hundred years. One child is living.

A little later there was a notable addition to the community by the arrival of several Irish families, who gave the name Hibernia to their settlement. I do not pretend to know of

their lives in the old home, but most of their faces are in the picture gallery of my boyhood. They were industrious people, very glad to have a few acres of their own in a land where a nobleman could not chase a fox through their cornfields, and no landlord could distraint them for rent. Their houses at first were rude affairs, as a matter of course, but they slept well under their own roofs of bark and splits, within walls of logs. In comparison to what some of them had experienced at home, they were veritable lords of the manor. My father was on excellent terms with them all, and was helpful to them in many ways, and so it came about that they rested and refreshed themselves in our home.

The following are the names most familiar to me. Patrick Lacy, Thomas O'Grady, Joseph Armstrong, Owen McGinty, John McGinty, Patrick McGinty, Thomas Meagher, Matthew Coad, Thomas Boyle, Dennis Bradley, Miles Corrigan, John Canning, Bernard Dowling, Thomas Jones, Patrick Jones, Thomas Keyes, John McBride, Frank McBride, Patrick Mensheon, Patrick Butler, William Butler, Nicholas Ennis, Mr. Cleary, John Donnelan, John Conway, William McGuire, James Bradley, John Cashman, Mr. Powell. These are all the names that occur to me now. With the exception of Thomas Boyle, a very aged man, they have all passed away, generally, after long lives, for the most part spent in comparative comfort, that had been won from no easy conditions, and their numerous descendants now live in much better circumstances. The wife of Joseph Armstrong was Mary Malone, of Thomas Meagher, was Barbara Hartlin.

Near this time arrived Zoeth Harlow, of Liverpool, son of Zoeth and Experience Hopkins, his wife. He married a daughter of Eli Page, of Liverpool, and settled in Western Caledonia, where he completed his days, leaving several daughters to continue his posterity.

James Forrest, a native of Scotland, married Hannah Freeman, daughter of James, of Brookfield, and settled in Whiteburn on the farm where his son James now resides.

Three brothers, Charles, Robert, and Benjamin Cushing, came from Annapolis County, and settled in this district. They were of New England stock, sons of Benjamin Boylston, Cushing and Martha Young. Charles married Jane, a daughter of Samuel Freeman, of Milton, and Rebecca Harlow his wife, and settled in Harmony, where he became a thrifty farmer, and both he and his wife lived upwards of ninety years. His descendants are numerous.

Benjamin married secondly, Elizabeth Ford, of Milton, a daughter of John Ford and Elizabeth Cole his wife, and made a farm in Kempt, where he reared a family, and lived to old age, and left sons and daughters. Some are living.

Robert married a daughter of Wheeler Minard, and settled in Kempt, and they had sons and daughters as a matter of course, and some of them are in that vicinity.

Zenas Waterman, a son of Zenas and Eunice, of Pleasant River, was among the pioneers. He was a robust, intelligent man, who made a farm, and erected superior buildings, and got on in the world; but he had a real interest in public affairs. He was especially interested and active in constructing good roads towards Liverpool, the only market. The earliest highways ran directly across the summits of all the hills in their direction. They were but improved foot paths. Largely under Mr. Waterman's direction new roads were made past these heavy obstructions to man and beast. A great artist was asked with what he mixed his colors— "With Brains, sir, was the reply." Mr. Waterman did likewise with his road work. He did not throw sods and loam into the road, dig off the washings from the sides and throw it plum into the middle of the highway; but all these blunders and absurdities are perpetrated at the public expense every day in the summer, by men who are appointed to lay out the public money, as a reward for party service or a preventive of party disloyalty. The money is worse than wasted nine times out of ten. We may be a long way ahead of our forefathers in some directions, but in the mat-

ter of making magistrates, and public roads, we are in the rough Stone Age of human progress. There is no better index of civilization than the condition of public highways. Rome proclaimed her superiority and right to rule, by the construction of the great roads that in some cases still defy the tooth of time.

However, we will not yet lose sight of my worthy man, who found a good helpmeet in the person of Experience Freeman, a daughter of Simeon Freeman of Milton, and Experience Ford, his wife, by whom there were many children, and some of them are still alive. Having been "faithful over a few things, he was made lord over many things," and sent to the House of Assembly, where he found something else to do than try to shoot the partridges from the apple trees by statutory means.

James Mullins, of Liverpool, son of John Mullins and his wife Barbary Tulloch, came to western Caledonia with his wife Charlotte, a daughter of James Harlow and Salome Nickerson, his wife. A comfortable home was made there and a large family was reared.

Among the settlers of Pleasant River, about 1820, was William Hendry, a native of Annapolis town, and son of William Hendry, of Scotland. He married Desiah Cole, daughter of Benjamin Cole, and Elizabeth Tupper, of Liverpool. They made a large farm; saw their family grow up, and settle around them.

Peleg Murray, a son of Charles and Hope Freeman his wife, of Milton, and grandson of William Murray and Joanna Tupper, settled in Pleasant River, and became a successful farmer. He married Miss Elizabeth Gardner, of Barrington. Children survive him, one of them is the Rev. Joseph Murray of Shelburne.

Richard Kempton, of New England, married Fear Curtis, in Liverpool, in 1762, and from that union sprang a numerous race, and the Northern District got a fair share of them. A practical, industrious family, making good citizens, and capital men for the new settlement.



Jacob Kempton, son of John and his wife Sarah Snow, married a daughter of Bartlett Freeman, of Pleasant River, and settled in Kempt.

John Kempton, brother of Jacob, married Susanna Dexter, of Liverpool, and settled in Harmony.

David Kempton, another brother, married Rebecca Harlow, daughter of Abner, of Liverpool.

Richard Kempton, son of Francis, of Milton, married a daughter of Richard Carder.

Francis Kempton, brother of Richard, married a Miss Collins.

Thomas Kempton, son of Curtis, of Milton, married first Delight Freeman; second, Mary Saunders; third Amelia Bousby. Several children are living.

Somewhat later than other settlers appeared W. S. Crocker, a New England man, who had married in Annapolis County Pamela Durland, and settled between North and South Brookfield, where several children grew up, and one son is Dr. L. J. Crocker a well known surgeon in Augusta, Maine. In fact, his father was called "Doctor," and rode with saddle bags, although he could not back them up with any regulation parchment. When he amputated a finger, the job was done with a mallet and chisel, and that saved all haggling, and was soon over with, and after the thing was wrapped up, nature was supposed to take her course and complete the work, which she generally did. He was a dentist whose whole equipment was an instrument that was a cross between a gimlet and a lumberman's cant-hook, and operated like a patent stump lifter. I have a keen remembrance of boyhood days, when he gave me the full value of his 15 pence fee, by getting the thing at work upon a troublesome tooth. In some cases with spleenish patients, who bragged a good deal about bodily troubles that the Doctor could not nail down on some offending organ, he burnt on leg

or arm a furious blister, that gave them something definite to think about. It localized their trouble, and the thing being in plain sight, and demanding some care there was a degree of relief afforded. This he called an "issue," whether it was because it brought matters to an issue, or a fee was to be the issue, is unknown to me. At any rate this was common practice, and perhaps that was just as defensible as it would have been to draw a string through the nape of the neck and let it remain there for months and call it a Seton, and do it with a diploma to fall back on. Our quaint old doctor practised long before invisible germs were caught red-handed raising a rumpus in these poor bodies. He never heard of antiseptic bandages and that sort of thing. He fumbled away in the dark, like all the rest of them, and no treatment was founded on the knowledge of the disease, or the certain operation of the remedies. If the latest word of science is true, and the human system is a sort of dynamo, and electricity-bearing *ions* play a vital part, then there will be a precipitate abandonment of a good deal of useless material of the ordinary medicine chest. At any rate, Doctor Crocker was not much in demand, but he lived past ninety years in the respect of his neighbors and in his own excellent estimation of his medical abilities. Three sons became physicans, and the other son is strongly inclined in that direction; so I take it the father was a natural genius. His operations were somewhat restrained by the lack of a diploma, and this was apparently a bit of good fortune for the community, as it did not give him so many chances to take away cold water, and fresh air, from sick people, and let good blood from those who needed every drop of it, and dispose of so many blue pills, as if he had been fitted out with a parchment permit to practice.

We are now living in the new dispensation, and medical men do not *know* quite so many things that are *not so*. We *now* keep two of these doctors hot under their collars all the time, with their efforts to stand off the grizzly spectre till a more convenient season; and yet people do not have to move away

to die. There are no more inhabitants than there were forty years ago, but they have not the courage to tackle a hard cold with a hot brick, a tub of warm water and a bundle of thoroughwort. It is mercifully withheld from us what the medical fraternity a century hence will think of *our* methods and means of curing these poor bodies. At any rate a good doctor is a very useful, comforting person in a community, and we shall continue to employ them till good health becomes catching.

Thomas Waterman, a son of Zenas the elder, married Mary Carder, a daughter of Richard, of Pleasant River, and settled in South Brookfield, where a family was born to them, and some members survive. Mr. Waterman drove the first mail to Liverpool, later to Annapolis. A man of many odd ways, brim full of humerous incidents, and not without a large measure of intelligence. He sometimes contributed prose and verse to the newspapers, and they never required his name to indicate the writer, for they had a quality all their own. I recall a bit of his verse on the Annapolis Valley, that runs in this way:

“Riding through the valley, with the sun ashining bright,  
One mountain on the left and another on the right,  
With the happy cottages all shaded o’er with trees,  
And the sweet perfume afloatin’ on the breeze.”

Even in the midst of his prose he was never quite safe from a visit from his muse. I recall that he was once writing on the the crime of throwing sods and bushes and mud into the road, under the pretence of repairing it, when he broke forth into this couplet:

“The bushes rot, the sods decay,  
The mud dries up and blows away.”

I had always wished that he had added another line or two, expressing a fervent desire that the guilty parties might dry up and blow away.

On one occasion there was a notice of his death put into the newspapers, and unexpectedly fell under his eye. An acquaint-

ance asked him what he thought when he read it. In his jerky way he replied "I knew it was a lie as soon as I saw it."

He once inveigled Mr. Howe into riding with him from Annapolis to Liverpool, in order that he might see, and feel, the bad roads, and thus be persuaded to find some remedy; but when it was over, his noted passenger said that he had been so delightfully entertained by Mr. Waterman's stories that he had not in the least noticed the bad road.

Samuel Verge, a son of Joseph Verge and his wife Abigail Dogget, of Liverpool, married Hannah Foster, daughter of John Foster and Dorcas Smith his wife, of Brookfield, and settled near them, where a large family was reared, and three are living.

Mr. John Seldon, an Englishman, came out a married man, his wife was Ann Luxon, and settled in Caledonia, where the locality is known as Devonshire. They had several sons and daughters, and two or three are living. Mr. Seldon died in middle life, but his widow lived to a great age.

Owen Cole, son of Israel and Lois Dogget his wife, and grandson of Benjamin and Elizabeth Tupper, married Sarah, daughter of James Harlow and his wife Salome, and settled in Caledonia, where his descendants are yet to be found.

Hallet Cole, son of Hallet and Samuel Millard, daughter of Robert Millard and Ann Crowell his wife, a daughter of Jonathan and Ann Collins, married Mary Burke, a daughter of William Burke and Mary Foster, the pioneer settler of the Northern District, and settled in Caledonia near the farm of Mr. Baxter, where his sons reside.

Thomas Shay, now an aged man, is the son of Robert Shay, of Ireland, who married Eunice Godfrey, of Brooklyn, and died soon after. His widow married James Annis, mentioned elsewhere in this paper. Mr. Shay married Lucy, a daughter of Wheeler Minard, and Sarah Slocomb his wife, and reared a large family and several are living.

James More, a son of John More and Martha Cobb his wife, and grandson of Alexander More, of Scotland, married Eliza Atkins, daughter of Joseph and his wife, a daughter of Stephen Collins and Ruth Cheever his wife. Mr. More was a well known magistrate and land surveyor, and long resided near Caledonia Corner. In his later years he wrote and compiled a brief history of Queens County.

Robert Bryden, a son of James, of Brookfield, married Margaret Freeman, a daughter of James and Hannah Freeman, of Brookfield, and settled at Whiteburn, where he reared a family, and died about 1896. His children are in the United States.

Zenas Smith, son of Capt. Nathaniel Smith before mentioned, married Ascenith, daughter of James and Hannah Freeman, of Brookfield, settled on his father's homestead near the beginning of the Whiteburn road. He died in 1898, an old man, long a widower, and left sons and daughters.

Capt. Robert Smith, son of Nathaniel Smith also, married Agnes Middlemas, daughter of David and Mary Freeman, his wife. He settled on a farm adjoining that of his brother Zenas, and died in old age about 1890. His widow and son and daughters survive.

Mr. Joseph Allison married Sophia Barss, of Liverpool, and settled in Kempt, where he had a large family, some of whom are living in Kempt, and elsewhere.

Enoch Dexter, son of Samuel Dexter and Hannah Godfrey his wife, and grandson of Ebenezer and Lydia Dexter, of Liverpool, Enoch married Hannah Burke, daughter of William and Mary Burke, and settled in Harmony. Four or five of their children are living.

Richard Telfer, a nephew of Richard, of Caledonia, and a native of Scotland, married Isabel Middlemas, daughter of George and Margaret Douglas his wife, of Caledonia. Mr. Telfer

settled in Caledonia, where several of his family reside. He passed away about 1885.

John Middlemas, son of George and Margaret, just mentioned, married a daughter of Charles Cushing and Jane his wife, and settled on the old homestead. He died at no very advanced age, and four daughters are living, all his family.

James Douglas, son of John and Abigail, of Caledonia Corner, married Miss Parker, of Annapolis County, and settled in Caledonia, where he died early, children survive him.

Jonathan Kempton, brother of Thomas, and son of Curtis, married Susan Christopher, of Brookfield, and settled on the hill between Caledonia Corner and the lower lake toward Brookfield, where he had quite a numerous family, and some of them are alive.

John Beach was early settled in the vicinity of Westfield. He was a sailor who had served under Nelson, an Englishman by birth. He married Jenny Daley, of Brookfield, and a large family was born to them in the locality he called Rosette, after the name of the old home across the sea.

James McGowan, came from Port Medway, where he married a daughter of Gamaliel Dolliver and Lucy Briggs his wife, and settled in Westfield. They had quite a numerous family, and lived to old age. I think but two daughters alone are living. He was a son of Michael McGowan of Scotland.

William Devaney, a native of Ireland, settled in Westfield. His wife was a daughter of Cormac Carten and Margaret his wife, of Newton, Limavady, Ireland. Their numerous family are some dead, and others live abroad.

Uriah Johnson, son of John Johnson and his wife, a daughter of Mr. Robinson, an Englishman, who resided a few years in this district. Mr. Johnson, settled in Westfield, where he was an exemplary farmer. He married an adopted daughter

of Col. Joseph Freeman, by whom there were several children, but most of them have passed on.

Thomas Christopher, son of Capt. Thomas, of Brookfield, married Margaret Kempton, daughter of Curtis, of Milton, and resided near the turn of the Westfield road, where he lived to an old age, and left a numerous family, and several are living.

William Christopher, son of Capt. Thomas, married Ann Burke, daughter of William and Mary, and lived between South and North Brookfield Corner, where his family was reared, but no one of them resides hereabouts.

George P. Christopher, son of Capt. Thomas, married Elizabeth Kempton, a daughter of Curtis, of Milton, and settled on the homestead in South Brookfield where their family of several sons and daughters were reared, four of whom are living.

Benjamin P. Christopher married Matilda(?) Parker, of Annapolis Co., and after various moves and removes finished his ninety years near Brookfield Corner, where he had long resided. Several children are living.

Edward Burke, son of William and Mary Burke, the pioneers, married Ann Coville, of Barrington, and lived on the old homestead at North Brookfield until old age. I think but two of his children are living in this district. His eldest son Benjamin, died within this year at an advanced age. He married a daughter of Gerhardt Wilde, and a widow and children survive him.

William Burke, son of William and Mary, married Deborah Gardner, of Barrington, and lived near North Brookfield Corner. One son, Jabez, alone survives him. There were but two children.

James McLennan married Lucy Chadsy, daughter of Abe. and Mahetable Chadsy, of Liverpool. Their son James married a daughter of Elisha Freeman, of Pleasant River, and is now an aged man, and resides with his sons.

John Morely, of Ireland, married Elvira Martin, daughter of John Martin and his wife Elizabeth Morine, of Port Medway, and settled in Pleasant River, where some members of his family reside.

Matthew Park, a son of James Park and his wife Nancy Park, before marriage came to Pleasant River, and made a farm, and reared a family, and ended his long span many years ago. He married a daughter of Elkanah Freeman, son of Jabez, son of Simeon, son of Elisha, and married secondly Lydia Freeman, widow of Benjamin Freeman, and daughter of Isaac Dexter, of Liverpool. There were children by both wives and three are still living.

James Smith, commonly known as Scotch Smith, settled in Pleasant River. His wife came with him from Scotland. They lived to old age and died many years ago, and some members of his family are in the vicinity.

John Waterman, son of Zenas and Eunice, married Lydia, a daughter of Capt. Josiah Smith, of Brookfield, and settled on the homestead and died in middle life. His wife went before him. Three children are living.

Robert Randall, son of Nathan Randall, of Liverpool, married Roxanna Smith, daughter of Josiah Smith, of Brookfield, and lived there during several years. In 1852 he moved to the vicinity of Niagara Falls, where he died in 1853, leaving several children, and four of them are living in various parts of the United States.

Smith Freeman, son of James and Hannah, of Brookfield, married Nancy Slocomb, daughter of Robert Slocomb, and Ann Millard his wife, daughter of Robert Millard and Ann Crowell, daughter of Jonathan Crowell, Senr. Mr. Freeman made a farm in South Brookfield, reared a large family, and died rather early in life.



Francis Martin, son of John Martin, an English soldier, who married a daughter of Mr. Robinson, an English settler, whose other daughter married John Johnson.

Francis Martin married Sophia Fisher, daughter of..... Fisher, by his wife Sophia Smith, a daughter of Jonathan Smith and Elizabeth Harrington his wife, and settled across the Christopher lake, where he lived a long time, and reared a large family. His widow is living at a very advanced age (1902).

Gerhart Wilde married a daughter of Zenas and Eunice Waterman, of Pleasant River, and settled near them, where several children were reared, and two of them are living at North Brookfield Corner, viz., Mr. Avard Wilde, and the widow of the late Benjamin Burke.

Eldridge or Eldred, (it should be Eldridge, the maiden name in the family) Burnaby, son of Thomas Burnaby and Bethiah Harrington, his wife, the daughter of Benjamin Harrington and Bethiah Smith, made a farm in Pleasant River, and married a daughter of Jacob Whitman. Several children were born to them, and some are living. The parents did not reach very old age.

Israel Hendry, son of William and Desire, married Priscilla Freeman, daughter of David and Desire, of Pleasant River, by whom there were a son and daughter. The latter, Mrs. Annie Brown, has passed on, and the brother resides in Liverpool.

William Hendry, son of William and Desire, married Abigail Harlow, a daughter of Silas and Cynthia Harlow, of North Brookfield, and has long resided in South Brookfield. Of their four children, three are living.

Charles Cameron, son of John and Hannah, of Brookfield, married Margaret Letney, of Digby County, and resided on

the homestead where he reared a large family, and lived to more than fourscore years, and his wife survived until recently.

William Freeman, son of James and Hannah, of Brookfield, married Caroline Cook, and settled on the homestead. Five children were born to them, and all are living out of the Province but one son, Joseph, of Springfield. Mrs. Freeman has long outlived her husband. Of her father I know but little. Her mother was Lucy Cameron, a sister of John Cameron, senr., of Brookfield, and her brother is Joseph Cook, Esq., of Milton.

Josiah Freeman, son of James and Hannah, of Brookfield, married Susan McGowan, of Westfield, settled in Kempt, reared a large family, lived a long while, and children survive among us.

James Daley, son of James, the pioneer, married first Sarah Robinson, and second Eliza Minard. There were children by both wives. Perhaps but one by the first wife, (William). Mr. Daley settled in North Brookfield, and died there while not yet an old man, and several children are living.

Amasa Fiske, of Barrington, whose mother was a Coville, married Abigail, daughter of Josiah and Elizabeth Smith, of Brookfield. Of his numerous family no one of them is settled here. Mr. Fiske lived to a ripe old age, and died recently.

Stephen Smith, son of Josiah and Elizabeth, married Abigail Park, daughter of Matthew and Lydia, of Pleasant River, and made a farm in South Brookfield, where he reared a large family. Mr. Smith died on September 2nd, 1910, in his 87th year, and children survive.

Lewis Smith, son of Josiah and Elizabeth, married Adelia, daughter of Elisha Freeman, of Pleasant River, and settled in South Brookfield. He died many years ago in middle life. Two children, his whole family, survive.

Samuel Smith, son of Capt. Josiah of Brookfield, married Ceretha, daughter of Matthew and Lydia Park, of Pleasant River, and lived to three score and ten, and over, always on the old homestead where his widow and children are living.

Wheeler Minard, son of Wheeler and Sarah, married Lydia Collins, daughter of Capt. George Collins, and his wife Lydia Barss, and settled in Harmony where he lived to old age. Several children survive.

Lewis Minard, son of Wheeler and Sarah, married..... Saunders, of Annapolis County, and settled in Kempt, where he reared a large family, most of whom live in the United States.

James Minard, brother of the above married Malinda Lewis, of Port Medway, and settled in Harmony, where he lived to be an old man, and some of his children live thereabouts.

George Minard, another brother, married Susan Darrow, of Liverpool, and settled in Harmony. Several of his children died within a few days of each other. Some are living. Mr. Minard died a few years ago.

James Waterman, son of Zenas and Eunice, married a Miss Wylde, of Lunenburg County. Of his family I know nothing more than it is represented by grandchildren at least.

Uriah Waterman, son of Zenas and Eunice, married Polly Horton, an American woman, and settled in Pleasant River, and died many years ago. His two sons are living.

James Lohnes married Eunice Waterman, daughter of Zenas and Eunice, and made a farm in Pleasant River, and reared a family.

Augustus Patterson, son of a Norwegian mariner, and his wife Eunice Smith, of Barrington, married a daughter of James McGowan, of Westfield, and settled in Caledonia where he reared a family, and died about 1899. His widow survives.

Richard Bryden, son of James and Mary, of Brookfield, married Elizabeth Park, daughter of Matthew and Elizabeth, and lived many years in Brookfield, but the latter portion of his life was passed in the United States. He died in Chicago about 1897, leaving one daughter, Mrs. John Street, of Medford, and two sons.

Here I close this rather tame list of births and deaths, and farm-makings. I have been at some pains to enquire into the family connections of most of these people, although I know that there are some of them who can give me the pedigrees of a half dozen horses, who do not know who was their mother's mother, and don't care either. But after all, let us bear in mind that the nations and the people who have made the deepest impression on the world have kept records, and long pedigrees that tell who they were and from whence they sprung. This list is not complete, but it takes in the principal settlers of the earlier years, and most of the oldest now living. In some cases individuals have slipped my mind, and in others I have not the information at hand.

If men and women are worth rearing, and all is not vanity, then we may consistently claim that it was worth while to drive out the bear and moose from their ancient haunts and let in the sunlight on the soil, and sow and reap, and mow the hard won lands. From this breeding-ground of sturdy people have gone out many hundreds of men and women who have carried abroad their sober and industrious habits, and become useful citizens. From so small a number, one has no proper right to expect examples of conspicuous ability, but they have maintained an excellent average of wholesome characteristics. Theirs have been reasonably happy homes without luxuries. They had contented minds in the midst of cares and endless duties; this is the best that the common lot of mankind can secure, and I suppose it was for people like these God made the world. These pioneers early learned that life was "real and life was earnest." They never suffered for lack of something to do. There was no yawning and

stretching with them because the time hung heavily on their hands. There was no needless bowing and scraping and high hand-shaking, or other fad or fustian among them, but always a certain dignity of reception, and leave-taking that indicated self-respect, and respect for others, that has not been sufficiently observed in the latest generation. My father earned his bread by manual labor, but I have seen him, hat in hand, greet a college professor, and heard them discussing high themes till midnight, and other neighbors could do the same.

These people were unspoiled by frivolities. The battle of life was so keen and constant that the latest styles in bonnets and beavers, did not come in for much discussion. There was much of the old Norse scorn of all hardships in them; trifles and scratches did not count. In the prayer and speaking meetings, men with a few gray hairs never forgot to allude to their heads as "blossomed for the grave;" but once outside of the old schoolhouse no one heard a hint of that kind of talk, and they acted like people who would die in the harness, and cared not whether the grim messenger came while they were blacking their shoes or greasing their carts, so long as it was some thing that should be done. In all this I have not made any fanciful estimate. No one realizes more fully than myself how small a part of the needful work of the world falls upon one small community.

These fathers and mothers of the Northern District, were performing humble parts in the great drama of the race. Had they never existed the world would have been different, and worse than it is this moment. A chicken cannot change his place on his roost without the centre of gravity of the globe responds with another change, so nicely balanced are the material contrivances for the security of our planetary system; and we may well believe that the arrangements for the moral world are balanced on far more airy gimbals. There is a human device that measures the heat from a candle one mile distant, but that is a clumsy contrivance compared to the intricate

operations that take up and transmit from generation to generation the results of all human efforts.

Reflections like these have caused me to look into the manner of life in which I was born. We might as well turn away from the most suggestive aspects of nature as to fall out of touch with people like these of whom it may be truly said, that

“The color of the ground was in them, the red earth,  
The tang, and odor of primal things,  
The rectitude, and patience of the rocks;  
The gladness of the winds that shake the corn;  
The courage of the bird that dares the sea;  
The justice of the rain that loves all leaves;  
The pity of the snow that hides all scars;  
The loving kindness of the wayside well;  
The tolerance and equity of light  
That gives as freely to the shrinking weed  
As to the great oak flaring in the wind.”

A few more words about how these people lived fifty years ago, and my task will be done.

The farm was the principal source of maintenance. The first thing to do after securing a shelter was to chop down the great trees, and burn them, a process very easy to write down but difficult to accomplish. The newly cleared land covered with ashes was sure to yield well. To get it later under the plough was always a tedious and heavy job, for all the small stones were not in the Southern District. They were finally dug out, or sunk in a pit beside them, till the furrows could be run with reasonable freedom. Beyond all question it was ‘plain living,’ whether there was ‘high thinking’ to go with it or not. There was no great danger of indigestion from dainties that tickled the palate. Hunger was an excellent sauce, and bread and molasses was just as good for growing boys and girls as bread and butter, and quite a bit cheaper. Much of the flour was ground from home raised grain. There was a loom in

every house, and sheep on every farm. Many times have I filled the elder quills on the small wheel for the shuttles of my little mother, who wove her love for us all into the web she made from her high bench, before the reed and harness. Boys and girls were as healthy and happy in their homespun, homemade suits as they are today in the daintiest product of the factories. There were no cook stoves, and the baking was done over the fireplace in Dutch iron ovens, hung on the crane, and sometimes in brick ovens built into the chimney.

Itinerant shoemakers "whipped the cat" as they called it, going from house to house to make up the shoes for the winter for the whole family. It was a real treat for the children to have him come on this business, and set up his bench, and lay out his array of awls, knives, polishers, pinchers, clamps, hammers, wax, shoethread, bristles, lasts, pegs, whetstones and lapstone making such a display of curious things that the standing wonder was how one man could know what to do with them.

The Schoolmasters and Marms "boarded round," and thus took a turn at every house, unless they had homes in the vicinity. In this way the cash-burden was a little lightened, and the teachers accepted the situation readily enough, thinking that variety was the spice of life.

Here we come to a close, and let me say that I am in hope that the introduction here and there of myself into this paper will not be taken as an indelicate intrusion; for there seemed to be no other way, and there is no harm in letting on that one has been alive in the world. There will be time enough to be dead. I am not at all ashamed to come of such useful people, but rather conclude, all things considered, that my lines were cast in pleasant places. There are no very great disadvantages in starting out after this rustic fashion. Better the simplest virtues of the country home than the intrigues of courts, and the idle airs of ancestral castles. We are not often indebted to the "daughter of an hundred Earls" for the star-eyed men of genius, and the robust talents that lay down the lines of great empires.

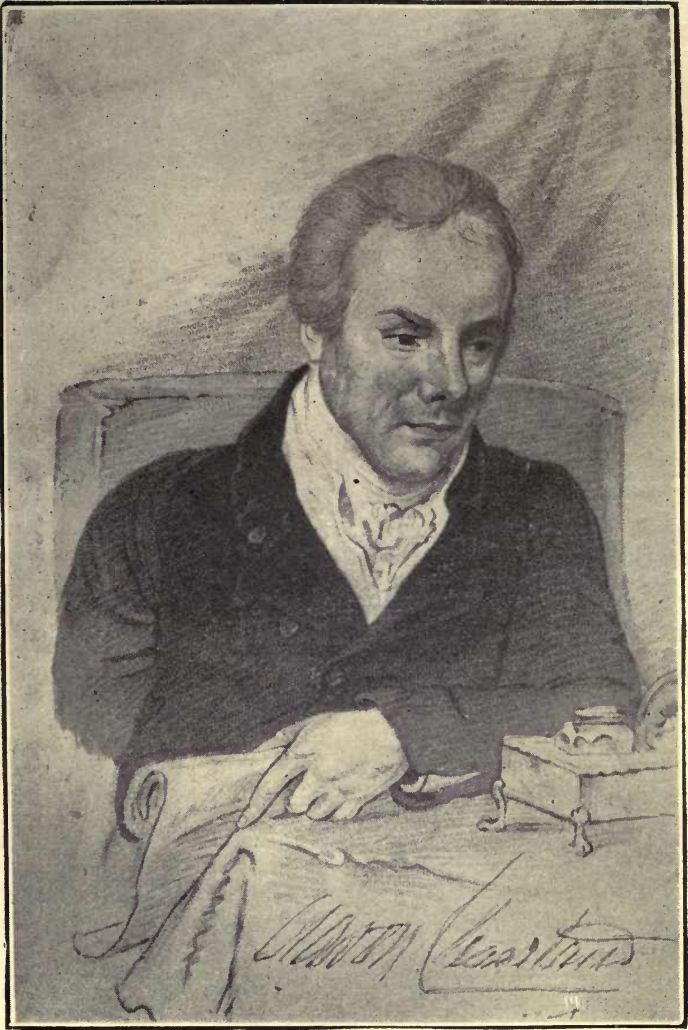
every house, and when we were taken, many times have I  
 filled the side of the small wheel for the purpose of  
 my little mother, who gave me all into the web  
 she made from her high bench, before the tread and barrow.  
 Boys and girls were as healthy and happy in their homesteads,  
 downy hills as they are today in the distant regions  
 of the factories. There were no poor streets, and the taking  
 was done over the fireplace in Dutch iron or one hung on the  
 crane, and sometimes in brick ovens built into the chimney.

These were the "whipped top," as they called it,  
 going from house to house to make up the shoes for the winter  
 for the whole family. It was a real treat for the children to  
 have him come on his business, and set on his bench, and lay  
 out his array of wigs, knives, pins, whetstones and  
 hammer, wax, shoeboard, brushes, fast, pegs, whetstones and  
 rapertons making such a display of curious things that the stand-  
 ing people would say one could not know what to do with them.

The Schooners and Mares "boarded round," and this  
 took a turn at every house, unless they had homes in the  
 vicinity. In this way the cash-burden was a little lightened,  
 and the teachers accepted the situation readily enough, think-  
 ing that variety was the spice of life.

It was a close, and let me say that I am in days  
 that the introduction here and there of myself into the room  
 with me was taken as an indignant intrusion; for there  
 seemed to be no other way, and there is no harm in being on  
 that one has been in the world. There will be time  
 enough to be had. I am not at all ashamed to come of such  
 credit, and I rather consider all things considered,  
 that my lines were cast in pleasant places. There are no very  
 great disadvantages in staying out after this rustic fashion.  
 There are many things in the country, however, the  
 hundreds of courts and the illness of several cases. We  
 are not obliged to the "dangers of an hundred miles,"  
 for the student must continue, and the school talents that  
 overthrow the force of exact figures.





**REV. AARON CLEVELAND,**  
**Minister St. Matthew's Church, 1752.**  
[From John Cleveland, Boston].



## HISTORY OF ST. MATTHEW'S CHURCH, HALIFAX, N. S.

By **PROF. WALTER C. MURRAY, M. A., LL. D.**  
(Now President of the University of Saskatchewan).

(Read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 15th Dec., 1903).

Haligonians pride themselves upon the antiquity of their city. They claim that their town is the oldest continuous possession of the Empire in the Dominion. Never once since the British flag was hoisted over the shores of Chebucto Harbor in 1749 has it been lowered at the command of the enemy. Quebec came to the British Crown eleven years later. Louisburg was won and lost before the founding of Halifax. Annapolis alone contests the claim of Halifax; but alas, for a single day in 1781, Annapolis was in the hands of the enemy.

Halifax claims the oldest Protestant Churches in the Dominion,—St. Paul's and St. Matthew's. Halifax claims the first Colonial Bishop of the Empire, and Halifax claims the first meeting of a Presbytery and the first ordination of a Protestant minister in Canada.

The history of St. Matthew's Church naturally falls into three periods. The first began with the founding of the town and closed with the Treaty of Paris in 1783, when the New England colonies were formally recognized as independent and the loyalists gathered north of the Canadian border and the independents went south. This is the period of Congregationalism flavoured with Presbyterianism. Of this period we have today but few and scanty records. A distinguished figure in the person of the Rev. Aaron Cleveland, a great grandfather of Grover Cleveland, twice President of the United States, adorns its early days.

The second period began with the rise of Scottish influence and closed with the burning of the old building on Hollis Street, on New Year's day, 1857. This is the golden age of the Church when it rose to prominence and to power under its talented minister the Rev. Andrew Brown, afterwards Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Edinburgh, and when it gathered about it the leading men in politics and commerce. In this period both the Presbyterian character and the name of the Church were definitely settled.

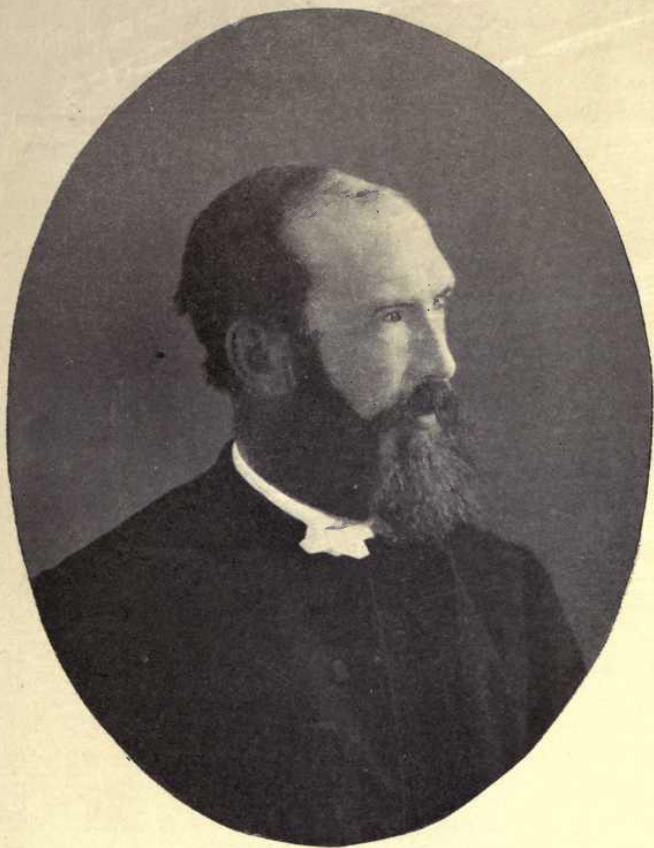
The third period began with the opening of the new Church on Pleasant Street, and is not yet closed. Its early years witnessed a great expansion in all forms of Church life and work under the brilliant leadership of the Rev. George M. Grant, afterwards the great Principal of Queens University, a man whose name deserves to be linked with that of Howe in the history of our country.

Our sketch tonight will be confined to the first period, covering a full third of a century. May I ask you to recall some of the important events that marked the close of this period, events that changed not only the political destiny of this continent but also its religious history. The American Revolution had robbed the Empire of its fairest possessions, and at the same time by driving the Loyalists burning with indignation and hatred into Canada, west as well as east, had accentuated the loyalty of this part of the continent and secured Canada let us hope for many centuries to the Empire.

The religious quickening of New England under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards and Whitfield touched Nova Scotia in the persons of Rev. Aaron Cleveland and late of Henry Alline. Alline's active work began in 1776 and within two years the first Baptist Church was organized at Horton.

William Black, the father of Methodism in the Maritime Provinces, began his missionary journeys 1781.

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**REV. GEORGE M. GRANT, M. A.,**  
**Minister St. Matthew's Church, Halifax, 1859.**  
[From portrait by Notman, Halifax, N. S.]



The year 1784 is a very important one in the religious history of Halifax. That year the first Roman Catholic Church was built, that year St. Matthew's was reorganized, that year the first pastor, Michael Houseal was set over St. George's. Two years later the Methodists opened their first Church in Halifax, and the same year the first regular Presbyterian in Canada was organized at Truro and the same year saw the arrival of Rev. James MacGregor, the father of Presbyterianism in Eastern Nova Scotia. The next year, 1787, Bishop Inglis, the first Colonial Bishop was consecrated.

The first period of St. Matthew's history then saw in Halifax but two large churches, St. Paul's and Mather's, the building and opening of the little German Church in 1758. But not until its close did any other religious body open a place of worship. The only Churches of importance in the province were Anglican, Congregational and two or three scattered Presbyterian. The close of the period saw the beginnings of the Baptist and Methodist Churches and the expansion of the Presbyterian, the organization and enlargement of the Church of England, the emancipation of the Roman Catholic congregations, and the decline of the Congregationalists.

In 1786, shortly after his removal from Amherst to Halifax, Rev. William Black wrote of Halifax: "There is one large English Church; one small Dutch Church; one Presbyterian Meeting House; one R. C. Chapel; one of Sandemanians and one of the followers of Swedenborg; together with a few of Lady Huntingdon's Society, and a great swarm of Infidels."—Smith's History of Methodism, Vol. 1, page 173.

The religious revival at the close was preceded by a period of indifferentism, irreligion; and in Halifax of drunkenness, immorality and almost every form of demoralization that war can bring in its train. Bishop Inglis, Henry Alline, William Black and James MacGregor, differing in creed and ritual, agree in describing the general tone of society in Halifax as

low, the tendency of the prevailing opinions as debasing, and the condition of the community as immoral and irreligious. Possibly these impressions, like the first impressions of all zealous persons possessed by a single idea, did not do justice to the characters of the quiet citizens whose voices were not heard in the market place, whose persons were not thrust into the foremost places, whose ears were not turned to the shoutings of the mob.

One of the first acts of the first Legislature of Nova Scotia was to confirm, by Act of Parliament, the religious rights and privileges which custom had sanctioned. This act passed in 1758, nine years after the founding of the town, recognized but three religious bodies. The Church of England received the honour of establishment though not all the support desired. Protestant Dissenters were accorded liberty of conscience and power to build Meeting Houses and to choose ministers. Roman Catholic Dissenters were tolerated, but their priests were ordered to leave the province within four months.

Who were the Protestant Dissenters? The Act describes them as "Protestants dissenting from the Church of England whether they be Calvinists, Lutherans or Quakers, or under what denomination soever." This description was no doubt exact, for the bill was passed by an Assembly, composed mainly of Dissenters. The German settlers in Halifax and Lunenburg were Lutherans. Possibly a few Quakers had at this time strayed into Halifax from New England, but probably this reference is but an echo of the conflicts with the Quakers in New or Old England. The Calvinists were on a different footing from the other dissenters. While the Lutherans petitioned again and again for state aid and received but little, and that little principally for education, the Calvinists received liberal grants of land and money for their Meeting House. Doubtless Lord Cornwallis, who set the precedent, remembered that the Calvinists in Massachusetts held a position similar to that of the Church in England.



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**ST. MATTHEW'S MEETING HOUSE, GOVERNMENT HOUSE AND  
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH.**

[From print after drawing by R. Short, first published in 1764.]



1462



**REV. BRUIN ROMCAS COMINGO,**  
Ordained 1770, died 1820.

[p. 141].



These Calvinists were principally Congregationalists from New England. The Presbyterians from Ireland and Scotland increased in number as the town grew older but at first they were relatively few. Congregationalist and Presbyterian held the same doctrines. The Westminster Assembly's Catechism expressed their religious beliefs. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the Congregationalists began to neglect to ground their children as thoroughly in this Catechism as the Presbyterians were believed to do. From the first the New England Primer was regarded as incomplete if the Catechism were omitted. Perhaps the multiplication table which appears today on the back of the cover of many editions of the Shorter Catechism is a relic of the primer age and not a suggestion of the great passions of Scotsmen, theology and finance.

Probably the best indication of the beliefs, common to Congregationalists and Presbyterians is to be found in the ordination proceedings of "Mr. Bruin Romkess Comingoe, known commonly by the name of Brown", so runs the minute of the meeting. This ordination took place in St. Matthew's Church, July 3rd, 1770. Two Congregationalists and two Presbyterians, the Reverends John Seccombe and Benaijah Phelps, and the Revs. James Lyon and James Murdock, alternately sign the minute. They describe themselves as "Ministers of God's word" assembled to hear the representation of "the Dutch Colonists" of Lunenburg. This quasi-Presbytery cites the precedent of the Presbytery of Skey as a justification for their action in ordaining a man who had not a liberal education; they also cite "instances on this continent of persons who were not endowed with a liberal education and who have been regularly admitted into holy orders."

They put the following among other questions to him.

"2. Do you own and will you adhere to the profession of faith which you have made to us, the Heidelberg and Assemblies' Catechisms and the doctrines therein contained as being founded on and consonant unto the Holy Scriptures?"

“4. Do you likewise own and will you adhere to the worship, discipline and Government of the Protestant reformed Presbyterian Churches as being founded on and agreeable to the Scriptures?”

“8. Do you own and promise allegiance to his Majesty King George the third in all things Civil and Lawful?”

The minute closes with this certificate. “We do hereby certify that the Rev. Mr. Bruin Romkes Comingoe (alias Brown) after the examination and trial was this day set apart by prayer and the imposition of hands to the office of the Holy Ministry over the Dutch Colonists Presbyterian Congregation of Lunenburg by us,

John Seccombe,  
James Lyon,  
Benaijah Phelps,  
James Murdoch.

Halifax, July 3, 1770.

From this it is clear that in doctrine and in the essentials of practice Congregationalist and Presbyterian thought alike. They were followers of Calvin and believers in the Presbyterian form of Government. Probably the earlier Congregationalists were more Presbyterian in the matter of church government than the later. Hear what Dr. Byington says on this matter, page 94.

“So far as can be known, the Puritans had no definite plans for the organization of the Church when they landed, 1628. It is as clear as anything in their history that they had continued up to that time members of the Church of England. Their ministers had been ordained as ministers in the Episcopal Church and all their ministry had been in that Church. The Puritans had decided objections to the Separatist Churches, and had been unfriendly to the Pilgrims because they had broken away entirely from the National Church. Their natural affiliation as Protestants and non-Conformists was with the Reformed Churches of Geneva and of France and

Scotland. The connections between the English Puritans, and the churches of Geneva had been very close for many years. If they were to break away from the Church of England it was the most natural thing in the world for them to follow the method of almost all the Protestant Churches, except the Church of England and organize according to some of the Presbyterian models. Their leading men were in correspondence with the leading Calvinistic ministers on the continent and they were familiar with the practical working of their churches.

In modes of worship the Congregationalists and Presbyterians did not differ greatly. Generally speaking the Presbyterians were more rigid in their practices and less inclined to change with changing circumstances. Considerable light may be thrown upon the divisions within the St. Matthew's of these early days by the records of the disputes between the Presbyterian and the Congregationalist factions in an old Church in Brunswick, Maine, where men from the north of Ireland and from New England disputed and finally agreed to differ, each section permitting the other to follow the forms agreeable to it, when service was held in its part of the town. There Presbyterian and Congregationalist pastors alternated, until the war of the Revolution. The more important points of differences related to the rite of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the use of Hymns.

At first Congregationalist and Presbyterian were at one with regard to the persons to whom the rite of Baptism was to be administered. It was forbidden to baptize the children of parents who were not members of the visible church. But when the full privileges of citizenship were restricted to Church members and custom practically excluded all save a few elderly persons from membership the democratic spirit was bound to encroach upon the privileges of this ecclesiastical oligarchy. Clergymen became lax in debarring the children of parents, one of whom (or latter both of whom) were not Church members. This practice led to a great dispute within the Congre-

gationalist Church called the Half-Way Covenant controversy. And though at first the Church did not recede from its old position, yet in time use and wont granted the demand of the radicals. The Presbyterians however were more tenacious and refused to fall in with the wishes of the new age. It is true that today some have followed the Congregationalists in this matter, yet they took at least a century longer to swerve from the old standards.

The Presbyterian regarded the Communion as a rite to be celebrated not more than twice or thrice a year, preferably but once. The Congregationalists believed in a monthly rite. With regard to the mode of celebration they also differed. In the Congregationalists Churches the minister and deacons sat at a special table, and after they had partaken the people were served in their usual seats. The Presbyterians, pastor and people were served at special tables. It is uncertain whether the Congregationalists always served the people after the minister and deacons or elders and the Presbyterians always before.

I have been told that once it was the custom in St. Matthew's for the minister to serve the elders first and then for the elders to serve the people. The centre seats of old St. Matthew's were so arranged that one long continuous table for communicants could be prepared.

The Presbyterians rigidly adhered to the Psalms of David, the Congregationalists began to sigh for more tuneful music and more melodious verse; and one might add with considerable reason. The Hymns of Isaac Watts became as sacred to the Congregationalists as the Psalms. The Presbyterian thought them unscriptural.

When Presbyterians and Congregationalists in St. Matthew's after three stormy years of controversy, agreed to draw up a treaty of peace in 1787, the Congregationalists insisted on the use of Watts' Hymns and the Presbyterians demanded



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THE NEW ST. MATTHEW'S CHURCH.

[St. Matthew's].



a minister from Scotland. The demands of the Congregationalists were secured by the rules and regulations unanimously adopted January 10, 1787, and the demands of the Presbyterians by tacit consent. These rules and regulations were prepared and signed by the following committee, and I have good reason to believe that Congregationalists and Presbyterians signed them alternately. (First comes the name of William Millett, a great friend of Malachi Salter, then Dr. Duncan Clarke, a President of the North British, then Benjamin Salter (son of Malachi), an undoubted Congregationalist, then Richard Kidston, an officer of the North British like Dr. Clarke, then John Simpson, then Adam Fife, another officer of the North British, then John Fillis, a New Englander and Congregationalist of note, then James Dechman another Scotsman, then John Merrick, another New Englander and lastly James Fullerton, a name that points to Scotland). The elders were John Brown, sometimes called Deacon, (evidently of New England origin), Jas. Dechman and Jas. Dickie.

It is worth noting that the agreement to call a minister from the Church of Scotland has something more than an ecclesiastical significance.

From the church doctrine and practice let us turn to church government. The Congregationalist favored practical independence for the individual congregation in calling and dismissing its minister and in regulating its mode of worship. The Presbyterian held that the congregation must call through Presbytery and must be subject to Presbytery. The Presbyterian gives the minister and elders complete control of the spiritual work of the congregation and a joint control in all other matters not relating to the management of monies raised for the Church's support. The Congregationalist made the congregational Committee supreme.

But as has been shown it was not always so in New England, particularly among the Puritans of Massachusetts

Bay. Puritan, Pilgrim and Rhode Islander at first differed widely from each other with regard to government in Church and State. The Pilgrim of Plymouth was a separatist in ecclesiastical matters and in politics a republican. The Puritan, before he left England for the Bay State, desired not separation but reformation in the Church and a limit to the powers of the monarch. The Rhode Islander believed in religious freedom and equality and was in politics a thorough going democrat. These distinctions were clear and well marked in New England in the 17th century, but began to fade when Halifax was founded. Still they were sufficiently strong to make it possible for the Puritan from Massachusetts Bay to live in harmony with the Presbyterian and to have a strong feeling of sympathy with the Broad Churchman of the Cornwallis type. As time went on the Puritan and Anglican drifted farther apart until at the time of the Revolution the men from the Bay State were more in sympathy with the republicanism of the Pilgrim than with the monarchial leanings of the Hali-gonian.

Possibly the early distinctions between Puritans and Pilgrims were due to the fact that the Puritans had come from the well-to-do middle classes and the Pilgrims from the lower classes. The Pilgrims, said Governor Bradford, "were not acquainted with trades, nor traffic, but had been used to a plain country life and the innocent trade of husbandry"—or as Palfrey styles them "north country peasants." "The principal planters of Massachusetts" i. e., the Puritans, according to Dr. Leonard Bacon, "were English country gentlemen of no inconsiderable fortunes, of enlarged understandings, improved by liberal education." Byington, pp. 89 and 90.

In the early days of Halifax St. Paul's Church was the centre of English influence and of the official life of the colony. On the other hand New England ideas and the business men of the town found a congenial place among the Dissenters in the Meeting House. While the Church stands out boldly in the history of the town because of the prestige and the

stability which came to it from its connection with the state, the Meeting House reflected in its ups and downs the political and commercial fortunes of the town.

I believe that one cannot understand the history of this old congregation, of many names and diverse peoples without seeing in its life the strong and deep current of Puritan ideas and customs that flowed from the shores of New England. In fact I believe that we usually underrate the influence of New England on the early history of the town. The existing records naturally reflect English ideas and the feelings of the official class and upon these our attention has been rivetted, and but little notice has been taken of the undistinguished life of the ordinary citizen, upon whose energy depended the prosperity of the town and whose strong convictions, like the silent but steady pressure of the glacier, shaped the course of the political history of the country. Until 1776, perhaps until 1783, the main current of the life of the colony flowed from New England, and if we take into consideration the very different influx of ideas and customs that come with the Loyalists we may say that Nova Scotia in so far as it was English was mainly New England in character, until the Scottish and Irish immigration made it in character as in name a copy of the northern part of the United Kingdom.

That this view is probable I think a simple survey of the facts that led to the founding of the town will show. The Lords of Trade and Plantation no doubt expected the new town to become an important centre for trade and colonisation, notwithstanding the fact that Nature forbade it becoming the centre of a peaceful agricultural community. Yet the primary object in the founding of the town was the establishment of a military post to check the French and to allay the irritation of the New Englanders over the restoration of Louisburg.

The interest of the New Englanders in Halifax as a military post is shown by the heavy expense incurred and the great effort put forth by them in the first capture of Louisburg. This

interest, however, would not bring them into the life of the town. It was their interest in trade and fishing that brought them in great numbers and kept them, when agriculture proved a failure. Long before Cornwallis came they had used and prized Chebucto Harbour as a fishing station and a place for trade.

I have been told that there are traces of an old settlement on Bedford Basin. Possibly this is the site of the old fishing station frequented by the N. E. fisherman. If New Englanders found Chebucto useful in these early days there is little doubt but that Cornwallis's fortified town became a most important centre for trade and fisheries and that a large number of New Englanders came to settle permanently.

Akins says "the New England people soon formed the basis of the resident population" (p. 16), and Tutty in 1750 nearly doubles his estimate of the population given the preceding year. The increase apparently is due to the large influx of New Englanders. In the census of 1767 over half of the people of Nova Scotia were returned as of American birth. The Rhode Island immigration of 1760 offsets the large exodus from Halifax about 1755. It is perhaps unnecessary to say but little more in support of the opinion that the main current of life in Halifax in the early days was New England in origin. Of the original immigrants who came with Cornwallis, the Governor reports but 100 fit for soldiers and about 200 more able to work; and again in 1760 another Governor (Lawrence) says "every soldier that has come into the Province since the establishment of Halifax has either quitted it or become a dram seller."

The Governor in 1758 unconsciously paid a tribute to the power of the New England element when he says that "too many members of the Assembly are such as have not been the most remarkable for promoting unity or obedience to His Majesty's Government here, or indeed that have the most natural attachment to this Province." Lt.-Col. Morse in 1783 estimated the number of the old inhabitants (exclusive of disbanded

soldiers and Loyalists) to be about 14000 out of a total of 40,000 and he added "it may not be improper to observe that a great part of the old inhabitants, especially the wealthy ones are from New England, and that they discovered during the late war the same sentiments which prevailed in that country. I think it necessary to add that the Legislature is principally composed of these men and that some of the higher public offices are at present filled with the most notorious of these characters."

In fact if one were to trace New England influences in the history of Nova Scotia one would probably find that Nova Scotia west of the Intercolonial Railway has been largely dominated by New England, while the Eastern section is principally Scottish, and that the Congregational Churches and their descendants still show marked traces of the strong character of New England Puritanism.

The New England influence was not less strong in the political than in the commercial life of the colony. The leaders and the great majority of those who pressed for a Legislative Assembly were New Englanders. The list of names of those who subscribed to fee Ferdinand Paris who was to lay their petition for a Legislative Assembly before the home authorities is made up principally of Dissenters, mostly from New England. Chief Justice Belcher, whose decision on the legality of the Governor's acts precipitated matters, was a New Englander and probably a Dissenter.

Nor was this the only occasion when the leaven of practical reform came from New England. Nearly a century later the victory for responsible government was won by the son of a New Englander.

Since then New England influence was so strong in early Halifax is one not justified in reading into the religious life of the Dissenters much of New England thought and practice. This is all the more necessary in this case since the existing re-

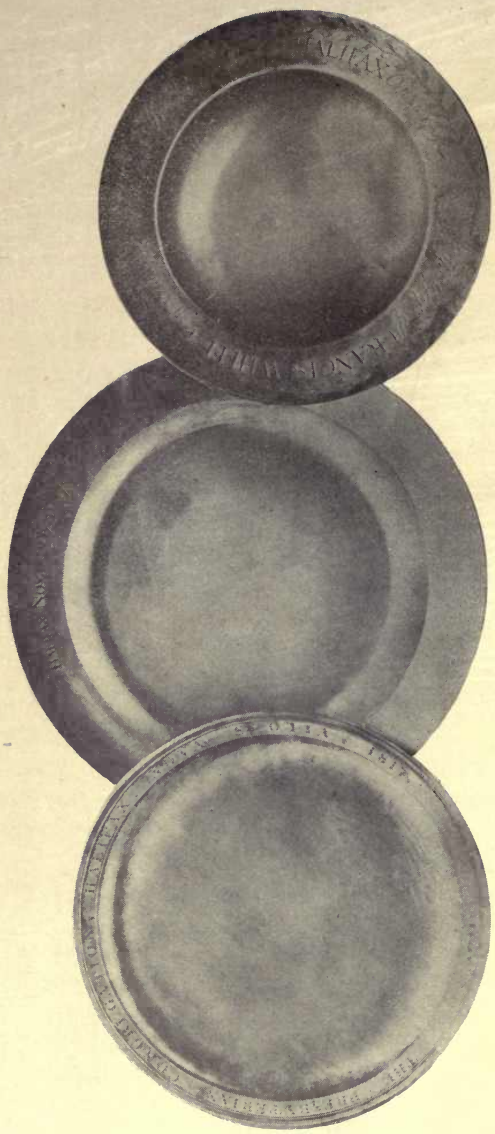
cords of the congregation began with the call to the Rev. Andrew Brown in 1787, and of the years previous to this there is very little beyond a few relics. A baptismal register begun in 1769, a baptismal bowl presented the same year, a Communion cup bearing the date 1772, a number of books presented between 1750 and 1754 are all that remain of the period previous to 1783; and these were the gifts of New Englanders. Besides the Journals of the House, the Minutes of the Council and the records of the Crown Land office, some old prints dated 1764 and 1777, some M.S. copies of letters to the New England churches, the principal sources of information are the letter to the *Boston Weekly News Letter*, Seecombe's diary and three or four pamphlets containing sermons by the Rev. John Seecombe. With such scanty records as these and the most of them New England in origin is one not justified in regarding them as pegs upon which one may hang what imagination can weave under the guidance of the records of the religious life of New England?

[Mr. William Dennis has published an excellent article in the *Halifax Herald* of April 18th, 1896.]

It is, however, well to remember that the customs and beliefs of New England were but the customs and beliefs Old England transplanted to the colony and diligently modified. As the French of Quebec preserve something of France in the age of Louis the Great so the New England colony for a century and a half preserved much of old English.

When the city was founded, Cornwallis treated Churchman and Dissenter with open-handed fairness. The people caught his spirit and the most cordial relations existed between men of all creeds. Until the Meeting House was built the Dissenters met regularly in the afternoons in St. Paul's to hear their minister, the Rev. Aaron Cleveland, and in the morning they listened to the Rev. Wm. Tutty of St. Paul's. In July, 1751, Mr. Tutty wrote to the S. P. G. saying "There is perfect harmony at present between the Church of England and the Dis-





St. Matthew's Church, Baptismal Bowl and Communion Plate.

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senters. . . Even the most bigotted among them (Dissenters) seldom fail to come to church every Sunday morning."

On the 12th April, 1750 (less than ten months after Cornwallis had landed) a correspondent to the *Boston Weekly News Letter* wrote from Halifax as follows:—

"Everything goes on with great despatch; and whilst the closest application is made to civil concerns, religion is not unthought of; we shall soon have a large church erected, and for the encouragement of Protestant Dissenters a handsome lot is laid out for a Meeting House and another for a minister in a very pleasant situation." Not long ago I was fortunate in finding these lots described in the Description Book of the first town surveyor. These lots were in the south suburbs and were surveyed about the time of the survey of the town, that is, shortly after September, 1749. A lot, 100 feet square, was granted to Aaron Cleveland and across the street another lot 100 x 80 was set aside "for a church." Evidently the entry was made after Mr. Cleveland was called by the Dissenters, that is, after June, 1750. The Cleveland lot was on the north-west corner of Morris and Pleasant Streets where Col. Stewart now lives, and the Church lot where Dr. Kirkpatrick lives.

But towards the end of the year the Dissenters petitioned for a site nearer the centre of the town; and the Council, on the 20th of December, 1750, granted them two lots on what is now the south-west corner of Prince and Hollis Streets. These lots had been granted to four single men, Wm. Grant, a ship's surgeon, a dragoon, a volunteer and a carpenter, who had come out with Cornwallis and who had probably failed to improve their grant. Here the church was built and remained till the fire in 1857, when a new site, once the site of the Hospital or Orphanage, was purchased from Bishop Binney on Pleasant Street.

Governor Cornwallis was very generous to Mr. Cleveland. Two lots near the present south-west corner of Inglis and South

Park Streets, as well as 228 acres near the Eastern Passage, were set aside for him. The congregation fared even better. Sixty-five acres were granted for a glebe, probably about 1751. The grant ran between Oxford Street and the Arm from South Street to the present northern boundary of Governor Jones' property. In 1785 when the Dissenters, because of their supposed revolutionary sympathies, fell from favour, this land was granted to Major General John Campbell, and when in 1789 the congregation petitioned for an equivalent they did not receive even a polite refusal. I believe that up to 1900 these grants were overlooked or ignored. Even in the report on lands granted or reserved for the support of Religion and the schools, made in 1833, there is no mention of them.

When was the Meeting House built? There is a tradition to the effect that its corner stone was laid by the Governor on the 13th of June, 1750, and the following letter has been quoted in support. The letter is dated June 14th, 1750.

"Yesterday the Governor laid the corner stone of the church which is now building and which I believe will be the handsomest in America.

"And as soon as we can get a Dissenting Minister settled here we shall soon have a handsome Meeting House with a good dwelling house for the minister built at the public expense.

"I have subscribed to the support of Mr. Cleveland for two months as have the Governor and most of gentlemen here. And I believe we have Dissenters enough here for four ministers."

I think two distinct buildings are referred to in this letter—one generally known as the Church, the other as the Meeting House. I may say that nearly all the letters and nearly all the official records, including the Minutes of Council, the Journals of the House and the Governor's letters, always speak of the Dissenters' place of worship as the Meeting House and of St. Paul's as the church. [The exception is the entry of the grant of the first lot, which reads—"For a church."]

According to New England usage the Meeting House is the common name for a place of worship. Then Cotton Mather in the *Ratio Disciplinae* said, "I find no just ground in the Scripture to apply such a trope as church to a house for public worship. A meeting-house is the term most commonly used by New England Christians." Byington 140.

If then, this view be correct, it was the corner stone of St. Paul's, not of the Meeting House, that was laid by the Governor on the 13th of June, 1750. This inference I think is justified by the histories of the two churches. You remember that the frame of St. Paul's was expected to arrive from New England about May, that the Governor on the 10th of July wrote to the Lords of Trade and Plantations about the cost of the church "which is now setting up," that Mr. Tutty preached in it for the first time on the 2nd of September, June 13th is a highly probable date for the laying of the corner stone of St. Paul's.

If we turn to the story of the Meeting House we find some doubt about the beginning of the building. A correspondent writing in December said "Mr. Cleveland will continue to preach every afternoon on the Lord's Day in the Church until a Meeting House can be built." The Governor earlier in July spoke of being compelled through lack of funds to renounce carrying on certain works mentioned, one of which was the Church, and others equally necessary, presumably not yet begun, one of which was the Meeting House. The several letters of the Governor to Lords of Trade and Plantations refer occasionally to the expense of the building of the Church, but make no mention of the Meeting House. The first undoubted reference to the existence of the Meeting House appears in a letter published in vol. 22 of the *London Magazine*. Its date is uncertain. The 20th vol. of this Magazine appeared in 1750. Probably the letter was written in 1752, possibly in 1751. Undoubtedly in 1754 the Meeting House was used for public worship.

There is a letter however published in the *Boston News Letter* of January 8th, 1751, in which His Excellency is spoken of as being "so good that he gives us grounds and builds us a Meeting House at his cost."

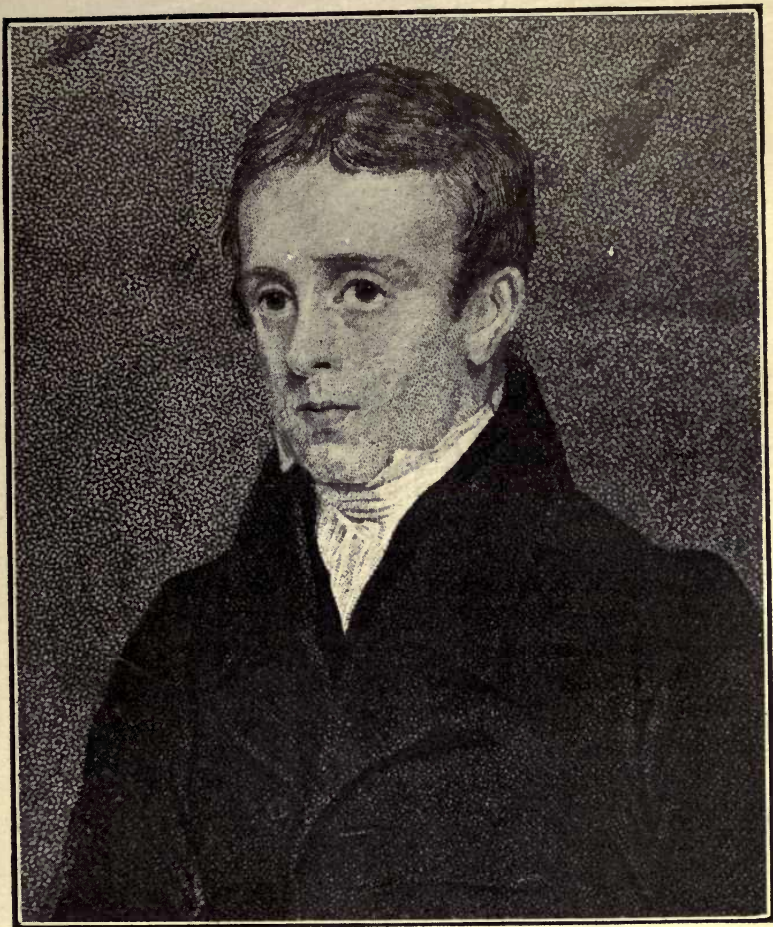
This is it seems to me a conclusive argument against accepting June 13th, 1750, as the date of the laying of the corner stone of St. Matthew's. The lot on Hollis Street was not formally granted by the Council until the 20th of December, 1750. It is not probable that the Governor would lay the corner stone of a public building on that lot which was not yet granted nor on the lot in the suburbs which the people were anxious to exchange for one nearer the centre of the town.

Apparently the Meeting House was built at the public expense, at least in part. Akins says so and seems to have founded his opinion on such letters as those quoted. We know that the First Assembly as a matter of course expended over £800 on the church and about half of that amount on the Meeting House and that both St. Paul's and St. Matthew's received in 1811 over £700 each from the Arms Fund. (The only disquieting thing is the absence of any reference to expense in either Governor's letters or estimates, altho the church is constantly mentioned. Either he knew that the home authorities were not inclined to build Meeting Houses, or the Meeting House was partly built by private subscription. This is quite possible and probable. There is still another explanation. Possibly Governor Lawrence conceived a dislike for the reforming Dissenters and turned a deaf ear to their requests until the Assembly intervened in 1758.)

In 1808 the congregation purchased the house of Admiral Murray for a parsonage. This building stood on the present site of the Acadian Hotel and was sold about 1820. (The North British Society contributed £50 to the £700 required to purchase the manse.)

This congregation has had at least four different names. At first it was called the Protestant Dissenting Church. This was

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**REV. ANDREW BROWN, D. D.,  
Minister of St. Matthew's Church, Halifax, 1787.**

[Copy from portrait in possession of Robert Noble, Esq., Halifax, who procured it in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1837].





the official name for many years. It appeared in the Library Books in 1750 and 1754, also in the Baptismal Register in 1769, was engraved on the Baptismal bowl in 1769 and on the Communion cup in 1772. It disappeared from the congregational records in 1814. Meanwhile the term Presbyterian had been gaining in favor. It came in stealthily as P. C. H. on a communion token made in 1784. P. C. H. might mean Protestant Congregation Halifax, though to the discerning the burning bush on the reverse side left no doubt about the character of the initials. Another token was struck two years later in 1786 and upon it the letters Pr. Ch. were distinctly stamped. Another step had been taken. "Presbyterian Church" is the only plausible interpretation.

A few years later (1791) when Rev. Dr. Brown applied to the Home Authorities for recognition and a grant as a Military and Naval Chaplain he was authorized by his people to petition in the name of the Presbyterian Church. Evidently they were unwilling to allow an unpropitious name like Protestant Dissenters to stand between them and a grant. There remains today a curious relic of this indecision—an indecision no doubt due to the divided character of the congregation. The Congregationalists though accepting a minister from Scotland resisted becoming Presbyterian in name or in fact. They retained their independence of Presbytery and, notwithstanding the skilful piloting of the Rev. Dr. Brown, persevered in their Congregational practices. It is a mistake to suppose that the Revolution reduced the Congregationalists to a minority. At the first annual meeting held after the reorganisation in 1787 the Congregationalists elected their candidate for Moderator and captured nearly all the offices. This fact perhaps explains why the plates placed at the door to receive the offerings bore no name—nothing save the date 1788 and the words "Halifax, N. S." Apparently the authorities were not willing to dry up the sources of charity by using obnoxious names. But there may be another explanation. A short time ago I noticed as I rubbed my thumb over, that from the rim of one of the plates

something had been cut out. A closer examination revealed a considerable depression in each plate before the words "Halifax." There was room in the depression for either "Presbyterian Congregation" or "Protestant Dissenting Congregation," though which of the two was engraved is uncertain. If the words Presbyterian Congregation first appeared, we can understand the prudential motives which prompted their erasure. If the name Protestant Dissenting Congregation appeared a later generation to whom the term "Dissenters" was distasteful—a generation that delighted in its connection with the establishment in Scotland—caused the removal of the signs of their former low estate. I think the original name was Protestant Dissenting Congregation.

After the enlargement and beautifying of the church in 1812 the new name "Presbyterian" entered the Congregational Minutes and finally ousted "Protestant Dissenters" in 1815. But before the end of the year a more dangerous rival appeared in the name "St. Matthew's." After 1820 St. Matthew's Church is the sole name. It is worth noting that the Secretary who delighted in the new name was Geo. Mitchell, grandfather of Mr. George Mitchell, the present Treasurer of the Session. Perhaps the change of name was due to the effect of the war of 1812 on the power of the Congregational or New England element. (However true that may be, it is a curious fact that there is no record of any Congregational meeting during the year 1813. This may be due to the rebuilding or to the disturbing influences of the war or to the repairs that were being made.)

There was another name unknown to officialdom—a name more interesting and more popular than any of the others. Tradition today refers to the Church as "Mather's Church" and we are told that the name was given as a compliment to Cotton Mather, the great New England Divine. In 1808 the North British Society granted fifty pounds to the Presbyterian Congregation of "Mather's Church" or "St. Matthew's" for a parsonage. On Short's Views of Halifax, of which the first edition appeared in March, 1764, and the second in 1777, the name "St.

Mather's" appears side by side with "St. Paul's." Both are clearly and distinctly printed. On a map in the Crown Lands Office "drawn by Mather Byles, September 23rd, 1783, the "St." also appears, in print script, written by the draughtsman. Why should the word "St." be prefixed to the name of that sturdy old Puritan, Cotton Mather? Had the name "Mather" appeared first in Puritan simplicity and later been associated with "Saint" one could understand how confusion with St. Matthew's had led the careless to canonize Cotton Mather. But in the later years the distinction is carefully made. Could the "St." be due to the ignorance and carelessness of R. Short, purser of H. M. S. Orange in Saunders command at Quebec and Halifax and to his unconscious impartiality in giving Dissenters as well as Churchmen the honour of worshipping in a church bearing a "St." before its name? If so why did Mather Byles, of sturdy New England stock, apply the "St." to Mather's? Was he too a newcomer in 1783 and therefore ignorant? If so he and Short must have taken the term as they heard it on the streets. May I add another twist to the puzzle? Is it possible that St. Mather's is a corruption of St. Matthew's? Or is St. Matthew's a corruption of St. Mather's?

A few words about the building. In the Provincial Museum there is a model of the church as it was before the fire of 1857. The original building, however, was very different in appearance. Its tower stood at the north end and ran up from the ground and the building was like the New England churches, almost square. In 1812 an addition of twelve feet was built on to the north end and the tower set on the roof like St. Paul's. Before this, in 1787, shortly after Dr. Brown's arrival a new pulpit was erected. The middle pews were altered and the gallery fitted up for soldiers and within two or three years after this a session house was built. The high and narrow pulpit flanked by a winding stair and overshadowed by the huge sounding board with the door perched on the top is a Presbyterian innovation. Probably in the early building a simple pulpit with deacon's seat in front suited the Puritan taste—a taste

severely simple, if Cotton Mather be correct. He wrote, "Every town, for the most part, can say, we have a modest and handsome house for the worship of God, not set off with gaudy, pompous theatrical fineries, but suited unto the simplicity of Christian worship." Byington, 140.

Square pews from the first were placed around the walls while probably in the middle, long narrow seats were allotted to single men and women, and to the poorer families. Possibly the women sat on one side and the men on the other. The gallery was usually the haunt of the boys, whose distaste for long sermons, doleful tunes and sour faces drove them to pranks that earned for the gallery the name of "the devil's playhouse" in old New England times. The square pews with high sides and comfortable corners were seldom filled even by the largest families. More frequently they were occupied by two or more families. These ecclesiastical partnerships frequently led to trouble. Not a few serious quarrels in old St. Matthew's began over disputed pew rights.

The pews were sold at auction to the highest bidder. In the days of great prosperity handsome prices were paid for the right to rent certain pews. In 1812 five side pews were sold at prices ranging from £25 to £36 each (\$100 to \$144) in addition to the annual rental. Good pews in the gallery brought from £3. 10 to £2 a year rental. The contest for the upper seats in the church was keen. Perhaps there was more truth than fun in the jest that a man's credit in the town was rated by his seating in St. Matthew's. These rents were collected with business like regularity and delinquents saw their favourite seats sold at auction at the quarterly meetings.

It is interesting to note that the congregation in 1795, after it had reached its 45th year, solemnly voted to purchase a stove. It is almost impossible for us to realize the discomforts of the barnlike Meeting houses of those early days. So cold were they that the minister not unfrequently appeared clad in a long heavy cloak, with skull cap or hood on head, and

hands cased in well knit gloves or fur mittens. One may picture the appearance of the Meeting House in chill mornings when streams of frozen music seemed to issue from a hundred throats. The men, disdaining fashion were comfortably clad. Not so the women. Alice Morse Earle tells us that about this time the women of Boston wore cotton hose, thin cloth, kid or silk slippers or low shoes, with paper soles; scant skirted calico dresses with short sleeves, and round low necks and heavy fur or woolen gloves. At that time Boston winters were as severe as those of today. Is it any wonder that consumption played havoc and that it was rare for a family to grow up with unbroken ranks?

In the name of charity, mercy or patience skin bags were introduced to protect freezing feet during the interminable sermons, and in spite of stern theology dogs went regularly to church and repaid indulgent masters or mistresses by becoming warm and soft footstools. Heated stones, foot warmers with hot coals prepared the way for the great theological issue of the latter half of the 18th century,—*the introduction of stoves.*

The first stove appeared in a New England Meeting House in 1738, and caused a scandal second only to that occasioned by the introduction of the pitch pipe. The Old South Church, possibly the model of our Meeting House in form and practice, resisted the innovation until 1783—just twelve years before the Protestant Dissenters in Halifax resolved to purchase a stove.

It is thus the praiser of the times that are gone bewailed the decay of religion.

“Extinct the sacred fire of love,  
Our zeal grown cold and dead,  
In the House of God we fix a stove  
To warm us in their stead.”

The Historian turned rhymer thus wrote—

“There to warm their feet  
Was seen an article now obsolete  
A sort of basket, or tub of braided straw,  
Or husks in which was placed a heated stone  
Which doth half frozen limbs superbly thaw  
And warm the marrow of the oldest bone.

Hour glasses seem to have proved ineffectual in St. Matthew's. In 1795, a year of reforms, a clock was purchased, and placed on the gallery directly before the offenders' eye. And need there was of even a stronger reminder of the flight of time in those days. A conscientious preacher felt it a grievous sin to cut off a hungry flock with a paltry nineteenthly. In England, Old and New, a patient people often saw the hour glass turned twice—in vain. Cotton Mather at his ordination prayed one hour and a quarter and preached nearly two hours. In the long prayers the minister granted an intermission to permit the infirm to take their seats and to give the tithing man or the deacon, an opportunity to restore order in the “devil's playhouse.”

In 1787 Mr. John Fillis, a great grandfather of Mr. J. C. Mackintosh, an ultra New Englander, gave the Meeting House a bell. It continued in use until the great fire on New Year's day, 1857. As the tower tumbled into the burning building, the onlookers were startled by the mournful clang of the old bell bidding farewell to the people whom it had summoned to worship for seventy years.

In earlier days in New England other means were used to summon the faithful to church, so this verse from an old fashioned hymn tells us.

“New England's Sabbath day  
Is heaven like still and pure  
When Israel walks the way  
Up to the temple door.  
The tune we tell  
When there to come  
By beat of drum  
Or sounding shell.”

The morning service usually began at 9 with "bills" as they were called, desiring remembrance in prayer. The order of service was not unlike that of the present day except in brevity. The reading of Scripture was always accompanied with exposition. This was one of the most instructive and acceptable parts of the service. To the people's taste for exposition, fostered by this practice, does Matthew Henry owe the great power that he exercised in the religious thought of his time through his commentary.

The afternoon service began at 2 and was like that of the morning. It was at this service that members were admitted and matters of offence heard.

In those days all baptisms took place in the Meeting House, even in the depth of winter. Usually the children were baptized within a week of their birth. Is it small wonder that the mortality among children was great?

The singing was never a source of pride in those early days of Puritanism. Perhaps it is unwise to attempt a description. The tunes were few, the singers more vigorous than skilful and the result astonishing. The writer of an old diary, once a noted leader of singing, says—"I have myself paused twice on one note to take breath. No two men in the congregation quaver alike or together. It sounds as if 500 different tunes were roared out together at the same time." For nearly two centuries, lining or deaconing was very common and necessary where books were few and reading an accomplishment. Some of the Psalms of the *Bay State Psalm Book* contained 120 lines and when lined and sung took half an hour. Hence all the marvellous stories of kirks, Meeting Houses, ministers and the cxix Psalm.

The practice of singing with its ludicrous effects such as "I bow-ow-ow"—"I bow-ow-ow" excited great disputes. Mather Byles thus wrote of the choir:

"Down starts the bass with grave majestic air,  
And up the treble mounts with shrill career

With softer sounds in mild melodious maze  
 Warbling between, the tenor gently plays  
 And if the inspiring allies join the force  
 See like a lark it wings its towering course  
 Through Harmony's sublimest sphere it flies  
 And to angelic accents seems to rise."

Such innovations naturally brought forth protests. A critic hung two cats over the door of Billings, the inventor, to indicate his opinion of the ecclesiastical caterwauling.

An indignant minister after his first Sunday's experience took the text,

"The songs of the temple shall be turned to howling."

The first Psalm Book in use in St. Matthew's was probably the Bay State Psalm Book, first printed in 1640. It was literal and incredibly horrible as this verse well indicates:

"Likewise the heavens he down bow'd  
 And he descended, and there was  
 Under his feet a glowing cloud  
 And he a cherub rode and flew.  
 Yea, he flew on the wings of the wind  
 His secret place he darkness made  
 His covert that him round confined."

In New England Tate and Brady's and Cotton Mather's translations gained the popular ear for but a moment. Watts' Hymns became almost universal, after the Revolution. We know that Watts' Hymns were required as the one condition of harmony by the New England members of St. Matthew's in 1787, and these Hymns encountered no rival in St. Matthew's until 1853 when the congregation permitted the use of another version, probably Rous' version of the Psalms. Many of the older members of St. Matthew's today remember the double announcement of Psalm so and so Watts' version, No. so and so, To not a few the name of Watt's Hymns calls up

"Hark from the tomb the doleful sound."

(For much of the foregoing the writer is indebted to Alice Morse Earle and Byington.)



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ST. MATTHEW'S CHURCH 'CELLO.



... such Calvinists  
... having been made to us, ~~here~~ on this Occasion  
... as the Ministers of Gods word.

Accordingly took the same into our serious consideration  
We have found upon due inquiry & a number of the Inhabitants of  
the above-mentioned place, being desirous of One who might break the  
bread of life amongst them and perform the other duties of the  
Ministerial Function agreeable to the Scriptures & the Dictates  
of their own Consciences in consequence of which they have made  
Application to the Ministers of their own Denomination in  
Philadelphia the Answer to ~~their~~ Application was that no  
religionist was expected from that Quarter; and moreover, that  
none could from Germany as the Distance of the place and many  
other difficulties rendered it in a great Measure impracticable.

Their last recourse then appears to have been the only ~~way~~  
they (Number) Mr Bruin Rembe's Camerage person commonly  
by the Name of Brown.

To the amount of sixty families have petitioned us to set upon  
the said Mr Brown to the Office of the Ministry amongst them  
but the Vital Religion should be injured by such a measure we  
have used all that precaution which was possible for us in  
the present affair.

An inquiry has been made into his moral Character; and we find  
from Gentlemen of Undoubted Veracity that it stands fair and Un-  
blemished.

We have moreover proceeded to enquire into his qualifications for  
so sacred an Employment; viz, his knowledge of ~~speculative~~  
and practical ~~Religion~~ his ability in rightly dividing the word,  
the Articles of his faith &c. — What we can assure this



preaching, administering the Sacraments, catechizing, exercising discipline and in performing all other Ministerial Duties to the people committed to your charge.

- 7 Will you humbly & willingly submit your self to our Animations & the Discipline of the aforesaid Church.
- Will you take care that you and your family walk blameably; be Examples to the flock, and adorn the gospel of the royal by your conversation.
- 8 Do you own and promise Allegiance to his Majesty King George the third in all things Civil and lawful?

We do hereby certify that the Rev. Mr. Bruin Rombe Cominque (alias Brown) after due Examination and trial was this day set apart by prayer & the imposition of hands to the office of the holy Ministry over the Dutch ~~Catholic~~ Presbyterian Congregation of Lunenburg by us.

Halifax July 3. 1770.

John Secombe  
 J. Wilson  
 Winard Shilgo  
 James Murdoch



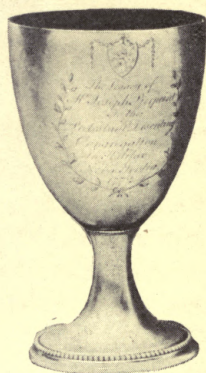
Did time but permit one could find in the lives of the ministers and members of this congregation, courage, honesty, devotion to duty and an independence in thought and deed that could not but extort admiration from the most severe critic. The early ministers with but one or two exceptions were all New Englanders, usually Harvard men, or Old Countrymen who had come to Nova Scotia through New England. The person of Aaron Cleveland stands out clear and strong. His tall athletic figure, thoughtful face, self-sacrificing spirit that once led him to shorten his life in the heroic endeavour to help save a leaky ship, would of themselves attract attention. And when we read the story of his religious conflicts, the trials and hardships of the closing years of his life and his sudden death in the house of his friend Benjamin Franklin, just as a better day seemed to be dawning, we cannot help feeling that he was a man of singular capacity, strong courage, but one who failed to receive in his lifetime the recognition due to his merits. Perhaps in the life of his descendant, Grover Cleveland, a former President of the United States, he has in part come to his own.

Of his successors, John Cotton, we know but little except his connection with Harvard. Probably he stayed but a year or two and left during the depression of 1755. The names of A. Brown, Nehemiah Porter, Caleb Gannet, Mr. Bethune appear as either regular pastors or occasional supply. The musical but erratic James Lyon; James Murdock, a name still honoured in Nova Scotia; the genial and kindly John Secombe; and George Gilmore not of New England birth but not unknown in New England, ministered as oft as they could to the Dissenters. Perhaps no one had a greater influence on the life of the people than the Rev. John Secombe, of Chester, perpetual supply from 1761 to 1777 or later. One name appears and disappears and leaves behind it a record unworthy of the profession and the church but there is so little save rumour to justify a statement that omission is better than statement.

The American Revolution touched both clergymen and people deeply. The Rev. John Seccombe was brought before the Council for uttering in prayer and sermon treasonable thoughts. The most prominent men in the congregation, Malachi Salter, John Fillis and W. Smith were tried for treason and acquitted. So much concern did the political sympathies of this congregation give the Governor that extraordinary means were taken to thwart them. The agreement between Congregationalist and Presbyterian in which it was settled that the minister must come from Scotland was dictated less by the religious prejudices of the Presbyterians than by political considerations. For Presbyterians were at that time being educated in the New Jersey College, now called Princeton. Had the desire been simply to secure a Presbyterian, there was no reason why he should not have been sought in New Jersey. A letter from the Governor of Nova Scotia in 1783 to Sir Guy Carleton in New York throws light upon this point. Sir Guy Carleton had written the Governor about the attempts that were being made by the Dissenters in Halifax to get a minister from Dr. Witherspoon, the great President of Princeton who had come out from Scotland in 1769 and had been one of the leading spirits in the Revolution and one of the first to sign the Declaration of Independence. The Governor replied saying that, while the Statutes forbade direct interference, the Council had decided by "Policy and Vigilance to defeat and deter such pernicious doctrines as may be expected from the disciple of such a master, and to apply the law where occasion affords." (Mss. 222, Legislative Library.)

There is an impression that in Nova Scotia only New Englanders were suspected of disloyalty and sympathy with the Revolutionists. In St. Matthew's, William Smith was the first to be suspected of a Bostonian prejudice against tea. He was brought before the Council and dismissed from all offices. Later John Fillis and Wm. Smith were suspected of burning hay that was to be sent to the King's forces in Boston. They were both members of the House and were declared innocent by the House, but were watched by the Council.





St. Matthew's Church Communion Silver.



Of these men William Smith was, I think, a Scotsman, and some one has said was a forbear of Lord Strathcona? The only persons to decline to take the oath of allegiance in Truro and Londonderry were five men from the north of Ireland—Ulster Presbyterians of the bluest kind. Curiously the Council decided to prosecute them as Popish recusants. Probably not a few English, Irish, and Scottish immigrants, if not inclined to be aggressive at least wished that the Home Government would show more deference to the Colonies.

Who were members of this congregation in the early days? The following letter from the *Boston Weekly News Letter* of March, 1751, partially answers that question:

“By a letter from Halifax dated the 15th of February last we hear that a church being gathered on the 31st of January they made choice of the Rev. Aaron Cleveland for their pastor. And the Lord's Day following after divine service Mr. Henry Ferguson, Capt. Edmund Duright, and Giles Harris were chosen deacons of the said church; and Mr. Vans, Dr. M. C. Grant, ship's surgeon on the grantee of St. Matthew's lot, Capt. Matthew Barnard, and Capt. Davis Hills assistants to the deacons to settle any differences that may arise in the church or congregation; and on the 10th, being the Lord's Day, a child of Benjamin Green, Esq., was baptized by Mr. Cleveland by the name of Edward Cornwallis.”

The earliest known officer was Mr. Hugh Vans, Moderator of the meeting held December 17th, 1750. Mr. Vans I think was a Scotsman from Ayr who built up a business in Boston, came to Halifax and, finally returned to Boston (v. *Diary of Anne Green Winslow*.)

The following signed the credentials of Rev. Wm. Moore who left St. Matthew's in 1769 to solicit aid in England for the Dissenters in Nova Scotia.

Malachy Salter,	Francis White,
John Fillis,	John Butler,
Benjamin Gerrish,	Thomas Boutineau,
Edward Nichols,	Aaron Porter,
Joseph Fairbanks,	Henry Ferguson,
Jonathan Prescott,	Thomas Cochran,
Simeon Giffin,	Benjamin Phelps.

All of these were probably members of this congregation.

In Rev. John Seccombe's Diary of 1761 these following names appear as his Halifax friends. Doubtless nearly all were members of St. Matthew's:

Governor Belcher,	Edmund Crawley,	Mr. Greenleaf,
Mr. Blacken,	Mr. Bridge,	Josiah Marshall,
Alex. Grant,	Mr. Ingols,	Mr. McClaine.

He baptized on March 15th Daniel, son of Nathan Parker, December 19th, Lydia, daughter of Robert Davis, December 20th Hannah, daughter of John Henley.

Other members were James Pierrepont, donor of Communion Cup, John Cleveland, brother of the Rev. Aaron, Jos. Gerrish, naval storekeeper, and Joshua Mauger.

How many Dissenters were there? In 1752 there were 4248 persons in Halifax of which Mr. Breynton estimates one-half as members of the Church of England. In 1755 the number of inhabitants had fallen to one-half. The census of 1767 gave Halifax 3022 persons of whom 667 were Roman Catholics. In 1769 the number was much reduced and in 1791 the population of town was 4897. The exodus during Revolutionary times made serious inroads on the Dissenting congregation. Breynton reports on one occasion only 55 Protestant Dissenters, but his estimate is too low. There must have been at least five or six times as many persons, including women and children. The census of 1767 reports 302 English, 51 Scotch, 853 Irish, 1351 American, 264 Germans and 200 Acadians. A very large number of the Americans were undoubtedly Dissenters.

(President Murray's M. S. was left incomplete. His removal from the city made it impossible for him to put it in proper shape. The following notes taken from another lecture and accompanying the M. S. are printed in the hope that they may be of service to some inquirer. EDITOR.)

In 1812 over nearly £100 pounds were spent in enlarging the church. The old tower was taken down and the building extended north, and a small tower was built on the roof as in the model. Doors were opened at the east side and the gallery enlarged.

At a later date the middle gallery was occupied by the choir and under the leadership of Mr. H. Hill the choir rose to fame. Three of his daughters sang in it. They were always spoken of as the beautiful Miss Hills. It is said that a young minister, who afterwards was honoured with the hand of one of them, had an unusual fondness for that Hymn beginning "Unto the hills," etc.

At this time, James Dechman, one of the faithful of St. Matthew's, a member of session and general custodian of the church played a bass viol, (later called the "kirk fiddle,") in the choir. This came later into the possession of Mr. George Mitchell. Dechman lived in Irishtown across the street from old St. Matthew's. He left the Library a set of the 8th edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, also a sum of money for the St. Matthew's School on condition that once a year on his birthday the school would join in honouring the pious memory of the donor. This proved too great a tax for even St. Matthew's and the money was turned over to the Grammar School by the Courts. Today St. Matthew's has in consequence, the privilege of nominating two free scholars a year to the County Academy. Mr. Dechman's father was an elder in 1787.

But back to the gallery. On the north side sat the line regiments and on the south the artillerymen and engineers. It must have been a fine sight to see the striking uniforms of those days when the artillerymen wore white starched trousers,

blue jackets, stiff with buttons, cut away at the vest in front and with two long blue tails at the back for all the world like a swallow.

The headgear was intended to inspire the enemy with fear and awe, and it succeeded. This was before the days of the Crimea. Mr. Taylor, the old sexton, could give you stirring stories of those days.

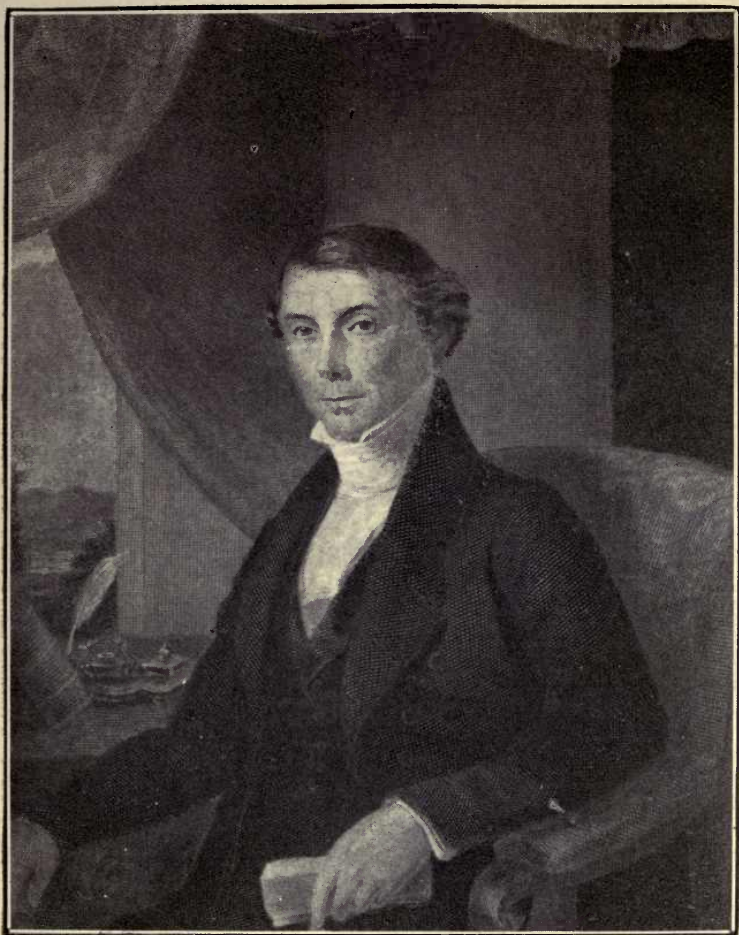
In time the walls were adorned with memorial tablets. The first was put up by William and George R. Young in memory of their father, John Young, or "Agricola" as he was known in the press. In those days before the spirit of brotherly love had entered into the editorial heart political passions ran high. The Youngs were accused of idolatry and that sort of thing, probably because their father and they did not vote right. In time the agitation died down and other tablets were put up. It was thus that Malachi Salter was honoured and Joshua Mauger, whose name has been spelt "Mauger," "Meagher" (Meagher's Beach) "Major." In New Brunswick they do the man honour by pronouncing and spelling his name correctly—Maugerville.

Of the members of this congregation prior to the Revolution the best known were Malachi Salter, who visited Chebucto four or five years before Cornwallis. He built up a large business, and served his country in Parliament. His descendants are among the honoured names of Halifax—the Cunards, Morrows, Stairs, Duffus, and Ritchies.

Benjamin Gerrish, John Fillis, William Millet, Benjamin Green (Provincial Secretary), Chief Justice Belcher, Joseph Fairbanks, Jonathan Prescott, Frances White and Joseph Pierrepont were prominent members in the early days.

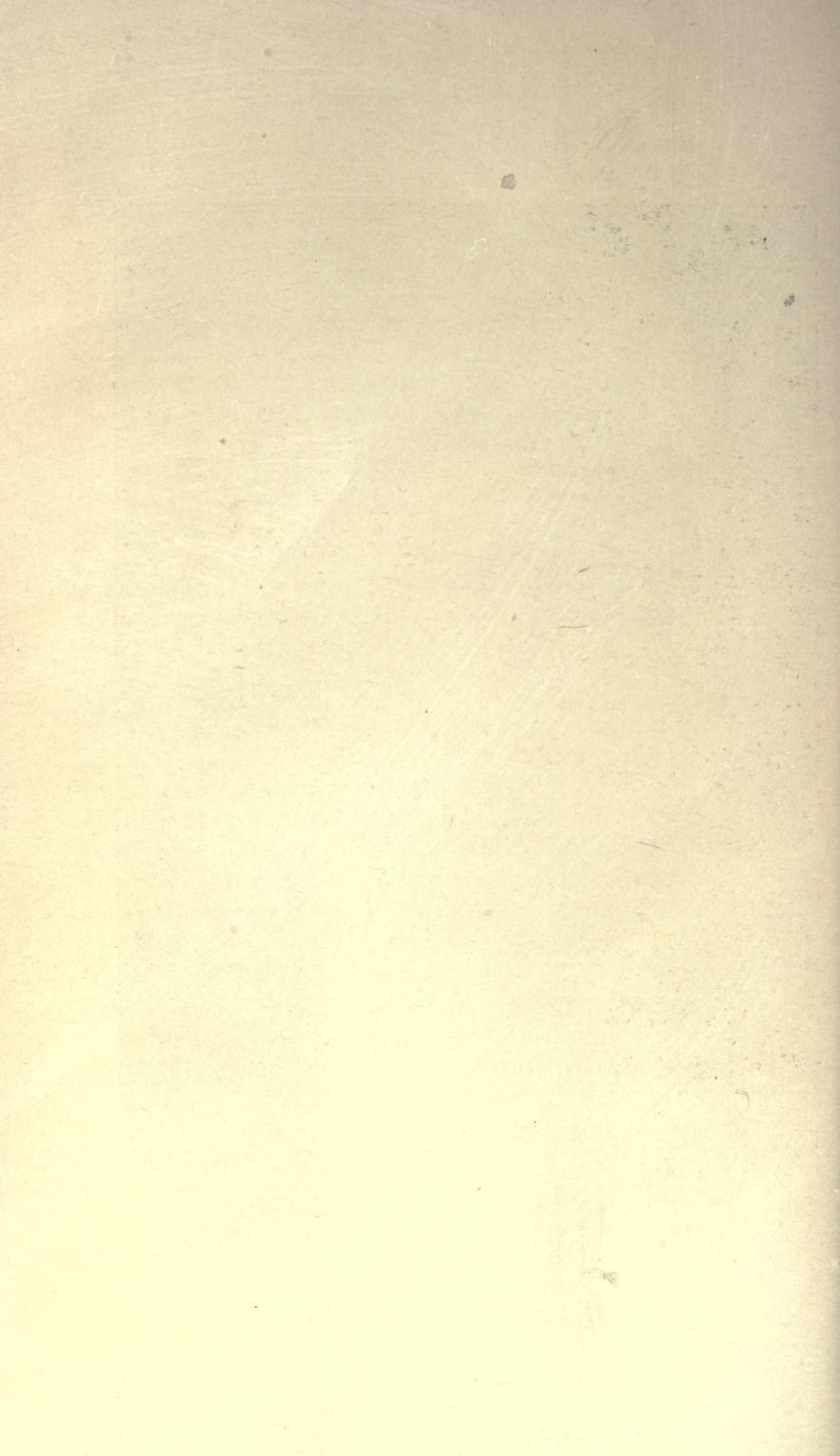
The name of Aaron Cleveland, the first minister is known to you all. He was a Harvard graduate, a man of distinction and a scholar. Three short years he stayed in Halifax. Then he went to England and entered the Church of England. On his

1681



**REV. ARCHIBALD GRAY,**  
**Minister St. Matthew's Church, Halifax; Chaplain North British**  
**Society, 1796.**

[From portrait in possession of Robert Noble, Halifax].





way out the vessel sprang a leak. His heroic endeavours to help save the leaking ship injured his health. After a short time in mission charges he died at the house of his friend Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia. His great grandson Grover Cleveland may trace his ability to a worthy ancestor.

Another minister, a Harvard man, deserves more than a passing notice. The Rev. John Seccombe who was settled at Chester was perpetual supply of St. Matthew's from 1769 or earlier to 1783, preaching in the intervals between the settled charges, and looking after the interests of the congregation with a kindly humanity that endeared him to the people.

Mr. Seccombe presided at the ordination of the Rev. Bruin Romkes Comingoe (commonly called Brown) the first ordination of a Protestant minister in the Dominion. Mr. Seccombe was assisted at the quasi-Presbytery convened for this purpose July 3, 1770, by the Rev. Jas. Lyon, Benaijah Phelps and James Murdoch, all of whom for longer or shorter periods occupied St. Matthew's pulpit.

The Rev. Andrew Brown arrived from Scotland in 1787. He came on the recommendation of Principal Robertson, the historian, of the University of Edinburgh. Dr. Brown so it is said stood head and shoulders in ability above his contemporaries in Halifax. While here he gathered materials for a history of Nova Scotia. Unfortunately he was never able to finish it. He has however written enough of the expulsion of the Acadians to intensify our regrets that one so near to the actual events was not permitted to hand down to posterity a calm and unbiased account of this debatable question. Enough remains to show that his sympathies went out to the French Acadians in their expulsion to a degree almost as great as that of Longfellow.

Dr. Brown was one of the ablest men who ever came to Nova Scotia. While here he was a leader in intellectual and social as well as ecclesiastical affairs. To the kindly interest

of Prince George with whom he travelled home, he owed his promotion to a chair in the University of Edinburgh. Dr. Brown's tact and humanity practically healed the breach between Congregationalists and Presbyterians, New Englander and Old Countryman.

Of his worthy successor the Venerable Dr. Gray, who for well nigh thirty years discharged the duties of his high office with dignity and fidelity one cannot speak at length. He was the friend of Lord Dalhousie and one upon whose counsel the Governor rested in educational matters. This much the early history of Dalhousie tells. Disputes about assistants and the bigotry of a new bishop added to the afflictions of his declining years.

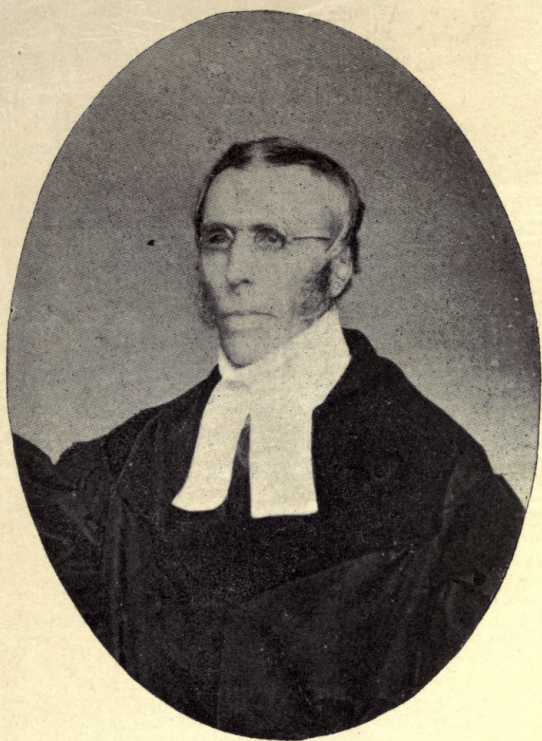
The Rev. Robert Knox, a native of Halifax, was assistant for a short time. He was sent out from Scotland and to a good Scottish charge he returned.

He was succeeded in the assistantship by the Rev. Ebenezer Rennie. Mr. Rennie was related to the Young family. His mother I believe was a Young, probably a sister of Agricola. Geo. R. Young, Sir William's brother, was called George Rennie Young. Mr. Rennie became involved in a serious congregational quarrel which culminated over his refusal to marry Mr. William Duffus and Miss MacDougall.

His successor in the assistantship, the Rev. John Scott, arrived in Halifax after the death of Dr. Gray.

For 37 years Mr. Scott ministered to this congregation. In February, 1864, after he had handed over the responsibilities to his brilliant colleague the Rev. Geo. Grant, his long and useful life of 68 years came to an end. To the young generation in St. Matthew's he is known only as a venerable name; but to an older generation, the old St. Matthew's on Hollis Street, with its large and influential congregation of city merchants and prominent politicians, is but the background of the state-ly figure of Mr. Scott..

1761



**REV. JOHN SCOTT, M. A.,  
Minister St. Matthew's Church, Halifax, 1828.**



## EARLY REMINISCENCES OF HALIFAX—MEN WHO HAVE PASSED FROM US.

By PETER LYNCH, Q. C.

(Read before the N. S. Historical Society, 3rd February, 1887).

I propose tonight to speak to you of a few of the many more prominent members of our Province who have passed away from us. Some of whom although but comparatively recently deceased are unknown perhaps even by name to many of you for it is more easy to forget than to remember those who we are not seeing from day to day. To me the appearance and even the tone of voice of many of those people is familiar and I can scarcely realize that they are gone from us, for until I visit our public haunts, or Churches or places of amusement, and looking around find myself in the midst of strangers, and when the involuntary cry goes forth "Our Fathers where are they?" It has to be responded to by the monumental stones in the graveyards or the mural tablets on our Church walls. I propose to speak to you alone of the dead and I am happy to say, of those who I shall bring to your notice I have nothing to say to their detriment, besides which I should be sorry to violate the old precept *de mortui nil nisi bonum*.

In introducing this subject to you I should have liked to dwell at some length upon the condition of our city during the early part of the century. The appearance of the town, its fashions, habits of the people, the many changes and vicissitudes of the community, its churches, dwellings houses, places of amusement, and a variety of other matters, all of which I feel would be of interest to you whose forefathers played a conspicuous part in all those things. In reminiscences of the past I cannot help adverting to some of the sights in a cursory manner, but if I expatiated on them at length I should

have to abandon my proposed theme and even, with the brief time afforded me I shall have to confine my remarks to but a very few of the many people whose lives, habits, sayings and doings would form abundant material for a good sized volume. I had from time to time contemplated gathering up my reminiscences, and publishing them, something in the style, in very humble imitation of the style of Dean Ramsey's very amusing book, but the labors of a very jealous and exacting profession, have caused me to shrink from the task, and put it off from year to year, until I fear it must be left to other and abler hands, and without more prefatory remarks let me for a few moments advert in the most summary way to some few matters connected with the early past of our history, and first as to the conditions of the Town.

In the year of grace 1820 the population of Halifax consisted of from 9,000 to 10,000 souls. At that time there was no house from Francklin's Corner along the west side of Pleasant Street except one in juxta-position to it occupied by Adam Esson and a small house which had formerly been a hostel designated the Golden Ball on the spot now occupied by the spacious house of Mr. James Scott. Beyond it to the south of South Street, and extending to the Smith property, was a large field owned and occupied by an old countryman of my own, one Jimmy Fitzgerald, in the centre of which stood a tumble down old cottage in part protected from the bleak north winds by an ancient apple tree which like its owner and his dwelling had seen its best days, and from whose gnarled and trembling limbs a few shrunken apples were year by year rudely torn by the town boys. There in loneliness and solitude died the old man in a state of poverty, little dreaming that in a comparatively short time his big barren field would yield to its nine fortunate proprietors some £20,000. Next to it to the south and extending to the old Bridge known as Kissing Bridge (a name which it was said was well earned and nobly sustained) was the extensive property of the Smiths, a family of old German batchelors extending all the way up to Tower

Road. There lived those old men in a little cottage which stood by the stream which then flowed past it, redolent with the perfume of cattle, for they were tanners and there was found one dark winter morning the headless trunk of one of them, he having as was supposed partaken too largely of schnaps during the night before, tumbled into the fire and burnt off his head. Turn the Corner of Spring Garden Road where stood and still stands, the Roman Catholic Glebe House there was no building on the north side of the road till you reached Stayner's Bridge so called, except the Gaol. The Pyke House and the dwelling house of Mr. John Stayner is known as "Brookside" now the property of Mr. Michael Dwyer, while on the south side there was no building of any kind from the Protestant Burial Ground to the bridge except Bellevue House then the residence of Col. Brooke or (Broke) brother of the Hero of The Shannon, an old shanty the abode of Abraham Kirk the father of John Foster Kirk the author of the life of Charles the Bold of Burgundy; amanuensis of Prescott.

At the north of the town there was no house to be seen from the Ball Court, opposite the south end of Gottingen Street, to the property now of Mr. Martin Black then belonging to Mr. Benjamin Etter, a Silver Smith, except a house still I believe standing on the corner of Gottingen and Cunard Streets then occupied by Town Major McCollas. Such was Gottingen Street now thickly studded with houses and shops of every description and as I am told one of the busiest marts in the City.

My earliest recollections of dates refers to the advertizement of a year's Almanac which was placarded on a wall and bore in large figures the date of 1825. Like most others, I have a more vivid recollection of many things which occurred at that time, than I have of events of a more recent period. At that time Halifax was a very gay town, and remarkable for the hospitality of its people and the beauty of its girls, the latter a reputation it has never lost. We had then a Lieutenant-

Governor, appointed directly from home, and up to the time of Lord Falkland almost always a Military man, he being also the General in Command of the troops. Our Admiral and a Commissioner of the Dockyard, the headquarters of the Dockyard being then here, a very large garrison and a number of civil officers at the head of the Naval Departments, all paid by the Imperial Government at Imperial rates, which they spent with profuse liberality. We had also at that time a great number of wealthy merchants, for the war then recently concluded had thrown a large amount of wealth into our laps and made people believe that the prosperity was to continue forever. They lived to realize their mistake, but still their great wealth thus rapidly and easily accumulated remained to them and their descendants for several decades after that.

The garrison then consisted of three full regiments of foot, three batteries of artillery, and a large corps of Engineers or Sappers and Miners as they were then called, an extensive body of Commissariat officers, presided over by a Commissary General, and each of the heads of Departments having a large staff. In the army a large proportion of the officers were men of wealth, for here with the purchase system there was a great inducement for rich men to enter the service. In the civil branch there were the Customs Department with its almost numberless officers. the collector with a salary of £3000 sterling a year, the Comptroller with £2000 and the subordinate officers, almost all from the parent country, and with proportionate incomes all living in much style, spending large amounts in the town, and giving a tone of great gaiety and profusion to the community.

But besides those sources of gaiety and amusement, there were at that time numerous bodies of various descriptions all of which were centres of conviviality. There were the officers of the several battalions of Militia, the different national societies, the fire companies, prominent amongst which were the Heart and Hand and the Hand in Hand, both numbering amongst their members the most respectable of our citizens,



and the Free Masons. All of them had their annual ball for their wives, daughters and friends and their dinners for themselves. The Old Mason Hall of which the foundation stone was laid by H. R. H. The Duke of Kent in 1800 then and still having the most spacious and best proportioned room in the town, afforded a most commodious arena for all those festivities, and there at the evening assemblies were to be found as brilliant assemblies of gallant men and beautiful women, as could be found perhaps in equal numbers any place else in the world. It is sad to look back on these scenes when fond memory brings the light of other days around us, and to remember that nearly all the young people of that day and found gracing those assemblies are numbered with the dead. As regards the spacious and handsome old room in the Mason Hall now deserted for age and leaving no worthy successor in its place, it was the scene of every public gathering. It was at various times, a church, a theatre, a concert room, a banqueting hall, a ball room, a bazaar mart, a place for political gatherings and every other species of public assemblage, a spacious stage upon which the men and women of the day were the players.

Need I say that the station was much coveted by military men, especially wealthy ones, a large number of whom had the good taste to select their wives from amongst us and very many to make the Province their permanent home. The climate was at that time very different from what it is at present. The summers were hotter and the winters colder, such as they still prevail in Canada proper. Our springs, the worst period of the year did not then linger as they now do into June but sprang into maturity in May. I have frequently known the first day of May, then almost invariably commemorated by the community as a day for gathering the sweet little natal flowers, to be uncomfortably hot, while now as you know too frequently the little mayflower has a struggle to raise its pretty head above the remaining rifts of snow. From May until October the weather was warm and during

the months of June, July, August and September almost tropical in its temperature. November was as drear and chilly as it has since as a rule continued to be, and in December we had our first fall of snow which from that time, with the exception of the January thaw covered the ground with a heavy coating varying from three to six feet, until about the end of March. But winter notwithstanding its severity was a merry time. And although the winds were laden with frost, they did not prevent the sun shining brilliantly by day and the stars sparkling brilliantly by night. A heavy fall of snow was soon beaten down by the innumerable sleighs which traversed it, and a number of good hostels at a convenient driving distance from the town afforded the certainty of a good dinner, and if at times the days were dark and dreary, they could always be made bright and cheerful by the merry music of the sleigh bells, and I have no hesitation in saying that while at those times the population was not more than half as numerous as at present yet, there were twice the number of horses and vehicles. The Tandem Club one of the institutions of the country was a splendid sight. It numbered in its ranks the elite of the community. The Governor and all the officials, the General, his staff, and a large proportion of the officers in garrison, and a large number of our wealthy citizens, who all made a grand display during their field days, when the sun apparently burnished by the clear cold wind as it fell upon the virgin snow made its bosom glitter as if powdered with a profusion of diamonds. At the head of the the club rode the Captain of the day always with a six in hand. After him the Governor with a fine team of four horses and *apres lui le deluge*, four in hands numerous and tandems without number, all forming a continuous line of splendid horses, handsome sleighs and gaily dressed people from South Street to the Provincial Building, all entranced by the many notes of the mellow horn and the continued shouting of the crowds which lined the street on either side. Immediately opposite the east side of the Provincial Building was a very large house then occupied by Miller (a famous host) who then kept the

best hotel in the town. There the party all brought up in several ranks and although wedged in as close as possible, filling in the whole space between Prince and Sackville Streets. At once the hotel doors were thrown open and the servants of the house together with those of the several messes and others streamed forth in their gay liveries bearing trays laden with cakes, confections and steaming hot negus then the favourite beverage, and having distributed their welcome contents amongst the whole party the merry bugle again broke upon the clear frosty air and the whole party in order swept along the streets on their way to Fultz's 12 Mile House, where about 3 o'clock then the fashionable hour for dinner, the party sat down to as good a dinner as could be had anywhere in the Province or perhaps out of it. Again at about 9 o'clock, the stillness of the night was invaded by the many notes of the bugle, as the party not exactly in the same order, or with the same regularity, again sped along the smooth road on the way home. It was observed that whether from the darkness, or the narrowness of the road, or perhaps for a little increased affection on the part of the sleighs, some of them came too closely together, sometimes resulting in a spill which although it might cause discomfort, never resulted in any serious damage, as the sleighs were low and the sides of the road soft with the snow, and somehow or other gentlemen returning from dinner, although in olden times they often came to grief, seldom broke a bone. There is a disease known to those conversant with horses as the Staggers, and it is just possible that that malady amongst the horses, may have been the parent of many of the mishaps of the drivers.

And now a few words as to fashions, habits, furniture, and as I have said, the winters were more severe and protracted than they are now, but people dressed less comfortably. The close fitting dresses, ample and warm cloaks and furs worn by ladies of the present day were unknown. The only fur, used by them consisted of a huge bear skin muff, about as large as ten of the present day. While a pelisse of silk or satin with but

scanty lining was the only outer garment worn, on the other hand the recent apology for a hat or bonnet was supplied by a very ample head dress resembling an inverted coal scuttle in shape and exceeding it in size. The feet instead of being clad with wafer soled boots, in which girls of the present day madly go forth to court pulmonary diseases, and early death, were in winter or wet weather supplied with good substantial leather boots or shoes, and those raised up some inches from the mud and water by an iron batten, which if it caused a clatter very much like the sabot of a French peasant girl, protected the feet from the water, which in one very bad street then laid in pools on every side. The evening dress was about equally divided between the body and the sleeves, the latter being very ample and reaching to the floor while the heads of old and young ladies were adorned with high bunches of ostrich feathers. The head dress of married ladies for dinner consisted of wide spreading velvet hats and feathers, the brims of the hats being so ample that a gentlemen sitting between two ladies was lost to view and thereby put completely in the shade. (Lady Ogle).

The dress of gentlemen differed very much from that of the present day. The coats were more full and ample in the skirt with pockets on either side like saddle bags, the waistcoats were longer also with capacious pockets, the loose trousers were almost unknown. Knee breeches, boots with tassels were worn by gentlemen, and with worsted stockings and ankle boots by the lower orders. The bosom of the shirt was adorned with a frill which covered all the front of it, and the wrists with ruffles. Around the throat was a large neck scarf, enclosing a thick stock then known as a pudding, about half an inch in thickness and two in height, and the head was crowned with a beaver hat, something in the style of the present day, only a little lower in the crown and broader in the brim. That abomination of the present day known as a billy cock, and which disfigures so many otherwise good looking heads was unknown. Wigs were worn to a large extent, some few of

necessity but the large portion as an article of fashion. Not a few graced the backs of their heads with big queues, to which exquisities attached a bunch of ribbons. The evening costume consisted of a dress coat, with a very deep collar and flap pockets on the skirts, a waistcoat of velvet frequently crimson in color or what was then known as a shelle pattern, with tight breeches to the ankle low quartered shoes, and buckles and silk stockings. The frill of the shirt of lace and the sleeves slashed half way to the elbow with very ample ruffles.

The fashionable dinner hour was three o'clock. The elite of that day were to a large extent men of a very high order, men of the strictest integrity, but it must be admitted it was a hard drinking age, and a quantity of wine consumed which would shock the people of the present day. Very many of the best and most exemplary of our citizens were hard drinkers. Most of these men lived to great ages, but they drank neither in the manner nor of the material which bibbers of the present day partake of. In the first place they only drank that which was good, port, madeira and claret were the prevailing wines with gentlemen. They drank but little of spirituous liquors, and they drank not at all until after a good substantial dinner. The modern decoctions, one half poison and the other half bad liquor, tipped from early morning, till long past dewy eve were unknown, and a respectable man seen at a bar in the early part of the day would be regarded as on the broad road to ruin. It was no uncommon practice for gentlemen when the wine was passed round after dinner to fill each of their three glasses, and the three large decanters at each end of the table had always to be replenished sometimes more than once. How different is it in our day when with the exception of the effervescing wine drunk at dinner, the quantity used can scarcely be missed. I think, nay I hope that the time is not far distant when we old gentlemen who have been taking (for our health of course) our glass of wine or whiskey and water with our dinner, will have to do it on the sly, and

when prudent girls when asked to commit their happiness to the keeping of young men will before answering give a glance at their button hole to see if 'tis graced with a blue ribbon.

And now a few words about houses and furniture. As a rule in the days to which I refer men and women were more hale and vigorous than they are at present. They did not wrap up in garments so warm that it was dangerous to leave them off at times, nor did they sit in houses so hot that they were liable to catch cold every time the outer air breathed on them. Rooms were warmed with open grates with chimneys so ample that while one half the heat pervaded the room, the other half fortunately escaped up the chimney. The large springy soft sofas and the well stuffed and voluptuous arm chairs of the present day so soothing to the well fed lady or gentleman after dinner and so provocative of a nap or two, were unknown. The sofas and arm chairs of those days were of mahogany with hard seats covered with hair cloth. The arms open at the sides and consisting of short pieces of bare wood without any stuffing or padding, but as people were ignorant of any thing more luxurious they were as well satisfied although I must admit not as comfortable as their more downy successors. Hall stoves, furnaces, hot and cold water pipes were unknown and sundry other things which tend to present comfort and convenience and which indeed are now considered to be absolutely indispensable, but then diphtheria, bronchitis, neuralgia, sciatica, lumbago and a number of other nervous diseases, the result of over-indulgence which now are too well known and familiar to us all as making havoc of the health and happiness of both sexes in the present day and most certainly are the prolific progeny of those most luxurious but deleterious agents. A lady now goes out of her too well heated drawing room and warm sofa or Napoleon, in a thinner dress than she has been clad in at home, her arms and neck exposed, into a drawing or dining room necessarily drafty, from open doors, while servants are passing in and out, and is surprised a day or two after to find her chest oppressed or

worse than that her head tortured by an attack of neuralgia; while a gentleman who has been ensconced for 4 or 5 nights of the week in a closely fitting arm chair into the recesses of which no breath of cold air is suffered to enter goes to dinner in a thin dress coat, sits in an open backed dinner chair with his back to an open door and can't imagine a few days after why it is that he is doubled up with lumbago or sciatica. Verily all indulgences, all extra pleasant things, charming as they may be at the time, are bought at a price ultimately far exceeding their real value.

In treating of events which occurred during the early part of the Century I cannot omit to mention the circumstances connected with the secession of a large portion of the congregation of St. Paul's Church about the year 1825. The Bishop, Dr. Stanser, who had been resident for some time in England, having left the Church of the Parish in charge of Dr. Inglis the Rector, and Dr. Twining his Curate, who was also the Garrison Chaplain, died, and Dr. Inglis having been raised to the Episcopate, the office of Rector of the Church became vacant. Dr. Twining who was a very popular preacher and wise scholar and to whom the parishioners were almost unanimously attached, became at once the object of their choice, and so they expressed themselves to the Bishop, but he had determined to raise Dr. Willis, an English Clergyman and Naval Chaplain then an utter stranger, but afterwards much respected in the community, to that office. The people having urged their claims with great pertinacity and his Lordship having as strongly resisted them much bitter and acrimonious communications passed between the parties, which at length resulted in His Lordship taking forcible possession of the Church and inducting Dr. Willis as its Rector. That, I need scarcely say, caused great commotion in the parish and a large portion of the most influential members of the congregation, together with Dr. Twining went out from it. The seceders, consisting of the Johnstons, Crawleys, Nuttings, Pryors, Twinings, Reynolds, Stevens and a large number of others,

many of them wealthy and influential, at once determined to build a Church for Dr. Twining, and for that purpose purchased the lot of ground on Granville Street, now or lately belonging to the Baptist denomination, and proceeded to erect thereon the stone building now standing there, and in the meantime and until it was ready for occupation, hired temporally an old wooden building which had been erected by Mr. Philip Marchington as a Congregational Church. There for some short time Dr. Twining preached very acceptably to crowded congregations, but becoming dissatisfied with his position and feeling that he had done wrong in going out from the Church, and being threatened with deprivation of his office as Garrison Chaplain, he to the great chagrin of his friends determined to return to his old allegiance, abandoned his followers, and returned to the office of Garrison Chaplain which he continued to hold until the time of his death. In the meantime a large portion of his adherents unwilling to return to the Church from which they had seceded joined themselves to the Baptist congregation then under the pastorate of Dr. Burton, and occupying a little Church on the corner of Barrington and Buckingham Streets, whence they remained until their new Church was ready for occupation.

About the end of the second decade of the century, the business of the Province having increased and a number of intelligent and influential merchants having come into the community, brought with them the more advanced mercantile ideas of the old world. The circulating medium being then restricted to a metallic currency, except the limited issue of some one pound provincial notes, and the loan of money having been confined to a few wealthy old gentlemen, who were pretty exacting in their rates of interest and conspicuous and frequently arbitrary in their discounts it began to be rumored that some better mode of obtaining money should be devised and the wealthy old gentlemen who at first opposed the idea, finding that it was gaining credence in the town, and that they were likely to lose their profitable business, took the pruden-



tial course of supplying the want, by forming themselves into a Banking Company, and in the year 1825 they formed a co-partnership for the purpose of trading in money, under the name of "The Halifax Banking Company" with a capital of £50,000 currency divided into shares of £5,000 each. Of these, two were assigned to Mr. Henry H. Cogswell, who became the President of the institution, and the remainder were taken by Messrs. Enos Collins, Samuel Cunard, Joseph Allison, James Tobin, William Pryor, Martin Gay Black and John Clark. As those parties were all known to be wealthy men, representing as they did a very large amount of money with unlimited liability, their credit was beyond question, and they at once issued their paper to any extent they chose, and discounted freely, and with the utmost safety to the community, the circumstances of every man in trade at that time being known to those parties. The profits made by those astute old gentlemen must have been enormous, but as they discounted at 6 per cent., and put an immense amount of their money into circulation, which was justly esteemed as perfectly good, thereby affording great convenience to those in trade, while they on the strength of their credit reaped a most bountiful harvest. The business of the community was increased and the utmost harmony prevailed between the bankers and their customers. As they were a private company with no restriction to their issue, and no compulsory returns to be made of their business to any one, the amount of money accumulated by the company for the next 7 or 8 years must have been enormous. At last a number of persons, many of whom in all probability had grown wealthy by the accommodation afforded them by the Halifax Bank, not satisfied to further allow a little group of gentlemen to enjoy all the spoil, determined to establish another banking house, which determination was regarded by the old Company as a monstrous act and an infringement of their privileges. They were denounced as but little short of pirates, and every effort made to suppress the movement. But as this new party had grown too strong to be frightened, and too knowing to be deluded, they proceeded to form their company

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which at once assumed shape under the name and style of "The Bank of Nova Scotia." The further proceedings of those institutions and those which followed them now numbering in all 7 are too well known to you all to require further mention by me.

Let me now detain you for a few moments, while I speak to you of grave matters, viz:—the number and condition of our churches in the town, and the observance of the Sabbath day some sixty or seventy years ago. As I remember, up to the end of the second decade of the century there were but two Episcopal Churches, St. Paul's and St. George's. The little quaint building known as the Dutch Church having been unused as a place of worship after the erection of St. George's. One Roman Catholic Church, St. Peter's, situate on the ground back of the brick school house on Barrington Street, running east and west, with its entrance at the west end, so that the congregation had to traverse the north side of the church before they reached the door of entrance. Dr. Burke was then the Bishop, a man unusually respected by people of all denominations.

There were two Presbyterian Churches, St. Matthew's, and St. Andrew's or the Relief Meeting House, so designated, presided over by the Rev. Dr. Gray and the Rev. John Martin, one Methodist Church opposite the head of Marchington's Lane now desecrated to meaner purposes, and a large building nearly opposite, known as Marchington's Meeting House, then for many years closed and reputed to be haunted; and a little old fashioned Baptist Church on the corner of Barrington and Buckingham Streets, presided over by a simple, but I believe devout old Clergyman named Burton, before mentioned. Such I believe were all the places of worship then existing in the community. In all of them, there was service morning and afternoon and in none of them in the evening, except in the Methodist and Baptist Churches. At that time the Sabbath day could scarcely be called a Holy Day, nor was its observance remembered, except in the two little churches just mentioned,

beyond the morning service. The bells rang out their invitations, and the doors of the churches stood open in the afternoons, but few entered their precincts. It was, I beg to say, the almost universal custom for gentlemen to visit from house to house, after the morning service. Wine and cake were set out on the tables as now on New Year's day, but not with the same profusion, and the time spent until the hour for dinner, in discussing the gossip of the day and possibly sometimes to the exchange of a little scandal. After dinner when the weather permitted it, the community streamed out to the common, to see a review of the troops or Garrison. There the great and the little were found in their holiday attire. The wealthy in their carriages and the poorer orders on shanks mare. At the west side of the common, somewhere about where the old race course ran the Royal Standard flaunted its gay fold, and clustered around it on either side were the carriages of the wealthy, for thither came the Governör (then a General) with his staff, and around those luminaries clustered the moths and the millers as they ever have done and ever will do. At about half past four, His Excellency and his suite, their gay plumes waving in the air, and their bright uniforms flashing in the summer light, made their appearance, and galloping down to the stand took their position. The several bands all played the National Anthem, and the business of the review proceeded. A march round at slow step with a salute, and another at quick step without it, and the review was over, and the Common in a very brief space of time restored to the quiet which had pervaded it some two hours before. But the business or rather the pleasure of the day was not yet over. In Hollis Street in one of the stone houses to the south of Government House, lived a Colonel of one of the Regiments in Garrison, I think Colonel Creigh, and opposite to him another military man I think a Cochran, and thither at about dusk came one of the bands of the regiment, and from that time until about ten o'clock played dance and other secular music, to an admiring audience, consisting to some extent of the better order of Society but principally made up of the great unwashed, who invaded

the quiet of the Sabbath, and made night hideous with their coarse jests and notorious conduct. It was a sad termination of the Sacred day which the Great Lawgiver had commanded us to remember and keep holy. The advent to the province of the new Governor Sir Peregrine and Lady Sarah Maitland, the latter a Lennox, and daughter of the then Duke of Richmond, I am happy to say put an end to those unseemly orgies. Those two excellent people, from their consistent walk together, with their high rank, at once produced a change in the tone of the community, and the perfume of their sweet lives permeated all classes of the people. They professed much, and rigidly practiced it. Their garments smelt of myrrh, aloes and cassia, and while those immediately about them were constrained by their holy lives to follow their example, their influence again went down through all ranks of the town, and as it is said that Caligula found Rome of brick and left it of marble, so those good people who found here much of riot, dissipation and disorder, after their period of abode amongst us, left the community in a very much improved condition. The good seed then sown yielded much healthy fruit, and I have no doubt its influence has extended down to our day, and obtained for us the proud reputation of being a Sabbath-keeping people.

At the period of which I write the public buildings occupied pretty much the same places they do now. The Government house which had formerly stood on the spot we now occupy, had been removed to its present spacious abode. The Legislative Halls had been removed from Cochran's buildings where now is the new Post Office, to its handsome building. The Legislature first held its sittings in the old Grammar school. The Gaol which had stood on Hollis Street opposite the offices of the Building Society, had been removed to Spring Garden Road, and the theatres which had been held on Fairbanks now Wood's wharf, had been removed to a large wooden building on the west side of Upper Water Street. The large building until recently used as the Military Hospital on the east slope of the Citadel Hill, had been occupied as his winter residence

by the Duke of Kent, the Commander in chief of the forces and father of our beloved Sovereign, God bless her. And the troops were crowded into the north and south barracks, the latter of which still stands, but in a dilapidated condition, while the former was some twenty-five or thirty years ago consumed by fire.

I have at least a dozen other matters of interest to which I should like to direct your attention, amongst them customs at funerals, hotels, including the Great and Little Pontiac, the Crown Coffee House, Jerusalem Coffee House and Shenelletes Confectioners' shop, a great institution in itself, the Mechanics Institute, originated by Mr. Andrew McKinlay, the Parade Ground, the several great fires, history of newspapers, etc., etc., but as I wish to speak to you of some of the more prominent men of the period to which we have adverted, I find that my time will not allow me to dwell longer on those things and we must reserve them for some future period.

In speaking to you of the sayings and doings of those people, I may observe that I am not to be considered as approving or disapproving of them. I do not occupy the position of a public censor, nor do I wish or intend to assume that of a private one. My business is simply to tell you of such things as I have either seen or heard, yours to draw your own conclusions as to them.

I purpose to give a very brief sketch of one of the more important of my subjects, and first of the Honourable Enos Collins.

#### ENOS COLLINS.

Mr. Collins was a man conspicuous for great shrewdness, and was principally remarkable as being the wealthiest man the province has ever produced. He was the son of Mr. Hallet Collins of Liverpool, and in early life followed the sea. He was a man of great good sense, and prided himself upon having begun life as a cabin boy which he often made a subject

of boast. His education had been very limited, having been confined to the three R's, but what he wanted in book learning, was more than compensated by great clearness of intellect, sound judgment and indomitable pluck. He certainly had what is known in the present day as the courage of his opinions, and when after careful scrutiny, he was once satisfied of the correctness of his calculations, he went into a business transaction, no matter of what extent, with an amount of boldness and unswerving confidence, which nothing could restrain.

At the time he laid the foundation of his colossal fortune money was easily made. The wars then existing brought an immense amount of wealth to our shores. Privateering, then regarded as a legitimate business, was largely practiced by people of all classes, and was engaged in by Mr. Collins and numerous other merchants to a great extent, and resulted in great gains. Every means of harassing and impoverishing the enemy was favorably regarded and encouraged by the British Government and readily acquiesced in by those who partook of the spoils. A different code of morals in reference to that matter prevailed at that time. And we must judge of transactions by the spirit and opinions of the age, as otherwise in looking back along the history of the world and judging past transactions by present ideas we should find but few who could escape condemnation. If it was a profitable, it was also a most hazardous occupation. Those who engaged in it were put to great expense in fitting out their ships, and ran great risk of their falling into the hostile hands of the enemy, but Mr. Collins was one of fortune's favourites and but seldom met with disaster.

He and Mr. Joseph Allison for a long period carried on business as co-partners in the West India trade and after the dissolution of their firm, the supervision of his great wealth together with his banking business, occupied his attention until the period of his death which occurred in the year 1871 at the great age of 99 years.

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1881



HON. ENOS COLLINS.





As many of you may remember, he resided at Gorsebrook on the Tower Road. That house had been erected and occupied by Mr. John Moody, an extensive merchant and the leading member of the firm of Moody and Doyle, and Moody and Stewart, the latter being Mr. Alexander Stewart afterwards a distinguished member of the Bar and Master of the Rolls.

In the year 1825 Sir James Kempt, then Lieutenant Governor of the Province, learning that Mr. Collins had some idea of leaving Nova Scotia and residing abroad, unwilling to lose so wealthy and valuable a man, unable to induce him to remain here, appointed him a member of Council then considered a very great distinction, and promoted a marriage between him and Miss Margueretta, the eldest daughter of Judge Halliburton a lady of more than ordinary attainments. The marriage was solemnized by Dr. Willis, being I believe the first marriage ceremony performed by him after his induction.

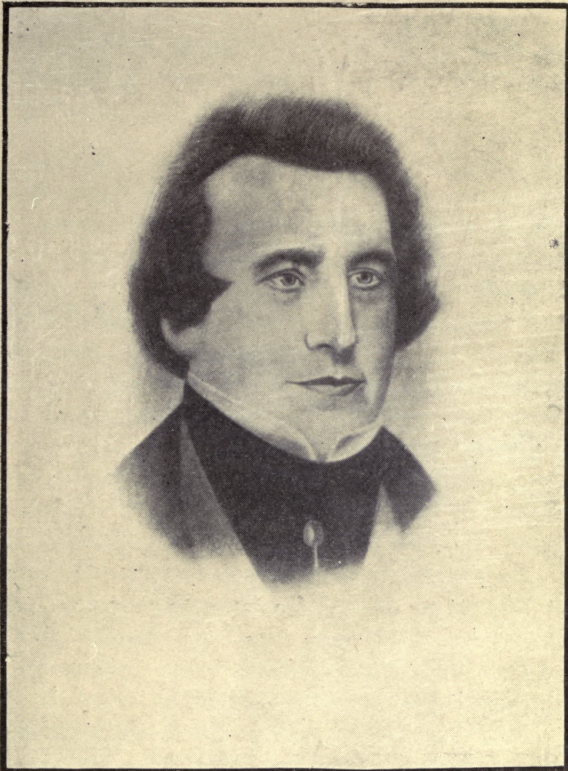
I remember going to his house the morning after his death, for I had much to do with him during his life. It was a cold drear day of November as he lay stark and alone. A window was open and the chill wind which sobbed, and sighed and swept with a wail through the trees, blew in upon his cold head and widely scattered the scant hair as it tossed it to and fro upon his forehead. A faded leaf which swirled into the room, the toy of the breeze, after hovering about the head of the corpse for some little time, at last rested upon the open mouth, fearless of the frown on the stern cold face. There he lay in his winding sheet, for the day before his soul had been required of him. The gatherings of nearly a century, which had been husbanded by him with so much toil, privation and anxious care and held with a love strong as death, all swept from his grasp by one fell swoop of the ruthless foe. As Martin Wilkins said it was an expensive transaction, for it cost Mr. Collins a million and a half of money running the blockade with his ships.

## RICHARD JOHN UNIACKE.

Next in order upon my list stands the name of Richard John Uniacke, for many years Attorney-General of the Province, a member of Council, and a man who took a very active and prominent part in all the public acts of his day. He was born at Castleton in the county of Cork in 1753 about the time of the founding of the town and died in October, 1830, at the ripe age of 77. There has been a rumor that he when a lad was brought here as a prisoner from Annapolis suspected of being a spy (during the French war) but the story is without foundation.

He in a very short time after his admission, took a high position in his profession being a man of sound, clear mind, and a powerful and vigorous speaker of the Boanerges order. At a time when fees were very high, and the members of the profession but very few, he with his aptitude for business, and patronage of his countrymen, rapidly accumulated an independent fortune, but as he made his money with great rapidity, he spent it with equal profusion. The adage, that fools build houses and wise men occupy them, held as good in his day as in all other time. He first built the very large house at the corner of Sackville and Argyle Streets occupied by him until his death, and afterwards by his youngest son Mr. Andrew M. Uniacke, and now in part turned into a butcher's shambles. And about the same time spent, I think I am justified in saying squandered, an immense amount of money upon the property then, and still, designated as Mount Uniacke redeeming it from the primeval forest, and erecting at great cost the large mansion and outhouses still in a state of good preservation. It was a hobby of his, and we all know how expensive such a luxury is. It was an insatiable maw and into it went his large means, and the result was, as I was informed by his only remaining son, that it absorbed the earnings of his life, up to that time, and when the war broke out those two properties constituted the bulk of his possessions. But then began an era of great prosperity to the province and enabled

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'90



HON. R. J. UNIACKE.



Mr. Uniacke to recuperate his exchequer. It was said that during the three years of the war, he then being Advocate-General of the Admiralty Court, rich prizes being brought in from day to day, the Admiralty Court being also a Prize-Court, the business of it immense, and the fees regulated by the tariff of the English Courts, the emolument of the Advocate General were immense and enabled him after deducting the expenses of a large family to put by in that short time the very handsome sum of £50,000.

The last four years of his life were to a large extent spent at the Mount and there he breathed his last, nearly all his eleven children being there with him. It was their custom as he retired to rest at night to stand on either side of the door leading to his bedroom, and as he passed out he bestowed his blessing upon them. Upon a drear night in October they as usual lined the passage, and as he passed out they received his last benediction. He had always been a man of robust constitution and then seemed in apparent health. When the next morning came, the family as usual assembled in the breakfast room at sharp nine o'clock, the hour at which he was accustomed to appear. He was a very punctual man and required punctuality from his children. As the hall clock struck the hour every eye was turned to the door, but he came not. A half hour elapsed and then an hour, and his children fearing that something must have happened to cause their father the unusual delay at last, by one of their number, went to his door and knocked gently. There was no response, again a louder knock was given in vain, and the door opened. In his bed lying calmly and apparently asleep lay the old man, and no response having been given to the anxious enquiry as to whether he was ill, the son approached the bed and there to his horror found him dead. He had been dead evidently for hours for his brow was cold, but no feature was distorted, and as his head rested upon the pillow he seemed as if he was slumbering. His body was brought to town and was the last interred in St. Paul's Church. A great man had

passed away. He was of herculean, proportions with a mind as strong as his body, was a good man of business, and singularly methodical. He was the only man whom his successor Mr. Archibald ever admitted he was afraid of in the trial of a cause. He like Richard Couer-de-Lion clove the rock of iron in twain with his two handed sword, while Mr. Archibald more resembled Saladin who severed the silken pillows with a sweep of his scimitar.

### SIR EDWARD BELCHER.

Let me now turn your attention to Sir Edward Belcher, one of the most distinguished of our people, and of whose history but little is known. Did my limit permit it, I should like to dwell upon the eventful life of that distinguished man, as it was full of adventure, and would afford us much that would be interesting, but that I can't do now.

He was a son of the Honourable Andrew Belcher for many years one of the most enterprising and wealthy of our merchants, was born during the last year of the 18th century and early showed a predilection for the sea. At 13 years of age he entered the navy, and in a very short time was recognized as a brave lad and a good sailor, as you may suppose from the fact that at eighteen he got his Lieutenancy and the command of a sloop of war on the coast of Africa. Remarkable as he early became for coolness and intrepidity distinguishing features of a good sailor, he was still more remarkable for his skill as a surveying officer. In 1825 it was his good fortune to be connected with Sir Edward Beechy in his celebrated voyage to Behring Strait, the particulars of which written in a most fascinating style were indelibly written in my memory and that of every other boy and man who read them, the book having been at the time pronounced to be the most charming book ever written by a sailor. That voyage occupying as it did about three years was prolific of discovery in the Pacific. On his return home he was promoted to the rank of Commander being then but 25 years of age. In 1835 we find him off again with his old friend Captain

Beechy in the Sulphur and having proceeded to Valparaiso, Beechy then became so unwell that he resigned his command and Belcher was at once appointed to succeed him. During that voyage he incurred many risks, and much privation, and was several times wounded, especially in an action with the Gilolo pirates when he was so terribly injured that his life was at one time despaired of.

But it was principally as a Nautical surveyor that he distinguished himself. During an absence of 7 years on the west coast of America he surveyed a large portion of it, and the accuracy of his work has been recognized by all subsequent surveyors. His post rank was given him during his absence and on his return he was knighted.

As he was too valuable a man to be allowed to remain long on shore, shortly after his return from America he was ordered off to the East and visited several of the Islands of the Equator and then proceeded to Loochoo and Japan.

His last command was to the polar regions in 1852 when he was accompanied by Osborne, McClure, Collinson and McClintock, all celebrated arctic discoverers, the latter lately in command of the Fleet on this station, and the discoverer or rather successful navigator of the north west passage. His eagerness to make further discoveries induced him to proceed further north than proved to be prudent for he became locked in the ice, lost his ships and nearly the lives of himself and those with him. On his return to England as a matter of form he was subjected to a court martial but was at once honourably acquitted.

His Arctic expedition was his last. He retired from active service and was rewarded with two pensions and in the language of one of the leading journals of the day, it was said at the time of his death that he had "parted his last moorings full of years and honours and leaving a good example "of brilliant and faithful service to the younger generation "of the navy."

## SIR SAMUEL CUNARD.

Sir Samuel Cunard, better known abroad perhaps than any other Nova Scotian, was a man of keen perception and sound judgment. Cool, calculating and long sighted his whole mind was given to the carrying out of any project he had in hand, and every legitimate means used to effect his object. And hence his general success. Early in life he obtained employment as a clerk in the Civil Branch of the Engineer Department, but such a position could not satisfy the cravings of his active mind and ever increasing ambition. He soon left the department and entered into co-partnership with his father Abraham Cunard and having made a lucky hit in the early stages of their business in the purchase of a large derelict brig or prize they were soon enabled to extend their business and to carry on a very large trade. It was a time when money was to be made, and Samuel Cunard was the man to avail himself of the position. The firm being very enterprising, and therefore at times running great risks, were not always successful. Amongst other projects they engaged largely in the whale fishery, but having been unsuccessful in their first voyage, they were unwilling to essay a second without assistance and as the project if successful would have resulted in a profitable business to the province, and add very much to its prosperity, they applied to, and obtained aid from the Provincial Government towards their second voyage, the result of which I never learned, but concluded it was not very successful as the trade was not further prosecuted. After the death of Abraham Cunard, Samuel continued to prosecute his business on a very extensive scale, having at one time 25 square rigged vessels entered owned by the firm. His brother Edward was given a small share in the business, John sailed as master of one of his ships, and Henry and Joseph conducted a large timber business in connection with him at Miramichi, which proved most disastrous and brought him to the verge of ruin, and indeed for a time caused a suspension of his business. To most men such a misfortune would have



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*S. Cunard*

**SAMUEL CUNARD.**



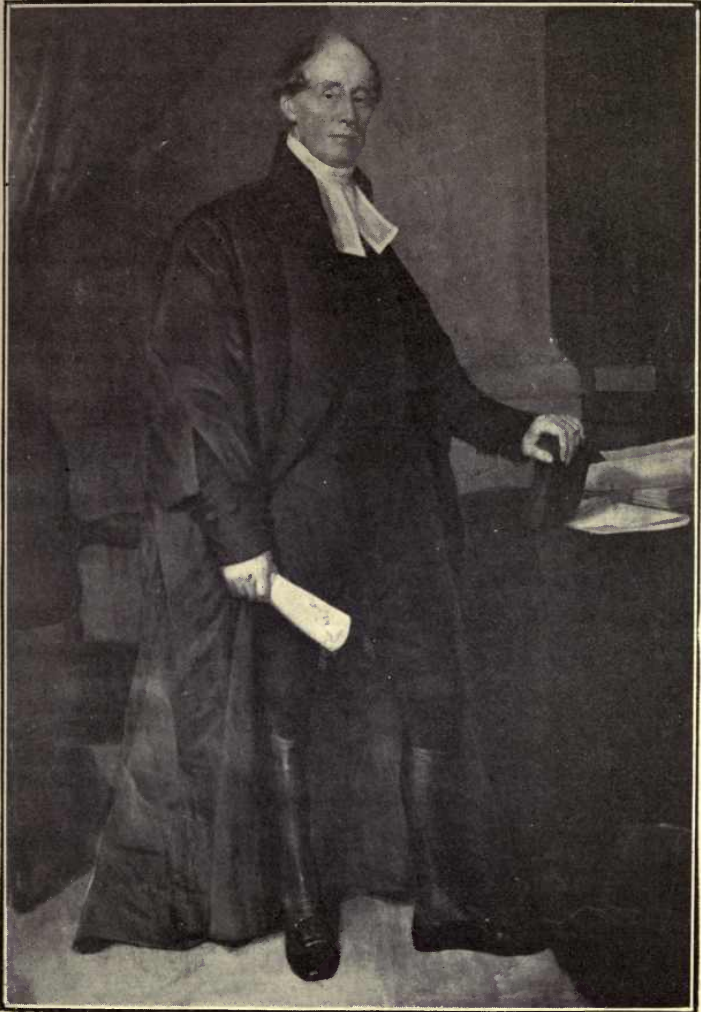
proved irretrievable but Samuel Cunard was not to be put down, and he, assisted by his friend Mr. Stephen DeBlois, the Bank of Nova Scotia, and other of his creditors, all of whom sympathized with him in his misfortunes, and possessed great confidence in his ability and integrity, after a while managed to shake off the incubus and to resume his business, which from that time was conducted with such success, as to enable him to leave at the time of his death a very large sum of money to his family, but little short of a million of pounds sterling. It was I believe while in England, effecting a settlement with his creditors, that he first conceived the idea of traversing the ocean by steam. The project was by many very astute people regarded as entirely chimerical, and Dr. Lardner, a man of very enlarged scientific attainments and a popular and voluminous writer, published an article on the subject, in which he broadly asserted that the idea of crossing the Atlantic in steam boats, with any hope of adapting them to utilitarian purposes was entirely futile. But notwithstanding all discouragements, Mr. Cunard felt confident that his project could be carried out successfully, and having obtained the aid of a number of wealthy London merchants and others he steadily toiled on and with such success as I need not recapitulate to you. No sooner were his boats in practical working order, than the British Government generously came to his aid and granted him the munificent subsidy of £150,000 sterling annually for the carrying of the mail. That and the large price paid for freight, and passengers, made the project a very profitable one for many years, but the active and extensive competition of subsequent times, together with the very large decrease in the Government allowance, it being now but about one eighth of that originally granted has now made steam navigation but a poor source of profit. We are told, and I fear with too much truth, that the Cunard Line has paid no dividends whatever since the year 1852, while we know that both the Inman and Guion lines have utterly failed.

While Mr. Cunard was conducting his business, I think shortly after his father's death, a ball was given here by Mr. John Brown a very extensive West India merchant and wealthy man. Mr. Cunard formed one of the party. A number of young men of the city, who had not been invited to the entertainment, determined to play a practical joke at the expense of the Browns. They procured a bombshell, filled it with combustibles, and having placed it in the Brown's porch, ignited it, closed the porch door and retired. They had but little idea of the force and destructive character of their missile, for when it exploded, which it did with a fearful report, it shook the whole house, and passing through the hall carried away the doors both front and back, and destroyed everything in the hall. Mr. Cunard had been, together with a lady promenading the hall, and had but just returned to the ball room when the explosion took place. Had they remained but five minutes longer in the hall, they humanly speaking, would have both been killed, and if so what of the subsequent steam enterprise? Would we be still crossing the Atlantic in a slow sailing vessel, glad to accomplish our voyage in safety in from 30 to 50 days, or would some other enterprising man have effected that great work which has revolutionized the mercantile transactions of the whole world, done so much for us, and brought us almost in juxtaposition to our glorious old home.

#### SIR BRENTON HALLIBURTON.

Reminiscences of the past would be incomplete without mention of Sir Brenton Halliburton, a man universally respected and beloved by the whole Province. An able and upright judge, an honourable and high toned man, a humble christian, a friend of the poor, a lover of hospitality and a most agreeable companion. He had a cheerful word for every one, a good story to illustrate every subject, and a merry ringing laugh for every good thing uttered by others. His law was not very extensive, but like his wine it was of the best quality. He had a few leading cases which he effectually brought to bear

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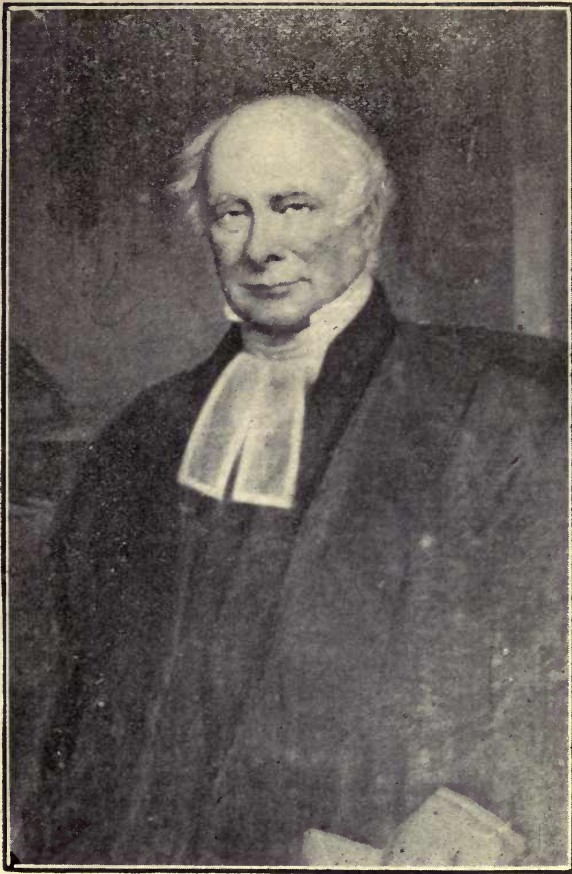


CHIEF JUSTICE SIR BRENTON HALIBURTON, 1800.  
[From portrait by Hoit, 1820].

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**HON. THOMAS CHANDLER HALLIBURTON, (Sam Slick).**  
**Judge Supreme Court of Nova Scotia.**  
[Copy of portrait by Valentine, 1847].





on his judgment, and his legal acumen, great good sense and sound equitable views, together with the unswerving confidence in his high integrity, created unvarying confidence in all his decisions. He knew no distinction in those who appeared either at his chambers, or his Court, respected all men and feared none. In the language of Lord Lawrence's monument "He feared man so little because he feared God so much". An eminent portrait painter having come here after his elevation to the Chief Justiceship, the bar unanimously requested him to allow his portrait to be taken, which he having consented to, Mr. McGregor and myself were appointed to collect subscriptions from our brethren to defray the expense of it.

· It was a labor of love and soon accomplished, for many before we could have called on them sought us out, willing and anxious to subscribe any amount required. It was a most spontaneous offering of homage to virtue.

The night before he died I sat up with him at the Bower. He was a small man, had been long ill and was shrunken to the proportions of a little child. In the night a low cry brought me to his bed side, and seeing that he was lying uneasily, I summoned his nurse and while she made up his bed I held him in my arms as I would an infant. It was evident that the slight thread of life was strained to its utmost tension, and as a low passing wail came from him, I thought of the many wise, judicious, and noble sentiments which had been uttered by those lips, and it brought to my mind the lamentations of Anthony over the body of Caesar as he exclaimed:—

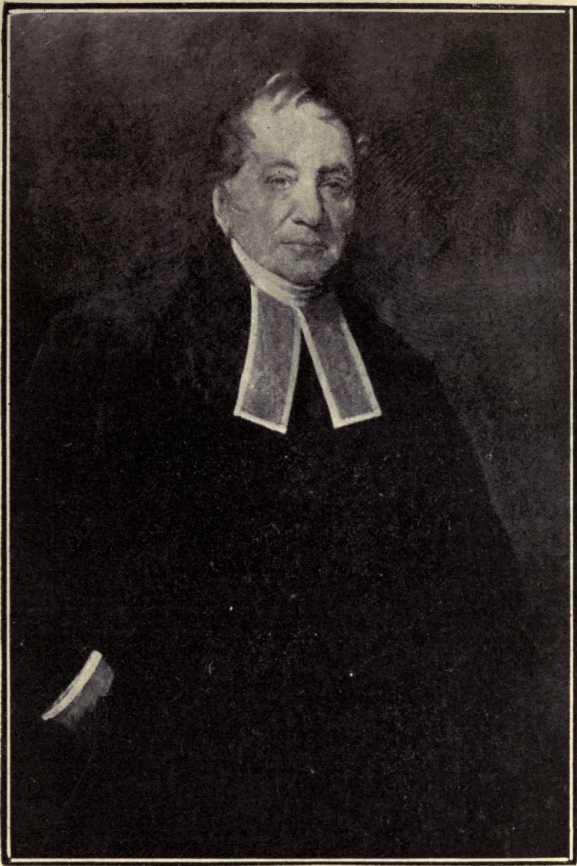
"dost thou lie so low, and all thy conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils shrunk to this little measure."

#### SAM SLICK.

Judge Thomas C. Haliburton, as or he was more popularly known as Sam Slick had always been remarkable amongst his friends for his caustic wit, and although he had published his History of Nova Scotia, and other works, was not much known as an author until he published The Clockmaker.

Then as Byron with his Scotch bards and reviewers, and Sargent Talford with his son, he sprang into notoriety at a bound. It had appeared from time to time in the Nova Scotian and it was at the suggestion of Mr. Howe that he determined to publish it in the form of a book. It at once attracted universal attention, and was read with delight not only over all Nova Scotia, Canada and the United States but also in England and wheresoever else the English language was spoken. He, as you will remember became a member of the House of Assembly, and as such was mainly instrumental in opening the doors of the Legislative Council to the public, and afterwards a Judge of the Supreme Court. But that not being to his taste, he resigned his seat on the Bench, went to England, published several other books of merit but none of them to compare with the Clockmaker, and entered Parliament. That he soon found not to be his arena. An incautious attack upon the collosus of the age, Gladstone, brought down a rebuke upon his head from that great man and powerful opponent which squelched him as a debater, and he was no more heard in the House of Commons. Shortly after the publication of Sam Slick and while he was to a great extent the theme of conversation amongst wits he visited Edinburgh, and having been invited by the Chambers of "Chambers' Edinburgh Journal" notoriety, to meet the literati of the "Modern Athens," they all assembled themselves together ready to laugh at everything which flowed for the epigramatic lips of the humorist. But he was mum, and no words escaped his lips except in monosyllables. My old friend Mr. Robert Noble who was a cousin of the Chambers, read to me a letter from William shortly after the visit, in which he spoke of the disappointment of his party at Haliburton's demeanour, and asked if he, Judge Haliburton, was certainly the man who had written the Clockmaker. But they did not know their man. His manner when amongst strangers was very retiring, almost amounting to shyness, and when expected to shine or evidently about to be trotted out, he was reticent, evidently maliciously so. When seen to most advantage was when summoned by

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**HON. S. G. W. ARCHIBALD,**  
**Master of the Rolls.**  
[After portrait by William Valentine.]



some of his intimate friends after dinner or more especially after supper, when he was most entertaining. Sidney Smith on one occasion in reply to a remark of William Chambers that the Scotch had a considerable amount of humor, replied "Oh yes by all means you are an immensely funny people but you need a little operating upon to let the fun out. I know no instrument so effectual for the purpose as the corkscrew." It is just possible that that was the instrument which had been left unused, at the Chambers party, but be that as it may, whether the wine of the host sparkled or not, the wit of the Clockmaker certainly did not.

As a rule there is but little of the wit or drollery of a book maker to be told which has not already been published by himself to the world. His jokes are to him too much a matter of merchandise to allow them to be squandered upon his friends and so it was with Judge Haliburton.

#### S. G. W. ARCHIBALD.

Let us now for a few moments turn our attention to one of the most remarkable men Nova Scotia ever produced, the Honourable Samuel George William Archibald.

Mr. Archibald was a native of Colchester, the son of a worthy farmer, who for years represented his native place in the House of Assembly, but he dying early, his son was through the kindness of some relatives who early remarked his undoubted talents, sent to a good school in the State of Massachusetts where he labored with great assiduity and acquired a vast and varied amount of knowledge. It was at one time proposed to educate him for the Church, but the frolicsome tendencies of the lad and his unwillingness for the vocation was so decided, that he was instead placed in the office of Mr. Robie one of the most eminent lawyers of his day, to study law, and in a very short time after his admission to the bar, by the early exhibition of his remarkable talents, was in possession of a very extensive and lucrative practice which he retained until the time of his elevation to the bench.

He was a more than ordinarily handsome man, of great suavity of manner, with a melodious voice, fascinating address, and a thorough knowledge of human nature. His action in speaking was very graceful, his language chaste, and while he scarcely ever aspired to eloquence or became impassioned in his style, he always spoke with great ease, elegance, and fluency, his periods rhythmic, and the flow of his language like that of a river and sparkling with all its light as the sunshine falls upon its ripples. His voice was singularly clear, and although he never seemed to speak with any effort, it was distinctly heard by all present, however large the assembly might be. As a lawyer he displayed remarkable astuteness in the ease with which he acquired a knowledge of all the strong points of his own cause, and the weak ones of his adversary, and had a singular readiness of repartee which those opposed to him often shrunk under to their great chagrin. When aroused by some exhibition of fraud or trickery his denunciations were most scathing and his expressions of scorn and ridicule given with great incisiveness cut to the bone, not to be forgotten. Unwilling to undergo the toil of examining the dry detail of the law connected with a cause, he generally contrived to get possession of the brief of such of his brethren as were engaged with him, and at a rapid glance would make himself master of the fruits of his friends' labor, and use them unscrupulously. Mr. James Gray a very good lawyer and estimable man, much loved and respected by the profession, who was at an early age taken from us, and who had studied with Mr. Archibald, was a great favourite of his, and was a very careful practitioner. He got up his briefs with much diligence and was generally engaged with Mr. Archibald in his task. A hasty examination of his briefs sufficed to give his senior as much knowledge of a case as could be obtained by others with hours of thought and labor. He for many years was both Attorney-General and speaker of the House of Assembly, and so continued until a change in the laws compelled him to resign one of those offices, when he chose to retain that of Attorney-General, it being the most lucrative

and more directly in the line of promotion in the profession. During that time the office of Chief Justice having become vacant by the resignation of the Honorable Sampson Salter Blowers he entered into competition for it with Judge afterwards Sir Brenton Halliburton and after a warm and active struggle it was given to the latter both laying large claims to it. He had before held the office of Chief Justice of Prince Edward Island, with the understanding that he should still be allowed the practice of his profession in his own province, but the people of the Island having become dissatisfied with his non-residence there, he resigned the office, to their great regret. Subsequently on the death of Judge (Stewart James), he was offered a seat on the Supreme Court Bench, which he declined and was afterwards appointed Master of the Rolls, where it was supposed from his known dislike of labor he would prove a failure but he proved himself equal to the occasion, applied himself diligently to the duties of his office, and with keen perception, readiness and great memory, rendered himself one of the best judges who had ever sat on that Bench.

As I have said it was at one time proposed to educate him for the Church, and it was supposed that some progress must have been made in Divine Studies, as through life he displayed great knowledge of the Scriptures, which indeed it was said he at times quoted rather inerrantly. In order to give you an idea of the versatility of his talents, I may mention that on one occasion when on the western circuit, he on a Sabbath morn having strayed into a Country Church, at which the parson, for some reason, had not arrived the people mistaking him from his costume for a clergyman requested him to occupy the pulpit, which he did readily, and with so much acceptance, that the congregation were greatly edified and some of them from his earnestness and pathos moved to tears.

## JOSEPH HOWE.

I cannot close these reminiscences without adverting briefly to one recently taken from amongst us, and who occupied a very prominent position in the councils of the country, and a very large place in the hearts of its people. Need I say I refer to Joseph Howe. Mr. Howe's sayings and doings are so recent, and his exhausted biography, his speeches and his sweet poetry so familiar to most of us, that it will be a work of supererogation to attempt anything like a biographical sketch of him, but as I had a large amount of intercourse with him from my boyhood upwards, and was his solicitor, I had much opportunity of seeing into the universal character of the man, and thereby learned to love and respect him the more. As a mere boy I scribbled much trash both of prose and poetry for the Nova Scotian and had much encouragement from him during the course of it, besides which I had the use of his library. When Charles Dickens arrived here on his way to the United States, I met him. Mr. Howe was on his way to Cunard's wharf and he invited me to go with him, and introduced me to Dickens, with a kind word of commendation which Dickens afterwards remembered.

Shortly after he became speaker of the House of Assembly, having given up his connection with the Chronicle he placed all accounts due him into my hands for collection, amounting to a very large sum, with the injunction to write the parties but not to take further proceedings against them without further instructions. I did write them and then he regularly wrote me day by day, telling me not to proceed against such a one who was honest but poor, such another as he was too good a fellow to press, such another as he had a large family, and such others as he knew their father or mother, wives, sisters or aunts and so it was that at last I went to see him, then living in the Grove and said to him what's the use of writing to those people you are only putting yourself to expense for nothing and they availing themselves of your good nature. His reply was, Oh don't bother any more about



2021



HON. JOSEPH HOWE.



them. I know the fellows are fooling me but I can't press them. Send back the books. If they pay me well and good and if not I can do without it. I presume he lost the large part of the money. He had a singular disregard for money, and was one of those anomalous politicians who thought more of his country than of his pocket. A man's poverty, a woman's tears or a child's impotency ever enlisted his sympathies and invoked his aid. No Nova Scotian was better respected and admired than he both at home and abroad. His speeches in England and the United States were the subjects of the highest commendation, and no one could listen to his impassioned eloquence without being delighted with it. His overwhelming love of a joke sometimes spoiled some of his finest passages and when at times climbing up some hill of thought and near its pinnacle, some joke unworthy of the theme would suggest itself, and mar much of the beauty of the conception. When about to speak on any particular subject he with great care considered not only the line of his argument, but his action, and has left behind him, as we all know, some of the finest specimens of the oratory of the age. I remember one evening during the session of the house, just after dusk I was walking in the neighborhood of Steele's pond and hearing loud talking at a little distance, for we supposed some persons were engaged in altercation, but when I got near I saw but one person, and he throwing about his arms and gesticulating with great vigor. A little nearer I discovered it to be Mr. Howe, and not willing to interrupt him stepped aside as he passed. He was too much engaged with his own thought to observe me. It was a rehearsal of his speech for the morrow. A few days after I met him and said, that was a good speech of yours on such an occasion, but I heard it before. What do you mean, my dear boy, he said, I replied I heard you deliver it at Steele's Pond. He laughed and said it was lucky he had not been talking treason.

It was a source of pride and pleasure to his countrymen to see him elevated to the highest office in the Province, for

he had loved her well and served her faithfully. But the triumph was of short duration, and ten days after his exaltation he breathed his last. Those who flocked around him to pour forth their sincere gratulations, left him with sorrowful hearts, for in his pallid face and shrunken form, they saw but too certainly that the enemy had laid his insatiable hand upon him. The plaudits of his countrymen had scarcely ceased their reverberations, e'er the requiem for the dead swept in mournful cadences across the cords of our hearts. Borne to his long home by a cortege which embraced the people of the community, and the sympathies of the Province, "slowly and sadly we laid him down", feeling that we had parted with our best friend and that, at a time when we could but ill afford to lose him.

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EDITOR'S NOTE.

Mr. Lynch in reading his Reminiscences gave many anecdotes, in the way of illustration, which unfortunately were not written out. It would add greatly to the interest of his paper, if they could be gathered and preserved.

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COLLECTIONS OF THE NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL  
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# COLLECTIONS

OF THE

## New Scotia Historical Society

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

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

VOLUME XVII.

HALIFAX, N. S.  
WM. MACNAB & SON,  
1913.

130717  
17/1/14

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

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

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

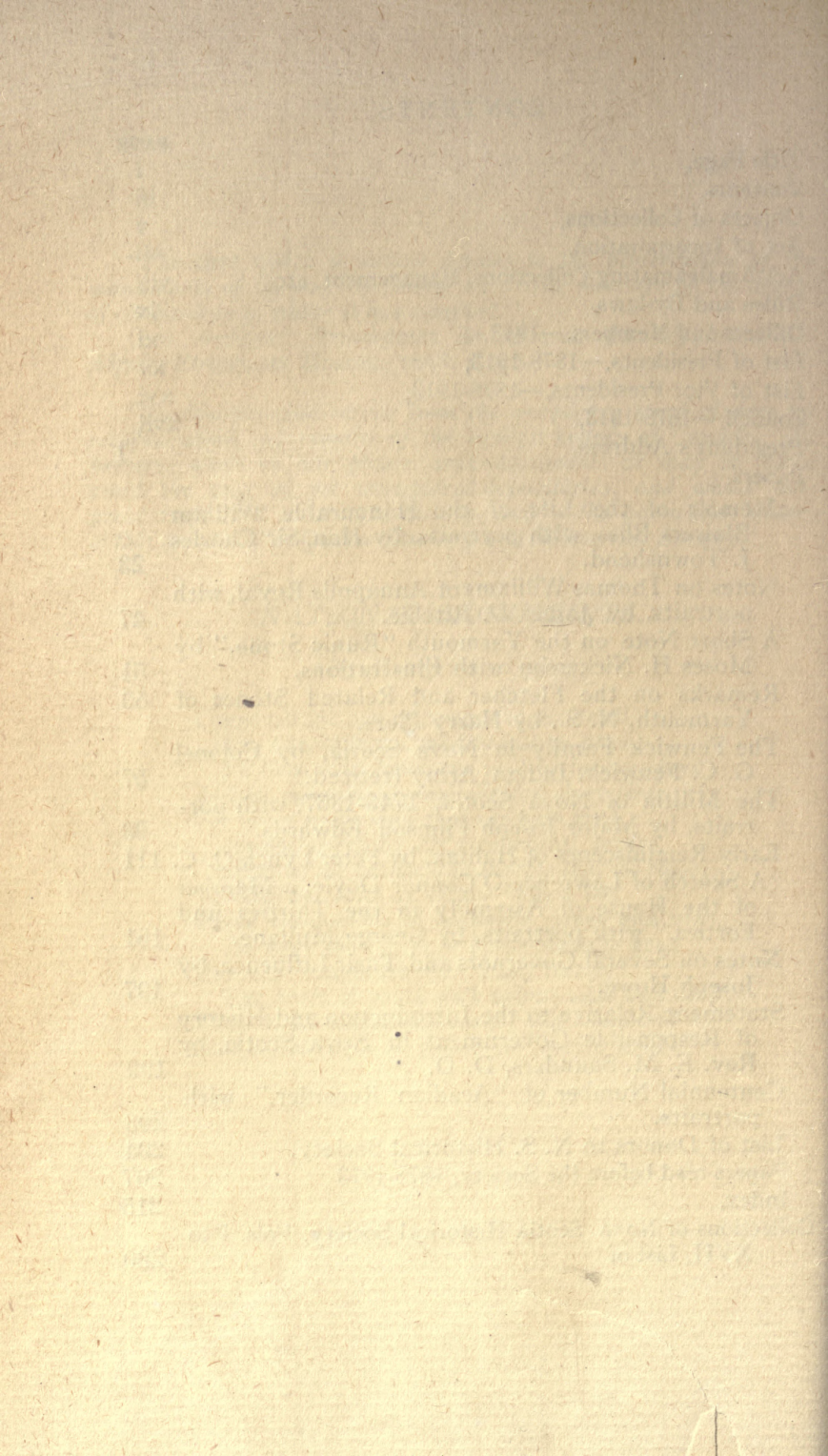
## NATIONAL MONUMENTS.

(By Henry Van Dyke).

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

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## OBJECTS OF COLLECTIONS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



111

ACT OF INCORPORATION.

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CHAPTER 87.

SECTION.

1. Incorporation.
2. May hold real estate.

SECTION.

3. Property vested in corporation.

An Act to incorporate the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

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

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

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

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

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

## AN ACT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# RULES AND BY-LAWS.

REVISED MAY 27, 1910.

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

## OBJECTS.

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

## MEMBERS.

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

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

## MEETINGS, OFFICE-BEARERS, ETC.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

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

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

OF THE

NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1913.

---

PRESIDENT.

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

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

David Allison, LL. D.                      Major J. Plimsoll Edwards.  
J. A. Chisholm, K. C.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Harry Piers.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

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

TREASURER.

George E. Nichols, LL. B.

AUDITORS.

W. L. Brown,

Lt.-Col. F. H. Oxley.

OTHER MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Russell.  
George W. T. Irving,

A. H. Buckley, Ph. M.  
W. C. Milner.

LIBRARY COMMISSIONERS.

James S. MacDonald,  
Harry Piers,

John J. Power, D. C. L.  
A. H. McKay. LL. D.

LIBRARIAN OF SOCIETY, AND OF AKINS LIBRARY.

Miss Annie Donahoe.

## THE TREASURER'S LIST OF MEMBERS

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

- Abbott, Very Rev. H.P.A., (Hamilton, Ont.)  
 Allison, David, LL. D.  
 Allison, J. Walter  
 Archibald, L. B., (Truro, N. S.)  
 Almon, Dr. W. Bruce  
 Archibald, Charles  
 Archibald, Mrs. Charles  
 Archibald, R. C., Wolfville, N. S.  
 Armitage, Ven. Archdeacon, Ph. D.  
 Armstrong, F. W., (Glace Bay, C. B.)  
 Armstrong, Hon. J. N., K. C., M. L. C.,  
 (N. Sydney, C. B.)  
 Baird, Rev. Frank, (Woodstock, N. B.)  
 Baker, G. Prescott, (Yarmouth, N. S.)  
 Barnes, H. W.  
 Bars, Wm. L., (Dartmouth, N. S.)  
 Bent, Barry D., (Amherst, N. S.)  
 Bill, Charles R., (Wolfville, N. S.)  
 Bill, J. Philip W., (Truro, N. S.)  
 Bissett, Dr. M. P. P.,  
 Bell, Hon. Senator, A. C., (New Glasgow,  
 N. S.)  
 Bell, Charles  
 Bissett, F. W.  
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 Black, W. A., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Bond, Rev. Geo. J., D. D.  
 Borden, Hon. Sir F. W., K. C. M. G.,  
 (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 Borden, Rt. Hon. R. L., K. C., D. C. L.,  
 (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 Bourinot, John C., (Port Hawkesbury, N.S.)  
 Boutilier, Arthur, (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Bowes, F. W.  
 Brown, Richard H.  
 Brown, Wm. L.  
 Browne, Rev. P. W., (St. Jaques, N. F.)  
 Browne, Rev. J. D. H., (Santa Monica,  
 Cal.)  
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 Buchanan, G. O., (Vancouver, B. C.)  
 Buckley, A. H.  
 Burchell, C. J., K. C.  
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**MacNab, Brenton A.**, Montreal.  
**MacKinnon, Principal C.**, Halifax, N. S.  
**Macphie, Rev. John P., D. D.**, Lynn, Mass.  
**Macrae, Principal A. O., M. A., Ph. D.**, Western Canada College, Calgary.  
**Mader, A. Ivan, M. D.**, Halifax.

- MacLean, Hon. A. K.,** Halifax, N. S.  
**MacLean, J. G.,** Pictou, N. S.  
**Masters, Charles Harding, Esq., M. A.,** Reporter of the  
 Supreme Court of Canada, Ottawa.  
**McDonald, James A., LL. B.,** Halifax.  
**McDonald, Miss Lucy, "Blink Bonnie,"** Quinpool Rd. Halifax  
**McKarcher, F.,** Pictou, N. S.  
**McKim, Geo. W.,** Westville, N. S.  
**McLeod, Hon. J. G.,** Judge Probate, Pictou.  
**McLennan, Sheriff Charles A.,** Truro.  
**McLennan, Samuel David, Judge of Probate,** Truro.  
**McLatchy, Harry Otis, LL. B.,** Truro.  
**McNeil, Archbishop Neil McNeil,** Archbishop's Residence.  
 Toronto.  
**McInnes, Mrs. Hector,** Halifax.  
**Milner, F. S.,** Amherst, N. S.  
**Mitchell, C. H.,** Halifax, N. S.  
**Morrissey, Thomas L.,** Union Assurance Soc. Montreal.  
**Morse, H. C.,** Halifax, N. S.  
**Morton, Mrs. Irene Elder,** Clementsport, N. S.  
**Mumford, F. O.,** Grand Lake.  
**Murray, Mrs. Leonard Milton,** Halifax.  
**Nickerson, Moses H., Esq.,** Clarke's Harbour, N. S.  
**Notting, Thomas, Esq.,** Mayor of Dartmouth.  
**Oakes, Ingraham, Esq.,** Barrister, Halifax.  
**O'Dwyer, J. Seabury,** Moncton, N. B.  
**O'Mullin, John C., LL. B.,** Halifax.  
**Orde, J. F.,** Ottawa.  
**Pollok, Rev. Allan,** Halifax, N. S.  
**Porter-Shirley, The Rev. C. W.,** Annapolis Royal.  
**Primrose, J.,** Mayor, Pictou.  
**Prince, Rev. S. H.,** Halifax, N. S.  
**Putnam, Harold, LL. B.,** Registrar of Deeds. Truro.  
**Reid, James William, M. D., M. P. P.,** Windsor, N. S.  
**Richardson, L. N.,** Halifax, N. S.  
**Ritchie, Dr. Eliza,** Halifax, N. S.  
**Ritchie, Reginald,** Regina, Sask.  
**Robertson, William,** Halifax.  
**Ross, Jas., M. D.,** Halifax, N. S.  
**Rowley, W. H.,** Ottawa.  
**Rowley, O. W.,** Montreal.  
**Rowley, H. H.,** Ottawa.  
**Rowley, C. W.,** Winnipeg, Man.  
**Ruggles, J. R.,** Collector Customs, Lockeport.  
**Rutherford, Colonel Robert William,** Halifax, N. S.  
**Russell, The Hon. Mr. Justice,** Supreme Court Halifax.  
**Saunders, Miss Marshall,** Halifax.  
**Savary, Rev. T. W.,** Kingston, Ont.  
**Shaw, L.,** Vancouver, B. C.  
**Silver, Louis M., M. D.,** Halifax.  
**Silver, Alfred E., K. C.,** Halifax.  
**Silver, Harold St. Clair, Esq.,** Halifax.  
**Smith, Nelson, B.,** Halifax.  
**Stuart, Geo. W.,** Mayor, Truro, N. S.  
**Sumichrast, Professor Frederick Caesar,** 1079 Boylston  
 Avenue, Boston, Mass.

- Switzer, F. M.**, Halifax, N. S.  
**Terrell, James**, Halifax.  
**Theakston, Henry Esq.**, 56 Seymour St., Halifax.  
**Tory, President H. M., LL. D.**, University of Alberta,  
Edmonton.  
**Tory, John A.**, Sun Life, Toronto.  
**Tory, Mrs. John A.**, Toronto.  
**Tremaine, Rufus Arthur**, Truro.  
**Trenaman, Dr, T.**, Halifax, N. S.  
**Underwood, J., Mayor**, New Glasgow, N. S.  
**Vawdrey, Lt.-Colonel George**, Halifax, (C. P. A. S. C.)  
**Vernon, Gilbert Hugh, LL. B.**, Truro.  
**Vidito, Lt.-Col. I. W.**, Dartmouth, N. S.  
**Walker, Rev. Frank, B. A.**, Ecum Secum, N. S.  
**Walker, Smith Layton, B. A., M. D.**, Truro.  
**Wallace, His Honour, Judge William Bernard**, Halifax.  
**Ward-Whate, Rev. F. C., M. A.**, Lunenburg.  
**Willis, Mrs. Eliza Jane**, Acadian School, Halifax.  
**Willis, P. A.**, Montreal.  
**Willis, Rev. J. J.**, Hontreal.  
**Wilson, The Rev. Canon**, Springhill, N. S.  
**Wood, Geo. M.**, Central Wharf, Halifax.  
**Woodworth, John Elihu, Esq.**, Berwick, N. S.  
**Yorston, Fred.**, Montreal.

XXI

# PRESIDENTS,

NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

1878-1913.

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HON. MR. JUSTICE JOHN W. RITCHIE.....	1878-1879
REV. GEORGE W. HILL, D. D.....	1880-1881
THOMAS B. AKINS, D. C. L.....	1882-1883
REV. GEORGE W. HILL, D. D.....	1883-1885
LT.-GOV. SIR A. G. ARCHIBALD.....	1886-1892
LT.-GOV. M. H. RICHEY.....	1893-1895
HON. MR. JUSTICE WEATHERBE.....	1896-1897
HON. MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY.....	1897-1904
REV. JOHN FORREST, D. D.....	1905-1906
PROF. ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN, M. A., PH. D. . .	1907-1909
JAMES S. MACDONALD.....	1910-1911
VEN. ARCHDEACON W. J. ARMITAGE, M. A., PH. D..	1911

**VICE-PRESIDENTS,**  
NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.  
1878-1913.

REV. G. W. HILL, D. D.....	1878-1879
DAVID ALLISON, D. C. L.....	1880-1881
REV. GEO. W. HILL, D. D.....	1882
HON. SENATOR W. J. ALMON, M. D.....	1883-1889
THOMAS B. AKINS, D. C. L.....	1890
1891	
THOS. B. AKINS, DAVID ALLISON, D.C.L., MR. JUSTICE WEATHERBE	1892
MR. JUSTICE WEATHERBE,	HON. SENATOR POWER
HON. M. H. RICHEY.	
1893-1895.	
MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY.	HON. SENATOR POWER.
REV. JOHN FORREST, D. D.	
1896-1897.	
HON. SENATOR POWER.	REV. PRINCIPAL FORREST, D. D.
DR. A. H. MACKAY.	
1898-1901.	
HON. SENATOR POWER.	MR. JUSTICE TOWNSHEND.
DR. A. H. MACKAY.	
1902-1904.	
W. H. HILL. MR. JUSTICE TOWNSHEND. HON. SENATOR POWER.	1905-1906.
MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY.	SENATOR POWER,
MR. JUSTICE TOWNSHEND.	
1907-1909.	
MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY.	SENATOR POWER.
VEN. ARCHDEACON ARMITAGE.	
1910.	
MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY.	VEN. ARCHDEACON ARMITAGE.
DR. M. A. B. SMITH.	
1911.	
MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY.	LT.-COL. F. H. OXLEY.
A. H. BUCKLEY, P.H. M.	
1912.	
DAVID ALLISON, D. C. L.,	JOHN Y. PAYZANT, M. A.,
A. H. BUCKLEY, P.H. M.	
1913.	
DAVID ALLISON, D. C. L.	MAJOR J. PLUMSOLL EDWARDS.
J. A. CHISHOLM, K. C.	



# COUNCIL 1878-1913.

*xy 471*

1878.

DR. W. J. ALMON  
JAS. S. MACDONALD.  
REV. T. J. DALY.  
GEO. E. MORTON.

1890.

HON. SENATOR ALMON  
PETER LYNCH.  
DR. A. H. MACKAY.  
REV. T. W. SMITH.

1902.

REV. DR. T. W. SMITH.  
J. J. STEWART.  
PROF. A. MACMECHAN.  
REV. DR. SAUNDERS.

1879.

DR. W. J. ALMON.  
REV. T. J. DALY.  
GEO. E. MORTON.  
W. D. HARRINGTON.

1891.

HON. DR. ALMON.  
DR. A. H. MACKAY.  
J. J. STEWART.  
REV. T. W. SMITH.

1903.

ARCHIBALD FRAME.  
PROF. A. MACMECHAN.  
J. J. STEWART.  
REV. DR. SAUNDERS.

1880.

DR. W. J. ALMON.  
J. J. STEWART.  
G. E. MORTON.  
WM. COMPTON.

1892.

HON. DR. ALMON.  
J. J. STEWART.  
DR. POLLOK.  
REV. T. W. SMITH.

1904.

REV. DR. SAUNDERS.  
PROF. A. MACMECHAN.  
ARCH. FRAME.  
J. J. STEWART.

1881.

DR. W. J. ALMON.  
G. E. MORTON.  
J. J. STEWART.  
JOSEPH AUSTEN.

1893.

HON. DR. ALMON.  
J. J. STEWART.  
DR. A. H. MACKAY.  
REV. T. W. SMITH.

1905.

REV. DR. SAUNDERS.  
DR. A. MACMECHAN.  
J. J. STEWART.  
ARCHIBALD FRAME.

1882.

HON. SENATOR ALMON.  
DR. J. R. DEWOLF.  
JAMES S. MACDONALD.  
PETER ROSS.

1894.

HON. JUDGE TOWNSHEND.  
J. J. STEWART.  
DR. A. H. MACKAY.  
REV. T. W. SMITH.

1906.

DR. A. MACMECHAN.  
J. J. STEWART.  
ARCHIBALD FRAME.  
HARRY PIERS.

1883.

HON. SENATOR POWER.  
PETER LYNCH.  
R. J. WILSON.  
PETER ROSS.

1895.

HON. C. J. TOWNSHEND.  
J. J. STEWART.  
DR. A. H. MACKAY.  
REV. T. W. SMITH.

1907.

J. J. STEWART.  
J. P. EDWARDS.  
A. H. BUCKLEY.  
ARCHIBALD FRAME.

1884.

HON. SENATOR POWER.  
W. D. HARRINGTON.  
DR. D. ALLISON.  
F. B. CROFTON.

1896.

J. J. STEWART.  
MR. JUSTICE TOWNSHEND.  
REV. T. W. SMITH.  
PROF. A. McMECHAN.

1903.

JAMES S. MACDONALD.  
A. H. BUCKLEY.  
ARCHIBALD FRAME.  
G. W. T. IRVING.

1885.

R. J. WILSON.  
DR. D. ALLISON.  
F. B. CROFTON.  
W. D. HARRINGTON.

1897.

J. J. STEWART.  
MR. JUSTICE TOWNSHEND.  
PROF. A. McMECHAN.  
REV. T. W. SMITH.

1909.

ARCHIBALD FRAME.  
A. H. BUCKLEY.  
G. W. T. IRVING.  
J. H. TREFRY.

1886.

SIR ADAMS ARCHIBALD.  
T. B. AKINS.  
DR. DAVID ALLISON.  
REV. DR. FORREST.

1898.

REV. DR. FORREST.  
REV. T. W. SMITH.  
PROF. A. MACMECHAN.  
REV. DR. SAUNDERS.

1910.

G. E. E. NICHOLS.  
A. H. BUCKLEY.  
DR. A. MACMECHAN.  
G. W. T. IRVING.

1887.

JUDGE WEATHERBE.  
DR. D. ALLISON.  
PETER LYNCH.  
REV. DR. POLLOK.

1899.

REV. DR. FORREST.  
REV. T. W. SMITH.  
REV. DR. SAUNDERS.  
PROF. A. MACMECHAN.

1911.

G. E. E. NICHOLLS.  
J. H. TREFRY.  
JAS. S. MACDONALD.  
DR. JOHN FORREST.

1888.

PETER LYNCH.  
THOS. BAYNE.  
DR. POLLOK.  
PETER ROSS.

1900.

REV. DR. FORREST.  
REV. T. W. SMITH.  
REV. DR. SAUNDERS.  
PROF. A. MACMECHAN.

1912.

G. E. E. NICHOLLS.  
G. W. T. IRVING.  
DR. M. A. B. SMITH.  
W. C. MILNER.

1889.

HON. DR. ALMON.  
THOS. BAYNE.  
REV. T. W. SMITH.  
PETER LYNCH.

1901.

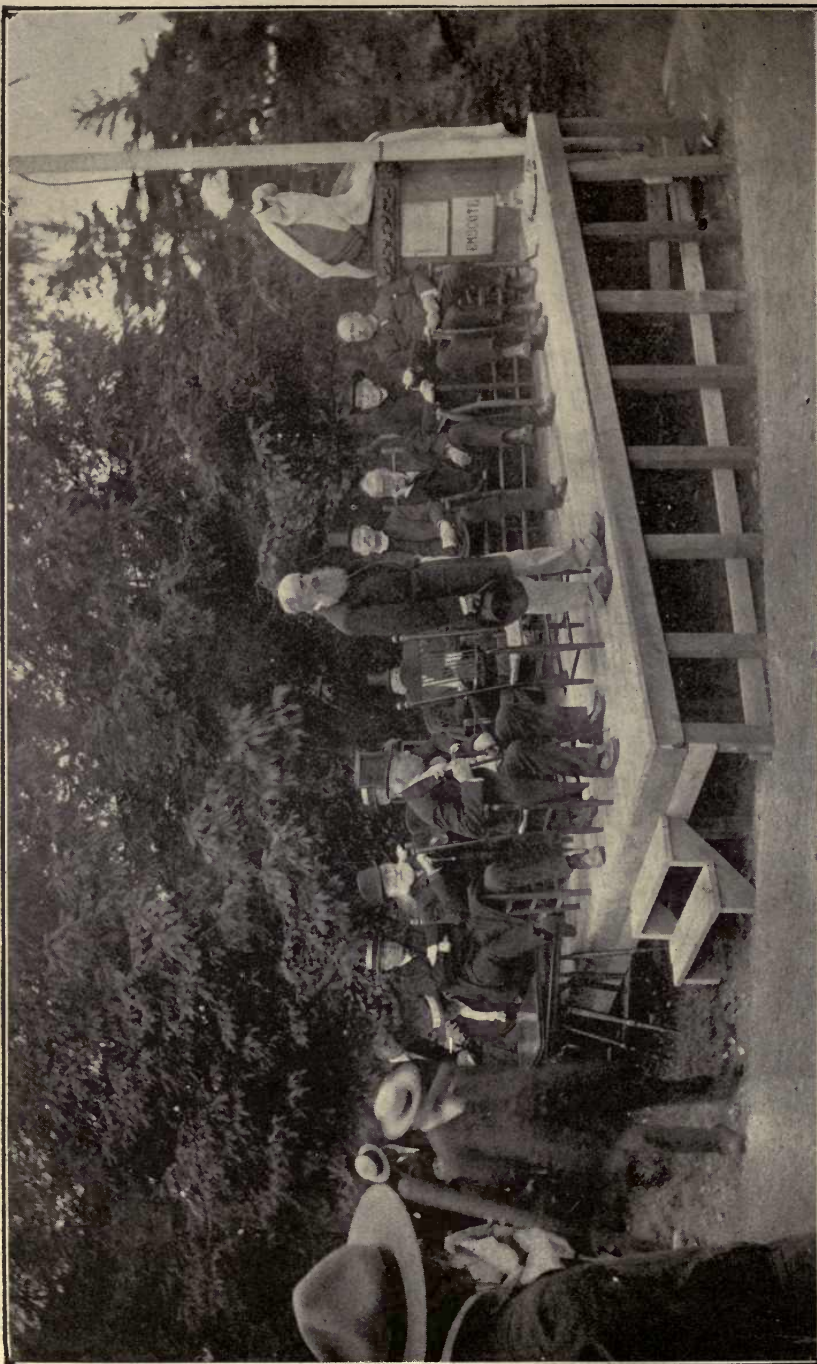
J. J. STEWART.  
REV. DR. SAUNDERS.  
REV. T. W. SMITH.  
PROF. A. MACMECHAN.

1913.

A. H. BUCKLEY.  
G. W. T. IRVING.  
W. C. MILNER.  
HON. MR. JUSTICE RUSSELL.







The Unveiling of the Tablet marking the birth-place of Joseph Howe. Sydenham Howe, son of Joseph Howe, speaking. On the platform from left to right, Mayor Chisholm, Sir Sanford Fleming, Hon. Wm. Ross, Lt.-Governor Macgregor, Archdeacon Armitage, Judge Russell, Dr. Saunders, Hon. B. F. Pearson.

(The site of Joseph Howe's birth-place, long in question, was decided by Mr. Geo. Mullan's search in the Registry of Deeds.)

## THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

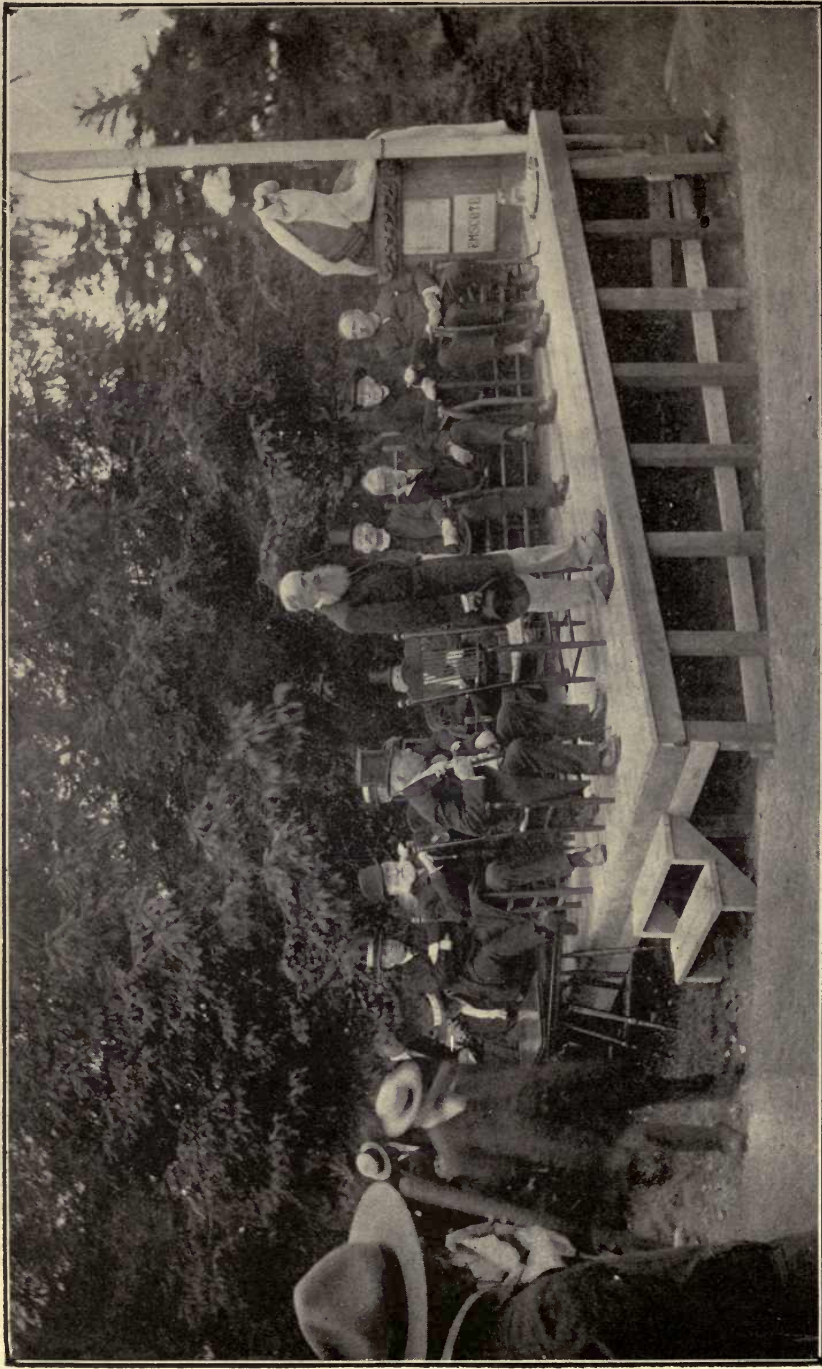
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At the Annual Meeting of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, which was held in the Council Chamber of the Province Building on Friday evening, 11th April, 1913, the Ven. Archdeacon Armitage, the President, reported that the year had been marked by continual progress. We have added 152 to the roll of membership, and of this number your President has had the privilege of nominating 128.

The year has been especially fruitful in regard to the placing of Historic Tablets. We have marked historic sites in six counties of the Province. We were greatly favoured by the presence and active interest of His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, and the Royal party.

The following Tablets were placed during the Royal Tour: Three at Pictou: (a) marking the Services of Sir John William Dawson our greatest Geologist, on Pictou Academy; (b) marking the Birth-place of Dawson; (c) marking the Foundation of Pictou Academy, and commemorating the services of Dr. Thomas MacCulloch; one at Truro, commemorating the Founding of Truro, under Colonel Alexander McNutt; one at Halifax marking the Quarters of Sir John Moore, "the hero of Corunna;" three at Windsor, (a) marking the Foundation of King's College, the oldest University in Canada; (b) marking the Home of Thomas Chandler Haliburton, the Creator of "Sam Slick"; (c) marking the sole remaining Block-house in Nova Scotia, at the ancient Fort Edward; two at Annapolis Royal; (a) marking the Birthplace of Sir Fenwick Williams; (b) marking the birth-place of Sir William Robert Wolseley Winniett.

The Society has also placed Tablets marking, (1) the Office of James William Johnston; (2) the Historic Council Table;



The Unveiling of the Tablet marking the birth-place of Joseph Howe. Sydenham Howe, son of Joseph Howe, speaking. On the platform from left to right, Mayor Chisholm, Sir Sanford Fleming, Hon. Wm. Ross, Lt.-Governor Macgregor, Archdeacon Armitage, Judge Russell, Dr. Saunders, Hon. B. F. Pearson.

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The Society has also placed Tablets marking, (1) the Office of James William Johnston; (2) the Historic Council Table;

(3) the Old Halifax Grammar School, and former meeting place of the House of Assembly.

The programme for the year was of varied interest.

The following papers were read:

November: "Old Dartmouth:" The Hon. Mr. Justice Russell.

December: "A Sketch of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, a Representative of Halifax in the Early Forties;" by Mr. George Mullane.

"Short Historical Note on the so-called 'Norse Stone,' at Yarmouth," by Mr. Moses H. Nickerson.

January: "Brief Historical Note on Thomas Williams, grandfather of Sir Fenwick Williams, by Captain Jas. D. Ritchie.

"An old Edition of Galen, by Laguna, 1604, in the Cogswell Library," by Professor D. Fraser Harris, M. D., D. Sc., F. R. S. E.

"The Historical Method" by Professor Jas. W. Falconer, D. D.

February: "Why the First Settlers came to Nova Scotia," by Rev. John Forrest, D. D., D. C. L., LL.D.

March: "The Ancient French Cemetery near Rockingham," by Mr. H. N. Paint.

"The Finding of Alexander McNutt," by the Rev. Arthur Wentworth Eaton, M. A., D. C. L.

April: "Reminiscences of the House of Assembly," by the Hon. Mr. Justice Russell.

May: "Reminiscences of a Long Life," by John Mackay, Esq., New Glasgow, 1772-1884—92 years,—by Rev. Allan Pollok, D. D.



1  
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Group at "Emscote," the Site of Birth-place of Hon. Joseph Howe. The group includes a number of descendants and near relatives of Joseph Howe, and representative citizens. (Left to right,) Mayor Chisholm, Alvin F. MacDonald (Chronicle), Rev. Dr. Saunders, Harry Piers, Archdeacon Armitage, Sydenham Howe, Lt. Gov. Macgregor, Hon. B. F. Pearson, Captain Hicks, Judge Russell, Hon. Geo. E. Faulkner, Hon. Wm. Ross, Sir Sanford Fleming, Dr. A. H. MacKay, W. R. McCurdy (Herald), Col. J. T. Wylde, H. W. Blackadar.

It has been a great encouragement in connection with the work of the Society to find that Nova Scotians the world over are interested. We have now members on four continents, and I look forward to the time when every part of the Empire will be represented. Nova Scotians have certainly done their share in the upbuilding of the Empire. The number of distinguished men who have recently joined the Society is very remarkable, and is fruitful in testimony of the place Nova Scotians hold in the world's life.

### THE BIRTH PLACE OF JOSEPH HOWE.

A tablet to mark the birthplace of Nova Scotia's great son, Joseph Howe, was erected on the gatepost of "Emscote," on the North West Arm, the residence of Hon. B. F. Pearson, 24th July, 1911, and was unveiled by Lieut-Governor MacGregor in the presence of a large company of admirers of the great statesman, orator and publicist.

The Tablet reads:—

**The birthplace of  
JOSEPH HOWE,  
A. D., 1804,  
Patriot, Statesman, Imperialist, Orator,  
gratefully remembered as Nova  
Scotia's leader in  
obtaining responsible  
Government.**

**Nova Scotia Historical Society.**

Addresses were delivered by Archdeacon Armitage, Lieut-Governor MacGregor, His Worship Mayor Chisholm, the Hon. Mr. Justice Russell, Mr. Sydenham Howe, the Hon. Senator Ross and Hon. B. F. Pearson.

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### THE FIRST PRINTING PRESS.

The Society unveiled, October 10th, 1911, at 173 Grafton street, a tablet commemorating the establishment of the first printing press in Canada and the place of the publication of the first newspaper in the Dominion.

Venerable Archdeacon Armitage presided, His Worship Mayor Chisholm unveiled the tablet, which bears the following inscription:—

**The Site of  
The first printing press in Canada  
Established by Bartholomew Green, Jr., 1751;  
And of John Bushell's press,  
Where the Halifax Gazette,  
The first newspaper in Canada  
was published, 1752.**

**Nova Scotia Historical Society.**

Addresses were delivered by Mr. J. S. MacDonald, Mr. D. R. Jack, of St. John, N. B., and by Mr. J. W. Regan.

It is my duty to make clear the selection of this site, said Dr. Armitage. The first legal testimony is in the Registry of Deeds, when on the 2nd December, 1754, William Foye, provost marshal, made a deed to Richard Upham, of Reading, New England, in consideration of £7. 4s. 4d. "to satisfy an execution of said Upham against John Bushell," which conveys lot No. 3 in Letter F., Collins' division. On the 6th June, 1759, Joseph Ford conveys to Bushell in consideration of £25. lot No. 4. On 9th December, 1760, for £61 Upham conveys lot No. 3 to Bushell. Bushell died in 1761, and in 1764, Elizabeth Bushell conveys lot No. 4 to Anthony Henry; and on 3rd September, 1763, Anthony Henry purchased from Malachy Salter lot No. 1, corner of Grafton and Sackville Streets. The property first specified afterwards came into the hands of the Blackadar family, long and honorably associated with the press of Halifax. It is a spot of great historic interest, worthy of an enduring tablet.

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### THE HEADQUARTERS OF GENERAL WOLFE.

A Tablet marking General Wolfe's Headquarters was placed 24th July, 1911, on Robert Stanford's premises, 156-158 Hollis St. Addresses were given by the President, by Brigadier-General Drury, Lt-Colonel Denison, Lt.Colonel Oxley and Com-

mander Martin. The Tablet was unveiled by General Drury, C. B., A. D. C., O. C., Maritime Provinces. The inscription reads:

**The Site of Head-Quarters and Residence of  
GENERAL WOLFE  
While Preparing for the Capture of Louisbourg and Quebec.  
1758-1759.**

**Nova Scotia Historical Society.**

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### **THE SITE OF FIRST COURT HOUSE.**

On the 15th November, 1911, Sir Charles Townshend, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, unveiled the Tablet marking the site of the First Court House. The President, the Chief Justice, The Hon. Mr. Justice Graham, and The Hon. Mr. Justice Russell were the speakers.

The Tablet is on the Farmer's Hotel, Cor. Buckingham and Argyle Streets. The inscription reads:—

**The Site of the First Court House,  
About 1754.  
The Meeting Place of the First  
Legislative Assembly, 1758,  
Destroyed by Fire 1789.**

**Nova Scotia Historical Society.**

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### **ST. PAUL'S CHURCH.**

On one of the pillars of the fence surrounding historic St. Paul's a Tablet has been placed with the following inscription:—

**St. Paul's Church  
Royal Foundation, King George II, 1749.  
The Oldest Building in Halifax**

**Nova Scotia Historical Society.**

**RESIDENCE OF HON. RICHARD BULKELEY.**

On the Carleton House a Tablet has been placed marking:—

**The Residence of  
Hon. Richard Bulkeley, First Secretary of the Province, Where for  
a time the Vice Admiralty Court was held.  
Erected 1760.**

Nova Scotia Historical Society.

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**THE GREAT PONTAC.**

On James Duggan & Sons building, Cor. Upper Water and Duke Streets a Tablet has been placed marking:—

**The Site of  
The Great Pontac  
Famous as the Social Meeting Place of early days,  
1753.**

Nova Scotia Historical Society.

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**ST. PETER'S CHURCH.**

On St. Mary's Parish Hall, a Tablet has been placed marking:—

**The Site of  
St Peter's Roman Catholic Church,  
1784  
Which preceded St. Mary's Cathedral.  
Erected 1820.**

Nova Scotia Historical Society.

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**OLD ST. MATTHEW'S CHURCH.**

On J. C. Mackintosh & Co's Building, Cor. Hollis and Prince Streets, a Tablet has been placed:—

**The Site of  
St. Matthew's Church  
Formerly known as "Mather's Church;" "The First  
Protestant Dissenting Meeting House;"  
built by the British Government,  
Destroyed by Fire in 1857.**

Nova Scotia Historical Society.

**HON. JAMES WILLIAM JOHNSTON.**

A tablet marking the historic building on Hollis Street, the place where Hon. J. W. Johnston had his office (the building now occupied by the Nova Scotia Building Society) was placed on the 3rd July, 1912. The ceremony of unveiling was performed by Lieut-Governor MacGregor. Those who took part were Venerable Archdeacon Armitage, Dr. E. M. Saunders and John Y. Payzant. The tablet bears the following inscription:—

**The Office of James William Johnston,  
1792-1873.**

**First Premier of Nova Scotia under Responsible Government.  
Orator, Jurist, Statesman.**

**Nova Scotia Historical Society.**

**THE HISTORIC COUNCIL TABLE.**

The Hon. M. H. Goudge unveiled the Tablet marking the historic Council Table in the Legislative Council Chamber.

**Around this Table Sat,  
His Majesty's Council  
For the Province of Nova Scotia,  
14th July, 1749.**

**On Board the Beaufort Transport; Present, His Excellency the Governor, The Honorable Edward Cornwallis, Paul Mascarene, Esq., Edward How, Esq., John Gorham, Esq., Benjamin Green, Esq., John Salisbury, Esq., Hugh Davidson, Esq., Sec'y.**

**Nova Scotia Historical Society.**

**THE OLD HALIFAX GRAMMAR SCHOOL.**

The Tablet marking the site of the old Halifax Grammar School, Cor. Barrington and Sackville Streets, was unveiled by the Hon. G. H. Murray, Premier of Nova Scotia. Speeches were delivered by the President, by the Premier, by Dr. A. H. MacKay, Superintendent of Education, and by R. J. Wilson, M. A., Secretary Board of School Commissioners.

**The Site of  
The building where the General (legislative)  
Assembly of Nova Scotia met, about  
1765-1789.**

**The Halifax Grammar School, 1789.**

**Nova Scotia Historical Society.**

## THE OLD PICTOU ACADEMY.

H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught unveiled the tablets on the 31st July, 1912, on this historic building. The President Ven. Archdeacon Armitage, delivered the address.

### SIR JOHN WILLIAM DAWSON.

"This tablet commemorates Sir John William Dawson, F. R. S., 1820-1899, Geologist, Educated at Pictou Academy, Superintendent of Education of Nova Scotia, 1850, Principal of McGill University, 1855, first President of the Royal Society of Canada, 1882, President of the British Association, 1886."

Nova Scotia Historical Society.

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### THE REV. THOMAS MacCULLOCH, D. D.

"This tablet commemorates the services to the cause of Education of the Rev. Thomas MacCulloch, D. D., 1766-1843, first Principal of Pictou Academy, 1817-24. President of Dalhousie College and University, 1838; and marks Pictou Academy, founded 1816, which has profoundly influenced the intellectual life of this Province and the Dominion."

Nova Scotia Historical Society.

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### BIRTH-PLACE OF SIR WILLIAM DAWSON.

A Tablet has been placed on the house in Pictou in which Sir Wm. Dawson was born, which reads as follows:—

The birth-place of  
Sir John William Dawson, F. R. S.,  
Geologist,  
1820.

Nova Scotia Historical Society.

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### THE BRITISH SETTLEMENT OF TRURO, ONSLOW AND LONDONDERRY.

On the 1st August, 1912, H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, unveiled a Tablet at Truro which was placed on the Court







**The Unveiling of the Tablets to Sir. Wm. Dawson and President Thomas MacCulloch on the Old Pictou Academy by H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught.**

House. The President, Ven. Archdeacon Armitage, was present and gave the address. The tablet bears the following inscription:—

**“This tablet commemorates the British settlement of Truro, Onslow and Londonderry, 1760-1762, partly by a colony of English stock from New England, chiefly by Scoto-Irish from New Hampshire and Ireland under the leadership of Colonel Alexander McNutt; and Honors a Community which has made a notable contribution to the development of this Province and the Dominion.**

**Nova Scotia Historical Society.**

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### QUARTERS OF SIR JOHN MOORE.

The unveiling of the tablet on the front of the Bank of Nova Scotia building, Hollis St., by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught took place 15th August, 1912. The bank building stands on the site of the traditional headquarters of Sir John Moore while serving on this station. The tablet is of cast bronze, the work of Messrs. J. Wippell & Co., of Exeter and London. It is a very artistic piece of work, classical in design, with Gothic letters. The pillars contain the names of the chief places in which Sir John Moore served, Corsica, West Indies, Egypt, Sicily, Sweden, America, Corunna. Over the Inscription is a beautiful medallion of the great soldier finely executed, and beneath are draped flags with laurel branches.

The inscription runs:—

**“This tablet marks the Site of the Quarters  
While serving in this Garrison,  
1779-81,  
Of Captain Lt., afterwards Major General,  
Sir John Moore,  
Who after heroic service in the Peninsular War,  
won undying fame at Corunna,  
1809.”**

**The Nova Scotia Historical Society.**

**KING'S COLLEGE, WINDSOR.**

The historic tablet was unveiled by H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught on the 16th August, 1912, after a brief explanatory address by Rev. Dr. Armitage.

The inscription reads:—

**This tablet commemorates the foundation of King's College in 1790 by Bishop Charles Inglis, (William Cochran T. C. D., President) Which was constituted the First University in Canada, By Royal Charter from King George III, in 1802, and has been the Alma Mater of a long line of distinguished sons who have served the Empire with signal ability.**

Nova Scotia Historical Society.

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**THOMAS CHANDLER HALIBURTON.**

H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught unveiled the Tablet marking the residence of Judge Haliburton at Windsor, N. S., on the 16th August, 1912. The inscription reads as follows:—

**"Clifton,"  
the home of  
Thomas Chandler Haliburton,  
Born 1796, Died 1865.  
The Father of American Humour  
and Creator of "Sam Slick,"  
Historian, Jurist, Legislator.**

Nova Scotia Historical Society.

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**THE BLOCKHOUSE, WINDSOR, N. S.**

The Tablet on the old Blockhouse reads as follows:—

**This, the last surviving Blockhouse in Nova Scotia was erected by Major Charles Lawrence, 1750, in a fortification afterwards known as Fort Edward.**

Nova Scotia Historical Society.

**SIR FENWICK WILLIAMS.**

On the 17th of August, 1912, the Duke of Connaught unveiled a Tablet to commemorate the birth-place of Sir Fenwick Williams on the Royal Bank of Canada at Annapolis Royal. His Honour Judge Savary gave the address. The monument is in cast bronze, with a beautiful medallion. The inscription reads:—

**This tablet marks the birthplace of General Sir William Fenwick Williams, Baronet, 1799-1888, The Hero of Kars, Pasha of Turkey, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, France, Member of the British Parliament, Governor-in-Chief Forces British North America, Governor of Gibraltar, Constable of the Tower, Lieut.-Governor of His Native Province.**

Nova Scotia Historical Society.

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**SIR WILLIAM WINNIETT.**

The Duke of Connaught unveiled the Aluminium Tablet marking the birth-place of Sir William Winniett at Annapolis Royal. The historical address was given by His Honour Judge Savary. The inscription reads:—

**On the next Lot south now merged in the Street,  
was born, March 2, 1793,  
Sir William Robert Wolseley Winniett,  
Knight, Captain R. N.,  
Governor-General, Cape Coast District,  
Beneficent Administrator, Valiant Officer.**

Nova Scotia Historical Society.

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The Ven. Archdeacon Armitage, President of the Society, made the following announcements.

Mr. William C. Milner, B. Sc., a member of our Council, has been appointed to the Staff of the Dominion Archives, Ottawa; and is specially commissioned to study the conditions, and to care for historical material in the Maritime Provinces.

The President of the Society has been appointed a member of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in connection with the Dominion Archives.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission of Ottawa has decided to place a Photostat in Halifax, for the purpose of photographing documents, maps, and books; and will allow the instrument to be used for our Provincial Archives.

The Halifax Branch of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, through Mrs. Leonard Milton Murray, has provided the sum of \$100.00 for the purpose of marking historic sites in co-operation with our Society.

The death of Mr. Robert James Wilson, M. A., the esteemed Treasurer of the Society for some twenty-six years, and for over thirty years one of our most useful members, will long be felt. Mr. Wilson was a public spirited citizen, and keen student of our local history. He was full of reminiscences of our public men, and of events of historic interest.

The official appointment of Hon. Brenton Halliburton, Dr. Willis, Rev. John Scott, Hon. H. H. Cogswell and W. B. Bliss as Trustees of the old Grammar School, has been placed in our Archives through the kindness of Mr. J. C. Mackintosh.

Mr. C. Ochiltree MacDonald has presented the Society with a handsome engraving by Wood, engraver to the King, of "The Death of Wolfe," taken from the painting by Benjamin West. This engraving had hung in the same place, near Wolfe's birth-place for over one hundred years.

Mrs. Charles Archibald has presented to the Archives, the official petition of the Magistrates of Halifax to the Lt. Governor requesting that the party who made serious charges against them in the "*Nova Scotian*" of 1st January, signed "The People" be immediately prosecuted.

This led to the celebrated prosecution of Howe for libel.

The Rev. Alfred Hall of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society has presented the Society with a copper Salver, made from the copper of Nelson's Flag-ship the "Victory."

### Papers of Bishop Charles Inglis.

The President, Ven. Archdeacon Armitage, announced that through the kindness of Rev. Rupert Inglis, the papers of Bishop Charles Inglis were now in Halifax and would be copied for the Dominion and Provincial Archives. These include:

1. Letter Book from 1791 to 1799.
2. Journal of 'Occurrences' 1785-6.
3. Letter Book 1808-14.
4. Brief "Notes or Memoirs of Public and Various other transactions: Taken to assist my memory, begun Jan. 1775." (The last date is 1791.) Large book, No. of page not given.
5. Leaves taken from a Common Place Book of my Grandfather's 1789. Catalogue of his Books 1770. (Jane Inglis.)
6. Leaves cut from public Acts, kept by my Grandfather (Charles Inglis) and my dear father begun in the year 1787 ended 1826. (Jane Inglis 1852.)
7. Large Book containing Memorials (1786): Claims 178. Deed St. Paul's Halifax, 1760 and Letters and Memoranda from 1789 to 1810.
8. Catalogue of Books 1768: Address to Students, etc., (say 50 p.).
9. 10 Diaries and Journals of say 50 pages, as follows (1) England 1787, Nova Scotia (No. 2) 1790; (2) Nova Scotia 1790; (3) Nova Scotia 1791; (4) Nova Scotia and New Brunswick No. 2. 1792; (5) No. 1 Nova Scotia and New Brunswick 1792; (6) Nova Scotia 1793; (7) N. Scotia 1794 and beginning of 1795 also 1797; (8) Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; 1795; (9) Nova Scotia, 1798 (10) Cape Breton 1805 (11) New Brunswick 1804 (4 p) (2) New Brunswick and Nova Scotia 1788: (13) Quebec 1789 (No. 1) (14) Quebec 1789 No. 2.)

10. Almanacs with Notes Nova Scotia Calendar 1798 pub. Henry: Almanac 1807 ditto pub. Howe: ditto for 1809: ditto 1810.

### **Bishop John Inglis' Papers.**

1. Five Journals or Diaries say 50 pages each 1806-7.
2. Letter Book etc., from 1825 to 1849 (325 pages).

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The President presented a communication addressed to His Honour Judge Savary, from W. G. Clarke of Bear River.

### **The Mysterious Craft at the Mouth of Bear River.**

A matter has come to my attention during the last few days in which I think you will be interested, and knowing you were a member of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, I thought it advisable to communicate to you the facts as they were placed before me.

Mr. Edward Powers of the contracting firm of Powers and Brewer, who are building the new railway bridge at the mouth of the Bear River, while boring to ascertain the depth of the mud at the point where the heaviest piers are to be located came upon an obstruction. This obstruction upon investigation appears to be a sunken vessel. At the point where this occurred there is twenty feet of water at low water and the obstruction or vessel referred to is covered with twenty-five feet of silt or mud, showing that many years have passed since the vessel first settled at that point.

Further investigation shows the vessel to be about one hundred and twenty (120) feet long, and twenty-two feet wide. In using the diamond drill to discover the nature of the obstruction they have bored through two or three thicknesses which would indicate that the frame of the vessel is still intact and from the core brought up on the auger the planking appears to be of oak. The ballast which was struck by the



auger after boring through four inches of plank was found to be of a material very like flint but entirely different from any material found in this locality.

It occurs to the writer that this may be an old French vessel sunk at this point in the early history of the locality. Do you know anything of the sinking of a craft in the early history of this country? I have submitted these facts in the hope of getting some information and felt that you would be interested.

To the Editor of the (Digby) Courier.

Dear Sir:— May I give you some simple facts about the sunken vessel Messrs. Powers & Brewer's drill struck at the mouth of Bear River as reported in a recent issue of the Courier. My father, if alive, would be 105 years old. When eight years old he lived with his uncle in Digby. I heard him frequently tell about a vessel (a brig, I think) which was driven into Digby by a storm in winter, ran up in what is now called the Joggin, and remained there the remainder of the winter frozen in the ice. At the time of her arrival the crew were badly frozen; one man had to be brought on shore to be cared for. Men from the shore went on board and helped them clew up their sails. The crew, which I think were all French, remained on board. My father said the vessel had a part of a cargo of copper ore and in the early spring started to resume her voyage, but never got outside of Digby Gut. The wind sprang up from the North and the people from Digby saw her running for what is now known as Bear River, in a sinking condition. She missed the Cove and sank and like other stories, I have been told, she soon disappeared in the mud. I further talked with the late Mr. Abraham Nichols, not over 11 years ago, about this strange craft and he said that the older people told him that the cargo was supposed to be copper ore.

Strange stories came from people that the captain and crew buried money on the lands of Mr. Nichols and people

have dug nearly the whole pasture without success. I also heard my grandfather talk about this vessel being in Digby as above described. He was a captain and his father also knew about it. They lived about one quarter of a mile from the Joggin. All of the old people of Digby are dead, but what I heard I remember. Ask Benj. VanTassell, Mt. Pleasant, what he thinks about the buried money where the brig laid in the Joggin. I have looked for Capt. Kidd's treasure which is a blank as yet. But I have a sunken craft to go down on this summer which I trust will not be a failure.

Yours respectfully,

E. H. Timpany,  
Sandy Cove.

P. S.—If lies come to hand, I have told you none in the above letter—not for the whole ship.

The above is from Digby Courier of April 18, 1913. E. H. Timpany is well known to me. His father was Robert K. Timpany, Esq., of Rossway, Justice of the Peace, whom also I well knew. The latter was a son of John A. Timpany, of Rossway, and grandson of Major Robert Timpany, the distinguished Loyalist officer. (See Sabine's Loyalist). There seems no reason to doubt the accuracy of the tradition communicated by E. H. Timpany. I believe it to be reliable. Abraham Nichols was a good intelligent man.

Annapolis Royal, May 1st, 1913.

A. W. Savary.

The President presented a copy of the Memorial of the Nova Scotia Association of Veterans of 1866, to the Parliament of Canada, and now placed in the Archives of the Society by Lt. Colonel John T. Wylde. The Memorial contains copies of all the original documents, and the Names of the Memorialists.

The President presented an original document, prepared by Colonel Fenwick of St. Leonards-on-the-Sea, and forwarded to Judge Savary:—"Memoranda relative to the connection of the Fenwick family with Nova Scotia." Most of the matter contained therein has been furnished from the Royal Artillery Records, domestic matters, from documents in the family.

The President presented, through the kindness of Rev. Dr. Pollok, a type-written copy: "Reminiscences of a Long Life" by John MacKay, Esq., New Glasgow, 1792-1884-92 years.

Note on Dr. Matthew Matthias Hoffman, communicated by the President:—

The President handed to the Society for the Archives a coloured photograph, kindly donated by Mrs. Annie Creed, of a painting of her late father, Matthew Matthias Hoffman, Esq., M. D. The original painting, now in the possession of the family, is by Hoppner, and was painted about 1809. Hoppner, it will be remembered, was one of the greatest portrait painters of his day, and was Lawrence's greatest rival, numbering amongst his sitters, the Duke of York, Lord Rodney, Lord Nelson, the Duke of Wellington, and Sir Walter Scott.

Dr. Hoffman was a member of an ancient Austrian family, and was born at Trieste in 1780. He was educated at the University of Vienna. He passed his naval examination at Haslar Hospital, and entered the British navy at the critical time which marked the victorious return of Lord Nelson after the battle of the Nile. Dr. Hoffman was with Collingwood in the Mediterranean, and rendered a great service to the fleet at the risk of his life. On his return to his ship the "Ocean," Collingwood met him on the quarter-deck and with a hearty shake of his hand said "Hoffman, for your bravery and pluck I promote you to one of the finest frigates in the service, the "Endymion." Soon after this Hoffman saw service in the Peninsular War. He was chosen for service on the field at Corunna, as the Army was short of surgeons. He was quite near Sir John Moore at the time that great hero fell, and was

present at his funeral. It is remarkable that Henry Morrisey, an ancestor of the Rhind family, who it is said held the lantern at the interment, should also have made his abode in Halifax. Mr. Wellington Johnston, of Montague, P.E. I., has in his possession the sabre with which his grand-father, an officer of the "Black Watch," helped to scoop the shallow grave of General Moore, at "noon of night." Charles Wolfe's lines have made the scene famous for all time:

"We buried him darkly at dead of night,  
The sods with our bayonets turning,  
By the struggling moonbeam's misty light,  
And the lantern dimly burning."

The "Endymion," was soon afterwards ordered to the North American Station. Dr. Hoffman married in 1811, and left the Navy. He settled in private practice in Halifax, and was for many years a leading member of his profession. He had several appointments under the Government, notably that of Surgeon-General to the Militia of Nova Scotia. He died at Halifax, 2nd April, 1850.

Memo' re property on west side of Pleasant Street, north of Morris Street prepared by Mr. Geo. E. E. Nichols, in regard to the site of the Bishop Inglis house on which it is proposed to place an historic tablet commemorating Sir John Inglis, "the hero of Lucknow."

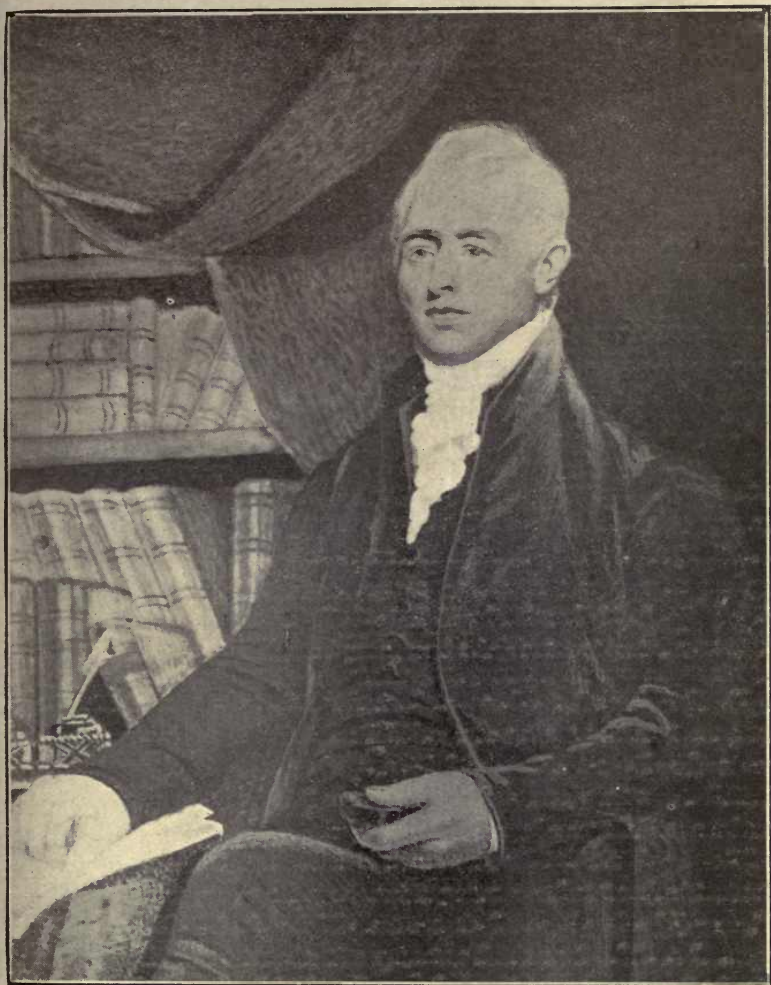
Deed dated 21st November, 1808.

Hon. Andrew Belcher and Wife, Marianne, to Rt. Rev. Charles Inglis, Bishop of Nova Scotia, Consideration £1600.

Conveys a lot measuring 222 ft. on west side of Pleasant Street and bounded on the north by property occupied as Government stables and on the south by property of James Stewart. Lot being about 224 feet deep.

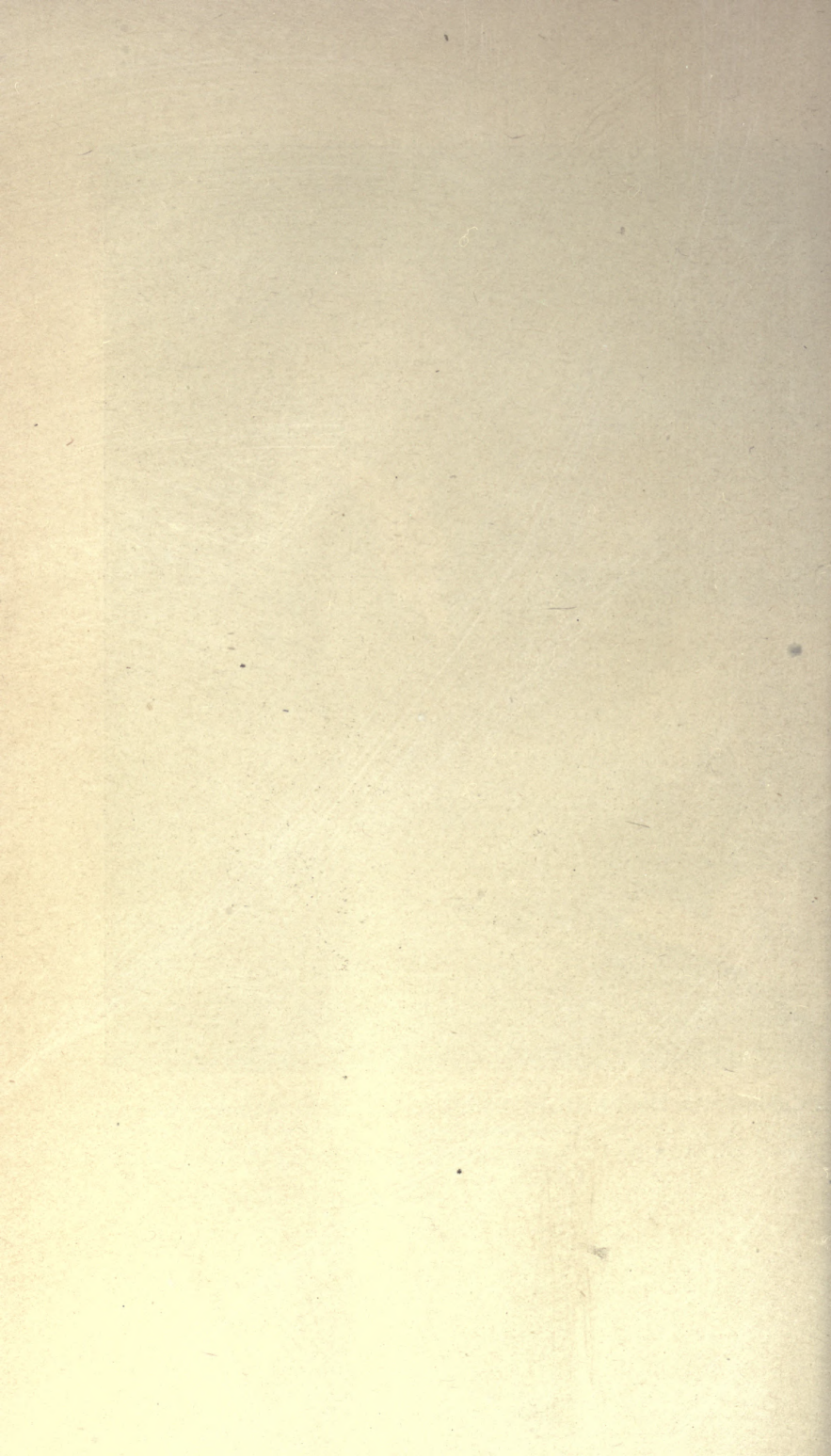
Deed dated 7th June, 1856.

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**Lt. Colonel, the Hon. Richard John Uniacke, H. M. Attorney General  
for Nova Scotia.**

From a Miniature by J. Clow, 1831, in the possession of Lt. Col. Crofton  
Uniacke, Southsea, Eng.





**SIR JOHN EARDLEY WILMONT INGLIS, K. C. B.**

**“The Hero of Lucknow”**

**(1814-1862.)**

(From a Painting in the Council Chamber, by William Gush.)





Eliza Inglis, Widow and Extrx of Rt. Rev. Bishop John Inglis, Jane L. Inglis, Arabella P. Inglis, Catherine A. P. Inglis (spinster) Elizabeth J. Kilvington, widow, all of Tunbridge Wells, England, Col. John E. W. Inglis, and Thomas C. Inglis, to Joseph P. Hagarty of Halifax, Professor of Music. Consideration, £3000.

Conveys a lot on the west side of Pleasant Street, 222 ft. front by 202 ft. deep, bounded northerly by Govt. Stables west by Governor's Field so called and south by lands of James Moren.

Recites that the above grantors, with the exception of one Charles Inglis, are all of the Heirs at Law of Bishop John Inglis, and that Charles Inglis referred to has no interest in this property under his late father's will. Also that the property is the same as purchased by Bishop Inglis from Belcher and by him devised to his son, Bishop John Inglis.

The property later passed to one McCabe, and then to James Lithgow.

Mrs. Sarah E. Moren acquired her present lot in 1886.

There was formerly an old wooden house on this lot, and which I understand was the northern half of the Inglis house, the southern portion having been removed when the houses owned by Mrs. Wetherby and Dr. Beckwith were built.

Memo:—I am of the opinion that Bishop Inglis's property, afterwards Professor Hagarty's, was that upon which Mrs. Moren's dwelling now stands.

H. W. Blackadar.

20th November, 1912.

The President handed to the Archivist, a photograph of Richard John Uniacke, H. M. Attorney-General, and Member of the Executive Council of Nova Scotia, taken from a miniature by J. Clow, 1831, in the possession of his grandson, Lt.-Col. Crofton J. Uniacke, Southsea, England.

The Portrait printed on page 190, Collections, Vol. XVI, as Hon. R. J. Uniacke, is a portrait of his son, Hon. James Boyle Uniacke, which through an unfortunate error made by a member of the family, was printed by mistake. The true portrait will appear in Vol. XVII.

The President handed to the Archivist, two photographs, presented by Miss Ella MacNab, from paintings in her possession of (a) the Hon. Alexander MacNab, of "The Council of the Twelve," and (b) of the Hon. James MacNab.

The President handed to the Archivist a photograph of Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture of *The Earl of Halifax* (after whom the City is named) now in the possession of Lord Curzon, obtained by Mr. A. M. Payne, through the kind offices of Major John Howard, Agent General of Nova Scotia.

The Municipal Council of Annapolis County sent a copy of a resolution approving of the Provincial government taking steps towards erecting a statue in memory of Hon. James W. Johnston. Dr. J. Johnston Hunt and Dr. David Allison moved that it be forwarded to the Provincial government and that they be urged to take action in this matter.

The Rev. John Forrest, D. D., announced that at the recent book sales in London at Sotheby's, two books brought very high prices:—Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries," selling for \$2,000.00, and Captain John Smith's "General History of Virginia, New England and Summer Isles," selling for \$1,650.00. Duplicates of these two books are in the Akin's Collection, which is one of the most valuable on the American Continent.

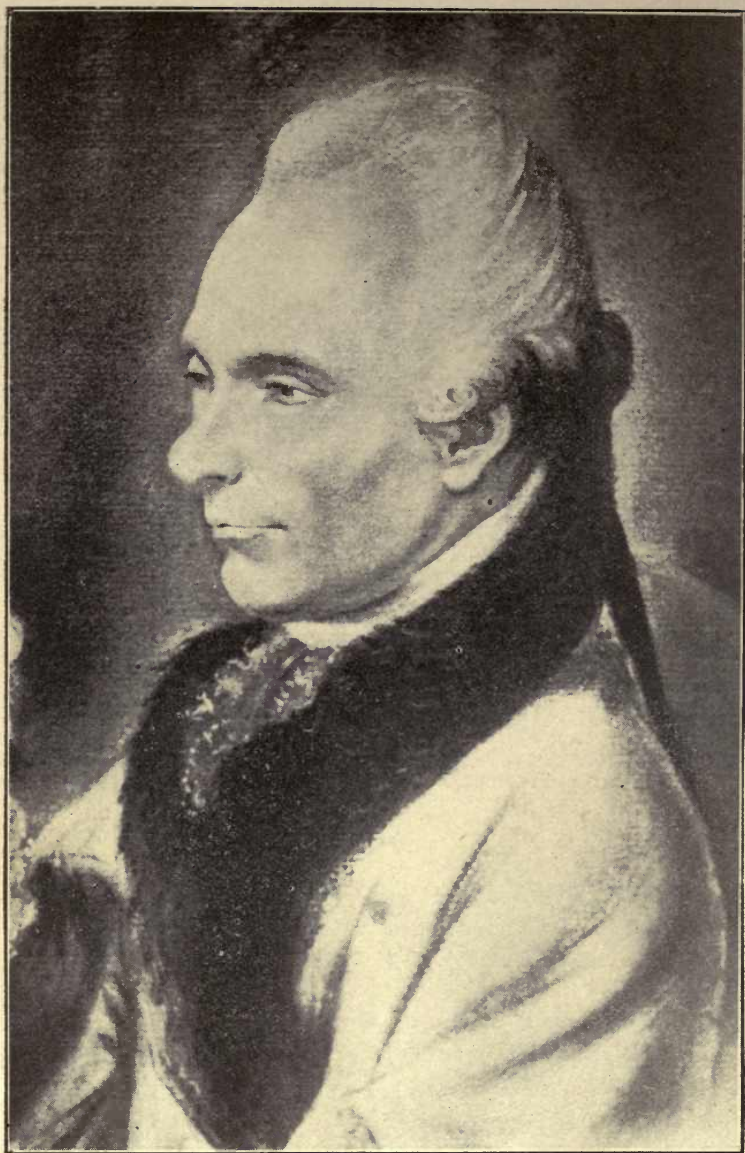
The President announced that the co-operation of the Princess Louise Branch of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire has enabled the Society to arrange for the placing of a number of historic Tablets in Halifax. It is proposed to place one at an early date to commemorate Sir John Inglis 'the Hero of Lucknow,' who was born on the site of the house now occupied by Mrs. S. E. Moren, No. 310 Pleasant St. It

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MAJOR GENERAL JOHN CHARLES BECKWITH, (1789-1862)

20 2



COLONEL JOSEPH FREDERICK WALLET DesBARRES.

is proposed to place Tablets to commemorate Admiral Provo Wallis, who became the 'Father of the British Fleet,' and also General Beckwith, a hero of Waterloo, by tablets in the Dock-yard, where they were born. In this connection, the Hon. J. D. Hazen, head of the Department of the Naval Service, writes:—I am much interested in the proposal of your society to mark the historic sites in the province of Nova Scotia, and I shall be very glad indeed to give instructions that your Society should be allowed to place tablets in the Navy yard at Halifax. Admirers of the eminent statesman and jurist S. G. W. Archibald, will be glad to learn that there is every prospect that his great name will be honoured by the erection of a cast bronze tablet with a protrait medallion.

The descendants of Governor DesBarres, one of the most remarkable men connected with the history of Nova Scotia, are providing a Tablet to mark the place of his burial in St. George's Church, Halifax. DesBarres was Aide-de-camp to Wolfe at Quebec, the preceptor of Captain Cook the circumnavigator, and the founder of Sydney. His Atlantic Neptune, was the most remarkable book of charts ever published.

Mr. William W. Walsh, Barrister, has written suggesting that the old historic roads near Bedford Basin should be marked with inexpensive cairns, as some are now little better than paths, and there is danger that they may be absorbed by adjoining owners.





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**HON. MR. JUSTICE BLISS,**  
**Judge Supreme Court, Nova Scotia.**  
(From a Water Colour by Miss Odell, Halifax.)

## MEMOIR OF THE LIFE OF THE HONORABLE WILLIAM BLOWERS BLISS.

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

Read 6th March, 1911.

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The pure, and efficient administration of justice is one of the most essential features of good government. The Province of Nova Scotia from the first settlement has been very fortunate in the ability, learning, and integrity of the men who from time to time have occupied seats on the Supreme Court Bench. Jonathan Belcher, the first Chief Justice, was a man of exceptional ability and force of character. He not only inaugurated with great dignity our Supreme Court, and regulated its procedure, but by his assistance, and guided by his hand the foundations of our Provincial law were laid solidly, and well. Our knowledge of the Judges from his time up to the appointment of Sir Brenton Haliburton as Chief Justice in 1833 is very limited. From that date onwards we are in a position to form a fairly accurate estimate of the men who sat on the Supreme Court Bench. Of these Mr. Justice Bliss has always been regarded as one of the ablest and best. Amongst his contemporaries his high character and judicial acumen were universally recognised, and his reputation as a great judge survives as one of the most cherished traditions of the Bench and Bar. That reputation does not rest on tradition alone, but is to be found in the Law Reports on every page where his decisions are preserved giving abundant evidence of his great learning, and high qualifications for the office he so long filled to the great advantage of the Province.

But it is otherwise in regard to his early life, and his career at the Bar. As in the case of many other distinguished Nova Scotians prominent in our past history, no record has been kept, and such glimpses as we have are very meagre and unsatisfactory. In his case, of course all those who enjoyed his acquaintance, and were associated with him either at the Bar, in the Legislature or on the Bench have long since passed away, and there are few members of the profession now living who practised before him, or even remember him at all.

William Blowers Bliss came of Loyalist stock, that stock which has given so many able men to the public service in the different Provinces of Canada. He was the third son of Jonathan Bliss who during the American Rebellion was proscribed, and driven from his home in Massachusetts for his loyalty to his country, and his King. He went to England, and in 1785 was appointed by the Crown Attorney-General of the newly constituted Province of New Brunswick, about that date severed from the Province of Nova Scotia. That office he retained until he was appointed Chief Justice of New Brunswick in 1809, and remained Chief Justice until the time of his death. One of his classmates at Harvard, and great friend, was our former Chief Justice Blowers after whom Judge Bliss was named. His mother was Mary Worthington, a daughter of the Honorable Colonel Worthington, of Springfield, Massachusetts, an eminent lawyer, and a man of great influence. Mr. Justice Bliss was born in St. John, New Brunswick, on the 24th August, 1795, in the house, it is said, which formerly belonged to General Benedict Arnold of American Rebellion fame. Of his early years as I have said nothing is now known except that he was educated at King's College, Windsor, where he graduated at the early age of eighteen. He then went to England, and pursued his studies for the Bar at the Inner Temple under Sir William Wightman, afterwards an eminent English Judge.

After he had completed his studies and was called to the Bar in England great inducements were held out to him to remain and practise his profession there. Apparently his heart

was in Nova Scotia, and he resisted these brilliant offers, returning here where he practised at the Bar in Halifax until he was elevated to the Supreme Court Bench. As he was only thirty-nine years of age when he was promoted in 1834 he must have risen rapidly to the front, and commanded a large share in the business of the Courts. That he was so successful at such a comparatively early age is the best proof we can have of his preeminent ability in his profession and the confidence reposed in him by the public, and the government of the day.

As to this part of his career, his manner, his success in his cases, the cases in which he was engaged, and matters of a similar character we are absolutely without any information whatever, and we can only draw inferences from the fact of his early promotion to such a responsible position.

Like many other able lawyers of that day he sought political honors, and entered the House of Assembly in 1830 as Member for Hants County. His political career was comparatively brief, extending over four Sessions from 1830 to 1834. From the outset he appears to have taken an active and useful part in the debates of the Assembly, although he was not a frequent speaker. One of the measures to which he specially gave his attention was the granting of a Charter to the Bank of Nova Scotia. At that time there was only one Bank carrying on business in the Province. It was in the hands of a small number of wealthy people in Halifax known as the Halifax Banking Company, and some of the proprietors were members of the old Council. It would seem from the debates, and public meetings that this Bank used its financial power oppressively or at least not at all in the interests of the general public. To meet this state of affairs it was proposed to establish another Bank, for which a large stock list had been subscribed. As might have been anticipated the monopolists of the Halifax Banking Company threw every obstacle in the way. After a warm contest in the Assembly it passed that house, and was sent up to the Council for concurrence. Bliss, assisted chiefly by Alexander Stewart, contended vigorously for its passage in the lower House,

and was successful. But at the hands of the Council it met a different fate. That body did not reject the bill, but made such amendments as would have defeated the whole project. Of course this led to much indignation in the Assembly which promptly rejected the Council's amendments. After some further negotiations between the two Houses the Bill passed with some unimportant changes, and the new Bank was established.

Another subject which largely engaged his attention was the Provincial Currency which at that time seems to have been in a deplorable condition, seriously hampering trade. The discussions in the House were carried on at great length and there were wide differences of opinion as to the proper remedy. Mr. Bliss appears to have had very clear, and practical ideas on the subject which he advocated in many speeches with much success.

From his speech on that subject reported in the *Nova Scotian*, February 28th, 1833, I have made the following extract which will convey some idea of his polished, and incisive oratory in the House of Assembly. After dealing at great length with the pitiful state of the currency he says "The notes of the Halifax Bank are made payable in specie or in Provincial notes, and they claim the right to pay them at their own option. On this point I do not mean to offer my opinion, because it is not necessary for me to do so, but this much I will state, and I do it with some confidence, that if they are not payable absolutely in specie on demand, they are little else than a fraud upon the the public—they are utterly valueless, and no better than a blank piece of paper. If payment cannot be enforced in specie against those who issue them, neither can any action at law be maintained to recover the amount in Provincial paper; And what a miserable state of things it is; how loudly it calls for redress, when the greater part of the actual currency of the Country consists of notes of private individuals who are not legally liable to the holders for the amount which they promise to pay. But says the Honorable Member for Halifax, if these promises cannot be enforced by law, if no remedy can be had

against the Bankers by an action, still he has such confidence in their integrity and honor that he is willing to incur any risk, and take their paper freely, and without fear.

“His confidence does not weaken my argument, the validity of Bank notes must not depend on such a frail foundation. I want not the honor of any man, or any body of men pledged to me for such purposes. I will trust to the honor of no one, for it is not right that I should be referred to this, where I can better support my claims on legal rights, and legal abilities.

“Of the individuals who compose the Company I may probably be willing to speak in as high terms as that Honorable gentleman. With all of them I am sufficiently acquainted—at least to know the high character they possess—I shall certainly say nothing of any one which it would be unfit that he should hear. I would speak but of their conduct as bankers, and of the character of their paper and proceedings which are now subjects in which the public is concerned. I shall speak my sentiments with the boldness, and freedom which becomes a Member of this House, nor think an apology necessary. I am aware of their power, and influence, though I may not know the whole extent of them, and it is this very circumstance that makes it more necessary that this house should guard against their abuse. To leave with them the uncontrolled power of issuing such paper I consider to be highly dangerous. They may be above all suspicion, and be numbered among the honorable of the land, but cases may arise with respect to their notes in which even they may avail themselves of their exemption from a legal liability to pay them in any manner whatever.”

He concludes—“In this as in other matters we may all lie under the influence of immediate interest, or personal friendships, or be swayed by some other indirect, and perhaps unknown views. I may be equally liable to this suspicion, but in a measure in which the public interests are concerned, I think we should all form an opinion without regard to private considerations and with a desire to promote the public good.”

This was bold language to be used towards this banking Company then comprising the wealth and power of the Province, but Mr. Bliss was evidently no coward. On other questions before the Legislature he delivered his views with his usual force, and lucidity, but none of them are of sufficient importance to call for special notice except one. Alexander Stewart, member for Cumberland in the Session of 1834, made the first attack on the old Council by moving a series of resolutions condemning its composition, its methods of doing business with closed doors, and demanding that its executive functions should be separated from its Legislative powers—in other words that there should be a separate Legislative Council. Mr. Bliss, in a temperate and able speech, gave his support to these resolutions. Although they failed to carry at that time, later or when Mr. Bliss had left the Assembly for a seat on the Bench and Howe had entered the arena, resolutions of a much more drastic character were passed, and the Council as then constituted ceased to exist.

From notices in the press it would seem that Mr. Bliss came to the House as one of the old Tory Party, and it was supposed that he would ally himself with and uphold those who were interested in maintaining the privileges, and abuses of the existing regime, but both his friends and opponents were greatly surprised at the free and independent course he took in all matters, and discussions which came before the House.

During the period he sat in the Assembly some of the ablest and most distinguished men of the day were his colleagues, such as Archibald, James B. Uniacke, Alexander Stewart, C. Rufus Fairbanks, Beamish Murdock, John Young, Huntington and others, and it is quite evident from reading the proceedings of the House that he was able to hold his own amongst these brilliant and capable legislators.

In February, 1833, Chief Justice Blowers resigned, and Judge Halliburton, afterwards Sir Brenton Halliburton, was appointed Chief Justice. In February 1834, Judge Uniacke suddenly died, and in the following April Mr. Bliss was elevated to the



Supreme Court Bench in his place. This appointment terminated his brief political career. Thenceforth he was to occupy a place probably more congenial to his tastes and where he had the opportunity of displaying his eminent ability, sound legal training, and accurate knowledge of the law, where in the years which followed he became recognized as one of the ablest, if not the ablest Judge who ever occupied a seat on the Supreme Court Bench of Nova Scotia.

The appointment gave general satisfaction, and high hopes were entertained for improvement in the administration of justice throughout the Province. That such were the feelings and expectation can be gathered from the following notice of his appointment in the Nova Scotian newspaper April 17th, 1834, As Mr. Howe was the editor and proprietor, it probably reflects his opinion.

“There is nothing which more concerns the general welfare than the character of our legal tribunals, and therefore we may fairly congratulate the Country upon the appointment of William Blowers Bliss, Esq., to fill the vacancy on the Supreme Court Bench caused by the death of Judge Uniacke. Of the legal etiquette which is to govern such selections we know but little, but judging of the propriety of the choice from what we have seen of the individual we think it is one that will give great satisfaction to the country. Mr. Bliss as a scholar stood high in the estimation of his old classmates at College, and at the Bar his sound legal knowledge and penetrating intellect have earned for him much reputation. We judge more from what we have seen of him in the Assembly, where although he came in rather with the stain of toryism upon him, his conduct manly and consistent throughout, aided by his eloquence and varied knowledge was daily increasing his influence. We regret we shall hear him no more in the open field of popular discussion, but we hail his appointment as one step towards that improvement in the character of the Supreme Court, which heaven knows was badly wanted.”

This forms very strong testimony of his high estimation in the public eye at the very outset of his judicial career, and as we shall see later on he fully justified these opinions in the many years he sat on the Bench. Just here it will be of interest to give some idea of the person, and personal characteristics of this eminent Judge. He was of medium stature, spare figure with a highly intellectual face, very dignified in his bearing, not easy of approach, but at the same time very courteous to all. He had a high sense of the dignity of his office as a Judge. His manner, and address impressed this feeling on every member of the Bar, and official of the Court. When he entered the Court, and took his seat on the Bench the strictest etiquette was observed among the members of the Bar in the conduct of the cases tried before him. While patient to hear, and weigh all that was urged on either side of the case, he was very firm, and decided in his rulings, and there were few Counsel who would venture further argument once he had announced his decision. It must however be added that by the Bar he was always treated with the greatest respect and deference, due to their confidence in his great ability and learning—indeed he was recognised from the first as an able and accomplished jurist, which of itself accounts for the commanding position he held in the estimation of the profession. These few general facts I have gathered from those who practised before him of whom there are very few living, and some slight personal recollection of him when I was a student at law.

An anecdote has been related to me which shows that with all his reputed sternness in repressing any improper conduct in the Courts where he presided, he could be magnanimous in the face of what would ordinarily be treated as a grave offence. On one of the country circuits he tried, and reversed on the spot the decision of a magistrate, and in so doing expressed a wish that he had it in his power to make the magistrate pay all the costs. The magistrate who happened also to be an officer of the Court stepped forward, and said, "My Lord, I gave that decision according to what I thought was right. All I can say is that if the

Judges of the Supreme Court were made to pay the costs of all their erroneous decisions they would not have enough to pay for the coats on their backs."

Such a statement to a Judge in the face of the Court was of course a high contempt for which the Judge had the power to severely punish the magistrate by fine or imprisonment. Judge Bliss however said nothing, no doubt feeling that he had gone too far in making the observation he did.

As a further illustration of the masterly way in which he upheld the dignity, and decorum of the Court an old barrister relates that when first starting in his career, he was pitted in a case tried before Judge Bliss, against an able lawyer of rather bumptious character. In opening his address to the jury, this lawyer instead of remaining in his place, went to the front of the jury box emphasizing his speech by pounding the rail in front of the jury. Judge Bliss observing this sternly said to him, "Mr. —, take your place at the Bar, sir, and address the jury." There was a moment of hesitation on the part of the barrister, but one look at the Judge was enough, and he quietly resumed his proper place continuing his speech. On the same trial my informant says his opponent called a witness to the stand and to his surprise and dismay Judge Bliss recognized him as an old servant, shook hands with him inquiring about himself and family. As it was a question of disputed facts, he thought this looked bad for his side fearing that the Judge's faith in his old servant might unconsciously influence his mind, but all fears on that score were dispelled when the Judge came to address the jury. His charge was so clear, every word of evidence so clearly sifted, and explained without the semblance of bias that he eventually won his verdict.

Another somewhat amusing instance of the fearless mode in which he dispensed justice, and let down even leaders of the Bar is told. A very eminent Counsel was endeavouring to set aside a conviction made by a magistrate for the illegal sale of liquor. After patiently hearing the case to the end Judge Bliss

said to the Counsel, "Mr. —, I presume I am not bound by the amount of the penalty imposed by the magistrate?" The learned Counsel no doubt thinking he intended to reduce the amount of the fine quickly rose and said, "Oh, certainly not, my Lord." "Then," said the Judge, "I will just double the amount of the fine, and dismiss the appeal with costs to be paid by your client."

As already pointed out he was very strict in upholding the dignity of the Court. Solicitors and barristers were soon made conscious that no unseemly conduct nor questionable transactions would escape his eagle eye. He was very severe on professional misconduct, and jealous for the honour of the bar. As an instance told me by one who was present, he was holding court in one of the County towns where it came under his observation that a solicitor not bearing a very good reputation had on the Docket of Cases for trial an unusual number in which he was acting either for Plaintiff or Defendant of a very frivolous and dubious character. In his address to the jury he took occasion to administer a scathing rebuke. "If," he said, "my opinion should have any weight with the yeomanry of this County I should advise in case any of them should consider himself to have suffered wrong at the hands of another, and should determine to seek redress, that he should consult some respectable attorney," emphasizing "respectable" by a slight pause after and before the word, and significantly inclining his head as he uttered the sentence. His high shrill voice—clear as a bell—was eminently adapted to convey his meaning.

Another instance of his determination to put down any unworthy or undignified conduct occurred before the full Bench when all the Judges were present. A leading barrister in the course of his argument related, no doubt as he thought, for their amusement a somewhat smutty story. The other Judges smiled, and said nothing but Judge Bliss at once addressing the Counsel said, "Mr. —, If you dare, repeat that

story, or anything of the kind in my presence I will order your committal for contempt.”

From these anecdotes one would infer that he was a very severe, and stern Judge—unpopular with the Bar, and the people. Such however was not the case, as we know from tradition, from the press of the day and from addresses presented to him. On the contrary he was universally esteemed, and beloved by all who came in contact with him. His standard of life was high, and occupying the high position he did, he deemed it his duty to impress upon all those who came under his influence the same spirit and rule of conduct.

I have tried to get other anecdotes of incidents happening on trials before Judge Bliss, but without success, as those who could have related them are all gone. The few I have given were characteristic, and help us to form some idea of his methods in conducting trials which took place in the Courts before him.

The record of the judicial career of Judge Bliss is principally to be found in the Nova Scotia Law Reports. Notices of trials in which he was engaged occasionally appears in the press of the day, but hardly full enough to convey any correct idea of the manner in which he dealt with the case before him. It appears from one of these notices that he first took his seat on the Bench after his appointment in a criminal trial with the Chief Justice, and Judge Wilkins in May, 1834. There were no Court reporters at that time, nor for some years after his elevation, so that with some few exceptions we know little of his early decisions between 1834 and 1853. About the latter date, the late James Thompson, a barrister of the Court, gathered some of the Judgments of the Supreme Court given in past years, and published them in a volume now known as No. 1 Supreme Court Reports. Amongst these are several from Mr. Justice Bliss, and from that time onward until he resigned his judgments are included in all the reports terminating in the second volume of Oldright. In a brief

memoir such as this no extended reference to these valuable decisions can be given.

One of the best, and most important decisions of Mr. Justice Bliss was in the well known case of Scots vs. Henderson in 1843, reported in Thompson 3, Nova Scotia, p. 136, in which he differed from Chief Justice Halliburton. The question before the Court was the right of the Crown to grant land where another was in possession without first taking proceedings to expel the intruder. It is of great length—too long to give in full, but as a good specimen of his style I have made the following extract:

“The law, he says, has carefully guarded the possession of the Crown, and nothing can change, or limit that possession or interfere with or prevent the plenary exercise of its rights resulting therefrom till the law itself is in this respect changed—that has been done by the Statute already mentioned (21 Jac. I Cap. 14) which has broken in upon the common law principles, and recognised an adverse possession against the Crown after twenty years, and in all cases which fall within the operation of the Statute, that is where the adverse possession has continued for twenty years, the Crown cannot grant, until it has filed proceedings against the intruder. In all other cases, the Common law principle that the possession of the Crown cannot be disturbed by an intruder remains in full force, and consequently its right to grant, notwithstanding the possession of the intruder, cannot I think be impugned.” He then adds in conclusion “I have thus gone at large into the consideration of this question from its importance to the Country, and because I find an opinion widely different from my own is still entertained by two of the Bench. My respect for them with whose views I am unfortunately unable to agree has made it the more proper for me to examine the subject with attention, and to seek out every authority which I could find that had any bearing on this point. This I have done to the best of my power. It has impressed me with a very strong conviction the grounds of which I have just given that when the Crown has

never parted with its original title, it retains the full power of granting lands, notwithstanding another may have possessed himself in the meantime, and be in occupation of such lands, except the power of the Crown has been restrained, and limited by Statute. In the present case no Statute has that operation, and effect, and without entering into any consideration of the Policy of the law where it is my business only so state what I conceive to be the law, I am of opinion that the direction of his Lordship the Chief Justice was in this respect incorrect."

This opinion abounds in legal authority showing most thorough research, in support of the conclusion reached, and although a recent decision in the Supreme Court of Canada affirmed by the Privy Council on appeal has held that that part of his opinion which limited the Crown's right to grant where there was adverse possession for twenty years was erroneous yet in the particular case under consideration he was undoubtedly right.

There are so many reported cases in which he gave elaborate and important judgments that it is a matter of difficulty to select those which deserve especial notice. In the well known case of Woodberry vs Gates, N. S. R. 255, will be found a clear exposition of the law bearing on conventional boundaries between adjoining owners. "The law," he says, "is ever the guardian of good faith, and interposes by a wholesome rule to prevent its violation. Who does not see that it would be a breach of good faith if these admissions, and this agreement could be thus set aside? The affairs of life could not be carried on with safety unless such conduct could be relied on with perfect certainty. It would doubtless be more prudent, better in every respect, if the parties in such cases executed deeds to perfect their intentions, but men—especially in these remote situations do not generally conduct their business with a legal adviser at their side, and though in such matters technical and legal difficulties may interfere to defeat their arrangements, the law will generally be found subservient to justice as I think it is here."

In *Freeman vs Morton* in the same volume at p. 340 will be found a thorough discussion of the rights of tenants in Common—in itself a valuable treatise on that very important branch of the law.

*Hill vs Fraser*, in the same book, p. 294, presents an admirable opinion on the right of a contractor to damages, where a false, though *bona fide* representation had been made to the contractor. "The plan," he says, "does as has been already stated most certainly exhibit and represent that beneath the water there was a substratum into which the piles could be driven, and the specification required that the work should be performed by driving piles into this substratum, and the contract was made to carry out this work. The existence of this substratum is thus an essential ingredient of it,—without it not only would the contract not have been made but the work could not have been done, and the Crown would have stipulated for an impracticable, and impossible performance. Now I must confess that under such a contract, I incline to the opinion that there is an implied warranty on the part of the Crown that such a substratum was there. I must not be understood to say that any mere representation made *bona fide* by one party to another by which he has been induced to enter into a contract can amount to a warranty, for that would be holding that misrepresentation without fraud would give a right of action in the very face of the authorities. I have cited to the contrary. But the distinction appears to me to be between the representation which precedes, and induces the contract and the representation embodied and forming part of the contract itself. And I cannot but think that whatever is represented by one party in a contract of so essential a nature that the very contract if founded upon it, and cannot be carried into effect without it, amounts to a warranty of the matter as represented, and this appears to me to be the case under the first agreement."

I might continue to cite passages from many other of his judgments, but this is wholly unnecessary. These examples



have been given to show their general character, and to enable us to appreciate the clear logical mind which enabled him to express his views on any subject he had under consideration. The choice language, and high tone which permeates all his deliverances on important matters under adjudication is especially noticeable.

From a note of the reporter in 2 Oldright, 179, it appears that Judge Bliss was absent from illness during the whole Michaelmas Term, 1865, and so far as I can ascertain he never was present in the full Court after that date—certainly there are no further decisions of his to be found. I have heard it stated that he presided at the October Term of 1866 at Windsor, and if so that must have been the last occasion on which he went on circuit. Ill health compelled him at this time to give up all active work in the Courts. In 1869 he resigned his seat on the Bench after thirty-four years service, which caused general regret throughout the Province. The feelings of the Bar on this occasion are eloquently expressed in an address presented to him with the accompanying remarks of the Attorney-General at that time Martin I. Wilkins.

### **Presentation of address to Judge Bliss.**

At 1 1-2 o'clock today the Committee appointed to present the address of the members of the Bar to Mr. Justice Bliss attended at his residence where they were received by the Judge, Mrs. Bliss, their daughters Mrs. Odell, Mrs. Binney, and Miss Bliss and his granddaughter Miss Odell. Mr. Odell and the Rev. Mr. Bliss, his son -in-law, were also present.

The Committee, attended by many of the barristers, were received in the drawing room.

The Attorney General addressed the worthy Judge as follows:

“Mr. Justice Bliss:

We have been commissioned by the members of the Bar resident in this city to beg the favor of your acceptance, on

your retirement from the Bench, of an address expressive of their high opinion of your merits as a Judge of the Supreme Court, in which you presided for a great many years with distinguished credit to yourself, benefit to the province, and honor to the profession.

It will afford you gratification to be informed that this testimonial of respect has been signed by every member of the profession in Halifax, without a solitary exception, and that several gentlemen who are absent on the circuits have made use of the telegraph to request that their names might be added to the address, which has been attended to.

I now beg permission to read this address which has been dictated by a steady regard to the truth, and is entirely free from every taint of flattery or exaggeration.

To the Honorable William B. Bliss, etc.

We, the Attorney General, Queen's Counsel, and other members of the legal Profession, resident in the city of Halifax, would have taken an earlier opportunity of addressing you had there been any official announcement of your retirement from the Bench of the Supreme Court, where you presided for upwards of thirty-four years, with the most exemplary judicial integrity.

Your resignation is viewed by the profession and all who are capable of forming a just estimate of your eminent qualifications for the administration of justice, as a serious public misfortune.

We have great pleasure in testifying that you invariably discharged the duties of a Judge with enlightened ability, and untiring industry, and, while your conduct on the bench was always characterized by the strictest impartiality, as regards the suitors in court, your bearing towards the members of the bar was distinguished for dignity and courtesy, and you deservedly enjoyed the confidence, respect and esteem of the Profession.

You may rest assured that we have witnessed your retirement as a consequence of the infirmity of your bodily health, while your intellectual powers are entirely unimpaired, with cordial sympathy and unfeigned regret, and that on your return to private life you carry with you our best wishes for your present and future happiness.

After reading the address the Attorney-General proceeded:

I have but to add, Sir, that I deem it a very great privilege and honor to be in a position to deliver into your hands, in the presence of these witnesses, this valuable instrument, which has been executed with singular unanimity by a body of gentlemen who have enjoyed the best opportunity of estimating your merits as a public magistrate, and I am satisfied that this demonstration of their admiration of your public conduct will afford, in your retirement, the most soothing and agreeable conviction that you have descended from a lofty public station, which you adorned with every virtue, into the ranks of private life with not merely an unsullied but a remarkably brilliant reputation.

The following is the reply of Judge Bliss:

Mr. Attorney-General, and Gentlemen:

I thank you most sincerely for your kind and affectionate address. I value it, believe me, very highly.

It was in the presence of the Metropolitan Bar that my official life was chiefly spent; you have thus become familiarly acquainted with its character, and with the manner in which its duties have been discharged. To have obtained then from those so competent to judge and so interested in the matter, such a testimony to my services and conduct, with the generous expression of their regret on my retirement, may well fill me with an honest pride.

I was indeed already aware of your good will and disposition—though I could never have anticipated so marked and

gratifying a proof of your regard—for on the Bench I have invariably experienced from you and the whole Bar the utmost courtesy and kindness, which I take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging.

And yet when I turn back to my past career I see in it many shortcomings and failings—to give them no other name—which even indulgent self love cannot overlook, though you have been good enough to forget them in the flattering language of your address.

Many changes have taken place since I became a Judge; some have thrown a dark shadow around me. I have seen every one of my early associates on the Bench, with whom I have lived in the closest intimacy, pass away—and many valued friends from among yourselves removed by death. I may also remark as another result of my extended term of office, that not a few are now in practice who were not born when I first occupied a seat on the Bench.

It was, however, time for me to retire. Infirmities increasing with increasing age and broken health, had rendered me unequal to the labors of my office: and much as I loved my profession, and reluctant as I was to leave it, a sense of duty demanded that I should make way for some other better qualified to fill my place. Could I have accomplished it, my retirement would have taken place some years earlier.

And now, gentlemen, with renewed thanks for your parting kindness, your good opinion and good wishes, I take a final and affectionate leave of the profession in whose welfare I shall never cease to feel a lively interest. For yourselves, I wish you individually every happiness and success, and for the profession to which we belong I add my earnest hope that it may still be ever distinguished for learning, talents, and integrity.

Thus terminates the judicial career of William Blowers Bliss amidst the genuine regret of the people, and more especi-

ally of the profession amongst whom he had faithfully laboured for so many years, whose respect, and affection he had so fully retained. Time has amply justified the high encomiums passed on him as a man and as a Judge—His works speak for themselves.

It now remains briefly to refer to another side of his life—his scholarly tastes, and attainments. Educated at King's College he became a ripe, and excellent classical scholar. This may be seen everywhere in his reported decisions which are models of diction and apt language for conveying his meaning. He was a lover of the poets, and at one time delivered a series of lectures on the early English bards. So imbued was he with classical lore, that he translated into English verse printed only for private circulation some of the most beautiful odes of Catullus, Horace, and Ovid. These translations he tells us in a short preface were principally made after his retirement to fill in his leisure time. I am permitted to give one or two extracts from this little volume which must fill us with admiration of his elegant taste and accurate classical scholarship.

The first is a translation from the Roman poet Catullus entitled "Sacrifices at a brother's Tomb."

"Through many a land, o'er many a sea I come  
To sacrifice, dear brother, at thy tomb.  
With these last rites to drop the unheeded tear,  
And call that name, thou canst no longer hear  
But oh my brother since by fate's decree  
Alas too early thou was torn from me,  
Accept this offering to thy honored shade  
By custom sanctioned, by affection paid,  
And while these frequent tears, my sorrows tell,  
Take, dearest brother, this my last farewell."

In a different vein is this translation of a Nuptial Song of Catullus—

To the new made bridegroom's home  
Bids its willing mistress come

Love possessing all her mind  
 Love with every thought entwined  
 Round the elm trees wandering  
 As the clasping ivies cling.

Ye too—spotless virgins—ye  
 Fair, and lovely who shall all  
 Your own bridal day ere long  
 Join with us the measured song  
 Hymen—hasten, Hymen thou  
 Guardian of the nuptial vow.

Pleased your summons to attend  
 Hither he his course shall bend  
 He who heart to heart unites  
 Source of purest love's delights  
 He whose smiles alone can shed  
 Blessings on the Nuptial bed.

Mighty God of wedded love!  
 To what other power above  
 Should so apt the lover raise  
 Votive Prayer, and song of praise  
 Half so frequent at whose shrine  
 Bends the votary as at thine."

These are but two specimens out of many others taken from this little volume, but they are sufficient to convey to us the cultured taste and refined scholarship of the author—It is often difficult, as any classical scholar knows, to render into good English prose some of the most touching and beautiful odes of the Roman poets, but to turn them into good English verse requires the imagination of a poet and a thorough mastery of the language of the original.

Judge Bliss survived for five years after his retirement from the Bench. His health did not improve, and I cannot find that he took any part in public affairs thereafter. He probably felt what all men feel who have led an active, and

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**"Fort Massey."**  
**RESIDENCE OF HON. W. B. BLISS.**  
(View from the Garden)





busy life, the weariness of having nothing to do. During the summer months while on the Bench, and probably afterwards he enjoyed his country residence at Windsor where in its lovely surroundings he could find many mementos of his College life.

Judge Bliss principally resided in Halifax where he was a valued and prominent member of society due to his high position, and his pure and elevated character. He was a devoted member of the Church of England, and was one of the first contributors to the beautiful Cathedral so recently constructed. He gave the land for the purpose on which it was at first proposed to build it. His wife was a Miss Anderson by whom he had seven children—three sons and four daughters—One of the daughters was married to the late Bishop Binney another to the late Senator Odell, and the third to Bishop Kelly of Newfoundland, the fourth died young.

He died at Halifax in March 16th, 1874, at the ripe age of seventy-nine. I cannot better conclude this brief and imperfect memoir than by giving in full the resolutions of the Bar Society, and of the House of Assembly of the Province, which in glowing, and truthful language set forth his merits, and the estimation in which he was held by those who lived at the time, and knew him best.\*

At a special meeting of the Bar, held at the law library on Tuesday, the 17th March, 1874, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1. That this meeting desires to express its regret at the demise of the late lamented Judge Bliss and its appreciation of his distinguished services to the profession and to the public at large. He had for the last five years retired from the active duties of life, but his long and brilliant career marked by the skill of the accomplished advocate and the integrity and impartiality of the able judge cannot be readily forgotten.

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\*The *British Colonist*, Halifax, of March 17, 1874, also gives an interesting obituary notice of Judge Bliss.

Educated for his profession in Nova Scotia, called to the bar in England, practising successfully as a barrister in this province for years and then elevated to the Bench at a comparatively early age, he was able to bring to the discharge of its duties a vigorous intellect, fitly trained to perform the important functions of his high office.

Of his success as a judge the best proofs are to be found in the able decisions which he has given, and which are valued by the profession as the best exponents of the law of the land.

Dying at a ripe old age, he has left behind him a name that will be long remembered and works that will "follow him."

2. That a copy of the foregoing resolution be sent to the widow and family of the deceased Judge, and that as a token of respect the members of the bar do attend his funeral in a body.

Resolutions regarding the death of Judge Bliss.

(Morning Chronicle, March 20, 1874.)

Hon. Attorney-General said he merely rose for the purpose of discharging a duty which was incumbent upon him from the position he occupied. It was always a matter of regret and a subject for sympathy when men of character and integrity who had held high positions at the Bar and the Bench were taken away, men who had reflected credit upon their profession and adorned every station they had occupied. Within a few days he had learned, as the whole country had learned, with regret that Judge Bliss had passed away. There was no one who knew of the high character which Judge Bliss had borne in public and private life but would be ready to give expression to the sentiments contained in the following resolution:

*Resolved*, that the House have heard with deep regret of the death of the Hon. William Blowers Bliss, formerly a member of this House a prominent practicing member of the Bar of

Nova Scotia and for many years one of our leading Judges; upright, honest and talented. This province sustained a great loss when he retired from the Bench.

*Resolved*, that this House will adjourn on Thursday next to attend the funeral in a body, and that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the widow and family of the deceased.

Mr. Blanchard said he had great pleasure in seconding that Resolution. He had had the pleasure since 1842, when he went to the Bar first of practicing before His Honor Judge Bliss; and he could say that if ever Nova Scotia had a Judge of integrity, knowledge and ability that was the man. He was not saying anything about the other Judges but in Judge Bliss there was something above and beyond all he had yet mentioned. He was a Christian and a good man in every sense of the words. To pass and carry out this Resolution was as little as this House could do. Judge Bliss had long been here as a member and had adorned the debates and business of the House with his fine talents and high character. He (Mr. B.) was glad now and then of these oases in the deserts, these rosebushes among thorns, these occasions when all could lay aside their differences and unite to do honor to an able and good man. This was one of them. He knew of no man who had gone to the happy world above whose departure should be more regretted.

Mr. DesBrisay said he had great pleasure in supporting the Resolution which had been moved by the Hon. Attorney-General and seconded by the Hon. leader of the opposition. The good name and fame of Judge Bliss were not confined to Halifax, but was known throughout Nova Scotia. He was a man of rare talent, of finished education, of sterling integrity and of the highest principle. He was indeed what the poet calls "A christian, the highest style of man."

The resolution was then passed unanimously.

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Has 29<sup>th</sup> Sep.  
 This has been a glorious <sup>1853</sup> day for the British arms.  
W. Williams

GENERAL SIR FENWICK WILLIAMS, Bart., (1799-1888.)



NOTES ON  
THOMAS WILLIAMS OF ANNAPOLIS ROYAL.

By JAMES D. RITCHIE.

A few Notes correcting inaccuracies which have been published.

I am writing these notes as I think any information published concerning the old inhabitants of Nova Scotia should be as accurate as possible and as time rolls on it is getting harder in many cases to get the facts.

The life history of Thomas Williams is interesting not only because he was one of the early inhabitants of Annapolis Royal but also because he was the grandfather of Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars, one of Nova Scotia's most noted and illustrious sons.

In Calnek's History of Annapolis County, the writer evidently did not have a number of facts concerning Thomas Williams to refer to. In it, it is stated that Thomas Williams "may have been born in Annapolis." This is merely conjecture as there seems to be no reliable information on this point. He may have been born in the British Isles for there is the fact that as a young man he served in the Austrian Netherlands.

By order of the 3rd and 12th June, 1746, King George II authorized and required that a Train of Artillery should be forthwith provided to attend the Forces ordered to the Austrian Netherlands. In this train, Commanded by Col. Jonathan Lewis, Thomas Williams was appointed "Conductor of Stores" and received the allowance of two shillings and sixpence per diem. This Warrant is dated the 21st day of June, 1746, and is signed by John, Duke of Montagu, who held the office of Master General of the Ordnance, besides other high positions. Thomas Williams' next promotion came in the following year when, under the same order of George II; he was appointed "Clerk of the Stores" to attend said train. This appointment carried an

increase of pay to four shillings per diem. This Warrant is also signed by the Duke of Montagu and is dated the 2nd day of January, 1747. Williams' next appointment or promotion came when he was stationed at Annapolis Royal. He was made "Clerk of the Cheque" at the same rate of pay as he had been receiving as "Clerk of the Stores." This Warrant is dated the 18th day of April, 1750, and is signed by the Rt. Hon. Sir John Ligonier, K. C. B., and the rest of the Principal Officers of His Majesty's Ordnance "by virtue of authority given to them in the absence or vacancy of a Major General of the Ordnance." Shortly after this we find Thomas Williams appointed "Store-keeper" at Annapolis Royal with pay at five shillings per diem. The Warrant is signed by Sir. John Ligonier and others, and is dated the 22nd day of January, 1750. This is evidently an error, and should be 1751 as on the Warrant it states "in the twenty-fourth year of his Majesty's reign." After serving as "Store-keeper" for eleven years Thomas Williams was appointed "Commissary of His Majesty's Stores of War and Provisions" for the garrison of Annapolis Royal. This Warrant was issued at Head-Quarters at New York and signed, by His Excellency Sir Jeffery Amherst, Major-General and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America, on the 10th day of May, 1762. The scale of pay is not mentioned.

Thomas Williams' wife was a daughter of Captain Amhurst. Edward Amhurst Esq., on the 25th day of February, 1748-9 received a Commission as Captain Lieutenant to "that Company in Our Regiment of Foot Commander by our trusty and well beloved Richard Phillipps, Esq., Lieut. General of our Forces". This Regiment of Foot was, I believe, afterwards known as the 40th Regiment.

I note that Capt. Amhurst's and Sir. Jeffery Amherst's names are spelled differently.

The writer in Calnek's History is evidently doubtful as to the date of birth of Sir Fenwick Williams. Among the num-



ber of letters written by Sir Fenwick Williams to my father, the late Mr. Justice J. Norman Ritchie, and now in my possession, is one dated December 4th, 1873. This he commences by saying "I am 73 to-day." This information at first hand puts the date of his birth as December 4th, 1800, and the date of his Baptism must be February 1801, not 1800.

Jas. D. Ritchie.

Halifax, N. S., December 16th, 1912.

In regard to Sir Fenwick's birth-day I had all his correspondence in my hands, and he speaks very often of his birth-day being December 21st but in one letter which is relied upon by those who fix it in December 1800 he undoubtedly makes a mistake of a year in his age, which I have explained in my pamphlet. The date of his baptism as recorded by Mr. Bailey must be correct as to the year. The year date from (1799 to 1800) had just been changed from 1799 to 1800. If he was born December 1800 and the first entry was an error we would expect to see the baptism repeated in February 1801.

A. W. Savary.

December 30th, 1912.

Mr. Ritchie raised a question about the spelling of Major Amherst's name. Burke's General Armory gives the name Amherst or Amhurst. The General of later date was Amherst but I incline to think the father-in-law of Williams spelt it Amhurst. They were probably distant branches of the same family. A copy of Major A's will is expanded on the probate records of Halifax. It is however signed by his mark as he could not write being paralysed. I did not notice particularly how the name was spelt in the will. His autograph may be in the Archives.

A. W. Savary.

Annapolis Royal, April 7th, 1913.

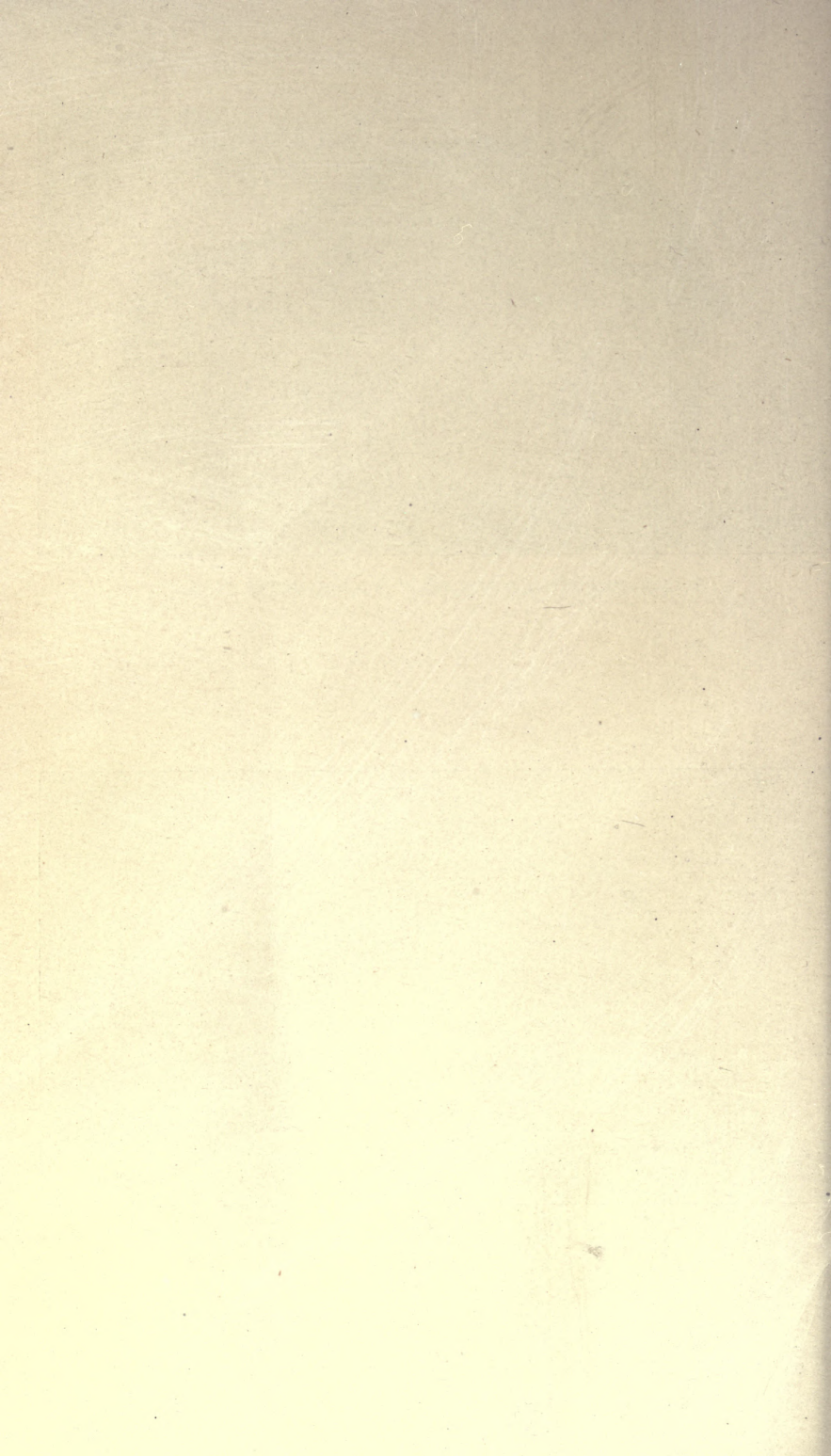
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"THE FLETCHER STONE," YARMOUTH, N. S.



"THE BAY VIEW STONE," YARMOUTH, N. S.



A SHORT NOTE ON  
THE YARMOUTH "RUNIC STONE".

By MOSES H. NICKERSON.

The stone usually referred to as above was discovered nearly a hundred years ago on the western side of Yarmouth Harbor. It is a species of whin, I think, with nothing peculiar about its shape, indicating that it had been changed by man. It weighs probably 150 lbs., and its flatter side measures about eighteen inches long by 7 inches wide. On the side mentioned, is the so called inscription, the characters of which are a little over an inch—vertical measure, for there is no principle of formation common to more than two of them, and they differ radically from all ancient phonetic symbols, which with few exceptions, have a "staff" ground work.—These marks are not deeply cut (if indeed they were made by man), but they are quite distinct.

After Mr. Phillips of Philadelphia, a student of antiquities I believe, had examined the stone, and published his presudo-translation, which gave the curiosity a wide vogue, I went to see the stone, in order to satisfy myself if possible, what truth there might be in Mr. Phillips strange version, for I doubted its accuracy from the first. My examination was made about 20 years ago. I was not then acquainted with the Runes of any era, but have made quite a study of them since. My reason for doubting the suppositious character of the marks, was that the Norse legends of a slightly later origin were written, not in the old Runes, but modified Roman letters, which soon came into use after the Icelanders adopted christianity. Again, it seemed highly improbable that there should be any person on board those Icelandic Galliot's sufficiently instructed to write at all, an accomplishment of which several of the powerful Kings of Northern Europe could not boast, in that age.

After I acquired a knowledge of the Norse runes my suspicions were almost confirmed. To make certain, however, I

resolved to consult the greatest living authority on the subject. To that end, I got a print of the stone and marks from Mr. Vickery, the Yarmouth book-seller, and submitted it in person to my friend, Dr. Leach, instructor in Scandinavian, at Cambridge Mass, with whom I had formerly been talking about the "Vinland Voyages." Along with it, I handed him a note of my own, showing what I conceived should be the runic signs of that period 1007 A. D. Dr. Leach showed both of those papers to Prof. Magnus Olsen, of Christiania, Norway, who is deeply read in runics, and whose word thereon is final. In a short time his answer came, returning my note, enclosed. He wrote:

"Tegnene paa denne Afbildning er ikke Runer, og har som Mr, Nickerson, i den medsendte Notits antyder yderst liden Lighed med Runer. De gjør paa mig Antryck af at vaere Naturspil, og jeg wilde derfor tilraade at "Runestenen" blev undersgöt af en Geolog."

Which I translate:

"The marks on this "copy" are not runes; and as Mr. Nickerson, in his enclosed note points out, they have very little likeness to runes. They strike me as being a freak of nature, and would therefore advise that the "Runic (?) Stone be examined by a geologist."

This seems to settle the matter so far as anything Norse is concerned. A closer scrutiny might yet lead to a decision as to whether the marks are natural or artificial. I am not aware that anything is being done in that direction. Meantime the stone is in the Public Library at Yarmouth and it might possibly be procured for the Museum at Halifax. I will bear it in mind, and make enquiry there at the first opportunity.

## Remarks on the Fletcher and Related Stones of Yarmouth, N. S.

By HARRY PIERS, Curator of the Provincial Museum.

The so-called "Fletcher Stone," which has been the cause of much speculation, was discovered about 1812 by Dr. Richard Fletcher, a retired army surgeon, who had settled at Yarmouth in 1809 and died in 1819. It was found close to the shore on a point of land which runs out between the outlet of Chegoggin Flats (Salt Pond) and the head of Yarmouth Harbor, on the western side of the latter. It is said to measure about 31x20x13 inches, and to weigh about 400 pounds. It soon attracted attention, and remained near Fletcher's house for some sixty years, when it was transported to the east side of the harbor. This was doubtless at the time that Dr. Henry S. Poole, then Inspector of Mines, obtained it to have it forwarded to the Provincial Museum at Halifax, but by some error it was not shipped from Yarmouth. Subsequently it passed to Samuel N. Ryerson of Yarmouth.

Sir Daniel Wilson in 1865 refers to it briefly in his "Prehistoric Man." It was brought very prominently into notice in 1884, when Henry Phillips, Jr., wrote a paper dealing with it, in which he claims that the inscription is a Runic one, and even goes so far as to translate it as "Hako's son addressed the men." This Hako he identifies as one of Karlsefne's expedition of 1007. (See Proc. Amer. Phil. Society, *xxi*, 1884, p. 491). Phillips's theory was at the time generally accepted, and is still believed in by the less-informed public. Brown in his "Yarmouth" (1889) follows and supports Phillips.

The theory that the inscription is a Runic one, was apparently first shattered by Sir Daniel Wilson, who in a monograph on "The Vinland of the Northmen," published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1890

(sect. 2, pp. 116-120), deals with the stone at considerable length, and states that the supposed inscription does not agree with Runic ones, nor is it a variation of the characters of the Scandinavian futhork. Mr. Nickerson's paper now makes this conclusive.

Furthermore, K. G. T. Webster failed to identify Yarmouth with the description of the places visited during Karlsefne's voyage, and after reviewing the various claims made, that it was an Indian, a Phoenician, a Norse, or a French inscription, and discarding all, comes to the somewhat unwilling conclusion that we must of necessity decide that it was made by the later English, either for amusement or for fraudulent purposes, "for it was not made without hands." (See Trans. N. S., Inst. Sc., VIII, 1892, pp. 208-214). R. B. Brown, in the same publication, pp. xxxvi, records further particulars about the stone, but adds nothing of value as to an interpretation.

Strange to say a second, and very similarly inscribed stone was found sometime between 1895 and the early part of 1896, (McLeod would lead us to infer about 1898), at Bay View Park, directly opposite to the town of Yarmouth. While the grounds at that resort were being put into order in 1912, it was thoughtlessly placed in a stone-wall by the workmen. The proprietor, Mr. Drew, will however be glad to have it taken out at anytime for examination.

From half-tone cuts of the two stones, furnished me by J. M. Lawson of "The Yarmouth Herald," I find that the "inscriptions" on the two stones agree in about a dozen characters as to sequence and form, but the Bay View specimen has three additional characters below or above, according to the attitude of the stone.

The authority to whom Mr. Nickerson had referred the "inscription," suggests that perhaps it is a natural formation; an explanation, I believe, that has hitherto never been suggested. This leads one to make conjectures. The Fletcher



Stone is of quartzite, broken off a larger boulder on the plane surface of a very thin vein of quartz, and it had been noted that the supposed inscribing instrument had "barely penetrated the layer of quartz" (Dr. G. J. Farish, quoted by Wilson, 1890). The Bay View specimen has a similar flat surface where the characters are, but whether in quartzose material or not I do not know. We are therefore tempted to hazard the suggestion, although we have not seen the stones, that the so-called inscriptions possibly may be merely casts left by the weathering-out of prismatic crystals of tourmaline or some such mineral, which is frequently found penetrating quartz veins where there have been granitic intrusions. The stone should most certainly be examined by a geologist or mineralogist to ascertain if this is the case. If the marks were formed by tourmaline crystals, the casts of the characteristic striations should still be visible in the quartz, even though they had been cleaned out by a spike as has been reported.

One thing that is very much against this explanation, supposing both stones to be genuine, is that the first part of the "inscription" on the Bay View specimen (as shown in the engraving before me) is, as has been stated, like that on the Fletcher stone; which would be an almost impossible coincidence if they are natural forms. Had the two stones, on the other hand, been originally one, and the markings mineralogical in origin, then the one would be a reversed reproduction of the other, which is not the case according to the reproductions. Of course in making these remarks I am depending on the supposed accuracy of the half-tone cuts, as I have had no opportunity of examining the originals. It would seem a great pity that one at least of the stones is not in the Provincial Museum, where it could be preserved and easily accessible for examination.

It may be mentioned as of importance that T. B. Flint of Yarmouth, in a letter read before the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, on 5th February, 1880, states

that on an island near the mouth of the Tusket River there are also two very large stones with inscriptions in similar characters. "The spot," he states, "was very difficult of access by land, but not by water, although it is not in any frequented route." These are doubtless the large stones on the Chebogue River, to the east of Yarmouth referred to by R. B. Brown, (Trans. N. S. Inst. Sc., VII, p. xxxvii).

Those who desire to investigate the literature on the subject, may consult the following articles:—

- 1865.. Wilson (Daniel, LL. D.). Prehistoric Man., Lond., 1865; p. 412. [Very brief reference to the "inscription," founded on a fac-simile received in 1857 from Dr. G. J. Farishj.]
- 1880.—Flint (T. B.). [Letter on the subject of the Fletcher Stone]. Proc. Numismatic and Antiq. Soc. of Phil., for 5 Feb., 1880.
- 1884.—Phillips (Henry, Jr). On a Supposed Runic Inscription at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. (Read 2 May, 1884). Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc., Phila.; vol. XXI, pp. 491-2, with cut of inscription, p. 490.
- 1884.—Runic Inscription near Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. Yarmouth Herald, Yarmouth, 23 July, 1884. [Reprint of Phillips's article with cut, and a few additional items of information. Also reprints as a broadsheetj.]
- 1889.—Brown (George S.). Yarmouth, N. S., a sequel to Campbell's History. Bost., 1889; pp. 17-24. [Accepts and supports Phillips's theory.]
- 1890.—Wilson (Sir Daniel). The Vinland of the Northmen. (Read 27 May, 1890). Proc. Roy. Soc. Canada; VIII (1890), sec. 2, pp. 116-120, with cut (sec. 2, pl. 1). [States that the inscription is not a Runic one, and gives many interesting particulars of the Fletcher stone].
- 1890.—[Article on the Fletcher stone]. Herald, New York, 27 July, 1890. [Gives a cut of the glyphs, which it claims were the work of Carian sailors in the Phoenician navy].
- 1892.—Webster (K. G. T.). The Fletcher Stone. (Read 11 Jan., 1892). Trans. N. S. Inst. Sc., VIII, pp. 208-214. [A good general critical examination of claims made for the stone. Considers that it can only be the work of modern man].
- 1892.—Brown (R. B.). Letter in reference to the Fletcher Stone and other inscribed stones in Yarmouth Co., N. S. (Read 11 Jan., 1892). Proc. N. S. Inst. Sc., VIII, pp. xxxvi-xxxviii. [Particulars of the stone since its discovery, etc.].
- 1903.—McLeod (Robert R.). Markland or Nova Scotia. [Chicago], 1903; pp. 154-155. [Speaks of the discovery of a second stone (the Bay View one) "only four years ago."]

One may also consult Hon. L. G. Power's "Vinland" (read 14 Jan., 1887), in the Collections N. S. Hist. Soc., VII (1891), pp. 17-43, which treats of the old Norse voyageurs.

Halifax, N. S., 5th June, 1913.

(The above paper was written at my suggestion in order to place all the facts obtainable before our members.

W. J. Armitage, President.

## THE FENWICK FAMILY IN NOVA SCOTIA.

By COLONEL G. C. FENWICK, Indian Army (Retired.)

Memoranda relative to the connection of members of the Fenwick family with Nova Scotia.

Robert Fenwick only surviving son of John Fenwick, Captain Royal Navy, and Elizabeth Howard his wife, was born in London, England, on the 9th October, 1740. He was entered at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, on 1st April, 1757, became a fireworker (lowest grade of Commissioned rank in the Royal Regiment at that period) 8th June, 1757, and received his Commission as 2nd Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery, 27th February, 1761. The year following finds him at Halifax, N. S., from whence he was moved to Annapolis Royal, N. S., where he served from October, 1758, to August, 1766, again returning to Halifax, N. S., remaining there till May, 1767. The History of the Royal Artillery states Robert Fenwick took an active part in the siege batteries at Louisburg. The date of capture of this place being 27th July, 1758, and the force which, sent out from England under Major-General Amherst rendezvoused at Halifax, N. S., and left there 28th May, 1758, arrived before Louisburg 2nd June, 1758, and joined the fleet under Admiral Boscawen. This makes it probable Robert Fenwick accompanied the force from England returning after the siege to Halifax and from thence going to Annapolis. During the period of his stay at Annapolis Royal, according to family tradition he saw much service against the French in Canada being present amongst other affairs, at the Battle and taking of Quebec by General Wolfe, 13th September, 1759, and is said to have been close to the hero when he fell on the heights of Abraham.

While stationed at Annapolis Royal Robert Fenwick married on the 2nd January, 1764, Ann daughter of Major Erasmus James Phillips, 40th Foot, by his marriage with Ann daughter

of John Dyson. This Major E. J. Phillips is well known as the Lieut-Governor of the colony under his uncle Sir Richard Phillips who was a Lieutenant-General in the Army and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Ann Phillips was born at Annapolis, date unknown. She had a brother John also born at Annapolis, 30th April, 1741, and became a Lieutenant in the 35th Foot, dying in New York in 1776. Their sister Elizabeth, born at Annapolis, date not known, married Horatio Gates, a godson of the great statesman Horace Walpole. This Horatio Gates threw in his lot with the rebel colonists and commanded the army which defeated General Burgoyne at the battle of Saratoga, 17th October, 1777, being himself in turn defeated by Lord Cornwallis at Camden in South Carolina, 16th August, 1780, the two-brothers-in-law Horatio Gates and Robert Fenwick were thus opponents in arms though correspondence shows intimate friends to the last.

Robert Fenwick who was promoted First Lieutenant 1st May, 1765, was next stationed at Woolwich from June, 1767, to June, 1772, and at Chatham July 1772 to May 1773, returning to Halifax, N. S., in June, 1773 remaining there till June, 1774, thence he proceeded to Castle William. On 1st January, 1771, he was promoted Captain-Lieutenant. He was at Boston Common, from August, 1774, to July, 1775, and at Boston till March 1776. This period covers that of the battle of Bunker's Hill, fought June 17th, 1775. We next find him again at Halifax, N. S., from April to July 1776, from whence he proceeded to Stratton Island in August, 1776, and from then on served in the American War of Independence till his death in New York on the 23rd May, 1779.

The following has been kindly furnished by Mr. Robert H. Kelby, the Librarian of the New York Historical Society from the Society's papers for 1870, page 299.

From the "New York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury Monday, 31st May, 1799."

“New York May 31st. Sunday the 23rd inst: departed  
 “this life after a short illness, Robert Fenwick, Esq., Captain  
 “in the Royal Regiment of Artillery and Bridge Master of the  
 “Army in America.”

“The many excellent qualities which were united in this  
 “gentleman secured him the general respect of all who enjoyed  
 “the pleasure of his acquaintance. In his public life he stood  
 “distinguished by the greatest attention and abilities: whilst  
 “his private walk in life was adorned with every social and do-  
 “mestic virtue. He lived universally enteed and died most  
 “sincerely lamented.”

“The remains attended by the Brigade of Artillery and by  
 “the Officers of the Garrison were deposited in the vault in  
 “Trinity Churchyard on Monday evening with every military  
 “honor due to the memory of a character so truly respectable.”

Mrs. Ann Fenwick died at Woolwich, Kent, England, 11th  
 October, 1785.

Of the union of Robert and Ann Fenwick were born Robert  
 George, at Annapolis Royal, N.S., 2nd October, 1765, became a  
 Lieutenant in the 16th Foot and died in Ireland in 1788. William  
 at Halifax, N. S., 12th January, 1767, of whom more hereafter.  
 Thomas Howard at Plumstead in England joined the Royal  
 Artillery, served with distinction under H. R. H. the Duke of  
 York in the war in Holland against the French Republicans in  
 1792-3-4. Appointed to the Royal Horse Artillery on the for-  
 mation of that branch of the service in 1794. Died at Woolwich,  
 England, in 1797.

Benjamin at Barbadoes, I. W., 23rd November, 1769, of  
 whom more hereafter.

John Phillips, at Barbadoes W. I., December, 1771 joined  
 the Royal Navy, served in H. M. S. Pandora sent in search of  
 the mutineers of the “Bounty” and wrecked 28th August, 1791.  
 Died after the long voyage in open boats from privation and ex-  
 posure on reaching the Isle of Timur, 17th January, 1792.

William Fenwick the second son as above was a cadet at the R. M. A. Woolwich from 30th May, 1781. Commissioned 2nd Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery, 23rd August, 1787, transferred to the Royal Engineers, 12th July, 1788. From correspondence in family possession he was in Nova Scotia in 1792-3 looking after property apparently belonging originally to his mother which brought him into daily contact with the resident families the Winnietts, Walkers, etc., and on 26th December, 1794 he married at Annapolis, Ann, the daughter of Thomas Walker by the latter's marriage with Margaret daughter of John Dyson. As Ann Walker and Maria who married Thomas Williams were sisters, the future Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars became nephew to William Fenwick, to whom he owed much of his education and putting out in life. A paper we have, shows the schoolmaster at Woolwich of Fenwick Williams looked to received payment for the lad's teaching from Mrs. Ann Fenwick nee Walker.

William Fenwick rose to the rank of Colonel and was Commanding Royal Engineer at Portsmouth at his death in Paris, France, 6th February, 1817.

His daughter Augustus Julie Fenwick, born 2nd April, 1799, married 9th August, 1828, William Winniett, a member of the Nova Scotian family of that name, and Captain Royal Navy, Governor of Cape Coast Castle, Knighted for his defeat of King of Dahomey. He died at Ramsgate Kent in 1865.

Benjamin Fenwick, the fourth son as above, joined the R. M. A. Woolwich 16th October, 1793. Commissioned 2nd Lieutenant Royal Artillery in June 1794. Was present at the taking of the Cape of Good Hope in 1795 and married there on the 14th September, 1800, Maria Carolina daughter of the Rev. Petrus van der Spûy. After serving in many stations he was sent to Halifax, N. S., in October, 1804, and died there on 15th June, 1813, having been promoted Major in the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

From the above marriage were born Robert George at Cape of Good Hope 11th August, 1801, entered the Royal Engineers attained the rank of Captain in the Corps and died at Bermuda in 1843.

Horatio Gates, at Halifax, N.S., 9th October, 1805, named after the American General, entered the 86th County Down Regt. attained the rank of Major and died in 1865.

Charles Hare, at Halifax, N. S., 18th January, 1807, died young. James Henry Phillott, at Halifax, N. S., 29th March, 1808, entered the 13th P. A. L. I., 25th October, 1827 served with distinction with that Corps throughout the Affghan War, 1839-42; received Brevet Majority for the defence of Jellalabad; died at Belfast in 1849. Charlotte Arhilda, at Halifax, 26th November, 1809, died in 1891. George Howard, at Halifax, 6th June, 1811, died in 1885. Elizabeth, at Halifax, 1st November, 1812, died in 1843.

The compiler of the above is the second and only surviving son of Major James Henry Phillot Fenwick by his marriage with Louisa Susanna Bridge Sheridan, daughter of Mark Sheridan, Esq., 13 P. A. L. I. (now Somersetshire, L. I.)

G. C. Fenwick, Colonel,

Indian Army, (Retired).

The first of these is the fact that the  
 government has been unable to raise  
 the necessary funds to meet its  
 obligations. This is due to a  
 combination of factors, including  
 the high cost of borrowing and  
 the low level of tax revenue.  
 The second major problem is the  
 inflationary pressure which has  
 built up over the years. This has  
 led to a steady increase in the  
 price level, which has eroded the  
 purchasing power of the money  
 supply. The third problem is the  
 balance of payments deficit, which  
 has forced the government to  
 borrow from abroad. This has  
 led to a steady increase in the  
 foreign debt, which is now  
 becoming a major burden on the  
 economy.

The government has tried to  
 address these problems in a number  
 of ways. It has raised taxes and  
 cut spending, but these measures  
 have not been sufficient to  
 bring the budget into balance.  
 It has also tried to control  
 inflation by increasing interest  
 rates and reducing the money  
 supply. However, these measures  
 have had a negative impact on  
 the economy, leading to a  
 recession and a rise in  
 unemployment.

The government is now facing  
 a difficult choice. It must  
 either continue to borrow from  
 abroad, which will only delay  
 the inevitable, or it must  
 implement more radical measures  
 to reduce its debt and control  
 inflation. The latter option  
 is the more difficult one, as it  
 requires a significant reduction  
 in government spending and a  
 restructuring of the economy.  
 However, it is the only way to  
 ensure the long-term stability  
 and growth of the country.





**H. R. H. EDWARD, THE DUKE OF KENT,**  
**Commanding this District.**  
(From an Engraving by Thompson, 1820.)



## THE MILITIA OF NOVA SCOTIA, 1749-1867.

By JOSEPH PLIMSOLL EDWARDS, Londonderry, N. S.

(Read Jan. 1908 and Nov. 1911.)

The organization of measures of defence, however primitive they may be, is one of the first symptoms of national life in the history of any civilized community in which freedom is valued, and expansion hoped for. Without the power to maintain such freedom, its members, crushed and oppressed in body and spirit, sink into the condition of serfs, their vigour and manliness lost, their aims and aspirations contracted to the narrowest sphere, and their hopes for national or even local development dreams which in all probability can never be realized. In the words of a modern writer "The obligation of national defence is the "first obligation of a nation, for it is necessary to the existence "of a nation. Without the fulfilment of this obligation, a "State cannot exist even in the most imperfect form. A "State which uses no means of defending itself would soon be "blotted out of the map by the pressure of surrounding States."

Another writer says "No state is under obligation to commit "suicide or to suffer itself to be overrun by invasion and conquest, and trampled out of existence by unscrupulous and lawless force, so long as it can resist and repel this violence." "Another, "Let us ever remember that a nation can never keep "its freedom, unless ready to maintain it at any time, and that "for its own security it must make use of those means which "Providence has placed at its disposal." These statements are hard facts, and could be endlessly amplified; they are applicable to all countries, regardless of age, of strength and of prestige. If pertinent to the well-being of the settled and more-or-less wealthy States of this century, how much more closely do they come home to the infant colony of Nova Scotia

as it struggled into life nearly two centuries ago. Let us glance briefly at our province as it was before Halifax came into being.

On the 2nd of October, 1710—a red letter day in Nova Scotian records—a picturesque and history-making scene was enacted in and about the old French fort at Port Royal, when Governor de Subercase and his garrison marched out with drums beating and colours flying, and Colonel Francis Nicholson took possession in the name of Her Britannic Majesty Queen Anne. No retrocession followed as in the case of Louisbourg a few years later; and in spite of almost constant attack and trouble during the next forty years, in spite of gross neglect and mis-government, the foothold was maintained, and Acadia became nominally a British province. In 1748 the district could be roughly described as comprising all the mainland of Nova Scotia, and all of what is now New Brunswick but with boundaries vague and undefined. In this vast region there were but two feeble English settlements—one at Annapolis Royal—one at Canso; and a few scattered French hamlets in the western part of the peninsula. Indians and French half-breeds—"couriers de bois" roamed through the woods intent on massacre and plunder; and any English speaking person who ventured out of the narrow limits of the settlements carried his life in his hands.

With the incoming colonists thus in constant danger of violent death or cruel captivity—it is not to be wondered at that when the new era of government recognition began in the establishment of the town of Halifax, one of the first steps was the organization of the settlers into a militia. During the earlier period (1710-48) such a force seems to have been nominally formed at Canso, as the provincial records show the appointment of a certain John Henshaw and John Richards to be captains of companies of militia there. Nothing is known of the organization of these companies, and one can only conjecture that they were formed among the traders and fishermen of Canso and vicinity for the purpose of defending that settle-

ment and their homes from the occasional forays of French and Indian raiders. Governor Cornwallis landed on 21st June, 1749; and it may be of interest to note how comprehensive—almost despotic in fact—were his instructions from the British government as to the formation of a militia for the new province. Clause 24 of the King's Commission to him reads

“And we do hereby give and grant unto you the said Edward Cornwallis, by yourself or by your Captains and Commanders by yourself to be authorized, full power and authority to levy, arm, muster, command and employ all persons whatsoever residing within our said Province, and as occasion shall serve to march from one place to another, or to embark them for the resisting and withstanding of all enemies, pirates and rebels, both at land and sea, and to transport such forces to any of our Plantations in America, if necessity shall require for the defence of the same against the invasion or attempt of any of our enemies, and such enemies, pirates and rebels, if there shall be occasion to pursue and prosecute in or out of the limits of our said Province and Plantation, or any of them, and if it shall so please God, to vanquish and apprehend and take them, and being taken according to law, to put to death or keep and preserve them alive at your discretion, and to execute martial law at time of invasion, or other times when by law it may be executed, and to do and execute all and every other thing, or things, which our Captain General and Governor-in-Chief doth or ought to belong.”

As soon as the plan of the town had been completed, and the building lots marked out and assigned to the settlers, the paramount question of defence came up, and fortifications (necessarily of a more or less rough and tentative nature) were begun. The garrison of regular troops was woefully small, consisting only of one company each of Hopson's (the 29th) regiment, and Warburton's (the 45th); this little force was supplemented by a body of about 60 Indian Rangers under command of Capt. Goreham, recruited in the New England colonies. The Indians who infested the outskirts of the

settlement began to get bolder as winter approached, pleased no doubt at the thought of the many scalps and prisoners which might become their prey, and relying on the inexperience of the settlers, the small military force, and the impunity with which they had been allowed to lay waste the country during the preceding 35 or 40 years. Several parties were waylaid, stragglers were cut off, and the horrors of a border war were beginning to be in evidence.

An immediate increase in the military strength of the colony, both for defence and offence, was essential, and little time was lost in getting such an organization into shape for action. Defensive works were increased and strengthened, two independent companies of Rangers—accustomed to the woods and to Indian warfare—were raised, and the organization of a militia force in a somewhat rough form was decided on by the Council.

On Sunday, the 10th of December, 1749, after divine service, all the male settlers between 16 and 60 years of age were assembled on the Parade (then a rough and unlevelled field,) and the Militia of Nova Scotia thus practically came into existence. There was little or no pomp or ceremony; it was mainly in the nature of a muster of the men of the settlement, to see who were available for duty, and what conditions existed as to arms, accoutrements and clothing. The following officers were gazetted in the sole official record of that day—the Order Book of the Governor and Council.

**Captains:**—John Galland, Wm. Foy, Alex. Callendar, John Kent, Gregory Berners (or Ewers), John Heete, Robt. Campbell, Wm.. Brown, John Collier, John Creighton, David Haldane.

**Lieutenants:**—Henry Windale, Wm. Shaw, Thos. Hancock Thos. Jenkins, Thos. Lewis, Robt. Reeves, Thos. Harison, Henry Scomberg,—Deschamps. Thos. Saul, Henry Wilkins, —Collingwood,—Hoar.

**2nd Lieutenants:**—Messrs. Purdy, Willis, Ford, Scrudger, Catherwood, Reynolds, Hadley, Gerrish, and Kerr.

A similar gathering of the newly-born force was held on the following Sunday, and the men ordered to fell the trees around the town outside the forts and barricades. The active hostility of the Indians showed no diminution; keen alarm was still felt by all classes, and every effort was made to prepare for emergencies. On the 7th January, several citizens petitioned the Governor and Council to declare martial law; but the authorities wisely thought that the situation was not serious enough for such a drastic measure. Stringent regulations were, however, enacted governing the drill, discipline and duties of the militia; the men were formed into 10 companies of 70 men each (two companies for each Division) with a captain and two subalterns to each; the Artificers were assembled in a separate and distinct company. The whole force amounted nominally to about 840 men. The mainguard of 50 men was mounted every evening near the Parade to do duty until sunrise, with other guards of 20 men from each Division; work on the fortifications and block houses was pushed forward to as great an extent as possible. A penalty of 24 hours imprisonment and a fine of 5 shillings was levied for neglect or refusal to do duty. Every company was ordered to exercise for one hour on Sunday mornings before divine service. Discipline was apparently well maintained, and Sergeant Tate received 20 lashes for violence and insult to his commanding officer, Capt. Calendar. The Governor reported favorably of the behaviour of the officers, but could not commend that of the rank and file.

It may here be noted that according to so eminent an authority as the late Dr. T. B. Akins, the Grand Parade was not originally intended as a drill ground for the King's troops, nor had it ever been claimed by the military authorities, but was intended from the first as a place of muster for the militia, although the garrison used it also for guard-mounting. It would seem probable, however, that it was originally intended for any and all military purposes.

In November and December of this year (1750) the following officers were appointed to the Dartmouth militia; the town across the harbour was then a tiny settlement hemmed in by forest, and at the mercy of the Indians' scalping knife:

Robert Campbell,	to be Captain,
Jos. Scott,	} to be Lieutenants.
Thos. Burke,	
Thos. Leake,	
Josiah Rogerson.	

I mention these and the preceding names as holding the first commissions issued to the militia of the Province.

In June 1751, Albertus S. Strasburgher and John Young were gazetted captains in the militia of the suburbs of Halifax; John Steiford and F. L. Bourgeois, Lieutenants; and Lewis Taquit and George Winslow, Second Lieutenants.

We hear but little of the militia during the next year or two, but undoubtedly it did a fair amount of duty. Indians still infested the outskirts of the town, several settlers were killed, and many taken prisoners; the garrison,—Regulars, Rangers and Militia—was kept on the alert. On the 22nd of March, 1753, the latter force was reorganized by the following order. I will give it in full, as it is important:

### PROCLAMATION.

#### for the forming of a Militia.

*By His Excellency Peregrine Thomas Hopson, Esq., Captain General and Governor in Chief and Vice Admiral of His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, and Colonel of one of His Majesty's Regiments of Foot.*

*In Council.*

*Whereas, I am directed by His Majesty's Royal Instructions to cause a Militia to be established, as well for the Defence of the Lives and Properties of His Majesty's Subjects as the Honour and Security of this his Province.*



I have thought fit, by and with the Advice and Consent of His Majesty's Council, to issue this Proclamation hereby strictly requiring and enjoining All Planters, Inhabitants and their Servants between the ages of sixteen and sixty residing in and belonging to this Town, Suburbs or the Peninsula of Halifax, the Town and Suburbs of Dartmouth and the parts adjacent excepting the Foreign Settlers, as it is intended that they shall be formed at their Out Settlement. That the said Planters and Inhabitants do forthwith provide themselves and Servants with proper and sufficient Fire Arms consisting of a Musket, Gun or Fuzil, not less than three foot long in the barrel, two spare flints, and twelve charges of powder and ball, suitable to their respective Fire Arms, which said Arms and Ammunition the said Planters, Inhabitants and their Servants are to have and appear with at such Rendezvous as shall be by Proclamation Appointed at any time on or after the 22nd day of May next, in the year of Our Lord 1753, at which time the said Planters and Inhabitants to be accountable for themselves and servants. And in default of such appearance and provision aforesaid, they will be liable to the penalty of forty shillings to be levied on the goods and chattels of such Offender, or Offenders, by Warrant of Distress and Sale, under the Hand and Seal of any one or more of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Town and County of Halifax, and for want of sufficient Distress such offender or offenders to suffer One Month's Imprisonment and hard labour. Such Warrant to be granted upon information of such Officer, or Officers, as shall be appointed to muster the persons required to appear as aforesaid.

*Done in the Council Chamber at Halifax, this 22nd day of March in the year of Our Lord 1753, and in the 26th year of His Majesty's Reign.*

(Signed). P. T. HOPSON.

*By His Excellency's Command by  
and with the Advice and Con-  
sent of His Majesty's Council.*

(Signed). WM. COTTERELL, *Secy.*

**GOD SAVE THE KING.**

Resolved that an Act be forthwith prepared for the Regulation of the said Militia.

P. T. HOPSON.

JNO. DUPORT, *Sec. Conc.*

A proclamation soon followed by which the militia were assembled on the 6th of June, with arms and ammunition; those of the South suburbs within the pickets opposite the end of Barrington street, near Horseman's Fort; those of the North suburbs between the Grenadiers' Fort and Luttrell's Fort; and those of the town proper on the Esplanade and Citadel Hill. At the later period this year, guards from the militia were mounted every night. A battalion had been formed at Lunenburg, under command of Lieut-Col. Patrick Sutherland; and in December of this year, a serious riot took place there which might have resulted in much bloodshed had it not been for the firmness and prompt action of that officer. Leonard C. Rudolf was major of this battalion. The Lunenburg militia did a large amount of hard and useful work during the next year, and we have detailed accounts of perilous expeditions undertaken by them in 1756 and 1758.

War between Great Britain and France had been brewing for some time: in fact, although nominally at peace, covert acts of actual warfare had been going on for years; and in 1756 the undercurrent of border skirmish and irritating aggression blossomed into a definite and recognized condition of hostilities. Halifax became one of the official naval and military stations of the Empire, and stately ships-of-war and scarlet-clad regiments soon took post at the infant capital. In 1757 no less than 12,000 soldiers arrived, and a large fleet soon followed. The civilian element was small and its numbers remained stationary for years; had it not been for the enormous sums expended on the colony by the King's government, and the large outlay for and by the soldiers and sailors of the various expeditions, Halifax must have long remained an obscure village, dependent largely on the fisheries, and with many years to wait before it could

attain financial strength, and a reputation as a recognised and important commercial mart. These men of the profession of arms were, however, birds of passage in a sense; and as the gigantic and ultimately successful efforts of the British government to expel France from North America developed, Halifax was occasionally left with a very small garrison of regular troops. At all times during this stormy period, the militia was in a fair measure of readiness for emergencies, and at times had severe and unpleasant duty to perform in the exigencies of border warfare. At the first General Assembly of the people's representatives—begun 2nd October, 1758—one of the earliest Acts passed identified the force more closely with the national life of the province than was possible under the former proclamation, and stamped on it the seal of public approval. It was entitled "An Act for Establishing and Regulating a Militia," and is a most interesting relic of early legislation in Nova Scotia. It is perhaps unnecessary to give you this and subsequent Acts in full; but they are well worth examination by those interested in our early measures of defence. This Act may be summarized as follows:—

Clause 1. Provides that from and after 1st of December, 1758, all males between 16 and 60 years shall bear arms and attend all musters, etc.

2. Each company shall have certain defined precincts, and the clerk of each company shall make a quarterly roll of all eligible within said precincts and present the roll to the Captain of the company. Failure to do this was punishable by a fine of 40 shillings.

3. Duty shall be continuous until discharged. Any evasion meant a fine of 10 shillings.

4. Each person must provide a musket, gun, or fuzil, (not less than 3 feet long in barrel) 2 spare flints, and 12 charges of powder and ball. Fine for non-compliance, 40 shillings, or one month at hard labour. Musters to be held once every

six months or as often as ordered. Drill once every three months. Fine of 5 shillings for non-attendance and of £5 to each Captain who fails to order parades as above.

5. Enforces discipline on parade. Penalty 5 shillings or 48 hours jail.

6. Guards (or "watches" as they are called) to be ordered from time to time. Penalty for non-attendance 10 shillings.

Other clauses fix the exemptions, appointments of N. C. O's, further fines, how alarms will be given, etc. All fines collected were to be expended for drums, halberts, colours and other regimental necessaries. The Act ends with the following:—

"And it is hereby humbly requested of his Excellency the "Captain General, by the Assembly, and it is enacted, that "whilst there is a sufficient number of regular troops within the "Town of Halifax, for the defence, the Militia of the Town "shall be spared from watching and warding without the "Picketed Lines of the Town."

At the session of the House begun on 1st July, 1761, an additional Act was put through. Its chief object was (1) to make imperative the service of non-commissioned officers, as such, when duly appointed, and imposing a fine of 40 shillings for refusal to act. (2) Any N. C. O. drunk or disorderly when on duty shall pay 10 shillings or be committed for 48 hours at hard labour.

This Act also amended the former one in increasing the period for annual drill and exercise to eight days instead of four.

Another Act passed at same session deals with the militia when on actual service in the time of war. Any insolence or neglect of duty is punishable with a fine of 40 shillings, or in default of payment with riding the wooden horse for not less than half an hour, or 10 days labour. Courts Martial are pro-



Gateway in Old Fort at Annapolis Royal.



Old Fort Annapolis Royal.



vided for; drafting men by ballot for active service (penalty for refusal to act 10 shillings) and providing for the pay of all ranks when on active service outside their own country. Officers received same pay as King's officers; sergeants, 2/—, corporals and drummers 1/4, and privates 1/— per day.

In 1762 the French invaded Newfoundland and captured St. John's; and in consequence wide-spread alarm disturbed the peace of the rulers and good citizens of Halifax. Councils of war were called, and defensive measures were promptly taken, among these being the daily exercise of the Halifax militia, and the ordering of 200 men to Halifax from Lunenburg. This last was subsequently countermanded, in view of the insolence of the Indians in that quarter. One hundred of the militia of King's county were ordered to escort to Halifax all the French neutrals who were then working for some of the inhabitants of Kings and Annapolis counties. A service company of militia under Joseph Gerrish, the naval store-keeper, was also formed. Other like measures were adopted, but the French came not; the alarm subsided, and matters gradually receded to a normal footing.

In 1763, St. John's Island (now Prince Edward) and Cape Breton were annexed to Nova Scotia, and the militia system of the latter was, nominally at any rate, extended to these two islands. Our province was for the next few years territorially at her highest point, embracing the whole area of the Maritime Provinces as now known,—a Dominion in itself. Settlers came in rapidly, and the country thrived; but the dark clouds of the rebellion in the New England colonies began to be visible to far-seeing men, and serious trouble soon became imminent.

During this period the militia came into no prominence, but did their duty as required. Owing to the fact that a proportion of the recent immigrants were from New England, Nova Scotia was, in a sense, tainted here and there with disloyalty. Halifax and the older settlements were true to their salt; but

Cobequid, the Annapolis Valley, and Cumberland were deeply touched with disaffection. Agents of the rebellious colonies were numerous, spying out the land and looking for good ground wherein to plant the seed of their doctrines. The authorities took in sail promptly and prepared for every possible storm. Among other measures 400 militia were ordered from Lunenburg to Halifax, as well as 100 Acadians from Clare and Yarmouth, and two companies from Kings county. Owing to Governor Legge's anxiety (carried at times to an extreme degree) the officers of the Halifax regiment of militia were called on to take the oath of allegiance before going on duty.

The rebellion in the neighbouring colonies broke out in full force in 1775; and from then until the end of the war in 1782 the militia of the province had a busy and anxious time. The King's troops at first were all sent to the seat of hostilities, and during the first year the town guards and other details were drawn from the several militia detachments which were embodied in Halifax or sent in from the country districts. Ammunition was sent to various central points for defensive purposes, and good use was made of it in several instances before peace was declared. A suspicion of the loyalty of some of the militia—especially that of the Bay of Fundy shore—was naturally felt, but nothing occurred to justify such thoughts. Light infantry companies were directed to be formed as follows:

At	Halifax	100 men
	Lunenburg	200 men
	Queens	100 men
	Clare	50 "
	Annapolis	50 "
	Cornwallis	50 "
	Horton	50 "
	Windsor, Newport and Falmouth	50 men.
	Cumberland	100 men
	Cape Breton	100 "
	Isle Madame	100 "



Truro, Onslow and Londonderry, 60 men. A total of 1010.

Of these 300 were French Acadians.

Hon. Mr. Gould, Colonel of the Lunenburg militia, took command.

In 1775 another militia Act was passed by the House of Assembly. This was an addition to those formerly enacted, and which I have described. It relates chiefly to militiamen volunteering for active service, and gives authority to the Governor and others to enlist such Volunteers. It also covers drafting of men by ballot for active service, penalties for non-compliance, pay, deductions for clothing and other details. It enacts that the embodied militia must serve for such time as thought necessary by the powers-that-be, and also has a clause to the effect that every officer in such corps, except the Adjutant, must be a resident and freeholder of this province.

This Act was repealed in 1776, owing to the arrival of a large force of the King's troops.

We have a very meagre record of the doings of the force during this period, beyond that a fair number of men were embodied, and that detachments were moved from one place to another as the exigences of the service required.

Early in 1780 a small party of the Lunenburg militia captured an American brig with a valuable cargo; and in a somewhat similar manner Lieut. Wheaton and six men of the Par-sboro regiment attacked and captured a party of rebels who had raided that shore and taken possession of a house on Partridge Island.

In May of this year, the French (who had joined forces with the revolted Americans in their warfare against Great Britain) prepared a large armament at Brest; and the loyal colonies were warned to be on their guard. The commanding

officer at Halifax was not idle. Work was pushed forward on the fortifications, large parties of militia being employed in the erection of bomb batteries. No attack took place, however, and events soon resumed their normal condition. Next year the Governor reported the force as being in tolerable condition and that Halifax county men could, at all events, be depended upon. This was rather faint praise, but he had not yet visited the other counties and therefore knew but little of them; Imperial officers of that day were not apt to bestow too much praise on rural warriors. The latter proved themselves on more than one occasion to be of good stuff; a very spirited little action took place near Cape Split in May of this year, between a party of Kings county militia and about thirty rebels, which resulted in the capture of the latter with their vessel and boats.

The war ceased in 1782, and little of interest in militia matters took place until 1793, when hostilities with France again broke out; preparations for the defence of Nova Scotia were actively undertaken, and the militia were much in evidence. The Lieut-Governor reported "In the town (Halifax) I have "seven hundred good Militia who may be depended upon. "One Company, about sixty freeholders, are formed into Artillery, and are now practising with great assiduity. I have "another select regiment of one thousand men, commanded by "half-pay officers, and composed of privates, most of whom "served under these officers during the late war. They have "two Companies of Artillery and one of Horse, and can be "assembled in Halifax in six days' notice, part of them sooner. This evidently refers to a corps of the Loyalists (known as the Nova Scotia Legion), many thousands of whom had settled in the province, and who furnished the finest possible material for a sturdy, well-disciplined and experienced militia. Three regiments were enrolled in the western part of the province, respectively commanded by Colonels Barclay, Millidge and Taylor; in the latter battalion were many Acadians,—once expelled—now welcomed. The Halifax force appears to have been in a very effective state, and on a test alarm being



**STEPHEN HALL BINNEY,**  
**Barrack Master at Halifax, Died 1836, aged 75 years.**  
After a portrait in the Provincial Museum, painted by his  
brother, Hibbert Newton Binney, in 1791.



given, the 1st battalion, commanded by Col. Pyke, paraded in fifteen minutes, completely armed. This corps also furnished 550 men to assist the garrison in repairing and mounting the batteries. The Halifax Artillery under Captain Tremain, were also evidently a crack corps, and were reported to have in their ranks: "Men of from £100 to £600 per annum clear estate, "who, from a declared principle of loyalty, and utter abhorrence "of French Democratic tyranny, have voluntarily offered their "services."

The force this year was estimated as nine thousand strong, of whom seven thousand would be available in an emergency. The excitement increased as the season went on; in October, 1050 men, exclusive of officers, from the militia of Hants, Kings and Annapolis marched into Halifax; one company under Capt. Willets from Granville did 135 miles in thirty-five hours. Reports of their behavior and appearance were most favorable. After four weeks duty, they were dismissed and sent home.

In 1794 and 1795 the militia were again employed in repairs to the Halifax fortifications. At this period the force consisted of two regiments of Foot and an Artillery company in Halifax, one regiment each in Annapolis, Digby, Hants, Kings and Colchester; also two companies of Acadians in Annapolis, and the Nova Scotia Legion.

In this year (1795) was passed an Act amending and consolidating the several militia Acts hitherto in force. It was very complete, containing 37 clauses, and covered all points and contingencies then deemed possible in connection with militia service. A minimum of six drills a year was ordered. In 1796 an additional Act went through the House, and the number of drills was reduced from six to four; and in 1797, another clause was added, referring to men employed in the Ordnance, Royal Engineer Department, Dockyard and other Imperial works.

400 to 600 militia were embodied in Halifax this year for garrison duty, and 2000 more were under orders to march in on the shortest notice. All were discharged from duty in October. The nominal returns of the force this year showed a strength of 7297 officers and men. A year later it had crept up to 8147, including three companies of Artillery, stationed respectively at Halifax, Shelburne and Yarmouth.

In June 1797, a force of 32 officers, 24 sergeants, 3 drummers and 573 rank and file were embodied in the rural districts, and marched to Halifax, where it remained on duty until the end of October.

In 1800 the militia was estimated by the Governor to consist of 10,000 effectives, and that 6,000 more would be available in case of invasion. As a matter of fact, the actual strength did not exceed 7200, as shown by the official returns. This year further legislation was enacted; it related chiefly to troops on the march, billeting, meals, etc., and fixed the price of dinner at nine pence, breakfast and supper at six pence each.

In 1803, night patrols of the 1st Halifax militia were ordered out.—incendiary fires being common, and the watch of that day probably useless in such an emergency. In 1804, a false alarm of invasion was sounded to test the readiness for service of the militia of the town; before 10 a. m., about one thousand men were embodied and at their posts; two hundred of these were Artillery. The gunners, and four companies of Foot were uniformed, the remainder being in plain clothes.

Another Act was passed this year dealing with the number of Artillerymen to each company, service in the Grenadier and Light companies, and other minor matters. There was also published a summary of the exact position of the militia laws, showing clearly what were then in effect.

The force this year showed a decided gain in numbers, about 10,500 men of all ranks being returned on the official list.

78  
BY HIS EXCELLENCY

*George East*  
Sir George Prevost, Bart.

Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of  
Nova-Scotia, and its Dependencies, &c. &c. &c.

To *Lewis E. Piers Esq* Greeting.

BY Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given and granted by His Majesty, I  
do hereby (during Pleasure) constitute and appoint you to be *Captain of the 18th*  
*Battalion of Militia, whereof William Lockhart Esq is*  
*Lieutenant Colonel Commandant*

You are therefore duly to exercise as well the Inferior Officers as Private Men of that  
*Battalion* in Arms; and to use your utmost endeavours to keep them in good Order  
and Discipline, and I do hereby command them to obey you as their *Captain*  
and you are to observe and follow such Orders and Instructions as you shall from time  
to time receive from myself *or* any other your Superior Officer,  
according to the Laws and Regulations already made or that shall hereafter be made  
for the Militia of this Province.

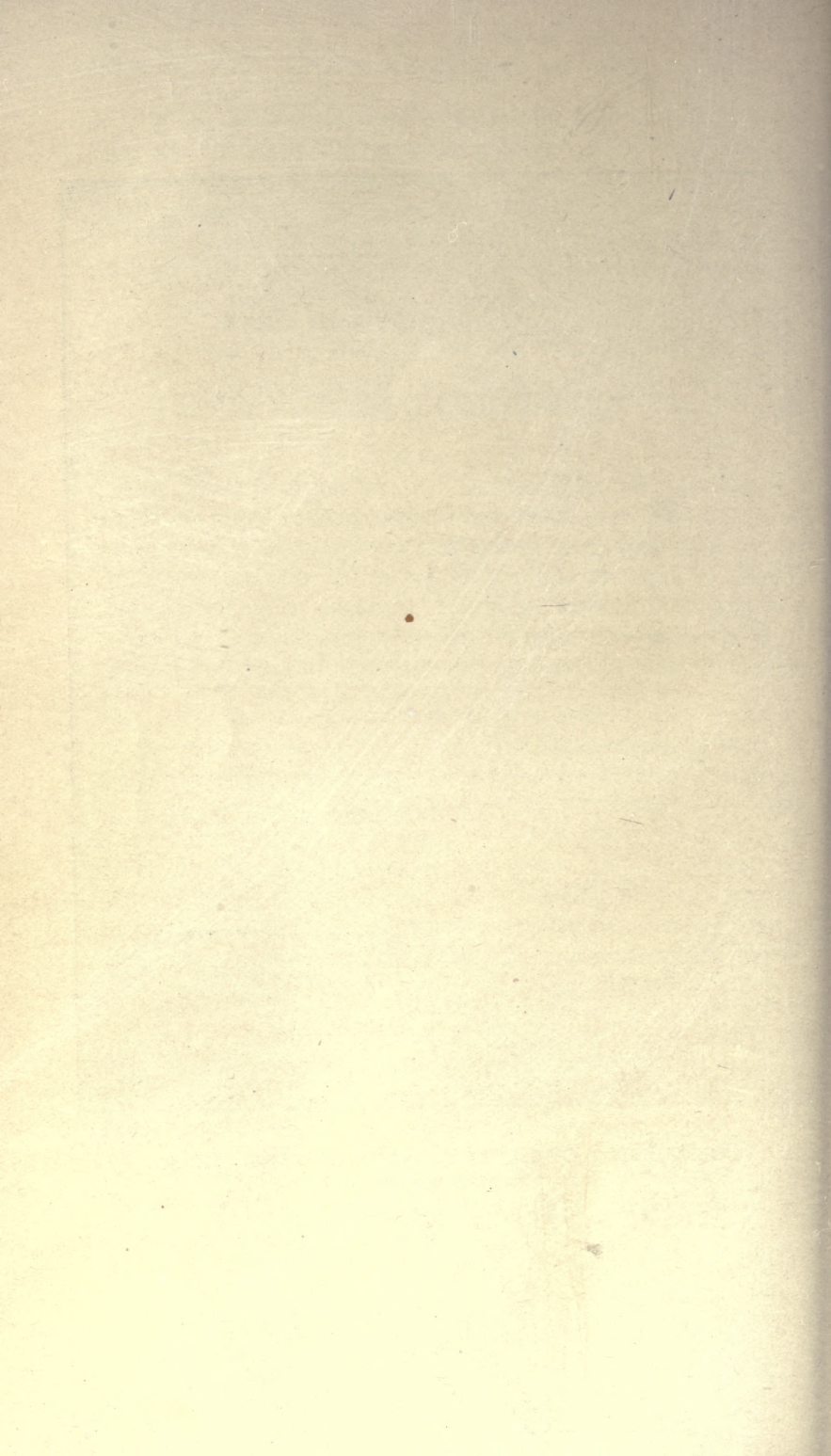
GIVEN under my Hand and Seal at Arms, at Ha-  
llifax, this *1<sup>st</sup>* Day of *March*  
18*11* in the *21<sup>st</sup>* Year of His  
Majesty's Reign.

By His EXCELLENCY'S Command,

*H. H. Cogswell*  
*Secy*

Entered in the ADJUTANT }  
GENERAL'S Office. }

COMMISSION OF CAPTAIN LEWIS EDWARD PIERS,  
(1785-1867).





An attempt seems to have been made to divide the force into brigades, as the Halifax troops (1019 men) were officially designated as the 1st Brigade; but no further steps in this direction were apparently taken. The Artillery branch of the service had evidently been making rapid progress, as twenty-seven officers and four hundred and eighty-five men were reported as enrolled; one company near Halifax was composed chiefly of fishermen.

In 1805, Chester came into prominence as furnishing a large force of militia; but more than two hundred of the number were reported to be unarmed, and that state of things existed to a large degree throughout the whole province. The Governor, Sir John Wentworth, gave much attention to the militia, and was constantly worrying the commanding officers of the regular regiments in garrison for muskets for the rural force. These arms, however, appear to have been scarce, as two years later (in 1807) he again reports that in case of an invasion half the militia would be useless. He estimates that this year a force of 40,000 men could be raised if required. In August, on the departure of H. M. 98th and the Newfoundland regiments to Quebec, 1,000 militia were embodied and placed in garrison; and in October 500 more were drafted in from the country battalions.

Troubles with the United States were again becoming frequent and the military establishment of Nova Scotia increased in importance. In 1808, three regiments of militia were embodied and put on an active service footing; in Halifax alone 1800 men were trained and ready for duty. Two hundred were also stationed at Annapolis for three months. Sir George Prevost assumed the reins of government this year, and took a rather pessimistic view of the value and number of the militia force of the province; he succeeded however in inducing the Assembly to guarantee to pay for 2,000 stand of new arms, which he thereupon issued. A special duty of four pence a gallon was imposed on importations of rum to meet this and other expenses necessary to increase the efficiency of the militia. In 1808 and 1809, over £11,000 was spent on arms and accou-

tirements. In the latter year an Act was passed which, among other things, provided some wholesale checks on dirty muskets and other military property, and also prohibited the use of government arms for private purposes.

On the 18th of June, 1812, the United States declared war against Great Britain, and for the next three years the militia of our province were kept on the *qui vive*. The news reached Halifax on the night of the 28th, and on the following morning a Council meeting was held, at which it was ordered to ballot men for service from the first class of the militia (which comprised all males from 18 to 50 years), and that a proportion in each district were to be at once embodied—mainly to protect the more exposed parts of the coasts. The House of Assembly met on 21st July and promptly dealt with the needs of the situation. £3,000 was ordered to be spent for arms and accoutrements, £8,000 for defensive works, £12,000 for extra pay—(with £10,000 more if required) and other necessary grants were made. One-fifth of the first class of militia were embodied. Hostilities soon began, but the duties of our provincial fighting men were limited throughout the war to defensive operations along the coast, chiefly in repelling attacks from the swarm of American privateers which infested our harbours and maritime settlements, and who often treated the fishermen and others of their prisoners with great harshness.

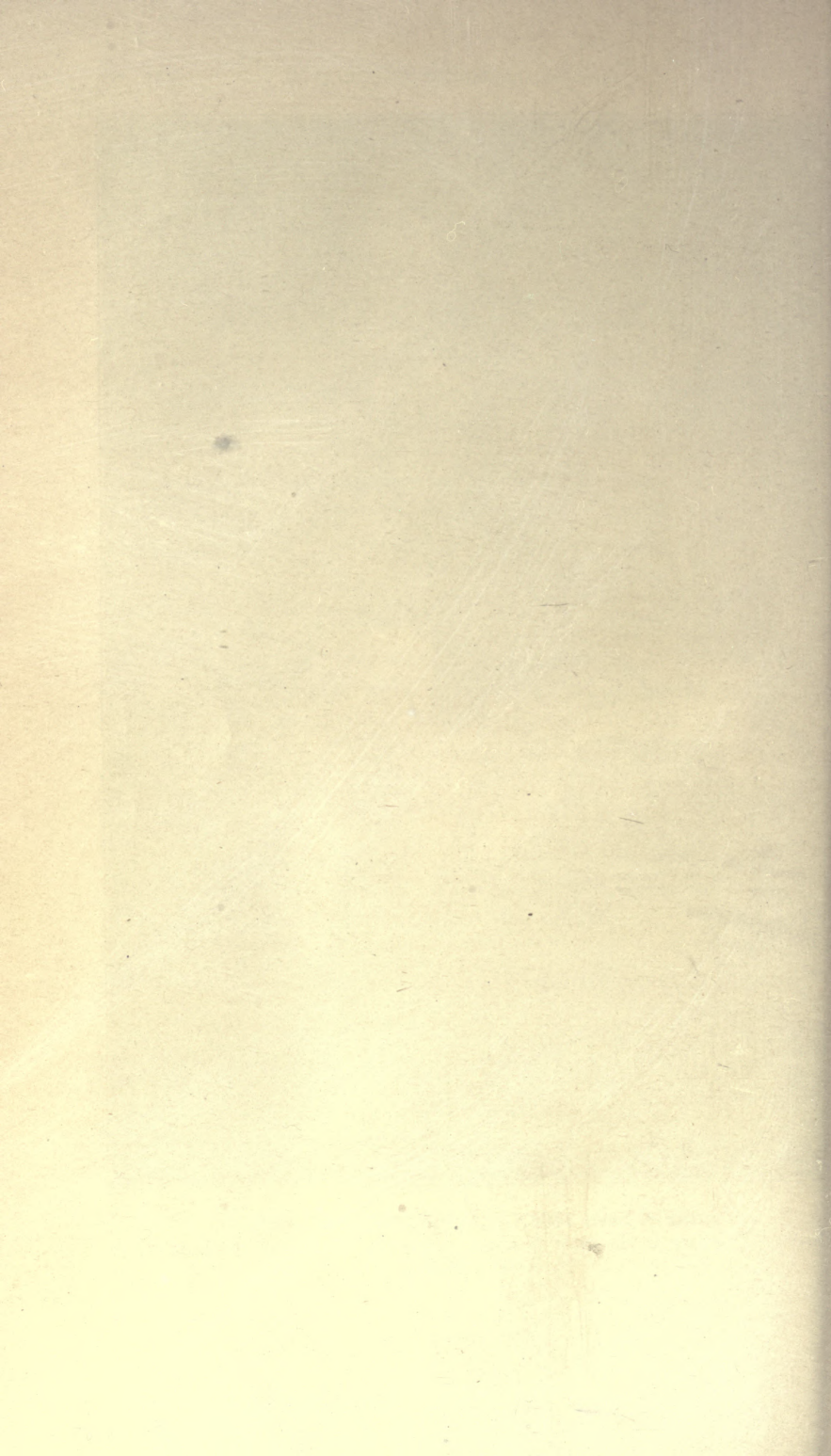
An important and businesslike Act of the Legislature was passed at this session, dealing with the militia and its embodiment for active service. It materially reduced the list of exemptions from liability to serve, provided for the treatment of negro or colored recruits, imposed heavy fines for evasion or infraction of the law, and otherwise enacted much to aid effective organization in time of emergency. In 1813, £50,000 more was voted by the House for militia purposes, at the special request of Sir John Sherbrooke. At this time the force consisted of two companies of Artillery and twenty-six battalions of Foot. During the year a return was issued showing that

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**GEN. SIR. JOHN COAPE SHERBROOKE.**

(From a Painting in the Halifax Club, formerly in the Rockingham Club, by Robert Field.)



about 500 men of the various regiments were scattered along the coast in small parties, about 400 being detailed to act specially as escorts to prisoners of war. We know that they were kept busy at this work, as the number of captures made from time to time ran to a high figure. Two officers, six non-commissioned officers, and sixteen privates were reported as serving in the capacity of marines on board the Provincial armed sloop "Gleaner." We thus had a navy in 1814 as well as in 1911.

Peace came early in 1815; and at the session of the House held that year an Act was passed reducing the days of training from six to four annually, and also enacting that Justices of the Peace be hereafter exempt from the provision of the militia laws. The total number of the force, reported as effective on 1st March was about 12,000 of all ranks.

Nothing of interest is noted as having taken place during the next year or two, but in 1818 it was proposed by Lord Bathurst, in a communication to the Lieut. Governor, that the militia—which then consisted of about 12,000 men from sixteen to sixty years of age, and enrolled in 26 battalions,—be put on a more serviceable basis by changing the age limits from eighteen to forty-five, and reducing the number of battalions to twelve, each to be of 500 men; to have one Inspecting Field officer instead of four, and under him two Staff adjutants and three Staff sergeants. The Inspecting officer was to reside in Halifax—the others to go on their rounds through the country on tours of inspection; and the care of the block-houses along the coast be given to the militia nearest them. This proposal came before the House of Assembly, but was rejected there without a division, the members expressing themselves as being well satisfied with the existing system. This year the officers of the 3rd Halifax militia regiment gave a dinner in the Corporation Council Chamber, which was one of the most prominent social functions of the day.

In the following year another most animated debate took place in the House of Assembly on the changes suggested and

urged by the Imperial government. It was finally decided to agree in part to the proposal, and to make the age limits eighteen to sixty and the first class for service eighteen to forty; to add one day for battalion drill, and to provide for two Inspecting Field officers in place of the Adjutant General and Quarter Master General.

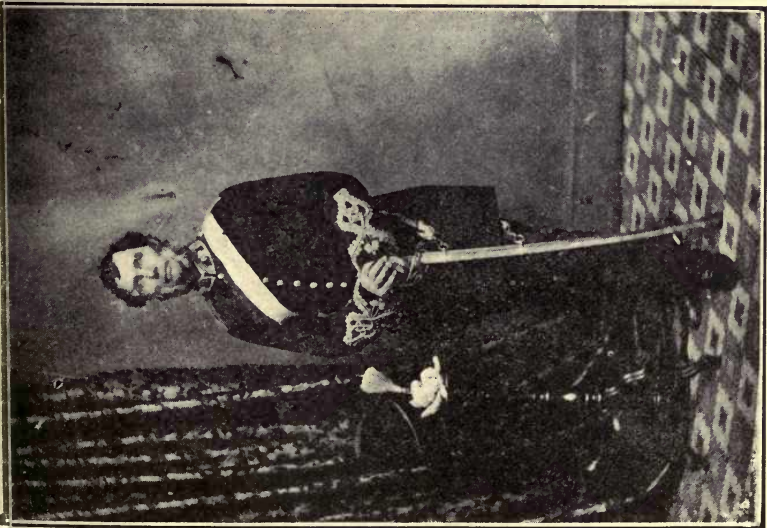
In May 1820, Lord Dalhousie, issued a General Order reducing the militia to one regiment in each county, with two in the town of Halifax. The establishment was to be as follows:

- One Lieut. Colonel.
- Two Majors.
- Ten Captains.
- Twenty 1st Lieuts.
- Twenty 2nd Lieuts.
- Ten Clerks.
- Forty Sergeants.
- Twenty Drummers.
- One thousand Rank and File.

On the embarkation of the Earl for Quebec on 5th June of this year the flank companies of the Halifax regiments, under command of Captains Liddel and Pyke, formed the Guard of Honour, and the Halifax Militia Artillery (Tremain's battery), fired the usual salutes. A few months later the Grenadier and Light companies of the 1st Halifax Regiment—then commanded by the Hon. T. N. Jeffrey, Collector of Customs—gave a grand ball in the Masonic Hall, which was attended by over three hundred persons.

The House of Assembly this year (1821), passed a new and very voluminous Act, embodying all militia legislation to date, and making many amendments and changes. It contained no less than ninety-three paragraphs or sections, and covered every possible phase of the legal government of the national force.

Reports of reviews, of salutes fired and such matters, formed the chief items of militia news for the next year or two.



LT.-COL. RICHARD TREMAIN, Jr. (1802-1890.)  
1st Company (Halifax) Volunteer Artillery.



LT.-COL. RICHARD TREMAIN, (1774-1854.)  
1st Company (Halifax) Volunteer Artillery, 1838.





More legislation was passed in 1823, but contained nothing of special importance. In August 1825, a review of the two Halifax battalions—commanded respectively, by Lieut. Colonels Jeffrey and DeBlois—and a brigade of Artillery, under Col. Tremain,—took place on the Common, the force in question having just finished its annual drill of four days. The Commander-in-Chief with his staff and other prominent officials were present; and the former expressed himself as being highly satisfied with the appearance and drill of the men. Eulogy of militia regiments—whether deserved or not—was doubtless as common eighty years ago as to-day.

In 1826, more legislation was put through, and an Act passed making several changes of importance. The annual drills or musters were reduced to two, the fines for non-attendance, etc., altered, and a section added to the effect that no militiaman could be liable for arrest for any civil process during the time of his drill or muster, or going to same, or returning therefrom.

The strength of the force during the few years last covered showed a steady increase. In 1821 the official returns reported about 14,000 men; in 1822 17,000; in 1827 18,600; in 1828 23,000; in 1829 25,000, including about 4,500 men in Cape Breton; in 1830 about 26,000. The "Militia List" at latter date gives Lieut. Cols. Cochran and Loring as Inspecting Field officers, Lieut. Col. Forbes as Brigade Major, Lieut. Col. McColla as Adjutant General; two volunteer Artillery companies in Halifax (both commanded by officers named Tremain—a name synonymous with the growth and efficiency of our local forces), four battalions of Foot in Halifax, two in Colchester, two in Pictou, two in Sydney (now Antigonish), one in Cumberland, two in Hants, two in Kings, one in Parrsboro, two each in East and West Annapolis, four in Shelburne, one in Queens, two in Lunenburg and six in Cape Breton.

In the year 1830 the force as enrolled consisted of about 26,000 officers and men, divided into thirty-three battalions of Foot, and two volunteer Artillery companies—the latter

in the town of Halifax. His Excellency Lieut. Gov. Sir Peregrine Maitland, K. C. B., was commander-in-chief and in supreme control of the training and disposition of the militia of the Province; Lieut. Col. Hon. T. N. Jeffrey and Sir Rupert George were his aides-de-camps. The Lieutenant-Governor was a man of striking appearance; as commander of one of the regiments of Foot Guards, he had taken a prominent part in the battle of Waterloo. From both natural and acquired qualities he always commanded respect and obedience. Hon. T. N. Jeffrey was Collector of H. M. Customs—afterwards President of the Council and Administrator of the government. Sir Rupert George was secretary to His Excellency and clerk to the Council. The Quarter-master General was Major Edward Wallace: the Judge-Advocate General was the Hon. S. B. Robie. Lieut. Cols. Cochran, Loring and Marshall were Inspecting Field officers: Lieut. Col. McColla, Adjutant General, and Lieut. Col. Forbes Brigade Major. A few companies were uniformed—the volunteer Artillery, and one or more companies of the first Halifax regiment of Foot in blue with red facings, part of the second Halifax in scarlet with blue facings, and of the third regiment in green with red facings, all wearing gold lace; the great majority, however, paraded at the annual musters in civilian garb, and this doubtless in most localities of a quaint and essentially rustic appearance. The few who were armed carried the old flint-lock muskets obtained from the King's stores, or sent over from England as ordered. Many of these had doubtless done duty at Waterloo and in the later battles of the Peninsula.

Probably a fair sample of the condition of things at this time is the fact that in August Colonel J. Leander Starr, commanding the third Halifax regiment, reported that his battalion had no arms although it consisted of 1100 men and had been in existence for six years. A volunteer Rifle company had been formed by some of its members as a flank company; they had bought their own uniforms and imported a pair of colours, but they also were without muskets or rifles. They



**LT. COL. JOHN ALBRO, (1764-1839)**  
**4th. Halifax Regiment, (1833)**



had much spirit in the service, and wished to improve themselves; but without the essential weapons of a soldier could do but little.

At the risk of being tedious I will give a brief summary of the laws governing the force at this period.

1. All men in the Province from 16 to 60 years of age had to serve—with certain exemptions for judges, clergymen, etc., etc.

2. Militia thus recruited were formed into regiments, by counties or districts.

3. Regiments could be divided into battalions, of not less than 300 or more than 800 men in each.

4. Every man who failed to present himself for enrolment was fined 10/.

5. Every man over 21 was supposed to be furnished with, or to supply himself with musket, bayonet, box to hold 18 cartridges, and other necessaries. For the safe keeping of these he gave the government a bond for £5, with a surety.

6. All arms to be numbered and branded.

7. All arms were to be inspected once a year.

8. Any man parading with dirty or unserviceable weapons to be fined 2/6 to 10/.

9. Any man using them for fowling or private purposes to pay 5/ for each offence.

10. Any C. O. neglecting to promulgate orders for assembling his men shall pay £20.

11. Any man not attending a duly ordered muster (except for illness), fined 5/ to 20/, that is, 5/ first day, 10/ second day, and so on.

12. Any man leaving a muster without permission fined 5/ to 20/.

13. Officers not attending meetings fined, a major, £5, a captain £3, a subaltern £2, for each offence.

14. The Halifax corps to do their militia duties before 1st April in each year.

15. All guard and special duties to be divided equally among the men. Refusal fine 10/.

16. All enforced service over 6 days to be paid for at army rates of pay.

17. Men giving false alarms fined £10.

18. Any man drunk or insubordinate on duty to be put in gaol for from 12 to 72 hours.

19. There is to be a regimental Adjutant who will get £15 a year.

20. N. C. officers to be appointed by Capts. of companies.

21. A Sergt.-Major and Clerk to be appointed to each regiment.

22. Returns, rolls, and rosters, to be submitted to Government twice a year.

23. Interrupting the Major at exercises or duty fined 10/.

24. Medical Board to report on men who plead illness for non-attendance.

25. If active service (or "real service" as called), is ordered, men to be chosen by ballot from those between 18 and 45 years.

26. Clerks and laborers in H. M. Ordnance Stores and Naval Yard need not serve, but must provide substitutes at their own expense.

There is little of interest to chronicle in this and the years immediately following. The running expenses of the force at the beginning of this period were about fifteen hundred pounds per annum, exclusive of what was spent in the purchase of arms and accoutrements: and there is nothing to indicate that this figure was exceeded to any appreciable extent during the next few years.

In 1831 a new battalion was formed in Sydney county (now Antigonish), and one in Cape Breton. In April of same year the 5th Halifax regiment was also organized, its strength being obtained by detaching the five Musquodoboit companies of the 3rd regiment, and the Shubenacadie company of the 4th. In 1832 another regiment was formed in Halifax county and







one in Hants; in 1833 another in Cape Breton, making a total of eight from that island. Seven hundred pounds was granted by the House to pay the Inspecting Field officers, whose salaries, as well as the other trifling amounts required for militia purposes, were always a bone of contention between the two political parties.

Social functions were not lacking in connection with military life. In January the Rifle company of the 1st Halifax regiment gave a ball in the Masons' Hall; in February the Rifle company of the 3rd regiment, and in March the Light company of the 2nd regiment repeated this popular form of entertainment. This is merely mentioned as chronicling what took place yearly during the remainder of the period now covered, and need not be referred to again: it is sufficient to say that the old militia force furnished many a bright spot of colour in the entertainment of the good citizens of Halifax at dances, and dinners, besides making a brave show at Guards of Honour and other duty parades. At the opening of the Legislature in that year for instance, the Grenadier and Light companies of the first Halifax furnished a Guard of Honour, the Imperial service being represented by the Rifle Brigade—the first battalion of which famous regiment was then in garrison. On 5th August the first regiment paraded, and the "Flatfoot" companies marched through the Dutch village to participate in a sham fight. The men were supplied with bread, cheese, and porter at the expense of the President and then Administrator of the Government, Lieutenant Colonel the Hon. T. N. Jeffrey.

In 1834 the force showed a total of 41 battalions, Cape Breton leading with 8, Halifax County 5, Shelburne county 4, the rest tailing off to one each in Queens and Cumberland. Legislation of some little importance went through the House, chiefly relating to payment of Adjutants and repairs of arms, but also increasing the penalty for false returns, and providing that no regiment should be required to assemble more than once in each year. £700 was voted for Inspecting Field

officers, and the pay of Adjutants was fixed at 15 shillings a day—the latter clause carrying by the close vote of 20 to 17. Two years later the usual fit of economy in militia matters attacked our legislators and the grant to Inspecting Field officers was cancelled by a vote of 23 to 13, much to the annoyance of the Governor, Sir Colin Campbell, who forcibly expressed his views on the subject in his prorogation speech. We learn that at or near this period, the officers of the first King's county regiment were uniformed in blue coat and pantaloons, boots, buff vest, round hat, gold epaulets, and silk sash. The first Cape Breton wore blue jackets faced with red cuffs and collars and white trousers.

Militia "Dress" companies now appear on the roll, such as the Highland Grenadiers, and the Light Infantry, attached to the first Halifax regiment and wearing the regulation blue coat faced with red but with plain trousers; also the Rifle company in black with velvet facings. To the second Halifax was attached a Light Infantry company in scarlet jacket with blue facings, while to the third Halifax belonged another Rifle company uniformed in sombre black. The Antigonish Artillery company, the Annapolis Artillery, the Shelburne Artillery, and the Liverpool Artillery, also come on the scene, all in blue uniforms faced with red.

In 1837 the returns show 43 battalions with a nominal strength of 1294 Officers and 30,394 rank and file. The strength of these units varied greatly—from 1813 officers and men in the second battalion of the second regiment of Cape Breton, to the third battalion of King's county, which mustered only 325 of all ranks.

The total expenditure by the colony on militia this year was £929. It may be mentioned, in passing, that the military disbursements for the same period by the Imperial Government in Nova Scotia were £62,988.

The practical extinction of drill in the rural militia (as the muster once a year gave practically no opportunity for train-

ing), and the cessation of payment to Inspecting Officers, had by this time evidently reduced the country corps to inefficiency, as the Governor in opening the session of 1838 called the special attention of the House to the useless state of the force. The rebellion in the Canadas was raging, and the reply of the Assembly to His Excellency's speech expressed deep regret at the existence of the insurrection, and joy that its efforts to overturn good and stable government had met with deserved defeat; also promising to carry out whatever reasonable reforms might be deemed necessary in the militia force of the province. The matter was referred to a special committee of seven members of the House who reported in favour of certain changes, all of which, however, were of comparatively little value and importance, as may be judged by the fact that the Adjutant-General was to receive the munificent sum of £30. per annum. It is, however, only fair to add that a resolution moved by Mr. Joseph Howe was unanimously passed, which authorized an expenditure not exceeding £10,000 for militia purposes should war take place between the Mother country and the United States or any other foreign country, or upon any hostile invasion of the province.

In the following year (1839) New Brunswick was menaced by invaders—one of the long drawn series of border troubles which began in 1829 and continued at intervals until well into the forties. The news reached Halifax on the 26th of February and action was immediately taken. Great excitement prevailed, and all other legislative business was suspended in favor of matters pertaining to joining and assisting the sister province in defending its soil from hostile attack. Nova Scotia spoke with no uncertain voice. A series of most important resolutions were passed authorising the immediate calling out for active service (if necessary) of one third of the total militia force of the province; and other measures tending to efficiency, national defence, and inter-provincial assistance. were adopted.

New Brunswick responded with hearty and eloquent letters of thanks, and the whole episode forms an interesting chapter in

the history of the two Provinces. Under date of 2nd May, Lord Glenelg, on behalf of Her Majesty's government, warmly endorsed the action taken by the Governor and Assembly at this juncture. Legislation for raising the necessary volunteers for active service, if required, was put through on 30th March.

At this period the force had grown into 44 regiments of Foot and 5 Artillery companies, two of the latter in Halifax, and one each in Guysborough, Lunenburg, and Chester.

A glimpse of some features of the interior economy of the militia is given in the report of a meeting of the officers of the third Halifax regiment held in the Exchange Coffee House, Halifax, on 10th March, 1839, when they established the following regimental fund:

Lieutenant Colonel to pay	20	shillings.
Majors	15	"
Captains	10	"
Subalterns	5	"

The caps to be worn by the officers in full dress to be bell crowned and to be mounted with bronze plumes, also to wear gold epaulets or wings in full dress; at drill or undress, green trousers, blue frock and blue forage cap with strap under the chin, sash, belt and sword.

The threatened trouble with the United States blew over, however, and military matters remained on their normal footing.

One day's muster or drill was all that was required by law, although we know that at any rate the Halifax regiments—(or parts of them), drilled frequently, took part in ceremonial and other parades from time to time, and were undoubtedly in a fair state of efficiency. In March 1840 more militia legislation passed the House, one clause of which authorized Artillery, Grenadier, Light Infantry, or Rifle companies to make

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**ADJUTANT HENRY PRYOR,**  
**(2nd or Queen's Halifax Regiment.)**



by-laws imposing fines, etc. The Adjutant-General's grant was increased to £100. and that of the Quarter-Master-General to £50; per contra, the maximum payment of any regimental adjutant was reduced from £15 to £10 per annum. £144 17s. was spent on arms; and the total outlay for the force this year appears to have been slightly over £1000. Economy became more in evidence, however, in 1841, when the grants to the Adjutant-General and Quarter-Master-General were respectively reduced to £80 and £40. At this time there was also a Judge Advocate of militia, Andrew M. Uniacke, who received £11 7s. for special services. Another long Act was passed this year containing not less than 134 sections embodying everything of importance (and otherwise), on the subject up to date. A petition signed by Joshua Lee, Henry Piers and W. G. Anderson, captains of volunteer companies of militia in Halifax, asking that the men under their command be exempted from statute labour, was presented to the House of Assembly, but was ordered to be withdrawn.

On the 23rd of December the Flank and Artillery companies of the Halifax regiments participated in the public festivities of that day in honour of the birth of the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII). In 1842, twenty-five pounds was spent on the blockhouse at Lunenburg, to garrison which a company of Artillery had been formed there.

In July of this year the Adjutant General of the force, Edward Wallace, wrote some observations on the militia law then in force which shows that the old system which gave four days training and inspection by a field officer from the Imperial Army had now been reduced to one day's muster, with no regular inspector. What little training existed was largely left to the imagination and knowledge of the commanding officer of the regiment, and consequently these annual musters amounted simply to a roll-call with imposition of fines; there was time for nothing else. The young officers had practically no opportunity of learning their work. The Dress Flank companies which used to be so smart and had furnished so many

men for duty, were now fast breaking up. Altogether the system was in a deplorable state.

The above report led to an examination by J. W. Johnston, then prominent in the Government, who made a report on it to His Excellency on 30th June, 1842. As may have been expected from a civilian it was very non-committal and excused the lack of efficient training and work, by a wish to save the people's time and money.

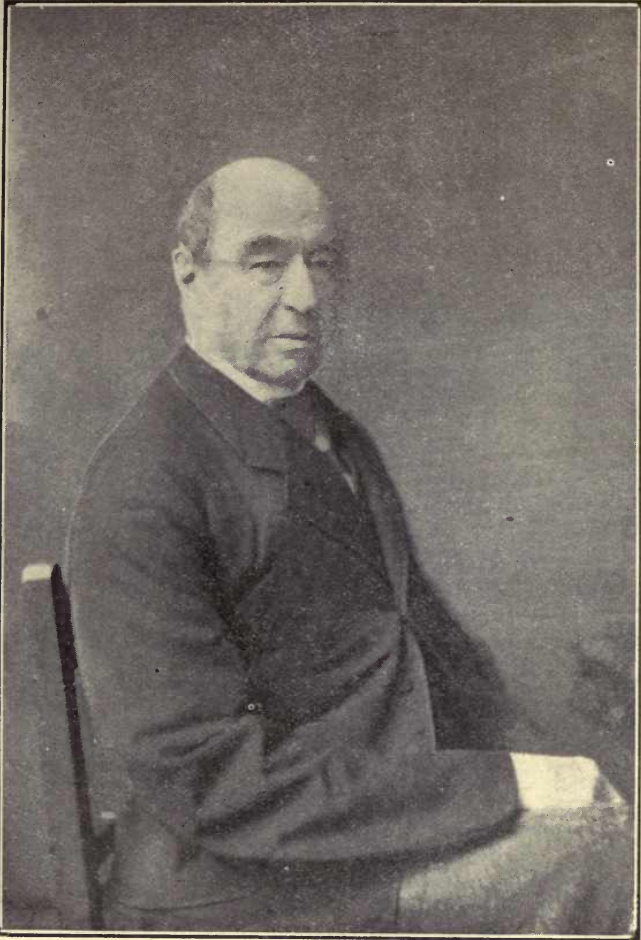
In 1844 an Act was passed cancelling all musters, drill or training of the militia, unless specially ordered: also providing that no more payments be made to regimental adjutants—their occupation, like Othello's, being gone.

Matters drifted along in this easy-going way for several years with the little or nothing of interest to mention. In 1852 the Assembly seems to have waked up a little in regard to militia matters, and stock was taken of the various arms and accoutrements in possession of the force. This showed that a total of about seven thousand muskets and four hundred rifles were in use or available, the same being distributed (proportionately to enrolled strength), among the greater number of the various regiments—eleven corps, however, being totally unarmed. A committee examined or took evidence on the state of these arms and other stores, and practically condemned them all and recommended that they be sold at public auction. This proposition did not meet the views of Downing Street, who naturally wished to see other and more efficient arms available before disposing of the old ones, bad as the latter undoubtedly were. No further action appears to have been taken.

Early in 1854 war was declared against Russia. Nova Scotia, in common with the other British North American colonies, entered heartily into the spirit of the contest, both Legislative Council and House of Assembly sending addresses to Her Majesty, expressive of loyalty and willingness to assist by maintaining the defence of the province should the rights



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**ANDREW MITCHELL UNIACKE, ESQ., (1809-1895.)**  
**Judge Advocate of Militia.**



of the British Empire be attacked on these coasts. In forwarding these, the Lt.-Governor, Sir Gaspard LeMarchant, very optimistically informed the Imperial authorities that if the exigencies of warfare made it expedient or necessary to withdraw one or both of the regiments then in garrison in Halifax, an effective military force could be raised in the Province to undertake the duties of the garrison, and which force could, if circumstances made it necessary, be augmented to a strength of fifty thousand men. The authorities, however, retained here one regiment, the 76th, throughout the war, so the suggested embodiment of part of the provincial militia did not take place.

In the spring of 1855 an amending Act to the existing militia laws was passed, which embodied several features of interest. The Governor-in-Council was authorized to dispose of all un-serviceable arms and stores, and to expend a sum not exceeding two thousand pounds on new material. Also to form Artillery, Light Infantry, Grenadier or Rifle companies, to be composed of volunteers (distinct from the militia), to serve in such companies, uniforms and saddlery to be provided at volunteer's own expense; no pay was specified, the honour of serving being considered a sufficient emolument. This clause, however, merely legalized conditions which had already existed for fifteen or twenty years in the Nova Scotia forces. A sign of the times was the grant this year, of thirty pounds to pay for the alteration from flint to percussion of fifty rifles for the use of the Pictou volunteer Artillery companies.

In 1856 nothing of interest is recorded: but early in 1857 the Lieut. Governor, in response to instructions received from the Imperial government, transmitted an elaborate report on the state of Nova Scotia militia at that period, which space does not permit repetition here, but which is well worth careful examination by those interested.

An item worth noting was the request in 1858 of a number of Germans ately belonging to the Foreign Legion, but now residing at the Acadia Iron Mines, Londonderry, to be allowed to

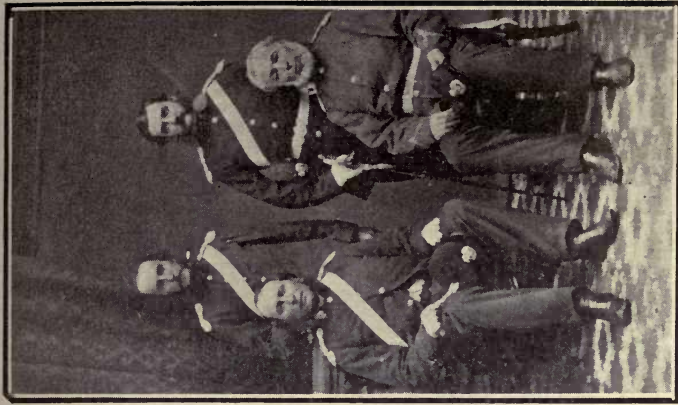
form a volunteer company of militia. Nothing definite appears to have resulted from this.

We have now reached the period of practical citizen soldiering which, with certain changes, is in existence today. The volunteer movement of 1859 was one of the events of the century, and revolutionized the habits, thoughts, health and aims of millions of Britons, young and old, in all parts of the Empire. While it at first in British North America as well as in Great Britain ran concurrently with the old constitutional force, the two eventually formed one body governed largely by the more vigorous organization of voluntary service which resulted in the present volunteer militia. In the Mother-land, as all know, the two forces pursued separate and distinct courses until a very few years ago when they joined hands, renewed their youth, and now flourish under the somewhat cumbrous and unmeaning title of "Territorials." Nova Scotia was early in the game, thanks to the foresight of the energetic Lieut. Governor the Earl of Mulgrave, and in the fall and winter of 1859 and 1860 a large number of military organizations of this nature were formed. The Lieut. Governor had always absolute control in such matters, and there being no Minister or departmental head to interfere, party politics could not exert their baneful influence as in Canada a few years ago.

During the early months of 1859 the Earl of Mulgrave sent home a series of reports on the state of the provincial militia which gave a certain amount of information about the then condition of the force, but were chiefly devoted to suggestions for the formation of volunteer rifle corps throughout the colonies, and asking the approval of the Imperial authorities for the carrying out of his proposals. These reports are of much importance in view of their far reaching results. He asked for the loan of sufficient modern and serviceable arms to equip such a force: but the home authorities in acknowledging his first despatch, and expressing their approval of his suggestions, stated that its supply of modern rifles was as yet insufficient for the needs of even the regular army and that therefore none could



LT.-COL. GEO. R. ANDERSON, (left).  
 LT.-COL. A. K. MACKINLAY, (right).  
 (Uniform of Scottish Rifles.)



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 Standing left—ADJT. J. N. RITCHIE,  
 “ right—MAJOR B. W. SALTER,  
 Sitting right—MAJOR — BRIAND,  
 “ left—LT.COL. JAMES B. OXLEY.





**LT.-COL. ANDREW KERR MACKINLAY, (1831-1889.)**  
**Halifax Volunteer Battalion. Captain 1860, Major 1865,**  
**Lt.-Colonel 1870.**





be spared, adding very sensibly "that in a large and prosperous colony such as Nova Scotia, the cost of arming its militia is not "a charge which should be derived from the Imperial treasury." Time does not permit me to give in detail any more of the voluminous correspondence on the subject between Downing Street and the Lieut. Governor; it is sufficient to say that its outcome was of a nature most gratifying to all patriotic Nova Scotians.

In June Lord Mulgrave sent a circular letter to the commanding officer of each militia regiment in the province asking him to use his best endeavours to raise one or more volunteer companies. Almost concurrently with this action of the Governor, Major-General Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars, a native of Nova Scotia, was sent from England to assume the command of the forces in British North America. He was warmly interested in the volunteer movement, and in September was instrumental in forwarding to Halifax three thousand rifles for use in this connection. These arrived on the first of November and were soon put to good use. The honour of being the premier organization in the new movement fell to the easternmost point of the province and as early as September of this year (1859) the Governor was able to report the existence of a corps of one hundred and seventy men at Sydney Mines, closely followed by one of one hundred and twenty rank and file at Albion Mines. The General Mining Association, then proprietors of the collieries at Sydney Mines, generously provided uniforms for the whole of these companies.

By midsummer of 1860 thirty volunteer companies had been organized and were officially recognized. They represented all parts of the Province, No. 1 being in Yarmouth, No. 30 in Sydney, and numbered about twenty-three hundred men in all. Halifax and Dartmouth furnished six of these corps, known severally as the Scottish Rifles, Chebucto Greys, Mayflower Rifles, Halifax Rifles, Irish Volunteer Rifles and the Dartmouth Engineers. They were divided into eleven companies with a strength of over eight hundred rank and file.

In May, six of these companies were formed into a battalion known as the Halifax Volunteer battalion, under command of Capt. Chearnley of the Chebucto Greys. The visit of the Prince of Wales to this province in July kept all the newly formed volunteers on the *qui vive*, guards of honour being furnished at various stations, while other functions received all necessary attention from the new and popular soldiery.

All bought their own uniforms, the selection of which was purely a voluntary matter by each unit. This naturally resulted in a marked lack of similarity—all colours being represented—but it brought variety, and a wholesome measure of rivalry between the different corps or companies. Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars at this time became Honorary Colonel of the Halifax battalion.

While certain legislation in 1855 had authorized the formation of volunteers in connection with special companies of the regular recognised militia of the province, its scope was naturally a very limited one, far short of what the present movement demanded. Accordingly in May of this year (1860), was passed "*An Act to provide for the organization of a volunteer militia force for the defence of this Province.*" Its preamble was worded in a lofty and dignified manner. It read:

"Whereas while large standing armies are maintained by the  
"despotic powers of Europe, it is necessary that the physical  
"resources of the British Empire should be ascertained and  
"organized, that its integrity may be preserved, its commerce  
"protected, and its powers and influence maintained."

"And whereas the youth of this Province have shown a  
"laudable spirit of emulation in coming forward to enroll them-  
"selves as volunteers for the defence of their country, and it is  
"necessary to provide them with the means of acquiring such  
"discipline and training as will render them an effective force  
"for that purpose:"

1  
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**LT.-COLONEL WILLIAM CHEARNLEY,**

**Late Captain 8th (or King's) Regt. of Foot; Captain Commanding Chebucto Greys; Lt.-Colonel of Halifax Volunteer Battalion, 1865; Died 1870.**



"Be it therefore enacted by the Governor, Council, and Assembly," and so on:

Its chief enactments were,

1. That the Governor may spend a sum not exceeding \$8000.00 per annum in payment of the services of staff officers and drill sergeants who have been trained in the British army, and in the purchase and disposition of arms, accoutrements, ammunition, etc., necessary for said volunteer force.

2. The Governor may combine the volunteer companies so raised with the militia regiments of the counties from which they are drawn, or may organize and drill them as a separate and distinct force.

It also contained other provisos of minor importance.

The movement so well begun by Lord Mulgrave and so vigorously taken up by the young men of the province, thus received official sanction, and was now legally armed for expansion and fresh effort.

Nothing special appears to have marked the latter months of 1860 so far as militia matters were concerned; but the zeal of the newly formed volunteer corps showed no abatement, and the movement made substantial progress. Uniforms for the various companies were adopted, and put into use as soon as they could be obtained. Full details of these (so far as the Halifax companies are concerned), and a large amount of other valuable information is given by Lieut. Col. Egan (late 63rd regiment), in his very interesting book entitled, "*The Halifax Volunteer Battalion and Volunteer companies 1859-1877*," printed in 1888;—the only regimental history published in this province that I know of.

Rifle shooting now began to be a leading feature of a good soldier's work and the rifle range at Point Pleasant was the scene of many a hardly-fought encounter between the various local commands. In October 1861 the first general rifle com-

petition—open to volunteers from all parts of the province—was held at Windsor, and Halifax men carried off most of the honours of the day.

Some legislation of importance to the force went through the House this year, and can be summarized as follows:

1. Provisions of the militia laws to apply as much as possible to volunteer corps.
2. Members of all corps to be divided into three classes: effective, non-effective and honorary.
3. Volunteers to be exempt from statute labour.
4. Each corps may pass by-laws, levy fines, etc., and the means for collecting latter are defined.

In November the Lieut. Governor made his usual report for the information of the Imperial authorities, dealing chiefly with the arms, old and new, then in the colony and available for the citizen soldiery: also with the deficiencies that existed in this respect and what equipment would be available in case of a sudden emergency.

Civil war was then raging in the neighboring republic, and the relations between the latter and the British North American provinces were somewhat strained. Within a very few weeks they approached closely to the breaking point, the seizure of the Southern commissioners on board the British ship "Trent" forcing decisive action on the Queen's government and arousing an intensely warlike spirit through all B. N. A. This incident had a marvellously stimulating effect on the auxiliary forces of the colonies, bringing into existence many units which have since developed into the leading military organizations of the Dominion. In December the Adjutant General reported that great anxiety has been manifested by the enrolled volunteers both in the metropolis and in the country to learn their duties and drill. His report also stated that thirty-seven companies existed in the province with a total effective strength of 1516



**CAPT EDMUND MONTGOMERY H. VIETH,**  
Adjutant 15th Regt. N. S. Militia.  
(In full-dress uniform, 1867.)



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**LT.-COLONEL WILLIAM H. CREIGHTON,**  
2nd Brigade (Halifax County) Artillery,  
N. S. Militia, from about 1866.  
(Undress uniform, with forage-cap.)





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**LT.-COL. RICHARD BROWN, F.G.S., F.R.G.S., (1805-1882.)**  
**Sydney Mines Volunteers.**  
(Author of History of the Island of Cape Breton published in 1869.)



officers and men, and 645 non-effective—the latter being chiefly recruits who had not yet had time to qualify: and that 2038 rifles had been issued to the various corps. In the following March (1862) the strength had increased to fifty companies with approximately 2500 members.

It was now fully recognized that the provincial militia (which must not be confused with the volunteers or volunteer militia), practically existed only on paper, and was useless as a military force: the annual reports of this and the preceding year make this point clear. Most of the officers were much over age, and disinclination to resign was as marked as the inability to do efficient duty. The force is reported as being disintegrated and utterly unorganized, although its nominal strength at this period was about 44,000 officers and men in 48 country regiments, the available arms *of any value* for the whole outfit being only 200 rifles. It was also officially recommended that "it is most desirable that the militia and volunteer service "of this province should go hand in hand and that in the matter "of training they should cordially co-operate." With this, no doubt, in view, a new militia act passed the House this year, which embodied and combined all previous legislation on both militia and volunteers. This was a most important piece of work, fully up to date, in that it recognized the existing liability of a sudden transition from peace to war, and enacted measures dealing effectively with any emergency that might call for the whole strength of the province to be exerted. It contained 133 clauses. The militia force of the province was in a sense legally rejuvenated, and put on a new and fairly serviceable footing. Much energy was exerted in the re-organization, and an excellent report of the Adjutant-General, Colonel Sinclair, covering his work in this connection, specifies the methods adopted towards the desired end. He points out that the old organization had first to be cancelled, and all appointments and promotions officially stopped, until a certain measure of efficiency could be fulfilled by the applicants; that the officers of the old force were, as a whole, useless, and

many of them had to be asked to resign; they were replaced by younger and more energetic men trained for a certain specified period under capable imperial officers and N. C. O., and were required to pass examinations as proof of their efficiency before being gazetted or promoted.

The volunteers played an important role in this reorganization by furnishing many of its most efficient men to the commissioned ranks of the various militia regiments through the province.

The net amount expended by the local government this year on militia and volunteer purposes was \$19,417.69—a marked contrast to the state of things a very few years earlier when one-tenth of that sum was considered excessive.

The Militia Act in 1862 was extended next year by placing the force when called out for active service under the Mutiny Act and Articles of War, and subject to all other laws then applicable to Her Majesty's troops in the province with the exception of corporal punishment. Other changes were made by the Act, but of a minor nature.

Drills and parades were steadily gone on with by the volunteers this year; also the militia had the privilege of no less than five days duty, each daily parade being for four hours: in addition to this the officers were required to perform twenty-eight drills each of three hours duration. The volunteers turned out also with the sister force during the year now under mention. Four of these general parades were devoted to company drill and one to battalion movements.

A review was held on the 21st June, in which the Windsor, Halifax and Truro volunteer companies paraded with the Imperial troops. In October the provincial rifle matches were held in Truro and in a general way the spirit of evincing an earnest desire for progress was shown. In this year's report to the Home Authorities, the Lieut.-Governor stated "That there is in this province at present a very laudable desire to improve the

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LT. COLONEL THOMAS MILSOM.  
Born in Bath 1819, Died in Halifax 1888.



“local defences of the country. The Legislature, besides continuing to grant £5,000 voted last year, have further sanctioned a small payment being made to the adjutants of the different militia regiments; they have also voted £1,000 for the erection of an armoury in the city of Halifax, and the payment out of the provincial treasury of one-third of the cost of the erection of drill rooms whenever the remaining two-thirds are raised by local contributions. That the residents themselves have shown an eager readiness to qualify for their militia duties, and that a very large proportion of the officers have already attended or are at present attending drill.”

In 1864 the committee on the militia (consisting of seven members of the Legislative Assembly), recommended expenditure on a liberal scale for the efficient maintenance and improvement of the force, and expressed their gratification at the readiness and loyal response of the inhabitants of this province to the call made upon them to perform militia duty. “The deportment and orderly behaviour of the men, thus forced to an unaccustomed work, has been an unceasing theme of praise, and shows that the military spirit of Nova Scotians is not extinct but ready for action should the cry of war be ever heard within our borders.”

An account of the militia at this period would be incomplete without mention of its Adjutant General Col. R. Bligh Sinclair (formerly of H. M. 42nd and 21st regiments), who was a capable and hard working officer. His periodical reports to the Lieut.-Governor and others are full of information, and teem with various suggestions for the improvement of the militia. He was ably seconded by a capable staff of Inspecting Field officers, prominent among whom was the late Lieut.-General Laurie, then a captain in H. M. 4th regiment (King's Own), but holding provincial rank of Lieut.-Col. The high degree of serviceable efficiency to which the force attained during the next few years, was, in no small measure, due to the energy of this officer, and of his *confreres* Lieut.-Cols. Crewe-Reade, Milsom, and Sawyer.

From 1861 to 1867 a varying number of capable drill sergeants of the Imperial army were employed for instructional purposes. They were a highly efficient body of men and underwent much hardship at times in the execution of their duty when visiting remote sections of the province in winter—all for very moderate remuneration. Their work was of the greatest possible benefit to the force.

In those days the official representatives of the Sovereign were often men of prominence, and the Lieut.-Governor at this time—the gallant Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars—personally supervised the militia and its work, and was a prominent factor in its success. As a soldier he naturally took the keenest possible interest in its welfare.

Much good work was done during this year (1864), towards maintaining and improving the force. The counties were divided into regimental districts: the officers and non-commissioned officers were brought into closer touch with the men under their command: the appointment of regimental adjutants was made one of competition, not of favor: and the position of commanding officer of a regiment was conditional on his efficiency, and not necessarily on his seniority in the corps. On 30th June 105 regiments appeared on the roll, with a total strength of 48,675 officers and men: six months later this had grown to 110 regiments embracing 56,111 of all ranks. During this year Gen. Hastings Doyle in the course of an interesting report to the Duke of Newcastle said “I was perfectly amazed at finding that in five days each regiment was able to perform three or four useful battalion manoeuvres very well, proving the aptitude of the population generally for militia services; and I have little doubt that they will continue to improve: they deserve the greatest possible credit for the spirited manner in which they have responded to the call upon them for their services, for although the report of the Adjutant General of Militia shows 48,675 were enrolled and that 13,792 were absent from training, it must be borne in mind with reference



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**CAPTAIN GEORGE PIERS, 1830-1910.**  
**Commanding Chebucto Greys' Company,**  
**Halifax Volunteer Battalion.**

(In full-dress uniform adopted in 1865: rifle-green  
with red facings.)

From a photograph taken about 1868.



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**LT. GENERAL SIR CHARLES HASTINGS DOYLE, 1805-1883.**  
**Appointed to Command the Forces in Nova Scotia in 1861.**  
(From a Photograph.)



“to the latter that a large proportion of that number were “engaged in maritime pursuits.”

The volunteers continued in good form in the city of Halifax, but throughout the province their efficiency was subjected to a rigid test, a high standard being insisted on; only twenty-two efficient companies were reported in existence on 31st December, 1864; within a few months several of these were disbanded. Authority for the raising of seventeen more had been given and commissions issued to the officers: but for one reason or another they failed to organize.

In February, 1865, a special militia court was convened. It was composed of twenty-one officers, chiefly Lieut.-Colonels in command of regiments, and spent a week in deliberating on measures for the improvement of the force. It made several interesting and important suggestions, some of which were embodied in a new and voluminous Act passed by the Legislature a few weeks later.

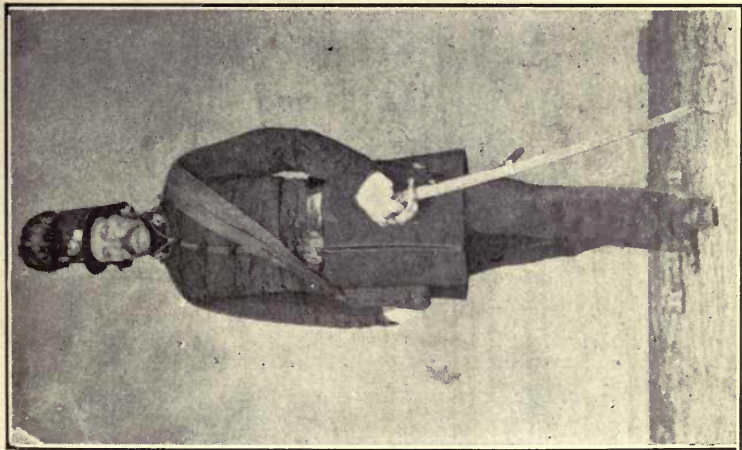
The practice of the local forces this year was considered satisfactory. Besides the ordinary annual training of regiments, 38 Adjutants received a special course of sixty days drill at head-quarters with excellent results. Militia Artillery brigades had been organized in Halifax, Pictou, Digby, Annapolis and Sydney Mines. Five Halifax regiments of Foot, with a nominal strength of 3250 men, were also converted into Artillery to aid more effectively in the defence of the city. Interest in rifle shooting continued to increase and the meeting held at Bedford was a decided success. The roll of efficient regiments was 106 at the end of the year. These, with the Artillery just mentioned, gave a nominal strength of 59,379 of all ranks, of which a very large percentage turned out for the usual training. A large number of rifles were issued, as well as two thousand uniforms, while six thousand sets of accoutrements were obtained from the Imperial stores.

The amount voted for militia this year, \$81,578, broke all records.

As the militia gained ground both in efficiency and numbers, the volunteers gradually weakened, and, by the end of the year, had shrunk to twelve companies, six of them being in Halifax. This unlooked-for outcome was in marked contrast to the experience of the other B. N. A. provinces, where the volunteer movement flourished greatly, and became the basis of Canada's present system. Nova Scotia thus occupied a unique position in maintaining and developing a strong and fairly efficient system of what was practically universal military service.

It must be borne in mind however that the volunteer branch of the service was to a large extent a training school for the commissioned ranks of the militia, the "Chebucto Greys" Rifle company for instance having furnished no less than forty-three officers and the Scottish Rifle company, twenty-nine.

The whole organization was now to have a test of its efficiency—a test, which, though by no means a severe one, was sufficient to show, up to a certain limited degree, the merits and demerits of the system. Fenianism had been rampant for several months along the American boundary line: arms had been gathered, and other preparations for a raid on the B. N. A. provinces had been made with but little secrecy. Pillage had occurred, and the peace of all Canada was imperilled. Precautionary measures were taken by all the provinces, and on Saturday, 17th March, 1866, Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars, as Lieut.-Gov. and Commander-in-Chief, ordered out the Nova Scotia militia for active service, that is, to be in such a position as to be instantly summoned to arms if required. His proclamation was read to both Legislative Council and House of Assembly on the 19th, whereupon resolutions were unanimously passed by both Houses approving the Lt.-Governor's actions, and undertaking to provide for any expense required for the adequate protection of the province. All the members of both Council and Assembly then proceeded to Government House and personally presented the resolution to His Excellency, as a proof of their earnestness in the matter. The pro-



**MAJOR YORKE AINSLIE WALKER  
BARRINGTON, (1816-1893.)**  
(Uniform of Sydney Mines Volunteers.)

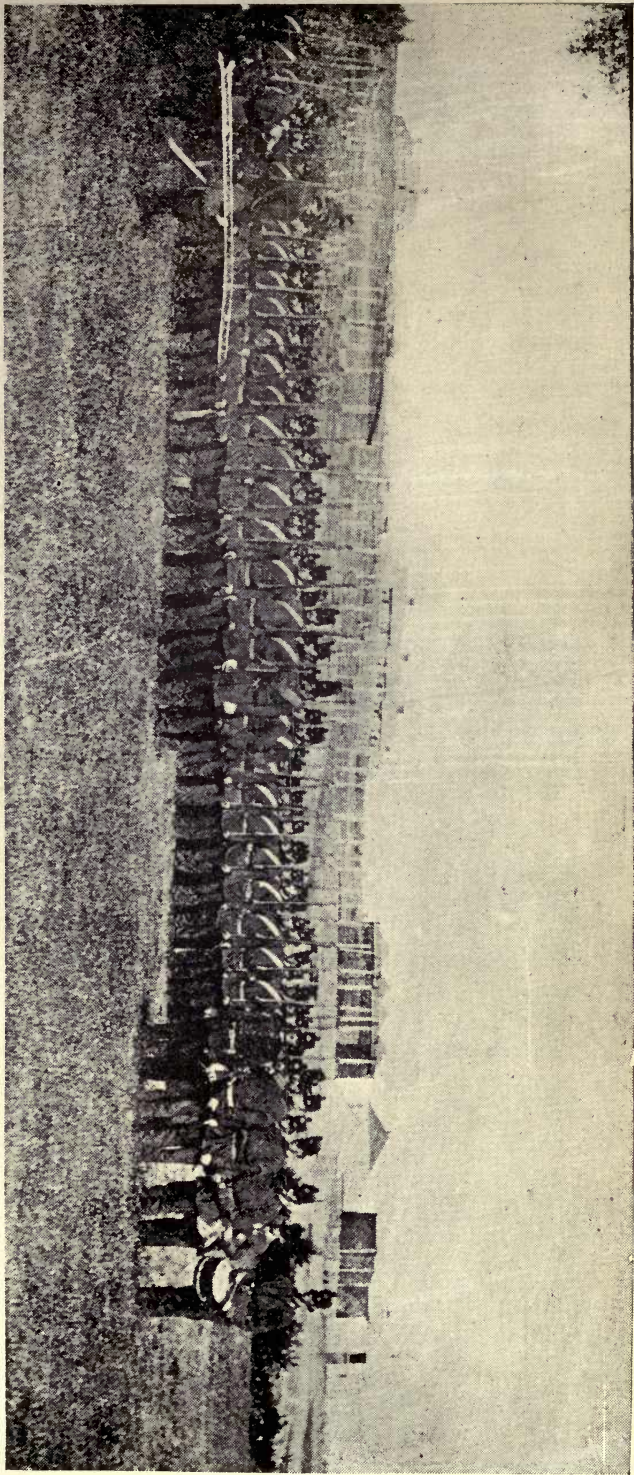
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**LT.-COL. HON. WILLIAM ANDERSON BLACK,  
(1789-1864.)** ♣  
4th Halifax Regiment, 1842.







**SYDNEY MINES VOLUNTEERS,  
Organized 1859, under Lt.-Col. Richard Brown.**

Through the courtesy of The North Sydney Herald. From a photograph in the possession of Lady Barrington. (1861.)

The picture represents the 4th regiment of militia in training at Sydney Mines. The company is being drilled by the late Lt.-Col. Richard Brown, Major Yorke Barrington, Captain Bridge and Capt. R. H. Brown. On the right of the first line is the late Sir Yorke Barrington. Other officers in the picture are the late Harry W. Archibald, Mr. Harry Fraser, Henry Langwith. The regiment was composed as follows: Lt.-Col.—Robert Bridge. Major—Yorke Barrington. Captains—R. H. Brown, John Barrington, Henry W. Archibald, David B. Brown, Richard Partridge, Albert Corbett, Adj., Thomas Scott. 1st Lieuts.—Edward Robson, William Oram, jr., John E. Morrill, Daniel Graham. 2nd Lieuts.—Walter Young, Robert S. Bridge, Law Laffin, Laughlin McDonald, William Burke, Adj. A. Corbett, Capt., Surgeon—Thomas E. Jeans, M. D.



clamation was read to the Halifax regiments mustered that day on the Common, and was received with great enthusiasm and vociferous applause.

The call to duty was effective and the response prompt. The regular machinery for selecting the men for active service was too cumbersome; and instead of using the ballot a call was made for volunteers from the various regiments and an ample supply of men thus obtained. In Halifax a volunteer battalion was called out and remained on active service in the city until 14th April, when they were inspected and released from duty, the danger of immediate invasion having evidently passed; but a few weeks later, when the Imperial garrison was reduced by the despatch of H. M. 62nd regiment to New Brunswick, 150 men of the local forces were again ordered out and remained on duty until the end of July. In the surrounding counties about 4,000 men came forward for duty, of whom 2,700 were allotted to various specified points for defensive purposes. The Inspecting officer reported that "nothing could exceed the earnestness and spirit with which all classes came forward to meet the threatened attack. Day after day during the most unfavorable season of the year, men mustered and devoted themselves to drill. The best trained officers gave their services and drilled two or three squads a day, travelling from place to place without any remuneration. The proficiency obtained in manoeuvring under arms was most remarkable" and much more to similar effect. In the western part of the province we get less detail, but learn that the proclamation was cheerfully responded to by all ranks: whole regiments and volunteer companies offered their services. In Cape Breton and the eastern counties the same patriotic spirit was evinced.

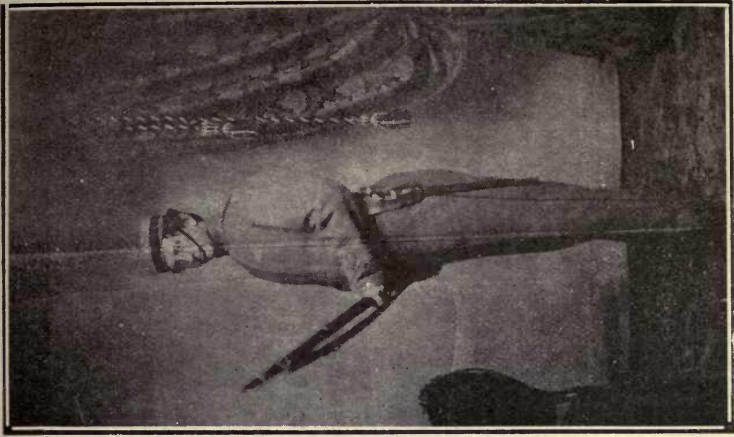
Apart from the special work arising from the threatened invasion, substantial progress was made by the force during the year, stimulated naturally by the progress of the Fenian movement and the need of efficient defensive measures. Several new Foot regiments of militia were organized and 45,767 men were trained during the year, with a total enrollment (on paper),

of 58,031. It was in the artillery branch of the service, however, that the greatest measure of advancement was apparent. A special inspecting field officer, Lieut. Col. Hardy (Captain Royal Artillery), was put in charge in April, and the work and routine was assimilated as closely as possible to that of the R. A. Time does not permit me to give much detail: briefly it may be stated that there was a remarkable increase in strength both of gunners and guns. Three brigades, comprising 19 batteries and 1727 men, were established in and about Halifax alone: while companies or batteries were maintained at Pictou, Chester, Lunenburg, Liverpool, Yarmouth, Digby, Granville and Annapolis.

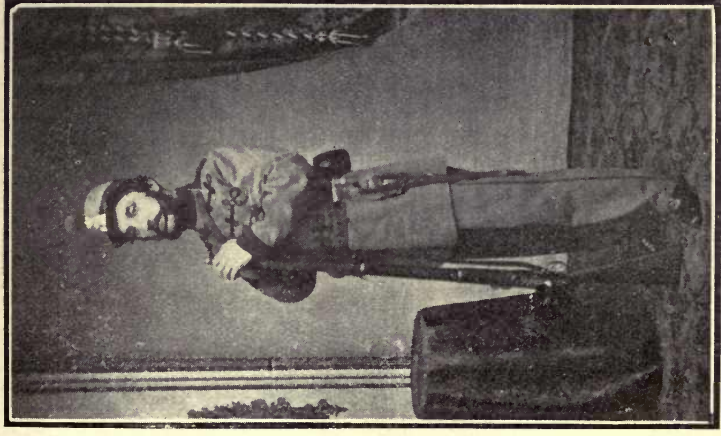
The volunteers showed a slight gain, a total of 779 as against 638 in 1865, yet it was evident that the substantial progress of the militia, due to radical improvements in the drill period, regulations, and supervision, practically absorbed the military strength and energy of the province. Outside of Halifax only five volunteer companies, with a total strength of 356 of all ranks, were returned as being efficient. These were Windsor, Tatamagouche, Shubenacadie, Shelburne, and Somerset.

The total military expenditure for the year was \$114,460, of which \$44,334 was due to the threatened Fenian invasion. The issue of arms, accoutrements, uniforms and stores was on a much more general and business-like scale than in previous years. Interest in musketry practice was carefully nursed and the number of competitors at the provincial rifle matches at Bedford again showed an encouraging increase. No less than 341 military officers were trained during the year under the permanent staff at head quarters. A Naval Brigade was organized under Lieut. Col. Wier, which, by the following spring, contained two companies comprising 554 men fully enrolled, and 16 other companies in process of organization. Two drill sheds for this brigade—one in Halifax and one at Liverpool—had been erected.

Militia legislation this year (1866), was of importance only as reflecting public sentiment regarding Fenians and Fenian-



**PRIVATE CLIFFORD R. KINNEAR,**  
**Chebucto Greys Volunteer Rifle Company.**  
 (Undress uniform, with shell jacket and forage-cap,  
 about 1862.)



**PRIVATE RICHARD LAWSON,**  
**Chebucto Greys Volunteer Rifle Company.**  
 (Full dress uniform with Enfield Rifle, about  
 1862.)



ism. One law provided for increased penalties for refusal or neglect to take the oath of allegiance, another gave power to any magistrate to summarily seize (under warrant), any arms or ammunition said to be for purposes hostile to the province: another dealt directly with treason and treasonable Acts: while a fourth made certain minor changes in the existing militia Act.

The following year, 1867, was one of special and unique interest to the people of this province. Political feeling ran high and absorbed general attention. The militia service was not wholly unaffected by this, and there was a strong feeling of unrest regarding the future: in some districts an erroneous idea was current that the militia law of the province had been suspended. In spite of these drawbacks, it is pleasing to note that good substantial work was done throughout 1867 on lines similar to those of 1866 and preceding years. 41,997 officers and men attended the annual training out of a nominal strength of 59,147. The various regiments were as a rule reported on satisfactorily: one in a remote part of Inverness county obtained special praise, while two in Antigonish, two in Kings and one in Guysboro received unsatisfactory mention. The Artillery branch remained in very good shape, although deprived of the service of its very efficient inspecting field officer, Lieut.-Col. Hardy, R. A., who returned to England during the summer. The volunteers fell away a little from the standard of 1866, the returns for 1867 showing a total of only 639 effectives.

A word here as to the question of armament may be of interest. As has probably been gathered from what has already been said, a great shortage of fire-arms for the force always existed; and while strong efforts had been made during recent years to remove this defect, many regiments were deplorably weak in this vital respect, and remained so until the end of the chapter. In the following year, when the force came under the Dominion government, the number of rifles available for the whole force of 50,000 men was only 17,160. This meant that in case of a sudden invasion or call to arms, two-

thirds of the whole defensive force of the province would have been useless for practical purposes until arms could be brought out from England.

The Naval Brigade had not made much progress this year owing to lack of qualified instructors; it subsequently, however, developed into a useful and efficient branch of the service.

Confederation of the B. N. A., provinces had by this time gone into effect and Nova Scotia's control of its citizen soldiery was practically at an end. This brings the provincial militia into a new regime; and its story as part of the Dominion's forces will no doubt, be told by some future historian.

In conclusion let me quote from Colonel (and Adjutant-General), Sinclair's report for 1867, a paragraph or two which gives an excellent summary of the progress attained:

"The annual five days' training of the whole force has now fully attained the object originally aimed at,—the complete organization of the whole force of men of martial age for administrative purposes, and giving them a tolerable idea of parade, discipline, and marching, while the more intelligent have gained an amount of military knowledge which would be useful if required.

"It affords me sincere pleasure to be able to report that nothing could exceed the willing and loyal spirit of the Militia of Nova Scotia during the five years they have been called on to render gratuitous services, which must have been heavily felt."

The Militia thus honorably closed its career as a provincial force with credit to its men, to their leaders, and to Nova Scotia.

**J. P. EDWARDS.**

(Late Major 3rd Regt. V. R. C.)

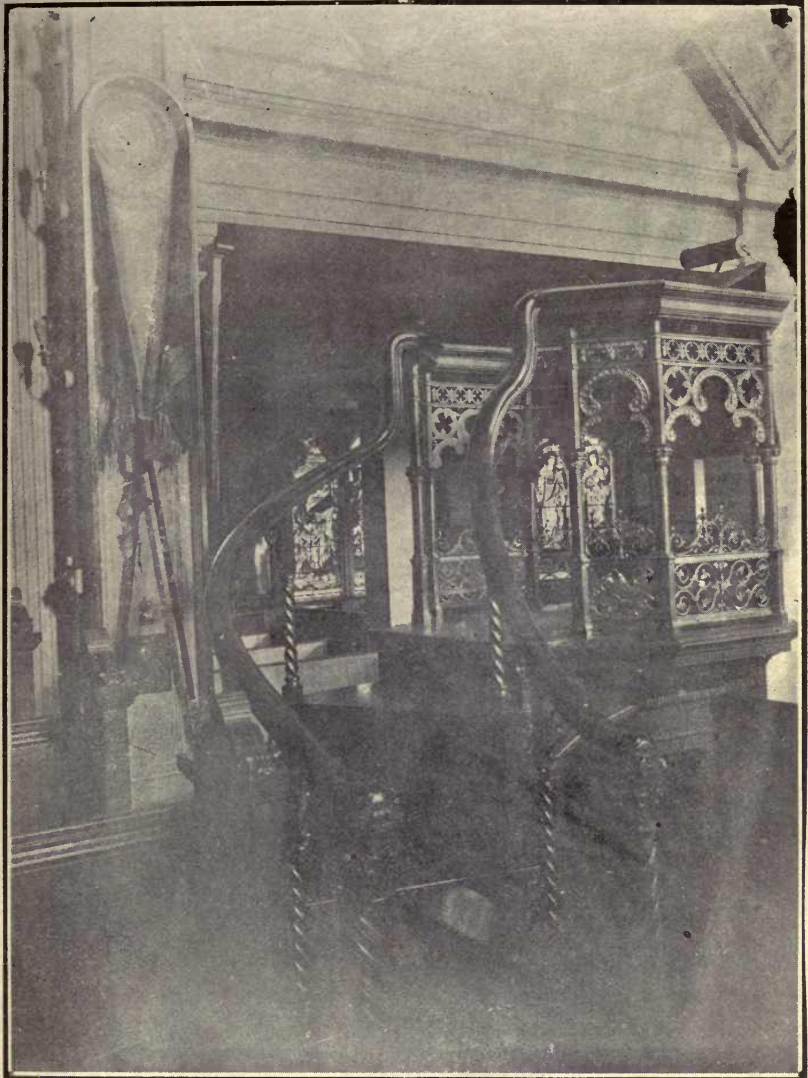
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#### DISCUSSION.

Senator William Ross, ex-minister of Militia, stated that the militia of Nova Scotia had been a credit to the Province.



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The King's and Regimental Colours carried by the Halifax Regiment of Militia from 18— till 1869, and by its successor, the 66th Halifax Volunteers Battalion of Infantry, afterwards the 66th Regiment, Princess Louise Fusiliers, from 1869 till 1901. Deposited in St. Paul's Church, 13th September, 1903.





**ADJT.-GEN. COL. R. BLIGH SINCLAIR,**  
(Late of 42nd and 21st Regiments.)



**LT.-COLONEL JOHN BREMNER,**  
(Captain 1st Co. Halifax Volunteer Artillery, 1805.)

1082



1083



**LT. COLONEL J. J. BREMNER,**  
**Lt.-Col. Commanding 1st Halifax, Nova Scotia Militia.**



It was composed of good officers and men interested in the work. The Senator claimed the honor of having brought in the Act establishing the Royal Military college at Kingston.

Senator Power said that Nova Scotia had led British America in training a militia, and that in his opinion the work of forming and training a militia in the earlier days had not been surpassed by the present methods.

Lt.-Colonel Bremner spoke of the self-sacrificing spirit of the officers and men in the early period of his life and of the splendid work accomplished, especially in Halifax. Sir Sandford Fleming had been a private in the ranks.

Lt.-Colonel F. H. Oxley spoke of his early experience in the Scottish rifles, membership in which qualified for a vote.

Lt.-Colonel John T. Wyle, who served in the naval brigade, gave interesting reminiscences of Halifax military life and spoke of the splendid service of the Guysboro militia.

Lt.-Colonel James E. Curran thought the paper had added much in the way of information on a very important subject.

Major H. E. Gates thought the paper was of such general interest that it should be published for the information of the militiamen of Nova Scotia.

Harry Piers, who knows the earlier period well, considered that Major Edwards had done great service to the Province in putting into permanent shape matter of such great importance.

Paymaster Annesley, a naval officer, thought the paper threw a flood of light on the growth of a great military movement which had profoundly affected the British empire.

Major Anderson, R. C. E., of the headquarters staff, a graduate of Kingston, spoke in appreciative terms of the paper.





## EXPLANATION OF FIGURES.

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- Fig. 1** *Coatee of officer of 1st. Halifax Regiment of N. S. Militia, about 1830.* Made of dark blue cloth with red facings (collar and cuffs), and gilt lace (on collar, cuffs, and flaps of false pockets on skirts), buttons, skirt ornaments and epaulettes. White turn-backs to skirt, terminated by the skirt ornament, viz., the number "1" between thistles surmounted by crown. Buttons bear number "1" with a garter inscribed "Halifax Regiment of Militia," surmounted by crown. (Formerly in possession of late Nepean Clarke. Photographed by courtesy of Lt.-Col. Chipman, 66th P. L. F.).
- Fig. 2** *Gilt full-dress epaulettes of uniform shown in Fig. 1.*
- Fig. 3** *Shako plume of white feathers with gilt base. Belonging to uniform shown in Fig. 1.*
- Fig. 4** *Smooth-bore carbine with brass mountings; steel lock marked "V. R. Tower, 1844," and stock stamped with owner's name, "W. Lea." Length 36 inches. Said to have been used in 1st Company (Halifax) Volunteer Artillery. (H. Piers).*
- Fig. 5** *Light-infantry shako, 3rd Halifax Regiment of N. S. Militia, about 1835.* Made of black beaver-felt, with black leather peak and top, bronze plate and chin-strap (acanthus leaf design), bronze-colored pompon, and black cap-cords. The plate consists of a star, bearing a laurel wreath surrounding a Maltese cross, in the centre of which is a bugle with cord and the number "3" surrounded by a circle inscribed "Nova Scotia Militia;" the whole surmounted by a crown. (Property of Capt. Henry Heckler, 63rd Halifax Rifles).
- Fig. 6** *Shako of N. S. Militia, about 1868. (Regulation pattern).* Dark blue cloth, black leather peak, silver shako-plate, surmounted by crown, with gilt centre bearing mayflower design, inscribed "Nova Scotia Militia" on garter, and white and red pompon with silver base. (E. M. H. Vieth, 15th Regt. N. S. M.).
- Fig. 7** *Forage-cap of 15th Regiment of Nova Scotia Militia, about 1868.* Blue-black cloth, black leather peak, black oak-pattern band, and gilt-cord number. (E. M. H. Vieth). The other regiments wore, instead of the number, a silver-cord laurel wreath enclosing the monogram N. S. M. in script letters, surmounted by a crown.
- Fig. 8** *Belt buckle, gilt, worn by some officers of N. S. Militia, 1867. (H. Piers.).* Most officers wore the special silver buckle of the N. S. Militia shown in Fig. 13.
- Fig. 9** *Outer circle of belt buckle, bronze, of the Chebucto Greys, 1859-73. (G. Piers).* The centre of the buckle bore a crown.

- Fig. 10** *Shako-plate, rough bronze, of the Mayflower Rifles.* Maltese cross, bearing bugle with cords, surrounded by circlet inscribed "Mayflower Rifles," the whole surmounted by a crown. (Capt. H. Heckler.).
- Fig. 11** *Shako-plate, bronze, of the Chebucto Greys, 1865-73.* Escutcheon bearing arms of the Baronets of Nova Scotia, surmounted by scroll inscribed with the corps motto, "Pro aris et focus." Worn surmounted by a crown. (G. Piers). From 1859 to 1865 the plate was heraldically colored.
- Fig. 12** *Button, silver, of officer's tunic, N. S. Militia, 1868.* Mayflower design with crown above, surrounded by "Nova Scotia Militia." (E. M. H. Vieth).
- Fig. 13** *Belt buckle, officer's, silver, 1868.* Mayflower design (leaves badly formed), surmounted by crown, circle inscribed "Nova Scotia Militia." (E. M. H. Vieth.). Some belt buckles had hook ("snake") fastening.

110 2

## Uniforms of Officers of Line Regiments of the Nova Scotia Militia, 1863-1869.

The following detailed description of the militia officers' uniforms, prior to the force being taken over by the Dominion, is worth preservation.

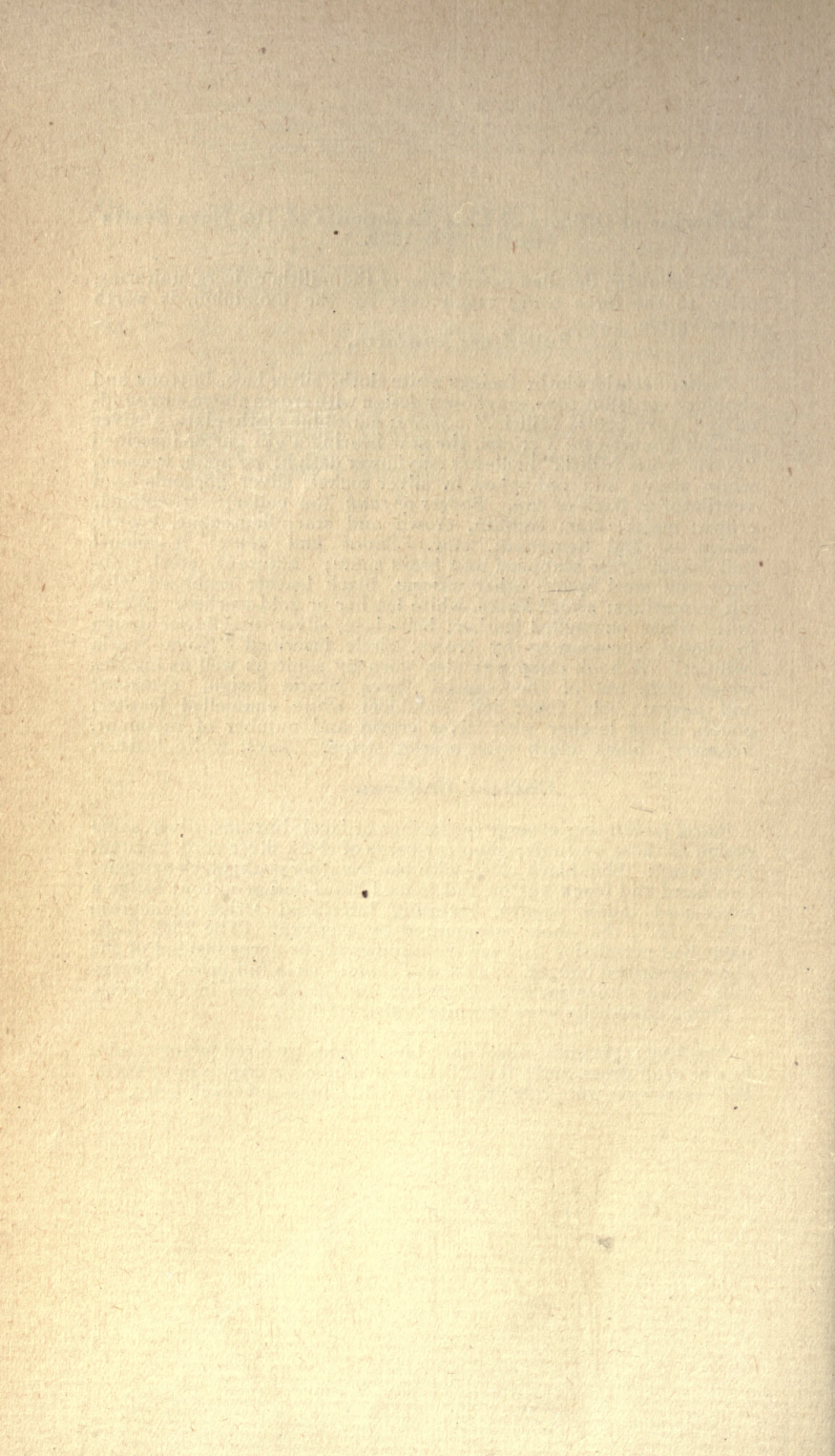
### Full-dress Uniform.

*Tunic*: scarlet cloth; facings white cloth; silver lace, buttons and shoulder-cords; buttons, mayflower design with crown above, surrounded by "Nova Scotia Militia." *Shako*: dark blue cloth; plate, a silver star surmounted by a crown, the star bearing a gilt garter inscribed "Nova Scotia Militia" inclosing mayflower design; pompon, worsted, white above and red below, in silver socket; silver gorgon's-head ventilator at back of cap. *Badges of rank* (on collar): Lt.-colonel, crown; major, star; captain, crown and star; lieutenant, crown; ensign or 2nd lieutenant, star. *Sword and spurs*: Lt.-colonel and major, brass scabbard and brass spurs; adjutant, steel scabbard and steel spurs; other officers, black leather scabbard with gilt mountings; sword-knots, white leather or gold-worked. *Waist-belt*: white enamelled leather; belt-clasp, silver, mayflower design in centre, surmounted by crown, circle inscribed "Nova Scotia Militia." A hook clasp was also worn by some, as well as buckles which were not of the special Nova Scotia design. *Cross-belt and pouch*: belt (over left shoulder) white enamelled leather; pouch, black leather with silver crown and number of regiment. *Trousers*: black cloth with scarlet stripe. *Gloves*: white leather.

### Undress Uniform.

*Patrol jacket*: scarlet serge (no facings or lace); buttons, silver, same design as those on tunic; shoulder-cords of thick silver-cord, twisted. *Forage-cap*: blue-black cloth with black leather peak; black oak-pattern band and black button and looped braid design on top; badge a silver-cord laurel wreath, inclosing interlaced script monogram "N. S. M.", the whole surmounted by a crown. (The 15th Regiment had permission to wear the number of the corps instead of the above-described badge). *Sword and spurs*: as in full-dress. *Waist-belt*: worn under jacket. *Cross-belt and pouch*: as in full-dress. (Some cross-belts were of white buffed leather).

Artillery regiments wore dark blue tunics with red facings and a busby head-dress, and a few other very minor variations in uniform. Rifle regiments wore rifle-green with red facings and black belts.

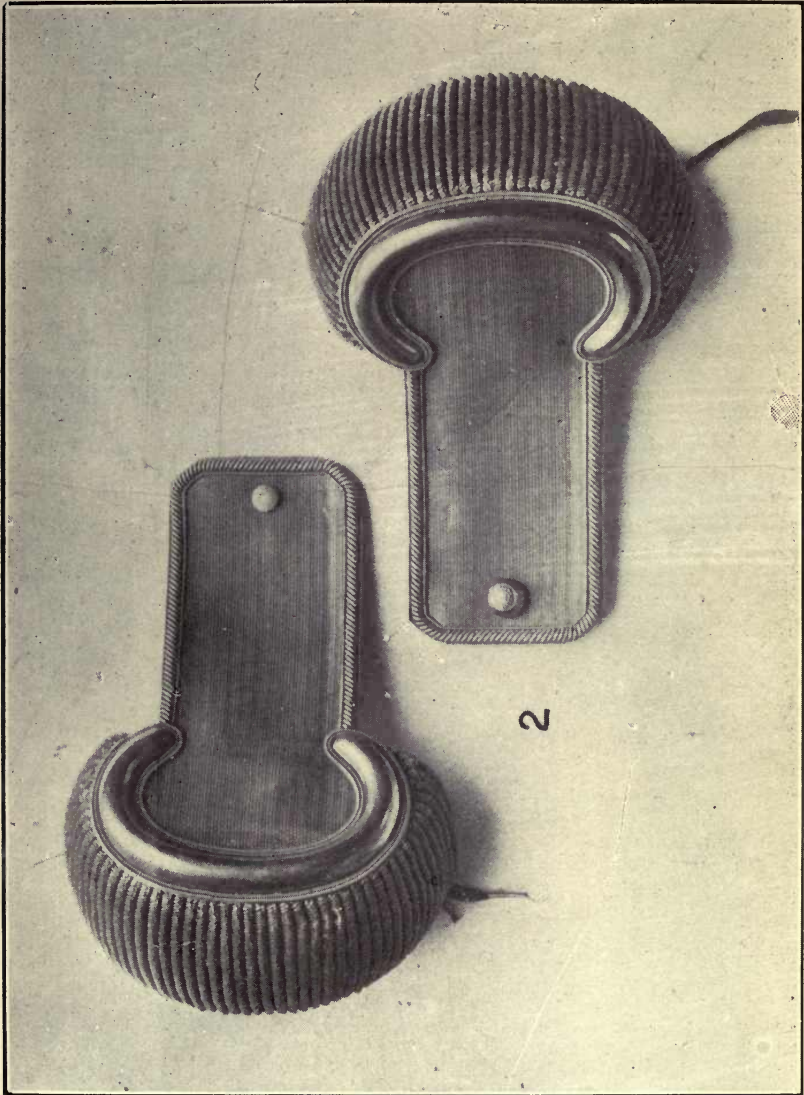


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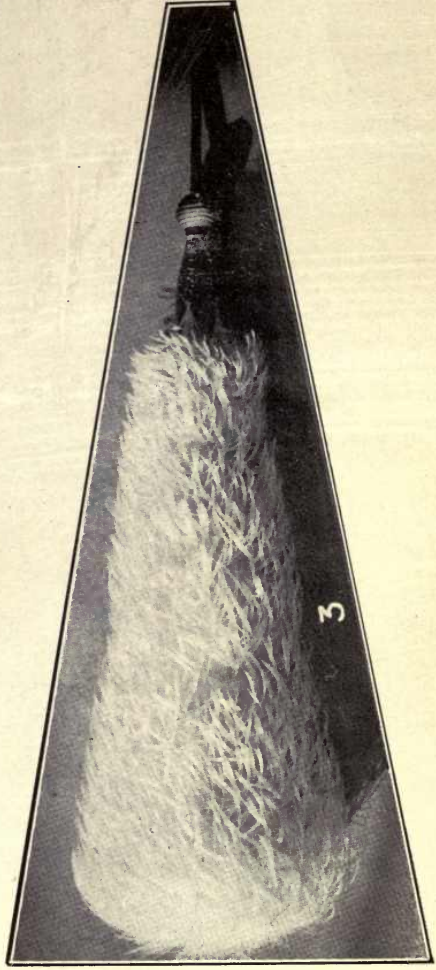
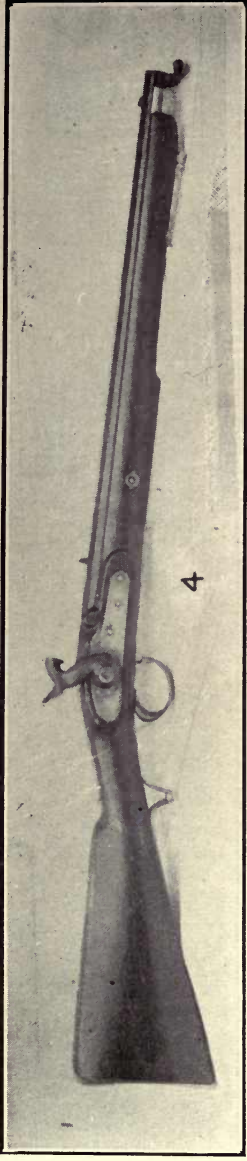


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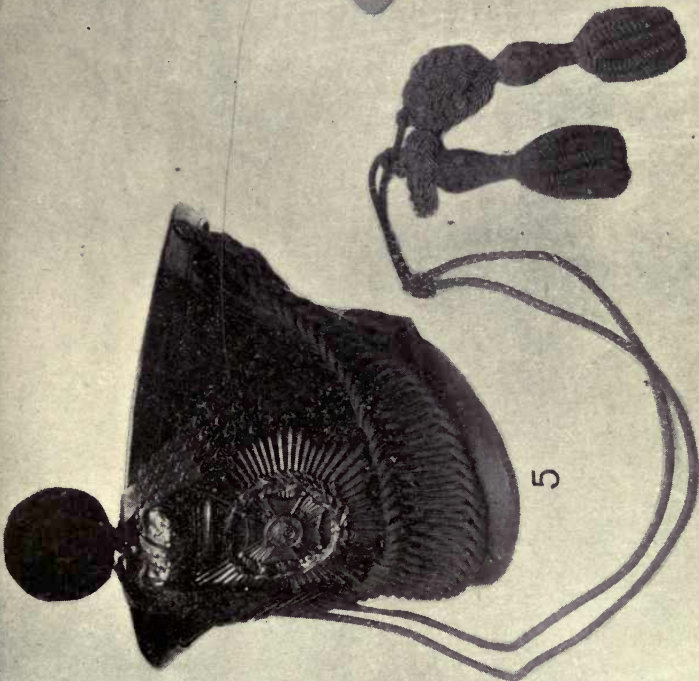


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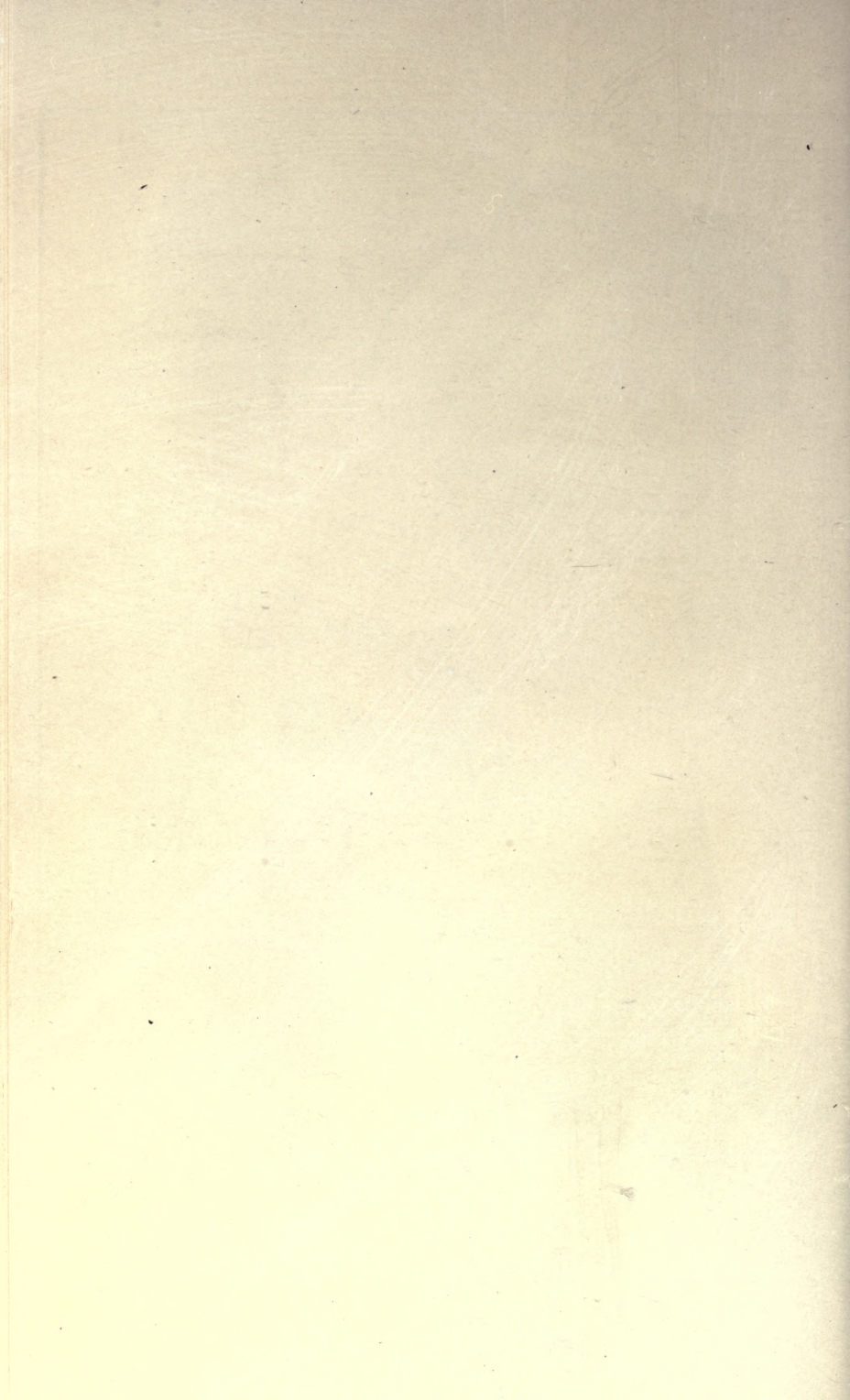
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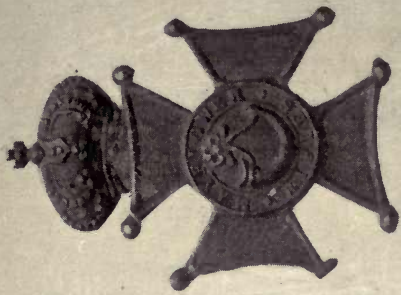


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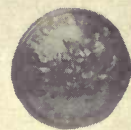
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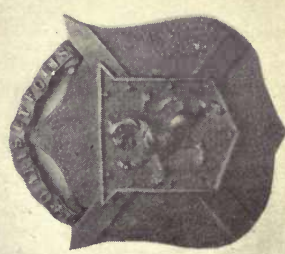
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## EARLY REMINISCENCES OF HALIFAX.

(First Paper).

By PETER LYNCH, Q. C.

Read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 1st March, 1883.

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**Story of a Young Halifax Girl who became the Wife of an Indian.**

It was my good fortune in my youth, and during my ripe years, to come in contact with many persons acquainted with much of the early history of this our native city. Most of those persons have passed away. Some of their names are familiar to us through their descendants. Others, who played an active and important part in their day and generation are utterly unknown to our contemporaries, the only record of them is now to be found on rickety tomb-stones in the old Church-yard. Here let me say to all who have a taste for antiquarian lore (if we can apply that term to things of less than two centuries old), that an afternoon may be very pleasantly and profitably passed in that old cemetery, for on its tablets are to be found most interesting histories of some of the stirring events connected with the early history of the town.

I regret to say that I did not avail myself of the opportunities I once had of obtaining much valuable information on that subject, and I now look back to those opportunities lost and never to be regained with much but unavailing regret.

It is a great pity that the personal history of the early settlers of the town has to a large extent been lost, for many of them were people of a very superior order, both mentally and physically. Whether we have improved or degenerated is a question which we will not now discuss.

One old man who has recently been removed from us with whom I had frequent communication, and for whom I had much respect, had much of our urban lore, and had from time to time promised me some very interesting details of events connected with that pretty spot, the North West Arm, but his engagements and mine caused us to postpone the consideration of it, until the grim monarch interposed between us, and gave me another illustration of the danger of delay.

Another person whose family played a large and conspicuous part in the early history of the Province, the widow of a man formerly in authority, was one to whom I as a child, often listened for hours with wrapt attention. She had apparently an inexhaustible store of narratives of Indian and other atrocities, some of which are to be found on the pages of the history of the province, others only in the recollections of those living about the period. That old lady, an intimate friend of my mother, was in the habit of spending much time at our house. And after dinner with her high mob cap, her spectacles on her nose, her large signet ring on her thumb, a snuff box of about six inches diameter, in her hand, and a large red and yellow silk handkerchief spread on her lap, would amuse us for hours with stories of love, and wars, some of which she had traditionally, others of which had come under her own personal cognizance. From her, I obtained the particulars of the narrative of which I propose now to give you an outline. Names I will not, dates I cannot, give you.

From that old lady I learned, that amongst the earliest settlers in the town from England, came a merchant, a man of respectable lineage, good education, and much intelligence. Rumor whispered, that some unsuccessful speculations at home had resulted in commercial embarrassment, and induced him to come to the new world, in the hope of retrieving his fortunes. He was a reticent, unobtrusive man, and all who had anything to do with him soon learned to



respect him, for his kindly disposition, and unswerving integrity. His family, was but a small one, consisting of his sister, an aged spinster, who, since the decease of his wife, had presided over his household, and an only child, a fair girl of some seventeen summers, his domestics and his clerks, all of whom dwelt beneath his roof, for in those primitive days, hotels and boarding houses were scarce, as to numbers, and scanty as to resources.

At the time to which we refer, there was much distrust and hostility between the red man and the white. The Indian regarded the settlers as intruders upon their grounds, and despoilers of their possessions, while on the other hand a recent attack by the Indians upon the little settlement at Dartmouth, which resulted in the death of several of the whites, and much wanton cruelty, together with the scalping of two persons, who had incautiously wandered beyond the narrow precincts of the town, had engendered much fear and distrust, on the part of the settlers. Notwithstanding, however, the bad feeling thus existing between the races, fortuitous circumstances, at times, had brought them into contact, and now and then Indian men and women in their picturesque costumes, were to be seen in the streets. Amongst others a tall, graceful lad, who had been for some time an invalid, and whose disease had baffled the skill of the Indian Medicine Man, had ventured into the settlement to seek the aid of one of the resident Doctors, and while hanging about the town, had attracted the attention of the merchant. His good looks, and fine manly, graceful bearing, but above all, his sunken eye, hollow cheek, and evident debility had enlisted the sympathy of the kind-hearted man, who from time to time asked him to his house, and fed him at his board, and as the lad's intelligence, and apparent honesty, gradually won his confidence, he, as he grew in strength under the skilful treatment of the Physician, grew in favor with the merchant, until in an evil hour, with the concurrence of his household he determined to take him into his employ, and make

him one of his family. Clad in the habiliments of the white man, and brought into daily contact with him, the austerity of the savage appeared to be yielding to the ameliorating influences of his new friends, and in a short time he became useful to his benefactor, and discharged his duties with diligence and apparent cheerfulness. He was an orphan, and all intercourse with those of his own race appeared to have been broken off. At intervals, with the concurrence of his master, he would, with his gun on his shoulder, stroll away into the neighboring woods, and after a time return with the products of his day's sport. At first those excursions were limited to a few hours, but after a while they became more protracted, and at last, to the displeasure of the merchant and notwithstanding frequent remonstrances, he would disappear, and remain away for whole days.

The nomadic habits of his people sown in his blood, and for a time become dormant by the novelty of his situation, and the kindness of his benefactor, were fast developing themselves in many unmistakable ways. The duties assigned to him, never of a very onerous character, and which had been discharged with apparent cheerfulness and alacrity, were evidently sitting heavily upon him, and were frequently discharged with too apparent reluctance; and the merchant, was beginning to despair of ever moulding his protégé to his ways, when of a sudden to the surprise of every one except the maiden, the Indian's restlessness was no longer manifested, and again, to the satisfaction of his master, his duties were resumed with cheerfulness, and the cloud which had rested upon his brow, was entirely dispelled. Some of the young people who had wandered about the precincts of the town had recently remarked that they had seen the Indian lad holding converse with others of his race, while neighbors had spoken to one another in whispers, of an apparent intimacy between him and the maiden. To the confiding merchant no breath of suspicion had been communicated. Confident as to the prudence of his child, and having no

doubts as to the conduct of the lad, he had never entertained a thought to the detriment of either of them. Prudent men believed that it would be a thankless communication for them to make, and it was such a secret as no true woman would ever think of divulging. At length a flagrant act of indiscretion caused the terrible truth to flash across the mind of the father, and in a stormy interview with his daughter, she had avowed her love for the Indian boy, and her determination to become his wife. Need I say that the revelation was received with indignation and horror by the agonized parent. The lad was at once thrust out of the house and the silly and infatuated girl placed under the most rigid surveillance. But love laughs at locksmiths. The Indian at once disappeared from the town. The girl who had lived for a time in apparent hopeless grief, became calmed. The neighbours and friends after a little while, ceased to discuss the affair, having probably obtained some new piece of gossip, and the father's suspicions and fears having become abated, his household in a short time resumed its pristine condition, and his daughter was again allowed to come and go as she chose. Again, after a while, neighbors whispered to one another, their suspicions regarding the lovers. Some told that the Indian had been seen hovering about the brushwood fence, while one old gossip went so far as to affirm that she had seen the lad and the maiden under the shade of night in close converse near to her father's dwelling, and so things went on, until the maple and the ash having been denuded of their summer tints, were decking the surrounding woods with crimson and gold, when one bright, but dark night, about midnight those in the vicinity of the merchant's house were aroused by the frantic cries of his family, that his daughter had just fled with the Indian. As the neighbours came forth from their dwellings, they found the merchant in a state apparently bordering on madness, rushing from his house, followed by two men servants, and calling loudly to all around him to aid him in the pursuit of his daughter, promising a large reward to any one who would either secure the girl

or shoot the Indian. The wretched, infatuated girl had but just effected her escape, when her father became aware of her flight, and he, seizing a loaded gun, with which weapon every house was then provided, and calling to his men to similarly arm themselves, and follow him, the distracted father rushed from his dwelling. A tramp, who had been wandering about the streets, while others slept, in answer to an ejaculation from him informed him, that a man and woman evidently in flight, had passed him as on their way towards the brow of the hill. Onward sped the pursuers, and as they passed the pallisade, one of the men asserted that he caught a glimpse of the fugitives, between him and the horizon as they gained the top of the hill.

In the meantime the flying pair had made their way with all possible expedition up the steep ascent, but after a time the strength of the trembling girl began to fail her and out of breath and nearly fainting with fatigue her steps began to totter as they neared the summit. The Indian, better used to the pace and more accustomed to the high and tortuous way threw his arm around her and although their progress became but slow, they at last reached the brow of the hill, just as the nearing cry of the pursuers broke upon their affrighted ears. The way down the further side of the hill was much easier, and again with the aid of her companion the poor misguided girl was hurried down toward the plain now known as the common. Again the nearing steps of the pursuers were heard in rapid pursuit and the loud cries of the distracted parent reached the ears of his child as she and her companion reached a turbid stream, which then flowed along the valley, now a portion of the common. The Indian familiar with the ground, had come to a place where a dead log spanned the stream, across which in his arms he successfully bore his companion. No sooner had they reached the further side of the stream than putting down his burden, he with a herculean effort, toppled the rude bridge into the stream, and thus for the time stopped the progress of the pursuers. Again raising his companion, now about

helpless, he made his way up the side of the rising ground, now known as Camp Hill, and with desperate energy partly carrying and partly dragging the wretched girl, he made his way slowly along. The party in pursuit, stayed for a time, had after some little delay managed to cross the stream, and as the Indian and his victim after straining the top of the hill made their way down the decline, the cry of rage and despair again reached their ears. At last the light of the stars glinting upon the black waters of the Arm, seen by the quick eye of the nearly exhausted Indian, told him that safety was at hand. As he approached the shore, a short guttural ejaculation escaped him, a preconcerted signal to some confederates of his tribe, but as he stood on the beach and anxiously peered around, no voice responded to the signal, no canoe was to be seen at the trysting place. An involuntary cry of dismay burst from him, as he heard his pursuers near at hand. But the cry was heard by his friends and also by his pursuers. His friends having despaired of his advent, the time named for his return having long lapsed, had just shot out into the stream, but at once returned. The pursuers, uncertain for a minute as to the spot whither the quarry had fled, guided by the cry, made with all speed towards it, satisfied as they discerned the objects of their search just below them, that they must now fall into their hands. A cry of impatient rage escaped the Indian as he saw his pursuers within a few yards of him, and as the canoe grounded upon the sand, the panting girl was almost thrown into it, and her companion with the eagerly outstretched hand of one of his merchant's servants almost upon his arm, with a bound just escaped his grasp. With the rapidity of lightning, the outstretched hand of the servant having missed its object, seized hold of the bow of the canoe and held it with an iron grasp. The Indian in the bow finding that the canoe did not yield to the pressure of his paddle, as he in vain strove to shove off from the shore, having discovered the resisting influence, at once lifting his paddle high above his head, brought it down upon the hand of the man with such violence that it thoroughly disabled him and caused him to relax his grasp, and as the mer-

chant came to the spot the canoe no longer restrained bounded into the dark waters, and the wretched parent, utterly defeated, stood helpless upon the margin of the stream. A musket was at once raised by one of his men and pointed towards the retreating party, but the fears of the parent for the safety of his child rose superior to all other considerations, and the boat sped into the darkness.

As no means of pursuit was at hand all further attempts would for the time have been useless. As the canoe reached the further side of the arm, a torch flashed its crimson stream of light across the black waters, but an ejaculation from the Indian caused it to be instantly extinguished, and the canoe glided into the little cove formed by the strip of land now known as Melville Island, and as it grounded upon the beach in silence and darkness, a blacker darkness fell as a pall upon the crushed spirit of the poor old man.

As the first rays of coming light pencilled the eastern sky the next morning, a large party of the townpeople accompanied him to the spot where the retreating party had disappeared, but no trace of them was to be found, and the poor old man, after wandering for a time amid the pathless depths of the forest, bowed nearly to the ground, with tottering steps made his way back to his desolate home, in a state of mind bordering upon madness.

From that time forth all enquiry as to the whereabouts of the fugitives was vain. They had made their way into the depths of the pathless forest, and all further attempts to search for them would not only have proved abortive, but have been attended with much hazard.

The terrible affair having been the one theme of the little community for a short time, was as such events usually are but a nine days wonder, and was soon all but forgotten to all but the disconsolate parent, who from that time forth wandered about the town scarcely bestowing any attention upon

his business, and avoiding as much as possible all intercourse with his neighbors, a poor, disconsolate, broken down man.

About a year from the time of the flight on a dark cheerless night, in a thick wood near the bank of the Shubenacadie, by the flickering and weird light of some half burnt fagots, and enveloped by the smoke of a wig-wam, the low cry of a newly born infant had scarcely broken upon the stillness of the night, when to it was succeeded the wail of a young but emaciated woman, whose dying cry told the closing lament of a wretched life, and the soul of the child of the English Merchant, released from its mortal tenement, thus made expiation to the world for its outrage upon human society. The unfortunate broken hearted young woman after a long year of mourning, lamentation, and tears, having outraged the terms upon which length of days had been vouchsafed to her, had departed from—to her a world of misery, in the hope of finding a refuge, where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.

Again a few weeks after the happening of the sad event, just narrated, a tall, gaunt Indian under the shadow of night, stealthily made his way into the town, approached the house of the merchant, and having deposited an infant carefully wrapped in a course blanket, in the porch, and rapped violently at the door, fled out into the darkness, without having been discovered by anyone. A few moments after, the child was brought into the room, where the old man sat listless and sad. It was placed upon his lap. As he looked upon the swarthy face of the slumbering infant, the whole of the terrible facts connected with it, swept across the chords of his heart with a melancholy wail. For a moment he seemed as if almost petrified, and as if about to repel the little slumbering thing, but the next, he bent over it gathered it, into his bosom, and baptized it with his tears.

The rest of the story is soon told. The child became the solace of her grandfather's declining years. As she grew up

to womanhood, she won the love of all about her by her gentleness and singular beauty. Traces of her Indian blood were to be discovered in her brunette complexion, her dark and beautiful eyes, and her graceful bearing. To her friends, she was the bright and cheerful companion, to her grandfather, the comfort of his life. Never tiring in her efforts to make his home a happy one, all minor considerations were forgotten, and laid aside, in her ceaseless effort for his happiness. Beloved by the rich and the poor, she was sought in marriage at an early age by a British Naval Officer, then in command of a ship on this station. She gave him her heart, but not her hand, until it had closed the eyes of her grandfather. Then amidst the blessings of the community, she became the wife of a husband well worthy of her, and made her home in England, where she became the mother of a large family of children, one of whom was within the recollection of those living on this station, holding the same rank in the navy that his father had at the time of his marriage.

From the time he laid down his burden at the merchant's door, nothing was ever heard of the Indian.

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### **The Three Fishermen.** (Second Paper.)

The occurrence which I now propose to narrate is one that I had from Mr. William Story, formerly a merchant of Halifax. Particulars as to names and dates I cannot give you. He told it to me when I was a boy, about half a century ago, and said he had a distinct recollection of it. I think, therefore, that its authority can be relied on. He was a very old man, somewhere between 80 and 90 years of age, and from the best calculation I can make I should think it occurred about 100 to 110 years ago. The narrative is as follows:—

At the time of which I speak the fishermen then resident on the western side of the Harbour had had a very disastrous season. The fish had apparently deserted the coast and



seines were set and lines cast into the sea in vain. The fishermen, as improvident then as they are now, and I fear ever will be, were dependent upon each year's fish for each year's bread, and it mattered not how prosperous a season they may have had, they lived up to all they got, year by year, and not having a Joseph amongst them to suggest provision for years of famine, when such years came, they were ever found to be in a state of semi-starvation.

The year to which I now refer had been one of utter failure, and when at last the month of November had passed and not a fish's tail was to be found on the stages, and starvation was to be too surely apprehended in the not very remote distance, the fishermen began to ask each other, what was to be done. A previous year of comparative failure had left debts unpaid, and credit was therefore exhausted. Some scanty supplies already grudgingly given, had been consumed, and further applications had been unheeded. At last three men, residents I think of Herring Cove, each the father of a large family, finding that all other sources of supply were dried up, determined to try the last expedient of famishing people, and go to Halifax, and endeavor to get something by begging. It was a most revolting thing for them to do, but poverty and degradation of spirit don't always go hand in hand, and what won't men do for starving wives and children. They were strong able men, willing to work, but employment there was none, at that season of the year, and they had therefore no other expedient. So, one bitterly cold day in the middle of December, amidst float ice, they rowed themselves up to town, and set about their painful work, but cold as was the wind, the hearts of the towns-people seemed colder. They went from house to house, and from shop to shop, in vain. Those they owed money to, told them they had already given them more than they could afford. Many twitted them as to their respectable appearance, and evident health and strength, apparently accounting it a reproach that they should look either healthy or respectable; others taunted them with the

enquiry, why they did not work rather than beg, when at the same time they knew no work could be had. And so it was that in despair, and almost broken hearted, they wandered from door to door, amidst frowns and repulses, their pockets empty of money, and their wallets of food, until the declining sun warned them that they had spent their day in vain. Then maddened with despair, they determined to make their way back to their starving families, dreading to meet their anxious looks, and unwilling to acquaint them of their fruitless attempt. Just then, in passing a shop, where they had been sternly refused assistance, they unfortunately saw some clothing hanging beside the door, near at hand. Swinging in the wind, were three coarse shop waistcoats, and scarcely knowing what he did, one of the three men with the cognizance of the others, took the waistcoats from the string which held them, and thrust them into the pocket of his pea-jacket. Onward they went, scarcely daring to speak to each other as to what they had done, each man's conscience beating violently against his breast, and feeling as though they would like to flee, though no one was pursuing them. At last the man who had taken the waistcoats stopped suddenly, and said, "Men we have done wrong, I am sorry I took these things, and I cannot keep them, if I and my family are to starve, we must starve honestly; and so said they all, and determined at once to take back the stolen property, restore it to the owner of it, and express their regret for having taken it. At once they went back to the shop, and arrived there just as the trader had missed the waistcoats, and with loud imprecations was prepared to go in quest of the thief. With the waistcoats in his hand, the man who had taken them, together with his comrades, entered the shop, and as he laid them on the counter, he expressed his deep regret that maddened by his necessities, and in his extremity, scarcely knowing what he was about, he had taken the property, but, that his conscience would not allow him to retain it, and that they had all come back to restore it, and express their sorrow, that they should have allowed themselves to be guilty

of the act. The shop-keeper, who appeared to be in a towering passion, was just beginning to storm about his lost property, at once with the look of a tiger, turned his wrath upon them, and abused them for a pack of thieves, and vagabonds; but the next moment, having whispered something to his clerk, who at once left the shop, he changed his tone, expressed himself as satisfied as they had returned the goods, and kept them in conversation for some short time, until his clerk returned with a constable, who at once apprehended them as thieves, and told them that they must accompany him to prison. The poor fellows, thunderstruck, and pallid with fear, pleaded earnestly for forgiveness, stated the terribly trying circumstances, under which they had taken the goods, and supplicated the trader, and the constable to let them go, but it was all in vain. The trader for a moment, amidst their sobbings and tears and cries for mercy, seemed to relent, but the constable, not to be deprived of his prey, told the informer, that the men were now beyond his aid, and that if he interfered, he would be imprisoned for felony and subject to prosecution, and so the poor unfortunate fishermen, were dragged along through snow and ice to the gaol; and cold, and hungry, and almost heart-broken, thrust into a dungeon, until the morning. They were taken before a Magistrate, at the Police Office, and as their guilt was beyond question, they were, on the evidence of the trader, committed to prison, there to abide their trial at the next term of the Supreme Court.

In the meantime, as night drew on, the wives, with anxious faces, and trembling hearts, made their way to their doors, as every sound indicated approaching footsteps, hoping to be able to provide their half-fed children with a sufficient meal, before retiring to rest. But hour succeeded hour, and at last, the three wives, with anxious faces, met and wondered why their husbands tarried so long. Hope suggested that they had been so successful, that they had been unable to get the products of their day's efforts home, before the night

overtook them, and so, nervous and disappointed, they retired to their sleepless beds, to hope and fear during the long tedious hours of the night, and anxiously look for the morrow. The next day passed in a state of fear and anxiety, which can be better conceived than expressed, and when night again closed in upon them, and no tidings came of the absent men, their wives, after an anxious conference, parted in a state of feverish excitement, almost bordering upon madness. Hope deferred, had made their hearts sick. Long ere the light of the next day dawned, one of them (by concert with the others), unable further to endure the state of suspense, was up, and upon the road to town. During the night before, there had been a heavy fall of rain, and through deep snow, and along the untrodden roads, she toiled her way around the head of the North West Arm, and arrived at an early hour in town. Having made her way to the abode of an old friend, whose house was open to her husband, herself and children, she anxiously enquired for her husband, but was told by her friend, that she had neither seen him nor heard of him. Beginning to fear disaster, she then made her way to his merchant, who informed her that he had seen her husband two days before with the other two men, but could give her no further tidings of him, nor did he tell her of their repulse, by him and his friends. At last in a condition of feverish anxiety and apprehension, she was informed in reply to further enquiry, that three fishermen from the shore who made pretence for help, had been detected in robbing a shop, and had been apprehended for theft, and were then confined in gaol. With trembling steps, and a terribly foreboding heart, she at once went to the gaol, and on enquiry found that her husband, together with his two hopeless friends, were there incarcerated as thieves. Who could depict the state of mind in which she for a long time in vain attempted to get access to the criminals, but at length, through the intercessions of a benevolent gentleman, who heard her sad story, and saw her distressed condition, she was permitted to hold intercourse with her wretched husband through the grated open-

ing in the door of his dungeon, and learned the sad and awful truth from him. I shall not venture to attempt a description of the interview, or of the wild and hopeless state in which that poor woman made her way home, to communicate to the others the awful story. God grant that none of us may ever have such a burden to struggle under.

By the ancient Saxon laws, as says that eminent authority Blackstone, the stealing of "property to the value of twelve pence was punishable by death, but the thief could redeem his life by payment of a pecuniary ransom; but by the statute of Henry the First, the form of redemption was taken away, and all persons guilty of larceny above the value of a shilling were doomed to be hanged."

By a Saxon law, enacted as far back as the time of King Athelstane, the stealing of property of the value of twelve pence, was made a capital offence, and punishable with death. Strange to say, that Draconian edict continued as a foul blot upon the statute book of our country, until a very recent period. To be sure the finger of God had inscribed upon a stone the edict, "Thou shalt not steal" but that same deity had afterwards lovingly inscribed upon the fleshly tablets of the heart, "If thy brother trespass against thee seven times, and seven times repent, thou shalt forgive him." But the three fishermen were to be tried by the laws of man. By the grand jury of the county when the court met, on the separate testimony of the shopkeeper, a true bill for theft was found against the men, and a few days after manacled, they were placed in the criminal dock, and the indictment accusing them of having feloniously stolen three waistcoats of the value of fifteen shillings, having been read to them, they were asked if they were guilty or not guilty. Dumbfounded and confused for awhile, they gazed at the officers of the Court in speechless terror, but as he again peremptorily, and in a loud voice, demanded of them whether they were guilty or not guilty, they with trembling voices said, "Guilty sir, but we are very sorry." The naive response thus

in their simplicity given, was received with an audible titter by the bye-standers, and as they thus confessed their guilt although cautioned by the court as to their answer, there was no need for further investigations. In a short time they were ordered to stand up while the Judge, totally ignorant of any palliating circumstances, told them of the heinousness of their offence, intimated that he had no doubt that they had committed the act through the instigation of the devil, and added that the laws of the land for the protection of society, imperatively required that all such miscreants, enemies of the law, and all good order, should be dealt with according to its requirements, and drawing the black cap over his brow, he proceeded to inform them that upon a day named, they should be taken from their place of confinement to the place of execution, and there hanged by the neck until they were dead, and wound up the merciful sentence, by expressing the usual hope that the Lord would have mercy on their souls. I will not continue to harrow your feelings by giving you the further details of the dreadful story, except to intimate that at the appointed time those three wretched, unfortunate men, were *actually hung*, and the cruel laws of cruel men thus exploited.

Of their wives and families, I can tell you nothing. The narrator of the story, had either never heard or forgotten their fate. But what brooked it, it was but the story of three poor fishermen and their families. The wave of time soon swept over an event so trivial, and obliterated it from the memory. The retaining a recollection of a thing so mean, was entirely unworthy of the consideration of the world, and beneath the dignity of history. A wise man was David when he said to God, "Let me fall into the hands of the Lord and not into the hands of man."

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#### Lieutenant Thomas.

I now propose to tell you of a very sad event which occurred on or about the 17th of August, 1797, and which caused deep sorrow to the whole community. I refer to the death of

Charles Thomas, Esquire, a lieutenant of the 7th Fusiliers then stationed in this garrison.

His Royal Highness Edward Duke of Kent, then I believe Prince Edward, the father of our Beloved Queen, God bless her, had been sent to America about the year 1795, and was at the time of which I am about to narrate, General and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in British North America. His Town residence, was the large building, standing on the east slope of the Citadel Hill for the last century, until very latterly used as a Military Hospital. His Country residence was on the west shore of Bedford Basin, and a property belonging to Sir John Wentworth, then Lieutenant-Governor of the province. There the Prince spent the larger portion of his time, summer and winter, and lived there in Royal Style. The Rotunda from which the Band of his Regiment discoursed sweet music, is still to be seen in a ruined condition. His house, stables, and other buildings, all of wood, have long succumbed to that unstable enemy, time. I remember when a little boy having been in the house, then tottering to its fall, the only furniture then in it, being the remains of a large pier glass, and some faded and tattered hangings. Besides that building, the only other one, was a small house which stood on the margin of The Fish Pond, which at the time I saw it was doorless and windowless, through which the wind swept with a low moan which sounded as a requiem, telling of its coming downfall. The Prince was a good soldier, but a great martinet, had violent likes and dislikes, and was of a very impulsive temperament. He prided himself very much upon His Regiment, and knew the Christian name of every soldier, although the Corps was then 1000 strong. Amongst his officers were four Nova Scotians. The late Sir Brenton Haliburton, that excellent man and upright and able Judge, so long the head of our judiciary; Wentworth Tongue a near relative of Cottenham Tongue and a leading politician of our Province, John Weeks and Charles Thomas, the subject of our consideration. By the Almanac of 179 (?) it appears that all three gentlemen

were at that time Lieutenants in the 7th Royal Fusiliers, the Prince's own regiment.

Charles Thomas was the son of Nathaniel Ray Thomas, and uncle of a lady remembered by many who now hear me, as one of the loveliest and gentlest of Nova Scotia's daughters, the deceased wife of Mr. Justice Wilkins, to whom I am indebted for some of the material which I have woven into this narrative. Mr. Thomas is said to have been a singularly handsome man, and being blessed with great suavity of manner, was a great favorite not only with his brother officers, but also with all who knew him. His Grandfather William Thomas, was one of the Founders of the New Plymouth Colony, and lived and died at Marshfield, Massachusetts. His father was one of the loyalists, who at the time of the separation of the United States from the Mother Country, left his home, which was at once confiscated, and after much privation and suffering, he made his way with the other Loyalists to this province, and with his family settled at Windsor, where he died some time about the close of The Revolutionary War. The Prince, attracted in all probability, by a sense of the losses sustained by the family, by their adherence to their King and Country, gave young Thomas a Commission in his own regiment, and in a short time, the kindly qualities of the young soldier made the same impression upon his Colonel that it had done upon every one else. He became the Prince's greatest favorite, received many distinguished marks of his approbation, and it was generally believed that the Prince, who as I before said was a fast friend, would have advanced him in his profession with all possible rapidity. Sir Brenton (then Mr.), Haliburton also a favorite with the Prince, and from whom I got much valuable information, when preparing some years ago a lecture upon The Queen, on that occasion told me, that as he and Mr. Thomas were one day in August, 1797, walking together along Barrington Street, in the vicinity of the house of the late Bishop Inglis, the Prince, accompanied by Colonel Wetherall, then Deputy Adjutant General, met them, and said "Thomas your brother officer



Robinson is in orders to go in pursuit of a deserter and has expressed a wish that you should accompany him, to which I assent. He is under orders to proceed immediately." That was of course received as an order, and in a few moments the two young men who had been great friends, parted for the last time, Thomas to make his hasty arrangements to accompany Mr. Robinson in pursuit of the deserter. Having heard that a soldier had been seen in the woods near the Margaret's Bay road they, accompanied by two privates, proceeded with all speed in that direction, and in a short time overtook and captured him. As he was reported to be a desperate character, and they were not aware whether or not he was armed, Robinson as they approached him cocked one of his pistols, but he had no necessity to use it, as the soldier at once when they drew near to him surrendered without a struggle. Having accomplished their business, and deported their prisoner to town, their next object was to search for the nearest hostelry in order to get their dinner. The only Inn then upon that road was kept by a man named Hamlam and thither the two young officers, tired and hungry, repaired. Elated with their success, and looking forward with pleasurable anticipations to their coming repast, the savoury fumes of which were making their way into the little room where they were, only too perceptibly, they had thrown themselves upon a little bedstead, a not unusual article of furniture in those days in the parlours of country Inns, and were enjoying themselves with the gossip of the day, interspersed with snatches of song, when Thomas remarked "Had you not better look to your pistols and see that they are all right." As he said so Robinson took up one of them to examine it, when it is supposed, that as he lifted it up, that the trigger must have come in contact with a portion of the bed clothes, for it went off, and having been loaded with a ball cartridge, the ball entered Thomas' breast and he fell back upon the bed mortally wounded. His companion horrified as may be imagined, at the terrible accident, as soon as he recovered from the shock, had his wounded friend with all care removed to Government House, then presided over by his kinsman Sir John Wentworth, where the

best medical aid was at once summoned, in the hope of saving his life, but alas it was all in vain, and he soon after with much suffering expired. Immediately after the accident, a messenger was dispatched to his mother, then resident at Windsor, with the terrible tidings, but at that time all communication with the interior of the Province was very slow, and she never saw him in life. When conscious that he was dying he expressed an earnest desire to see her, and repeatedly asked if she was coming, but he was dead before the messenger reached Windsor.

The Prince who had learned of the successful capture of the deserter, and had ridden out to congratulate the returning party, met the mournful cavalcade at the head of the Arm, and was so shocked at the terrible event, that stern soldier as he was, it is said he shed tears over the dying youth.

The sad news spread with the rapidity with which all bad tidings fly, and the whole community was suffused with grief, for one who was said to have many friends, and not a single enemy. I may here add, that after the said occurrence, His Royal Highness spontaneously bestowed upon the brother of the deceased officer a commission in the same regiment, where he served for many years, and afterwards retired from it with his half pay, which he continued to enjoy until the time of his death.

The burial of the young soldier, conducted with all the pomp and ceremony of a military funeral, was attended by all classes in the community, and was said to have been the largest procession of the kind ever seen in Halifax. The Prince walked at it as Chief Mourner, and showed deep emotion at the grave. Shortly afterwards, he caused to be erected at his own expense, a monumental stone in the old grave yard, where it is still to be seen bearing this inscription.

**This stone sacred to the memory of  
LIEUT. CHARLES THOMAS,  
of His Majesty's Royal Fusilier Regiment,  
who departed this life on the 16th August, 1797,  
Aged 24 years:  
is placed as a testimony of High Friendship and Esteem by  
Lieut.-General His Royal Highness  
PRINCE EDWARD, his Colonel.**

His old friend and comrade Sir Brenton, a half century after the recurrence of the sad event and then an octogenarian, in a sweet little poem entitled "Reflections" thus refers to the event:

"Daughter of Edward, such the warm desire  
 "Of one who knew and loved thy Royal Sire,  
 "What tho' his martial discipline was stern  
 "Himself submitted to each rule in turn;  
 "But when from his stern duties he sought rest  
 "No kinder heart e'er beat in human breast.  
 "No tale of woe was poured in Edward's ear  
 "But found a ready listener there.  
 "Witness when down his manly cheek, the tear  
 "Flowed freely, Thomas, on thy mournful bier."

I was surprised on searching The Gazette of the period to find that it contained no further mention of the event than the following obituary notice in the paper of the 22nd August;

"Last Thursday afternoon at The Government House Lieutenant Charles Thomas of His Majesty's 7th Regiment of Royal Fusiliers, Cousin of His Excellency Sir John and Lady Wentworth, in the 25th year of his age. The zeal and talent he evinced in the service of his profession promised future usefulness in the Service to which he was attached, and the uniform, amiable character he supported in private life, justly endeared him to his numerous friends, who with heartfelt sincerity lament his loss. Saturday his remains were interred with military honors."

I shall close this melancholy story with a letter of Lady Wentworth to his brother, dated

Government House, August 23rd, 1797.

My Dear Cousin,

I have this moment finished a letter to my dear and beloved aunt, after various attempts which the melancholy of my own heart led to a production which would increase that of

her own. I have torn and destroyed several of this sorrowful complexion, and still fear, this I have closed, is, still a portrait of private grief. But what can be expected from the pen of either of this family, but descriptive misery and never ceasing tears. Our dear own lost boy, the child of our care, the ornament of our house. Oh! Mr. Thomas we loved your departed brother, his sweet virtues gladdened our ambition in and for him—the darling of his family, the favorite of his prince, and so lost to us all. Indeed I feel for you—His death must be sore to your feelings, but his mother, his dear mother, his anxiety rested there as I lay by him, he painfully named his mother in dying accents “My mother what will she do” “My poor dear mother.” And then, “poor old lady it will be too much for her,” I calmed him, by saying she would soon be in town, he smiled, then talked of being too late, and too much for her, wished for his sister, who soon was by him. He knew her, and kissed her affectionately, but soon wandered, and too soon left us for ever. What consolation my dear cousin can be derived from the knowledge, how much our dear Charles was respected by all who knew him, we ought to receive as an alleviation to our misery. But it is too early to look for comfort anywhere. I search for his society in vain, it is lost to me. I saw him constantly, no day scarce passed but he was at our meals. I never met him but with pleasure, he never offended in any instance of his life. I looked high for his advancement. I made him a friend, and he bowed him down by his amiable conduct. The slightest appearance of ill health alarmed me for his sake I noticed every breath he drew to \* \* \* \* \*

he was well—cheerfully and with spirit he had fulfilled his embassy and was returning in glory. We were expecting him with pleasure, and how was he brought to our distracted hearts with the impression of death in his countenance and to expire in our arms—Oh! torture in the extreme. What a scene to encounter and live. Much has been spared to my dear aunt by the distance which separated her from her son. At the moment I wished her here, now I rejoice she was not an eye witness to

his death, though composure and manly firmness marked his expiring moments. God support us all my dear cousin, for our sorrows are all the same.

Your affectionate cousin and friend

**T. Wentworth.**

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**Spider Lake.**

Sixty years ago, there was no one of any rank or condition in the Town of Halifax better known than Joseph Hobson the Barber. His was one of those capacious hearts which had room enough for the joys and sorrows of others, and he was therefore always ready to rejoice with those who rejoiced and to weep with those who wept. His shop, the resort of all classes, was on the north side of Duke Street now occupied by the western half of the People's Bank Building and a little to the west of "The Two Sisters," two well known pumps which gave designation to all that immediate neighborhood. The shops occupied the whole of the ground flat of the wooden building owned I believe by him, and was, I should think from my recollection of it, about twenty feet square. Thither every afternoon resorted all the gossips of the Town, to give and take all the news and scandal of the day, and so it was that every thing going on was to be had there, and what was not known at Joe Hobson's was not worth knowing. So general a place of resort was it of an afternoon, that at about four o'clock it was frequently uncomfortably filled, and the man who either from neglect, business, weather, or anything else, made his appearance at home in the evening without having visited Hobson's and had not something to narrate in the way of news, stood a great chance of getting a poor cup of tea and a sullen greeting from both wife and daughters.

While the genial old man took pleasure to some extent in all laudable things, and sympathised in the undertakings of every one, there were two diversions which of all others especially engaged his affections. The one was music, the other

fishing. Of the former we cannot speak just now. Of the latter I have no hesitation in saying that no disciple of Isaac Walton ever more delighted in the sport, or more skillfully and successfully whipped a stream. With an eye to business, and knowing how much he was missed when he was away, he did not allow his rod to keep him from his shop, and although during the fishing season, he was every week to be found at some of the neighboring lakes or streams, he managed to indulge in the one and sedulously attend to the other by leaving his home in the night at such time as to enable him to be at the fishing ground as the day broke, and after some three hour's sport, to be back to his shop by breakfast time looking as neat as a new pin, and as fresh as a rose. The dish of glittering fish displayed on the sill of the capacious shop window, generally told the nature of the morning's occupation.

Next door to Hobson's, on the corner and immediately behind "The Two Sisters" dwelt an old shoemaker by the name of Izet, a character in his way, of whom I cannot now further speak save to say that he was just as enthusiastic a fisherman as his neighbor. Strange to say although the two men were always on the best of terms and held daily converse with each other, they never fished together. Izet had as his fishing companion, a worthy trader by the name of George Iles, whose grocery shop occupied a corner some three blocks above that of his friend. They were both Scotchmen; for ought I know from the same neighborhood.

Hobson also had a friend, and of him I must speak more particularly. He was George, or as he was affectionately designated by his friends Geordie Anderson, a man possessed of many of the same qualities of mind and heart as Hobson, and was one of the jolliest wags in the town. He was just as good natured as Hobson, but a little more reticent, and when he had a secret worth keeping could keep it, a quality which he said his friend did not possess. He never was heard to laugh, but when any bit of fun or mischief possessed him, his whole face from his forehead to his chin twittered with glee. He

had not an enemy in the town, except those upon whom he had perpetrated some practical joke, for he was, I am compelled to admit, an inveterate practical joker, and could no more resist an opportunity of carrying out his jokes than the tide could cease to ebb and flow. (Sherlock Crow and Bissett, Butcher boys Wellington and Washington.)\* That overweening passion had cost him some friends, much money, and many a hard run, and not infrequent tussle, in which he was apt to come off second best as he was but a small man. I suppose the tight little man is now some fifty years dead but I can see him as plainly as if he had stood before me today. He was I should say about five feet high and as round as an apple. His dress was a long skirted coat, a waistcoat which reached down to his hips with large flap pockets and his short but well formed legs were cased in knee breeches, gray woollen stockings and ankle jack boots laced tight around his ankles. Above all those, resting in an ample white neckcloth, was a round good natured face, with a pair of eyes which twinkled and sparkled like two stars, looking in fact as if the Cohinoor occupied the one socket, the star of Berlin the other. Such is an imperfect picture of Geordie Anderson, the friend of Joe Hobson. They frequently talked together, often walked together, and always fished together. Geordie was of the two the most reticent as I have said, and often told his friend that if he ever committed a murder he would be sure to swing for it, for he could not keep even his own secret. We will see how far he was justified in his remark by the following narrative.

It so happened that on one memorable occasion, the two friends left their homes a little after midnight with their fishing gear, rowed themselves across the harbour and made their way through the thick bushes in the darkness towards as they thought a favourite fishing ground, but by some unaccountable blunder they had missed their way, got entirely astray and at last had to confess to each other that they did not know where they had got. Weary with wandering through the tangled bushes and fretting with the thought that they were wasting their

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\*Illustrations.

morning in the woods, they had almost despaired of finding the fishing ground when just as the first gray streaks of light were shooting up into the heavens, they to their surprise, came upon the margin of a lake they had never seen before. It was a fine sheet of water, wooded to its margin, and lying asleep in the quiet of the surrounding hills. But just as the two men stepped upon a little hillock on the border of the lake, flop broke upon the stillness and a circle spread out upon the glassy bosom of the water. Again another, and another flop, and circle after circle, formed upon the water until ring was locked in ring the whole surface of the lake was covered with gentle eddies. In a moment all sense of fatigue was forgotten, as with looks of delight the rods were quickly unclasped, joint fitted into joint, the lines were hastily through the eylets an favorite flies whirling through the air. The fish ignorant of the devices of the visitors, rose greedily in pursuit of the gaudy flies as they skimmed the water, and in a very short time both baskets were filled, and a large bunch of splendid fish secured varying from 3 to 4 pounds in weight, and the fishermen, very much of course elated, were at home in time for breakfast.

On their way home Anderson charged his friend not to reveal to any one their discovered treasure, and although Hobson promised to keep dark on the subject the other received the assurance with apparent incredibility "You know," he said, "Joe your weakness, now for once keep your own council and above all don't tell Iles or Izet or the Lake will soon be useless to us."

In a short time after their return home the whole sill of Hobson's shop window glistened, as the light of the morning sun fell upon the fine fish, and what with the crowds who gathered around the window, and those who made their way into the shop to examine and ask about the finny monsters, there was but little to be done in the way of shaving or hair cutting. Poor old Hobson loving the truth, but yet remembering the injunction of Anderson stuttered and stammered as he perpetrated one after another of those monstrosities known as white



lies, in response to the questions as to where the fish had been taken. But his interrogators as a rule were not very enthusiastic fishers, and therefore not very persistent in their enquiries. About eleven o'clock when the crowd had dispersed old Izet who had heard of the wondrous display, appeared in the shop with his leather apron, a last in one hand with a strip of leather tacked lightly to it and his awl in the other hand. "Hello Joe!" said the old man looking admiringly at the fish, "Where did you get those bouncers." Hobson repeated the reply he had been giving to others during the morning, but he had now a more cunning party to deal with.

"Pho, pho," said Izet as he looked at the drooping eyelids of honest Joe and saw falsehood written upon each of them. "That won't do. You know those fish were never taken in that water." Hobson became more confused and tried to evade further questions, but his neighbor would not let him escape, looked much hurt, and expressed himself so, and after a long time between entreaty and badinage he dragged the secret out of his victim, he having first promised faithfully not to reveal it to mortal man. Of course within half an hour it was communicated by Izet to Iles, and the two had made their arrangements for a speedy visit to the Lake. As Izet was as leaky as Hobson, he had incautiously communicated the secret to a friend, and informed him with a chuckle of the intended excursion of himself and Iles. That friend, also a chum of Anderson, soon conveyed the intelligence to him and Geordie, as early as he could manage to, made his way to Hobson's shop. As he entered Hobson saw by his manner that a storm was ahead and was not much surprised when the other said "So Joe you've let the cat out of the bag." As evasion was impossible Hobson had to admit that he had told the secret to Izet, but under a solemn pledge that it would not be revealed to any other. "Didn't I tell you so, rejoined his friend. I knew you could not hold it, and I am not much surprised. Izet's promises of secrecy was about as good as your own. He has told it to Iles and they have already made arrangements

to fish the lake, and are to leave tomorrow night, but I have determined that they shall not carry out their scheme and you know when I make up my mind to a thing I carry it out." Hobson, kind hearted old soul, tried to remonstrate with him, reminded him that they were all neighbors, and friends, and that they themselves would have felt very much hurt if Izet had made such a discovery and refused to allow them to participate in it first. But it was all in vain, and Anderson more excited and angry than his friend had ever seen him before, left the shop with a reiteration of his threat.

A short time before that, an Indian more in want of food than clothing, had offered a complete suit of his clothes, including his hat and an eagle feather of portentous size, for sale, and Anderson thinking perhaps that it might be useful to him in his excursions through the woods, or more probably that it might aid him in carrying out one of his practical jokes, had become the purchaser of it. It now suggested itself that it could be turned to profitable account, and the very idea that it could be so used at once mollified his wrath.

On the next night, therefore, an hour before Izet and Iles were to set out, he with his full Indian suit, an old rusty musket, and the feather, piloted himself across the harbour and made his way up to the margin of the Lake where he esconces himself in a thicket. In due time his victims followed in their boat, landed at the place told to Izet by Hobson, and following the blazes on the trees as cut by the others as they could be discerned in the twilight, arrived on the shore of the Lake just as the morning star began to twinkle less brilliantly in the southern heavens, and Phoebus stretched up his grey fingers in the east as if it were to catch hold of the retreating pall of night and aid him in hauling himself above the horizon. As the two men stood upon the margin of the Lake the sun with a bound jumped up over the hill and suffused it with its rosy light. No sound disturbed the repose except the gentle sighing of the woods but although there was not a breath of wind, the bosom of the lake was not undisturbed for it was dappled all over with

the fish, which were rising hither and thither in all directions. As the two enthusiastic sportsmen glutted their eyes with the ravishing scene, made doubly beautiful to them by the circles on every hand, they looked at each other and with a merry laugh Izet remarked "What do you think Geordie Anderson would say if he saw us now," little thinking that Geordie was but a few yards from them, his face beaming with delight. In a short time their hamper was opened and its contents spread out, for not knowing how long it might take them to reach the lake they made their arrangements to breakfast there and spend part of the day. Their rods were put together with all possible expedition as the rising fish made them eager to get at once to work. Every thing being ready they were cautiously treading upon the yielding moss hillocks at the margin of the water when the crash of a bough in the neighboring thicket caused them to start.

No very recent atrocities had characterized the conduct of the Indians towards the whites, but past acts of treachery and cruelty were not so remote as to have been forgotten, and an Indian was therefore still an object of great dread. The evident crash of a limb near at hand, therefore caused both men to start and look at each other inquiringly but as nothing further was heard for the next few anxious moments, they were again about to make ready for action, when another and louder crash caused them both to start, and with pallid faces to turn towards the spot from whence the noise proceeded. "Did you hear that George?" said Izet. "Indeed I did," said the other, what can it be?" and as they both directed there anxious gaze towards the wood to their horror and dismay up rose an Indian clad in the full habiliments of his tribe. His face daubed with war paint and a very tall eagle feather rising from his cap gave him the apparent height of a giant. With loud and evidently angry words, purely extempore, which of course neither of the affrighted men comprehended, he with impatient gesture motioned them to be off, and as they with trembling limbs hesitated and gazed apparently spellbound, to their horror the Indian raised

a gun to his shoulder with a wild Indian whoop. In an instant their rods were flung from them, their hamper and its contents abandoned, and they in full flight not knowing where they were going, and scarcely able to make their way along from terror, they frequently ran against one another against trees and tumbled and fell, but feeling in anticipation the bullet or the scalping knife of the Indian, with their clothes torn and their faces and hands scratched and bleeding, they made their way through the forest and in a breathless state after a half hour's run made their way to the shore sprung into their boat and never felt that they were out of danger, until they were on the waters of the harbour, only too glad to have abandoned everything and saved their lives. At seven o'clock in rags and tatters they made their way to their homes and narrated to their trembling families their narrow escape.

In the meantime Geordie Anderson as soon as they disappeared, having thrown down his musty firelock which had been innocent of powder or shot for many a long day, laid aside the cap and feather, threw himself down in the dewey moss and fairly rolled in it while his face was exuberant with delight. No sound escaped him, but as every feature laughed as he moved uneasily in his clothes, it seemed as if the fun was almost too much for him, and that he must either scream or suffocate. After a time becoming somewhat composed, he went to the spot from which the hapless fugitives had made their escape, and as he looked at the rods with their tangled lines hanging from the bushes, their baskets and their untasted breakfast, he nearly elapsed into his former plethora of merriment, but at last with a great chuckle sat down upon a rock, partook of the forsaken breakfast and then clearing one of the fishing rods, fished for an hour with much unction and success, and returned in time to pay his accustomed morning visit to Hobson's shop. I shan't venture to repeat his narrative of the morning's adventure to Hobson, suffice it to say that it was interrupted by frequent and long pauses, during some of which his face be-

came so purple and swollen, that Hobson begged him to desist fearing that it would result in a fit of apoplexy.

As for Izet and Iles they were the heroes of the day. Once within the precincts of the town, and feeling that they were safe, they recounted to their friends the perils from which they had escaped. They asserted that two Indians armed with guns and scalping knives had marched down upon them, and that fearing their numbers might increase, they, not being armed with anything but their rods, had thought that discretion was the better part of valour and had retired from the scene. That wondrous tale was repeated from time to time for a day or two, until at last, just as he was finishing the narrative to an admiring audience in Hobson's shop, Anderson appeared and raising his stick to his shoulder and pointing it at Izett, he uttered the same war hoop that had escaped him at the Lake. In a moment the truth flashed upon the mind of Izett and with a hearty malediction he fled from the shop. The audience, astonished at the sudden interruption, having turned to Anderson for an explanation, he at once narrated the true version of the affair amid shouts of laughter. For days those who passed the "Two Sisters" heard the hammer of the old cobbler as with impatient blows it fell upon his lapstone, but no one saw his face for the next week.

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### Popper O'Hea.

Amongst the many odd characters who figured in the early days of the town was a countryman of my own who rejoiced in the euphonious soubriquet of Popper O'Hea. Popper was a man to whom nature had not been bountiful in the way of looks. He stood about six feet two, in height, and was as straight and shapeless as a maypole, not an ounce of flesh seemed to be on his bones, not a drop of blood in his veins. A long thin, cadaverous face, with as simple an expression as that of Don Quixote, was profusely adorned with long flowing and curled hair of a brick red color. Partly for os-

tentation, and partly I presume as an advertisement of his skill in his craft (for he was a barber and hairdresser), his ruby locks were with the most elaborate care tortured into numberless little corkscrew curls, and fell over his shoulders with as much profusion if not as much grace as a Lord Chancellor's wig. Popper was a well known character and was familiarly designated by that name not only by all men and women, but also by all the children of the town. He was a good-natured, easy-going fellow, with a very decided brogue, and although his countenance when in repose wore a sad expression, there was in him a love of fun and a good deal of the drollery so characteristic of his countrymen. His shop was at the corner of the market wharf, where now stands a brilliantly painted shop occupied by Mr. Leahy. A long pole with lines of beauty in red, white and blue proclaimed his vocation, and although far from being a knowing shaver, he was a very good barber and hair dresser and being itinerant in the performance of his duties was to be found from morning to morning in all the best houses in the town. It was Popper's fortune, whether good or bad you must determine for yourselves, to have a wife known as Mary O'Hea, a good looking buxom woman some years his junior, trig and tidy, but spicy in disposition, who regarded with contempt the proverb that a meek and quiet spirit is an ornament to a woman. Four little children graced their board. Mary amongst other peculiarities, possessed that singular and uncommon characteristic of her sex, a love of dress, and as Popper although constantly employed had with his small charges and growing family, as much as he could do to supply them with the ordinary comforts of life, that peculiarity of Mary's was a constant source of bickering and unhappiness. She but seldom made her appearance in Chapel, alleging as an excuse for her neglect of duty, the demands made upon the whole of her time by her children and household duties, and Popper, I regret to add, never urged her to go, for she never returned from her duties, without bringing back the recollections, not of the prayers or of the sermon, but of the shape,

color, or quality of some other woman's dress, bonnet, shawl, cloak or some other article of dress, and Monday morning scarcely dawned, when the broad keynote was struck, and poor Popper informed that the last coveted article must be had. From that time forth nothing was to be heard at breakfast, dinner or tea in the little parlour back of the shop, in the shop and everywhere, but the one theme, and when at times the persecuted barber under the consciousness that he could not afford it, would resolutely and sometimes sternly refuse to supply the money for the coveted article, the last argument used would be "Well if I am going to look like a beggar and not show myself amongst my neighbors, and friends, I had better die. I know you want to tire me of life and to get rid of me, and I shall just go and throw myself over the wharf," and should that threat not produce the desired effect then after kissing the children, and telling Popper that she forgave him for all his cruel treatment to her, she would hurry down the wharf, knowing to a certainty that e'er she reached the end of it, he would be down after her, and call her to come back, with the promise, that she should have all she demanded. Unfortunately these requirements, like the heads that Popper operated upon grew stronger every day, and at last in sheer desperation, he seriously thought of doing, that which his rapacious wife had so often threatened. Fortunately in his despair he bethought him of his clergyman, and determined to make his breast the repository of his troubles. At that time a kind-hearted man, but one who knew a little more of human nature than Popper did, occupied the Parsonage, a house which if my memory serves me right, stood on Barrington Street, where the Brick Schoolhouse now stands, with the Chapel in the rear of it, being about a hundred feet from the west side of Barrington Street. The name of the Priest I know not, but to him went Popper, and unfolded the story of his grief. The good father could scarcely contain himself, as the poor barber in a state of intense agitation, with Hibernian pathos and eloquence, narrated the story of his woes. At last he paused and looking

to the Father for some consolatory expression, was horrified to find him nearly convulsed with laughter. "Oh Popper, Popper, he at last ejaculated, I always thought you a good natured, easy going fellow, but I did not think you were quite such an idiot, and that you'd allow any woman to fool you to such an extent. Why man, your wife has been regularly fooling you, and I must candidly tell you, I can have no sympathy for such a spoon. But I am glad you have come to me, and now if you promise implicitly to follow out my instructions to you, I promise you I will put an end to all such persecutions, for the future;" and then he detailed to his overbothered auditor, his scheme for restoration to comfort. As he listened, he shook his head mournfully, and expressed his fears that the proposed scheme would prove abortive, and would likely result in his wife's destruction, but the Priest laughed at his fears, and told him that if his plan resulted in his wife's suicide, he would bear all the burden of the sin, and if possible, the penalties of the law in his place. Re-assured in that way, Popper returned to his home determined, at all hazards, to carry out the instructions to the letter. An opportunity for testing its expediency soon presented itself. Easter Sunday arrived, a day as we all know when no woman would appear in Church, without some bit of new finery, and as Mary took her seat in her pew, and looked around the Church, as brilliant in colors as a tulip bed, she broke a hundred times the tenth commandment, and coveted and desired every gaudy article of dress that her wandering eye fell upon. Better for her had she not entered her church, that day, for she did not heed one word of the service, and came out into the street in a most unchristian spirit, one of the unhappiest and most discontented of the congregation. The light of Monday morning scarcely dawned, when an impatient turn of Mary awoke Popper. A sigh broke from her as she said, "Popper are you awake," "I" hesitatingly said Popper, with a shudder, "I don't think I am." "Ah" said she, "that's always the way with you, you shuffle, What's the use of beginning the week with a lie on



your tongue?" and as there was no response she proceeded, "How did you feel when you looked round the church yesterday and saw every one of our neighbors dressed decently except your poor down-trodden wife, bad cess to you. Every one of my acquaintances with some new article of dress upon them and poor me without a rag." Up to that time Popper had been lying with his back towards her, but he then turned and as was then the custom for men and women of all conditions to wear night-caps, you may imagine what an imposing appearance he presented, as with a tight cotton cap drawn close around his pallid face and his untrimmed locks all clustered around his neck and shoulders, he to her surprise, said, "Mary I'm sorry to hear you talk so, but the fact is, since your mother Eve ate the apple in the garden of Eden and dress became the fashion, poor man's comfort has been at an end." That was too much for Mary, she attempted a reply but indignation choked her and the words died in her throat. With a bound she sprang from the bed and after overturning two of her children, in an abortive attempt to dress them, breaking a cup and saucer and lacerating her finger with a pin, she at last became sufficiently calm to get through her accustomed morning duties. Popper's strange mode of dealing with her complaints tortured her much during the morning, but she determined by a more than ordinary vigorous use of the old argument, if necessary to put down the opposition, never for a moment doubting that her efforts must as usual result in victory. Breakfast over, Popper had made his way into the shop, put on a clean apron, stropped his razors, and placed his little mug of water on the hob to heat, when Mary appeared as the first intruder upon the place of business. "Popper" said she with the voice of a seraph "did you see the shawl Mrs. Martin Hunt had on yesterday?" "No," said he "I did not, but the new altar cloth was a fine one," "I dare say it was," she replied, "but it wasn't that I was talking about. Now Popper I want a new shawl and that is just such a one as I want. Its good and serviceable and cheap." "Why" said he "didn't you get one last fall,

and didn't you then tell me you shouldn't want another for years." "That's true," she replied, "but that was a winter shawl and I shan't want another like that for some time, but it's a spring shawl I want and must have, if you wish me to be decent." "Mary," said Popper, with a dogged look, "I can't afford it and I'm not going to starve my children and beggar you all, by buying dress I cannot pay for, so there's an end to it." Mary looked at him with surprise, but nothing daunted, and satisfied that she had only to draw out the last arrow from her quiver, she at once replied: "Well then Popper, if such is the cruel and disgraceful way in which you are determined to treat me, I have nothing further to live for and perhaps when the execrations of your neighbors compel you to take my drowned body from the water, you will, when too late, realize how cruelly you have treated me. I shall just go and drown myself." "Don't be so rash," said Popper in an indifferent tone, at the same time trying the edge of a razor upon the palm of his hand, "but if you are determined, like a good woman, see that the dinner is prepared before you go, but perhaps you'll stay to dinner, as you may have a long journey before you get anything to eat." As this was a little beyond anything he had ventured upon before, his wife was not a little staggered, but she felt satisfied that the contest would be of brief duration, and that the time of relenting was not far distant. In a few moments she appeared with her bonnet and as she tied the strings of it, called the children and kissing them, bade them farewell. Popper by that time, was seated at a little table, with a barber's block before him, industriously gathering up some stray hairs and smoothing them upon the block. "Good-bye, Popper, cruel Popper, sobbed his wife, let me give you one kiss to show you I die without any angry feeling towards you," "One moment he said until I take the twist out of this lock. Now love, not one kiss but two as we shall not in all probability have an opportunity for another until we meet in a better world." And now, he said, "farewell wife" as he took a long comb from above his ear, and carefully parted the hair on the forehead

of the block. She lingered for a moment, opened the door, and was gone, Popper moved uneasily upon his chair, and wiped his brow as he hastily threw aside the comb, and was about to start to his feet, as Mary again made her appearance, upon the threshold of the shop. "Hello," said he regaining his composure, "What brought you back, I thought by this time you would have been at the end of the wharf." "So I would," she said with a pallid face, "but I thought I would like to have one more kiss of the children, and say once more to you that I forgive you." "Oh, is that all," he said. "There are the little ones laughing in the back room, and for me, I am not worth thinking about, cruel, hard-hearted wretch, that I have been." Mary retreated to the back room, and was there long, so long that he began to think she had made up her mind to avail herself of his invitation to stay to dinner, but at last she re-appeared, and with a hurried good-bye, took her departure. When satisfied that she had gone some little distance, down the wharf, he flew to a clink in the blind of the little back room, which looked down the wharf, and there anxiously watched her retreating footsteps. She had not proceeded far, when she cast a further glance over her shoulder. Seeing, that he was not following her, she at a less rapid pace, proceeded a short distance further, and again looked behind her, and so from time to time she walked and looked, and paused, until she got near the end of the wharf. By that time Popper, although terribly agitated, felt assured that there was no fear of his becoming a widower, at least by the voluntary act of his wife. Earnestly, anxiously, she looked up the wharf, and as no Popper appeared, she seemed uncertain what to do, at times turning round towards home, and involuntarily making a step or two in that direction, and then checking herself and going towards the water. At last, after the lapse of some quarter of an hour, Popper, now fully assured, that his clergyman had been right in his surmises, put on his cap, drew the peak partly over his eyes, threw his long apron over his shoulder, and sauntered down the wharf, trying hard to whistle as he went, but somehow he found that

hard work, for as he attempted a bar something would come up in his throat, and knock the whistle out of his mouth, and then he would try again but with scarcely more success. Onward he strolled, bowing his head further as he approached his wife, until, within a few feet of her, he looked up and with a start, said, "What, Mary are you here yet, I thought you would have been over the agony before this time." "No Popper" she said in a low tone, "I thought I would like to see you once more before death, and I have waited until you came down, but now I think I am ready to die," and she turned and made a hasty step towards the water. "Good-bye," she said, "Good-bye," said the inexorable barber. She turned and looked at him. "What! Popper", she sobbed, drawing to him with an incredulous look, "would you really let me drown myself. Surely you would not do so." "Yes Mary," he said, I have made up my mind to it, it was a hard struggle, but I have resolved, and now the sooner you depart the better, I have found that it was either the Gaol for me and starvation for my children, or the water for you. I think you have made a wise decision, and I will always respect your memory for it." "Oh," she said, "you surely are not in earnest, and the water looks so cold and dark," she added. "I think, I won't drown myself today, and will go home for a time to my children." "Mary" said Popper, with a look of assured determination and ferocity, "That will never do. You have vowed to drown yourself, in the presence of your children, and it would not do to let them think that you had been guilty of a wilful lie. You have determined that you will die, and so have I" said he with the look of a second Bluebeard, as he made a spring towards her, caught her roughly by the wrist and hauled her towards the end of the wharf. Convinced at last, that he was in earnest, a cry of horror burst from her as she vainly struggled to release herself from his grasp, and he dragged her towards the water. At last she threw herself upon her knees, clasped his legs in her embrace and supplicated for mercy. "Come along" he said, "You must go over, but she held on so vigorously that he was unable

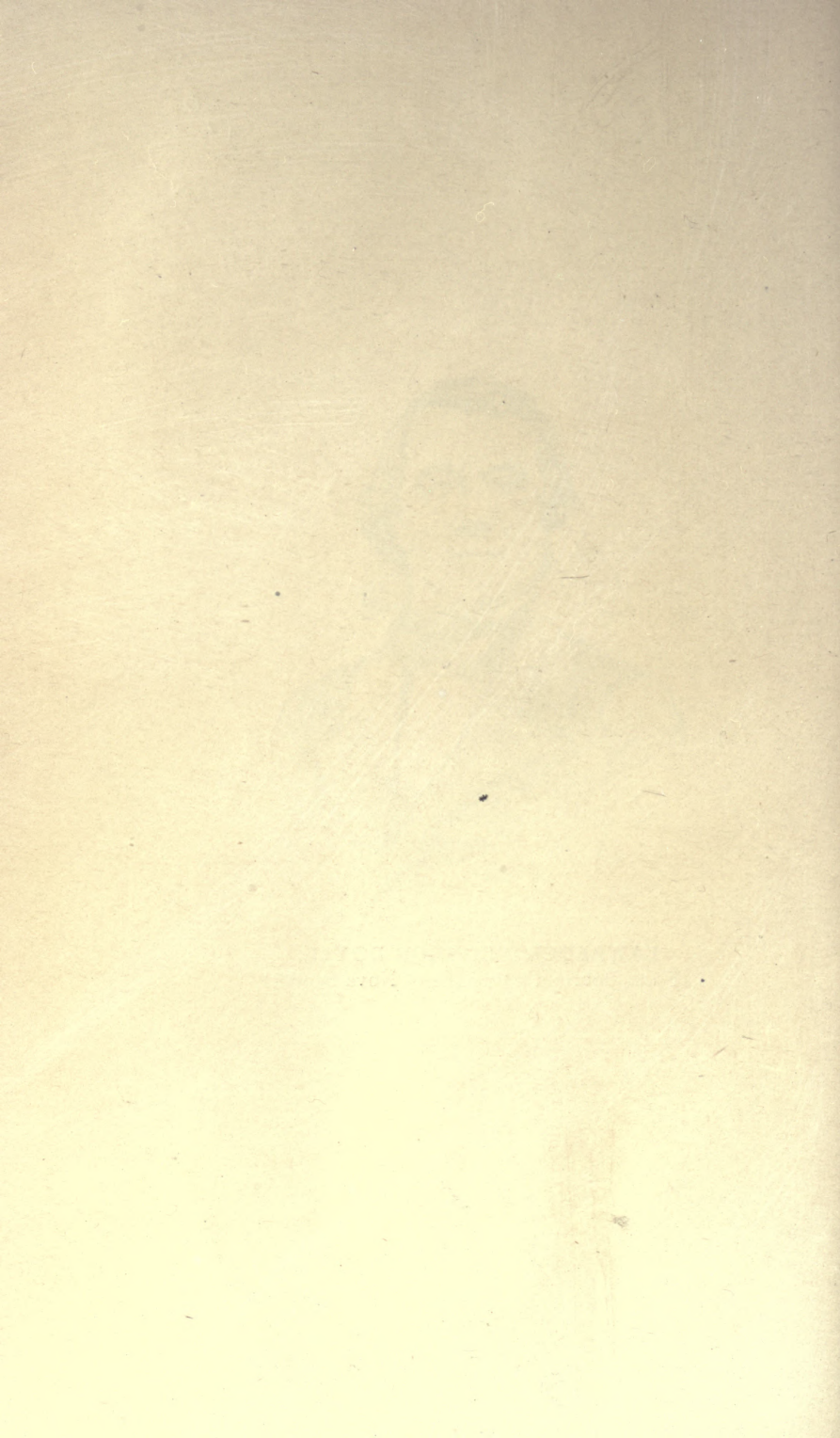
to move, and at length said to her, "Now foolish woman get up and go to your home, look after your children, and let your neighbors dress as they like, while you conform to your husband's circumstances, and I now swear to you by the beard of Mahomet which was a great oath for a barber, if you ever repeat that threat again, you shall die as sure as you are a woman." Many of the neighbors, who had been brought to the spot by the commotion, and who had often heard of the threat before, were highly amused at the scene. As for Mrs. O'Hea, crest fallen and ashamed, she shrunk up the wharf and made her way into her home a wiser if a sadder woman.



1501



**LAWRENCE O'CONNOR DOYLE.**  
(From Bourinot's Builders of Nova Scotia.)





“A SKETCH OF LAWRENCE O'CONNOR DOYLE, A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY IN THE THIRTIES AND FORTIES.”

By GEORGE MULLANE.

Read before Nova Scotia Historical Society, 6th December, 1912.

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To rescue from almost total oblivion the memory of a man whose doings and sayings vastly interested the generation in which he flourished is a somewhat difficult task, when it happens that none of his contemporaries are alive nor any relative or descendant that had met or conversed with him who could describe his characteristics. Still it seems but just that the attempt should be made in the case of one who held a high place in the circle of Reformers who obtained responsible government.

In this historic building gathered a number of men whose talents and acquirements would have gained fame in the wider arena of the mother country—men whose eloquence and persistence changed the old order of affairs and brought about the new form of responsible government as we know it to-day. In the Supreme Court, a few feet from here Joseph Howe stood at the bar charged with libel, and was pronounced not guilty by twelve of his fellow citizens. These halls rang with cheers from an immense crowd when the verdict was made known. In this chamber sat the opponents of the reformers within closed doors. One of the principal men to open these doors to admit the public is the subject of this paper. To effect the free admission of the public, Lawrence O'Connor Doyle moved four resolutions, the first of which was as follows; "Resolved, that the practice hitherto pursued by His Majesty's Legislative Council of this Province of excluding

the people from their deliberations is not only at variance with the House of Lords in England and that of several of the Legislative councils in other British North American colonies, but contrary to the spirit of the British constitution, and injurious to the interests and liberties of the country. Mr. Doyle's speech on the occasion was spirited and logical beyond criticism.

Lawrence Doyle, the father of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, was a native of Ireland and a leading merchant of Halifax in the early years of the nineteenth century. His place of business was on the water front—in the vicinity of the present N. & M. Smith's wharves on Lower Water Street. Just one hundred years ago he was an officer of the Charitable Irish Society. The records of that Society show the following for 1812:—

Hon. Charles Morris, President.

Samuel Hood D. George, Secretary of the Province, Vice-President.

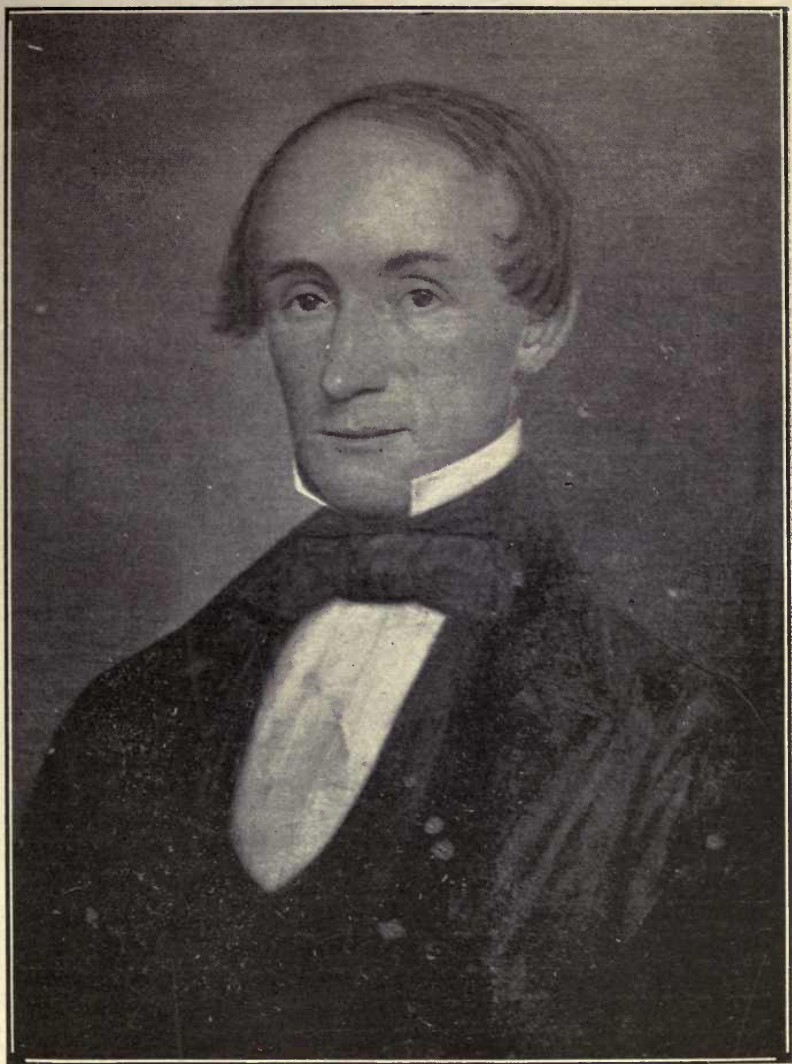
James E. Butler and Lawrence Doyle, Assistant Vice-Presidents.

Robert Phealon, Secretary.

Henry Austen, Assistant-Secretary.

It may be said of Lawrence Doyle that he was a faithful member of the Roman Catholic Church, manifesting a deep interest in religious and philanthropic works. At the time of his death he owned and occupied the present residence of Wylie Smith on Pleasant Street. After his death this residence came into the possession of Sir Edward Kenny. In 1826 Lawrence Doyle was president of the Charitable Irish Society, having followed in that office the Hon. Joseph Allison, a member of the old "Council of Twelve", and a partner in business of Hon. Enos Collins.

An elder brother of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle named Morgan, died on the 20th of July, 1845. A table head-stone marks his last resting place in Holy Cross Cemetery. Lawrence



**HON. WILLIAM ANNAND.**

**Born 1808.**

(From oil portrait by J. G. Chandler, 1856, now in possession of W. H. Drake, Halifax.)



Doyle and his wife Bridget O'Connor Doyle are buried in old St. Peter's burying ground.

Lawrence O'Connor Doyle was born in the same year as the Hon. Joseph Howe. His birth took place on the 27th of February 1804, while that of Howe was on the 13th of December, 1804, thereby making Doyle the elder by about nine months and a half. The birth register of old St. Peter's Chapel, Halifax, records that Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, son of Lawrence Doyle and Bridget O'Connor, was baptized on the 9th of March, 1804, aged twelve days. The ceremony of baptism was performed by the Rev. E. Burke, Vicar-General to the Bishop of Quebec.

Of Howe's lieutenants in the great fight for responsible government in Nova Scotia, none is so little known to-day as Lawrence O'Connor Doyle. And yet, no one in the early stages of the constitutional struggle took a more active part in the various steps that finally wrested power from the "old Council of Twelve." Huntingdon, the Youngs, and Annand, stand prominently forth as the younger liberals who rallied to the standard of reform, but Doyle's part seems overshadowed by his confreres who remained longer in the public eye.

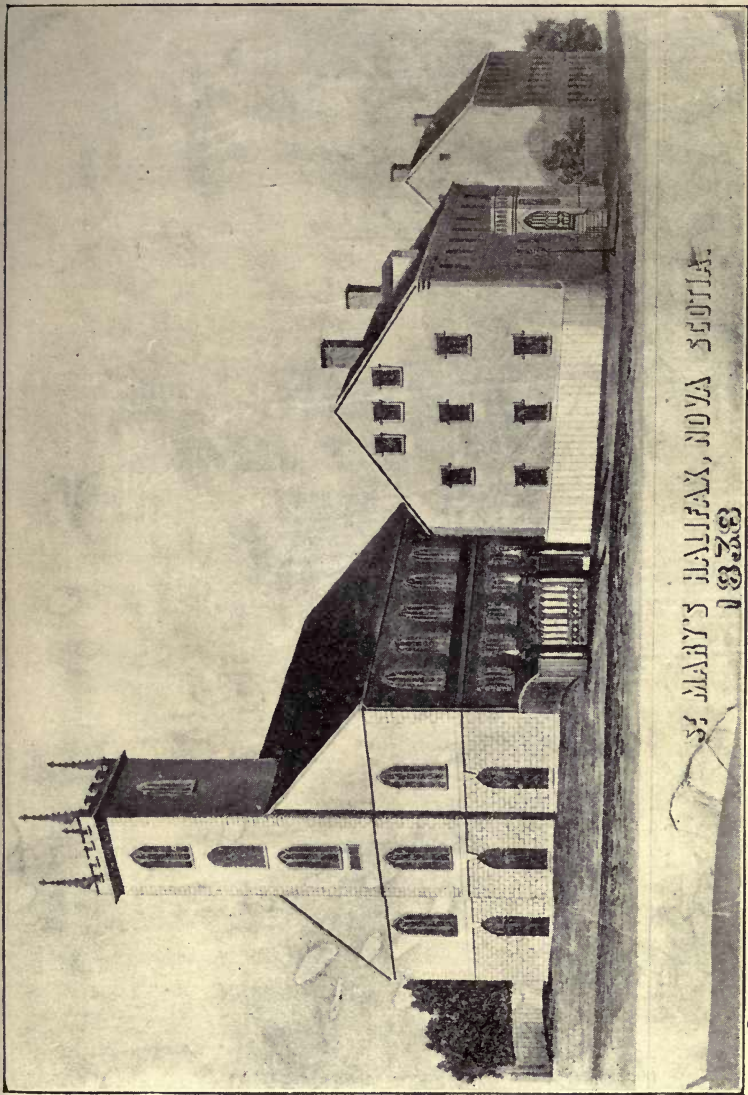
Lawrence O'Connor Doyle's fame as an astute politician and an ardent reformer, appears to have suffered somewhat from his reputation as a humorist and a *bon-vivant*. His more solid qualities lose distinctness through the nebulous light which surrounds him as a wit and boon companion.

Doyle had all the better traits which characterize the Kelt, but he lacked the personal dignity which stood some of his contemporaries in good stead, in the absence of rhetorical abilities. Judge Longley, in his recent life of Howe, says: "Mr. Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, was a man of the most delightful character whom Howe—not a poor judge of such matters—regarded as the wittiest man he had ever met.

When Doyle was born, the outlook, outside of trade, was dark indeed for an ambitious lad of the Roman Catholic faith. There were no seminaries where a Catholic youth could obtain a superior education. The test oaths debarred him from entering King's college—the only institution in the province offering a fit training for a professional career. There are now but meagre details of his youth to be gathered. His father purchased from Bishop Burke a building on the site of the present St. Mary's glebe, which had been built by the bishop as a college, and which his lordship attempted to found, but which fell through for want of adequate means to maintain such an institution.

Doyle was educated abroad—probably at Stonyhurst. The Halifax of his youth offered no opportunity for the education of one of the Roman Catholic persuasion, without coming under influences unfavorable to his faith. Even dissenters of all kinds were debarred from taking advantage of a training in a seminary which received a substantial grant from the people that outnumbered by five to one the privileged denomination that controlled the Windsor college. One of the ordinances of that college read as follows: “No pupil was allowed to attend Mass, or meeting house of Presbyterian, Baptist, or Methodist, or to be present at seditious or rebellious meetings.” If a youth entered King's college he would have to put aside the religious observances in which he was trained, and before he could obtain a degree he would have to subscribe to the thirty-nine articles—in fact, become a member of the Church of England.

In the *Weekly Chronicle* of April, 1821, appeared some verses on the death of Bishop Burke. It was stated that they were “lines by a very young gentleman, a native of this town at H. H. (probably intended for S. H., meaning Stonyhurst) college in England, on receiving information of the death of the Right Rev. Dr. Edmund Burke. The lines, which were signed “L. O'C\*\*\*\*D\*`le” are as follows:



The Glebe House to the right, was for a considerable period the parental home of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle.  
(From a Water Colour by William Eagar.)





## BISHOP BURKE.

From every eye the tear shall start,  
And every heaving bosom swell;  
A bitter pang shall wring each heart,  
When tolls the death inviting knell.

The babe unborn shall hear his fame,  
And fading age bewep his doom;  
The Indian fierce, repeat his name,  
Amidst the wigwam's cheerless gloom.

If e'er a heart could sorrow feel,  
If in the eye one tear could lurk;  
That heart may vie with hardest steel,  
That heaves not at the name of Burke.

Then fare thee well since life is past,  
And icy sleep hath locked thy frame;  
Yet still, methinks, each plaintive blast,  
Sighs softly forth our Edmund's name.

When Doyle arrived at an age which qualified him to assume some calling in life, the religious disabilities were still in force throughout the English-speaking portions of the British empire. The advance of liberal principles and a more tolerant spirit towards Roman Catholics gave the hope that a Catholic relief bill could not long be postponed in Nova Scotia, and decided Doyle's father to article his son to the profession of the law.

It is pertinent to recall an incident from which, perhaps, there may be formed an idea as to the manner of man Doyle was. An ungenerous article in one of the denominational journals reflecting somewhat on the efforts that were being made, in the late thirties, by the Roman Catholics of Nova Scotia to improve and extend their academic institutions stirred Doyle, on the spur of the moment, to take up the cudgels in behalf of his co-religionists.

In the course of his communication to the press he said: I am not disposed, nor probably qualified, to adventure within the lists of controversy. By the accident of birth, a Catholic, I find my spiritual moorings to that faith *trebly-linked* by the convictions of manhood. I interpose not between any one's opinions as to his proper way towards the other world. The editor whom I now address talks of coercing conscience. While a boy, at a distance of 3000 miles from my home, driven thither by the penal laws of which he so pathetically "*hinc illae lacrymae*", speaks—immured within the enclosures of a monastery—I was taught as a tenet of my faith, in the words of St. Cyprian of the 2nd century: "*non est religionis-religionem cogere*"—not to coerce conscience. Yet we are to suffer under imputations of principles utterly at variance with the same.

Again: Is "bear not false witness against thy neighbor," among the commandments of those who profess vital christianity, or not? For such appears in the catechism of our Catholic children. If they practice it not—they sin. Every congregation is allowed to institute its useful society for charitable purposes, for attending upon the sick, distribution of relief and other eleemosynary ends. Yet an institution in the Catholic church, almost solely devoted to the uses of itinerant charity, unconnected with any conventual system of education, is denounced, because it is a matter of alarm in the mind of the Christian editor, lest the broth which may moisten the lip of our dying pauper should bear the flavor of holy water.

Again: At this season of Advent when the minds of all sincere believers in the doctrines of our Saviour are, or ought to be, occupied by the sacred reminiscences of His nativity, I feel more sensibly the edge of the weapon aimed at us. The Roman Catholics of the province have been an unobtrusive class; they have not been as mendicants for private or public alms; they have erected their own edifice of worship at the cost of thousands, without the solicitation or receipt of one

penny from a member of any other class of christians; and yet forsooth, they are not to be permitted to rest in peace, if after a discharge of all earthly claims upon their establishment, they venture to apply the surplus of their own monies for the purposes of education.

Again: If we do not instruct we are reproached with ignorance. If we attempt to teach we are arraigned for superstition. And this, out of a spirit of "vital christianity." A more insidiously written article than the one which constitutes the object of my notice I have seldom read. In earlier life I have perused the attacks of Sturges and Greer. In later times the virulent phillipics of Sullivan and McGhee. These were fair assaults. The point was directed to your breast, you saw it, you could parry or repel. But my christian editor, "willing to wound but afraid to strike", mingles his apologetic tones with the accents of injury.

In a prefatory way, it may be said, that the first constituency Mr. Doyle represented in the house of assembly was the Isle Madame. That was in the early thirties. He was then about 30 years of age. The period was too far back for anybody now on the stage to recall his personal appearance when he first stepped into the public arena, but he has been described as being rather short, of a hale complexion, careless and plain in his dress, and had a cast of countenance which inclined to good nature.

When Parliament was in session Doyle usually addressed the chair from the head of the bench on the Speaker's left. His politics were Liberal first, last, and all the time—and as a public man his conduct was strictly consistent. No member of the house came to the attack more fearlessly than the youthful member for Isle Madame. Speaking of him in the early forties it was remarked that he had been an able and unflinching advocate of reform. He invariably declaimed against the propriety of the Council debating with closed doors. The house was hardly organized in 1837 before he formally brought

the matter under its notice. He was the author of the Quadrennial bill—one of the most popular measures passed during the struggles for constitutional reform.

Mr. Doyle seldom made a set speech, but he was pithy and laconic in his impromptu replies. He had a shrill, clear voice, more action in debate than many of his compeers, and never addressed empty benches. He was decidedly the most humorous debater in the house. Many a fell inroad his occasional sallies of wit made upon the long-visaged seriousness of an important debate.

To repeat: Doyle was educated at Stonyhurst College. No doubt it was his father's intention to educate him for the priesthood, but on the youth showing a disinclination for clerical life, and the repeal of the obnoxious laws against Catholics offering opportunities of a professional career, the design of the parent had to give way to the inclination of the son—hence it came about that Doyle was articled for five years to Richard John Uniacke, the old Attorney-General. On the 22nd of January, 1828, Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, Martin I. Wilkins, John C. Halliburton and Stephen H. Moore were admitted as attorneys, and on January the 29th, 1829, all four became barristers.

Let me, by the way, refer to an item or two of a more local interest: St. Patrick's day, 1828, was celebrated at the Exchange Coffee house; about seventy gentlemen sat down to an excellent repast. James Boyle Uniacke presided over the festival, and was ably supported by L. O'Connor Doyle, as vice-president.

When Doyle's father purchased the college building from Father Burke and the Catholic corporation, he at once set to work to improve the lower part of the building and to make it suitable for a residence. This was in the early boyhood of the son.

During Doyle's student days, contagious and infectious diseases raged in Halifax. A report of the House of Assembly

states that out of a population of eleven thousand, eight hundred had died. The disease which afflicted the inhabitants of the town had been brought by immigrant ships, and James B. Uniacke, afterwards Doyle's friend,—and then, again his colleague and opponent—in the legislature, was taken down by the small-pox.

When the Archbishop of Quebec visited Halifax in 1815, he kept a diary of his journey. In it there is recorded that Doyle's father gave a dinner to which a number of the principal Catholics were invited to meet the Archbishop. His lordship remarks slyly about this function: "the conversation turned generally on religious topics, but while speaking of edifying matters, these good Irishmen were most unsparing of wine."

It was during this visit that the Archbishop was a guest at Mount Uniacke, while *en-route* to Annapolis. He described graphically the lordly residence of the old attorney general, presided over by his second wife and his daughter, the widow of Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell.

It may be noted here some characteristics of the young reformer who was destined to lend such valuable aid in bringing about responsible government. His nature was open, genial and frank. No artificial atmosphere enveloped him; the real man was revealed to all who came in contact with him. His disposition was most cheerful, and he went through life seemingly untroubled and with a display of wit that was irresistible. His political foes were attracted to him because in no sense, was he vindictive or resentful, but always "the hail fellow well met." In the hottest moment of party strife he bore himself as a gentleman and a christian.

Mr. Doyle was the second Roman Catholic to take his seat in the Parliament of Nova Scotia, and the first Catholic outside the province of Quebec to be admitted a member of the legal profession. On Friday, 8th February, 1833, Mr. Doyle having been returned duly elected a member for the township of Arichat took his seat in the House of Assembly—

taking the oath prescribed for Roman Catholics in the presence of Hibbert Newton Binney, one of the commissioners appointed by the lieutenant-governor for the purpose. On the same day Alex. Stewart, Wm. B. Bliss and Lawrence Doyle were appointed a committee to examine and report on expiring laws.

I have enjoyed, recently, a conversation with an aged citizen (Thomas Granville), now in his 94th year, and among other things he told me that where the Sisters' convent now stands, on Barrington street, there was in the early years a vegetable garden for the use of the resident priest. Upon this site afterwards there was built a small double cottage. In one end there resided a Mrs. McSweeney who kept a school for young children. Doyle's father, who lived nearby, owned three donkeys, who it seems had free access to the street, and who were great favorites with the children that attended the dame's school.

The donkeys with unerring instinct knew the precise hour of the children's dismissal, and, accordingly, every afternoon they would repair to the vicinity of the school to await the coming out of the children, who gathered around them, and who would, in turn, mount their backs, to be ridden about the streets, until relieved by the coming of Mr. Doyle's servant, and taken to their enclosure. Father Burke (afterwards Bishop) relates that Mr. Doyle, the father of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, whilst excavating the basement of the college building, found a "spring of running water capable of supplying half the town—we have put a pump in it." That same spring of delicious cold water, it has been told us by Archbishop O'Brien, was used by the various inmates of the old glebe house for the next eighty years. In the new glebe house it holds its place of honor and usefulness. Bishop Plessis, of Quebec, who visited Halifax in 1818, says: "the college is let at a low rent to a Catholic merchant named Lawrence Doyle. He occupied the lower part. Lawrence O'Connor Doyle at the outset of his political career intended to stand as a candidate for Cape Breton. But, as he said himself in reply to

James Boyle Uniacke, in the debate on the Cape Breton election riots of 1832, on visiting Cape Breton, I subsequently determined to offer for the Isle Madame, as I conceived I would be equally honored by representing the only Catholic township in the province."

The old inhabitant whose name I have taken the liberty to mention, described to me the appearance of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle and James Boyle Uniacke, as he saw them in their prime in the House of Assembly on a St. Patrick's day in the forties. Little business was being transacted and as he sat in the gallery he saw Doyle enter dressed in a dark green cutaway coat; he stood erect, broad-shouldered, a little over the middle height, his short round Irish face beaming with good nature and humour. Uniacke, he said, looked the aristocrat, that he was—tall, graceful and a "prince among men." He was always attired in the latest London fashion and on this occasion had a large spray of "the dear little shamrock" pinned on his breast. Larry Doyle's wife was a daughter of Lieut. Driscoll of the Royal Navy. Her brother was a clerk in the Halifax Post office. Their married life was brief; and it was the opinion of Doyle's friends that her death, in the bloom of youth, had much to do in causing him to view life with an air of indifference.

After the well-known incident of Joseph Howe's victory over the magistrates of Halifax, a number of Nova Scotians residing in the city of New York subscribed a sum of money towards purchasing a silver water pitcher, to be presented to the victor in the legal battle against entrenched privileges. Lawrence O'Connor Doyle was one of a committee charged by Howe's friends in New York to make a public presentation of the testimonial. It took place at the old court house—market square.

The next glimpse we get of Doyle was when he rose at the opening of the session of 1837, and seconded a resolution to the effect: "That the house recognize no religious distinction

in the appointment of a chaplain, and that equal justice and equal courtesy be extended to all denominations in the selection of a chaplain." The chaplain of the house had always been a clergyman of the Church of England, and the Rev. Fitzgerald Uniacke was again an applicant for the position. Mr. Uniacke was greatly respected by all shades of religious opinions, and some of the supporters of the Church of England in the house tried to make it appear that Mr. Uniacke was opposed on personal grounds.

Mr. Doyle met the charge in a straightforward manner; he said "that the observations of one of the hon. gentlemen had given the resolution a complexion that the mover did not intend it to bear. The question was not one of a personal nature—it involved a general principle, the pre-eminence of the Church of England.

This was one of the first moves of the younger reformers in the direction of attacking vested rights and exclusiveness. It was evident that Doyle saw plainly that the old style of conciliatory resolution to the Council in the hope that they would step down from their haughty position had passed. He saw that the fight was to be to a finish, and he faced the issue boldly. He was always in the front of the attack with the weapons of wit and shrewd parliamentary manoeuvre.

In this debate Lewis Wilkins proposed an amendment to the effect that as the house recognized no religious preference in the choice of its officers, yet it was impossible that feelings of sect in the house should be gratified by having the selection of the chaplain, and as the Rev. Mr. Uniacke had discharged his duty, while in that office, with fidelity and satisfaction, the house should re-appoint him.

Mr. Doyle did not like the terms of the resolution proposed by the hon. member from the town of Windsor. He said he did not see the incompatibility between the resolution proposed by his hon. friend from the county of Halifax and that submitted by the hon. gentleman from Shelburne. He re-



puddiated the idea of adopting the old system prevailing in England in our provincial institutions.

When the new house met in 1837, on the opening day, after routine business, Mr. Doyle rose and introduced four resolutions attacking the constitution of the Legislative Council. In support of these resolutions Howe made his maiden speech in the General Assembly. These resolutions were the first direct and uncompromising frontal attack on the old order of things as it existed in Nova Scotia, and brought out the famous reply from the Council of Twelve, denying the right of the lower house to comment on its mode of procedure.

When the Council sent this defiant reply and threw down the gauntlet to the reformers, the old liberals became alarmed, and John Young, who had been the recognized leader of liberal ideas in the assembly, offered a series of conciliatory resolutions. This gave rise to the famous amendment of twelve articles offered by Mr. Howe, which comprised the confession of faith of the party in favor of "a change."

Judge Longley, in his recent "Life of Joseph Howe," gives all the credit for these resolutions to Howe, but Doyle, Huntington, William Young—the son of the mover of the conciliatory resolutions—and others had a hand in formulating this platform, though the duty of announcing its features devolved upon Howe, who sought the honor.

Without doubt Howe acquitted himself admirably in this his first attempt at leadership in a house of many older members in actual parliamentary experience. To Doyle belonged also the honor of firing an opening shot in the great battle for responsible government.

One of Doyle's jokes in the debates on the judiciary may be mentioned; he said that some members entertained very extraordinary views of the judges. One gentleman reminded him very much of a story of a Hibernian servant of the hon. Speaker (S. G. W. Archibald), who never could be prevailed upon to take hold of the bridle of a judge's horse, and on being

asked the reason said that he was very near being hanged by a judge in Ireland.

In the session of January, 1839, an election bill was prepared which gave the right to vote to all who had a clear yearly value of forty shillings in agricultural produce or other values. Mr. Morton, the member for Cornwallis, who was somewhat expansive on the claims of agriculture to the exclusion of other interests, moved an amendment intended to limit votes to those only who had a clear yearly value in agricultural produce. His amendment was to strike out the words "or other" following the word agriculture. This would shut out fishermen who produced fish to that amount or over. Mr. Doyle took exception to this and twitted Mr. Morton in a humorous way on the great stress he laid on the importance of the farmers in comparison to the fishermen and other producers. The following were the remarks of Mr. Doyle, Mr. Morton and Mr. Howe:

Mr. Doyle opposed the motion. He wondered at the attempt, to limit the franchise to those who might grow a few bushels of sour crab apples while those who produced maple sugar, or valuable quantities of fish from the rivers were to be excluded. The fisheries were said to be valuable, yet the moment any benefit was to go beyond a turnip or a parsnip, or the ridges of the agriculturist—then nothing was to be privileged but vegetables. In fact, except a man produced a certain quantity of vegetables, it would appear, that he should not be thought fit to hold a seat in that house. The sense of the house would prevent any such attempt from being successful, and would put agriculturist and fisherman on equal footing. Surely the man who took fish was entitled to equal rights with the man who raised the largest turnip. As much salmon was taken from a river in Isle Madame, as was worth more than the produce of Cornwallis—at least more than some of its best agriculturists could exhibit on farms.

Mr. Morton said that the honorable gentleman who had just spoken had talent and wit, and he was in the habit of coming into the house to show off these qualities. That seemed the extent of his legislation. He spoke of agriculture as of no consequence—and spoke of a river in Isle Madame as producing more than all Cornwallis. If Isle Madame was such a place, it was a wonder that the people there could not send one of themselves to represent them.

Mr. Doyle replied that he had no idea of assailing the hon. gentleman. If Isle Madame chose persons out of itself, it might be no harm had Cornwallis done the same. So fully had agriculture occupied the hon. gentleman's mind that he had no consideration for any other interest. If the clause were limited, as had been proposed, the poor man whose crops had been spoiled by the visitation of Providence, and who might not be able to grow the required value in agricultural produce would have his difficulties increased by a loss of franchise; also by being refused the sending of a representative to better the condition of his class.

Mr. Howe did not see why the distinction should be made. If right was confined altogether to buildings, then fishermen and farmers would be on the same footing, but the proposed alteration gave the latter a double chance. If agricultural values were to form a qualification—why not the value which the fisher produced? The hon. gentleman from Cornwallis had been repeatedly twitted about his apples—he (Mr. H.) took that opportunity of bearing testimony to their quality; he had tasted them at the hon. gentleman's farm a couple summers ago, and found them excellent. The best reason in the world could be given why the people of Isle Madame had sent his hon. friend to the house: from the nature of their occupation they were led to select an "odd fish" as their representative. The gentleman from Cornwallis as well as himself would, he was sure, be sorry to lose the wit of the hon. gentleman who represented Isle Madame, though it was sometimes directed against his side of the house.

The bill as originally proposed stood, the amendment being defeated.

The House of Assembly elected in 1843 was presided over by William Young—afterwards Sir William Young, chief justice of Nova Scotia. The following were the members of the house of assembly representing, respectively, the counties and townships. The prefix \* to the name indicates that the member in question had occupied a seat in a former parliament.

### Counties.

- Halifax—\*Joseph Howe, and Law. O'C. Doyle.  
 Colchester—\*John Ross.  
 Pictou—\*John Holmes and George R. Young.  
 Cumberland—\*Stephen Fulton, and \*R. McG. Dickey.  
 Hants—\*Benj. Smith, and Hon. L. M. Wilkins.  
 Kings—\*T. A. S. DeWolf, and Jno. C. Hall.  
 Annapolis—Hon. James W. Johnston, attorney-general.  
 Digby—Francis Bourneuf.  
 Yarmouth—\*Herbert Huntington.  
 Shelburne—Obadiah Wilson.  
 Queens—S. P. Freeman, and Jno. Campbell.  
 Lunenburg—\*John Creighton and Chas. B. Owen.  
 Sydney—George Brennan and Patrick Power.  
 Guysborough—\*W. F. DesBarres, and \*J. J. E. Marshall.  
 Cape Breton—James B. Uniacke.  
 Richmond—  
 Inverness—\*Wm. Young, and Jas. McKeagney.

### Townships.

- Halifax—\*Jas. McNab, and Andrew M. Uniacke.  
 Truro—William Flemming.  
 Onslow—\*John Crowe.  
 Londonderry—\*G. W. McLellan.  
 Pictou—\*Henry Blackadar.  
 Amherst—Thomas Logan.  
 Windsor—James D. Fraser.

Newport—Ichabod Dimock.  
 Falmouth—Elkanah Young.  
 Cornwallis—\*Mayhew Beckwith.  
 Horton—Perez M. Benjamin.  
 Granville—\*Stephen S. Thorne.  
 Annapolis—Alfred Whitman.  
 Digby—\*Charles Budd.  
 Clare—\*Anselm F. Comeau.  
 Yarmouth—\*Reuben Clements.  
 Argyle—\*John Ryder.  
 Shelburne—\*Peter Spearwater.  
 Barrington—Paul Crowell.  
 Liverpool—\*William B. Taylor.  
 Lunenburg—\*John Heckman.  
 Sydney, C. B.—\*Hon. Edmund M. Dodd.  
 Arichat, C. B.—\*Henry Martell.

It is doubtful viewing the names of the men who sat on the red benches in the early forties, whether any House of Assembly, before or since, in a larger degree represented the various features of our province: its intellectual culture, its measure of high statesmanship, and in the knowledge of its material resources from a practical participation in their development—on land and sea.

And yet not alone in the newspapers were they—all of them—most vigorously “hauled over the coals,” but even in the old matter-of-fact almanac their motives were impugned, and their want of zeal in the promotion of the public weal called in question in words that were by no means courteous. One quotation will suffice:

“Did our politicians, including of course our honorable members of the legislature, display half the zeal, and expend a tithe of the money, to enlighten and encourage agriculture. and to render the earth more prolific in the bounties of Providence, that they display and expend in the scramble for power—for office—which many grasp at but few obtain—we should

have less complaint of hard times; and we should become, what we too vauntingly boast of being already, an independent, a prosperous and happy people. There would then soon be but little occasion for young lawyers and boys running about to instruct our sturdy farmers in their interests and political duties."

The famous learned blacksmith was no fuller of "wise saws" than our oldtime weather predictor. His advice to the man who tickled the land with the plough was retailed in the almanac during each calendar month from January to December. The politician, too, was given "a bit of his mind" in the cool November, and after assuring the all-confiding farmer that he might "look for a snow storm between the 14th and 18th of December," he undertook to tell some homely truths to the "free and independent elector" after this fashion:

"He is not a *wise* man who does not know *how* to vote—nor a free man who *dares* not vote as he thinks right—nor a patriot who *will not* do so. We *want* more *practical* business men in our legislature, as well as upon our farms—men of sound judgment and independent bearing—and who, though they do not *talk* as much, can *think* and *act* as correctly and as promptly, as *professional* talkers; and who, knowing best the true interests of the country, are likely to do the least injury, if they do not do the most good. We also want a more extended circulation of agricultural periodicals—because they disseminate useful knowledge, stimulate industry, call into action latent genius, awaken laudable competition, induce general improvement, bring into exercise the noblest feelings of our fellow man."

Mr. Doyle—a Nova Scotian of Irish extraction—while loving his own land, had a tender regard for the land of his forefathers. Larry Doyle and Joe Howe knew each other from boyhood. The son of the loyal old Tory printer and the son of the Irish merchant often indulged in games—at base ball and marbles and

other sports in the not overcrowded streets of the town of their youthful days. And as they grew to manhood, and on Doyle's return from school abroad, the old intimacy was renewed, and, together, the two ambitious young men prepared to equip themselves for the strenuous battle which they were destined to wage in the cause of the people.

Howe, speaking at a banquet at the Four mile House on the completion of the first section Nova Scotia Railway, said: "Mr. Doyle and I commenced life together, and have a thousand personal social ties, which neither can readily forget. Many of the gayest and instructive of our days and nights were spent together. We spent them not in sport or wine, but in search of deep philosophy, wit, eloquence and poesy, arts which I loved, for they, my friend, were thine."

"I might say," continued Mr. Howe, "that Mr. Doyle is the only man I ever knew who had not an enemy; whose humor never flattered; whose wit never wounded; who, by common consent was everywhere welcome, and who, if immortality could be conferred by universal suffrage, everybody would vote that he would enliven every scene of festivity down to the end of time. I am quite sure if he lived so long the last trump would drown the ring of merry voices over his last jest."

No doubt the nights alluded to in the poetical quotation refer to the time when several young men of ability gathered in Howe's parlor, Doyle among the rest, to consider and write the series of clever papers, for the *Nova Scotian* entitled "The Club." They were the joint production of Howe, Haliburton (Sam Slick,) Dr. Gregor and Captain Kincaid, an officer of the Rifle Brigade then stationed at Halifax.

When Doyle first came into the House of Assembly, the vigorous attacks on the old Council (after the brandy dispute) had ceased, and a period of reaction had set in. Doyle did not fail to notice this, and in his own witty way, said of the opposition "that after six years of sin, they had entered on a year of repentance."

It was no light thing in the days of entrenched privilege for any ambitious lawyer who had his eyes set on a judgeship, to antagonize the rulers whose recommendations prevailed at the colonial office at London. The brilliant Samuel George William Archibald, keen lawyer and eloquent advocate of popular rights that he was, got quite a taste of this resentment when he sought the appointment of the chief justiceship on the resignation of the aged Sampson Blowers.

This obstruction on the part of the oligarchy had a somewhat restraining effect on the older men who saw all the plums of office go to those who defended monopoly in the lower house. But the young reformers who were of Doyle's company looked to the people for the reward which their efforts on behalf of reform deserved. Their faces were towards the morning when Doyle brought the question of the terms of the coal mines of the province to the notice of the legislature. He moved that a committee be appointed to wait upon his honor the President (in the absence of the Lieutenant-Governor through ill health) and request him to order the proper officers to lay before the house copies of such documents and papers as related to the tenure of the coal mines of this province.

Thus it will be seen that Doyle was the first of the reformers to take a practical step in the direction of freeing the mines and minerals from the grasp of the creditors of the Duke of York, to whom they had been assigned. Though it fell to the lot of others, in the late fifties, to carry the project of gaining control of the minerals of the province to a consummation, it should not be forgotten that Doyle was one of the pioneers in the movement.

In the judiciary debate Mr. Doyle differed from his brother reformers in upholding the court of Common Pleas, and in defending its usefulness for the trial of minor criminal and other causes. S. G. W. Archibald, some years earlier, was the chief advocate for the establishment of this court, and had considerable trouble in getting it established—the motion only pass-



ing by one vote. Extra expenditure for judicial purposes was unpopular at that day, as the salaries bore heavily on the scant revenue of the province. The court was afterwards abolished by the reformers, but time has since proved that a court of this description was a necessity. The present county courts abundantly illustrate this fact.

On the debate on this question Doyle jocosely referred to the member for Londonderry, as inducing a belief that the contents of a jury box operated ten times worse than a box of Morrison's pills, and that lawyers were represented as travelling about like so many surgeons for the sole purpose of bleeding the country. He further remarked that "it is well known there was no chancery court in some of the United States and the reason sometimes assigned to account for that circumstance was: that the chancellor of England was said to be the keeper of the king's conscience, and as the Americans had imported very little of that commodity in their transit, they of course required no expensive officer to take care of it.

Captain J. Kincaid, who was named as one of the members of the "club," was one of the thirteen officers of the Rifle Brigade who had fought at Waterloo and came to this garrison with the Rifles in 1829. The list comprised the colonel commanding—Sir Colin Campbell, who was Col. of the Royal Scottish; major-general Sir A. F. Barnard; colonel A. G. R. Norton, lieut.-col.; majors W. Eeles and Joseph Logan; and captains W. Johnston, A. Stewart, J. C. Hope, J. Molloy, J. Kincaid, G. Simmons; quarter-master Wm. Hill, and asst. surgeons M. J. Bramly and R. McN. Robertson.

"The Club" was an institution whose proceedings created quite a stir in the social and political circles of the period. Captain Kincaid, its inspiring genius, had gallantly won his spurs on the field of battle, and he was as modest as he was brave. Intellectually, too, he was a foeman worthy of anybody's steel. When the Rifles were called away from Halifax no one in the regiment felt a keener regret in leaving our shores.

As soon as he reached London he wrote a letter to "The club"—a communication full of interest then, and none the less so, I will venture to say, at even this distance of time. I shall re-produce it:

London, Dec., 1829.

My Dear Boys,—What would I not give to be with you for as long a time as it will take me to write this letter, or you to read it. Forgive the tears by which the paper is stained; they are genuine, true hearted drops of sorrow at the reflection that the great noisy, ungovernable Atlantic is rolling between us,—and that while you are still enabled to enjoy the pleasures of friendly converse, I am, though in the midst of a crowded city, more like a banished man than a fortunate soldier, called home by the voice of his King. But—bah! why should I make you sad with my sorrow.

Pray write to me by every chance, and let me know what is doing in America, more particularly what is doing in Halifax, and most particularly what is doing in the club. I get the papers regularly, but can find no trace of it in them; surely you have not abandoned the country to its fate, and withdrawn from the management of its affairs. Now that I have quit the corner, should you quit the club, the town will run riot for want of proper censorship. Charles\*—told me the other day that somebody tied a crape round the old gun the morning after I sailed, but split me if I believe him.

It is not yet determined whether I go to Russia or India; I have had several flattering interviews with the Duke, and have given him my opinion freely on the details submitted to my consideration. I find Sir James is a great favorite, but, as you may suppose, I frankly dropped a shot into his pocket, respecting the old affair. Before you hear next from me, I may be traversing the steps of Isim, or coasting along the shores of the Caspian, or it is not improbable that my next epistle may be dated at Constantinople; for you must know, but breathe it not even in The Club, that since the conquest of Tur-

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\*A reference, no doubt, to the Hon. Charles R. Fairbanks then in London.

key, the government here begin to be apprehensive that sooner or later an attack will be made upon our eastern possessions; and are determined to collect the fullest information that can be gathered, respecting the countries lying between the company's territories and the dominions of the Czar.

I have been in the east, you know, and having got pretty well seasoned to the climate, and a little acquainted with the language and manners of the people, the Duke is kind enough to say that there is not a man in the army better fitted for the service than myself. But, whether I shall go direct to Constantinople, and, passing through Asia Minor look in upon the Tartars and Chinese, and then examine the nature of the ground, and estimate the natural defences of Hindostan; or whether I shall set out on a three years' journey through Russia, in order to measure the actual dimensions, moral and physical, of the giant of the north, and impart the result of my observations to our Cabinet, has yet to be determined by the great Captain of the Age; however, of this you may be assured, that, go where I may, I will endeavor to tip you a stave under cover of the Foreign office, and to pick up every queer thing that comes in my way to amuse you with at my return.

Who do you think called to see me the other day—no less a personage than old Blackwood the bookseller. I thought the fellow was mad, he treated me with so much deference and respect. After some hesitation he disclosed the object of his visit, by saying that Galt who, you know, was lately in Canada, having brought home a file of the Nova Scotian, he had read with amazement several numbers of the club; and as professor Wilson was getting along into years, and O'Doherty had somewhat impaired his faculties by hard drinking, he would either pay down a large sum per annum for the copyright of our reports, or, if the whole club would remove to Edinburgh, he would use his purse and influence to forward our fortunes, and make us ample compensation for every sacrifice. The Doctor, he said, he could introduce at once to a most respectable and lucrative practice; Halliday, after his admission to the Scotch

bar, should have the entire management of all his law business, and Barrington, when not otherwise engaged, might write light articles for Maga, at a handsome salary—or publish a volume a year of prose or verse on his own account, which, by the aid of extensive bookselling connexions, he could make eminently profitable.

Having disposed of you all, he next, after apologizing for making so free, assured me that, as his politics had always been orthodox, and as he had always supported the high Tory interest, he could, merely for an able article at a particular juncture, secure me a regiment, and perhaps, at no distant day, get the major exalted to the rank of a major-general! Faith, I roared in his face, and assured him that in one month after I communicated his proposal, our friend the editor would post off to Scotland and run him through the body.

By the way, did you hear his majesty's last pun. The Duke of Cumberland was exclaiming, in the presence of his royal brother, against the reports that had got into the papers of his sight being seriously affected: "Poh!" said the sovereign, "I do not care a turn of Conyngham's ankle; such reports are *all in my eye!*" I tried to get out of the duke the probable state of the boundary question, the other day. He shrugged up his shoulders, and said "he did not think Sir Howard was just the man he would have selected for the service—he had a great deal too much talk; he did not come at once to the point, and when he did he seldom stuck to it. He writes, too (added he), as though he got paid by the acre, and if his father taught us to break *lines*, his son is the very devil at forming them."

Fairbanks, as you know, is here—and has, I believe, talked the government out of £20,000, and will, I have little doubt, persuade the bulls and bears in the money market to turn into jackasses and lend him 30 more. He swears that opening a passage into the Grand Lake will be of as much importance to the commercial world as the free navigation of the Black Sea, and is about to issue a document, similar in

size and style to that put forth by the Russian minister, and which, I have no hesitation in saying, will be just as free from humbug.

There has been a singular sensation created in the city by some having set afloat a report that the government was about to send out an order to prevent smugglers from holding seats in the colonial assemblies. You must know that since the enactment of the tariff the British manufacturers console themselves with the reflection that their goods still find a market in the States, through the agency of your provincial violators of republican law—and this report coming to their ears, they began to quake, lest by setting such a stigma on a beneficial pursuit, the practice of smuggling would be entirely discontinued and their goods left to moulder on their hands. A meeting was accordingly held at the City Tavern, and a strong and spirited remonstrance forwarded to the foot of the throne, for the recall of the obnoxious despatch, which, said the petitioners, will bring ruin and distress on many an industrious and skilful manufacturer, and force them and their families to rely on the eleemosynary pittance of the parish officers rather than on their own exertions, for a support."

For the present, farewell—I hope to hear from you before I leave England, and trust that by the next arrival I shall receive a series of reports from that *body* in which my *soul* is centred.

Your ever faithful  
Major.

*Doctor*—By my faith, excellent—every word of it in his old vein; fill up, and let us pledge our friend in a bumper, before we turn to other topics.

*Holiday*—That we will, for who knows while we are grasping our *cups*, but he may have hold of a *Khan* in Tartary.

*Barrington*,—O! should he go no further than Turkey, he may chance to fall in with *A-Stray-Can* (Astrachan).

*Doctor*,—The subject is too serious for punning. The next news may be melancholy enough, and instead of drinking a bumper to his health we may have to fire three rounds over his memory.

Captain Kincaid, a friend of Doyle's, was one of Wellington's men. He marched from the lines of Torres Vedras to Toulouse, and was engaged in all the famous battles that pushed back Napoleon's generals from the plains of Spain and finally across the Pyrenees into France. At twenty-one years of age in 1809 he volunteered into the second battalion of the 95th Rifles, which formed a part of the famous Light Division. He was born at Dalkeith near Falkirk! Kincaid kept guard in the great hill defences of the Torres Vedras and afterward joined in the pursuit of Marshal Massena's army. He stormed the slippery rocks of Ciudad Rodrigo, and led the forlorn hope in that wild assault that took Badajos and also took part in all the battles of these years from Fuentes to Vittoria. He served in the stubborn and bloody combats which took place in the Pyrenees. On the return of Napoleon from the Island of Elba, he crossed over to Belgium with the British Army and was present at Quatre Bras and on the ridge of Waterloo. His battalion stood almost in the centre of Wellington's battle line on that world-famous day and was engaged in the most desperate fights that eddied around the British centre.

Kincaid was a gallant soldier and played a gallant part in the great events, but his promotion was slow. He only obtained a captain's commission in 1826. He was more fortunate indeed after he left the army than when he served in it. He was given a promotion in the Yeomanry Guard in 1844 and was knighted in 1852 and died in 1862 aged seventy-six years.

Captain Kincaid wrote a book entitled "Adventures in the 95th Regiment" which gives a splendid idea of the famous light division of the Duke's army in Spain and at Waterloo.

At no period in the history of journalism in Halifax was there less regard for the proprieties in dealing with the conduct of public men than between the years 1840 and 1860. Correspondents were given unbridled license; and even the leading articles, for which the editor was more directly responsible, teemed with abuse and, in the language of the ring, there was, too often, "a blow below the belt."

In the career of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, there was a peculiar incident which grew out of a sharp attack made on this then prominent actor on the political stage by a writer who evidently had little regard for truth, and whose partizanship betrayed him into the use of harsh and unjustifiable language. The outcome of his attacks on Larry Doyle brought the latter into collision with the publisher—a gentleman of the old school who will be remembered by some yet in our midst as being singularly inoffensive in his character—an editorial writer whose "leaders" indicated much cultured thought, and a thorough grasp of the questions then agitating the public mind—at home and abroad.

There were a good many threatened "horse-whippings" of the men who wielded the slashing pen—and occasionally "coffee and pistols for two"—in those old days, but in many cases the irate individual who ventured to visit the printing office for the purpose of administering chastisement, unceremoniously left "with a flea in his ear." The details of those bellicose encounters, during the forties, would fill a good-sized volume. Doyle had difficulties with the editor, who had, unwittingly, given an ill-tempered vituperator too free access to the columns of his otherwise well-censored newspaper.

During the exciting days of 1839, when the debate in the legislature ran high on the despatches received from Lord Glenelg, the secretary for the colonies, the *Times*, the organ

of the party that defended the old Council, made a bitter attack on the character of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, under cover of "Plain Dealer"—an anonymous correspondent.

That the base of the attack had no foundation in fact was very generally recognized, and that Doyle found himself in honor bound to bring the writer to a retraction of his false statements, or, failing in this, to hold the publisher of the libel responsible, was an accepted fact. Doyle had a shrewd suspicion as to the identity of "Plain Dealer"—an individual in the community who was known to be, unlike the mythological deity, vulnerable in more spots than in his right heel.

Acting on this view, Doyle addressed himself to the editor, William Gossip, and requested to be furnished with the name of his correspondent. The request was refused, but with courtesy. Doyle then demanded an apology from the editor, but that which was offered was imperfect and unsatisfactory. Accompanied by a friend, a young Mr. Twining, his law partner, Doyle sought Gossip at his printing office. He carried with him a dog whip. The editor was not "at home." The belligerents then crossed the grand parade to Argyle street, expecting to find Gossip in a house where he was supposed to reside. They were told that he had removed to another quarter of the town.

The following day Gossip went to the Province Building at Doyle's request, and the latter invited him into the Speaker's room. After some preliminaries, Doyle asked Gossip if he was willing to give up the name of the "Plain Dealer" letter. Gossip replied that, in his opinion, the apologies he had already sent should be accepted in full of all grievances. To this, Doyle, with much indignation, said that he did not consider the alleged apologies at all satisfactory and, standing up, he exclaimed with emphasis: "once for all, will you give up the author?"

The *Times* editor, who could not be worked into a frenzy, refused to yield further in the matter. Then Doyle declared



that but one other course remained and, suiting the action to the word, he opened the door of the room and took a horse-whip from his coat pocket, and threateningly raised it. As quick as a flash Gossip caught the whip by the middle and as quickly put the other hand in the breast of his coat—an act which gave Doyle the impression that his opponent had a pistol. Assuming an attitude of defiance, Doyle exclaimed; “fire and be — to you.” The reply of Gossip was: “no! I’ll not fire,” and then sought to appease Doyle by saying that if he would only tell him what he really wanted he would try to meet his wishes in every particular. He then let go his hold of the whip.

Doyle, becoming calmer, said that all he required was the name of the author of the abusive communication. He entertained no personal ill-feeling towards the publisher, but he had been grossly vilified in his paper, and he was determined to have adequate satisfaction. Gossip, impressed by Doyle’s intense earnestness, promised to inform “Plain Dealer” of the unpleasantness that had taken place and, at the same time, he gave the assurance that an answer would be forthcoming in the morning. The parties then separated, Doyle, with his whip carefully stowed away in his pocket, going into the House of Assembly, and Gossip betaking himself to his office to consider the next step. Matters, however, moved too slow for Doyle, and as a last resort to avenge his injured honor—for he felt most keenly the contemptible insinuations flung at him—he called Gossip “out,” but the latter:

Bold in the council board,  
But cautious in the field, he shunn’d the sword.

You will, no doubt, be interested in an extract from “Plain Dealer’s letter: “During the sitting of the legislature its proceedings generally attract my first attention, and I cannot express my alarm and indignation which the debates, on the despatches excited in my bosom. I am a moderate man, sir, and though the northern blasts may not blow as coldly upon

us in Halifax, as they do upon the good folks of Cumberland, yet I do believe that I can view things in general as coolly as any inhabitant of that old county.

But when I began to feel the prickling of Mr. Huntington's bayonets—when I heard our town Bell (a flippant allusion to the Hon. Hugh Bell) sound the alarm that the people of Nova Scotia were to be treated as step-children; when I heard Mr. Morton, who yields to none for loyalty, declare that our hopes were wholly annihilated, and that the loyalty of the people would be endangered by printing such despatches; when I saw even that moderate Mr. Lewis become 'somewhat indignant,' and that Mr. Goudge could listen to such documents without grating the nap off the seat of his pantaloons upon the red benches, that even the *temperance of Mr. Doyle was so much overcome that it was with difficulty he could keep his seat.*"—then of course "Plain Dealer's" blood began to boil.

And then again the carping writer in the course of the criticism of the debates wrote, "*let temperate Mr. Doyle totter in his seat.*" In the issue of the Times following the publication of "Plain Dealer's" letter, the editor himself was heard from. He said: "the messenger of the assembly brought a message from the house that Mr. Doyle was waiting. We therefore stepped over and were ushered into the Speaker's room. To our surprise there were present Huntington, Goudge, Doyle and Twining. Our first impression was that the house had appointed a committee to enquire into matters connected with printing, or that they had sent us a vote of thanks by the hon. members present for the able manner in which the *Times* was conducted."

After recounting the incident of the dog whip in substantially the same terms as those made public by Doyle, the editor grew bold. He was now in the secure precincts of the sanctum and took high ground. In the concluding paragraph of his statement he went on to say: "conduct like this



**HON. HERBERT HUNTINGTON.**  
(From Bourinot's "Builders of Nova Scotia.")



shall never put us down; personal hostility will not succeed in making us forget our duty to the public. As we have done so will we continue to do; and with a sincere desire to live peaceably and follow our vocation without offence, never intentionally reflecting upon the personal or private character of any. No power on earth shall prevent us from steadily pursuing the political course which we conceive best adapted for the public welfare, or from exposing the errors by every proper means at our disposal, of that which we think has an opposite tendency."

An impartial reader will not consider the editor's lofty tone to be, at all events, over frank. It strikes one at this later day that the attack was of a personal nature, as it reflected on Doyle's well-known convivial habits—going so far as to insinuate that he appeared in the house in a condition which laid him open to a just criticism. Be that as it may, in dealing with the noble-hearted Larry Doyle his political enemies sometimes failed to be guided by the generous sentiment contained in the oft-quoted couplet:

Be to our virtues over-kind,  
And to our faults a little blind.

Thus far I have endeavored to show Lawrence O'Connor Doyle in his public capacity as a member of a band of advanced liberals in the struggle for greater political freedom. Doyle's aim as a member of the House of Assembly was for responsible government—pure and simple. He clearly saw the goal and, so far as he was concerned, he was bound to reach it. Others tarried by the way.

In the early stages of the contest with Sir Colin Campbell, Howe was disposed to "rest on his arms!" On the other hand Doyle and Huntington and some others resolved to carry the fight to a complete finish. Their plan of action was, subsequently, adopted by Howe, and led to the triumphs which have contributed so much to make his name famous in the annals of our own land—and throughout the wide Dominion.

Turning to Doyle I find him again, after ten years, with his friend and opponent, James B. Uniacke, as president and vice-president, respectively, of the Charitable Irish Society, presiding at the function in honor of St. Patrick's day—1839. That year the anniversary fell on Sunday, but Monday—Shelah's day, as it is called in old Ireland—was set apart for the celebration. A large company was present at Mason Hall. The evening was given up to mirth and festivity.

It was a source of pleasure to see two men of brilliant talents, but then of opposite political principles, thus presiding over the gathering of a society whose object was to promote good fellowship—and to aid the needy. On the occasion mentioned the band of the 23rd Welsh fusiliers furnished the music. The 23rd had been in Halifax in 1776, sixty-three years before, when Sir William Howe and the British army retired from Boston. The boundary dispute between the State of Maine and New Brunswick was then at its height, and it looked as if the 23rd would again be called into active service—to take a hand in a scrap with old-time foes. Happily for all concerned wise councils prevailed, and the vexed question was amicably settled by Arbitration. At the St. Patrick's celebration a Mr. Alexander McDougall sang a song in rather a jingo strain, composed by himself, which indicated public feeling at that time.

Doyle was a very warm admirer of Daniel O'Connell. He ardently loved the home of his fathers, and took active steps to secure for the great agitator financial aid to continue his efforts in obtaining justice for Ireland. At a repeal meeting held in Halifax in 1843 at the Exchange Coffee house, Doyle was chosen president; M. Mahoney, vice, and Bernard O'Neil, secretary. The proceedings occupied from 7 to 11 o'clock in the evening. The meeting closed with cheers for the Queen, for O'Connell, and for the chairman of the meeting.

The Nova Scotia repeal league sent £200 as a contribution to the agitation in Ireland, and £400 in charity. Speak-

ing of this the Boston *Pilot* said: "the Catholic population of Nova Scotia is not half so much as that of Boston, nor one-eighth of New York. Yet that population has done more in three months for creed and country, for repeal and temperance, than either New York or Boston. This is no doubt in a great measure owing to the fact of having such clergymen as Fathers O'Brien and Loughnan, and such laymen as Lawrence O'Connor Doyle."

When Lawrence O'Connor Doyle returned to the house of assembly in 1844—representing Halifax—the forces of the government and opposition were arrayed in fierce party struggle over the retirement of Howe, McNab and James B. Uniacke from the executive council. Party feeling throughout the province ran high, and Lord Falkland was conspicuously dragged into the conflict. Howe had given offence to some of his more ardent supporters by accepting office without a more decided change in the executive council, and, after a brief period, realizing the mistake he had made on joining a government which had stopped short of the fundamental principles of responsible government, he endeavored to heap *all* the blame upon the lieutenant-governor and his remaining councillors.

During the session of 1844 the "red benches" witnessed many keen encounters, and although in the long and fierce debate on the address Doyle contributed his share in the support of his party, his good nature did not desert him, as the following extracts from his speech on the occasion will exemplify:

Mr Doyle said: "I much fear, Mr. Chairman, that with this gloomy, dark day, with its discouraging influences, my own temperament not a little sympathises, and as I can add nothing to the novelty of this exhaustive debate, I may felicitate myself in hoping to contribute anything to the force of the argument. Worn-wearied as the committee are, it were almost presumption thus to rise with any expectation of enlivening

an audience or animating its now languid energies. Still, sir, at so critical a period all consciousness of inefficiency ceases to exist within the bosom, lest silence should be mistaken for insensibility.

“Four years have elapsed over the legislative labors of this province, and during the interval I have stood aloof of your deliberations. An essential change, I had read, was in action—a new and beneficial system of provincial policy had marked the period in the annals of our country, as an epoch; such was the event, I was taught to believe, that would hereafter to the student of our history distinguish the period under notice, as a discovery of proud and exultant commendation. How far these fond opinions of mine have been verified the experience of this discussion unhappily demonstrates.

“I now come to the remarks of my honorable and learned friend (Andrew Uniacke), member for the township of Halifax, and, Mr. chairman, pardon me if I feel emotion. In the chambers of his lamented father, I, a mere youth, was first taught to pore over the rudiments of that knowledge whose rich stores were by him accumulated as treasures to be left as legacies to those children who are now ornaments of this house, and it was under his teaching I was first taught to think of, and to appreciate, the value of those principles this day in controversy. He, with a mind capacious enough to comprehend systems of more enlarged policy than those to which narrower ones then dedicated their idolatry—with a spirit ardently inspired to covet and to claim these benefits for this country; he, the venerated father of my hon. friend, ere I was yet a week under his vigilance and his care, imposed on me the duty of transcribing a voluminous essay of suggestion to the home government—even then, years ago, redolent, in every page, of the spirit now struggling to animate the languid constitution of this country.

“My hon. friend has reminded us that the President of the Council, the senior member of the executive, was one con-



spicuous for his popular principles, and strove in the scenes of our past history for the privileges of the people. In passing without further comment from the animated observations of my learned friend, I have to only add that the opinions attributed to the distinguished individual have been so long forgotten by himself that the public cannot remember them."

Doyle's reply to Dodd's speech was sharp and incisive: his retort of the fair pensionary spinsters who got on the list by Dodd's advocacy was not much relished by that gentleman. Nor was his description of Dodd's usurping the prerogative of the crown. When, he said, he uprose in the house crying havoc and declared war against the state of Maine the auditors in the gallery cheered in sympathy, while we, the representatives of the people, catching the military infection, vociferated for a leader until the powder exploding from the curls of the Speaker's wig, the very timber on the Aroostook trembled and Maine shrunk back in affright.

Doyle twitted Lewis M. Wilkins, whose speeches on all public occasions were brimful of classical quotations. The stately Wilkins had been a member of the Legislative Council. Doyle described him as descending from the dormitory of genius in the other hall—having hung his colonial coronet on some vacant peg to rust or rot, and, doffing the robes of a provincial peer, come down once more to battle as a burgess for popular privileges.

Journalism, in the days of the battle for responsible government, did not display the amenities that have been observed in a calmer and more recent period of its history. Appeals to the law courts were more frequent than they are today, and conflicts with the pen sometimes led to personal encounters on the streets of the town. The law, too often, got its iron heel on the editor's neck, but, like a well-trained pugilist, he never failed to send his enemy "groggy" to the corner whenever he ventured to attack him in the open arena.

In 1840 Lawrence O'Connor Doyle was one of the counsel in a suit that was brought by Edmund Ward, a sort of waspish representative of the weekly press, against English and Blackadar, the proprietors of the *Acadian Recorder*. The case was of some interest: its merits were as follows:

Sometime in 1838, a person of the name of Duncan, arrived in Halifax. Shortly afterwards an article appeared in the Fredericton *Sentinel* of which Ward was the editor, describing the said Duncan as a swindler, and cautioning the public to be on their guard against him. Duncan saw the article and at once wrote an answer to it, which was inserted in the *Acadian Recorder*. The answer denied the charge made in the *Sentinel* and in strong terms declared Ward to be a swindler, cheat and prone to quarreling. On this the action was brought—damages laid at £1000.

The solicitor general of Nova Scotia—J. W. Johnston—who appeared for Ward, opened the case briefly to the jury. The alleged libel was read. Mr. Doyle, for the defendants, argued that the chief term in the libel, swindler, was not of itself actionable, unless used in connection with the trade or profession of the party to whom it was applied. The chief justice—Brenton Halliburton—overruled the objection. There was a difference, his lordship explained, between words spoken hastily, and words deliberately written. Not only was the charge of swindling libellous, but any moral charge, anything turning a party into contempt and ridicule, could be so construed.

James B. Uniacke also appeared for the defendants. He argued that the liberty of the press was of much consequence, and tended to prevent the growth of many evils. It was a peculiar feature of the case under consideration that the press sought to control the press. The plaintiff should not complain if words which he had used against another were thrown back on himself.

Witnesses were called to prove that Mr. Ward, while conducting, in Halifax, the *Free Press*—a publication of the twenties—was inclined to be quarrelsome and had become involved in several angry disputes. This evidence amounted to very little, and was taken no notice of by the court. As the plea was “not guilty” the defence of justification was not made.

The solicitor general addressed the court in no mincing words. The case had assumed a more serious aspect, he said, than when opened by the counsel for the defence arguing that the intention of parties was of consequence in alleged libels. The libel was a violent slander. It was not such a reply as an aggrieved party should have been allowed to publish. Persons might give opinions of others, without fear of legal consequences, as for example, when they were legally acting—such as a person giving a character of a servant, a relative or a commercial correspondent, stating opinions of a third party, a reporter furnishing proceedings of the house of parliament or courts of law. The case before the court was different. The publication of a libel by the plaintiff by no means privileged the defendants to publish another. It would have been an insult to plaintiff to have laid special damages. Who doubted that a man would be damaged in his feelings and family and daily avocation by such charges going abroad in a widely circulated paper?

The chief justice charged against the defendants in an address of considerable length. The jury (special) brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, awarding the damages at £40, with expenses. The defendants, on their part, lashed the solicitor general with great fury. So far as the latter was concerned it took the printers several years to recover their equanimity in criticising his public conduct.

Mr. Doyle's law office was on Granville Street, at Cleveland's corner (Sackville and Granville streets, northeast cor-

ner). His partner was Mr. Twining—the same gentleman who, as his friend, accompanied him in the affair with editor Gossip, of the *Times*.

A feature of Doyle's public career, at this period, may be mentioned. Not long after Lord Falkland's assumption of the lieut.-governorship the House of Assembly was dissolved, and the members had to go back to their constituencies for re-election—Doyle among the number. Several candidates were in the field for the honor of representing Cape Breton Island. These were James B. Uniacke, Doyle, William Young, McKeagney and Martell. Doyle lost his seat and was out of parliament until 1843.

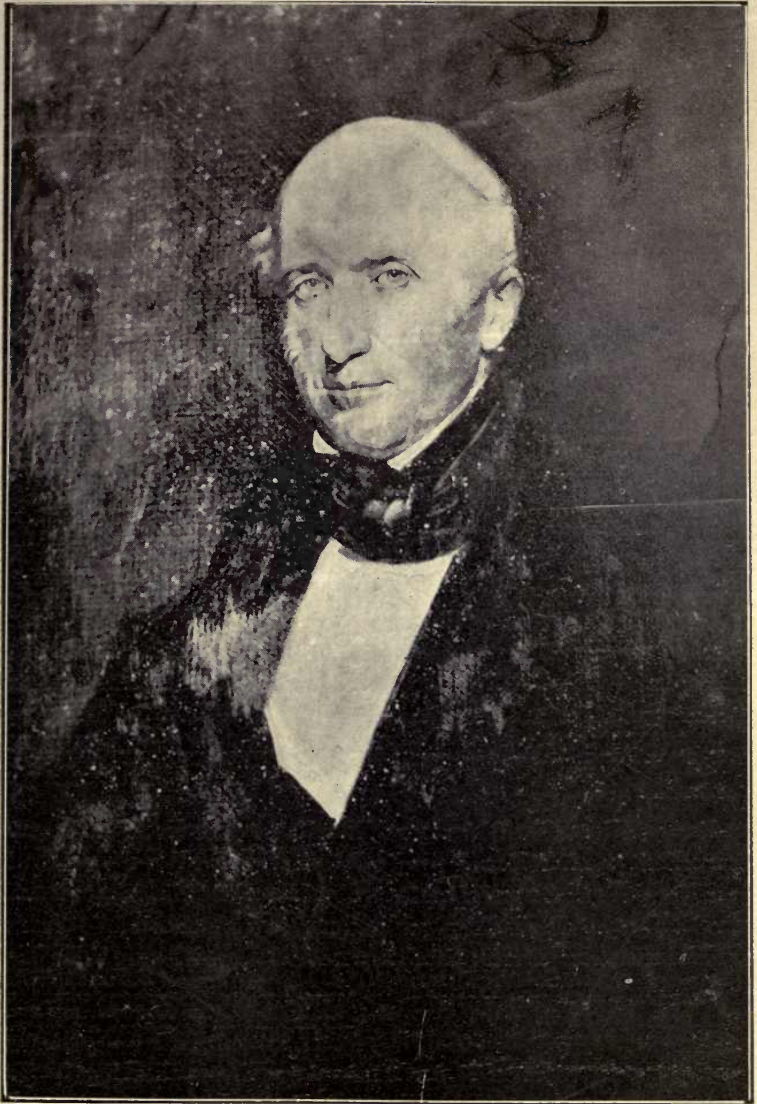
On the 6th of October, 1840, five of the old Council retired, thereby paving the way for a coalition government. The executive was composed of S. G. W. Archibald, J. B. Uniacke, Joseph Howe, J. W. Johnston and James McNab. Joining the coalition was viewed by the stalwart reformers as one of those peculiar errors of judgment which characterized Howe's career. It should be stated, however that Howe vigorously maintained that the end would certainly justify the means employed to reach it. William Young, for one, berated Howe for going into the coalition.

Doyle was without a seat in the new house, and although he did not approve of Howe's action with respect to stopping short in the main pursuit of the reforms, which the Liberal party had set out to accomplish, he still continued his friend. A very sad domestic affliction was experienced by Doyle in 1842. His wife died on the first of February of that year. The obituary notice reads as follows:

“On Monday last after a long and tedious illness, Sarah Ann, consort of L. O'Connor Doyle, Esq., and eldest daughter of the last Lieut. Driscoll, Royal Navy, aged 27 years.”

As one of the representative Catholics of Halifax, Mr. Doyle took an active part in all movements which had for their pur-

1881



**THE HON. JAMES MacNAB, (1792-1871.)**  
**(Late Colonel (1842) 1st Halifax Regiment.)**



pose the advancement of his co-religionists in the community. In 1843 he presided at the annual dinner of the Irish Society. On this occasion twenty-six toasts were drunk, among which was one to the memory of the father of the Society, the late Honorable Richard John Uniacke, and another to the poet Thomas Moore.

The Society lost one of its past presidents in 1843, who had been on the role of membership in the eighteenth century. The late Hon. Michael Tobin was born in Halifax. He was educated here where neither means nor institutions of learning were so abundant as at his decease, and when Catholics especially were denied the same free access to the fountains of religion and literature which the more enlightened spirit of the present age affords.

Doyle's admiration for O'Connell grew in intensity. He was a most outspoken believer in repeal of the Union. He was a member of the branch association of Nova Scotia, and through his efforts large sums of money were remitted to aid the liberator in his struggle for justice for Ireland. Howe did not believe in repeal, and was forced by the opposition press to declare his position on this question. The Irishmen of Halifax who were his early friends and formed the nucleus of the early reform party often invited him to be present at their public meetings to advance the repeal movement. They respected his honest convictions and found no fault with his views on the question of repeal.

In 1844 Doyle acted as chairman at a repeal meeting in which the following resolutions were offered and carried: Resolved that the people of Ireland, having in vain made every effort to obtain equal justice and equal rights from the Imperial Parliament, the meeting is of the opinion that repeal of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland is now the only measure by which the wrongs of that oppressed and mis-governed country can be redressed.

In the session of 1844 the government brought down a civil list bill which was attacked vigorously by the opposition. The measure, before it passed, was considerably shorn of its main features by a number of amendments in committee. The debates on the bill were carried on with much heat. Mr. Dodd (afterwards judge), replied to Howe. In the course of his speech he made some sneering remarks about the opposition which were warmly resented by Mr. Doyle, who said "The term was not original to the honorable and learned gentleman; it had been used on the floor of the house by one whose fame was not limited to the soil of which he was a native, and who did not apply the term to the honest intelligent constituents of the member for the county of Halifax, he applied it to other kinds of meetings which had now received the approval and protection of Lord Falkland's government; one of the members at least, who if they had submitted the bill before the committee in a manner consistent with the expression in the opening speech would not only be a wreck but blown off the surface, not by a side wind but a wind blown from all sides.

That gentleman spoke of the late Metcalf meeting which he (Mr. D.) admitted possessed a portion of the opulence and intelligence of the community, but when he heard it asserted that they were justified in their proceeding it became him to make some reply.

Hon. Mr. Dodd denied that he or the government had given any opinion respecting the meeting. He spoke of it, whether justified or not, as having a right to express views on political questions. Mr. Doyle said that he would not have spoken only for the eulogy which the hon. and learned member had paid to the meeting, and only that he seemed to throw the shield of government over the proceedings.

Mr. Dodd explained that he alluded to the meeting in reference to what the member for Halifax (Mr. Howe), had said on the subject, and stated that the government had nothing to do with the matter.



Mr. Doyle answered that he did not know what the member for the county of Halifax said on the subject. He was not responsible for the remarks of that gentleman; but the remarks of the member for Sydney had given him grounds to state the feeling of the Halifax constituency and of every constituency in the Province at the heinous charge made against them at that meeting. Old slang and slanders had been revived and a portion of the people had been denounced as little better than so many rebels. He heard members of the house speak of the meeting with indignation and the feeling was extensively participated in by a large majority of the people. To speak boastingly of loyalty was as out of place among a British people, as for a female to boast of virtue. It might be supposed that a parade would not be made on the subject, except parties were liable to suspicion. The member for Sydney described the member for the county of Halifax as having been the head of a party which had hunted up grievances. The member for Sydney might be justified in making the taunt because that party had defeated the government of which the hon. and learned gentleman was a member in a former House of Assembly. Whether the grievances were real or not, whether they were founded in error or not, the decisions of the British cabinet told the people of Nova Scotia that the result should be the present constitution of the province. If that government had not hunted up grievances, that gentleman and his colleagues would not now be embarrassed with the story of constitutional government. They would not be standing in self-defence saying to the house that if they should be defeated they would retire; they had been defeated repeatedly on former occasions—on the principle of he who fights and runs away may live to fight another day, which another day the house never saw.

The Johnston government, which resisted the final assaults of responsible government, appealed to the people in 1847. The election went against them. Mr. Johnston held on to power until the next meeting of the legislature.

The House met on the 22nd of January, 1848. On the election of Speaker the strength of each party was tested. William Young, Liberal, received 28 votes and the nominee of the late government 21.

The new government was composed of the following gentlemen; James Boyle Uniacke, leader of the government and Attorney-General, Joseph Howe, Provincial Secretary and clerk of the Council, Hugh Bell, James McNab, Herbert Huntington, William F. DesBarres, solicitor general, Lawrence O'C. Doyle and G. R. Young.

The new government had to carry into effect the details of responsible government: the casual and territorial revenues, the appointment of judges and the payment of their salaries, the management of the postal service, the appointment of all civil servants and other matters relinquished by the Imperial government and assumed by the Provincial government.

The change involved considerable labour and made heavy demands on the patience of the executive, who had assumed a new responsibility, and transferred power from the hands of a few into many.

In all this shaping of government on the lines of absolute responsibility of the executive to the people, Doyle took a prominent part. He had striven for the object from the first days of his entering parliament with undeviating zeal, and the reward of his labours throughout all the fierce struggles of his undaunted youth seemed now to be at his hand.

On Thursday, December 7th, 1854, Hon. Attorney-General (Young) moved a resolution in reference to the Crimean war, and relief of the women and children who were left widows and orphans by the battle at Alma. The Hon. J. W. Johnston seconded the resolution. The Attorney-General in the course of his remarks said "Among these men, Sir, who are engaged in a

momentous war are some Nova Scotians, and it may be that hereafter we shall read with a thrill of pride as a matter of history that the colors of one regiment at least were led up by a Nova Scotian, who shed his blood on the field of Alma, mingled with that of the Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen who suffered to win that brilliant victory. L. O'Connor Doyle said: It may be rather a singular coincidence, sir, but it is quite likely that when representative of Her Majesty receives the address conveying the substance of the resolution just moved he may be occupying the same apartment in which the young officer was born, who has been spoken of as bearing the colors of a regiment on the heights of Alma, as His Excellency is at present sojourning in the late residence of Col. Bazalgette.

Captain Bazalgette the young officer Doyle referred to, went through the Crimean campaign, and afterwards that of the Indian Mutiny with distinguished credit. He came back in his old age married, and settled down in Halifax. His last camping ground is in Camp Hill cemetery where a plain marble head stone records his services to the empire.

Lawrence O'Connor Doyle retired from the Uniacke Government in 1851. He continued to represent the township of Halifax until May, 1855, when a general election took place. The Liberal convention met at Masonic Hall on the 30th April, 1855, for the purpose of nominating candidates. The honorable Attorney-General (Young), was in the chair, and George A. Paw acted as secretary.

John Esson and William Annand were nominated to represent the county of Halifax, and Benjamin Wier and John Tobin the township of Halifax in the Liberal interest. The latter was nominated by Conrod West and Francis Munro of Portuguese Cove.

John Tobin who thus succeeded Doyle in the representation of Halifax city was the founder of the firm of John Tobin and

company, one of the largest wholesale grocers now doing business in the Maritime Provinces.

The last note we hear of Doyle in a public capacity is contained in the following card:

**To the Electors of the Township of Halifax.**

Gentlemen:—

Understanding from conversations with personal friends this morning that impressions have gone abroad that I am to be brought forward as a candidate for your suffrages at the ensuing election with my own assent, I now beg leave most distinctly to say that under no circumstance will I now come forward. I will say further that to all gentlemen nominated at the liberal meeting holden on Monday evening last, I will accord my most cheerful and earnest support.

I have the honor to remain, with a grateful sense of past obligations,

Your obedient servant,

**L. O'Connor Doyle.**

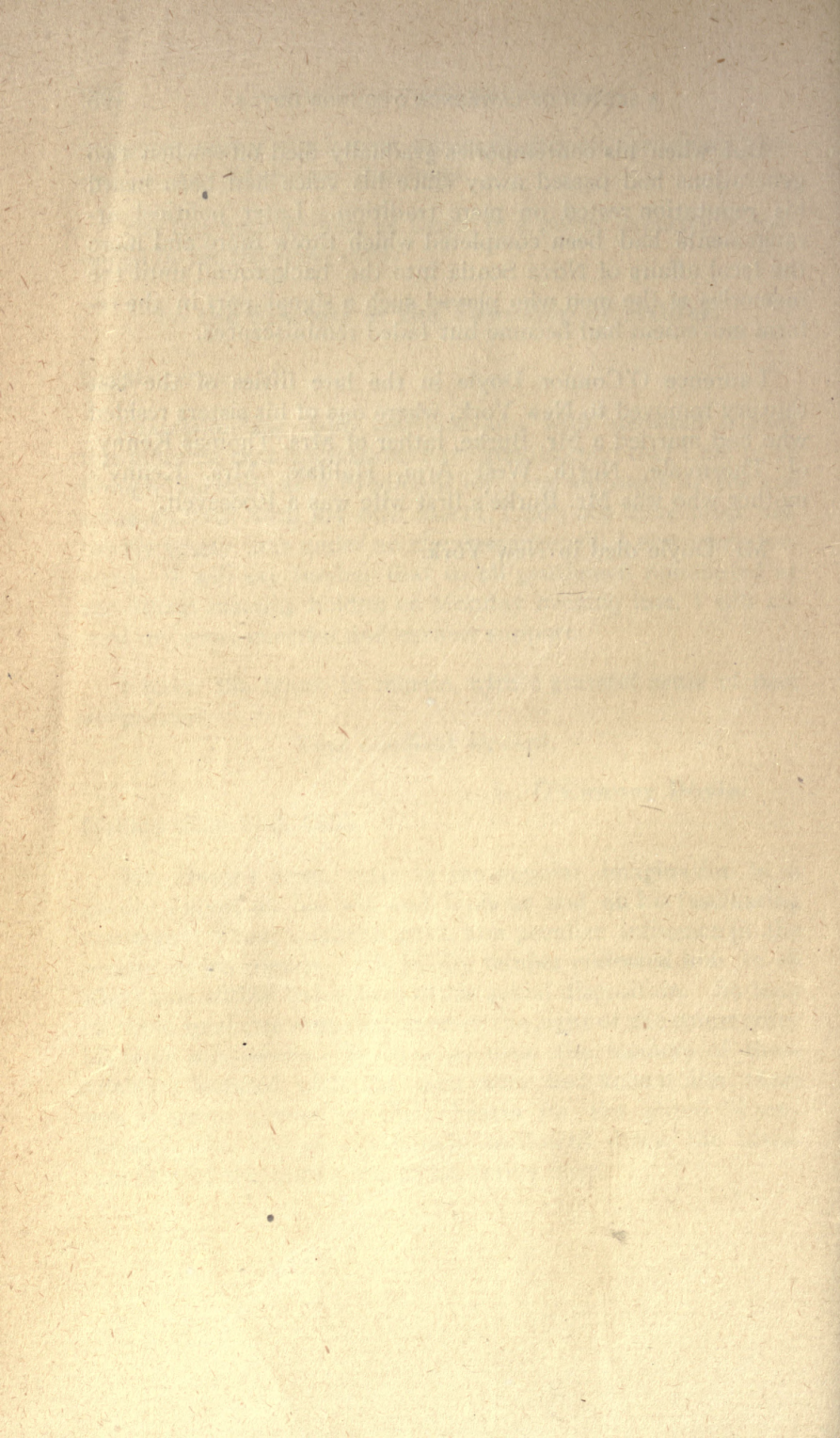
Halifax May 2nd, 1855.

Mr. Doyle's fame rests in the popular imagination to a goodly extent on his wit and humour and on his fascinating manners. These qualities gave him peculiar influence in the society of his friends. His kindly temper endeared him to all who came within the sphere of his genial disposition. So long as these qualities were displayed in the sight of the community his fame was secure. So long as even the memory of these qualities lingered with the men who had known him there was a warm corner in their hearts for the gifted "Larry Doyle," who had so charmingly mellowed down the bitter asperities of the public life of his active days.

But when his contemporaries gradually died off—when two generations had passed away since his voice had been heard his reputation rested on mere tradition. Later political arrangements had been completed which threw more and more the local affairs of Nova Scotia into the background until the memories of the men who played such a signal part in the reform movement had become but faded reminiscences.

Laurence O'Connor Doyle in the late fifties of the last century removed to New York, where one of his sisters resided who had married a Mr. Burke, father of Mrs. Thomas Kenny, of Thornvale, North West Arm, Halifax. Mrs. Kenny's mother who was Mr. Burke's first wife was a Roosevelt.

Mr. Doyle died in New York.



## NOTES ON SEVERAL GOVERNORS AND THEIR INFLUENCE.

By JOSEPH HOWE.

Nothing could be more correct and refining than the tone given to society by Lady Dalhousie who, without being handsome was remarkable for the plainness of her dress and the elegant simplicity of her manners. The Earl was a square built, good looking man, with hair rather grey when I last saw him. He took great interest in Agriculture, and was the patron of "Agricola" whose letters appeared in the "Recorder" when I was in the Printing office. His Lordship's example set all the Councillors, and officials, and fashionable mad about farming and political economy. They went to Ploughing Matches—got up Fairs—made composts and bought cattle and pigs. Every fellow who wanted an office or wished to get an invitation to Government House, read Sir John Sinclair, talked of Adam Smith, bought a South Down or hired an acre of land and planted mangel wurtzels. The secret about "Agricola's" letters had been well kept and the mystery became very mysterious. At last the authorship was announced, and it was then discovered that a stout Scotchman, who kept a small grocer's shop in Water Street and whom nobody knew or had met in "good society," was the great unknown. Ovations were got up under the patronage of the Earl; and the Judges, and leading merchants, and lawyers came forward and fraternized with the stout Scotchman, who being a man of good education and fine powers of mind, was soon discovered to speak with as much ease and fluency as he wrote. All this was marvellous in the eyes of that generation. But no two Governors think alike or patronize the same things—when Sir James Kempt came he had a passion for road making and pretty women, and the agricultural mania died away. Agricola was voted a bore—a

fat Scotchman—and his family decidedly vulgar, and the Heifers about Government House attracted more attention than the Durham Cows. The Agricultural Societies tumbled to pieces, and although spasmodic efforts were made from time to time by some members of Mr. Young's family, agriculture did not become fashionable in my day till Sir Gaspard LeMarchant in 1854 began to talk to everybody about Shanghai Chickens and Alderney Cows. Then a good deal of money was spent. The old breeds of cows, which wanted nothing but care and judicious crossing to make them as good as any in the world, were reduced in size that the cream might be made richer, which it never was, and the chickens were made twice the size with the additional recommendation that they were twice as tough. Sir Gaspard brought his crochets direct from Court, for Prince Albert was a great breeder, and the Queen and everybody else went mad about poultry for a summer or two.



## STATEMENT RELATIVE TO THE INTRODUCTION AND HISTORY OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERN- MENT IN NOVA SCOTIA.

By REV. E. M. SAUNDERS, D. D., Halifax.

Read before the Council of N. S. Historical Society, 26th Sept., 1912.

Lord Durham was appointed Governor-General of the British North American Colonies in 1838. His chief work was to settle the political strife resulting from the rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada. He recommended responsible government as the only effectual remedy.

In 1839, Charles Poulett Thompson, President of the Board of Trade was sent to the Colonies as the successor of Lord Durham. He arrived in Halifax from Quebec, on the 9th of July, 1839. The old Council of Twelve had been dissolved, and J. W. Johnstone, had been appointed to both the Legislative and Executive branches of the newly formed government.

After being sworn into office in the Provincial Building, Mr. Thompson had prolonged interviews with the leading men of both parties, Mr. Howe and Mr. Johnstone, of course, being the most important among those seen by Mr. Thompson. It became an open secret that Mr. Howe and his principal followers, Mr. Johnstone and his principal followers, had consented to unite in a coalition government.

Lord Falkland, having arrived at Halifax, made it known on the sixth of October, that he had the command from Her Majesty to admit the Attorney-General, S. G. W. Archibald, J. B. Uniacke and Joseph Howe to be members of the Executive Council. In forming the new government, the principal stipulation was that the Executive should be directly responsible to the House of Assembly. The final arrangement was that

Joseph Howe, James Boyle Uniacke and James MacNab, as Liberals, should enter the Executive Council.

In the first session after the formation of the coalition government, Mr. Howe had to fight a clique formed against him and led by William Young. The House of Assembly of which he was a member recognized the responsibility of the Cabinet to the Assembly, and voted down the "Constitutional Party." Had this party succeeded in getting a majority in the Lower House, the government would have been defeated and Mr. Young would have been called upon to form a government. In the discussion on that occasion Mr. Howe said, "In local affairs the Government was bound to carry with them the opinions of the Assembly."

Mr. Howe co-operated with Mr. Johnstone, as leader of the Government until 1843. In that year an agitation for one college for the Province, led by William Annand and supported by Mr. Howe, began, Mr. Howe still retaining his place in the Cabinet. Mr. Johnstone advised Lord Falkland to dissolve the House. This was done and a general election followed. When the House met, Mr. Johnstone had a majority of only one or two for denominational colleges. The Government held itself responsible to the Assembly. Had Mr. Howe got a majority, the Government would have resigned.

Mr. Howe, be it here noted, did not in 1843, when he was a member of the Cabinet, appeal to the people on the question of responsible government. That had been secured in 1840, three years before this time. It may here be stated that Mr. Johnstone resigned his place in the Legislative Council and was returned as a member of the Assembly for Annapolis in the general election of 1843.

In discussing the results of this election Mr. Howe said:—"I had invariably told my friends that neither the Liberals nor the Conservatives were in a condition to form a strong government of themselves." Mr. Howe and the other Liberals in the Cabinet finally went into opposition in 1843.

Mr. Johnstone continued to lead the Government from 1843 to 1847, when the term expired by the efflux of time. Mr. Howe, on the assembly of Parliament, divided the House, obtained a majority against the Government, and the Government resigned.

A new Cabinet was then formed with J. B. Uniacke, Premier. In 1854 William Young succeeded J. B. Uniacke as Premier. His Government was defeated in 1857 on the Roman Catholic quarrel and J. W. Johnstone became leader again. He in turn was defeated in the general election in 1859. Mr. Howe then formed a Government of which he became Premier. He was defeated at a general election in 1863.

Therefore, responsible government was introduced into the Nova Scotia Assembly in 1840, J. W. Johnstone leading continuously until 1847—the first Premier under responsible government in Nova Scotia. Mr. Howe led and defended the Government in the House of Assembly from 1840 to 1843.

In that time he defeated a resolution of want of confidence, both he and the Constitutionalists who were opposing him, assumed in their hot debate that the Executive was responsible to the Assembly. Mr. Howe was the first leader in the Lower House to enforce the principle of responsible government. This he did in 1841.

When the House assembled after the election of 1843, the principle of the Executive's responsibility to the Lower House, was again put into operation. In the history of responsible government from the day of its introduction in 1840, until the present time, it has never been put to a severer test. A majority of one saved the Executive from defeat and barred the way of the Opposition to power.

In 1857, the principle was again applied, when William Young's Government was defeated, and Mr. Johnstone was again restored to power.

In 1859, the principle was again applied, and the Conservative Government was defeated and the Liberal Government came into power.

In 1863 the Liberal Government was defeated,, and the Conservatives came into power.

J. W. Johnstone was Premier from 1840 to 1847.

James Boyle Uniacke was Premier from 1847 to 1854.

William Young was Premier from 1854 to 1857.

J. W. Johnstone was Premier for the second time from 1857 to 1859.

Joseph Howe was Premier from 1859 to 1863.

J. W. Johnstone was Premier for the third time from 1863 to 1864.

Charles Tupper was Premier from 1864 to 1867.

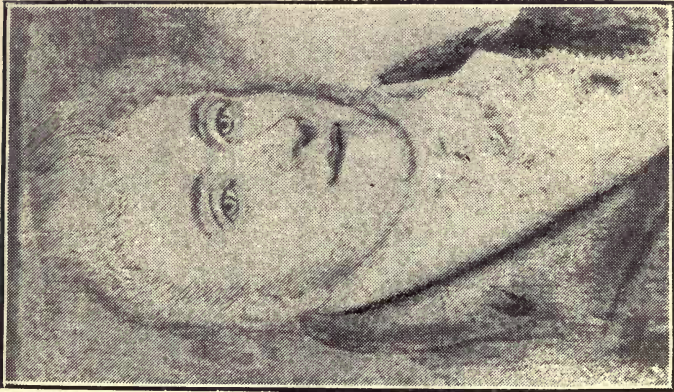
Then came Confederation.

It has been thought by some that responsible government was not granted to Nova Scotia until 1847. This is incorrect, and doubtless arises from the fact that all the heads of departments were not taken into the Government until that time. Indeed this was not accomplished until about a year after the election of 1847, when J. B. Uniacke was Premier. But the principle of responsible government does not rest on the personnel of the Executive, but on the responsibility of the Executive. The application of this principle was first made by Mr. Howe, when he divided the House to test the strength of a party formed to defeat the coalition government of which he was an important member. He applied it again after the election of 1843, when he was defeated by a majority of one.

**E. M. Saunders.**

Halifax, September 14th, 1912.

2021



**ANTHONY HOLLAND, (1785-1830)**  
Founder of the Acadian Recorder, 1813.  
(From a Crayon in the Provincial Museum.)



**H. W. BLACKADAR.**  
Whose family has been associated with the Acadian Recorder, since 1837.



**CENTENNIAL NUMBER OF "ACADIAN RECORDER."**

(Omitted from the President's Address.)

The President referred to the Centennial Number of the Acadian Recorder, published 16th January, 1913. This issue is quite unique in Canadian journalism, marking as it does the semi-centennial of the connection of the present proprietor and editor Mr. C. C. Blackadar with the paper. A most interesting feature is the reprint of the first number of the paper, as it came from the press of Anthony Holland, adjoining the Navy Victualling Office, Water St. The paper has been published ever since without interruption, which in itself furnishes a record in journalism. Since 1836 the policy of the paper has been shaped by the Blackadar family, and it is noteworthy that they lived for a long period on the site where the first newspaper in Canada was printed in 1752. The files of the Acadian Recorder contain much of the contemporary history of Nova Scotia, and are invaluable for purposes of historical research. The weekly historical article by "An Occasional" is probably the ablest and most complete contribution of historical matter provided by any paper on the American continent. It was the first paper to describe the immortal sea-fight between the Shannon and the Chesapeake, and naturally took the deepest interest in the triumphal home-coming of Lt. Provo Wallis with his valuable prize, for Mr. Blackadar like Provo Wallis was born in the Naval Yard, and steeped with its traditions. Few men have done more useful work from the historical stand-point than Mr. H. W. Blackadar our respected Postmaster.

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## LIST OF PAPERS.

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DATE.	TITLE.	WHENCE OBTAINED.	Published in Collections.
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June 21	Inaugural Address . . . . .	Hon. A. G. Archibald . . . . .	Vol. i. p. 18.
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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.			
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June 3	Sketches of the Winniett, DeLancy, and Milledge families . . . . .	W. A. Calnek, Esq . . . . .	
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	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 . . . . .	
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