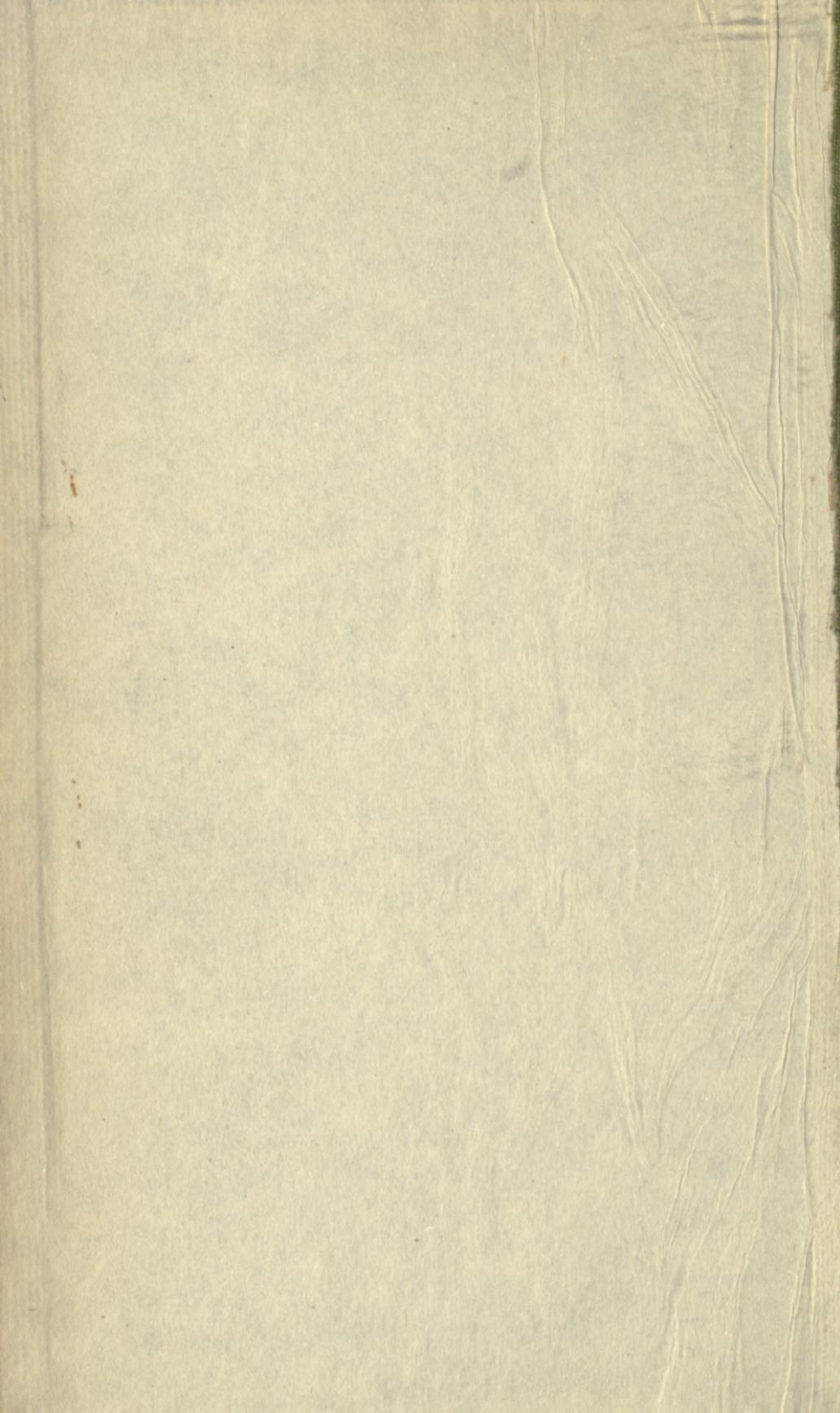
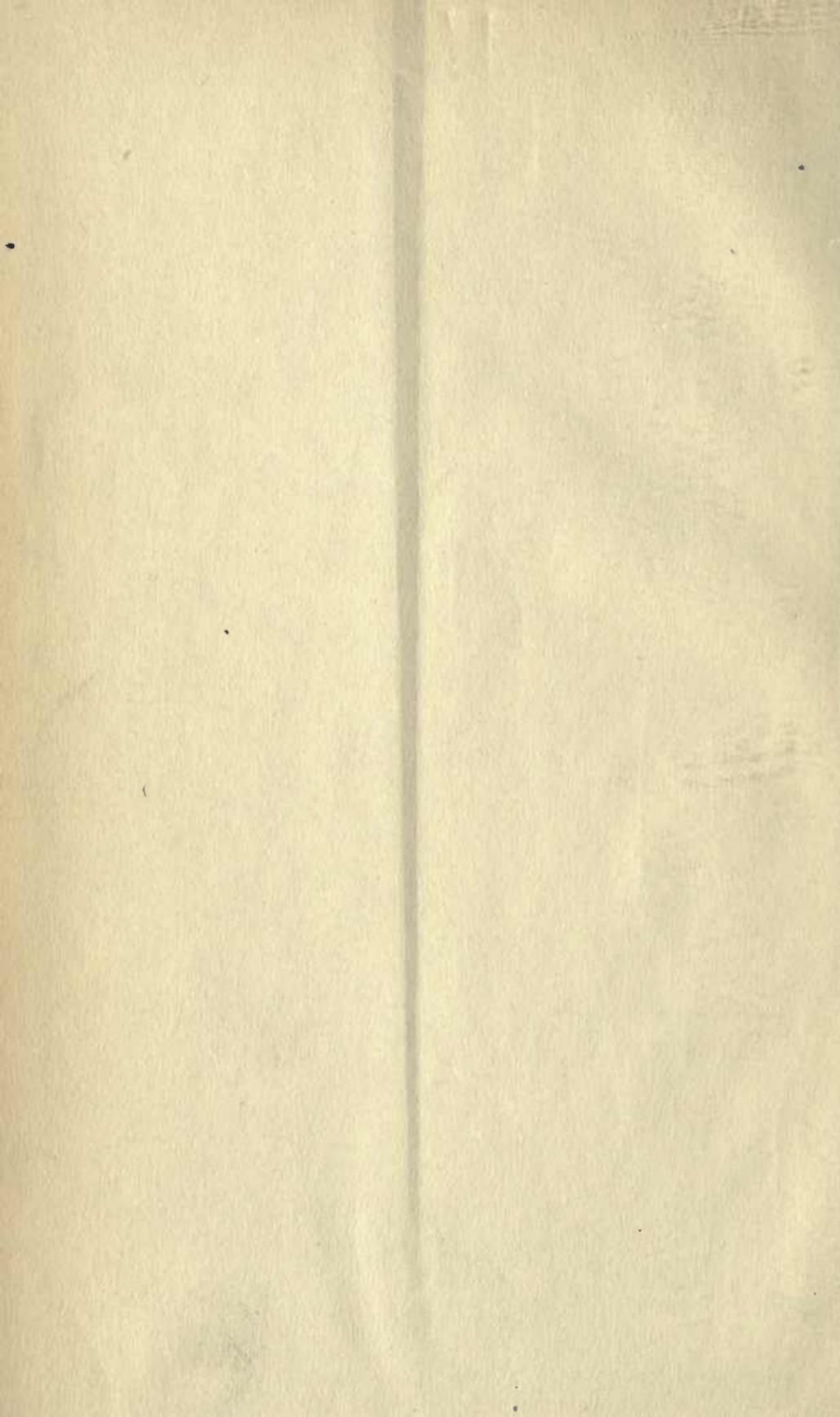
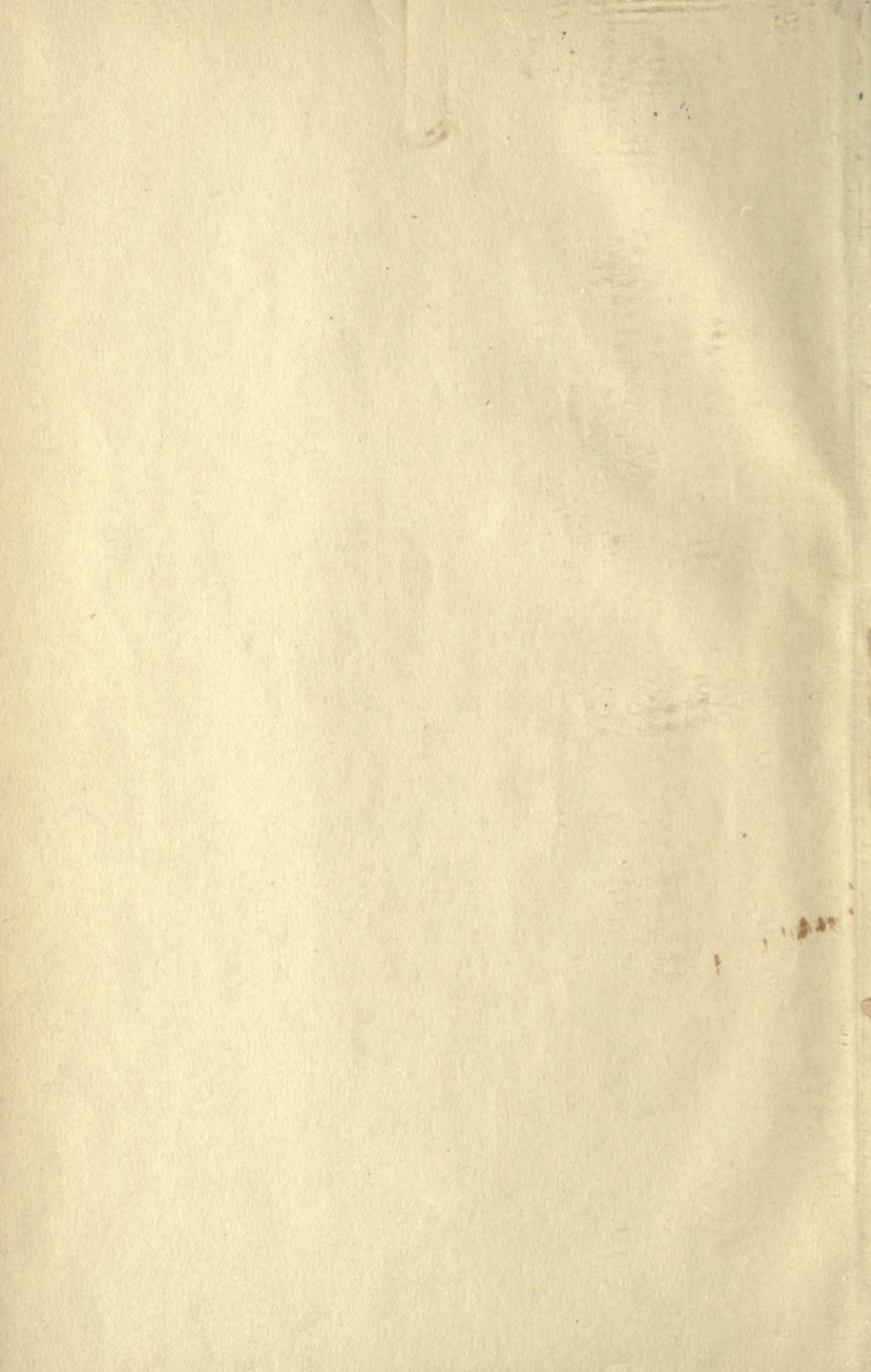


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Nova Scotia Historical Society,

For the Years 1889-91.

VOLUME VII.

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OBJECTS OF COLLECTION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RULES AND BY-LAWS.

1. This Society shall be called The Nova Scotia Historical Society.
2. The objects of the Society shall be the collection and preservation of all documents, papers and other objects of interest which may serve to throw light upon and illustrate the history of this country ; the reading at the meetings of the Society, of papers on historical subjects ; the publication, so far as the funds of the Society will allow, of all such documents and papers as it may be deemed desirable to publish ; and the formation of a library of books, papers, and manuscripts, affording information, and illustrating Historical subjects.
3. Each member shall pay towards the funds of the Society, Five Dollars at the time of his admission, and two dollars on the second day of January in each succeeding year, but any member shall be exempted from the annual payment of Two Dollars and shall become a Life Member, provided he shall at any time after six months from his admission pay to the Treasurer the sum of Forty Dollars in addition to what he had paid before. The sums received for Life Memberships to be invested, and the interest only used for ordinary purposes. Persons not resident within fifteen miles of Halifax may become members on payment of Two Dollars at the time of admission, and One Dollar annually thereafter.

No person shall be considered a member until his first fee is paid, and if any member shall allow his dues to remain unpaid for two years, his name shall be struck from the roll.
4. Candidates for membership shall be proposed at a regular meeting of the Society by a member ; the proposition shall remain on the table for one month, or until the next regular meeting, when a ballot shall be taken ; one black ball in five excluding.
5. The regular meetings of the Society shall be held on the second Tuesday of every month, at 8 p. m. And special meetings shall be convened, if necessary, on due notification of the President, or in case of his absence, by the Vice-President, or on the application of any five members.

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

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

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

8. Seven members shall be a quorum for all purposes at ordinary meetings, but at the Annual Meeting in February, when ten members shall form a quorum. No article of the constitution nor any by-law shall be altered at any meeting when less than ten members are present, nor unless the subject has either been discussed at a previous meeting, or reported on by a committee appointed for that purpose.

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

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

INTRODUCTORY.

A memorandum of the President read to the Historical Society, dealing with the work of the Society up to the opening of the session of 1890-91, and with other matters appertaining thereto, appears to the publication committee to form a suitable introduction to the volume of proceedings :

Thirteen years nearly have passed away since our society was instituted. The first meeting, with this object, was held on the 2nd January, 1878. After deliberation, it was decided that a society should be organized forthwith. In April of that year officers were chosen, and the society went into operation under the presidency of the Hon. J. W. Ritchie, at that time judge in equity, who had taken a lively interest in the movement, and who continued his cordial support of it till laid aside from active duty by failure of health.

The society was formally inaugurated in June, 1875, at a meeting held in the assembly room of this building, when the Rev. Dr. Hill presided in the absence of the president, who, owing to illness, was unable to attend.

Since then a regular session of the society has been held during the winter of each year. Papers have been read bearing on subjects within the scope of the society's work. Some 75 papers have been contributed, dealing with matters connected with the early history of the province. In this way a very considerable amount of valuable material has been put into a shape for preservation. Six volumes of our transactions have been published, and a seventh is ready for publication. The volumes already published have found their way to the libraries of very many persons interested in pursuits analogous to our own. There are few of the larger libraries on this continent, on whose shelves they are not to be found.

We have gone on quietly. With the exception of the inaugural meeting, we have made no effort to assemble a large number of persons. Our aim has been to go on unobtrusively with our work, averse to display—and content with success. I am glad to be able to say that the number of our members increases annually, and at this moment is larger than it has ever been,

Our neighbors to the south of us attach great value to these societies. Almost every state has at least one such society—some have several—a few of the leading States a great many. Massachusetts alone has 39 historical societies, New York has 32, Pennsylvania has 27. In all there are over 200 in the United States—all engaged in work similar to ours.

It would appear, therefore, that the cause in which we are engaged appeals to the instinct very widely diffused, to an innate desire to preserve the incidents of early history in the home, in the town, in the province and in the country, with which our lives are associated.

In 1886 a great national society was formed in the United States. It is called the American Historical Association, and includes in its membership the most distinguished literary men of the United States, and a fair sprinkling of the same class of Canadians.

The time is at hand when a similar Society for the Dominion of Canada would seem to be required; whose objects should be Canadian, as those of the United States are national.

It was thought when our Society was first started that we should soon exhaust the subjects connected with a province so small as ours. But experience has shown—thus far, at least—that the supply of subjects has not failed. Not only is there no failure, but just as the attention of our people is more and more turned to matters of this nature, new material is being constantly unearthed. There is little danger of our work stopping because there is no more work to do. It would be easy to point out many subjects, as yet untouched, which might well occupy the attention of inquirers. I am glad to be able to inform the Society that we have already had intimation from numbers of gentlemen who propose to contribute papers, stating the subjects with which they propose to deal, and if they carry out their present intention their contributions will furnish valuable addition to our work.

The scope of our Society admits of almost every subject which has local color, either that of the individual, of the home, of the town, the county, or the province.

We have already had reproduced to us the aspect of this city in its early days. We have had its extent and progress depicted to us; we have had the nomenclature of its streets described and accounted for. We have had a history of the construction of our public buildings, together with many curious incidents connected therewith, which were unknown to the present generation of Nova Scotians. We have had various papers read in connection with the aboriginal inhabitants of this province. Their stone age has been the subject of one article. Their historic galleries inscribed on the slate rocks of one of our lakes have been exhibited and interpreted. An article on Vinland takes us back to an earlier age, and goes to show that the first European settlement on this continent, that of the Icelandic rovers of the eleventh century was on the shores of British America. We have had a valuable paper on early journalism in Nova Scotia. We have had a

history of the French Acadians, detailing their sad fate, and the causes which led to it. We have had the Ashburton treaty discussed, shewing the damage to Nova Scotia and to Canada, arising from the ignorance of British negotiators as to the geography of the country and the extent and value of the territory they gave away. These are samples of the work already done, and indications of what we may expect in the future.

As regards the present session, our arrangements are complete. Our list of lectures is full, and I congratulate the society on the prospect of an interesting and instructive session."

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OF THE
Nova Scotia Historical Society.

Elected 10th February, 1891.

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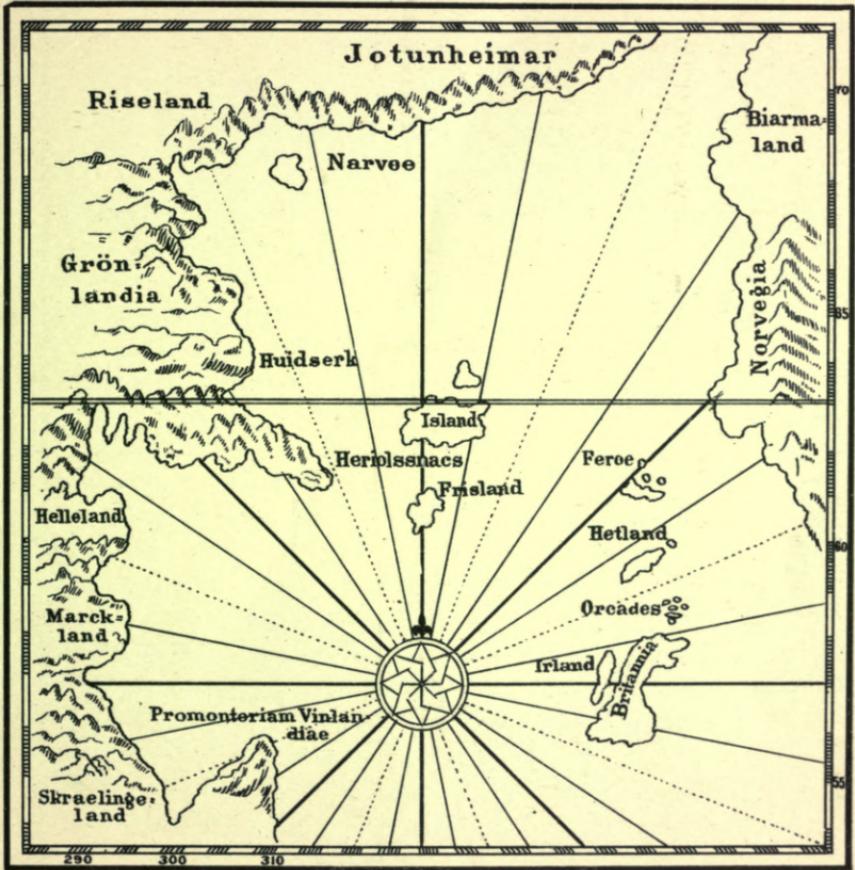
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VINLAND.

BY HON. L. G. POWER.

(Read before the Society, January 14, 1887.)

Vinland or Wine-land is, as is now somewhat generally known, the name given by the Norsemen of Iceland to a region lying southwardly and westwardly of Greenland, accidentally discovered about the close of the tenth century, by a ship's company who had sailed to Greenland, then recently colonized by Erik the Red.

I do not propose to discuss or to repeat at length the history of that accidental discovery and of the more deliberate expeditions which succeeded it. The story, as told in the Sagas of Erik the Red and of Thorfinn Karlsefne, is short and simple, though indefinite enough to involve the subject in the same historical haze which surrounds the early days of most countries of the eastern continents. Outside of the two sagas just named, the former of which is said to have been written in Greenland and the latter in Iceland, and a few scattered passages in other old writings, chiefly Icelandic, we know nothing of Vinland; and there is no more direct information accessible to readers unacquainted with the Norse language to-day than there was immediately after the appearance of Professor Rafn's great volume of *American Antiquities* some fifty years ago. The portions of this work supposed to bear upon the pre-Columbian discovery of America were translated into English shortly after the publication of the original at Copenhagen; and commentaries and translations in various tongues are comparatively numerous. Two admirable papers, embodying all that was known of Greenland and Vinland, were read before the old Literary and Historical Society of Halifax more than twenty years ago by the late Robert Morrow. They were characterized by the accuracy, ingenuity, careful research and completeness which were found in all the literary and scientific work of their lamented author. They secured his election as a member of the Copenhagen Society of Northern Antiquarians; and,

unless I have been misinformed, a distinguished Briton showed his appreciation of their value by publishing the substance of one or both as his own production. Some two years ago Mr. Peter Jack read before this Society a translation of the sagas of Erik and Thorfinn, made by Mr. Ove Lange, a Norwegian gentleman, which differs only in a very few particulars from those previously made from the Icelandic into English. This translation I have, through Mr. Jack's kindness, had ample opportunity to read with care. It will be seen that the subject of this paper is not altogether unfamiliar to Halifax audiences, and that I cannot even claim the credit of being the first to introduce it to the notice of my fellow-citizens.

I do not propose to consider the question of the reliability of the sagas; that has been fully discussed and settled. That there are inaccuracies of detail is true, but their general truthfulness is now hardly doubted. That the Norsemen made discoveries in America is denied by few; but very considerable differences of opinion exist as to the localities of those discoveries, as to where Helluland, Markland, and more especially Vinland were. The prevalent opinion in comparatively early days seems to have been that the Vinland of the old Norsemen was either Newfoundland or a portion of Labrador. Torfason, or, as he is generally called, Torfaeus, who lived from 1636 to 1719, and whose History of Ancient Vinland was published at Copenhagen in 1705, adopted and sustained this opinion, which was concurred in among others by Pinkerton, who published an important work on geography about the year 1810.

Professor Rafn, author of the *American Antiquities*, published at Copenhagen in 1837, expressed his conviction that Helluland was identical with Labrador and Newfoundland; that Markland was the name given to Nova Scotia, and that Vinland was situated in Rhode Island and the portion of Massachusetts lying to the eastward of Rhode Island. There was a positiveness, a precision and a minuteness of detail about Rafn's development of his theory which secured for it early and general acceptance. The Norse tower at Newport, the Norse inscription on the Dighton Rock, and the identification of Mount Hope with the Hóp of the Northern voyagers, seemed to most people to remove the locality of the Vinland settlement once for all from the region of speculation. There were always, we may be sure, some dissatisfied ones, but their voices were not very distinctly heard amid the general chorus of assent with which the publication of Rafn's views was

received. For nearly forty years those views were generally accepted; but of late expressions of dissent have made themselves heard, and a tendency to revert to the theories entertained before 1837 has shown itself. I had read with much interest Mr. Morrow's papers already referred to, as well as one written by Dr. J. G. Kohl for the Maine Historical Society, and had become convinced that Rafn, with whose conclusions these gentlemen concurred, had placed Vinland too far south; and in 1882 I proposed to read a paper before the Historical Society expressing my convictions upon this point.

In Harper's Magazine for September of that year I found an article by T. W. Higginson, entitled "The Visit of the Vikings," in which most of what I had proposed to say was set forth by that acute and graceful writer in a more taking and telling way than could have been done by me. With some inclination to bestow upon Colonel Higginson the malediction pronounced long ago by the Latin writer upon those who had said his good things before him, I gave up the intention of bringing my views before this Society. But when, at the invitation of our President, I undertook a few weeks ago to read a paper this winter, I decided to sacrifice originality to ease, and to fall back upon Vinland.

Amongst other works which I have had an opportunity to consult is the *Discoveries of America to the Year 1525*, (published in 1884) by Arthur James Weise, of Troy, New York, kindly loaned me by the Reverend Principal Forrest, of Dalhousie College, who is the owner of what I believe to be the only copy of this valuable book to be found in Nova Scotia. Mr. Weise has evidently studied most carefully the authorities bearing upon the subject matter of his work; and, upon the question of the Northmen's voyages, there is much valuable information in a small space. In this book we find the reaction against Rafn's theory carried to an extreme; for Mr. Weise holds, as did Murray—the author of *Discoveries and Travels in North America*, published at London in 1829—that Vinland was situate on the great peninsula of Greenland, and not elsewhere. In my humble opinion the view of Weise as to the location of Vinland, is not more correct than that of Rafn and his followers. As in so many cases, the truth probably lies in the middle.

Having said so much by way of introduction, the best course will be to read those portions of the Sagas of Erik the Red, and of Thorfinn Karlsefne, which are calculated to throw light upon the whereabouts

of Vinland. Having read those, we shall be in a better position to judge of the values of various theories as to that moot point

My quotations are taken from *The Discovery of America by the Northmen*, by North Ludlow Beamish, of Cork, Ireland, published at London in 1841. All except those relating to Thorfinn's Voyage, are taken from the Saga of Erik the Red.

BIARNI'S ACCIDENTAL DISCOVERY.

"Herjulf was the son of Bard Herjulfson; he was kinsman to the colonist Ingolf. To Herjulf gave Ingolf land between Vog and Reykjaness. Herjulf lived first at Drepstock; Thorgerd hight his wife, and Biarni was their son, a very hopeful man. He conceived, when yet young, a desire to travel abroad, and soon earned for himself both riches and respect, and he was every second winter abroad, every other at home with his father. Soon possessed Biarni his own ship, and the last winter he was in Norway, Herjulf prepared for a voyage to Greenland with Erik. In the ship with Herjulf was a Christian from the Hebrides, who made a hymn respecting the whirlpool, in which was the following verse :

O thou who triest holy men!
 Now guide me on my way,
 Lord of the earth's wide vault, extend
 Thy gracious hand to me!

"Herjulf lived at Herjulfssness; he was a very respectable man. Erik the Red lived at Brattahlid; he was the most looked up to, and everyone regulated themselves by him. These were Erik's children; Leif, Thorvald and Thorstein, but Freydis hight his daughter; she was married to a man who Thorvard hight; they lived in Garde, where is now the Bishop's seat; she was very haughty, but Thorvard was narrow-minded; she was married to him chiefly on account of his money. Heathen were the people in Greenland at this time. Biarni came to Eyrar with his ship the summer of the same year in which his father had sailed away in spring. These tidings appeared serious to Biarni, and he was unwilling to unload his ship. Then his seamen asked him what he would do; he answered that he intended to continue his custom, and pass the winter with his father: 'and I will,' said he, 'bear for Greenland if ye will give me your company.' All said that they would follow his counsel. Then said Biarni: 'Imprudent will appear our voyage since none of us has been in the Greenland ocean.' However, they put to sea so soon as they were ready, and sailed for three days, until the land was out of sight under the water; but then the fair wind fell, and there arose north winds and fogs, and they knew not where they were, and thus it continued for many days. After that they saw the sun again, and could discover the sky; they now made sail, and sailed for that day, before they saw land, and counselled with each other about what land that could be, and Biarni said that he thought it could not be Greenland. They asked whether he wished to sail to this land or not. 'My advice is,' said he, 'to sail close to the land;' and so they did, and soon saw that the land was without mountains, and covered with wood, and had small heights. Then left they the land on their larboard side, and let the stern turn from the land. Afterwards they sailed two days before they saw another land. They asked if Biarni thought that this was Greenland, but he said that he as little believed this to be Greenland as the other: 'because in Greenland are said to be very high ice hills.' They soon

approached the land, and saw that it was a flat land covered with wood. Then the fair wind fell, and the sailors said that it seemed to them most advisable to land there; but Biarni was unwilling to do so. They pretended that they were in want of both wood and water. 'Ye have no want of either of the two,' said Biarni; for this, however, he met with some reproaches from the sailors. He bade them make sail, and so was done; they turned the prow from the land, and, sailing out into the open sea for three days, with a south-west wind, saw then the third land; and this land was high, and covered with mountains and ice-hills. Then asked they whether Biarni would land there, but he said that he would not: 'for to me this land appears little inviting.' Therefore did they not lower the sails, but held on along this land, and saw that it was an island; again turned they the stern from the land, and sailed out into the sea with the same fair wind; but the breeze freshened, and Biarni then told them to shorten sail, and not sail faster than their ship and ship's gear could hold out. They sailed now four days, when they saw the fourth land. Then asked they Biarni whether he thought that this was Greenland or not. Biarni answered: 'This is the most like Greenland, according to what I have been told about it, and here will we steer for land.' So did they, and landed in the evening under a ness; and there was a boat by the ness, and just here lived Biarni's father, and from him has the ness taken its name, and is since called Herjulfness."

VOYAGE OF LEIF ERIKSON.

"There was now much talk about voyages of discovery. Leif, the son of Erik the Red, of Brattahlid, went to Biarni Herjulfson, and bought the ship of him, and engaged men for it, so that there were thirty-five men in all. Leif asked his father Erik to be the leader on the voyage, but Erik excused himself, saying that he was now pretty well stricken in years, and could not now, as formerly, hold out all the hardships of the sea. Leif said that still he was the one of the family whom good fortune would soonest attend; and Erik gave in to Leif's request, and rode from home so soon as they were ready; and it was but a short way to the ship. The horse stumbled that Erik rode, and he fell off, and bruised his foot. Then said Erik: 'It is not ordained that I should discover more countries than that which we now inhabit, and we should make no further attempt in company.' Erik went home to Brattahlid, but Leif repaired to the ship, and his comrades with him, thirty-five men. There was a southern on the voyage, who Tyrker hight. Now prepared they their ship, and sailed out into the sea when they were ready, and then found that land first which Biarni had found last. There sailed they to the land, and cast anchor, and put off boats and went ashore, and saw there no grass. Great icebergs were over all up the country, but like a plain of flat stones was all from the sea to the mountains, and it appeared to them that this land had no good qualities. Then said Leif: 'We have not done like Biarni about this land, that we have not been upon it; now will I give the land a name, and call it Helluland.' Then went they on board, and after that sailed out to sea, and found another land; they sailed again to the land, and cast anchor, then put off boats and went on shore. This land was flat, and covered with wood and white sands were far around where they went, and the shore was low. Then said Leif: 'This land shall be named after its qualities, and called Markland (woodland).' They then immediately returned to the ship. Now sailed they thence into the open sea with a north-east wind, and were two days at sea before they saw land, and they sailed thither and came to an island which lay to the eastward of the land, and went up there, and looked round them in good weather, and observed that there was dew upon the grass; and it so

happened that they touched the dew with their hands, and raised the fingers to the mouth, and they thought that they had never before tasted any thing so sweet.

After that they went to the ship, and sailed into a sound, which lay between the island and a ness (promontory), which ran out to the eastward of the land; and then steered westward past the ness. It was very shallow at ebb tide, and their ship stood up, so that it was far to see from the ship to the water.

But so much did they desire to land, that they did not give themselves time to wait until the water again rose under their ship, but ran at once on shore, at a place where a river flows out of a lake; but so soon as the waters rose up under the ship, then took they boats, and rowed to the ship, and floated it up to the river, and thence into the lake, and there cast anchor, and brought up from the ship their skin cots, and made there booths.

After this took they counsel, and formed the resolution of remaining there for the winter, and built there large houses. There was no want of salmon either in the river or in the lake, and larger salmon than they had before seen. The nature of the country was, as they thought, so good, that cattle would not require house feeding in winter, for there came no frost in winter, and little did the grass wither there. Day and night were more equal than in Greenland or Iceland, for on the shortest day, was the sun above the horizon from half-past seven in the forenoon till half-past four in the afternoon.

But when they had done with the house building, Leif said to his comrades:—'Now will I divide our men into two parts, and have the land explored, and the half of the men shall remain at home at the house, while the other half explore the land; but however not go further than that they can come home in the evening, and they should not separate.' Now they did so for a time, and Leif changed about, so that the one day he went with them, and the other remained at home in the house. Leif was a great and strong man, grave and well favored, therewith sensible and moderate in all things.

It happened one evening that a man of the party was missing, and this was Tyrker the German. This took Leif much to heart, for Tyrker had been long with his father and him, and loved Leif much in his childhood. Leif now took his people severely to task, and prepared to seek for Tyrker, and took twelve men with him. But when they had gotten a short way from the house, then came Tyrker towards them, and was joyfully received. Leif soon saw that his foster-father was not in his right senses. Tyrker had a high forehead, and unsteady eyes, was freckled in the face, small and mean in stature, but excellent in all kinds of artifice. Then said Leif to him: 'Why wert thou so late, my fosterer, and separated from the party?' He now spoke first, for a long time, in German, and rolled his eyes about to different sides, and twisted his mouth, but they did not understand what he said. After a time he spoke Norsk. 'I have not been much further off, but still have I something new to tell of; I found vines and grapes.' 'But is that true, my fosterer?' quoth Leif. 'Surely is it true,' replied he, 'for I was bred up in a land where there is no want of either vines or grapes.' They slept now for the night, but in the morning, Leif said to his sailors: 'We will now set about two things, in that the one day we gather grapes, and the other day cut vines and fell trees, so from thence will be a loading for my ship,' and that was the counsel taken, and it is said their long boat was filled with grapes. Now was a cargo cut down for the ship, and when the spring came, they got ready, and sailed away, and Leif gave the land a name after its qualities, and called it Vinland.

They sailed now into the open sea, and had a fair wind until they saw Greenland, and the mountains below the joklers."

THORVALD ERIKSON'S VOYAGE.

"Now Thorvald made ready for this voyage with 30 men, and took counsel thereon with Leif his brother. Then made they their ship ready, and put to sea, and nothing is told of their voyage until they came to Leif's booths in Vinland. There they laid up their ship, and spent a pleasant winter, and caught fish for their support. But in the spring, said Thorvald, that they should make ready their ship, and that some of the men should take the ship's long boat round the western part of the land, and explore there during the summer. To them appeared the land fair and woody, and but a short distance between the wood and the sea, and white sands; there were many islands, and much shallow water. They found neither dwellings of men or beasts, except upon an island, to the westward, where they found a corn-shed of wood, but many works of men they found not; and they then went back and came to Leif's booths in the autumn. But the next summer, went Thorvald eastward with the ship, and round the land to the northward. Here came a heavy storm upon them when off a ness, so that they were driven on shore, and the keel broke off from the ship, and they remained here a long time, and repaired their ship. Then said Thorvald to his companions: "Now will I that we fix up the keel here upon the ness, and call it Keelness (Kjalarness), and so did they. After that they sailed away round the eastern shores of the land, and into the mouths of the friths, which lay nearest thereto, and to a point of land which stretched out, and was covered all over with wood. There they came to, with their ship, and shoved out a plank to the land, and Thorvald went up the country, with all his companions. He then said: 'Here is beautiful, and here would I like to raise my dwelling.' Then went they to the ship, and saw, upon the sands within the promontory, three elevations, and went thither and saw there three skin boats (canoes) and three men under each. Then divided they their people, and caught them all, except one, who got away with his boat. They killed the other eight, and then went back to the cape, and looked round them, and saw some heights inside of the frith, and supposed that these were dwellings. After that, so great a drowsiness came upon them, that they could not keep awake, and they all fell asleep. Then came a shout over them, so that they all awoke. Thus said the shout: 'Wake thou! Thorvald! and all thy companions, if thou wilt preserve life, and return thou to thy ship, with all thy men, and leave the land without delay.' Then rushed out from the interior of the frith, an innumerable crowd of skin boats, and made towards them. Thorvald said then: 'We will put out the battle-skreen, and defend ourselves as well as we can, but fight little against them.' So did they, and the Skraelings shot at them for a time, but afterwards ran away, each as fast as he could. Then asked Thorvald his men if they had gotten any wounds; they answered that no one was wounded. 'I have gotten a wound under the arm,' said he, 'for an arrow fled between the edge of the ship and the shield, in under my arm, and here is the arrow, and it will prove a mortal wound to me. Now counsel I you, that ye get ready instantly to depart, but ye shall bear me to that cape, where I thought it best to dwell; it may be that a true word fell from my mouth, that I should dwell there for a time; there shall ye bury me, and set up crosses at my head and feet, and call the place Krossaness for ever in all time to come.' Greenland was then Christianized, but Erik the Red died before Christianity was introduced. Now Thorvald died, but they did all things according to his directions, and then went away, and returned to their companions, and told to each other the tidings which they

knew, and dwelt there for the winter, and gathered grapes and vines to load the ship. But in the spring they made ready to sail to Greenland, and came with their ship in Eriksfjord, and could now tell great tidings to Leif."

UNSUCCESSFUL VOYAGE OF THORSTEIN ERIKSON.

"Now Thorstein Erikson conceived a desire to go to Vinland after the body of Thorvald his brother, and he made ready the same ship, and chose great and strong men for the crew, and had with him 25 men, and Gudrid his wife. They sailed away so soon as they were ready, and came out of sight of the land. They drove about in the sea the whole summer, and knew not where they were; and when the first week of winter was past, then landed they in Lysefjord in Greenland, in the western settlement."

EXPEDITION OF THORFINN KARLSEFNE.

"In Brattahlid began people to talk much about, that Vinland the Good should be explored, and it was said that a voyage thither would be particularly profitable by reason of the fertility of the land; and it went so far that Karlsefne and Snorri made ready their ship to explore the land in the spring. With them went also the before-named men hight Biarni and Thorhall, with their ship. There was a man hight Thorvard; he married Freydis, a natural daughter of Erik the Red; he went also with them, and Thorvald the son of Erik, and Thorhall who was called the hunter; he had long been with Erik, and served him as huntsman in summer, and steward in winter; he was a large man, and strong, black, and like a giant, silent and foul-mouthed in his speech, and always egged on Erik to the worst; he was a bad Christian; he was well acquainted with uninhabited parts, he was in the ship with Thorvald and Thorvard. They had the ship which Thorbjorn had brought out [from Iceland]. They had in all 160 men, when they sailed to the western settlement, and from thence to Bjanney. Then sailed they two days to the south; then saw they land, and put off boats, and explored the land, and found there great flat stones, many of which were 12 ells broad; foxes were there. They gave the land a name, and called it Helluland. Then sailed they two days, and turned from the south to the south-east, and found a land covered with wood, and many wild beasts upon it; an island lay there out from the land to the south-east; there killed they a bear, and called the place afterwards Bear Island, but the land Markland. Thence sailed they far to the southward along the land, and came to a ness; the land lay upon the right; there were long and sandy strands. They rowed to land, and found there upon the ness, the keel of a ship, and called the place Kjalarness, and the strands they called Furdustrands, for it was long to sail by them. Then became the land indented with coves; they ran the ship into a cove. King Olaf Tryggvason had given Leif two Scotch people, a man hight Haki, and a woman hight Hekja; they were swifter than beasts. These people were in the ship with Karlsefne; but when they had sailed past Furdustrands, then set they the Scots on shore, and bade them run to the southward of the land, and explore its qualities, and come back again within three days. They had a sort of clothing which they called kjafal, which was so made that a hat was on the top, and it was open at the sides, and no arms to it; fastened together between the legs, with buttons and clasps, but in other places it was open. They staid away the appointed time, but when they came back, the one had in the hand a bunch of grapes, and the other, a new sown ear of wheat; these went on board the ship, and after that sailed they farther. They sailed into a frith; there lay an island before it, round which there were strong currents, therefore called they it Stream Island. There were so many eider ducks on the island, that one could

scarcely walk in consequence of the eggs. They called the place Stream-frith. They took their cargo from the ship, and prepared to remain there. They had with them all sorts of cattle. The country there was very beautiful. They undertook nothing but to explore the land. They were there for the winter without having provided food beforehand. In the summer the fishing declined, and they were badly off for provisions; then disappeared Thorhall the huntsman. They had previously made prayers to God for food, but it did not come so quick as they thought their necessities required. They searched after Thorhall for three days, and found him on the top of a rock; there he lay, and looked up in the sky, and gaped with both nose and mouth, and murmured something; they asked him why he had gone there; he said it was no business of theirs; they bade him come home with them, and he did so. Soon after, came there a whale, and they went thither, and cut it up, and no one knew what sort of whale it was; and when the cook dressed it, they ate it, and all became ill in consequence. Then said Thorhall: 'The red bearded was more helpful than your Christ; this have I got now for my verses that I sung of Thor, my protector; seldom has he deserted me.' But when they came to know this, they cast the whole whale into the sea, and resigned their case to God. Then the weather improved, and it was possible to row out fishing, and they were not then in want of provisions, for wild beasts were caught on the land, and fish in the sea, and eggs collected on the island.

So is said, that Thorhall would go to the northward along Furdustrands, to explore Vinland, but Karlsefne would go southwards along the coast. Thorhall got ready, out under the island, and there were no more together than nine men; but all the others went with Karlsefne. Now when Thorhall bore water to his ship, and drank, then sung he this song:

People told me when I came
Hither, all would be so fine;
The good Vinland, known to fame,
Rich in fruits, and choicest wine;
Now the water pail they send;
To the fountain I must bend,
Nor from out this land divine
Have I quaffed one drop of wine.

And when they were ready, and hoisted sail, then chaunted Thorhall:

Let our trusty band
Haste to Fatherland;
Let our vessel brave,
Plough the angry wave;
While those few who love
Vinland, here may rove,
Or, with idle toil,
Fetid whales may boil,
Here on Furdustrand
Far from Fatherland.

After that, sailed they northwards past Furdustrands, and Kjalarness, and would cruise to the westward; then came against them a strong west wind, and they were driven away to Ireland, and were there beaten, and made slaves, according to what the merchants have said.

Now is to be told about Karlsefne, that he went to the southward along the coast, and Snorri and Biarni, with their people. They sailed a long time, and until they came to a river, which ran out from the land, and through a lake, out into the sea. It was very shallow, and one could not enter the river without high water. Karlsefne sailed, with his people, into the mouth, and they called the place Hóp. They found there upon the land self-sown fields of wheat, there where the ground was low, but vines

there where it rose somewhat. Every stream there was full of fish. They made holes there where the land commenced, and the waters rose highest; and when the tide fell, there were sacred fish in the holes. There were a great number of all kinds of wild beasts in the woods. They remained there a half month, and amused themselves, and did not perceive any thing [new]: they had their cattle with them. And one morning early, when they looked round, saw they a great many canoes, and poles were swung upon them, and it sounded like the wind in a strawstack, and the swinging was with the sun. Then said Karlsefne: 'What may this denote?' Snorri Thorbrandson answered him: 'It may be that this is a sign of peace, so let us take a white shield, and hold it towards them;' and so did they. Upon this the others rowed towards them, and looked with wonder upon those that they met, and went up upon the land. These people were black, and ill favored, and had coarse hair on the head; they had large eyes and broad cheeks. They remained there for a time, and gazed upon those that they met, and rowed, afterwards, away to the southward, round the ness.

Karlsefne and his people had made their dwellings above the lake, and some of the houses were near the water, others more distant. Now were they there for the winter; there came no snow, and all their cattle fed themselves on the grass. But when spring approached, saw they one morning early, that a number of canoes rowed from the south round the ness; so many, as if the sea was sowed with coal: poles were also swung on each boat. Karlsefne and his people then raised up the shield, and when they came together, they began to barter; and these people would rather have red cloth [than any thing else]; for this they had to offer skins and real furs. They would, also, purchase swords and spears, but this Karlsefne and Snorri forbid. For an entire fur skin the Skrælings took a piece of red cloth, a span long, and bound it round their heads. This went on their traffic for a time; then the cloth began to fall short among Karlsefne and his people, and they cut it asunder into small pieces, which were not wider than the breadth of a finger, and still the Skrælings gave just as much for that as before, and more.

It happened that a bull, which Karlsefne had, ran out from the wood, and roared aloud; this frightened the Skrælings, and they rushed to their canoes, and rowed away to the southward, round the coast; after that they were not seen for three entire weeks. But at the end of that time, a great number of Skrælings' ships were seen coming from the south like a rushing torrent; all the poles were turned from the sun, and they all howled very loud. Then took Karlsefne's people a red shield, and held it towards them. The Skrælings jumped out of their ships, and after this, went they against each other, and fought. There was a sharp shower of weapons, for the Skrælings had slings. Karlsefne's people saw that they raised up on a pole, an enormous large ball, something like a sheep's paunch, and of a blue colour; this swung they from the pole over Karlsefne's men, upon the ground, and it made a frightful crash as it fell down. This caused great alarm to Karlsefne and all his people, so that they thought of nothing but running away, and they fell back along the river, for it appeared to them that the Skrælings pressed upon them from all sides; and they did not stop until they came to some rocks, where they made a stout resistance. Freydis came out and saw that Karlsefne's people fell back, and she cried out: 'Why do ye run, stout men as ye are, before these miserable wretches, whom I thought ye would knock down like cattle? and if I had weapons, methinks I could fight better than any of ye.' They gave no heed to her words. Freydis would go with them, but she was slower, because she was pregnant; however she followed after them into the wood.

The Skrælings pursued her; she found a dead man before her; it was Thorbrand Snorrason, and there stood a flat stone stuck in his head; the sword lay naked by his side; this took she up, and prepared to defend herself. Then came the Skrælings towards her; she drew out her breasts from under her clothes, and dashed them against the naked sword; by this the Skrælings became frightened, and ran off to their ships and rowed away. Karlsefne and his people then came up, and praised her courage. Two men fell on Karlsefne's side, but a number of the Skrælings. Karlsefne's band was overmatched, and they now drew home to their dwellings, and bound their wounds; and they thought over what crowd that could have been, which had pressed upon them from the land side, and it now appeared to them that it could scarcely have been real people from the ships, but that these must have been optical illusions. The Skrælings found also a dead man, and an axe lay by him; one of them took up the axe, and cut wood with it, and now one after another did the same, and thought it was an excellent thing, and bit well: after that, one took it, and cut at a stone, so that the axe broke, and then thought they it was of no use, because it would not cut stone, and they threw it away.

Karlsefne and his people now thought they saw, that although the land had many good qualities, still would they be always exposed there to the fear of hostilities from the earlier inhabitants. They proposed, therefore, to depart, and return to their own country. They sailed northwards along the coast, and found five Skrælings clothed in skins, sleeping near the sea. They had with them vessels containing animal marrow mixed with blood. Karlsefne's people thought they understood that these men had been banished from the land: they killed them. After that came they to a ness, and many wild beasts were there, and the ness was covered all over with dung, from the beasts which had lain there during the night. Now came they back to Straumfjord, and there was abundance of every thing that they wanted to have. It is some men's say, that Biarni and Gudrid remained behind, and 100 men with them, and did not go further; but that Karlsefne and Snorri went southwards, and 40 men with them, and were not longer in Hóp than barely two months, and, the same summer, came back. Karlsefne went then with one ship to seek after Thorhall the Hunter, but the rest remained behind; and they sailed northwards past Kjalarness, and thence westwards, and the land was upon their larboard hand; there were wild woods over all, as far as they could see, and scarcely any open places. And when they had long sailed, a river fell out of the land from east to west; they put into the mouth of the river, and lay by its southern bank.

It happened one morning that Karlsefne and his people saw, opposite an open place in the wood, a speck which glistened in their sight, and they shouted out towards it, and it was a uniped, which thereupon hurried down the bank of the river, where they lay. Thorvald Erikson stood at the helm, and the uniped shot an arrow into his bowels. Thorvald drew out the arrow and said: 'It has killed me!—to a fruitful land have we come, but hardly shall we enjoy any benefit from it.' Thorvald soon after died of this wound. Upon this the uniped ran away to the northward; Karlsefne and his people went after him, and saw him now and then, and the last time they saw him he ran out into a bay. Then turned they back, and a man chaunted these verses:

The people chased
A Uniped
Down to the beach,
But lo! he ran
Straight o'er the sea—
Hear thou, Thorfinn!

They drew off then; and to the northward, and thought they saw the country of the Unipeds; they would not then expose their people any longer. They looked upon the mountain range that was at Hóp, and that which they now found, as all one, and it also appeared to be equal length from Straumfjord to both places. The third winter were they in Straumfjord. They now became much divided by party feeling, and the women were the cause of it, for those who were unmarried would injure those that were married, and hence arose great disturbance. There was born the first autumn, Snorri, Karlsefne's son, and he was three years old when they went away. When they sailed from Vinland they had a south wind, and came then to Markland, and found there five Skrælings, and one was bearded; two were females, and two boys; they took the boys, but the others escaped, and the Skrælings sank down in the ground. These two boys took they with them; they taught them the language, and they were baptized. They called their mother Vatheldi, and their father Úvæge. They said that two kings ruled over the Skrælings, and that one of them was hight Avalldania, but the other Valldidida. They said that no houses were there; people lay in caves or in holes. They said there was a land on the other side, just opposite their country, where people lived who wore white clothes, and carried poles before them, and to these were fastened flags, and they shouted loud; and people think that this was White-man's-Land, or Great Ireland.

Biarni Grimolfson was driven with his ship, into the Irish ocean, and they came into a worm-sea, and straightway began the ship to sink under them. They had a boat which was smeared with seal-oil, for the sea-worms do not attack that; they went into the boat, and then saw that it could not hold them all; then said Biarni: 'Since the boat cannot give room to more than the half of our men, it is my counsel that lots should be drawn, for those to go in the boat, for it shall not be according to rank.' This thought they all so high-minded an offer, that no one would speak against it; they then did so that lots were drawn, and it fell upon Biarni to go in the boat, and the half of the men with him, for the boat had not room for more. But when they had gotten into the boat, then said an Icelandic man, who was in the ship, and had come with Biarni from Iceland: 'Dost thou intend, Biarni, to separate from me here?' Biarni answered: 'So it turns out.' Then said the other: 'Very different was thy promise to my father, when I went with thee from Iceland, than thus to abandon me, for thou said'st that we should both share the same fate.' Biarni replied: 'It shall not be thus; go thou down into the boat, and I will go up into the ship, since I see that thou art so desirous to live.' Then went Biarni up into the ship, but this man down into the boat, and after that continued they their voyage, until they came to Dublin in Ireland, and told there they these things; but it is most people's belief that Biarni and his companions were lost in the worm-sea, for nothing was heard of them since that time."

I do not think that much argument is needed to show that the theory of Murray—put forward again after the lapse of fifty-five years by Weise—that Vinland was a portion of Greenland, is untenable. This theory was defensible when Murray wrote; because at that time the explorations in Greenland, conducted under the auspices of the Danish government and otherwise, had not established the fact, now almost universally admitted, that the Estribygd and Vestribygd—the eastern and western settlements—were both on the western coast of

Greenland, and received those names simply to indicate their positions relatively to one another. But in the case of Mr. Weise the adoption of that theory seems altogether indefensible. The Norsemen were comparatively familiar with the eastern coast of Greenland from the latitude of Iceland in 65° N. to Cape Farewell in 60° , the southern extremity of the peninsula. On the western coast were hundreds of settlements extending from Heriulfsness in the neighborhood of Cape Farewell to a point north of Disko Island, which is in latitude 70° north; and a Runic inscription found on a stone at Kingiktorsoak, in $72^{\circ} 55'$ north shows that they had penetrated to that point in 1135; and it would appear that in 1266 an expedition reached a point in Barrow's Strait, in latitude $75^{\circ} 4'$ north. We know from the best authority that Gardar on the western coast, the modern Igaliko, was the see of a bishop for three hundred years, and that there was for at least that length of time continual intercourse between Greenland and Iceland. To say that such intelligent, skilful and daring navigators as those old Norsemen should, under these circumstances, mistake a comparatively mild and fertile portion of the peninsula of Greenland for a distinct territory separated from the peninsula by a comparatively wide expanse of water, would seem unreasonable in the extreme. The descriptions of the voyages between Vinland and Greenland given in the Sagas are altogether inconsistent with the theory that the former region was a portion of the peninsula. This point will be further developed later on. It is also clear from ancient documentary evidence, cited by Weise himself, and outside the Sagas quoted from, that Vinland was situated at a considerable distance from Greenland, This also will be referred to hereafter.

Then there is the statement of the Saga of Erik that "Day and night were more equal than in Greenland or Iceland," which would be simply nonsensical if Vinland were, as Weise seems to believe, on the eastern coast of Greenland, between the 63rd and 64th parallels of north latitude.

Weise, it may be remarked, seems to base his theory largely on the Icelandic map of Sigurd Stephanius. He says, at page 41, "On a map made by Sigurd Stephanius, an Icelander, in 1570, Helluland, Markland, Skraeling's land, and the promontory of Vinland are represented as parts of the country now called Greenland." Through the kindness of Mr. Murphy, the Provincial Engineer, I am enabled to place before the Society a copy of this map, which is to be found opposite page 22 of

Weise's book ; and I am satisfied that any unbiassed person looking at it will conclude that it does not justify Weise's observation, but convicts him either of great ignorance of the geography of Greenland or of remarkable obliquity of vision. Upon comparing this map—"the only one constructed upon purely Icelandic materials," as Murray says, with a modern map of North America, it will strike most people that the promontory of Vinland is identical with Cape Chidley, the north-eastern point of Labrador. Murray and Weise both lay great stress on the fact that this map "gives Vinland, as forming one continuous continent with Greenland, and separated only by a deep gulf," (*Murray p. 21*). When we remember that Hudson's strait was only discovered by Hudson in 1610, and Smith's Sound, at the northern extremity of Baffin's Bay, by Baffin and Bylot in 1616, and when we know that the admiralty instructions to Captain Ross in 1818, speak of Baffin's Bay as being represented on the charts in ordinary use as bounded on the northward by land, we cannot be surprised that a map made in 1570 does not show either of the two water-ways just named. As to Lancaster Sound which was visited by the Norsemen, it is to be presumed that it was looked upon as only an inlet or bay. It is true that both the peninsula of Greenland and the promontory of Vinland incline more to the eastward than they should, but relatively to one another they occupy about the same positions as the Greenland of to-day and Cape Chidley. To any one moderately familiar with the maps of the sixteenth century the remarkable things about the map of Stephanius are its comparative clearness and accuracy.

Two almost insuperable objections to the adoption of Professor Rafn's theory, that Vinland was in Southern New England, naturally suggest themselves ; the description of the voyage between the newly-discovered region and Greenland, and the presence of the Eskimo in Vinland. Thorfinn seems to have made the trip from Disko Island to Markland, or Nova Scotia, in four days' sailing. As the distance is nearly two thousand miles, the impossibility of this performance is at once evident. The voyage from Markland to Vinland seems to have been performed in two days as a matter of course. The distance from Cape Sable to Buzzard's Bay is about three hundred miles, and the small Icelandic vessels could not cover that in the time mentioned at any rate of speed attributed to them. The large and fast sailing vessels of the present day take three weeks to go from New England to Greenland, and is it

to be supposed that the shallops of the Northmen made the same voyage in less than one-half the time ?

In Charles Francis Hall's *Life with the Esquimaux* we are told that the voyage from New London—close by the supposed site of the Norse settlement in New England—to Holsteinborg, on the western coast of Greenland, south of Disko, took the whaling ship *George Henry* forty days, but Captain Hall adds : “ Had it not been for head winds and calms, we might have made the passage in twenty-five to thirty days. Captain Buddington has made it in thirty-four ; he says it generally takes about thirty.” Into the question of distances it does not seem necessary to go any further, but it may be well to mention one of the courses sailed. From Helluland—Newfoundland—Thorfinn is said to have sailed two days and turned from the south to the south-east to Markland—Nova Scotia. This is not the usual course from Newfoundland to Nova Scotia.

The highest rate of sailing attributed to the vessels of the Icelanders cannot be made to exceed 150 miles in twenty-four hours, while the writers who locate Vinland in New England make it only from 27 to 30 geographical, or between 108 and 120 English miles. Perhaps the most correct impression as to the speed of those old-time vessels may be got from the duration of certain well-known voyages. It was reckoned seven days' sailing from Norway to Iceland, the distance being 600 miles. From the southern point of Greenland to Cape Bauld, the northern point of Newfoundland, or Cape Chidley, the north-eastern point of Labrador, is 600 miles, and therefore a week's voyage ; while according to the sagas the distance from Greenland to Helluland was accomplished in from two to four days. Leaving out of sight the mere matter of the impossibility of covering the distance from Greenland to Narragansett Bay in the time mentioned in the sagas, it is undoubted that, as Colonel Higginson points out—following Mr. J. Elliot Cabot—“ the repeated voyages from Greenland to Vinland, and the perfect facility with which successive explorers found the newly-discovered region, indicate some spot much nearer Greenland than Mount Hope Bay, which would have required 600 (? 1600) miles of intricate and dangerous coast navigation, without chart or compass, in order to reach it.”

The descriptions of the natives given by those early explorers apply exactly to the Eskimo, and do not apply at all to the Indians. Their maritime dwelling-places, their skin canoes and clothing, their

weapons, their physical appearance, their coming openly by water in crowds with loud shouts to meet the strangers are all characteristic of the Eskimo, and not one of them of the Indians. Now the Eskimo are an essentially Arctic people; and there is no reason to believe that they ever dwelt further south than the northern shore of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. The presence of Eskimo in Vinland is by itself almost conclusive evidence of a more northern site than Southern New England.

There are several minor points in the narrative of the Norse expeditions that tell most strongly against the theory of Rafn and his followers. Helluland is described as having high ice-hills in the interior and large flat stones on the shore. This description does not suit either Labrador or Newfoundland. There have been in historical times no glaciers in either country, and according to Professor Hind the evidence of glacial action on the Labrador in pre-historic ages is by no means general. On the other hand, the *Newfoundland Pilot*, published by the English admiralty, shows that the coast of neither Labrador nor the great island lying southward of it is characterized by large flat stones. Where the coast is not high and bold, as it generally is, there are beaches of sand, gravel or mud.

Then again the eider duck is reported as very abundant in Vinland, and that bird was never common in New England, nor I fancy in any place south of the St. Lawrence. It, or the Labrador duck, which much resembles the eider, was at one time abundant on the Labrador. We find in the ancient narrative quoted that, after rounding from east to west a cape lying some distance north of Leif's Booths, a river was found running into the sea from east to west; but no such river is to be found west of Cape Cod. Cape Sable Island can hardly be said to lie out from the land to the south-east nor is it a place where explorers would be particularly likely to meet with a bear. Modern astronomical inquiry has shown that even the latitude of a nine hours day in the eleventh century was a degree north of Mount Hope. Then it seems improbable in the extreme that—if the Norsemen had so often coasted Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, as they must have done in the voyages between Greenland and Vinland, if the latter was in southern New England—there would have been no further mention made of those two provinces than is to be found either in the Sagas or in any other authority referring to the Vinland voyages. In order to make geography square with the theory under consideration, Helluland has been

made to include all Labrador and Newfoundland—about twelve hundred miles of coast—; but there is nothing in the language of the Sagas to justify any such construction. As to the immediate locality selected by Professor Rafn and other European gentlemen as the site of Leif's Booths I cannot do better than quote a few words from Colonel Higginson's admirable paper. At page 526 of the 65th volume of *Harper's Magazine*, he says: "It suffices to say that the whole interpretation, which seemed so easy to transatlantic writers, is utterly rejected by Professor Diman, who was born and bred in Bristol, and lived all his life within easy reach of it. Having myself lived for fourteen years in that region, I may venture modestly to endorse his conclusions; and they have the weightier indorsement of Professor Henry Mitchell, of the Coast Survey, in a manuscript report which lies before me."

As is well known, the writing on the Dighton Rocks is now admitted to be the work of Indians, and the Norse tower at Newport to have been a mill owned by Governor Benedict Arnold, almost the counterpart of a mill at Chesterton, in the part of England from which Arnold had come. The account of Biarni's drift would not seem to imply that he had got so far south and west as to be in the neighborhood of Cape Cod. We are told that after leaving Eyrar, in Iceland, they "made sail three days, until the land passed out of their sight from the water. But then the bearing winds ceased to blow, and northern breezes and a fog succeeded. Then they were drifted about for many days and nights, not knowing whither they tended. After this the light of the sun was seen, and they were able to survey the regions of the sky. Now they carried sail, and steered this day before they beheld land."

One who attempts to show that certain existing views on any doubtful point are incorrect is supposed to be prepared with views of his own to take their place, and as a general rule is so prepared. I regret to say that, in the present case, I am without any precise or definite theory as to the exact locality of the settlement in Vinland. Speaking somewhat generally, I may say that in my humble opinion the view of Torfaeus—that Vinland was in Labrador or Newfoundland—is probably correct, the probabilities being, for reasons which may appear hereafter, in favor of the mainland.

Let us take the extracts from the sagas, already quoted, and laying aside all preconceived ideas, try to give them a fair and reasonable interpretation. I shall make the story of Thorfinn's voyage, which goes most into detail, the foundation upon which to base the search

after the route of those Norse discoverers, making use of information to be found in the saga of Erik the Red to supplement or correct the statements of the later story. It is to be presumed that Thorfinn, in undertaking his voyage, availed himself of all the experience gained by Biarni, Leif and the companions of Thorvald, who was killed by the Eskimo. Thorfinn spent the winter of 1006-7 with Leif Erikson at Brattahlid, in the eastern settlement. He set out on his voyage, accompanied by Biarni Grimolfson, Thorhall the Hunter, Thorvald, a son-in-law of Erik the Red, and apparently another Thorvald. Instead of sailing southwardly or due west, as might have been expected, Thorfinn sailed at first northwardly along the coast to the western settlement, and thence to Bjanney, or Disko Island, in latitude 70° north. "Then sailed they two days to the south; then saw they land, and put off boats, and explored the land, and found there great flat stones, many of which were 12 ells broad. Foxes were there. They gave the land a name, and called it Helluland." If, as the Norsemen supposed, Helluland was the last land seen by Biarni before reaching Greenland, it is described in the account of his voyage as being "high and covered with mountains and ice-hills." In the account of Leif's voyage we are told that in this land they saw no grass, and that "great icebergs were over all up the country, but like a plain of flat stones was all from the sea to the mountains; and it appeared to them that this land had no good qualities." Now if one take a map and measure 200 miles, which would be about two days' sail, almost due south from Disko, he will find himself near Cape Dyer, the northern or north-eastern promontory of Cumberland peninsula, on the western side of Baffin's Bay, and nearly opposite the modern Danish settlement of Holsteinborg. I have not been able to find a satisfactory description of the appearance of this coast by any modern voyager; but in July, 1860, Charles Francis Hall, an American explorer, who afterwards perished in the far North, crossed Baffin's Bay from Holsteinborg. The ship experienced very heavy weather, and took two days and a half to cross Davis Straits, when Hall saw "the mountains covered with snow." In the translation loaned me by Mr. Jack it is said that this land had snow-clad mountains lying back from the sea, and flat land covered with snow between the mountains and the sea. I have no information which would go to show that the land called Helluland was not the Cumberland peninsula. That it took Biarni four days to cross from Helluland to Greenland is accounted for by the fact that he sailed across the bay on a south-

eastwardly course directly to Heriulfsness, near the present Cape Farewell; and there would be nothing remarkable in his mistaking Cumberland peninsula for an island. The abundance of foxes is evidence of a high northern latitude.

Continuing the account of Thorfinn's voyage, we are told that after touching at Helluland "sailed they two days, and turned from the south to the south-east, and found a land covered with wood and many wild beasts upon it; an island lay there out from the land to the south-east; there killed they a bear, and called the place afterwards Bear Island, but the land Markland." In the account of Biarni's voyage we are told that "they sailed out into the open sea for three days" after leaving Markland—if the "flat land covered with wood" was Markland—before reaching Helluland. Two hundred miles from Cape Dyer would bring one to the southern side of the entrance of Cumberland Inlet, a short distance north of the entrance of Frobisher Bay. If Thorfinn after sailing for two days entered Frobisher Bay and then sailed out from it, he would sail south-east, and would find Resolution Island lying out from the land to the south-east, or he might have sailed out of Grinnell's Bay and found Lok's Island off the land to the south-east. Hall describes some of the land in the neighborhood of Frobisher Bay as being low and level and covered with luxuriant vegetation; although, it is only fair to say, that much of the land which he saw during his two years residence among the Eskimo of this region corresponds more nearly to the description of Helluland given in the sagas. Nor did he find any wood, as one would expect to find in Markland. Fires and the change of climate might, however, account for this latter fact.

Greater familiarity than I possess with the coast between Resolution Island and Cape Dyer would be necessary to enable one to trace with any attempt at accuracy the course of Thorfinn's voyage from Disko to Bear Island.

Biarni found Markland "a flat land covered with wood" and it took him three days to sail from it to Helluland. The account of Leif's expedition, speaking of Markland, describes it as being "flat and covered with wood," and says "that white sands were far around where they went, and the shore was low."

After leaving Markland, the narrative of Thorfinn's expedition goes on to say: "Thence sailed they far to the southward along the land, and came to a ness; the land lay upon the right; there were long and sandy strands. They rowed to land, and found there upon the ness

the keel of a ship, and called the place Kialarness, and the strands they called Furdustrands, for it was long to sail by them. Then became the land indented with coves; they ran the ship into a cove." They were then in Vinland, although not yet at Leif's Booths. The statement that from Markland they sailed far to the southward along the land, would seem to be an error or a mistranslation; because it would give Markland and Vinland a continuous coast line, and would contradict the accounts to be found in the earlier saga. If we read that after leaving Markland they came to a ness, and thence sailed southward along the land, we shall do little violence to the text and shall make it harmonize with that of the earlier narrative. At the same time it is only fair to say that doubts seem to have existed among the Norse geographers as to whether Markland was separated from Vinland by the sea or not. In a fragment of an Icelandic codex, supposed to have been written about the end of the fourteenth century, we find the following language: "South of Greenland is Helluland; next lies Markland; thence it is not far to Vinland the Good, which some think goes out from Africa; and if it be so the sea must run in between Vinland and Markland."

We are told of two Scots whom Thorinn sent out to explore the land in advance, after whose return the ship sailed further south to Stream Frith, where the vessel was unloaded and where there were innumerable eider ducks.

The Vinland of Biarni "was without mountains and covered with wood, and had small heights," and after leaving it he sailed two days before arriving at Markland.

After Leif's men left Markland, we are told that "sailed they thence into the open sea, with a north-east wind, and were two days at sea before they saw land, and they sailed thither and came to an island which lay to the eastward of the land." "After that went they to the ship and sailed into a sound, which lay between the island and a ness, which ran out to the eastward of the land, and then steered westward past the ness. It was very shallow at ebb tide, and their ship stood up, so that it was far to see from the ship to the water."

This place became the site of Leif's Booths, and the party wintered there, "where a river flows out of a lake."

On his return Leif seems to have adopted a different course, for we are told that "they sailed now into the open sea until they saw Greenland and the mountains below the jöklers." I do not pretend to

identify the site of Leif's Booths ; but at page 448 of the *Newfoundland Pilot*, which Captain Scott has been good enough to lend me, I find it stated, amongst other things, about Aillik Bay, some distance south of Hopedale, on the Labrador coast, that it "is fringed by boulders on the south side, where is a lagoon, dry at low water," and that "water may be procured in abundance from a lake behind the houses, and the boats lay at the smooth beach of gravel, where a hose may be let into them. Wood may also be obtained."

Hamilton Inlet, considerably to the south of Aillik Bay, answers in some respects to the description which we get of the site of Leif's Booths. There also a large river—the Hamilton—runs through Lake Melville a short distance above the inlet. The climate about Lake Melville is also much milder and the soil more productive than close to the sea-coast.

Kialarness is a very conspicuous feature, more particularly in the narratives of the voyages of Thorvald and Thorfinn. We are told of Thorvald : "The next summer went Thorvald eastward with the ship, and round the land to the northward. Here came a heavy storm upon them when off a ness, so that they were driven on shore, and the keel broke off from the ship, and they remained here a long time, and repaired their ship. Then said Thorvald to his companions : "Now will I that we fix up the keel here upon the ness, and call it 'Keelness,' (Kialarness) and so did they."

Of Thorhall the Hunter and his companions, we are told in the Saga of Thorfinn that, after leaving Thorfinn's winter-quarters, "sailed they northwards past Furdustrands and Kialarness, and would cruise to the westward ; then came against them a strong west wind, and they were driven away to Ireland, and were there beaten and made slaves, according to what the merchants have said."

Afterwards Karlsefne went "with one ship to seek after Thorhall the Hunter, but the rest remained behind, and they (Thorfinn and his crew) sailed northwards past Kialarness, and thence westwards, and the land was upon their leeward hand ; there were wild woods over all, as far as they could see, and scarcely any open places. And when they had long sailed, a river fell out of the land from east to west ; they put into the mouth of the river, and lay by its southern bank."

If we take Kialarness to have been Cape Chidley, both these incidents will be intelligible. When Thorhall rounded the cape, and would cruise to the westward, he was met by a strong west wind, such as often

blows through Hudson's Strait, and was driven far to the eastward, and made his way to Ireland. Such a thing would be much less likely to happen after rounding Cape Cod—the Kialarness of Rafn and those who adopt his theory. It may be mentioned here, that in 1611, Hudson's mutinous crew, sailing from Hudson's Strait, reached Galway, in Ireland.

If Kialarness was Cape Chidley, Karlsefne, after rounding it from the southward, sailed into Ungava Bay, the shores of which are even yet, as I am informed, fairly well wooded, and where is found what cannot be found to the westward of Cape Cod, a river (the George) in the mouth of which a vessel could lie, and which runs into the sea from the eastward.

It would appear from the Saga of Karlsefne that he did not spend the first winter at Leif's Booths, but that Straumfirch was some distance north of that point, for we find him sailing south on an exploring expedition to Hóp, where a river ran "through a lake out into the sea. It was very shallow, and one could not enter the river without high water." It may be mentioned that on the southern shore of Labrador, fish are even now caught by digging holes in the beach when the tide is out, in which the fish which enter them at the flood remain after the tide falls again, as Thorfinn's men are said to have caught them.

At the present time, the Labrador coast is a great habitat of the Eskimo, and Hamilton Inlet is a place to which they resort in large numbers; and of course they are found on both sides of Hudson's Straits and thence north to latitude 78°. The eider ducks mentioned as being so abundant were formerly found on the Labrador, as were also Labrador ducks, which bear a very strong resemblance to the eider.

On Karlsefne's return, Biarni Grimolfson was driven with his ship into the Irish ocean, where the vessel sank, and where occurred the touching episode the account of which is quoted in an earlier portion of this paper.

Want of time to write, combined with some regard to the patience of my hearers, induces me to omit many incidents and descriptions to be found in the sagas, and which might serve to throw light on the subject under consideration; but I do not care to close my remarks on them without dealing with the principal objections to the theory which I am, not without hesitation, disposed to believe the true one—that Leif's Booths were on the Labrador.

First is the statement in the sagas of Erik with respect to the length of the day at Leif's Booths. It is said that "the days are more equal there than in Greenland or Iceland; there the sun sets at eykt time and rises at day-meal time, on the shortest day." By giving their own interpretation to these terms and making eykt $4\frac{1}{2}$ p. m. and dagmal $7\frac{1}{2}$ a. m., Rafn and his followers made the length of the day on the 17th October, the beginning of winter in Iceland, nine hours, which they thought would make the latitude $41^{\circ} 24' 10''$, being that of Mount Hope Bay. I have already intimated that, granting the length of the day to have been nine hours, later calculations would make the latitude different, the exact figures being $42^{\circ} 21'$. In the *Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi* for November, 1885, Professor Gustav Storm, of the University of Christiania, with the aid of the Norwegian astronomer, Hans Geelmuyden, demonstrates conclusively, according to the *New York Nation* of 30th September, 1886, that the evidence as to the time of sunset on the shortest winter day contained in the sagas, is not sufficient to indicate the exact latitude, the only deduction tenable being that the location was not further north than $49^{\circ} 55'$.

Mr. Weise, whose translation of the passage in the saga I have quoted, gives as the reasonable interpretation of *eyktar-stad* 3.30 p. m., and of *dagmala-stad* 8.30 a. m., giving a day of seven hours instead of nine. He discusses this whole question with much learning and apparent accuracy, and comes to the conclusion that the language used is so indefinite as to make it possible for Leif's Booths to have been in any latitude from 41° to 61° . Doctor William Everett, of Boston, quoted by Colonel Higginson, says that the statement is "about as definite as if the sagas had told us that in Vinland daylight lasted from breakfast-time till the middle of the after-noon." It may be remarked before parting with this very indefinite information, that Torfæus made the day's length six hours, which would place Leif's Booths somewhere between the 58th and 61st parallels of north latitude. Hamilton Inlet, on the Labrador, which I have spoken of as possibly the site of Leif's Booths, is in latitude $54^{\circ} 33'$, and Aillik Bay, mentioned in the same connection, is a few miles further north, while Cape Chidley is in $61^{\circ} 10'$. I think I am safe in concluding that the latitude is not a serious objection to the theory, which seems to me the most reasonable. The other apparently serious objection is based on the description of the climate and productions of Vinland given in the sagas. In reading those descriptions we have to look at the homes of the explorers. An

Icelander or Greenlander would find a climate mild and a soil fertile to which a Nova Scotian would hardly apply those terms ; and we would naturally expect to find not a little exaggeration in the accounts given by discoverers of the land which they had found. We are told that, when Erik the Red returned to Iceland, " he called the land Greenland, because, quoth he, ' people will be attracted thither if the land has a good name.' " It will be seen that the earliest discoverer of the western world did not much more resemble Nathanael than do the keenest of the modern dwellers in the continent which the stumbling of Erik's horse at Brattahlid hindered him from seeing. Floki, the second Norse visitor to Iceland, " described the new country as volcanic and sterile, glacial and cold, and appropriately called it Island (Iceland). His companions, however, reported that they had found it to have a delightful climate and a fertile soil. One, wishing to describe its general fruitfulness in a more attractive way, averred that ' milk dropped from every plant, and butter from every twig.' " It would appear then, probable that the voyagers from whom the information contained in the sagas was got were not all George Washington's, and that their accounts of the climate and soil of Vinland are to be accepted subject to reasonable deductions.

And there is little doubt that a change for the worse has come over those northern regions, since the days of the Vinland discovery, caused chiefly by the descent in increasing quantities of Arctic ice. The Icelandic writers themselves tell how the track over which they originally sailed in going from Iceland to Greenland had to be abandoned owing to the descent of northern ice along the eastern coast of the peninsula ; and we find no mention in the sagas of icebergs or floating ice of any kind having been met in Davis' Straits, whereas in reading accounts of modern voyages, we almost always find that ice is encountered in large quantities. Recent explorers in the far north have discovered the reason of this increase. Much more ice makes every year than is melted or removed by local causes, and a large portion of the surplus is carried southwardly by the strong current running in that direction. Owing apparently to the intensification of the cold in the region of what is called the Palæocrystic sea, the quantity of what I have just called surplus ice which is carried off by this polar current seems to grow continually larger. Any one who reads accounts of the recent investigations into the remains of the old Greenland settlements must be satisfied that such settlements could not exist in the present

climate of that peninsula. There is little doubt, then, but that the climate of all the eastern coast of America, from the Strait of Belleisle northwards at any rate, is much more severe now than it was eight or nine hundred years ago. Even now, when one gets far enough inland to be sheltered from the chill easterly winds that blow from the Arctic current, the climate of some portions of the Labrador is by no means severe, while the soil is comparatively fertile. In Hind's *Explorations in Labrador* we find the valley of the Hamilton River spoken of as follows: "It is well timbered, and some of the trees are of large size; intermixed with the spruce is a considerable quantity of white birch, and a few poplar are also to be seen; a light loamy soil is also frequently to be found on the points of the river. There is a difference of twenty days in favor of this valley in the spring and fall of the year; this difference of climate is to be attributed, in a great degree, to its favourable aspect to the south and west, and also in some measure to the warmth of the (river) water coming from the westward. The head of Hamilton Inlet may be termed the garden of the Atlantic coast of Labrador. At the Hudson Bay company's post at Rigolette there are about seven acres under crop, and the farm boasts of twelve cows, a bull, some sheep, pigs and hens." The probabilities are that the climate at Rigolette is not very different from that of Quebec, and yet we find that in September, 1535, Jacques Cartier found "vines laden as full of grapes as could be all along the river (St. Lawrence) which rather seemed to have been planted by man's hand than otherwise." It is not unreasonable to suppose that, 500 years before Cartier's time, when the chilling process had not gone nearly so far as it had then, those same grapes, which I think are not very plentiful on the Lower St. Lawrence now, might be found on Hamilton Inlet. Mr. Weise takes the ground that Tyrker's grapes were not true grapes at all, but berries which resembled grapes, and that, no doubt, is a tenable hypothesis. At the same time, I think enough has been said to show that for the purpose of my argument it is unnecessary to question the accuracy of Tyrker's impressions. Professor Hind also points out that in not very remote times Labrador was a comparatively well-wooded country. The change is due largely to forest fires, backed up by the increased severity of the climate, which causes would also account for the disappearance of the wood from the lands lying north of Hudson's Strait, amongst which I believe that we should look for Markland. What the effect of the destruction of the forest may be upon the appearance of a coast can be gathered from

a comparison between Point Pleasant Park or McNab's Island and the land lying along shore to the westward of Ferguson's Cove.

One minor objection may be noted here, in conclusion, that the land was without mountains and had small heights. To men like Biarni and his crew, accustomed to the lofty mountains of Norway and Iceland, the hills of the Labrador coast would present themselves as small heights. In Mr. Jack's translation this region is described as being hilly inland, which would be a fairly good description of the country near Hamilton Inlet.

I have arrived, as already stated, at no definite conclusion as to the whereabouts of Vinland. The place where Leif's men landed, and where the tide apparently rose and fell a considerable height, may have been in Hudson's Strait, or Leif's Booths may have been on the Labrador coast, southward of the Strait of Belleisle; and only that there is no evidence that Eskimo were ever to be found in large numbers in Newfoundland, I should say that the Booths might possibly have been on the Newfoundland shore; but on the whole the probabilities seem to be in favor of the Atlantic coast of Labrador.

Before finally asking my hearers to make up their minds as to the value of my somewhat uncertain conclusions, I shall read an extract from *Gripla*, a geographical work written in Greenland or Iceland, as is supposed, before the time of Columbus:

"Now is to be told what lies opposite Greenland, out from the bay which was before named: Furdustrandir hight a land; there are so strong frosts that it is not habitable, so far, as one knows; south from thence is Helluland, which is called Skrælingsland; from thence it is not far to Vinland the Good, which some think goes out from Africa; between Vinland and Greenland is Ginnungagap, which flows from the sea called Mare Oceanum, and surrounds the whole earth." Having heard what is to be said in favor of believing Kialarness to be identical with Cape Chidley, which plays so conspicuous a part in the voyages of modern explorers, and considering that the people of Iceland amongst whom this treatise and the map of Sigurd Stephanus were produced had better means of knowing all about the Vinland voyages than we, I think that any one who reads the sagas and the extract from *Gripla*, and consults the map—all pre-Columbian authorities or based on such—whatever his belief as to the exact site of the Vinland settlement—will be led to believe that Cape Chidley is almost without doubt the promontory of Vinland.

I submit my speculations on the interesting topic which I have chosen as the subject of this paper, with a keen sense of my want of the qualifications essential to a successful inquirer. Such an inquirer should have a thorough and accurate knowledge of the coast of Labrador and of the country west of Baffin's Bay from Cape Chidley to the latitude of Disko Island, and he should have carefully studied in the original not only the two sagas of Erik and Thorfinn, but everything written in the old Norse tongue and bearing even indirectly upon Vinland. Professor Storm, of the University of Christiania, whom I believe to possess those qualifications, has, it seems probable, undertaken the inquiry; and it may be that his work when published will enable us with reasonable certainty to say where Vinland was.

NOTE.—Since the foregoing paper was read, Professor Storm's "Studies of the Vinland Voyages" have been given to the world, having been published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians for the year 1888. Professor Storm locates Vinland in Nova Scotia; but his paper, although probably the most important contribution made to the literature of the subject since the publication of Rafn's work in 1837, has failed to change the writer's opinion as to where Vinland was.

NOTES

on "A General Return of the Several Townships in the Province of
Nova Scotia for the first day of January, 1767."

BY D. ALLISON, ESQ., LL. D.

(*A Paper read January 20th, 1888.*)

INTRODUCTORY.

"One of the first objects of an enquirer who wishes to form a correct notion of a country at a given time, must be to ascertain of how many persons that community then consisted."* Another object, often of equal importance to an historical investigator, is to obtain accurate information concerning the sources from which the national life has derived its chief and controlling elements. On both grounds, and on others which readily suggest themselves, the statistical return to which I am directing attention can claim to be considered an important document. The decade immediately following the Expulsion of the Acadians was one of the most formative epochs in our Provincial history. The problem devolving on the rulers of that period was how most quickly and wisely to "repair the waste places" and re-people a depopulated land. This General Return enables us at a glance to see how much had been accomplished towards the solution of that problem within the space of the ensuing ten or twelve years. Besides supplying us with valuable information respecting the earlier English settlement of Nova Scotia and of surrounding regions no longer known as Nova Scotia, it sheds some light on the interesting question of Acadian repatriation, and enables us to distinguish and locate the various primitive stocks that up to its date had taken root in our soil. Its disclosures relative to the infant agriculture and commerce of the colony

* Macaulay.

and the religious faiths of the early settlers, give it additional interest and value. On the whole it deserves to rank among the most important records rescued from oblivion and ultimate destruction by the research of our indefatigable archivist, Dr. Akins.

None of the professed writers of Nova Scotian history seem to have been aware of its existence. As far as the earlier historians, such as Haliburton and Murdoch, were concerned, this ignorance was perfectly natural, as they compiled their narratives before the paper had been sifted from the vast mass of miscellaneous manuscripts stored away in the garrets and bins of the Province Building. The first writer named, whose handling of statistics by no means corresponds to his literary skill, takes as his basis a purely conjectural estimate prepared a few years earlier (1764) at the request of the Historical Society of Massachusetts. The latter, in one of his numerous appendices, published a "Statement of the English population and settlements in 1763." The contents of this "statement" correspond in looseness with its title. Like the compilation for the Massachusetts Historical Society, it is obviously little more than an "estimate," without much pretension to exactness of detail. Though dated in successive years, and belonging to a period characterized by no important movements of population, they differ widely, and that particularly on points regarding which accurate information would seem to have been most easily obtainable. The inquiries instituted were confined to a very narrow field, so that in breadth as well as precision these "round number" estimates take rank far below this general return. Strange as it may appear, the latter document has never been published in complete form. Its contents, however, were used, and in some sense *abused*, by the compilers of the Dominion Census Series of 1871. As will be seen, the statistics in the return itself are given by *townships*, a term clearly of somewhat elastic application in this case. But in Vol. IV. of the above series they are completely broken up and re-arranged in attempted correspondence with modern County and Provincial lines. While this method of publication appreciably reduces the practical value of the information tabulated, the processes of analysis and re-grouping are marked by several blunders.* The return is certainly worthy of publication in exact form. As to the particular document

* *E. g.*—By a strange anachronism, the County of Pictou is credited with the returns of the township of Hopewell (now in Albert Co., N. B.) Cape Sable is made a part of New Brunswick.

preserved in the Archives, the fact that Governor Francklin's signature is in the same handwriting as the main matter indicates that this is a copy of an original return which had no doubt been forwarded to the Lords of Trade and Plantations in London.

None of the "township" lists or abstracts from which the general return was made up have been preserved. This is a serious loss, for if these survived, we should know the name and residence of every householder or head of a family at that time living in the Province, information that would be not merely of antiquarian interest, but in some cases of positive historical value. Fortunately, however, Dr. Akins has discovered and preserved a number of local or "township" lists, analagous in all respects to those from which the general return of 1767 was couplied. Most of these are for the year 1770, though a few are for one or other of the succeeding years, 1771, 1772, 1773 and 1774. Somewhat strangely, no corresponding complete abstract or digest for any of these years has been found, or is mentioned by any writer on Provincial affairs, though Haliburton gives a "reported" population of 19,120 for the Province in 1772. As will be seen hereafter, the township lists are valuable as furnishing a key for the interpretation of points in the general return which would otherwise be obscure. They are also of importance because they give the names of *actual residents* in the several townships at the time indicated. As is well known, the lists of names of grantees are often quoted as of authority when really little or no dependence can be placed on them. Many grants were taken *out* on speculation that were never taken *up* by actual settlement. In many of the townships the partition of lands did not take place till some years after the arrival of the pioneer settlers, and so the lists of persons obtaining lands and validating their titles by actual settlement differ widely from the lists of the original grantees, which contained the names of many who never set foot in Nova Scotia. As an illustration of the interpretative value of the township lists that have been preserved, I may refer to the fact that without them we should be at a loss to detect the principle or principles on which the columns in the general return headed "country" were filled up. They show—which is not at all clear from the general return—that while as a general rule *country* means *place of birth*, not this principle but that of *race or descent* is followed in the case of the Acadian and German inhabitants. The children of either of these parentages are ranked according to the nationality of their parents, while those of English,

Irish or Scotch settlers, if born in Nova Scotia, or any of the other American colonies, are put down as Americans. A knowledge of this fact will be found useful as we proceed.

The present population of Nova Scotia is not the development of a single primitive nucleus or germ. Neither has it resulted from a gradual and almost imperceptible sifting in of promiscuous elements. It is mainly the product of certain well-defined immigrations of considerable size, capable of being more easily traced because, as a rule, they have occurred consecutively rather than simultaneously. Some of them, including several of great importance, took place at periods subsequent to the date of the return before us, and therefore, as lying outside of the plane of our inquiry, can be dismissed with a bare mention. Here belong such events as the settlement of a large part of the present County of Cumberland and the surrounding Chignecto region by a colony of Yorkshire immigrants in 1774, and the vastly greater access of population which occurred in 1783-4, when large numbers of "loyalists" from the revolted Provinces not only diffused themselves quite generally among the older settlers, but also laid the foundations of new townships in widely-scattered parts of the Province.*

Shortly after this important influx had taken place, there began to flow to our shores that great stream of Scotch immigration, predominantly but by no means exclusively Celtic, which has rendered the Eastern half of this Province a veritable New Scotland. In like manner at the date of the return that other Celtic wave of almost equal volume which has brought us so many valuable settlers from the South and West of Ireland, had scarcely made itself felt beyond the town of Halifax, whose Irish Catholic population had even then attained very considerable proportions.

It is my object to base on this general return of 1767, a few notes on the distribution and earlier development of the race-stocks found rooted in our soil at that date. It is proper to point out that the Nova Scotia of the return was the Nova Scotia growing out of the provisions of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, territorially corresponding to the present Maritime Provinces of the Dominion of Canada and the older New Scotland of Sir William Alexander, save that the latter reached the lower St. Lawrence and included the Peninsula of Gaspé.

* As at Digby, Parrsboro, Wallace, Baddeck, Guysboro, Rawdon, Kempt (Hants Co.), and other places.

Arranged in chronological order the race-stocks to which I have referred are :

1. Acadian French, dating back to the Brètagne Colonists under De Razilly in 1632.
2. English, as somewhat uncertainly and feebly planted by the settlers at Chebucto in 1749.
3. German, coming, with a small admixture of French-speaking Protestants, from the Palatinate in 1751-3.
4. New England Puritan, colonizing a number of townships in 1759-61.
5. Scotch-Irish, brought out in considerable force in 1761-3, through the agency of Alexander McNutt, to whom further reference will be made.

1.—ACADIAN FRENCH.

This element numbered only 1,265, about equally divided between the Peninsula and the outlying parts of the larger Nova Scotia. An inquiry into the reliability and historical significance of these figures seems to demand a brief retrospective survey.

The cession of Acadia to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 effected little more than a nominal transfer of political allegiance. English sovereignty was not followed for nearly forty years by any attempt at English settlement. Indeed, the founding of Halifax in 1749 was but the planting of a garrison, a military movement rather than an intelligent scheme of colonization. The motley group of so-called settlers was joined by a few New Englanders, most of whom had been at Louisburg during its recent occupation by the English. Small bands of European Protestants, chiefly Germans from the Palatinate, with a few of Swiss or Alsatian birth, were brought over at Government expense, and after a short stay at Chebucto, were lodged in a new settlement on Merliguesh Bay. But outside of the palisades of Halifax no signs of colonization appeared, and this process the founding of that city ultimately furthered only by rendering still more strained the relations between the French people and their rulers, and thus precipitating a crisis, which having passed, all the cultivated parts of the country were left free for new races of settlers.

In 1755 the storm broke. The descendants of the European colonizers of Acadia were torn from their homes, and deported over the seas. I am not called upon to apportion the responsibility for this dire

catastrophe between the parties concerned in it—those who inflicted the terrible vengeance and those on whom it fell. I am simply pursuing a few statistical inquiries.

But the extermination of the Acadians, though apparently complete, was not absolutely so. The race survived the shock, and its continuity as an element of our Provincial population was never wholly broken. Even in the Peninsula, to which the expulsion had been practically limited, bands of fugitives in the forests or of prisoners in the block-houses kept the Acadian name from being altogether blotted out. Larger bodies found safety in the islands or in the vast and inaccessible forests of northern Acadia, where in subsequent years they aided in laying the foundations of flourishing settlements in which their national speech and customs are still perpetuated. Even those who, unable to escape the iron grip of Winslow and Murray, were obliged to wander hither and thither among peoples of alien creed and a "strange tongue," gave up their hope of dying in Acadia only with their lives. As to the proportion of the exiles who were able to accomplish this hope, something will be said a little further on.

For several years after the Expulsion, indeed until the French rule in America was brought to a definite end by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, all Acadians within the Province stood on the footing of public enemies. In the peninsula and contiguous districts "the escaped remnant" was too small to cause much account to be taken of it, especially after the blow of 1755 had been followed up by one or two minor deportations of an almost equally summary character. Further north, the refugees from Chignecto gave some trouble. They strengthened the hands of the wily French General Boishébert, who glided through the forests with a conglomerate force, Canadian, Acadian and Indian, and through the operation of the well-known *omne ignotum pro magifico* principle, inspired terror out of all proportion to his real power to injure. But this state of affairs could not last long. The final and total eclipse of French power in America was fast drawing on. Grave exigencies at home obliged the Canadian Government to recall its troops, who were accompanied on their return by numbers of their Acadian allies. Others of the latter fled to St. Pierre and the Magdalen Islands, while still larger bodies tendered their submission to the authorities at Halifax, whence many of them drifted off to various parts of the world. Then events developed with great rapidity. Louisburg and Quebec, the French strongholds of the East, fell in swift succession,

and a few years later the Treaty of Paris, while proclaiming the final triumph of English arms, opened up the way for the complete reconciliation of the rival races.

The Acadians residing on the eve of the expulsion in the territories now comprising the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, certainly did not exceed 10,000, while several authorities who have subjected the facts to careful analysis place the figures from 1,000 to 2,000 lower. A fair interpretation of Governor Lawrence's estimates would not make his view of the number go beyond 9,000. Governor Hopson, writing to the Board of Trade in 1753, puts the population of the peninsula at between 5,000 and 6,000, while Parkman, relying on French authorities, estimates it to have been a year earlier not far short of 9,000.* Mr. Hannay contends that "there could not possibly have been more than 8,000 Acadians (in the whole country) descendants of those who acquired rights under the Treaty of Utrecht," and with this view Sir Adams Archibald substantially agrees.† Volume IV. of the Dominion Census Series of 1871 contains as part of its general introduction a table professing to give the successive flowings and ebbings of the entire Acadian population from 1749 to 1771. In this palpably unreliable compilation, the population is put down as 18,500 just prior to the Expulsion. It is not necessary to state in detail the grounds on which this calculation is rejected. The least exaggerated item is the peninsular population, which is reckoned at 8,200. Elsewhere there is little save over-estimating and blundering, mixed in about equal proportions. Gedaïc (Shediac) has nearly half the population of the Peninsula. That of Isle Royale (Cape Breton), a French possession, colonized directly from Old France, and with few or no Acadian inhabitants, is put down as totally Acadian.

Let us then assume the entire Acadian people in 1755 to have numbered 9,000—a fair average of the more reliable estimates. The relative distribution of this number between the peninsula and the outside territories is a point relevant to our enquiries. Hannay allots to the former only three-eighths of the entire population, but I strongly suspect that a direct reversal of the proportion would more nearly correspond to the facts of the case. In common with several other writers, he appears to me to unduly magnify the northward migration from the peninsula which the solicitations and threatenings of

* *Nova Scotia Archives*, page 198-9. *Montcalm and Wolf*, page 94.

† *History of Acadia*, page 407.

Le Loutre and other Canadian agents had brought to pass during the few preceding years. That an extensive and in fact a universal movement of that character had been planned is beyond all question. In the year 1749 two circumstances combined to inspire the French in Canada with fresh hopes of continental supremacy. One was the reversal to France under the general provisions of the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle of Cape Breton and its famous fortress. The other was the recent arrival at Quebec of a Governor-General of marked intellectual ability and of great administrative vigor. This new Governor, the Count de la Galissonniere, had scarcely landed from his ship when he saw that the salvation of the French power in America depended on boldness and promptitude of action. His plan for the East was formed with the eye of a true strategist. The islands since known as Cape Breton and Prince Edward already belonged to France. France had always theoretically held that the Acadia of the Treaty of Utrecht was bounded northwardly by the Isthmus of Chignecto. La Galissonniere's scheme contemplated the immediate and practical assertion of this claim by placing an armed force on the frontier line, constructing forts at Chignecto and other points from the St. John River on the West to Bay Verte on the East, and more than all, by removing the French-Acadians from the peninsula in a body and settling them north of the isthmus, thus forming a living barrier for the protection of South-Eastern Canada, or rather building up a solid Canada from the Bay of Fundy to the St. Lawrence. With such an extended and consolidated Canada, flanked by the important islands in the Gulf, Newfoundland and the Acadian peninsula would have been practically worthless possessions to England. But the supposed exigencies of the naval service, to which he belonged, led to De la Galissonniere's recall in 1749—before his scheme had been put upon fair trial—while the French Government, with its usual fatuity, appointed in his place a man heavily weighed down by the infirmities of age. It is idle to speculate on what might have happened had De la Galissonniere remained in the country, and had he been properly backed up by his Government.*

* De la Galissonniere is indirectly connected with a somewhat notable event in British history. Some years after his return to France, he commanded the French fleet in the Mediterranean, for alleged failure to grapple vigorously with which off Minorca the English Admiral Byng was court-martialled and shot in 1757. De la G., like some other Frenchmen who have gained distinction, was deformed and very dwarfish in stature; in these respects the very opposite of his aged successor Jonquiere, who was noted for his fine physical proportions.

NOTE.—An interesting outline of De la Galissonniere's career will be found in the rather singular *Parallele historique entre le comte de la Galissonniere (1747-9) et le comte de la Dufferin (1872-8).*

J. M. Le Moine. (Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., 1889.) D. A. 1890.

The carrying out of that feature of the plan which contemplated the abandonment of their homes by the peninsular Acadians was entrusted to Le Loutre and the other missionaries in Acadia, who were of course aided by the large French force which, though peace still prevailed between the countries, had been posted on the north side of the isthmus. The efforts put forth in response to this commission are among the best-known events of Acadian history, but as to the extent to which they were successful I think much misconception prevails. If we accept some accounts, the peninsula was virtually depopulated before the edict of expulsion was communicated to Winslow and Murray. But I cannot find that apart from the evacuation by its inhabitants of the isthmian village of Beaubassin in 1750 under quite special circumstances,* Southern Acadia suffered any extensive denudation of its inhabitants. Undoubtedly the urgent appeals of Le Loutre drew some settlers northward, but these were chiefly from Cobequid and other nearer points. Those who were induced to come from the more southerly villages were mainly single men, attracted by offers of service in the army or in Le Loutre's grand scheme for the reclamation of the Tantramar Marsh.† It is true that numerous petitions were sent to the Government at Halifax from various bodies of Acadians, asking permission to withdraw beyond the border, but there is no evidence to shew that these were the free and sincere expressions of those who signed them. On the contrary, Le Loutre himself admits that from first to last the project of leaving their fertile fields and blooming orchards encountered the stoutest resistance from the home-loving settlers of the peninsula. Garneau's isolated statement, seemingly endorsed by Mr. Hannay, that Le Loutre succeeded in inducing not less than 3,000 to move across the Missequash, is entirely out of harmony with his own admissions elsewhere and the general tenor of his narrative. It is altogether incredible that within the years 1749-51 the settlements south of Chignecto suffered a loss amounting to nearly half their population. I ought to admit that in a despatch to the Secretary of State (*Nova Scotia Archives*, page 284), Governor Lawrence cautiously estimates that just before the expulsion

* This was after the English troops had landed in the settlement.

† As numbers increased, and especially after the evacuation of Beaubassin, the settlements north of the isthmus at Tantramar, Chepody, &c., which had already to provide for the necessities of a large armed force, were greatly distressed. As for those who had deserted their homes, they bitterly cursed their stars for the folly that induced them to listen to Le Loutre. Those who could wandered off to Isle St. Jean and a few to Cape Breton, whence they were glad when opportunity offered to return to Nova Scotia. *Vid. inter alia*, *Nova Scotia Archives*, page 229.

there had been north of the Missequash 1,400 Acadians capable of bearing arms. Hannay infers that "this estimate, if correct, would raise the number of French inhabitants driven from their homes south of the Missequash by the orders of the French Government to nearly seven thousand souls."* Lawrence, who with all his merits, was not very careful as to his figures, when using them for argument, probably confounded with native-born Acadians the large number of Canadians and regulars then in the country with La Corne. However this may be, Mr. Hannay's inference seems to rest on two quite untenable assumptions; first, that all the able-bodied Acadians then found north of the Missequash had been driven there from the south of that river, and secondly, that on an average each of the refugees had brought with him at least four other persons. If seven thousand persons were removed in the method described, the agents of the expulsion certainly had a very limited amount of material on which to operate. The fact would seem to be that while Beaubassin and the smaller villages just south of it had been and remained practically deserted, the great southern parishes—Annapolis, Canard, Mines, Pisiqid and Cobequid—the centres of Acadian life, had suffered no appreciable loss of population when the summer sun of 1755 shone on their ripening harvests. I hold it to be clear that the peninsula still retained considerably more than half of the entire Acadian population.

The number of Acadians actually deported has been variously estimated. If we look at localities rather than conjecture numbers, we find the facts to be about as follows:—A small allowance being made for stray fugitives, the inhabitants of Mines, Canard, Pisiqid and (eventually) Annapolis, were seized, put on shipboard, and transported to the various colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia. The majority of the people of Cobequid, fleeing to the woods of the neighboring mountains, effected a hazardous escape to the French islands of Royale and St. Jean. From Chignecto a few hundreds† were added to the total mass of the deported, but in that region the attempts at seizure generally miscarried through the facilities for escape afforded by the trackless forests in the back ground. The inhabitants of the smaller and remoter settlements of the peninsula were immediately proscribed, and soon most of them had left the country by flight or actual seizure

* *History of Acadia*, page 388.

† Including the prisoners taken at Beausejour.

and transportation. So late as 1759, one hundred and fifty Acadians of the Cape Sable district,* who had lingered in the vicinity of their former homes in a state of outlawry, surrendered to the Government, and were sent to England, some of them wandering thence to France, a few eventually returning to Nova Scotia.

To recur to the question of numerical estimates, Haliburton in his *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia* (Vol. 1, page 182,) states that "seven thousand were collected and dispersed among the British Provinces." With this Abbé Casgrain substantially agrees.† Sir Adam Archibald puts the number of exiles at 6,000. Hannay's estimate that "the total number removed from Acadia was somewhat less than 3,000 souls"‡ is in keeping with his view of the reduced population of the peninsula at the time of the expulsion. Probably the largest estimate quoted is not far above the truth, if taken to include with the actually deported those who exiled themselves by flight.

As to the number or proportion of the exiles who ultimately returned to their native land only conjectures can be hazarded. Most writers content themselves with such indefinite estimates as "a few," "some," a "considerable number." Mr. Hannay seems alone in the opinion that "the great bulk of the Acadians finally succeeded in returning to the land of their birth."§ In another reference to the question, he substitutes "at least two-thirds" for the larger and more indefinite "the great bulk."|| Possibly as many Acadians as the more moderate of these statements would involve, if the calculation were made on the basis of Mr. Hannay's own low estimate of the entire peninsular population, did succeed in effecting a return, though even this is doubtful, but as *proportion*^{al} estimates neither of them can be accepted.

At the real date of our return (December, 1766,) just eleven years had passed since the expulsion, and at that date not a single Acadian exile had resumed the legal possession of land in Nova Scotia, nor, so far as I can learn, had a single one subscribed to the required oath of allegiance. In the list there does not appear the name of a solitary one of the places which are now the Acadian centres of the peninsula. Apart altogether from a consideration of the limited Acadian population

* Cape Sable was a name applied to an extended line of the coast of south-western Nova Scotia, stretching as far north as Argyle or Abuptic Bay.

† "Le nombre total des deportes Acadiens dépassait le chiffre de six mille." *Un pèlerinage du pays d'Évangéline*. Trans. Roy. Soc. of Can., Vol. 4.

‡ *History of Acadia*, page 406. § *Ibid*, page 406. || *Ibid*, page 408.

disclosed by the return itself, these facts sufficiently indicate the slowness of the repatriating process. The story of the wanderings and hardships of the Acadian refugees during these eleven years has never been fully told. By English writers generally a page or two at most has been deemed sufficient. L'Abbé Casgrain's "Les Acadiens apres leur dispersion"* deals more fully with the subject, and though not without imaginative elements is a valuable and interesting supplement to the meagre records of our professed historians. But from the most meagre of those records we can gather enough to lead us to doubt Mr. Hannay's estimate as to the proportion of the unfortunate exiles who found their way back to Acadia. When, after twelve years of weary wandering and waiting, the time at length came in which such of them as survived and were in a position to claim the privilege, were allowed to settle peaceably, if not on the site of their ancestral homes, at least in some other part of their beloved Acadia, it may well be doubted if "the great bulk" of the original exiles were living, to say nothing of the large proportion of the survivors who had become permanently domiciled in other lands.† The decimating effects of such a career, involving as it did shipwreck, pestilence, and famine, on a simple pastoral people like the proscribed Acadians, can scarcely be over-estimated.

It only remains to consider briefly, in the light of the foregoing considerations, the accuracy and significance of the Acadian figures in the return. The following is a rough comparison of them with the Census returns of 1881 :

	1767.	1881.
Peninsula of Nova Scotia.....	626	28,729†
Cape Breton	271	12,430†
Prince Edward Island.....	197	10,751
New Brunswick.....	171	56,635

In the comparative table of Vol. IV. of the Dominion Census Series of 1871, to which previous reference has been made, the total Acadian population of this territory is given as 10,150 for the year 1765. Though this is undoubtedly a gross exaggeration, there is reason for believing that the population was considerably larger in 1765 than it

* *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Vol. 5.

† For interesting details of Acadian Colonies thus founded, and which to a large extent still maintain an integral existence in France, Louisiana, Lower Canada and elsewhere, see Casgrain's article just referred to.

‡ These numbers are considerably too large, as they include several thousands of French extraction, but not of Acadian descent.

was two years later. The prospects of settlement in Acadia opened up by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 had naturally led to the return from various quarters and by various routes of considerable bands of exiles. These found, however, that the obstacles in the way of their repossessing themselves of Acadian soil had not been entirely removed, and that they were still practically under the ban of outlawry. It thus happened that a large proportion of them drifted away.* It seems probable that the Acadian population had just about reached its minimum at the date of this return, which was the vanishing point between the old and the new. Michael Francklin, to whose good offices the Acadians were chiefly indebted for their re-settlement in Nova Scotia, had assumed the Governorship only a few months before. As I have pointed out, the "township" lists do not contain the name of a single one of our now flourishing Acadian settlements. Not a single Acadian had received a grant of land, or taken the oath which was the essential preliminary thereto.

But negotiations were in progress between the Governor and representatives of the long-proscribed race, and relations of mutual confidence were being established. Within a year from the date of our return, the Acadian families which it reports as at Annapolis and Windsor, or most of them, had received allotments of land on the beautiful shores of St. Mary's Bay, and laid the foundations of the picturesque and prosperous township of Clare. Almost at the same time, another company of exiles—located temporarily at Halifax at the date of the return—resumed, through the kindly intervention of Governor Francklin, possession of their ancestral properties at Pubnico and Tusket, and perpetuated in Acadia the historical name of D'Entremont and the lineage of De La Tour. These happy events were naturally followed in the few succeeding years by the return of considerable numbers of other exiled Acadians. Most of these, however, settled north of the Isthmus of Chignecto.

As to the figures themselves, I know of no reason why the substantial accuracy of those for the peninsula should be called in question. At the recognized rate of expansion of a fertile race not given to emigration, they are nearly if not quite sufficient to account for our present Acadian population on the Nova Scotian mainland, all of whose French settle-

* In 1764 there were no less than 1,056 Acadians in the environs of Halifax (*Nova Scotia Archives*, p. 348). But before the year ended nearly 700 of these were allowed to sail away to the French West Indies, where most of them perished miserably of fever.

ments are known to have sprung from very small beginnings. And at the same time, it is certain that but few of the comparatively large number of Acadians who landed on the Eastern shores of Nova Scotia during the years 1767 and 1768 took up lands in the peninsula.

The reported population of Cape Breton, small as it seems, cannot, I think, be seriously discredited. With such additions as it is known to have received during the two or three following years, it is altogether adequate to be assumed as the nucleus of the existing Acadian population of that island.

According to Garneau, at the time of the expulsion the Acadians had in Isle St. Jean (Prince Edward Island) only "a few petty settlements" formed by parties whom the French rulers of the island had induced to migrate thither from Nova Scotia. During the period immediately following the expulsion a large number of Acadian refugees sought safety in the island, and down to the wholesale granting of its lands to English proprietors in 1763, it had a very considerable Acadian population. The latter event had the practical effect of a general sentence of eviction, many, if not a majority, of the inhabitants fleeing to Canada, the Magdalen Islands, Northern Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, where they founded the prosperous settlement of Cheticamp, or wherever they could find a foothold. The island shared to but a small extent in the returning wave of exiles (1767-79), so that its present rather limited Acadian population can be assumed to have mainly, if not entirely, sprung from ancestors inhabiting it when the return under discussion was prepared.

The figures for the territory now constituting the Province of New Brunswick are undoubtedly much too low. It is, of course, not to be forgotten that during the years 1759-64, northern Acadia had been largely emptied of the population poured into it by the expulsion and the events which immediately preceded it. Large numbers had withdrawn to Canada, while more than a thousand had surrendered to the authorities at Halifax, from which point they had been dispersed to various quarters. It is to be noted that few, if any, of the now existing French settlements north of Chignecto had then been founded, and that these, like the corresponding ones in the peninsula, have grown from very small beginnings.* Still it is evident that there are very serious

* For a striking proof that the chief growth of the Acadian settlements has been in the present century, see report of Rev. Mr. Desjardins to the Archbishop of Quebec on the state of the Acadian Missions of New Brunswick in 1796, published by L'Abbe Casgrain in his *Les Acadiens apres leur dispersion*.

omissions in this part of the return, as large districts which must have contained in their retired coves and dark forestal recesses an appreciable Acadian population, are entirely unrecognized.

2.—HALIFAX.

The returns for Halifax are not without interest, both on general grounds and from a racial point of view. Long before the discovery of the document under consideration, Dr. (then Mr.) Akins wrote that "from the close of the French War to the commencement of the American Revolution, Halifax continued to decline, until its population did not exceed 3,000."* The Return gives the population as 3,022, exclusive of the army and navy, at a point roughly midway between these dates. Whether a still lower figure was subsequently reached, before the revival of business consequent on the breaking out of the American Revolution, made its influence felt on the population is somewhat uncertain. One thing is clear, that, even including the Acadians temporarily sojourning in the environs, Halifax in its seventeenth year scarcely numbered as many people as were encamped amid the stumps on its hillside in 1749. An analysis of the details leads irresistibly to the further conclusion that the population in 1749 was but in small part composed of those who had crossed with Cornwallis under the convoy of the "Sphynx." This does not rest simply on the ground that only 302 persons—but a tenth of the whole—are reported as of English birth, for it must be admitted that, while nominally English, the original company embraced representatives of almost every nation under heaven. But there is the important fact that no less than 1,351—or more than one-half of the English-speaking population—in 1767 are returned as *born in America*. According to the recognized principle of compilation, the children of English, Scotch, and Irish settlers, born in Nova Scotia or any other American Colony, were included in this category, but the largeness of the number points unmistakably to a very considerable native New England element in the population. A few weeks after Cornwallis landed at Chebucto, Louisburg was evacuated in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Several influential New England families who had settled there during the English occupation accompanied or closely followed the departing British troops to Halifax. Other settlers came directly from the older

* Prize Essay on the History of the Settlement of Halifax, (read 1839, published 1847.)

Colonies. Among them they soon drew into their hands a large part of the business of the place, and filled many of the most important positions in the Colony.

While Cornwallis' transports brought over a limited number of persons of means, energy, and character, the great bulk of their passengers were just such people as a rosy-colored advertisement in the "London Gazette" would be likely to attract in a time of great business dulness.* They were in no proper sense of the term *settlers*. As "birds of passage" they did not propose to continue long in one place. A large proportion were men without families. Over five hundred had been men-of-war sailors. They were in great part the very kind of persons to whom the novelty of such an enterprise would be attractive and its practical hardships distasteful. So long as government rations were the order of the day they remained. When these were suspended and men were expected to work for a living, the place knew most of them no more.

Next in point of size to the American element stands the Irish, numbering no less than 835. As the total number of Catholics is reported as 667—including, of course, the 200 Acadians—it would seem that about one-half of the residents of Irish birth were Protestants of Ulster origin. At this date the "canny Scot" was chiefly conspicuous for his absence, as only 52 citizens registered themselves as born in the land of the heather.

3.—GERMANS AND OTHER FOREIGNERS.

Under this head is included a total population of 1,946.

The particulars of the settlement in Nova Scotia, chiefly during the years 1750-2, of a large number of German families, in connection with a much smaller contingent of French-speaking Protestants from the Upper Rhine, generally spoken of as "Swiss," can be learned from the ordinary histories. As the Return affords no means of distinguishing between these elements, in the remarks following they will be referred to collectively as Germans. In 1753 the great body of these immigrants removed from Halifax, where they had landed, to the shores of Merleguish Bay. The site of the new settlement called Lunenburg

* "A great number of disbanded soldiers, discharged sailors, poor artificers, laborers, &c., who have accepted of His Majesty's grant of lands in Nova Scotia, attended at the Plantation Office in Whitehall, and received orders for admission, with their families and effects, on board the transports."—*London Gazette*, 1749.

was well chosen, comprising the only fertile district on the whole Atlantic frontier, favorably situated for fishing purposes, and free from danger of unpleasant collision with the French inhabitants. Nevertheless, the earlier years of its history were marked by a good deal of friction and strife, and the growth was consequently slow. By the date of the Return, however, these initial difficulties seem to have been fairly surmounted, and in agricultural products the township compared not unfavorably with those whose soil had been under cultivation for more than a century. Its population was almost wholly German, and numbered 1,417, considerably more than two-thirds of the German population of the whole Province. A few families had moved out into the adjacent townships of Dublin and Chester, places where now the German element largely predominates, but which were originally settled under other auspices. In the course of the ensuing quarter of a century, this element had entered on quite an extensive migration along the Atlantic shore in both easterly and westerly directions. Our return gives the German population of Halifax as 264, while smaller groups of the stock are found at other points, such as Windsor, Falmouth, and Annapolis.

In two townships situated beyond the Isthmus of Chignecto, about an hundred Germans are reported, who were of an entirely different line of descent from those in Lunenburg and Halifax. These townships are Hopewell and Monckton, both on the Petitcodiac river, and within the limits of the present County of Albert, New Brunswick. Monckton (a name revived in our day with a slightly altered spelling, and given to a neighboring locality) seems to have been practically the district known as Hillsboro, containing the shire town of the county just named. These German settlers, who came to Nova Scotia from Pennsylvania, constituted one of the numerous groups brought in to re-people the vacant lands of Acadia through the agency of Alexander McNutt.

In the Dominion Census returns of 1881, that part of the population of Nova Scotia claiming German descent is given as 40,065, just half being included in the County of Lunenburg. But this total embraces several thousands not sprung from the German settlers of Halifax and Lunenburg.

4.—THE NEW ENGLAND TOWNSHIPS.

The settlement during the years 1759-61 of a large part of Nova Scotia, and that as a rule the more fertile part, by groups of colonists

from New England, is one of the most important events in the history of our Province. In such a paper as this the historical connections cannot be treated at length, but a few words may not be out of place. Until recently, this event has unquestionably not received the attention due to its importance. As a movement of population from west to east it was a reversal of the usual order, and has quite generally been confounded with the Loyalist migration to the Provinces, which it preceded nearly a quarter of a century, and which in influence on the political and industrial development of what is *now* Nova Scotia it undoubtedly surpassed. This misconception is sometimes found affecting the minds even of direct descendants of the early New England settlers themselves. Another somewhat prevalent illusion has been that the stay of most of the latter in Nova Scotia was brief, and that but little in the way of a permanent settlement was effected. Nothing could be farther from the truth. One or two townships on, or near, the Chignecto Isthmus were somewhat affected in the matter of population by the events of the Revolutionary War, but as a rule this element has been the most tenacious of all our English-speaking stocks.

The removal by force of the Acadian French from the territory which that race had occupied for nearly a century and a half left, as we have seen, the Province with a European population practically limited to the Town of Halifax and the German settlement of Lunenburg. This state of things is brought into bold relief in the long and earnest correspondence between Governor Lawrence and the Lords of Trade and Plantations on the question of organizing a Legislative Assembly, and is particularly emphasized by the expedient ultimately resorted to in 1758, of electing sixteen (out of a total of twenty-two) members from the Province at large. This was simply the result of a scarcity of constituencies. A proposal to dignify by that name the blockhouses at Annapolis and Chignecto, and two or three insignificant hamlets in the neighborhood of Halifax, was entertained for a time, but was finally laid aside. As the six members assigned to definite constituencies were divided between Halifax and Lunenburg in the proportion of four to two, the former place had really the honor of supplying ten-elevenths of the first Nova Scotia Assembly.

The organization of representative government, whatever anomalies it involved, had an undoubted effect in promoting the success of certain negotiations which Lawrence had had for some time on foot

looking to the re-settlement of the vacated Acadian lands by colonists from New England. It is well known that the New England element at Halifax chafed under the irresponsible rule of the Governor and Council (though it does not appear that the rule itself was essentially harsh or inequitable), and originated the agitation for a duly constituted legislature, which finally proved irresistible. Is it somewhat surprising that Lawrence, who opposed the establishment of the Legislature as long and as stoutly as he could, did not himself see that the triumph of his own views would effectually preclude any extensive immigration from the westward. His voice of invitation became potential only when he was able to give definite assurances that the settlers would find in the new colony political institutions substantially similar to their own.

On the 2nd of October, 1758, the first Assembly met, and on the 12th of that month, the Council issued the well-known proclamation which invited immigration to Nova Scotia by the alluring assurances that "one hundred thousand acres of intervale plow lands, producing wheat, rye, barley, oats, hemp, flax, etc., which have been cultivated for more than a hundred years past and never fail of crops nor need manuring," and "also more than one hundred thousand acres of upland, cleared and stocked with English Grass, planted with orchards, gardens, etc.," and "situated about the Bay of Fundy upon rivers navigable for ships of burthen," were awaiting the choice of settlers. There was undoubtedly an element of exaggeration in these representations. All the marsh lands on the Bay of Fundy and its tributaries do not, taken together, amount to 100,000 acres, and certainly not more than one-half of them had been reclaimed and cultivated by the Acadians. Still more hyperbolic is the reference to "100,000 acres of upland, cleared and stocked with English grass." It is well known that the inroads of the French on the forests were exceedingly limited. The great bulk of their crops was raised on the alluvial bottoms which had been cleared for them by the potent forces of nature. Who ever examined the site of one of the old Acadian villages that did not find it situated on the margin of the dyke lands on which the people depended for their means of living, or of an old Acadian road which did not run close by the same? In this particular affirmation the Proclamation at least quadrupled the actual fact.* But we must remember that to this

*Haliburton, using adjectives generally regarded as incompatible, refers to the description given in the Proclamation as "flattering but faithful."

day, immigration agencies do not aim at absolute accuracy of statement. Figurative amplification is considered one of their most natural and proper characteristics. Nor does there appear to have been anything intentionally misleading in the arithmetical exaggerations of the Proclamation. Good land there was, and an abundance of it,—a fact to which many a New Englander who had served at Louisburg or Beau-Sejour or who had run trading ventures up the Chiganois or the Pisiquid, could positively testify, in answer to any inquiry from fellow-colonists into whose hands the Proclamation might fall.

A second proclamation, issued under date of January 11th, 1759, supplied information regarding points of importance on which the former one had failed to utter a voice sufficiently clear. Persons thinking of settlement were fully informed as to the conditions on which lands might be taken up and a permanent title to them acquired. The political and judicial institutions of the Colony were described, and to all dissenters from the Church of England, except Roman Catholics,* the amplest assurances of religious liberty were given on the faith of legislative enactments and "His Majesty's royal instructions."

The assurances of this second proclamation naturally tended to inspire confidence, and the persistent efforts of Lawrence to re-people Acadia with settlers from the American Colonies at length began to bear fruit. On the 27th May, 1759, a company of substantial yeomen from Connecticut, including, with their families, several hundred persons, received grants of large tracts of land on the Basin of Minas. From that date Mines and Canard, names of two of the most flourishing of the old Acadian settlements, have been replaced by Horton and Cornwallis. A few months later, a large part of the ancient Pisiquid, embracing districts on both sides of the tidal river or estuary of the same name, passed, under the designation of Falmouth, to a body of Rhode Island grantees. Within a year of its settlement, the township was divided, the part lying on the eastern bank of the Pisiquid (now

* Considering the date of this proclamation, the exception noted is not surprising. Great Britain and most of her colonies were under the shadow of the penal laws. It is, however, a fact deserving of record that those who had insisted on guarantees of religious liberty for themselves showed no disposition to enslave the consciences of others. From the earliest organization of government in Nova Scotia, Roman Catholics, though laboring under certain civil disabilities, seem to have enjoyed as free an exercise of their religion as others. The public opinion which would not tolerate any other state of things received a great accession of strength from the spirit of the early settlers from New England. The Legislature of 1827, which passed the earliest Catholic Emancipation Act, was largely composed of their grandsons and other descendants. Thomas C. Haliburton, whose famous speech in favor of the admission of Mr. Kavanagh, is historical, was grandson of one of the original Rhode Island grantees of Newport.

the Avon) receiving the name of Newport, not, as has been generally supposed, from former association of the inhabitants with Newport, R. I., but at the suggestion of Mr. Morris, Surveyor General of the Province, to honor Lord Newport, a particular friend of Chief Justice Belcher.*

Settlers rapidly poured in from Massachusetts and New Hampshire as well as from the Colonies already named, and organized townships were soon founded on the site of all the principal Acadian settlements. Nor did the stream of immigration end at those points. So early as the autumn of 1761 it had reached a number of places, now important centres of population, where the Acadian influence had never made itself felt.

At the date of our Return (1767) the New England townships, *i. e.*, townships wholly or chiefly settled from New England, are found extending from Cape Sable (Barrington) to a point on the St. John River not far below the present City of Fredericton. Roughly they may be divided into two classes,—the one embracing 40 settlements in the central agricultural districts, many resting on the basis of previous Acadian cultivation—the other, settlements on the shore at points favourable for fishing and for maritime ventures generally. The three townships on, and north of, the isthmus of Chignecto, which were settled from New England, belonged of course to the former group. These were Cumberland, Sackville, and Manguerville. The return gives them a population respectively of 334, 349, and 243—almost wholly American in each case. A small part (the ridge of land now known as Fort Lawrence) of Cumberland is in the present Province of Nova Scotia, lying as it does to the south of the Missaquash River. This township, settled from various colonies, has a large part of its American population at the time of the Revolutionary War. Its present inhabitants are largely descendants of the Yorkshire Settlers of 1772-4. Sackville was settled in 1761 by a colony from Rhode Island, supplemented in 1768 by the total membership of a Baptist Church in Swansea, Mass., which emigrated to the latter place under the leadership of its pastor, the Rev. Nathaniel Mason. After a eight years' sojourn most of the latter element returned to Swansea. Benjamin Mason, brother of the clergyman just mentioned, was the first member for the township of Sackville in the Legislature of Nova Scotia. He resided in Sackville at the date of

* This is stated in the authority of a letter from Morris to Isaac Deschamps, of Fredericton, N. S. The letter, which is dated March 31st, 1761, is in the possession of Dr. Akins.

the Return. Sackville, like Cumberland, received a large accession of population from the Yorkshire immigration which occurred a few years subsequently. Maugerville (pronounced *Majorville*) and Sheffield, are now two contiguous parishes in the County of Sunbury, N. B. The latter is the name originally given to the settlement which was founded in 1761 by a company from Rowley, Massachusetts. The name Maugerville, here applied to the whole settlement, was no doubt derived from that of Joshua Mauger, a prominent merchant of Halifax, who probably received grants of land in the vicinity of Sheffield.*

The following townships in the peninsula belonged to the first class, as being of distinctively New England origin and colonized for agricultural purposes—all of them occupying territory cultivated by the Acadian French:—Annapolis, Cornwallis, Falmouth, Granville, Horton, and Newport. At the date of our Return, none of these places had received any appreciable accession of population from other sources, and even now the great bulk of their inhabitants can trace back their ancestry to the first settlers from New England.† Several other townships, though not so exclusively settled by immigrants from the New England colonies, nevertheless embraced a very considerable New England element in their population. One, Unslow, has good reason to claim a place in the list just given, as a slight majority of its inhabitants are put down as of American origin. The original grantees of this township were almost wholly residents of New England, but for various reasons many of these never settled in the Province, and their lands were re-granted to immigrants from the North of Ireland, whose descendants now undoubtedly constitute the larger part of the inhabitants. An appreciable, if not a controlling, New England element, was also found in Amherst, Windsor, and Truro. The original grantees and settlers of the first named place were from the North of Ireland, and at the date of our Return this element was still in the ascendancy. But families from the neighboring New England townships of Cumberland and Sackville had already begun to move in, and a few years later

* For a biographical sketch of Mauger, see Nova Scotia Archives, page 646. The pronunciation of this surname is somewhat doubtful. Compare these of the common derivatives *Maugerville* and *Mauger's Beach*. Sheffield, has been prolific in men who have played an important part in the history of Canada. The late Dr. Ryerson, of Ontario; Dr. Pickard, of Sackville; and I. Burpee, M. P., of St. John, were grandsons of original settlers.

† An examination of those local lists for the year 1770, which have been preserved, shows that in some of the townships scarcely a family name has died out in one hundred and twenty years.

were followed by a still larger number connected with the Yorkshire immigration of 1772-4. Windsor, embracing that part of the Acadian district of Pisiquid, not included in the townships of Falmouth and Newport, was not organized as a township until 1764, and then, according to the historians, was made a part of the County of Halifax, not of the County of Kings, to which the adjacent townships belonged.* Most of its soil which was of any value was conveyed in large grants to gentlemen prominent in the military or civil service of the day. No body of New England colonists received grants within its limits. In 1767 its population was still small (nearly half being Acadians) and had received but few accessions from the surrounding country, of which, however, it had become the business centre. As for Truro, there is a palpable error in the nationality of the inhabitants as given in the Return, the whole population being put down as of Irish birth. The local returns of 1770, from which I copy as follows,

English.	Scotch.	Irish.	American.	Total.
0	11	41	288	321

enables us to supply the correction needed. The original settlers of Truro, who landed in 1760, embraced the Archibalds and several other influential families from Londonderry, New Hampshire, the elder members of which had come to that place from Ireland some years previously.† From the local abstract for 1770 we learn that the large American element which it reports consisted in good part of children of Irish parents, born either in New Hampshire or Nova Scotia. But it also shows that included among the settlers were several families of pure New England blood.

The peninsular townships constituting the second group, in the founding of which little or no advantage was taken of former Acadian occupation, were all situated on the south-western coast of the Province and embraced Yarmouth, Barrington, Liverpool and Chester and Dublin. The settlers of these townships came with scarcely any exceptions from

* A letter (preserved in the Deschamps collection) written by the widow of Colonel Winkworth Tongue, of Beausejoir celebrity, and proprietor of one of the largest of the Windsor estates, affirms, however, that residents of Windsor were always electors of Kings County, though it seems to imply that to exercise their franchise they had to cross the river to the neighboring township of Falmouth. Hants was separated from Kings in 1784.

† The Londonderry referred to was founded in 1733 by Rev. James McGregor and a Company of immigrants from Coleraine and adjacent regions. Few places of its size have contributed to United States history so many distinguished names. For interesting particulars respecting the early settlement and settlers of Truro, see Longworth's biography of S. G. W. Archibald, and Miller's History of the original grantees of Truro.

the Nantucket and Cape Cod districts of the Colony of Massachusetts, and, save Chester and Dublin, they are still mainly peopled by descendants of the original families. Interesting particulars of the settlement of Yarmouth can be learned from the comprehensive and valuable history of Yarmouth County, written by the Rev. J. Roy Campbell. Though Yarmouth has for many years ranked as second only to Halifax in population and business, for nearly three quarters of a century after the settlement of the country, that position was held by Liverpool, which even at the date of the Return was a town of considerable size. Both these places, as well as Barrington, are marked by the tenacity with which the family names associated with their primary settlement have perpetuated themselves. With Chester (originally Shoreham) the case has been quite different. A number of the New England families at a comparatively early period withdrew to other parts of the Province. Their place was taken by a substantial contingent of Loyalists in 1784, and the township has since been impregnated with a large German element from the neighboring settlement of Lunenburg.

In the same class with Chester may be placed the contiguous township of (New) Dublin. It was granted in 1760 to a number of persons in Connecticut, but few of whom actually settled on their lands, and of these few the greater part remained but for a short time.* At the date of our Return, the process of re-granting the lands to Germans from the neighboring township of Lunenburg had fairly commenced. From the latter the present population of the district, which is one of the most prosperous and thickly peopled in the Province, is almost wholly derived.

5.—THE ULSTER IMMIGRATION.

In his efforts to obtain inhabitants for Nova Scotia, Governor Lawrence did not confine his attention solely to the American Colonies. The negotiations which led to the settlement of Truro had brought him into contact with Alexander McNutt, a native of Ireland, but who for some years previously had been in America, dividing his time apparently between Pennsylvania, where large bodies of his countrymen had settled, and Londonderry, New Hampshire, to which place I have

* Murdock, (Vol. II. Page 423) says that on the 3rd May, 1762, McNutt arrived with 170 settlers from the North of Ireland, who were to go to the township of Dublin. Few if any of them actually settled there, but the name (when given is uncertain) seems associated with the idea of the place being settled from Ireland.

already referred.* From this source came the suggestion of looking to the Province of Ulster for an additional supply of settlers on whose thrift and loyalty the government could confidently rely. Lawrence's untimely death did not permit him to see the success with which the project was ultimately crowned. McNutt undertook a personal visit to Ireland as an accredited agent of the government, and on October 9th, 1761, landed at Halifax with upwards of 300 settlers, for whom temporary quarters were provided on what is now McNab's Island. A few of these remained in Halifax, but by the following spring the great majority had obtained grants of land in various parts of the Province. Our return enables us to trace the distribution of this element six years after its arrival in the country. The largest body settling in one place had founded the important township of Londonderry—the rural parts of which are still almost exclusively peopled by their descendants. Considerable numbers joined their countrymen from New Hampshire and other New England points who had already settled in Truro and Onslow. Small bands laid the foundations of the townships of Amherst and Wilmot, while the new township of Windsor owed most of its English-speaking inhabitants to this source. The immigration from Ulster, which took place in 1761, was followed by several others of smaller proportions during the succeeding decade.

The only places in the Peninsula not included under one or other of the foregoing heads are: Blandford, Canso, Dartmouth, and Lawrence-town. A few years previous to the date of the Return, a small company of "west country" fishermen had been induced to settle on the shores of St. Margaret's Bay. Few, if any, of these original settlers remained permanently in Nova Scotia, and the present inhabitants of the district of Blandford, are with scarcely an exception, of German

* With the exception of Lawrence no single individual played so conspicuous a part in the re-settlement of Nova Scotia as McNutt, and what he accomplished was but insignificant compared with his plans, perhaps I should say, his *dreams*. In these the elements of speculation and personal aggrandizement were not wanting. In connection with all his projected colonies he secured large grants of lands, no less than a million acres passing to him under the Seal of the Province in a single day. His fortunes were clouded over by the War of the American Revolution, during the greater part of which he was absent from the Province. His sympathies were believed to be with the revolutionary party, with several of whose leaders he was on terms of quite intimate acquaintance. Ultimately most of his lands were escheated. His final home in Nova Scotia was on McNutt's Island, Shelburne Harbor, which still perpetuates his name, and in crossing from which to the adjacent mainland he is reported to have been drowned. His nephew, the Rev. Arthur McNutt, was for many years a prominent Methodist minister of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. W. B. McNutt, Esq., of Halifax, is his grand-nephew.

stock. Canso, as the side-note informs us, was a summer fishing station rather than a settlement. Dartmouth and Lawrencetown, with only 39 and 15 inhabitants respectively, were "deserted villages." The former lost its popularity as a residential suburb by the terrible massacre of 1756, and did not recover it for three-fourths of a century. Lawrence-town had been founded with a great flourish of trumpets early in the "fifties," but the utmost efforts of Governor Lawrence to promote the interests of the borough named in his honor could not avert its collapse.

Small as was the entire population of Nova Scotia in 1767, it is interesting to note that settlements were reported at some point or points in all the (present) counties of the Peninsula except Antigonish, Pictou, and Digby. It is perhaps well, however, to remind ourselves that, even where settled, our country wore a very different face from that which it presents to-day. More than one historian of his native land has felt it necessary to put his readers on guard against the persistent illusion which confounds the scenes of which they read with those which are daily passing before their eyes. Most needed when history stretches back over many centuries, such a caution is not altogether needless in the case of a country comparatively young like ours. We have little to show, it is true, in comparison with the marvellous phenomena of expansion and progress exhibited in other parts of our continent; and yet the contrast between 1758 and 1888 is so great that a distinct and prolonged effort of mind is required to grasp its full breadth and significance. In great natural features no country is less liable to change than Nova Scotia. These presented themselves to our forefathers as they do to us,—the long wall of rock stretching with scarce a break from Canso to Sable; the broad alluviums and rushing tides of Fundy; Porcupine mantled in changeless green and throwing dark shadows across the silvery strait; Aspatogen "rock-ribbed and ancient as the sun"; "away to the northward Blomidon and the forests old, and aloft on the mountains sea-fogs pitching their tents and mists from the mighty Atlantic," all these our ancestors saw just as we see them. But it is the abiding monuments of nature alone that could enable one of the settlers of 1760, were he to rise from the dead, to recognize the country to which he came. Our own goodly city was a little palisaded hamlet, included chiefly within the limits of what are now the Third and Fourth Wards. Five-sixths or more of the penin-

sula which is now traversed by streets and covered with houses and gardens was a jungle in which the treacherous Micmac lurked for human game. The country at large was a forest. The vacated Acadian settlements which had proved so potent a spell for immigration purposes were but insignificant patches on the margin of a trackless wilderness. Houses and barns had mostly disappeared, while over the once wheat-bearing dyke lands Neptune had resumed full sway.

Our Return in its industrial statistics, which are minute and well worthy of study, shows what progress had been made in six years—for this was about the average age of the settlements—in recovering what had been lost and in the initial development of resources which constitute Nova Scotia one of the richest Provinces of the Dominion.

THE EARLY HISTORY
OF THE
PARISH OF ST. GEORGE,
HALIFAX.

PAPER II.

BY REV. CANON PARTRIDGE, D. D., RECTOR OF ST. GEORGE'S.

(Read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, March 3rd, 1887.)

It is worthy of notice that the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at a very early period determined to provide for the education and spiritual ministration of the newly-formed Nova Scotian settlements. By request of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, the Society pledged itself to send out six clergymen and six schoolmasters as soon as their services should be needed. Accordingly the first missionaries sent out, who accompanied the expedition of Governor Cornwallis, were the Rev. Messrs. Anwell and J. Baptiste Moreau ; who were followed in the summer of the same year by Rev. William Tutty. Mr. Anwell was soon recalled. But Mr. Tutty is honorably connected with the German settlers, by the fact that he ministered to them in their own tongue, and administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper to a large congregation. In fact the only ministrations ever given to the German settlers by ordained clergymen were those of the Church of England. In two years after the settlement of Halifax, *i. e.*, in the year 1752, one-half the population professed themselves members of the Church of England, and when the Rev. John Breynton was appointed assistant to Mr. Tutty in 1752, the number of communicants was about 600. Nor can it be wondered at that the German Evangelical Lutherans of the confession of Augsburg who settled in Halifax, should have conformed to the Church of England. Their own church took no care to send a minister with them ;

and it was a very natural thing that they should desire to conform to the only church which shewed the least interest in their spiritual welfare. It has been insinuated by Rev. D. Luther Roth, a Lutheran minister, who recently wrote a series of letters in one of our city papers, that undue influence was brought to bear upon the German settlers to induce them to conform to the Church of England. Of this there is not the slightest evidence. Everything shows the liveliest feelings of gratitude and affection entertained by the Germans for those truly evangelical clergymen, who, though of alien tongue and another nation, performed the part of fathers in God to those for whom their own church had showed no solicitude.

Rev. Jean Baptiste Moreau, formerly a Priest of the Church of Rome, and an Abbé who had been at one time living in that capacity at Brest, in France, came to this country in charge of French and Swiss Protestant settlers, and received the usual grant of £70 a year for his services. Both Mr. Tutty and Mr. Moreau appear to have been good linguists. The former reports in 1749 that he had, in addition to his own duties as the clergyman to the English inhabitants, administered to the Germans, and the latter afterwards included them among his flock.

But the first missionary employed directly in charge of the Germans was Mr. Burger, a German-Swiss minister who had long been desirous of Episcopal ordination. This worthy gentleman translated the Communion Service of the Church of England into German, and used his best endeavours to promote peace and concord. He went to England as a candidate for Holy Orders in 1752, carrying with him the strong recommendation of the Governor and of Mr. Tutty and Mr. Moreau. Having received ordination from the Bishop of London, he returned, bringing with him a goodly supply of Bibles and Prayer Books in the German language, for the use of the settlers. Mr. Burger probably only received deacon's orders. Hence Mr. Tutty still continued to administer the Holy Eucharist to the German congregation, for which purpose alone he appears to have studied German, and mention is made in the S. P. G.'s report for 1753 of his having converted and baptized a German Jew, who communicated with his brethren on the following Sunday. Mr. Tutty died in 1754. These services were held in the school house at the corner of Gerrish and Brunswick Sts., long before its dedication as a church. Mr. Moreau followed the Germans and French-Swiss to Lunenburg in 1753. He tells the

Society in his report of 1759, that a great mortality had visited his people in 1753, in which three-fourths of them died, and that fifty-six families, consisting of Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians and Anabaptists, had, under his labours and the blessing of God, become worthy members of the Church. Mr. Moreau died at Lunenburg in 1780. He was a most accomplished man, being able to minister in three languages, and even becoming acquainted with the language of the Indians, several of whose children he baptized. That he was a man of extraordinary firmness and personal influence, is evidenced by the following episode, which occurred during his pastorate at Lunenburg. One of his congregation having been detected as one of the leaders in a treasonable conspiracy against the government, Mr. Moreau, in spite of the offender's rank and station, publicly excommunicated him. After a time, the offender being desirous of re-admission to his lost privileges, humbly prostrated himself in the church, then rose up and humbly asked pardon of God, the King, and his Christian brethren, whom he had offended by his ill-conduct and disobedience. He then received an exhortation from the pulpit to a sincere repentance and amendment, and was afterwards admitted to communion.

The pious example and lofty integrity of such men as Mr. Tutty, Mr. Moreau, Mr. Breynton and Mr. Wood, could not fail to produce a deep impression upon the Germans, and to conciliate their good opinion towards the church of which these gentlemen were ministers. It is to such qualities in the clergy of the early settlement, rather than to any less worthy pressure, that we must look to account for the gradual conformity of the Germans to the Church of England.

But the absorption was the work of many years. The Germans were obstinate by nature, not to be driven or coerced. With all the legitimate and laudable influences which drew them to the church, they still maintained a sturdy adherence to their own manners and customs, some of which were retained until a comparatively recent date and within the memory of persons now living.

The earliest document in existence among the records of the old St. George's church, is a bequest from John Samuel Gross of a piece of land to the Evangelic Lutheran Church, which bears date October 12, 1752, and is discolored with age. I transcribe it for its quaintness:

Whereas I, in my present sickness, being taken dangerously ill, not knowing how long I may live, as after my death having no heirs in this country, to leave unto them what I may have, I have resolved to give unto

the Evangelic Lutheran Church, further use and own property, a lott with a barrack or hut on it, (containg 50 feet in the front and 250 feet in the rear) standing in the north suburbs of Halifax, in the upper street, between the house of George Stork and Michael Clausner; and that ye aforesaid Lutheran Church is to have and hold the aforesaid lott and barrack to their own sole use and property forever, butt if it should be God's will, that I should recover of this sickness, nevertheless the aforesaid lott and barrack is to be to the use of the aforesaid Lutheran Church as above, only granting me the barrack to live in this winter.

Humbly petitioning His Excellency Governor Hopson to grant that this my will may be granted unto ye aforesaid church, in confirmation of the above, have signed with my own hand.

Halifax, October 12, 1752.

JOHN SAMUEL GROSS.

Witness:

CHARLES HAGELSIEB,
JNO. ADAM SMITH,
MATTHIAS HSANGER.

The need of rules and regulations for the guidance of the church officers and the government of the church began by this time to be felt, and from henceforth we find that at intervals the congregation of the German church supplied them. On October 19, 1761, a quarterly meeting was held in the church, when the following resolutions were drawn up and passed:

- I. That at the Holy Communion common bread be used and no wafers.
- II. That those who attend the Lord's Supper shall have their names written down by the Schoolmaster or the Sexton, or by any one else who is appointed thereto.
- III. That as long as we have no minister, printed sermons are to be read aloud by the school-master, or any one else who is appointed thereto.
- IV. That funerals which happen on a Sunday, shall not take place before four o'clock, or when the ordinary services, whether English or German, shall be concluded.
- V. That the Schoolmaster, or some one else, shall register the name of the deceased in a book appointed for the purpose, with the date.
- VI. If any of the officials should die while in office, he is to have the pall *gratis*.

To these rules the following names are subscribed:—Peter Bergman, Otto Wm. Schwartz, Gottlieb Shermiller, Friedrich Kohl, George Hohl.

On the 9th of December in the same year, the German colony experienced a heavy loss in the death of their pious and excellent school-master, John Gottfried Turpel, who entered into his rest after a short illness, aged 55. He had been appointed to his responsible office on July 29th, 1760, and had discharged his duties with exemplary fidelity. The following notice is extracted from the Church records:

"We insert as a memorial in our Church book, that our much loved school-master, John Gottfried Turpel, died on 9th December, 1761. He attended to his duties with all his heart.

To his credit be it said that he was beloved by everybody on account of his integrity, and is generally lamented, but especially by his young scholars, who have shed tears at his departure. May the Lord cause his soul to rejoice throughout eternity."

With reference to the rules above quoted, Mr. Roth, the writer whom I have before alluded to, observes that No. 1, concerning no "wafers" being used at the Sacrament, must have been made on account of the tendency of the very high church clergy of Halifax at the time, and shows the sturdy Protestantism of the German settlers. I believe this to be solely evolved from Mr. Roth's ingenious brain. It has not been the custom of any clergyman of the Church of England to use wafers for a period long anterior to that we are treating of. And Dr. Breynton and Mr. Wood were as sturdily Evangelical as the Germans themselves, in some respects more so. In fact it may be questioned whether they would have used the pious expression of the German record in reference to the soul of the deceased schoolmaster. Whatever then may have been the reason of the regulation, it could not have been the one alleged by Mr. Roth. It may have been that the French and Swiss, to whom the wafers were more familiar, had desired their use, but of this we cannot be sure. But Mr. Roth has a brief and a great spleen against the Church of England.

In the year 1760 Mr. Breynton reports the death of Governor Laurence, which event, he says, was a great loss to the colony, to the Church and to Mr. Breynton himself; the Governor, according to him, being possessed of every natural endowment and acquired accomplishment that could adorn the seat of Government; and to his other laudable qualities was added that of sincerity in religion, and of a zealous regard to the Established Church. He further relates the strenuous efforts made by Governor Laurence, upon the representations made to him by the General Assembly of the Province of Nova Scotia, who addressed him on January 5th, 1760, to secure a clergyman and schoolmaster from England who should understand both German and English. The Governor's idea was that they should itinerate; residing chiefly at Lunenburg, but coming at certain seasons to Halifax. Such a clergyman was found in the person of Rev. Mr. Vincent; who, however, appears to have found his duties at Lunenburg quite heavy enough, for he made no appearance at Halifax.

In February, 1762, the number of parishioners in Halifax is returned by Mr. Breynton as being about 1300, of whom 250 were Germans and

French, who continued to worship in the German Church in the north suburbs. These are now under the sole charge of Mr. Breynton, as Mr. Wood is removing this year to Annapolis. The fostering care exhibited by Governor Laurence is no less shewn by Jonathan Belcher, President of the Council and Chief Justice, who with the Governor and the Secretary, formed a Corresponding Committee, which regularly transmitted to the Society their minutes, together with suggestions oftentimes most valuable.

The history of the German Church of St. George continues with uneventful smoothness during the years 1762 to 1784. The school-master officiated on Sundays when no clergyman was present, and good and energetic Mr. Breynton gave what services he could, baptizing, marrying and burying their dead. The German congregation, however, did not consider themselves a part of St. Paul's Parish, as will be seen by the following additional regulations passed in 1761. The rulers of the congregation are Elders, two or three in number, corresponding to our Church Wardens. To assist these there is a Council of what are called in the records Church Wardens, but whose position was rather that of modern Vestrymen.

The minute referred to reads thus :

"It is thought desirable that each year at Christmas new Church Wardens should be chosen from among the congregation. This choice is not to be obligatory, and is to be quietly made. Each one is to hand in a ticket with all the names upon it of those who are to be proposed. The Elders and Church Wardens are to be present, also the members of the Church may be present, that it may not be said that any deception has been practised. Half of those to be chosen shall be from the Town and south suburb, the other half from the north suburb, all to be members of this congregation.

Only men of good report are to be chosen.

Also we approve that William Schwartz shall for certain reasons retain the office of Elder as long as it may please him."

(The reason of this is plain. Mr. Schwartz was not only a man of strict integrity, but appears from the account of expense incurred in building or fitting up the church, to have provided a good deal of the funds. He was evidently the most important person among their number.)

After defining the duties of the Elders, and prescribing how the accounts are to be kept and the school maintained, the rule is laid down that the Elder shall preside, *even though a minister be present*, and that even if there should be a minister, he shall undertake nothing of

himself without the concurrence of the Elder and Church Wardens. It closes with the reminder that the congregation are not to suppose that the Elder and Church Wardens are bound to enter into all manner of disputes. They may do so as a friend or neighbour, but not in their official capacity. But with regard to the Church and what belongs thereto, they are in duty bound, as parents and guardians, to care for the same with all propriety.

After this the register gives the dates of Dr. Breynton's ministrations, and especially of his administrations of the Holy Communion, which appears to have taken place about once a quarter, and the account book (kept in German) always notes that a present was made to the Herr Prediger. The texts of the sermons are frequently given, and if the sermon was preached in English it is always noted. That Mr. Breynton could and did preach sometimes in both languages is testified to by an old resident of the city now living, who says that his grandmother related how she plodded up along the cart road at the dedication of St. George's Church in 1761, when Dr. Breynton preached first in English and afterwards in German.

In 1774 an order was passed that if any one is to be interred in the graveyard, the schoolmaster is to be paid for his trouble in unlocking the gate and pointing out the place; for each funeral, 2s. 6d.; for children, 2s.

In 1771 the name of Anthony Hänery first appears on the Church books. He had come to Halifax after the fall of Louisburg, where he had carried a fife in one of the King's regiments. He was a printer by trade, and for many years was King's Printer, and published the *Royal Gazette*. He died in 1800, and his tombstone is one of the few in good preservation in the Dutch Churchyard.

The salary of the schoolmaster, Carl Hagelsieb, at this time, was 50s. a quarter for ringing the bell, reading, and leading the singing; and in 1778 Christian Metzler was appointed organist at 17s. 6d. a quarter. What sort of an organ is not mentioned, nor the style of playing which only brought so small a salary.

From this time to the year 1807 there is nothing on the old register of St. George's Church, with two exceptions, save the record of the annual meeting, with the names of the Church Wardens chosen. Of these two exceptions, the first is the dispute with St. Paul's in regard to the Melchior property. This arose from the bequest of a certain Melchior of his estate to "the parish," meaning, as is probable, the

German Church. But St. Paul's Parish, being the only legal Parish Church in Halifax, claimed the property in question. The dispute was arranged by arbitration. The entry on the minutes of St. George's is short, but to the point. It is, word for word, as follows :

"January 1st, 1779. Church meeting was held, and it was agreed upon that some of the Church Wardens of St. George's should go to those of St. Paul, and let the so-called estate of Melchior for a certain term of some years. The Church of St. Paul is to receive 20 Spanish dollars according to agreement, and the remaining profits should be given to St. George's."

St. George's appointed Richard Jacob and the Church Wardens to look after this particular property. He is ordered to give an account, at the annual meeting, of the income and expenditure of the estate.

An instance of the "canny" disposition of the Germans is shewn in the fact that he is, by the terms of his appointment, to resign his office if requested by the meeting, and he is also to discharge his duties without expense to the church.

It may be stated here that this was not the only cause of contention between the German Church of St. George and the Parish Church of St. Paul. Later on in the history of both churches a piece of property at the east end of the Dutch churchyard, bequeathed to the German Church, was seized upon by St. Paul's Church, on the plea that it alone represented "the Church." This property was retained, in spite of the efforts of St. George's, by the authorities of St. Paul's Church, as being the only representative of the Established Church in Halifax. The Rev. Dr. Breynton had officiated, as has been shewn, for many years in the Dutch Church, and had administered the Holy Communion not less than half-yearly, and probably every quarter. The frequency and regularity of these celebrations denote the attachment of the Germans to the Established Church, and their appreciation of the kind ministrations of its Rector. It was probably a troublesome thing for the Rector of St. Paul's to carry with him the holy vessels every time he went to St. George's to celebrate the Holy Mysteries. He probably suggested to the German Elders that as they had some cash in hand, they should provide themselves with all things necessary to the due celebration of the Eucharistic office. Accordingly we find that at a meeting held May 27, 1779 :

"It was agreed upon that their should be, as their was as much in the fund of the German congregation, a Silver Communion Plate bought, and that Mr. Richard Jacobs should *sent* for it."

The plate was sent from England. It is curious that upon it is an inscription in English, and that the *Royal Arms* should be found engraven upon the front of it. This may have been either because the order was forwarded through the Government, of which Mr. Richard Jacobs may have been an official; or because the silversmiths in England, being ignorant of anything beyond an Established Church, thought that the Royal Arms, surmounting so many pieces of communion plate of a previous period, were the only suitable emblems for engraving upon these.

This plate, duly arriving from the old country, was used for the first time by Rev. Dr. Breynton on October 8th, 1779. It is described as consisting of a "silver can, a silver cup, one large and one small plate, in all four pieces." The cost was £57 2s. 1d. The plate, which I here exhibit to you, was massive and suitable, and has been used continuously from that time to this. It was further ordered that the "said silver plate should always be kept in one of the Wardens' houses." The amount of the cost of the plate was paid to Mr. Jacob from the funds on January 1st, 1780, and an entry to that effect was duly made in the account books of the Parish.

A violent and absurd letter appears among those before mentioned as having been written by Rev. D. Luther Roth, a Lutheran minister, formerly of Lunenburg, and at present (1887) residing in the United States. He draws a picture highly creditable to his imaginative powers but to nothing else, representing the perjured and abandoned Christians of St. George's receiving the Sacred Food from plate stolen from the Germans and handed down from generation to generation of sacrilegious thieves. The man must be little better than a fool. This plate was purchased by the German congregation for use in the Communion Service of the Church of England. It was never used for any other service. It was never handled by any one save an ordained Priest of the Church of England. At the time when the old Church of St. George became too small for the increasing population, and the new St. George was erected, it passed from the dying hands of the first German minister (of whom more anon) to the first regularly-appointed English minister, to be used by him and no one else. The congregation was by this time (1800) more than half English, and those who still retained their German predilections were inclined to the English Church, which alone had cared for their souls during a period of half-a-century. And when at last the congregation of St. George's, Germans and all, became

conformed to the English Church and fully constituted of their own free will and accord, after its model, the plate was handed over to the Rev. Robert Fitzgerald Uniacke, honoured name in this city, and has passed from him to his successors. The uncalled for and cruel attempt of this truly Christian minister, Mr. D. L. Roth, to stir up strife and create bitter feeling about the communion plate used in the holy mysteries of the Prince of Peace for one hundred and eight years, can only recoil on its pugnacious, untruthful author. The plate is consecrated by the hallowed use of more than a century, and one cannot envy the pious pretensions of one who would create ill-feeling and un-Christian controversy over the sacred remains of the sainted dead. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that from the earliest coming of the Germans to the present, no ordained minister has ever officiated in the German Church, or its offshoot, the present St. George's, save a true and regular priest of the Church of England. It is true, of course, to admit that of late years services have been held by a German Lutheran minister, Rev. Theodore Cossman, D. D., in the Dutch Church, to German Lutherans in Halifax. But such services have been allowed solely by the Christian courtesy of the Rectors of St. George's in a building once occupied by German Lutherans, but for a century past the property of the Church of England. The communion plate here exhibited has never been used by other than Church of England priests, not even in the occasional services of the Dutch Church by Lutheran ministers.

Nothing occurs in any of the annals of St. George's Church to which general attention may be profitably drawn, until the arrival of the refugees, from the revolted colonies, afterwards designated the United States. About the year 1783 and 1784 large numbers of gentlemen who could not take the oath of allegiance to the newly-constituted Government, came to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Among these was an aristocratic German minister, with his family, who had occupied a distinguished position in New York, and who now sought a home in the new colony of Nova Scotia. Many of his congregation followed him from New York.

The Reverend Bernard Michael Houseal was born at Heilbronn, Wurtemberg, in the year 1727. His father was a clergyman of the Lutheran Church. Nothing is now known of his early years. But he inherited a vigorous constitution, a commanding presence, and a manner that carried him through the most aristocratic society, and proclaimed

beyond doubt his good birth. His early years were spent in study, his education being received, it is probable, in the University of Tubingen, in Wurtemberg. His diligence in study and powers of mind gave him at an early age, an erudition which stood him in good stead all his life. During his college career he fell in love with the daughter of a man of considerable standing and influence in the town of Ulm, viz., Christopher B. Mayer, descendant of a well-born and useful family of that name, whose members had been public men in Ulm since 1545, when the founder of the family was Stadthauptman, or Stipendiary Magistrate. We can fancy the handsome student going during his vacations, and perhaps oftener, the forty miles that separated him from the scene of his studies and the residence of his beloved. We may picture to ourselves the stimulus given to his midnight researches by the prospect of an early marriage. But his enterprise did not at this period lead his mind beyond the confines of his native Province. But other forces were at work, which led him finally to these shores.

In the earlier part of the 18th century, more than 30,000 persecuted Salzburgers, expelled by the wicked Prince, Archbishop Leopold Anthony, because they would not abjure their faith, fled to Russia, Holland and England. Of those who went to England, 78 selected men, women and children were sent to America free of cost by the trustees of the young colony of Georgia. They formed the nucleus of the ecclesiastical settlement of Ebenezer, Georgia. In 1752 this town was in the full tide of successful promise. Persons who had emigrated there sent home letters full of enthusiasm, which kindled the hearts of many to seek such a "land of pure delight." The settlement, apparently, was a pure theocratic Lutheran settlement of Germans, simple in life and law, but rigid in religious discipline. This town is long since dead, destroyed by war. But at the period of which we are writing it was prosperous.

There were many in over-crowded Germany who believed that their lot might be improved by an emigration to a virgin soil in a new country. Thus it happened that Christopher Bartholomew Mayer, father of the wife of the first German minister of St. George's, made up his mind to seek his fortune in the Southern American province of Georgia. Early in the year he left his paternal home in Ulm and started on his journey from Ulm to Ebenezer, Georgia. Among those who accompanied him (it reads like a romance) was of course his daughter, Sybilla Margaretha, before this betrothed to the young

student, Bernard Michael Houseal. This gentleman had now completed his college course and had received his degree of M. A. Vows of eternal affection had doubtless been exchanged between the two young people, when the design of the lady's father to emigrate to America became known. With tears and sighs the daughter had made it known to her lover that she must depart to alien shores, and that separation, dark, dreary and unknown, lay before them both. The young man now informed the object of his affections that having been ordained to the sacred ministry, he had made up his mind to engage in missionary work, and that nothing would please him better than to proceed to the North American Colonies, there to win his spurs as a missionary, and to gather a rich harvest of souls into his heavenly Master's fold.

Then it came to pass that early in 1752, Christopher Bartholomew Mayer, of Ulm, his wife and four children, stood on the wharf in Rotterdam, with their faces set towards the new world. The marriage of Sybilla Margaretha Mayer with Rev. Bernard Michael Houseal had just been celebrated, and the two young people, so lately made one, were going hand in hand on the voyage of life.

But from some unexplained cause, they were detained in Holland for a whole year before setting sail for the land of their adoption. During this year the ecclesiastical influence of young Houseal, brilliant, energetic and learned as he was, and in communication with the authorities of the Consistory of Stuttgart, under whose auspices he was going to labour in America, caused a change in Christopher Mayer's intentions. Instead of proceeding to Georgia, as he at first intended, he with his family took his passage to Annapolis, Maryland. On their arrival there in safety, they were met by a certain Daniel Dulany, a large landowner, who induced the thrifty Germans to look at his land in and about Fredericktown, in that State. This conjecture is strengthened by the fact that the ground for the church subsequently begun at that village by Mr. Houseal was given to him for that purpose by Dulany. No doubt the fertile soil of Maryland compared most favorably with the swamps of Savannah. And with equal probability the ecclesiastical aspirations of young Houseal led him in the direction of the converging valleys of the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers, where a community from the Fatherland, speaking a common language and devoted to Lutheranism as a common faith, was already established to welcome the new-comers. And so, in spite of the frontier of their home being thronged with savages, and bordering on the wildest parts of the State,

the immigrant family of Mayer and Houseal planted themselves on the ground rich in soil and healthy in climate, which within three years beheld Braddock's defeat. Thus bravely did the first German minister in Halifax begin his career.

Here Mr. Houseal, at the age of 25, began his work as a minister of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The deed of the land on which the church was begun by Houseal was given by Daniel Dulany to B. M. Houseal, as pastor. But the work, zealously begun, was stopped by the outbreak of hostilities between the English, French and Indians. Mr. Houseal's father-in-law only survived his emigration from his native land six months, dying in November, 1752. His widow, sons and daughter removed to Pennsylvania, principally to Philadelphia. Mr. Houseal, however, did not leave his flock in Fredericktown until the year 1759, when he took charge of a congregation in Reading town, Pennsylvania. There he remained until 1768. From thence he went as clergyman to Easton, Pa., and occasionally, while there, officiated in Philadelphia. For a short time he was in South Carolina, but as his brother had lately emigrated there, it may have been only on a visit. In the year 1770 he was transferred to New York, then the leading province in America. His talents and industry procured him here the high position of Senior Minister of the ancient Lutheran Church in that city. Here his sphere of influence continually increased, and his ability and address gave him an eminent position among the people. He appears to have been a man of much culture and scholarship. He was one of the Governors of New York College, and one of the corporators of the New York Hospital.

When the Revolutionary troubles began, Houseal warmly espoused the cause of the King. There was a common bond of lineage between him and his Sovereign. This, added to his naturally aristocratic temperament, made him an ardent defender of the rights of the monarchy. From the Historical Records of New York, we find him to have been loud in his declarations of loyalty to England, as one of the addressors of Lord Howe and Sir William Howe after the occupation of New York in 1770.

When the British took possession of that capital in that year, Houseal's house and church were burnt, in all probability by the retreating rebels, who did not forget that the Tory preacher had, with his customary boldness, denounced the revolutionists in no measured terms.

The coming of Mr. Houseal was a great boon, as may well be supposed, to the German congregation of St. George's. Their church had been completed now for 22 years. They had bravely and steadily kept up their services in their mother tongue, depending on occasional help from the Rector of St. Paul's, or any minister whom he might send. Not once during 34 years had their hearts been gladdened by the sound of a native, speaking their own language. Dr. Breynton had with great kindness, which we are bound to say was duly appreciated, done for them all that lay in his power.

Now there had come to Halifax one born and educated in Fatherland, one who was not only an accomplished gentleman, but who could minister to them in their own beloved tongue. But here was the difficulty. Their schoolmaster had been assisted by the English Church as the foster-mother of the German Mission. The Germans had, many of them, become warmly attached to that Church which had befriended them in the day of their loneliness. They were a poor and struggling community, though they had a few men of means among them. The congregation, in short, was no longer Lutheran, though still German.

Mr. Houseal had had many opportunities during his sojourn in New York of intercourse with the Episcopal clergy. He had seen their honest and manly support of the King's cause, and had sympathized with it. He, equally with them, had suffered for his loyalty the loss of all his possessions. He had known Charles Inglis, Rector of Trinity Church, had seen and admired the noble stand made by him against rebellion and bloodshed. He had stood by his side when the troops of the Continentals had over run New York, and came in to intimidate the staunch Royalist from praying for his King. A common danger cements an extraordinary friendship, and common sympathies, especially political sympathies, are apt to sway the whole man. So when Houseal came to Halifax, a Loyalist refugee, who had left all for his adherence to the cause of the King, and was received as a brother and friend by the loyal population of this city, where he found a congregation to his hand, German in nationality, yet English by adoption, Lutheran by birth, yet drawn to the Church of England by the strong and inevitable cords of love, he soon began to seriously consider whether he could not conform to the Church to which his German compatriots were so powerfully attracted. It was no unimportant step he was called upon to take. It involved his whole ecclesiastical status. If he conformed to the Church of England, he must admit the invalidity of his previous

ordination, and submit to the imposition of Episcopal hands. He must, after an expatriation from the land of his maturer years, again cross the stormy ocean, not in a palatial steamship, but in a small sailing vessel, and risk the greater dangers of the return voyage. On the whole, it was a great sacrifice of life-long training and of personal comfort and ease which he was called upon to make.

From what is known of Mr. Houseal's previous career, of his erudition, accomplishments and personal character, we may rest assured that any step taken by him would only be dictated by the purest motives, and carried out by a self-sacrificing integrity.

In the course of a year he sailed for England, no doubt furnished with letters from the highest circles in Halifax. There he was one of the heroes of the Revolution. Preaching in a popular London chapel, he was heard, it is said, by a member of the royal family, probably Prince Edward, father of our present beloved Queen. Soon after this he applied to the Bishop of London for Deacon's orders in the Church of England. He then received the chaplaincy of a regiment which was a favorite of the Duke of Kent. With this regiment he returned to Halifax, and there began his services to the Germans, leaving his regimental chaplaincy. He is described as a man of commanding stature, stately manners and dignified address, thoroughly educated in ancient and modern languages, as well as theology, and speaking Latin especially with remarkable fluency. In the British Provinces which revolted from England he served for thirty-one years as a minister of the Lutheran Church, preaching in New York for fourteen years in English, German, French and Dutch. The sixteen years of his after life in Nova Scotia were devoted to God as a clergyman of the Church of England.

I add the obituary notice of Mr. Houseal in the *Gazette* of 1799. His body lies in a vault underneath the old Dutch Church. It is probable that Mr. Houseal had been a student of medicine in his early life, and that he took the degree of Bachelor of Medicine before leaving Germany. Of this it is impossible to be quite sure, but the balance of evidence points that way.

LETTERS AND OTHER PAPERS

RELATING TO

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN NOVA SCOTIA.

[Copied by permission from originals in the possession of the Society for
the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, London, G. B.]

ORDER APPOINTING REV. JOHN HARRISON CHAPLAIN AT
ANNAPOLIS ROYAL.

It having been thought necessary to have a Chaplain in Annapolis Royal, the Council of War have thought fit, upon the recommendation of Mr. Commodore Martin, to appoint John Harrison, Clerk, to the station, and a commission is ordered him accordingly.

At a Council of War at Annapolis Royal, October 11th, 1710.

(Sgd.) FRANCIS NICHOLSON.

CERTIFICATE TO MR. HARRISON FOR LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

We, under subscribers, the Governor, Lieut.-Governor, and others, the Commissioned Officers of Her Majesty's Garrison of Annapolis Royal, in Nova Scotia, in America, think ourselves in justice bound to certifie to all whom it may concern, that the Rev. Mr. John Harrison, Chaplain to this Her Majesty's Garrison, for above these three years, last past, hath performed his office and duty as Chaplain of this Garrison with all possible care, diligence and application. * * *

SAM: VETCH, Gov'r.
THO: CAULFIELD, Lt.-Gov'r.
JOHN WILLIAMS, }
L. ARMSTRONG, } Captains.
CHRIS: ALDRICH, }

JA: BONNETT,	}	Lieuts.
ED: BRADSTREET,		
JNO: JEPHSON,		
JNO: JEFFRYSON,		
JNO: CROSS,		
OTTO HAMILTON,	}	Eng'eers.
JNO: KEATING,		
THOS: BOLTON,		
AND: SIMPSON,		
THOS: PENDERGRAST,		
FRANK SPELMAN, Fort Master.		
GEO: VANE, Engineer.		
PETER ———, Commissioner.		
WM: SHEEN, Surgeon.		

[On the above certificate, leave of absence was granted Mr. Harrison "to go to Boston on his own affairs," the document being signed by Lieut-Governor Caulfield, and dated 7th November, 1713.]

MEMORIAL FROM MR. HARRISON IN BOSTON TO COLONEL NICHOLSON
IN LONDON.

To His Excellency Francis Nicholson, Esqr., etc. :

THE MEMORIAL OF MR. JOHN HARRISON, ETC.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY :

That whereas, Your Memorialist has been Chaplain to Her Majesty's Garrison, of Annapolis Royal, since that place has been reduced to the English Government by your successful conduct, he thinks it his duty to acquaint Your Excellency with the state of the church there, and to beg Your Excelencies favor in asserting the rights of it. The Most Christian King having built a handsome chappell in the Fort of Port Royal whilst it was in the possession of the French, and having endowed it with two acres and an half of glebe land, situated in the Lower Town, for the benefit of the Missionary of the Order of St. Francis, as appears by an authentic deed for that purpose, I humbly conceive that tho' the property be altered, yet both the church and the land belonging to it should still be applied to pious uses. Its my humble request to Your Excellency that you would be pleased to order the Barracks to be removed out of the chappell, which has been encumbered with them during the late war, by reason of the want of room and other conveniencies for the soldiers' lodgings. Upon this occasion likewise I

cannot omit informing Your Excellency of a house that was lately built upon the church land by Capt. John Adams, Sir Charles Hobby's Agent, contrary to an express warning given him by me before two witnesses. The house is now in Sir Charles Hobby's possession, and a considerable quantity of the land has suffered much damage by digging of clay to make bricks for building and other uses, by the said Mr. Adams. Your Excellency being no less eminent for your piety and love of religion than for your prudent administration of civil affairs, I don't doubt but that you will take care to do justice in this matter, and I beg leave to subscribe myself with humility, etc.

JNO. HARRISON.

BOSTON, Nov. 23rd, 1713.

[Accompanying the above Memorial are two title-deeds, purporting to be executed before "John Chrysostome Loppinot, Councillor, King's Attorney, and Notary Royal of Acadia." The first bears date 25th November, 1699, and is from "Anthony Hebert, inhabitant of Port Royal" to "M. Claude LeBastien de Villet, Knight, Lord of the Manor of Anbinettes" and captain of a company of marines, etc. The second is dated 3rd of December, 1704, and is from M. Claude LeBastien de Villet, Knight, Lord of the Manor of Anbinettes, etc., formerly Major-General of Acadia, and Judith Henrietta, his spouse, to M. James Francis DeBrouilliant, Lord of the Manor of Brouilliant and other places, Knight of the Military Order of Saint Louis, Governor of the Province of Acady, named for Syndick of the Mission of the Order of Recollects of Acady by the Father Patrick Rene, Superior of the Missionaries Recollect in Acady and Vicar-General of the said country." The description which is given with great particularity is the same in both deeds.]

REPLY OF S. P. G. TO LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF TRADE AND
PLANTATIONS.

LONDON, April, 1746.

TO JOHN POWNALL, ESQ.,
Solicitor and Clerk to the
Rt. Hon. the Lords Commissioners
of Trade and Plantations.

SIR,—In the absence of Dr. Bancroft, who is now at the Bath, I am directed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to acquaint you that they received with much pleasure the account contained in your letter of the 6th instant, wrote by order of the Lords Commissions for Trade and Plantations, that His Majesty

had given directions that a number of persons shall be sent to the Province of Nova Scotia, North America, and heartily offer their best wishes and prayers for the happy progress and complete success of that great and useful undertaking. It afforded the Society much satisfaction to observe that the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations showed so just and necessary a regard for introducing and supporting true religion among the people to be settled there; at the same time that they were consulting in so great a degree the civil and commercial interests of that Colony and of Great Britain.

To accomplish as far as lay in the Society the pious and laudable intention of ye Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, a special meeting was immediately called which consisted of a larger number than usual of their members, who unanimously concurred in the following resolutions:

That six clergymen and six schoolmasters of the Church of England shall be provided by the Society and sent to Nova Scotia as the settlements are made, and the occasions of the colony require. That the salary to each Missionary by £70 a year, which is the highest salary allowed to any missionary employed by the Society, and that £50 be given to each missionary as a gratuity to facilitate the first settlement, which is more than has been ever given by the Society upon any such occasion.

That the salary to each schoolmaster be £15 per annum, which is the highest salary allowed to any schoolmaster employed by the Society, and that £10 be given to each schoolmaster as a gratuity to facilitate the first settlement, which is the greatest sum ever given by the Society to any schoolmaster upon any occasion.

* * * * *

The Society will use their best endeavors to appoint some missionaries and schoolmasters who can speak the French language.

* * * * *

The Society observes that there is a chaplain settled already at Annapolis Royal, who it is taken for granted is resident and constantly performs his duty there. * * * *

(Sgd.) J. HENDERSON.

MR. TUTTY'S APPLICATION.

To the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts:

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF WILLIAM TUTTY, MASTER OF ARTS, LATE OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE, IN CAMBRIDGE, SHEWETH:

That the said William Tutty was ordained deacon in the year of our Lord, 1737, by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Butts, then Bishop of Norwich, and priest by the present Rt. Rev. the Lord Bp. of Lincoln, and that he hath officiated as lecturer and curate in the Parish of All Saints, in Hertford, for the space of five years, last past, and that he is desirous of being accepted by this Honorable Society as one of their missionaries, and therefore humbly presumes to offer himself a candidate for that trust.

(Sgd.) WILLIAM TUTTY.

April ye 11th, 1749.

 MR. TUTTY'S LETTERS OF RECOMMENDATION.

To the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Lincoln in Great Marlborough Street:

MY LORD,—The Rev. Mr. Tutty, the bearer of this letter, curate and lecturer of All Saints' Parish, in the Town of Hertford, of your Lordship's diocese, is very desirous to be recommended to the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, for one of their missionaries to the new settlement of Nova Scotia, through your Lordship's means. At his request I take the liberty to certify to your Lordship that I have known Mr. Tutty during my residence at Hertford for some years, and do believe him very well qualified for that mission.

I am, my Lord,
Your obedient humble servant,

S. NICHOLS.

NORFOLK STREET, April 10th, 1749.

SIR,—The Rev. Mr. Tutty, lecturer of All Saints, Hertford, being desirous of settling in Nova Scotia, has applied to me this morning for a letter of recommendation, but as I have not a list by me of ye members of Society, I hope youl excuse my making an address to you in his behalf. I dare say you are not a stranger to his qualifications or character, and therefore twill be needless to say anything on that head. I imagine he will have a good many letters on same subject, and, if you sir, shall think him deserving your friendship in this affair will oblige,

Your most obedient Servant,

NATH. BRASSEY.

ROXFORD, 12th April 1749.

To the Rev. Doctor Nichols, in Norfolk Street in the Strand.

SIR,—Mr. Tutty having a great desire to go to Nova Scotia, and hearing that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel will send some clergymen thither, has requested me to use my interest with you to recommend him to the Society. Tho' I shall part with him with reluctance, yet I cannot in justice to his merit refuse him any assistance in my power in return for his careful and creditable discharge of his office as my curate for five years past. My parishioners, too, will meet with some difficulty in the choice of an afternoon lecturer to succeed him, worthy as himself. But, Sir, great as the loss of him may be, both to my parishioners and myself, we are ready to submit to it for the interest of one we so much regard. I must therefore earnestly request you to recommend him to the Society as a very fit and proper person to go abroad to preach the gospel, and to do everything else that belongs to the duty and office of a clergyman.

As 'tis needless to add more to enforce this request with one who is ever ready to do good and friendly offices: shall only subscribe myself.

Your Affectionate Brother and

Most Obedient Humble Servant,

EDW: BOURCHIER.

HERTFORD, April ye 10th, 1749,

MR. ANWYL'S APPLICATION.

To the Honorable and Revd. Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts :

The Revd. William Anwyl, A. B., who was as appears by the herewith letters of orders, ordained priest and deacon by the Right Revd. Doctor Peploe, Lord Bishop of Chester, begs leave to offer himself a candidate for a mission in Nova Scotia, and as there are several hundreds of the inhabitants of Wales who embark for that new intended settlement, he humbly presumes he may be useful in not only officiating in the English tongue, but in the Welsh also, as occasion shall require. The favor of being appointed to this mission will greatly oblige the Hon'ble and Revd. Society's most dutiful and obedient humble servant.

WM. ANWYL, *Clerk.*

MR. ANWYL'S LETTERS OF RECOMMENDATION.

To the Honble. and Revd. the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel :

I do certify that the Rev. Mr. Anwyl behaved well and agreeable to the character of a clergyman while under my command on board the Devonshire.

P. WARREN.*

(Similar certificate signed "E. Hawke.")

We, the underwritten, beg leave to recommend the Rev. Mr. Anwyl as a person qualified for any mission this Honorable Society may be pleased to appoint him to.

(Sgd.) LOUIS.
RICH. MYDDELTON.
W. BODVELL.
JOHN WYNN.

* Admiral Warren was in command of the Naval Squadron at the taking of Louisburg in 1745.

MR. TUTTY'S FIRST LETTER.

*From on board ye Beaufort in ye
Harbour of Chebucto, September
ye 29th, 1749.*

SIR,—To give the Venerable Society a particular account of the various occurrences I met with during my voyage to Nova Scotia, would be tedious to them and irksome to myself. It may be sufficient to observe that on ye 21st of June I arrived safe in the Harbour of Chebucto, where I still continue with the Governor on board the Beaufort; an happiness for which I stand indebted to the unasked and unexpected recommendation of the Bp. of Linceln. I call it an happiness, not because the Governor is the greatest man here, but because he is the most agreeable man. It is impossible to describe his conduct in his present situation; that affability, candour, mildness and moderation which distinguished him in England is still more conspicuous in Nova Scotia. It is no difficult matter to preserve these virtues when a man has nothing to discompose or ruffle him; but to maintain them in the midst of idleness, obstinacy and perverseness, as he has done, requires great judgment, and such an absolute command over one's self as is attained by very few. I must own I am undesignedly drawn into a very pleasing subject, but must be obliged to drop it instantly for fear I should disparage it, and therefore I shall say no more of ye governor because I cannot say so much as he deserves.

The Secretary (Hugh Davidson, Esq.) and the Aid-de-Camp (Richd. Bulkley, Esqr.) as they are very well qualified for their present undertaking, so are they indefatigable in the execution of it. I cannot help calling the Governor and these two gentlemen the Triumvirate of Nova Scotia; not like those among the Romans which were calculated to serve private views, and to aggrandize a few at the expense of the liberties and fortunes of their fellow-subjects. This is a Triumvirate of a quite different nature, directing all its actions and endeavors to one single point—the establishment of this colony, and by that means contributing to the happiness of numbers who would be miserable without it. They have indeed met with many obstacles arising chiefly from the perverseness of the present settlers, who are in general a thoughtless set of people. But notwithstanding this, by this assiduous application all difficulties are in a great measure surmounted, and the

colony so far advanced that I believe neither French treachery nor Indian cruelty ; nay, what is more than both, not even the perverseness of the settlers themselves will be able to prevail against it.

And here, as this is my first letter to the Society, I am naturally led to give them an account both of the old inhabitants, and of ye new settlers in this colony ; after this done I hope I shall be thought excusable if I add my own observations thereupon.

As to the old inhabitants, they both, French and Indians, are bigotted Papists and under the absolute dominion of their priests ; and if we add hereto the little commerce that has subsisted between them and the English, we shall be but little surprised to find them more attached to the French King than the mild administration of His Britannic Majesty. The French, indeed, acknowledge the right of the latter to their obedience, but it is a mere verbal acknowledgment unsupported by any action demonstrative of true loyalty, and if we may judge of their disposition by their present prevarication and their past behaviour, we may positively pronounce that this acknowledgment is rather the effect of fear than the consequence of love and true conviction. The Indians of this Peninsula—when we first arrived—came frequently amongst us with their wives and children, traded with us and seemed not in the least dissatisfied with our settling here. But they vanished all at once, summoned as we learned afterwards by their priest at Chignecto, who is endeavoring to stir them up to arms, and has himself now, as he did in the last war, appeared about Minas at the head of some of them. But as an officer is posted there with an hundred men, and is so fortified as to be a match for all the Indians of the Peninsula there is no danger to be apprehended on that side. As to the Town of Halifax, the number of its inhabitants, even if it was not fortified at all, would be its certain safeguard against any attempts of Indian cowardice, for unless ten times ye number they never appear openly like men in arms, but skulk behind a tree and kill in ambuscade ; to see them is to rout them. But, however, as ye present settlement by the care and vigilance of the Governor is fortified with five redouts, they will never venture to approach us, were their numbers ten times larger than they are. Some thoughtless stragglers they possibly may and probably will cut off, but the main body of the settlement may bid defiance to their rage, however inflamed by the implacable malice of a DeLoutre, and the fiery zeal of popish bigotry.

Unhappy wretches ! from my soul I pity the poor Indians. They

seemed inclined to peace, but their religion, it seems, will not suffer them to be at peace. Savage, indeed, they are by nature, but nature never taught them cruelty. No, that lesson was reserved for the pretended teachers of the true religion, if it be not an impious prostitution of that sacred name, to apply it to any doctrine which inspires a causeless rage, a vindictive temper, and a thirst for blood. Good God! what can such pastors think who thus misguide their flock? Whence do they fetch arguments to palliate such pernicious doctrines? Do they fetch them from humanity? No, humanity, to say no more, will teach them at least to be kind and courteous to their fellow creatures without meditating their destruction, who design no injury to them. Do they fetch them from Christianity? I tremble when I ask the question. Christianity teaches us to love as brethren, to be tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven us. But I forget to whom I am writing; the Society, I hope, will forgive this trespass of an honest zeal; tho' I cannot help observing that such disciples (by whatever name they call themselves, whether of the Catholic, the Apostolic, the Primitive, the true, the only church of Christ, it matters not at all) such disciples are a scandal to that Master who came to preach on earth, good will towards men; and notwithstanding their pretensions, I will be bold to say, that that body of men is the best members of the body of Christ which breathes the purest charity.

As to the new settlers, they may be divided into some late inhabitants from Old and New England; the lower sort among the former are in general a set of most abandoned wretches, and are so deeply sunk into almost all kinds of immorality that they scarce retain the shadow of religion. There are, indeed, a few good men amongst them, and here it would be great injustice to the officers that accepted His Majesty's bounty not to declare that they behave with great decency, in general, and seldom fail to join in our religious assemblies, where their behaviour is such as argues a true sense of their duty and an awful reverence to that gracious and tremendous Being who presides at them. 'Tis to be hoped that their example, joined to that of other good men, and enforced by pressing and pathetic exhortations, will in time, have a proper influence on the minds and morals of the lower people, wear them gradually from habitual sins and convince them that the beauty of holiness is not an abstracted notion, but a real good, and is not only the ornament of life, but the true happiness of man.

As to those who come from New England to settle or transact any business here they make great pretensions to religion and having ye form of godliness would be thought not to contradict ye power of it in their actions. But men of open and undisguised sincerity can easily see thro' the falsehood of their pretensions; and tho' they are scandalized and justly scandalized at the barefaced immorality of too many among the settlers from the mother country, yet 'tis to be feared that ye externals of religion are more prevalent among them than the essence of it; their notorious prevarication, to mention no other instance, which appear in all their commercial dealings is an evident proof of this melancholy truth. A great deal of their original leaven still ferments amongst them, and I cannot help saying that the more attentively I consider them the more reason have I to say that tho' they seek the Lord often (to use an expression very common and familiar with them) yet they seek him in such a manner as makes it very difficult to find him.

What is here said may seem a harsh and severe censure; but let it appear in what light it will, I cannot yet retract it; for tho' there are doubtless many good men amongst them, some of which I know, men of honest and ingenuous dispositions, and whose actions are conformable thereto; yet, this in general, is their true character. In order to carry their point they will prevaricate above measure, and speak even truth with an intention to deceive. I could mention other instances of immorality, but these are sufficient to justify what I have said alone, and therefore let them make never so great professions to religion while they act in this manner their religion is built upon no better foundation than the sand which the least observation overthrows. He that would convince me of his piety to God must first give me proof that he has moral honesty at least in his intercourse with men.

In this light appears the disposition of the colony of Nova Scotia; I should be glad to be mistaken, but fear I am not, for I have taken unusual pains to get the best information I was able; have observed their actions and professions carefully by comparing the one with the other; have been forced (in which I am far from being singular) to form the above judgment of their disposition. The question is then, how to mend it? And here (to begin with the old inhabitants) it ought not to be forgot that the nearest of the French settlements lie at the distance of about 40 miles from the Town of Halifax, so that 'tis very difficult to have any communication with them, at least such communication as

might convince them of the errors of their faith. And yet this seems to be absolutely necessary, if it was only to make them good subjects; for true religion and a due submission to just and legal government are inseparable, whereas the contrary is often attended with anarchy and confusion as might easily be exemplified in many instances. But how shall they be convinced of the errors of their faith? That sure, is no difficult task, since in order to be rejected they want only to be seen. But how shall they see them? Give them an opportunity to look into the foundations of Christianity; the foundations of Christianity once opened to their view will plainly show them that their faith is not built upon Christ—the Rock of Truth, but upon pride—the parent of errors, and carried up by the intrigues of an ambitious priesthood in order to exercise a spiritual—I should have said a diabolical domination over the consciences of mankind. What, therefore, I humbly apprehend is necessary on this occasion is—to supply them with some French bibles, or testaments at least, together with an easy paraphrase or some plain comments thereupon, explaining those expressions which allude, either to the Jewish or the heathen customs and their several forms of speech. I am satisfied they would embrace joyfully—if not prevented by their priests—an opportunity to read them, and if a few French protestants were induced to settle among them, with an able missionary of the same nation, I doubt not but a few years would make a great alteration—both in their loyalty and religion—and wean them by degrees from their attachment to the Popish faith, which is calculated rather to serve the ambitious views of a few than to promote the spiritual good and religious welfare of all. If the venerable Society should approve of this, or such like scheme, I hope I shall be excusable if I take the liberty to recommend to them a person for this mission. The person I mean (Mr. Moreau) is a native of France, was a parochial minister there, and consequently a papist; but as our blessed Saviour has promised that if any man will do the will of God he shall know of the doctrine whether it was of God, or whether he spoke of himself, he was guided to the knowledge of the true doctrine of Jesus Christ, and as there was no room to expect protection after this in that kingdom, he quitted his preferment for the sake of conscience, came to England, where he staid some time, and married and embarked afterwards with his wife for Nova Scotia, where he intends to settle, and I humbly hope that the Divine Providence who watches over those who suffer for righteousness sake will bless his

honest undertakings in a mercantile way, with that decent competency which his conscience would not suffer him to enjoy in his ministerial capacity. If the venerable Society should think fit to employ him in this mission, I will be bold to answer that he shall faithfully discharge it, and I am well assured that my Lord Dupplin, Mr. Mellish, in Lessel Street, Lienster Fields, and Mr. Turner in Warwick Street, will do the same. As to my own part I must say I never was more deceived in my life if he is not a good man, a good member of society, and a good Christian.

As to the Indians I shall say little of them, misguided by their Priests and French at Louisbourg, they unhappy men, are running blindly upon their own destruction, for since I began this letter, they have commenced hostilities against us in a base and barbarous manner; to enumerate the particulars is foreign to my present purpose and therefore I shall only say that as they will never venture to approach the body of the settlement, so 'tis to be feared they will be ever lurking to destroy the unwary, the helpless and unarmed. On which account the Governor, by and with the advice of His Majesty's Council is obliged to raise two companies to scour the woods, with a premium of ten guineas for every Indian, whether taken or destroyed. This may seem to civilized people an extraordinary way of making war, but is the only effectual way of fighting such an enemy with the prospect of success. To offer premiums for the destruction of whole bodies of men sounds harsh to humanity, and it was not without difficulty the Governor assented to it; but such is the cruelty and cowardice (always inseparable companions) of these savages, that there is no safety without their extirpation. The last word shocks me when I wish success to such an enterprise, but self-preservation, in spite of humanity, extorts it from us here. But to the settlers and the savages be the consequences of this war what they will, upon the French of Louisbourg, upon the savages themselves and their destructive Priests are they chargeable: the blood spilt must be accounted for them; the colony is guiltless.

Thus much of the old inhabitants: return we to the new, which I divide into settlers from old and new England. I have attempted the characters of both. As to the truth of what is said concerning the first I am sorry to be so undesirably convinced of that, and I fear I am not mistaken with regard to the latter. What is to be done with them? Something must be attempted, not only with regard to eternity, but for the present benefit of this colony, for tho' righteousness exalteth a

nation, yet sin is a reproach to any people. As to this point much, very much will depend upon the conduct of the clergy and upon the Society who send them.

As to my own part I am determined by God's assistance to oppose myself with all my might to stop that torrent of immorality which prevails amongst us. Little has or can indeed be done at present in our unsettled state towards promoting this good end. But when their habitations are built neither private nor publick administrations shall be wanting, and in order to add the greater weight to them I trust in God, my own example shall constantly attend them.

As to those who seem to retain the form without the power of godliness, here likewise, very much will depend upon the clergy. When in England I associated with sects of all denominations, and after intimacy contracted with some of the best and most intelligent among them have taken the liberty to discourse freely with them about the doctrine of the Church of England, and asked their reasons for dissenting from it. I have been often shocked at their answer: "That they had no objection to the doctrines of the Church of England, and that the cause of their separation was the immoral lives of their ministers." An heavy load of guilt have those to whom this dreadful truth is applicable! It would lead me too far to say anything of the reasonableness or unreasonableness of separation on the above account, and therefore I shall only observe, if immorality among the clergy has driven many from the Church of England it doubtless will keep those at a greater distance from it who were never within its pale. I have been informed some members of the Church of England, from the Province of Massachusetts, say that the bad lives of the present settlers will certainly deter numbers in that Province from coming here; and if the clergy should add to this objection their own bad example, the scandal will be insuperable. Besides the inhabitants of that Province are very rigid in their profession, and are constant attendants upon Divine service; and therefore as they have no meetings at present, possibly, nay probably, they may be brought into ye bosom of our church by which means we shall become one fold, under one shepherd, Jesus Christ, the righteous.

This, I humbly apprehend, is a very desirable thing on more accounts than one. For I have observed that differences in religious sentiments, from the weakness of human nature, are frequently attended with dissensions in civil life, while an intemperate zeal for each other's opinions betray men into such a frame of mind as neither reason or religion

justifies. Besides religious sentiments have no inconsiderable influence on the tempers of mankind; they will be either affable or morose according to the tenets they embrace, and as the Church of England entertains the most amiable notions of the Divine Being, and breathes nothing but charity—both to bodies and the souls of men; the professors of it, if they act agreeably to their profession—must not only be inoffensive in behaviour, but affable in expression, and benevolent in heart. On the contrary, to entertain unworthy conceptions of the Diety, to consider Him as an angry and vindictive being, as partial in the distribution of His favors or a respecter of persons without any regard to the goodness or badness of their actions,—such notions (and notions like these are entertained by many) will either raise a man into spiritual pride or sink him into the lowest desperation. They are, indeed, both fatal and destructive errors; but I shall say nothing of the last, as 'tis less pernicious to society, and as to the former, I shall only observe that when a man has once imbibed the gross effluvia of spiritual pride, they will necessarily give a tincture to his life and conversation; such a man, however he may disguise himself from secular views and sinister designs, will easily be seen through by a discerning eye and discover himself to be morose, contemptuous, insolent, sly in his very countenance, artful in his dealings, and double in his discourse. If this be the case with men who entertain such unworthy notions of the Divine Majesty, contrary notions cannot fail to have a different effect upon the tempers of mankind. Those doubtless (if their lives are influenced by the tenets they embrace) will be in all respects the best men, whether as members of society or as members of Christ's body who consider God, not as arbitrary, partial or capricious, but as he really is the father of mercies and the God of all comforts. Men of this complexion will be undisguised and open in their dealings, kind in their expressions, courteous in behaviour, and charitable, both in hand and heart; that they may be like unto their Heavenly Father who maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good. In a word, as the essence of all true religion consists in an imitation of the Diety, those conceptions, be they good or bad, cannot fail to influence their tempers and their conversations, and will become the principal spring of all their actions in religious, civil and commercial life.

If this be the case, if differences in religious sentiments are frequently attended with dissensions in civil life, if the tempers and the conduct of men to one another are conformable to the notions which they frame

of God, and if the Church of England does (as it certainly does) entertain the most amiable and endearing notions of the Divine Being—it follows hence—in my humble opinion that 'tis a very desirable thing to bring as many as we possibly can within its pale. She, I am satisfied, after the blessed example of her meek and glorious Master with open arms is ready to receive them; she forces none, indeed, copying herein the same example of the same Master, who drew believers to him with the cords of a man—by meekness and charity—by the force of rational conviction—and not the unjustifiable methods of tormenting coercion. But tho' we disclaim all violent proceedings, which are arguments of a bad cause and can never work conviction, yet notwithstanding, let us endeavor by all honest means to bring them gently to us, that in the next generation there may be in this colony but one Lord, one Faith and one Baptism. To carry this desirable end into execution it is necessary, absolutely necessary, that those who are appointed to minister in the church of Christ should be men of meekness and affability; should be modest, consistent, discreet and sober, and not only able to give a reason of the hope that is in them, but to convince all gainsayers of the truth of that hope, by showing that it has a proper influence on their lives in purging their conscience from dead works, to serve the living God. In short piety to God and that charity to man in general which the apostle styles the fulfilling of the law, is absolutely necessary in all who presume to call themselves ministers of the gospel of Christ. It is not, cannot be expected that every minister should be endued with the same extensive genius, but every minister may lead a righteous and godly life. A deficiency in the first may not be charged to his account; a deficiency in the latter is inexcusable before God and man.

Hypocrisy is an odious and abominable sin, while it endeavors to impose upon mankind in order to accomplish some little low design, is a sort of tacit negation of the Divine Omniscience; but yet 'tis not so dangerous in its consequences as undisguised and open immorality. The first like an inward fever preys indeed, but preys only upon him who is so low and little as to practice it; the latter like a pestilential disease infects whole multitudes and destroys without distinction.

Should any clergyman act in such a barefaced manner how can he answer it to God, his hearers, or himself? Can he convince the infidel, reclaim the sinner or bring those into the church who are dissaffected to it? By no means would he do good by preaching; his life must be a standing comment upon his discourses; without this he will harden the

infidel, embolden the sinner in his evil ways and strengthen the disaffection of our dissenting brethern. It is therefore at all times and at all places, particularly in infant colonies, absolutely necessary that the clergy sent there should be distinguished not only for the soundness of their doctrine, but the purity of their lives. Their lamps should always burn clear and their light so shine before men that they may see their good works and glorify their Father which is in heaven.

The Society will, I hope, pardon this freedom of speech: it would concern me much to have said anything unbecoming the relation I stand in with respect to them. If I have it will be some sort of apology to say (as probably more settlements will be made next year) that the governor ordered me when I wrote to the Society to beg in his name, the favor of them to send some more clergymen into this Province, to which he added he hoped they would be men of sober lives and conversation. I am very sorry there should be any occasion for him to add that expression, or for me to write in this manner. The venerable Society, I am satisfied uses all possible caution in choosing their missionaries, but as they must in great measure depend upon the information of others with regard to their characters, it is heartily to be wished that others would be as conscientious in their recommendations. The Society conscious of "the absolute necessity there is that those clergymen who shall be sent abroad should be duly qualified for the work to which they are appointed desire that all persons who shall recommend any to that purpose will testify their knowledge as to the following particulars: 1.—The age of the person. 2.—His condition in life, whether single or married. 3.—His temper. 4.—His prudence. 5. His learning. 6.—His sober and pious conversation. 7.—His zeal for the christian religion and diligence in his holy calling. 8.—His affection to the present government. 9.—His conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England. And the Society do request and earnestly beseech all persons concerned that they recommend no man out of favor or affection or any other worldly consideration; but with a sincere regard for the honour of Almighty God and our Blessed Saviour as they tender the interest of the christian religion and the good of men's souls." An excellent caution this, worthy of the venerable Society and the pious designs of its institution! Would all before they presume to recommend seriously, attend to it and conscientiously regard it, the good intention of the Society would not be frustrated

so often, the Church of England would gather strength, religion in general would flourish more abroad, and our dissenting brethern won by the pious conversation of the clergy might be brought to join in our religious assemblies, that we may with one mind and one mouth glorify God even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I cannot help considering this, if possibly it may be attained as a very desirable and happy thing, for I must own that I am strongly attached to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, not from the prejudices of education but from rational conviction. I have examined the doctrines of all churches, if I do not deceive myself, with the strictest impartiality, and from an impartial examination of all, I think she is the best and purest of all, and therefore I cannot but wish that all aliens were united to her.

But as I heartily wish prosperity to ye Church of England, so am I very much concerned for the interest of this colony; I should rejoice to see them thrive together that the purity of men's professions and the piety of their lives in this place might equal the fertility of the soil and the healthfulness of the climate. I can say very little with regard to the general piety of the settlers' lives at present; but 'tis to be hoped that ye young ones among them, if properly educated, will grow in goodness as they increase in years, by which means the next generation may be as eminent for distinguished piety as the present is notorious for its abandoned practices. In order to the attainment of this happy end good schoolmasters are much wanted, for tho' the Society chose some, none yet are arrived. I humbly hope, therefore, that if those elected think not proper to come over, others will be chosen and sent in their rooms, that the youth may be instructed early in the principles of Christianity, and true piety, which will be the best method to prevent the propagation of the present immorality to future ages.

I have a great deal more to say, but fear there may be reason to apologize for having said so much already. I shall conclude this tedious epistle therefore with my sincere and hearty prayers to God that the venerable Society may never be drawn into improper elections by false recommendations, that their missionaries may be distinguished, not only for the soundness of their doctrine, but the piety of their lives, preaching the sincere word of God, and living agreeably to the word they preach, that the earth may be filled with the knowledge of

the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea. I am, after first paying my duty to the venerable Society.

Your most obedient servant,

WM. TUTTY.

N. B.—This is the duplicate of one sent by the Rockampton which sailed the 2nd of November; I could not obtain a certificate of the master tho' I importuned him greatly.

P. S.—As to the *notitia parochialis* required by the Society, it is impossible in our present hurry and confusion to be exact in that. I can only say in general that the number of inhabitants in the Town of Halifax exceeds 1,500, among which are many dissenters. I have baptized about 20 infants, but the blessed sacrament has not yet been administered here, because Divine service has hitherto been performed in the open air; but as soon as the Governor's dining-room is finished, it is proposed to make use of that till a church can be erected which is now framing at Boston, and capable of holding 900 persons. The parsonage house, and division of land for glebe must be the work of next year.

If I have forgot anything which the Society requires an account of, I hope the anguish in my side will be a sufficient apology. That has been extremely painful for some time past, and continues to afflict me violently at present, so that I have been frequently obliged to leave off before I could finish one single sentence, and as it distracts my thoughts 'tis no wonder if it should disturb my recollection.

As soon as the ship which brings this is ready to sail I shall draw upon Mr. Bethel according to the Society's directions for £35, the half year salary due the date of the date hereof, and to be paid Mr. John Archer, of Hertford, or order.

Before I seal up this letter I have one request to make which I hope the venerable Society will not deny me, *i.e.*, for leave to come to England for a short time: if they be pleased to grant me a discretionary power they may depend upon it that I will choose such a season for my voyage as will not be prejudicial to the purposes of my mission. The reason of this petition is an honorable engagement to a deserving young woman whom I tenderly regard, and as I am satisfied our affections are reciprocal, I should rejoice were we but one family. If the Society thinks proper to grant this favor, I will not abuse it, but return to my mission as soon as possible. Tho' I must own, no consideration should

prevail upon me to leave it at present, for I am willing to sacrifice my own ease for the good of those who are religiously disposed, and as many of the best and most worthy inhabitants have desired me to stay among them, I can neither answer it to God or my own conscience to forsake them unless among the missionaries to be sent over next year there should be one whose prudence, exemplary life, and sound doctrine would recommend him to their approbation in my absence, one that would be solicitous to promote—above all things—the glory of God and the edification of men, that he might both save himself and those that hear him.

I have made a mistake in this duplicate by putting the N. B. before the postscript; the Society, I hope, will pardon it: as in all other things this is a true copy of the original letter sent by the Rochampton.

MR. TUTTY TO THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

HALIFAX, IN NOVA SCOTIA,

MY LORD,—

December ye 5th, 1749.

I did myself the honour of writing to your Lordship by the London, but must beg pardon for omitting ye Governor's compliments, which he then desired me to present as he now does to your Lordship. He is in good health and great cheerfulness, notwithstanding his unwearied application to the great business of settling this great colony upon firm and lasting foundations: and it is indeed surprising (when I look back upon the 21st of June, the day of our arrival) to see with what prodigious rapidity it is carried on under his auspices: if it goes on as it has begun it must infallibly—in a very few years—eclipse all the other colonies in North America.

I doubt not but your Lordship has seen my letter to the Society: I am very much concerned for its reception, least they should be offended at my freedom of speech which, however, was well intended, and this consideration (if it has given offence) will, I hope, be some sort of an apology for the offence given. There is one thing, indeed, omitted in that letter, which perhaps, will be a matter of surprise to the venerable Society, *i. e.*, my not having mentioned my colleague therein. I own, I purposely omitted it, because I could say no good of him: but upon recollection, I think myself to blame for that omission: as the secular advantage of individuals must and ought to give place

to the spiritual welfare of a whole community. I am sorry to say, my Lord, that not one single part of his conduct shows the clergyman. His whole conversation—both his actions and his expressions—bespeak rather the boatswain of a man-of-war, than the minister of the Gospel of Christ. Many complaints have been made to the Governor of him, who has often said at table that he must send him out of the colony: but he sent for him, however, and reprimanded him very severely, which was soon succeeded by a fit of sickness occasioned by excessive drinking: so that he has done no duty for above these two months past. He has, indeed, been abroad since, and if the Governor's reprimand had had a proper influence upon his conduct, I should have continued silent still: but as there is all the reason imaginable to think that he will proceed in the same manner, for he has begun already, I cannot help saying that he appears to me unworthy the Society's favor. Nor am I singular in this opinion: almost the whole colony with one voice exclaims against him as a clergyman; and the dissenters, in particular, are greatly offended at him, which instead of closing up the wound of separation must infallibly enlarge it. He that would convince gainsayers of the purity of his profession must enforce his arguments by the purity of his life.

Since I wrote by the London, the pain in my side has been extremely violent, and yet tho' the whole duty in this numerous colony (on account of his illness) lay solely upon me, I have been enabled through Divine assistance to go thro' the whole, tho' not without great difficulty and excessive pain. My side, indeed, is better at present, and continues daily to amend, and I am in hopes that time and this climate will effectually cure it.

The obligations I am under to your Lordship, I shall always remember with gratitude and own with satisfaction: your recommendation to the Governor is not the least of them: it has been of signal service to me already: and I dare say will be of still greater when opportunities shall offer: as I have constantly endeavored to maintain the honour of that recommendation, as the only means that can give me any title, either to your Lordship's favor or the Governor's esteem.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and dutiful son,

WM. TUTTY.

MR. TUTTY'S SECOND LETTER TO THE SOCIETY.

SIR,—

In my last, sent by Capt. Williams, of the Rochampton, and dated ye 29th of September, 1749, and in the duplicate sent by the Charlton, in the Governor's packet, I endeavored to give you the best account I was able of the disposition of ye old and new inhabitants of ye province. I am sorry I see little cause to retract what was then said : but to me (whatever sentiments may be entertained by others) nothing appears more evident than that the old inhabitants want love and loyalty—the new religion. The Indians more than once have avowed their enmity by overt acts, and in their last outrage committed upon a small party of Phillip's regiment, were joined by some of the French. The last, indeed, in general, are very peaceable and often come in numbers to Halifax, allured by interest and the love of money. For here they have a good market for the produce of their lands : here they have constant employment and an high price for labor. But notwithstanding these advantages they want that cordiality which ought to subsist between fellow subjects and members of the same community. Their peaceable behaviour may probably have deceived many into an opinion that they are good subjects to His Britannic Majesty and friends to the present settlement, and it is indeed their interest to be so ; but interest itself, which too frequently prevails in other cases, is unable to withstand the prejudices of a Popish education and the power of bigotry : for while they enjoy advantages superior to any other of His Majesty's subjects in this province, and yet continue reluctant to the oath of allegiance—while they know the enemy's designs without detecting them—while they refuse to give intelligence of their motives by pretending to know nothing of them, which is as ridiculous as it's false ; nay, while the only man among them from whom any intelligence did come is discovered by them to, carried off and kept prisoner by the Indians—while things are thus circumstanced no wonder if I entertain a low opinion both of their love and loyalty : or rather consider them as men who want not an inclination had they power to do us hurt, or resolution to attempt it.

Those who embarked from England to people this colony were, its well known, in general a set of profligate wretches : and as to their religious conduct they continue much the same. In their civil capacity they are somewhat bettered ; intemperance has destroyed

many of the worst, and the wise regulations and prudent conduct of the Governor have greatly contributed to the amendment of the rest : they are now less refractory and less tumultuous : and perhaps another year may teach them the difference between liberty and licentiousness, and convince them that the last is the grossest depravation of the first, which consists not so much in an exemption from all manner of restraint as in circumscription within such bounds as are marked out by the rational nature of man, and his own proper interest as connected with the public good.

When they see what is their interest as members of society : and are brought to act consistently therewith, who knows but that they may direct their views to nobler objects and become good members of the body of Christ, awakened by pathetic exhortations and animated by the example of the better sort? The Governor seeing with concern the prevalence of sin gave the grand jury a particular charge to use their utmost efforts to suppress the pernicious vice of excessive drinking, that inexhaustable source of evils : they heard it with pleasure and obey it with alacrity : and I am not without hopes, as they are good men themselves, that they will greatly contribute to make others good, at least prevent their growing worse by putting a stop to that complicated vice. This once happily effected, they may be brought to cool and sober recollection : and then suitable admonition, seasonably applied and frequently repeated, may awaken them to weigh and consider seriously those important truths which concern futurity.

The prospect, indeed, is not very pleasing or very promising at present : but yet I do not totally despair of seeing an end of that corruption which is so luxuriant here. I humbly trust in God that nothing shall be wanting on my part : and as the Governor is equally solicitous in this point I am not without hopes that seasonable admonition and compassionate exhortations, enforced by his example and authority, will have in time their proper influence even upon the worst amongst us, and turn them from their present evil ways into the paths of soberness, of faith and virtue.

From this account of things thus circumstanced it cannot be expected that I should speak of numerous conversions : that I fear must be the work of longer time, less hurry, more frequent opportunities and a better knowledge of the people. I can only say that I have had the satisfaction to comfort and help the weak-hearted who were sinking oppressed by the weight of superstition and despair.

Since I came on shore I received of Captain Forster from on board the Fair Lady, 5 boxes of books, 4 for the use of the colony, and one for my own private use. I have distributed some of the first to those whom I thought most wanted them, and would make a proper use of them, and as to the last I shall take great care of them, and when an house is built for me will provide a press for their reception where they shall remain for the use of those who shall succeed me in this mission. For both sorts, those designed for the colony and those designed for myself, I be pleased, sir, to thank the venerable Society in my name. I am very much obliged to them for both, being satisfied, they must have a beneficial influence on all who shall carefully peruse and conscientiously observe them.

As to the French Bibles and Common Prayer Books, I have distributed but very few: learning among the French in this province being at so low an ebb that very few of them can read at all, and therefore as they live at a great distance from this settlement there are little hopes of their conversion unless the Society shall think fit to appoint an able and discreet missionary to reside among them. An Englishman, however conversant in the French language, I humbly apprehend, would not be so eligible as a French Protestant: the place of his nativity will recommend him to their esteem: and if he was to continue (excuse ye freedom I take in speaking my own sentiments) among them for 2 or 3 years as a merchant, he might probably be of more service than if he was to appear under the character of a Protestant minister; for this would awake the jealousy of the suspicious priests, whose unchristian power and influence is built on the ignorance of their people: who are obliged to walk in darkness for fear, forsooth, the light should be hurtful to their eyes. The priests, I am satisfied, in these parts, from their notorious bigotry to the Papal chair and their strong attachment to ye Grand Monarque would endeavor as much as possible to prevent all intercourse between them: and would undoubtedly effect it, not so much by the force of reason or of truth as by the dreadful terrors of their unwarranted anathemas. On the contrary, was a French minister of known abilities and of great integrity, who has had courage to examine into things, and conscience to embrace the truth at the expense of his preferment, his friends, his fortune, and his country: was such an one to reside for some time among them as a merchant, it very probably would have its desired effect on many, as it would give him more opportunities of conversing freely with them and

that with less suspicion : and if he should be so happy as to succeed in the good work of their conversion, it would I humbly apprehend, be time enough to appear in his proper character when he had gained a congregation. As to my own part, I must confess, I have this thing very much at heart : there is something terrible to reason in perpetual darkness : and the pure gospel of Christ, I am sure stands in no need of it for its support : it has irresistible charms in every point of view : and the more attentively it is examined the more religiously will it be admired. On this account I wish ye eyes of the French inhabitants may be opened to behold its beauties : and for this purpose the venerable Society will pardon me if I persevere in recommending the same gentleman I did in my last letter. (I erred with regard to this gentleman (Mr. Moreau) in my last letter, in that, if I remember right, I said he was a parochial minister, whereas he was Prior of the Abbey of St. Matthew, near Brest.) The more I knew him the more I am convinced that he is fit for the undertaking : as he quitted everything that is held valuable in life from a conscientious regard to truth, I doubt not but that he will be industrious to communicate the truth to others : and as his temper is mild, his address agreeable, and both his integrity and his abilities indisputable, there is all imaginable reason to expect that he will turn many from darkness to light by discovering to them the beauty of holiness in the Gospel of Christ.

Mr. Aynwell departed this life on the 9th of February : and one great misfortune that attends his death is the neglect or loss of his register. As soon as he died, I desired the Governor to authorize some proper person to search for it, as the want of it might probably be attended with many inconveniences not foreseen at present. He sent immediately a Justice of Peace and myself who after the strictest search imaginable could not find an account of above three baptisms and three weddings : and those upon small bits of paper dispersed in different places ; tho' from a declaration of his own, some time before he died, he must have baptized and married above ten times that number. The best method I could think of, to supply this defect, was to desire the Governor to put out a proclamation, that all those who were married &c, by him should come to me with proper evidence, who, with the parties themselves were to declare upon oath that their nuptials were solemnized according to the rites of the Church of England. This done, they were registered : very few indeed have come at present : and

therefore if a more proper method is suggested I shall be glad to put it into execution.

It begins to thaw apace and as soon as the frost is quite gone the foundation will be laid and I hope finished for the church by the time it can arrive from Boston: it is exactly the model of Mary'bone Chapel. I shall rejoice to see it up: the want of it is a great inconvenience, as the Governor's dining room, where divine service is performed at present, is not large enough to contain one-fifth part of those who would be glad to assemble themselves together. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered here on Christmas Day to about 30 communicants. I hope to have many more at Easter: and intend when the church is finished to administer it every month. The parsonage house will be begun and finished this summer, and as much glebe laid out near the town as conveniently may be: the rest will be at some distance from it.

We have neither communion plate nor a proper book for a parochial register, and as the late Mr. Aynwell assured me that my Lord Halifax promised to send one, together with surplices, etc., I wish he could be reminded of it in order to their being sent by the next embarkation.

The number of inhabitants amount at present to 1900 persons: this number will shortly be increased by a fresh accession from New England. But in all probability (as the number of lots is determined with regard to Halifax) a great part of these will be obliged to found a town and settle themselves on the opposite shore of the bay.

The Governor and Council intend to fix the surplice fees very shortly: for hitherto, I have buried, married, etc., gratis. Since my arrival in this province I have joined together 19 couples in holy matrimony, and have baptized 48 children as appears by the scheme annexed. What Mr. Aynwell has done in these cases I know not, as he either kept no register or has lost it, tho' I believe he has married at least, if not baptized, as many as myself.

(Three pages missing: other three pages unimportant, being occupied with general remarks, conclusion, etc.)

(Sgd.) WM. TUTTY.

HALIFAX, IN NOVA SCOTIA, }
March 17th, 1749. }

(Indorsed; rec'd 11th June, 1750.)

MR. TUTTY'S THIRD LETTER TO THE SOCIETY.

HALIFAX IN NOVA SCOTIA,
July 18, 1750.

SIR,—On the 26 of June, from on board the Rochampton, which had a very tedious voyage, I received yours with two enclosures, one of which I delivered to Mr. Moreau; and kept the other, as the person to whom it was directed has been dead several months, which you cannot be unacquainted with, if you have either received my letter from the Fair Lady or the Duplicate of it from Captain Periman of the Beaufort.

It is no small encouragement to me to find that the Venerable Society approves my conduct. It has been and shall continue to be my constant labors to discharge with Diligence and Fidelity the Trust reposed in me. As soon as we had a convenient place to assemble in for Divine Service, I gave public Notice of Prayer every Wednesday, Friday and Holiday which I have not failed to perform accordingly, though to a very thin congregation, and indeed except on Sundays a large one cannot well be expected, all things considered, in the infancy of any colony.

Mr. Moreau is very thankful to the Society for his appointment, and I dare say, when the French Protestants arrive, who are to be settled at Chignecto, will be of great service to the Protestant Cause. He has not been idle at all in his private capacity, but as he has had frequent opportunities to converse with many of the French who come to work at Halifax, he had endeavored to open their eyes, and, I am satisfied, with regard to some, has convinced them that Light is far superior to Darkness, which they would gladly enjoy, were they not overawed by fear, which will gradually decrease, when they behold the burning zeal of the French Protestants, who are not so fond of the Grand Monarque as to prostitute their conscience to his pride. If the Venerable Society think proper to do it, it may not be amiss to send some tracts in French, together with a large Common Prayer Book and Bible in the same language for the use of the Church to be built at Chignecto.

Before I conclude I must inform you that one Mr. Halhead came to me on the 28th of April last and said he was appointed by the Society School Master here. Upon enquiry I found that he arrived in Sep-

tember, and expressing my surprise that he had not been with me before, he said he had acquainted the Governour with it upon the beach at landing, but he remembers nothing of it. That he had applied himself to the late Mr. Aynwell, who promised to represent it to the Governour, but took no notice of it, and that he was confined all winter by sickness, which prevented his application to me. I acquainted instantly the Governour therewith, after having first asked him for his credentials, and as he has none, the affair has rested here. Nor knows His Excellency what methods to pursue, till he is recognized, or some other sent from home. He is, I think, a very good sort of man, very sober and very regular in his conduct, and from what I can judge of him at present, would discharge his duty faithfully, tho' one schoolmaster could never teach half the children of Halifax, there being above 3,000 souls, exclusive of soldiery in this place, and their numbers are daily increasing from the other Provinces.

The frame of the church is now erecting, and I am in hopes that we may be able to assemble in it in about 2 month's time, which will be a great happiness, as the present place will not contain one 3rd of the inhabitants. I shall add no more at present, but only beg the favor of you to present my duty to the venerable Society, and am

Your most ob't. serv't.,

WM. TUTTY.

MR. TUTTY'S FOURTH LETTER TO THE SOCIETY.

HALIFAX, IN NOVA SCOTIA,

October 29, 1750.

REVD. SIR,—

On ye second of September, I preached for the first time in the new church, which, when completely fitted up, will be a very handsome structure. Mr. Moreau preached likewise in ye afternoon to the French and Swiss settlers, as he did the Sunday following; but as they were not well acquainted with our liturgy, some mistakes arose in making the responses, and therefore I have persuaded him to comply with their request of having Divine service by themselves for some time, till they become perfect in the use of our liturgy.

Another inconvenience we labor under is the want of our liturgy in French; for the Lords of Trade and Plantations have led the Venerable Society into a mistake by informing them (as you were pleased to

acquaint me in your letter of ye 28th of March, which came to me on the 26th of July following) that they had sent over a large parcel of Bibles and Common Prayer in that language; Bibles, indeed, they have sent in great numbers, but with the Geneva form of prayer annexed, for which I do not thank them, which had very nearly prevented that union, which is necessary to the gloryfying of God with one mind and one mouth. For some persons ill-affected to the Church of England, taking advantage of the mistakes and want above-mentioned, slyly insinuated to the Swiss and French settlers, the utter impropriety of joining regularly and devoutly in the use of our liturgy, as they were not acquainted with it and had but few books to direct them; whereas the Lords of Trade and Plantations agreeably to their known candor and humanity had sent over a large parcel of Bibles with the Geneva Form of Prayer, on purpose for their use; and as no just exception could be made to that form 'twas absurd and cruel to desire them to leave what they were accustomed to for that which they knew nothing of; and, therefore, if they would represent their case in this light to the Governour, no doubt but he would consent with pleasure to what could not be denied consistently with moderation.

These things, and the like, were so slyly insinuated among the lower people, and with so much caution that it nearly had succeeded before I knew anything about it; as soon as I did know it (for I cannot but be persuaded that uniformity in Divine Worship, when it can be obtained without violence to the Truth and Purity of the Gospel to the consciences of men or Christian Moderation, is on all accounts more eligible than the contrary) and therefore, as soon as I did know of it, I went to Mr. Moreau and desired him to ask the gentlemen (for there are several among the Swiss, who are such, of the best families of good education and no bad circumstances) what they thought of this matter, and how they stood affected with regard to our liturgy. They replied that they knew nothing of the intended petition to the Governour, but would use their utmost efforts to prevent it: because with regard to our liturgy as they had examined it seriously without prejudice, with due attention, they thought it in all respects preferable to any Human Composition, and as such were determined constantly to use it. That sinister influences upon weak minds ought not to influence them, but on the contrary, that they were ready, with his assistance, to endeavour to remove the prejudices occasioned by such insinuations, and to convince their weak brethren that ye Beauty of

Holiness was conspicuous in our liturgy, which was of all others the most excellent in the world. What they promised in conjunction with Mr. Moreau they instantly set about, and happily accomplished to the satisfaction of all but those whose malevolent insinuations were disappointed by it. They have ever since constantly and regularly attended Divine Service at Mr. Moreau's house, and behaving always with great devotion, strict decency and due attention. Their number, compared with the inhabitants of Halifax, is but very small; but small as it is, 18 of them received the sacraments at Mr. Moreau's last month, and several others intend to communicate at Christmas. As soon as the season will permit, they are to remove either to Pisiquid or Chignecto, where, by the evacuation of the French settlers, there is a great deal of clear land, excellent of its kind, and fit either for the plow or pasture.

If the Venerable Society would please to send over a large Bible and Common Prayer Book in French, it would be of great use to Mr. Moreau, as the letter is but small in what we have at present. The business of this place to a man of the strongest constitution would be laborious enough, was it always to remain the same. There is indeed no proportion between the baptisms and burials; the latter exceed prodigiously, occasioned by an inviolable attachm't to New England rum, ye most destructive of all destructive spirits. For these 5 months past, I have had little time to do anything, but visit the sick and administer the Sacrament to many who most earnestly desire it: my constitution is but bad at best, and yet I have all the reason in the world to think that were it not for a great and almost unintermitted fatigue, this climate would have perfectly recovered it. But bad as it is, through that Gracious Being whose strength is made perfect in weakness, I have, praying and hoping, often even against hope, been enabled, tho' frequently not without excessive pain, to perform not only what is my immediate duty as a clergyman, but also the additional charge of the widows and orphans of this place, which at the Governour's request I have undertaken, and I humbly trust that the same Gracious Providence, which has hitherto supported me, will continue still to do it till more labourers are sent into an Harvest which is so very plenteous.

As to the *Notitia Parochialis* I cannot pretend to great exactness. Ye best acco't which I am able to give is that which follows :

I. No. of inhabitants.	4000 besides ye soldiery.
II. No. of Baptisms.	39
III. No. of Adult pesson's Bap- tised ye past year.	00
IV. No. of Adults commun'ts of ye Church of England.	50 Communicated last year.
V. No. of 'ose who profess 'em- selves of ye Church.	Vid below.
VI. No. of Dissenters of all sorts par'ly Papists.	Vid below.
VII. No. of Heathens and In- fidels.	Of ye first none ; of ye second are many Jews and 1 Deist.
VIII. No. of Converts from a prophane, disorderly and unchristian course, to a life of X'tian Purity, &c., &c.	Vid below.

As to articles the 5th and 6th, I can give no certain account. I believe the members of the Church of England, and the whole body of dissenters including Papists are pretty equal. And as to article the 8th, all I can say at present is that I cannot particularise many who come up to the strictness required in that article, tho' it may be justly said that in general they behave much better ; God grant that they may go from strength to strength, and from ceasing to do scarce anything but evil, may learn to abhor all manner of evil and cleave to that which is good.

I must not forget to acquaint you sirs, that the English Settlers who came over in the two last transports are fixed on the eastern shore of Chebucto Harbor, where a town is laid out for them, and where they have already built many houses. I intended (as I had began) to have preached every Sunday in the afternoon to them, while it was practicable to cross the Harbour. But the Governour considering the smallness of their number, when compared with the vast multitudes in Halifax, thought I should rather preach both morning and afternoon in the latter, which accordingly I have done, offering at the same time to perform Divine Service on any other day and at any hour that they should fix, to the inhabitants on the other side. They have come to no resolution about it yet, and in a fortnight hence, as I must officiate

there in the open air, the severity of the season will render it impracticable. I hope therefore the Venerable Society will take their case into consideration ; for though they, like the generality of the first English settlers here, have no great appetite for Spiritual Food at present, yet I should be sorry to see them entirely without it, as repeated applications may correct and fortify their stomach and fit them to digest it. Besides tho' the number of them be comparatively small at present, yet I doubt not that it will increase prodigiously. The beautifulness of the situation, the nearness of Halifax, and the convenience for carrying on the fishery cannot fail of inviting many others, tho' the present inhabitants if assembled all together would make no considerable congregation.

'Tis among the standing orders of the Society that no missionary, &c., should draw above twice a year for his salary, viz., at Lady Day and Michaelmass. As Mr. Moreau has officiated ever since the month of September ; be pleased to inform him or me whether he may draw for 3 q'rs salary at once, w'h according to the Society's appointment will be due him at Lady Day.

I have had no account, s'r whether my letter sent to you by Captain Foster of the Fair Play, or the duplicate by Capt. Periman of the Beaufort, are come to hand. If you have received them and sent an account thereof, or any instructions from the Society by the Two Friends, I should be obliged to you to repeat them, as it is much to be feared that vessel is cast away.

All the Bibles with the Common Prayer, bound up with them, are come safe and seasonably to hand, as did likewise another considerable box of very useful books—a present from the Reverend Stephen Hales, D. D., to which he added 7 vols. in 2 of the Philosophical Transactions, abridged by Mott, etc. The Governour and myself acknowledge our obligations to ye gentleman, and as I have prevailed with His Excellency to appropriate that part of the gallery, which is immediately over the vestry, for a Parochial Library, the Philosophical Transactions will be deposited there as the first beginning of it, which I hope will receive constant accessions from the generous donations of other gentlemen.

With regard to the 6th article of the *Notitia*, I forgot to mention one circumstance : That among the small number of Palatines w'h were sent by the two last transports, there were found upon examination to be no less than 40 Papists. 'Tis to be feared that the persons employed by

Lords of Trade and Plantations about this business are more solicitous to complete the number stipulated for their own private interest, than ye public good. Otherwise they would not, in the first place, be so easily imposed on with respect to their religious tenets; nor in ye next would they have sent over such as age and infirmities have rendered almost useless. 'Tis true, indeed, they had a long and tedious voyage in a crowded ship, and this inconvenience might occasion those infirmities, of which many of them since they came on shore have died. Otherwise age, attended by temperance, by health and industry, might not be useless; and thus far, perhaps, the persons employed may plead in their excuse. But an accumulation of Papists in a country whose inland and most cultivated parts are already overrun with Papists,—Papists nationally attached to our greatest enemy; such an accumulation is by no means eligible: it will always be impolitic, because it is dangerous and may be fatal. 'Tis to be hop'd, therefore, that the persons employed about this business, will for ye future, be either less negligent or more conscientious.

I should be glad if I could obtain the Homilies according to the Society's standing order; and Auterval's Catechism for the persons mentioned in my last. If Mr. Moreau should, as probably he will, remove to Chignecto or Pisiquit next spring, he cannot fail of having frequent intercourse with the French inhabitants, and therefore a few small tracts in French might not be useless. I must not forget to acquaint you that I have drawn upon Mr. Bethell according to the form prescribed for the half year's salary, due at Michaelmas last, and having (no ?) more to add but my earnest prayer to God for a blessing upon the pious undertakings of the Venerable Society, humbly beseeching the Author and Giver of all Good Things, that through their means, the Glory of His People, Israel may become a Light to Lighten the Gentiles, till (their fullness being accomplished and the natural branches grafted into their own Olive Tree again) all Mankind shall become One Fold under Shepherd, Jesus Christ the Righteous.

Be pleased to pay my duty to the Venerable Society and you will greatly oblige,

Revd. Sr.,

Y'r most obed't, &

most humble serv't

WILLIAM TUTTY.

MR. TUTTY'S FIFTH LETTER TO THE SOCIETY.

HALIFAX, IN NOVA SCOTIA,

July the 5th, 1751.

SIR,—

It has been matter of great concern to me that I have not had the honour of a letter from you since that of ye 28th of March, 1750. I have duly and constantly sent the best account I was able of the state of religion in this colony, and have now the satisfaction to assure you that there is a perfect harmony at present between the Church of England and the Dissenters. None of those disputes, which but too frequently arise among them in the other colonies, have as yet broken out in this, and I have ye satisfaction to believe, that the moderation, gentleness and affability, with which I have always treated them, have in a great measure contributed to this friendly intercourse. Even the most bigoted among them seldom fail to come to church every Sunday morning, and by that means the prejudices which they had conceived against the Church of England are not only less violent than heretofore but seem rather to be softened into a kind of liking which may possibly and I hope will terminate at last in a perfect approbation of and a happy union with her.

The savages, instigated by French treachery, have committed many outrages, and most unnatural barbarities at Dartmouth, the last of which (ye 13 of May) have so intimidated the inhabitants that they have now totally deserted it. Till that time I used constantly to preach there in the afternoon. But as preparations are making to palisade the town, the old inhabitants seem determined to return to their former situation, and I dare say will be accompanied by many others. When this happens I shall renew my former practice and dedicate the afternoon to their service in spiritual things.

The church in Halifax is very warm and comfortable, but cannot be finished this twelve month. There is a very large and handsome frame erected for the parsonage house, and half of it will be completely finished this season. I know of no glebe laid out at present; nor would it be of any consequence if there was, unless the Indians were more pacific, the French, less treacherous, and the expense of clearing cheaper.

As to the *Notitia Parochialis*, the best account I am able to give is as follows :

1. No. of Inhabitants.	About 6000.
2. No. of Baptized.	63.
3. No. of adult persons Baptized.	Upwards of 300 have communi- cated at different times. 30 invert the 3rd and 4th Articles and pardon the mistake.
4. No. of actual Communicants of ye Church of England.	About 3000.
5. No. of those who profess them- selves of that Church.	About 2000 of all sorts, and many—too many—Irish Papists.
6. No. of dissenters of all sorts, particularly papists.	No Heathen but several Jews.
7. No. of Heathen and Infidels.	
8. No. of converts from a pro- phane, disorderly and un- christian course to a life of christian purity, meekness and charity.	As to this article I can only say that ye Colony in general is much amended, and ye behaviour of ye worst among them is less profligate and abandoned.

I have administered the Holy Sacrament in High Dutch to the Palatines, 3 several times; the first time to 45, the second to 47 and the third to 63. *Mr. Burger (who comes over in the Osborne Galley, to offer himself a candidate for Holy Orders) was of great help to me in this. He translated the Common Service for me, and taught me to pronounce it, not only intelligently but as well, considering the shortness of the time, as a tongue long used to the comparative smoothness of the English tongue, can be supposed to fall into the guttural roughness of the German. That in my opinion is the only objection against it, in all other respects it is a fine language, and I am determined when I can get a Dictionary and a proper Grammar to apply myself closely to it, till I obtain a complete knowledge of it, as it will be of great service to me in this colony.

The Liturgy of the Church of England in the German language could not fail of being very useful here; and Bibles in the same language are much wanted; the people are poor and not able to purchase them.

I have long flattered myself with hopes of coming to England for a little time, for reasons which ye Society are well acquainted with, and

* This Mr. Burger is spoken of in the report of the annual meeting of the Society, February 1752, as "a German Swiss Minister who was desirous of Episcopal ordination." It was further said of him "Mr. Burger, upon the recommendation of the Governor, and of Mr. Tutty and of Mr. Moreau, the Society's missionaries hath come over to England to offer himself a candidate for holy orders of our church and to be appointed missionary to the Germans, who are already grown numerous in Nova Scotia; and he hath succeeded and hath been ordained and appointed missionary to the Germans and is now upon his return to Nova Scotia." In 1753 it was reported that Mr. Burger had not arrived in Nova Scotia "at the date of the last letters from thence." No further mention is made of him.

in consequence of which permission was granted me about a year and a half ago ; but as no other clergyman is come over to supply my place, I am bound in conscience to continue here. I hope it will ever be the utmost of my ambition, as it is my constant prayer, that I may obtain the character of a good officer under Jesus Christ the Captain of our Salvation, and therefore whatever uneasiness of mind or bodily pains I labor under I cannot think of quitting my post until properly relieved ; when that will happen God only knows, and His will be done. According to the Society's instruction I have drawn upon Hingsby Bethel, Esq., for the half-year's salary due at Lady Day last. The bill is payable to Francis Ingraham, or order.

WM. TUTTY.

[There is another long letter from Mr. Tutty, dated Nov. 4th, 1751. In this he thanks the Society for a gratuity sent him. He administered the Sacrament once more in High Dutch to the new comers, then engaged in palisading Dartmouth. In a fortnight he will administer the Sacrament to previous German settlers now residing about a mile from Halifax, after which he will do the same to some late arrivals who "for the present farm two little villages on the isthmus of this peninsula, about five or six miles from the town." The books sent are not yet arrived. Mr. Hallhead is a sober and conscientious man, but whether he is a good teacher does not appear, since the Governor, who is much pressed with providing homes for the immigrants and withstanding Indian attacks, has not been able to get the School in operation ; though quarters are in part prepared in a building intended for this and other public services. The church is still unfinished, but 80 acres of land are laid out for part of a glebe, about 3 miles from the town. It is heavily timbered, from which it is assumed to be good land. The *Notitia* says there are about 6000 inhabitants, that one adult was baptized during the year, and that between 390 and 400 have communicated at different times. This completes Mr. Tutty's correspondence as found on file in the archives of the Society, and the published reports of the Society show that Mr. Tutty returned to England during the year 1752, and died during the year 1753.]

LETTER FROM MR. MOREAU.

HALIFAX, 16th July, 1750.

SIR,—

[Translation.]

I received on the 6th June, by the hands of Mr. Tutty, the letter with which you honoured me, dated 28th March last. I assure you that I received it with all the gladness and satisfaction possible, not only because of the honour which the Venerable Society has done me in admitting me to the number of its missionaries, but because it has

placed me in a position to fulfil the functions of my ministry with greater dignity. I trust that through the favor of Divine Providence the very Venerable Society will never have reason to repent the confidence which it has reposed in me, and that I may render a good account of the department that has been placed in my hands. As I have been convinced of the truth of the doctrines of the Church of England, by which I desire to live and die, and as by a long examination of those of the Church of Rome, God has given me grace to understand its errors and its corruptions, I find myself in a better condition to represent and to communicate to others the light with which it has pleased Divine Providence to illuminate me. I will endeavor by assiduous toil, as soon as the French Protestants, for whom we wait here shall arrive, to recall to the truth a great number of people who are suffering here under the weight of error and ignorance. I have no doubt that the example of these will greatly assist * * * (illegible) * * * I have hitherto engaged two of the principal people of the place to help on Sundays in prayers with all the rest of the people. They have stated that they desired much to enlighten them, and have said that as soon as the church for the French shall be established, they and their families will not withhold their assistance.

Your humble and obt. servt.,

J. B. MOREAU.

[The above is a translation, the letter being written in French, as were most of Mr. Moreau's letters for several years.

PAPERS RELATING TO MR. WOOD'S APPOINTMENT.

LOUISBOURG, 3rd June 1749.

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

P. HOPSON,
ROBT. ELLISON,
J. J. L. BASTIDE,
JNO. BREYNTON,

Deputy Chaplain to the Garrison.

NEW BRUNSWICK, (N. J.) April 28th, 1749.

REVD. SIR,—

Some years ago, we with others of the Church Communion in this place petitioned the honorable Society for the P. of G. that they wd. send us a Missionary, since which they acquainted us that as soon as we should have provided an house, with seven acres of land, according to the standing rules of the society, in addition to the £40 engaged for the support of a missionary they would send one to be resident with us. To comply therewith, we have with the utmost difficulty raised about £300, and are now about providing an house and some acres of land. We are credibly informed that the Society appoint those for missionary who produce full testimonials of a good life and come well recommended from the people themselves, but in this we humbly submit Mr. Wood, the bearer hereof, is a gentleman of known candour and reputation, and from the short personal knowledge we have of him we really believe him to be truly religious. He signified to us his intentions of entering into Holy Orders, and desired of us if we approved of him for our missionary to recommend him to the Society, and that he made no doubt but he would give them ample satisfaction of his exemplary life and conversation. We therefore humbly beseech the honorable society that they would be pleased speedily to ordain and appoint him our missionary, if they judge him qualified for that sacred office, we being at present in a deplorable state, having no one to perform Divine service or adminster the Sacrements. We are with due respects,
Rev. Sir.

Your most obedient and humble servants,

(Signed by 17 citizens.)

LONDON, July ye 22nd, 1749,

The bearer, Mr. Thomas Wood, being strongly recommended to me for a mission, and that of Elizabeth Town in the Jerseys being now vacant I shall be obliged to you, if you will be pleased to move the Society in his favor for that place, and as I presume they will not like to increase their expense by appointing a new missionary for New Brunswick, agreeable to ye application on that head, I conceive some small addition to the mission of Elizabeth Town would enable Mr.

Wood to officiate at Brunswick once a fortnight or three weeks, the difference being but 20 miles and good road. I have the honor to be with great regard, R^{evd}. Sir, your most obdt. humble servant.

P. WARREN.

REV. DR. BANCROFT,—

I humbly beg you will lett Mr. Wood be dispatched As soon as possible.

(Endorsed —Sir Peter Warren, in favor of Mr. Wood. Read 11, Sept. 1749.)

[Among "letters sent" is a letter from the Society to the Vestry and Church Wardens of New Brunswick, in New Jersey, dated Octr. 3rd, 1749, saying that Mr. Wood has been ordained and appointed their missionary as requested by them. Mr. Wood also carried a letter of introduction to Governor Geo. Clinton of New York, and a letter appointing Thomas Bradbury Chandler, Catechist, at Elizabeth Town. He continued in New Jersey until 1752, when he agreed with Mr. Moreau for an exchange, and both gentlemen joined in a request to the Society to ratify the agreement. In pursusnce of this he came to Halifax, in the autumn of 1752, whereupon Governor Cornwallis concluded that owing to the return of Mr. Tutty to England, the services of both Mr. Wood and Mr. Moreau were required in Nova Scotia, and he accordingly remained. He died at Annapolis, Dec. 14th, 1778.]

STORY OF DEPORTATION OF NEGROES

FROM

NOVA SCOTIA TO SIERRA LEONE.

READ BY EX-GOVERNOR ARCHIBALD,

12th March, 1885.

A society, aiming at the collection and preservation of documents illustrative of early history, ought to flourish in Nova Scotia. If, as a Province, we may not possess the wealth of material belonging to old Canada—if our history does not glitter with events such as have made the plains of Abraham, and the names of Wolfe and Montcalm, household words in every country in the world—if our Province has not been the theatre of such exploits as have rendered classic the whole ground between Lake George and the banks of the St. Lawrence, there is still no lack of warlike adventure on a smaller scale; no want of incidents of a character, unique in the history of the world, to make the study of our past interesting.

The first settlement in the Province was itself an extraordinary event. Not only was it the earliest attempt at colonization on the northerⁿ part of the continent, but it was attended by unusual and exceptional circumstances. Fifteen French gentlemen, well born and well bred, some of them members of the French noblesse, others men of the long robe, spent the first winter after their arrival, the winter of 1606, on the Banks of what is now the Annapolis River, in a spirit of genial and literary joviality and intellectual enjoyment, in marked contrast with the first year's experience of any other colony we know of. Champlain the great French explorer, the father, it may be said, of that New France which afterwards occupied so prominent a place in the history of North America, was there. The Baron dePoutrincourt, grantee of the first private estate in Nova Scotia, proprietor of the soil on which stands the present town of Annapolis, was one of the

number. L'Escarbot, to whom we owe the best and the earliest history of the first settlements in America, was there, poet as well as lawyer, and historian. The other members of the party were all men of some distinction. Champlain devised for the use of the company what he called the order of Bon Temps, the first institution of a quasi local nobility, created on the continent. It comprised the whole fifteen of the party. Each in turn became grand master for a day, and was entrusted with the preparation of the festivities and amusements of his day of office. Each grand master, in his turn, did his best to outdo his predecessor. The delicacies within reach of the party, were by no means despicable. The table was loaded with luxuries, such as the flesh of moose, cariboo, deer, beaver, hare and bears, with ducks, geese and plover, trout, cod, sturgeons, halibut and an endless variety of other fish, to say nothing of a copious supply of the best of French wines which the thoughtful generosity of DeMonts had provided for the settlers. The evenings were spent in lively talk, in the discussion of literary topics, in the recital of French and Latin verses, to which each of the party had to contribute in turn, though the main burden of the poetry seems to have fallen to the lot of L'Escarbot. What this interesting settlement might have become, if had been let alone, must be left to the imagination to conceive. But it was not let alone. Pierre Guast, Sieur deMonts, the governor and feudal lord of a region as large as Europe, would have been himself one of the winter party, but that he was obliged to go to France to look after his interests in the new world which were threatened by enemies and rivals. He did his best, but failed. The monopoly of the fur trade, on which the enterprise rested, was revoked by the sovereign as capriciously as it had been granted. The inducements ceased to exist which had brought together so unusual a class of colonists. Poutrincourt alone, the owner of the soil around Port Royal, stuck by the colony. It however died out, after a series of struggles, which form an interesting chapter of provincial history. Between the date of this, the first French settlement on the continent, and the time when the flag of France ceased to float over any part of Canada, there was a period, in all, of about 150 years in the course of which Nova Scotia was three times English and three times French.

The curious adventures and complications arising from repeated changes of allegiance and from grants and patents issued by sovereigns of the different nations, now of England, now of France, gave birth to

numberless interesting incidents, which when they shall have become mellowed by age, will furnish unlimited material for the creations of the poet, the dramatist and the novelist of the future.

A flood of light has been poured on the early history of the whole country now comprised within the limits of the Dominion by the labors and researches of Francis Parkman, of Boston. He has gone for his authorities to the most authentic sources. He has sought them in places widely separated—in the archives of Washington and Paris, of London, Quebec and Madrid; and some he has found in that excellent collection of old documents, contained in the volume of archives printed by the government of Nova Scotia, at the instance and earnest solicitation of our worthy Vice President Dr. Akins. Parkman's books cover nearly the whole period of French dominion in Canada.

When the great battle on the plains of Abraham was fought, for great it must be called, if not in the European sense, from the number of combatants engaged, or the number of the slain, it was at all events great in its consequences to the civilized world. Till then the English colonists on the Atlantic coast were confined to a mere strip—that intervening between the Alleghanies and the sea shore. All behind was French. From the mouth of the St. Lawrence to its source—all the country around the great lakes, the immense valleys of the Ohio, the Illinois, and the Missouri, and the great plain of the Mississippi from the source of the river to its outlet in the Gulf of Mexico, in a word, all the great west, as well as Canada, was an appendage of France. With the fall of Quebec, and under the treaty which followed, this immense domain passed to England. The seaboard colonists were no longer cribbed and confined by the Alleghanies. They now had, within their old limits, and beyond them, the materials of a boundless empire. The possession of so vast a domain following the extinction of the French power, with which the colonies had had to contend so long and so fiercely, rendered no longer necessary the aid they had been accustomed to ask and receive from the parent country. Besides it bred in the colonists themselves sentiments of ambition, and aspirations for independence, which soon took a material shape. It may therefore be said that the battle before the walls of Quebec was the cause, and a not remote cause, of the war of independence. Wolfe, when dying on the field of battle, was told the enemy was running. He had just sufficient strength to give an order to cut off their retreat, and then turning on his side, he muttered, "Now, God be praised I will die in peace." Well was it for the comfort of the

dying hero that he could not foresee what was soon to result from a victory so glorious to himself and to the British arms. If the Peace of Paris, which followed this great victory, added half a continent to the British domain, another Peace of Paris, only 21 years later, severed from the crown, if not a greater, at least, a better territory than that which the heroism of Wolfe had won. Our part in the great drama extending through 150 years, was not inconsiderable. I cannot dwell on it now, but there is one point on which I may be allowed to detain you for a moment.

Up to a recent date, every Nova Scotian has had his doubts as to the necessity of the cruel act which drove 6000 Acadian French from the Province some four years before the fall of Quebec, and scattered them along the Atlantic shores from Maine to Florida. He might be quite sure that the Government of the day were firmly convinced of the necessity of that step, and that the evidence they had must have been overwhelming, but from the nature of the case it must have been, in a large measure, circumstantial. It remained for Mr. Parkman to discover, buried in the dust and mould of a century and a half, original documents in the hand writing of the actors themselves, damning proof—clear and unmistakeable, that our ancestors were not deceived as to the facts. We have the evidence of this in letters of French governors of Quebec and Louisburg, in letters of bishops and priests, in letters of military, naval and civil servants of the French crown, written with a callous shamelessness, and a frank avowal of baseness, utterly revolting to modern ideas. We should be grateful to an author who has enabled us to listen without a blush to the story of the events that occurred in 1755 in our western counties. He has removed what seemed to be a stain alike on the local government and on the British arms.

One striking peculiarity in our history, in which it differs from that of any other colony, arises from the number of times we have been obliged to part with large bodies of our population. Besidesthe 6,000 Acadian French, to whom we have referred, we have deported, at subsequent periods of our history, two other large bodies of men of a different race, and creed, and color. The first in order of these deportations occurred towards the close of the last century. Of the incidents connected with it a copious record exists in a manuscript volume, of some 450 pages, which I hold in my hand, and of which only two copies exist, one of these having been made at the expense and for the use of this Society.

Slavery seems to have existed in the world from a time earlier than the deluge. Noah, in the curses he pronounces on Ham and Canaan uses words which imply that the condition of a slave was well understood even then. It has continued in some form to the present day, but, as regards white races, the conscience of christian nations, and the precepts of christian teachers, have led to its suppression almost imperceptibly in every civilized country. The slavery of the colored race has lasted longer. It has had its advocates and defenders among teachers and preachers of bodies of christians, claiming to be among the purest and most devout in the religious world. At length, however—some-what over 100 years ago—it began to dawn on the minds of Englishmen that the system was wrong; that negroes were human beings; that they had souls to be saved, and that they, as well as whites, were inheritors of an eternal life beyond the grave; in short that they were entitled here to the rights which belong to our common humanity. An agitation on the subject soon arose, originating with the Society of Friends. From them it spread to others. Men of standing began to take part in the new movement, and before twenty years had gone by the subject was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Wilberforce, then member for Hull. Mr. Pitt, the Premier of the day, was a personal friend of Mr. Wilberforce, and his expression of favor towards the new movement gave it a valuable impulse. The promoters of the agitation did not dare at first to go to the full extent of their convictions. They made war, for the moment, not on slavery as a condition, but upon the trade of importing slaves. The horrors attending the seizure of the poor blacks in Africa, and those connected with the middle passage—these were the topics on which they dwelt most, leaving the abstract question of slavery to a future day. Of the men who took a leading part in the movement, three of the most conspicuous were Wilberforce Thomas Clarkson and Zachary Macaulay, the first named being active in parliament, the two latter in outside organizations. Mr. Clarkson was the son of a clergyman and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. While a student there, the Vice-Chancellor of the University offered a prize for the best Latin dissertation on the question, "whether it was right to make slaves of others against their will." Mr. Clarkson contested for the prize, and won it. His dissertation, read before the Senate of the University, elicited great applause. In preparing the essay, he had taken great pains to collect materials from every quarter. The case he made appalled himself. His imagination having been

inflamed, and his conscience aroused, he determined to devote the rest of his life to the work of abolishing the abominable traffic. A society for the suppression of the trade was formed the year next after the essay was read. Clarkson was one of the most active of its members. During the war of the revolution, numbers of negro slaves, that had escaped from America, found their way to England. They were living there in great destitution. The sad fate of these poor creatures naturally interested the anti-slavery people, who formed a plan to provide for them by sending them out to form a settlement on the west coast of Africa. It was supposed that they would find there a climate better suited than that of England to their constitutions. A settlement of free christian negroes, on the west coast of Africa, would be a centre from which christianity and civilization would radiate to the surrounding negro tribes. The spot selected was the Peninsula of Sierra Leone. It is about 18 miles long by 12 wide and contains some 200 square miles. It is situated about 600 miles north of the equator, and has an average temperature throughout the year of 82° Fahrenheit—the extreme heat of a Nova Scotia summer day. The peninsula is rugged and mountainous, rising in some places in conical hills to the height of 2,000 or 3,000 feet. The site selected for a town was a side hill, on the north of the peninsula sloping towards the waters of a land-locked bay, which formed the harbour. The society does not seem to have made sufficient inquiries as to other particulars essential to the success of a colony. The climate is most unfavorable. The wet season lasts from May to November, during which the hills are wrapped in impenetrable fog. In a single year rain to the extent of 314 inches has been known to fall. In two days of that year more rain fell at Sierra Leone, than during the whole year in Great Britain. The climate is most unhealthy even for blacks. To Europeans it is deadly. The acceptance of an office there is almost a species of suicide. Had the society known that every soldier sent to the colony would, on the average, have to go into hospital three times each year, they would probably have hesitated before deciding on such a spot for a humane experiment. However, that may be, they sent out in 1787 a lot of the negroes who were wandering about London. But they soon found that the number sent was not sufficient to give strength and stability to the colony. They found also that as a voluntary association they were not a proper governing body. They accordingly applied to parliament and obtained an Act of Incorporation as the Sierra Leone company, confer-

ing large powers of government. It now became the first duty of the new company to send out more settlers.

All the negroes that had esaped from the revolted colonies, did not find their way to England. Many came here after the peace, and settled in what at that time was Nova Scotia, which then included the present Provinces of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. In what we have to say we shall use the term Nova Scotia as applying to the country in its original dimensions. It seems, that among the negroes resident in the province, was one Thomas Peters, who had been a sergeant in the regiment of guides and pioneers serving under the command of Sir Henry Clinton in the revolutionary war. Peters was a man of some intelligence, and seems to have been selected by his fellow negroes to go to England, to lay the complaints of himself and other blacks similarly situated before the king. Shortly after his arrival he presented a memorial to the Secretary of State—then the Hon. Mr. Grenville, setting forth the grievances of himself and his friends. He stated that they had been promised the same grants of land as other sergeants and soldiers in the same regiment; and that they had come into Nova Scotia on the faith of these promises; that they had applied in vain for the lands and provisions they were entitled to, and that they were in various ways, ill-used by the local authorities. He further stated that some of the negroes would prefer to take their allotments and remain in the province. But others, and among them himself, would rather go to a warmer climate—one better suited to their constitutions. This last clause of the memorial is suggestive. It looks as if the document had been inspired by the Sierra Leone company. Peters on his arrival would naturally seek the aid of the friends of the blacks and would get into communication with them. The Sierra Leone company had a country in want of a population of christian negroes. Nothing could suit them better than to find a population of christian negroes in want of a country. It requires no great stretch of fancy, therefore, to suppose that some members of the company either wrote or suggested this clause of the memorial. The company, as we have seen, was in close alliance with Wilberforce, who was one of its members. That gentleman was intimately connected with Mr. Pitt. The Secretary of State, Mr. Grenville, was not only a colleague but a relative of Mr. Pitt. We need not be surprised therefore that the memorial was dealt with promptly. In a dispatch to Mr. Parr, then governor of Nova Scotia, dated the 3rd August, 1791, Mr. Grenville reprehends him vehemently

for the neglect complained of, orders an immediate inquiry into the facts, and directs him, if he finds them as stated, to issue the promised grants in places so favorable as to make some atonement for the injustice done to the negroes. He then goes on to state what Peters had brought to his notice, in reference to the wish of some of the blacks to be sent to a warmer climate, and orders him to despatch messengers to the different places where the negroes were settled, and then to make them an offer to carry them free of expense to Sierra Leone, if they preferred that to staying where they were—but they would be made to understand that government took no part in the matter further than to gratify such of them as choose to go. And now comes on the scene for the first time Mr. John Clarkson, a brother of Thomas, and engaged by the company in forwarding its objects. Some discreet person was wanted to go out to Nova Scotia to confer with the negroes and make arrangements for the removal of such as should be found willing to go. Mr. John Clarkson offered his services. His offer, which was evidently solicited, was eagerly accepted. A commission was given to him under date of August 12th, and within the following week he was off on his voyage to Halifax. From the 6th of August, when he volunteered till the 15th March following, he kept a journal of his proceedings, in which he entered every event of importance and some events of not much importance, which occurred in connection with the business. The original journal is still in existence. Of the two copies made of it, one belongs to Mrs. Dickenson, a relative of the Clarksons, an elderly lady, still alive, and residing at Leamington, England.

Mr. Clarkson was authorized to offer to each negro settler producing a certificate signed by himself, or by Lawrence Hartshorne, of Halifax, who was associated with him in the business, vouching the honesty, sobriety and industry of the bearer, a grant of land at Sierra Leone, of twenty acres for himself, ten for his wife and five for every child, subject only to such conditions as should be imposed on all settlers black or white, for the good of the colony. Mr. Clarkson sailed from Gravesend in the Ark, on the 19th of August. But the ship met with adverse winds and was driven into Portland Roads, where she remained till the 8th of September. Mr. Clarkson rode into the neighbouring town of Weymouth, returning to his ship in the evening. The same day his brother Thomas happened to be passing through Weymouth on a journey to Devonshire, and fancied he heard John's voice as he passed the yard of an inn at Weymouth. So strongly was he convinced

that his ears had not deceived him, that after searching for his brother all through Weymouth without success, he came on next day to Portland, where he found the ship. The brothers had a long parting interview on the 5th, to which subsequent circumstances gave considerable importance.

The wind coming fair, the ship left Portland on the 14th. We need not dwell on the details of the voyage which terminated in the ship's safe arrival in the harbour of Halifax, on the 7th of October, 51 days after the first departure from Gravesend.

An extract or two from the journal will, however, be useful, as giving the key to the character and principles of the good man to whom the mission, was intrusted. He writes under date of the 1st of October, shortly before his arrival :—

“During the voyage my mind has been constantly occupied with the importance of my mission. I see in it a different point of view to what I did when I first offered my services, for then I was influenced by the feelings of the moment, in consequence of the affecting story I had heard Peters relate and the difficulties the directors seemed to have in finding a suitable person to conduct it; but when I got to sea and had time for reflection, the case was altered. I had then leisure to perceive the magnitude of the undertaking, and although I felt an equal desire to assist these unfortunate people, yet I almost shrunk from the responsibility I had imposed upon myself. But having embarked in it I had no alternative but to go on. Before I reached Halifax it was necessary for me to come to some kind of determination as to the line of conduct I should pursue upon my arrival there, and having carefully perused the letters I had received from my friend Mr. Wilberforce, and having duly reflected upon their contents, and also upon the various conversations I had with many of the directors on the subject of my mission, I decided upon not soliciting any person to go with me, but to explain to all, the views of the Sierra Leone company, and His Majesty's Government, and to leave them to their own choice, for I considered them as men, having the same feelings as myself, and, therefore, I did not dare to sport with their destiny.”

So much does he seem to have been absorbed in reflections such as these that for six days following he makes not a single entry in his journal. On the 7th when entering the harbor, he gives his first impression of Halifax, as follows :—

“The prospect of the town is extremely beautiful, situate upon a declivity on the left hand side of the river, going up, and has a pretty appearance from the sea. Went on shore at half-past 4 and waited upon the Governor with my despatches; was received with every mark of civility and attention, and was invited to stay to dinner.”

He accepted the invitation and remained to dinner, but as it was after half-past four before he was invited, and only eight when he left, we may infer that the Halifax dinner hour in 1791, though late in the afternoon, must either have been considerably earlier than at present

or else, (and this is contrary to Halifax traditions) gentlemen did not tarry over their wine so long then as they do now. On retiring from Government House he went to his hotel, or, as he calls it, the coffee-house. There he says he "found some gentlemen of the Swedenburgh persuasion, supposing him to be the same, wishing to congratulate him on his arrival." Next day he dined again at Government House with a large party. He says :

"I met Mr. Hammond, and his Secretary, Mr. Thornton, who had just arrived in the packet from England on his embassy to the United States. The captain of the packet informed the Governor and his company that on the day he left Falmouth, a vessel arrived from Sierra Leone, giving an account that the few settlers sent out in the year 1787, had been cut off by King Jemmy, and that he feared we should find some difficulty in landing in the river. This conversation gave the Governor an opportunity of starting difficulties, as to the accomplishment of the plan, which I was obliged to cut short by saying that it should not prevent me from exerting myself to forward the business, as I was confident that neither government nor the company would suffer me to sail from hence if they thought there was any danger from the natives; and that we should have sufficient time to know the particulars before we could possibly be ready to sail. The conversation dropped by the Governor's pushing about the bottle. I could plainly see that the Governor would rather I should not succeed in my business than otherwise, probably from an idea that if the people were averse to leaving the Province, it would be a good argument to prove that they were content, and that their complaints were groundless."

But Mr. Clarkson soon discovered that there were other reasons for the hesitancy of the Governor. In a private letter to Mr. Wilberforce, dated the 27th November, he makes an extraordinary statement. He says: "To my certain knowledge Governor Parr received a letter by the same conveyance which brought the despatches relative to our business, desiring him to do all in his power to retard it. I will pledge myself to you to prove that at any time, but shall leave you to guess the author of it." He well asks his correspondent "Is not this abominable?" It certainly goes far to exculpate the Governor, that he had two opposite sets of instructions, and really did not know which to obey. Indeed it appears by an entry in the journal that in remonstrating with the Governor for his irresolution and improper orders, Mr. Parr in the midst of his distress produced the contradictory letter which came from the office of the Secretary of State. Mr. Clarkson says the letter was from E. N., giving only the initials, but he had left Mr. Wilberforce to guess who was the writer, without giving him the aid which these initials would afford. It is a curious incident in the history of responsible Government, and still more curious that it occurred in the case of an administration presided over by so masterful and imperi-

ous a chief as the younger Pitt. Who was E. N., and why was he or any body else allowed to thwart the policy which Pitt favored?

On the 11th he made acquaintance with a Mr. Miller, a recruiting officer who had just arrived from the West Indies, to engage such of the negroes as preferred to enlist for service there in the army to either staying in Nova Scotia or going to Sierra Leone. On the 12th he paid a visit to Dartmouth. This is the record he gives of his impressions on the occasion :

"This morning went over to Dartmouth, which is about a mile across the river from Halifax, with Messrs. Hartshorne and Putman, to visit some of the free blacks who were settled at a place called Preston, about four miles from Dartmouth. At 10 in the morning we mounted our horses and rode through the woods till we reached Preston, called at the huts of several of the inhabitants and stated to them the offer of the Sierra Leone Company. Their situation seemed extremely bad from the poorness of the soil and from their having nothing to subsist upon but the produce of it. On our ride towards home we called upon an honest gardener who showed me some of the maple sugar as well as the trees in his neighbourhood, and also a specimen he had refined, equal to any I had seen in England. This man is an excellent botanist and lays out part of his garden for experiments. About two in the afternoon reached Mr. Hartshorne's farm house, distant about two miles from Dartmouth, where we dined. This farm appears to me in higher cultivation than any I have yet seen in the province."

I dare say the older inhabitants of Dartmouth will be able to identify the worthy gardener whose good qualities are referred to in this extract. On the 14th he received a letter, which in its way is a curiosity, from Colonel Black, of Birch Town, Shelburne. It appears that the writer was not only a Colonel Black, but a black Colonel. The latter fact might have been inferred from intrinsic evidence. The writer, with true negro pomposity, asks "for information concerning the adopted mode to be pursued for the subsistence, and for the conditions respecting the provisions and transportation furnished by the directors for the encouragement of the adventurers."

On the 18th arrived at Halifax, Dr. Taylor, who had been appointed by the company to take medical charge of the immigrants, but who had not been able to get ready to come out with Mr. Clarkson in the Ark. On the 19th Mr. Clarkson wrote a long letter to Mr. Thornton, the chairman of the company, detailing his proceedings up to that date. In it he adverts to the obstacles he met with from the local authorities in the following language :

"In the first place I was given to understand from those with whom I conversed (many of whom are friends of the plan and have offered Mr. Hartshorne and myself every assistance) that if I did not accept indiscriminately every one that offered I should meet with great opposition from

the principal gentlemen in Halifax, and that they would have it in their power to prevent the greatest part of the black people from accepting the offers of the company from their influence with them. My answers to every one, as well as at the governor's table and at other places, has been that I should not solicit one individual to accompany me, and that I was likewise determined to withhold the certificate which was intended as a reward to virtue and industry from those who should appear to me not to deserve it.

If Mr. Clarkson had not been carried away somewhat by his zeal for the service in which he was engaged, he might have seen that there was a good deal to be said in favor of the objections made by his Halifax friends. If he had proposed to remove the negroes in a body, very few probably would have cared to oppose him. But as his plan was to select only "the honest, the sober and the industrious of the blacks," he ought not to have been surprised that our people did not care to let him take away all the least objectionable of the race, leaving behind only a residuum of the idle, the drunken and the dishonest. Mr. Clarkson impliedly admits that he felt the force of the objections strongly, for at the same time that he announced his determination to act on the principle of selection, he added: "I said I did not intend to confine myself to honesty, sobriety and industry in the strict sense of the words." He meant therefore to use these words in a Sierra Leone sense. In another part of his letter he goes into details of the incident which took place at the Governor's table the day after his arrival and already alluded to. He says:

"In the course of conversation after dinner the captain of the packet said: Mr. Clarkson I hear you are going to conduct the black people to Sierra Leone, and therefore I wish to inform you of a report which prevailed at Falmouth on the day we sailed, in consequence of a vessel having arrived in Mount's Bay from the coast of Africa. He then mentioned what I have stated before, respecting King Jemmy, and told me that he was informed of it by one of Mr. Fox's clerks at Falmouth, that my brother was at Mr. Fox's at the time, and that the people belonging to the vessel had waited upon him with the account. I replied that he had convinced me from what he had said respecting my brother that he must have been misinformed for I was certain he never would have suffered the packet to have sailed for Halifax without writing two lines to put me upon my guard, and that so far from the vessel having brought bad news, I had every reason to believe she had arrived with the most favorable accounts, that I had seen my brother at Weymouth four days before he went to Falmouth and that he told me then that a vessel answering to the description of the one mentioned by the captain to have arrived at Mont's Bay, was hourly expected to confirm the most pleasing accounts received by two vessels which had lately come from Africa to Bristol. Mr. Hammond agreed with me, and said he was sure my brother would have written to me had there been any foundation for such a rumor, as the packet did not sail till some time after the captain had heard the story. After all this I find the Governor is not convinced, for Mr. Hartshorne and myself waited upon him two days ago to talk with him

on business, when he said that the people could not go he thought with safety, after the accounts received of the savages having murdered the settlers. I said I thought it abominable for any person to cherish such an opinion, as it might influence many people not to go, who would be miserable if they remained here; that it was wrong to meet difficulties half way, and that he might be sure if such a thing had happened that he would have received official accounts long enough before the people could possibly embark."

The journal affords no information about King Jemmy's raid, nor does it explain why no word about it was sent to Mr. Clarkson. In point of fact, it would seem that from the time he left Portland Roads, in August, till that of his departure from Halifax in January, he never received a single line from England on that subject. Yet it was quite true that there had been a raid of the kind, and the rumors referred to were no great exaggeration of the facts. The grounds on which Mr. Clarkson undertook to deny these rumours, were certainly sufficient. But it is incomprehensible why his brother, or some other member of the company, did not inform him of the true state of the facts. Towards the close of his letter he expresses his hope that Mr. Dalrymple, who was to be the governor of the new colony should be on the spot before his arrival and make preparation for the reception and protection of the emigrants. It will be seen by-and-by how far these hopes were realized. Meanwhile he is busy with his work in the city. He visits many persons whose names are familiar to Halifax ears. He has intercourse with Mr. Blowers, the Attorney General of the day; Mr. Uniacke the Speaker of the Assembly, grandfather of Mr. Robie Uniacke of our city; with Bishop Inglis, the first of the name; with Mr. Bulkeley, the Provincial Secretary; with Dr. Almon, the grandfather of Senator Almon; and Dr. Haliburton, and Mr. Cochran, each a grandfather of the late Clerk of the Legislative Council; with the Brinleys, grandparents of our Mrs. Wm. Lawson; with Mr. Belcher, the father of the late Admiral Belcher; with Mr. Tremaine; with Mr. Sterns and Mr. Boggs, the ancestors of our present families of those names; with Mr. DeBlois; with the Newtons, and a host of other persons whose names are well known in this city. The journal gives us very pleasant glimpses of all these people, and of social life generally, which will make it specially interesting to many now resident in Halifax, who derive their descent from one or other of these persons, or are connected with them by kinship.

A large portion of the negroes who were disposed to become, in the language of Col. Black, 'adventurers,' belonged to his place, Birchtown,

and thither Mr. Clarkson set out with Dr. Taylor and Mr. Miller the recruiting officer on the 22nd October, in the schooner *Dolphin*. We need not dwell on the details of the voyage—nor on the conference which took place at Birchtown with three or four hundred colored persons, in the meeting house of that place, nor with the address of Mr. Clarkson, which was a model of good sense and plain speaking, creditable alike to his head and his heart. Colonel Black may not have admired the style of it. There were not polysyllables enough in it to suit his taste. But we must not omit an incident which occurred on the voyage to Shelburne. It deserves mention for several reasons. First because it shews that much as our journalist was engrossed in the business of his mission, he had still some room for other thoughts. Secondly, because he pays to a Nova Scotia damsel of 100 years ago, compliments, which as Nova Scotians, we should not wish to be lost to history; and thirdly because the mention of the subject on this occasion may lead to personal inquiries that may interest the people of a western county. When the *Dolphin* came near the Ragged Islands it was well on to nightfall, and the captain was afraid to pass them in the dark. He therefore ran into Port Hebert, and anchored three miles up the river. Now let the journalist tell his own tale:

“The aspect of this part of the country is uncommonly wild, an illimitable wood presenting itself in every point of view. There are a few wretched inhabitants on the eastern side of the river, widely scattered and surrounded with a few acres of half cleared land, overrun with large naked rocks of granite; here during the summer season, they plant potatoes and sow a little corn. The wealthiest of them possess a few sheep or a cow. By these means they, with some difficulty, contrive to glean a scanty subsistence. During the winter season they traverse the woods with their dogs and gun, properly accoutred with snow shoes, in search of wild fowl, moose, deer, cariboo, etc., etc. Mr. Taylor accompanied me on shore. On entering one of their huts we met with the most agreeable reception from a young girl about 15 years of age, entrusted with the care of the house, and two small children, her brothers, during the absence of her parents, who had for several days been gathering in their winter stock of potatoes, on the contrary side of the river. Her behaviour and polite attention would have done credit to a person of the first rank and education, and might have reflected disgrace upon the inferior race of people in Great Britain. Her manner so simple, mild and unaffected, her general deportment so modest and respectful, left me at a loss for language to express the esteem I felt for this little girl. Having tasted no food since the preceding day we were rejoiced at the prospect of getting something to eat. Upon enquiry we found the whole stock of provisions consisted only of potatoes and buttermilk, with a few dried salt fish. We made a hearty supper on this fare and after due acknowledgment for our feat we quitted the hut and made an attempt to reach our schooner. We soon found however that the creeks we had passed in our way to the house, were now filled up by the tide and rendered totally impassible, and it rained extremely hard, being at the same time very dark, we determined to return to the house, which we had

some difficulty in finding. On our knocking at the door, our little hostess received us with her own peculiar grace and sweetness, made an apology for the inconveniences of her little hut, said that she was well convinced that it was ill calculated for the accommodation of gentlemen, particularly as her mother being absent had locked up many things, which might have added to our comfort, yet that she should be happy during our stay to pay us every attention that lay in her power. Finding all our persuasions ineffectual to induce her to take her usual repose, we laid down upon the bed, which contained a small infant, while our young friend during the whole night employed herself in recruiting the fire in order to render us less sensible of the inclemency of the weather. The wind and rain were beating in at several parts of the house."

Next morning the wind was still ahead and he and Mr. Taylor visited the people along the river. He says :

"Upon our return we were gratified in having the opportunity of acknowledging the civility and attention of our little friend to her parents who had just paid her a visit for a few hours from the opposite side of the water. Upon enquiring into the circumstances of the father I found he possessed 100 acres of land which he had purchased for one guinea. He begged us to accept of his house during our stay in this port and after giving us in charge of his daughter, returned with his wife in the evening, leaving us every comfort his house could afford?"

On the 24th, finding that the wind was fair. He says :

"We took leave of our charming little friend, regretting the little probability there was of seeing her at any future time, and pained to think that so valuable a mind should be entombed in this wilderness and forever secluded from the social comforts of mankind in a state of society."

All this time the reader is left in suspense. He feels much as members of parliament do when they cry out 'name, name.' At last the secret is revealed and our author tells us, though only in parenthesis, the name of the peerless lady of the lonely hut on the river edge at Port Hebert—so lavish of her potatoes and buttermilk. We have reserved for a position more prominent than an enclosure within a parenthesis the name of 'Jenny Lavender.' What became of this pride of the forest—whether her future was such as became the object of so remarkable an eulogium, we have no means of knowing—but we presume inquiry in the country would elicit some information on this point.

The business in Shelburne occupied several days. On the 6th Nov. Mr. Clarkson embarked on board the Deborah, for Halifax. The same vessel brought up Mr. Miller with 14 black recruits—enlisted at Birchtown. Of course the Deborah had to pass Port Hebert, which our journalist says recalled once more the place where we had received such hospitality from his little friend Jenny Lavender

Mr. Clarkson was much embarrassed by the unresolute behaviour of Governor Parr, whom in a letter to Mr. Thornton, he describes as "a man of inferior abilities and in his opinion, not calculated for the

situation." Indeed Mr. Clarkson indulges in some general remarks as to the unfitness of a military man for the position of Governor. He says: "They are generally speaking debauched men, and mind their bottle more than their duty." He says: 'That until now he never knew how much the prosperity of a place depended on a Governor,' and with great lack of the prophetic gift, adds 'upon my honor I should be as scrupulous of accepting such a post as I should of a bishopric.'

From the time of his return to Halifax business pressed hard on him. He was engaged every hour of the day and far into the night in seeing the negroes as they arrived in town, answering endless questions and settling all manner of disputes, arranging for the housing, the provisioning, the clothing, and transport of his blacks, fighting with merchants who tried to palm off on him ships unsuited to the service, or demanded outrageous freights; in settling knotty questions of negro precedence; in listening to deputations; in answering applications of aspiring negroes asking him to ordain them preachers of the gospel; in distributing his people in their places in storehouses and in the ships; and in preparing a code of regulations for the passage; and a code of signals for the use of the captains of the fleet. All this left him little time for rest or sleep and in point of fact he was so exhausted by his labors that when the ships were ready to sail he had not strength to climb on deck and had to be hoisted up in a basket. At length all was ready. The fleet consisted of 15 vessels, and had on board 1,190 blacks. It is impossible to read Mr. Clarkson's journal without sympathizing with him. One incident distressed him beyond measure. This was the misconduct of his lieutenant, Peters, the *causa causans* of the whole expedition. What was his exact offence, does not clearly appear. The journalist evidently had not the heart to write it down. All he says is:

"I was extremely mortified and distressed at the behaviour of Peters this evening. I can only attribute it to his ignorance. I could not possibly make him comprehend how necessary it was for regularity and subordination on board the ship. He still persisted in his obstinacy, he vexed me extremely and I went to bed, much indisposed."

Whatever the offence may have been, it seems to have been condoned after a little while. There is frequent mention of Peters afterwards, but, if there are no words of commendation, there are none of reproach.

With the departure of the ships our interest as Nova Scotians largely ceases, but we naturally desire to know how the adventure ended. The ships left here on the 15th January, 1792, and on the 6th March,

arrived off the coast of Africa. Mr. Clarkson was the first to discern the outline of Cape Sierra Leone. In the meantime he had been a great sufferer. When he left Halifax he was worn out with his labors. Six days afterwards he was prostrated by fever, which was attended by delirium, and lasted four weeks. In the midst of his illness a violent storm came on which stove in the cabin dead-lights. Fortunate it was for him that this accident occurred, for it was the cause of the captain visiting the cabin. What he found there we shall take from the journal itself :

“My poor servant who from great attention to me during the days that I was delirious is supposed to have caught the fever of me. His death affects me greatly. I was this day brought upon deck on a mattress as I was not able to walk or to be moved in any other way. My friend Wickham kindly assisted in doing this and in otherwise making me comfortable. This was the first time I had been on deck since the 21st of January. Had my cabin and bed place cleaned out and washed with vinegar as well as fumigated with tar and gunpowder balls. From my poor servant's illness as well as Captain Coffin's, I experienced great neglect in the latter part of my illness, as previous to the latter being taken ill, all the crew were sick on board except himself and the mate, and I certainly should have been killed during the gale of wind on the 29th January, when the vessel was pooped, if it had not been for that accident which providentially obliged the captain to come down into the cabin to secure the deadlights which had been stove in, when he found me rolling from side to side quite exhausted covered with blood and water and very much bruised, for I had at that time four blisters upon me. I have but a faint, if any, recollection of this dreadful situation, and indeed what I have already mentioned is more from the account of the mate of the vessel than from any recollection of my own, but it was evident to those on board that the disorder took a turn after the 29th January, the day on which I was so mercifully preserved.”

On the voyage two of the ship-captains died and over sixty of the negroes. After the fever left Mr. Clarkson, his health gradually improved, but he was very weak. As he approached the African coast his anxiety became intense. What about King Jemmy? Was it true that he had invaded the colony and murdered or dispersed the settlers? If so what had the Company done since? Not a line had been received from them, or even from his brother for the seven long months since he left Portland Roads. With all his indignant repudiation at Governor Parr's table, a lurking suspicion must have pressed on him that the rumour was true. And now that he had brought his 1,200 negroes to the promised land, to the land flowing with milk and honey, was their first experience to be a fight with savages? But even if there were no opposition from a hostile force, had the Company kept their engagement to send out supplies and tents for the provisioning and shelter of the poor creatures who had put their fate in his hands? Was Mr. Dalrymple

there? How could he be sure that a Company that could fail for months to write him a letter would observe their promise to equip a ship, load it with provisions and supplies, and despatch it in due time to the African coast? He had with him only seven of his fleet; other seven had parted company with him some days before, one no longer ago than within the last 24 hours. What was to become of them and their living freight? We cannot wonder that these anxieties, pressing upon him in his state of weakness, drove him almost to distraction. But at length his suspense was ended. As he approached the mouth of the estuary, he saw the masts of several ships. This convinced him that he was safe from King Jemmy. Soon he recognized some ships of his own fleet. Two larger ships were also to be seen. These were probably the ships that had come out with Dalrymple with provisions and supplies. The sudden revulsion was more than he could bear, and he quite broke down under it. Soon a boat was seen in the distance, with a number of persons on board, having the appearance of gentlemen. They came alongside, then on board, and gave the news. After all Dalrymple had not come. He had declined at the last moment, and the Company had introduced a new form of government. They had appointed a council of seven. The gentlemen in the boat were members of the council. Mr. Clarkson was to be the president, with a casting vote. He was distressed at the news. He had no wish to remain in Africa. His health was broken and he needed rest. He had declared before he left England that nothing would induce him to remain in the colony longer than to see his immigrants safely landed. He had told the same thing to his negroes—and now what was he to do? He took time to consider. Meanwhile the missing ships made their appearance and the whole fleet was safe in harbor.

And now he began to find out what was the style of Councillors over whom he was to preside. One of them, a Dr. Bell, had been so drunk for the week following Clarkson's arrival that he had never been seen. Most of the councillors lived on board the Daisy, Dr. Bell with them. One evening Mr. Clarkson dined on board. Bell was not able to appear, but the guests heard him raving in an adjoining stateroom. Suddenly the noise ceased, when a servant came in to announce that Dr. Bell was dead of delirium tremens. Next day the council proposed that the deceased should be buried with naval and military honors. Clarkson was shocked beyond measure, but it was hinted to him that he had only a casting vote; he found there

was no use in resisting. Not only had he to yield the point, but he felt it necessary in the interest of the colony, sick as he was, to attend the funeral, but here his strength failed him and he was obliged to leave the procession before it reached the cemetery. And here closes the journal of Mr. Clarkson.

For subsequent events we must resort to other sources. It appears that on his arrival, he set himself vigorously to work, and with success, in repressing the disorders that prevailed. He had the ground cleared for a settlement and founded the town of Freetown, the capital of the colony, built huts for his people, and managed the business entrusted to him so satisfactorily that the Directors of the Company shortly afterwards appointed him Governor of the Colony, an office what notwithstanding his *nolo episcopari*, he was induced to accept.

He remained as Governor for upwards of a year, when he returned to England. The rest of his life, which lasted till 1828, he spent in connection with various philanthropic organizations. His whole time was devoted to the good of his fellow men.

Mr. Wentworth succeeded Mr. Parr, as Lieut. Governor of Nova Scotia, in August, 1792. He had been governor of New Hampshire when it was a Province, and had also held the post of Commissioner of Woods and Forests for British North America. The rebellion drove him from his Governorship, and abridged his jurisdiction of Woods and Forests, by reducing it to the residue of territory remaining to Great Britain after the peace of 1783.

The events we have narrated, and these which remain to be narrated, occurred during the long administration of the younger Pitt, in the latter part of which, Mr. Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville) was a Secretary of State.

It was about the time of Mr. Pitt's accession to office that the public conscience of England began, as already mentioned, to be excited on the question of Slavery. The leaders in this movement all belonged to the middle class, but were men of high character, remarkable alike for energy, integrity and perseverance. They included among their number such men as Thornton, the eminent London Banker of that day; Wilberforce, father of the future Bishop of Oxford; Granville, Sharp, the Clarksons, Thomas and John, and notably Zachary Macaulay, father of the future Lord Macaulay, the great British historian, statesman and orator.

Of these men, Zachary Macaulay, if not the most prominent, was the most laborious and the most indefatigable. He devoted his whole life to the work of abolition, and had the satisfaction before he died to witness its complete success.

As a boy of sixteen he had been sent out to Jamaica as book-keeper on a plantation, and had thus been brought into contact with Slavery as it existed in the West Indies. He saw the frightful evils which attended the institution, even when these were mitigated by the best efforts of the slave owners. He gave up his post and returned to England, his mind filled with an absolute horror of Slavery in all its forms. He soon became associated with the gentlemen whose names we have mentioned above, and others of the same style of thought, and thenceforth took an active part in their schemes, including that of the settlement at Sierra Leone.

Mr. John Clarkson's health having given way, he was obliged to return to Europe. But independently of the state of his health, the circumstances of the Colony required at its head a man of stronger type.

An eminent British statesman, in referring to the settlement of Sierra Leone, says that 'an aggregation of negroes from London, Jamaica and Nova Scotia, with no language, except an acquired jargon, and no associations beyond the recollections of a common servitude, were very poor apostles for western culture and the christian faith.'

The writer of this pithy sentence, though himself a grandson of Zachary Macaulay, is not exactly accurate in including the Jamaica contingent among the apostles of civilization on the spot, when his ancestor became Governor. They did not arrive till some years later.

There was comparatively little trouble at Sierra Leone, so long as the provisions and other supplies furnished by the Company held out. A negro with plenty to eat and to drink, with clothing and shelter, has little care for anything else. He has no ambition. To him labor is only a last resort. But when the company's supplies were exhausted, trouble began.

The management of the colony required not only a man in sound health capable of continuous labor, fearless, determined, indefatigable, yet kind and gentle, and devoted to the elevation of the negro race. Zachary Macaulay was just the man for such a crisis. He went out in 1793, as Governor, and in the course of the following year, succeeded in bringing the affairs of the colony into a fairly good condition.

His staff, to be sure, was miserably insufficient. He was, says his relative already alluded to, "his own secretary, his own paymaster, his own envoy, he posted ledgers, he decided causes, he conducted correspondence with the directors at home, and visited neighbouring potentates on diplomatic missions, which made up in danger what they wanted in dignity. In the absence of properly qualified clergy he preached sermons, and performed marriages."

Under such a vigorous Governor the colony soon began to show signs of prosperity. The town was built, the ground cleared and tilled, schools established, and everything was working well, when all of a sudden a disaster which befell the colony, shook it to its foundation. The invasion of King Jemmy in 1791, was a serious blow, but it was a trifle to that which was at hand. The town was now to be laid waste by a party more barbarous than African savages. It was during the Reign of Terror in France, when the apostles of liberty and fraternity were propagating their gospel of human brotherhood by pillage, robbery and murder. If any population could claim immunity from these missionaries of liberty, surely one of slaves restored to freedom might expect it, but they failed to receive it.

On a Sunday in September 1794, when Mr. Macanlay was just beginning to rejoice in the improved prospects of his people, a fleet of French ships, eight in number appeared off the coast of Sierra Leone, and came to anchor within a musket shot of the shore. They opened fire at once, and deliberately swept the streets with bullet and grape for two hours. Then a party of sailors landed, burst into the houses, ransacked them thoroughly, seized everything they considered of any value, destroyed what they could not use, demolished and broke to pieces printing presses, telescopes, hygrometers, barometers, thermometers, electrical machines, and all other similar articles; scattered and tore to pieces all the books they could discover, taking particular care to completely destroy all that had the appearance of bibles; finally they killed all the live stock, and then set fire to the houses. They remained on the coast till October, and then left the town a complete wreck, the people having nothing but the clothes on their backs, and some flour and a small quantity of brandy which had been hidden away.

But the Governor never flinched from his post. The moment the Frenchmen had gone he set to work to rebuild the town. An arrival of fresh supplies from England came opportunely to his relief, and in the course of another year the place resumed its former appearance.

Mr. Macaulay's health, however, gave way under imparalleled exertions and he was obliged to return to England to recruit. Soon, however, after he had left, a formidable outbreak took place and the Directors found it necessary to send him back to quell it. He had great difficulty in getting the blacks, of whom their ministers, of different religious persuasions, were the ringleaders, into subordination, but eventually succeeded by tact and firmness in restoring order in the settlement.

Still the elements of dissension remained, and after Mr. Macaulay's final departure for Europe, developed into insurrection. By a curious charm of circumstances, it was reserved for a new batch of negroes, not christians, but heathens, coming also from Nova Scotia, to teach the Christians of the same race at Sierra Leone the duty of obedience to constituted authority.

On the 22nd July, 1796, all of a sudden a body of negroes, numbering from five to six hundred were dumped on the shores of Nova Scotia. These were the Maroons, who had infested the hill country of Jamaica for generations.

That Island discovered in 1494, remained in possession of the Spaniards for over a century and a half. In 1655 it was conquered by the British, and has remained theirs ever since. On the capture, the bulk of the Spanish inhabitants removed to Cuba, but a considerable body of their negro slaves escaped and fled to the hills in the interior. After the conquest the numbers of the runaways were recruited from time to time by other slaves escaping from British masters. Thus a formidable body of negroes was established in the heart of the Island. They enjoyed a kind of rude independence. They conducted wars, and made treaties with the whites. They were allowed to reside in certain parts of the Island, exempt from the jurisdiction of the Jamaica Government. But their predatory habits brought them constantly into conflict with the authorities of Jamaica, and the government at last determined to root them out at any cost. The Maroons were a brave race—and had no objection to fighting—so long as they had only to fight men. But the Jamaica authorities had procured from Cuba a number of blood-honnds, and with these auxiliaries, were about to hunt the negroes in their fastnesses. The Maroons hearing of the new foes they had to encounter, solicited terms, and eventually laid down their arms and surrendered as prisoners of war. But before doing so, they demanded certain conditions, which

were granted by General Walpole, who was in command of the British forces. One of these conditions was that the prisoners should not be sent out of the Island. They required a guarantee that these conditions would be observed, and before they gave up their arms, the general was obliged to bind himself by oath to fulfil them. But the Legislature of Jamaica would not allow the Maroons to remain in the Island, and voted that they should be sent into exile. This proceeding was very offensive to General Walpole. So indignant was he at it, that he refused to accept a sword, valued at 500 guineas, which the Legislature wished to present him as a mark of their sense of his services.

Eventually the Government of Jamaica, with the consent of the Imperial authorities, decided to deport the Maroons to Nova Scotia. Mr. Wentworth, (who was now Sir John), was instructed from England to make provision for their settlement in this province.

Two Commissioners were sent from the Island of Jamaica to superintend the arrangements. The sum of £25,000 Jamaica currency, was placed to their credit by the Island Government to meet the present emergency. Unhappily there was no definite arrangement for anything beyond the present, a circumstance which gave rise to some serious difficulties later on.

The Jamaica Government acquired the title of a tract of land of 5000 acres in the neighbourhood of Preston, on which they erected buildings. They spent £3,000 in land and buildings. In the course of the autumn the Maroons were comfortably housed, and, for a time, seemed contented. The Governor's opinion of them was at first very favorable. He described them as 'healthy, peaceful and orderly, inoffensive and highly delighted with the country.' He interested himself very much in their welfare. He had many interviews with them, in which he gave them the best of advice. He applied to the British Government and obtained an allowance of £240 a year to support a school, and to provide instruction for them in the principles of religion. His object was, according to his own account, to 'reclaim them to the Church of England, and to disseminate piety, morality and loyalty among them.' Before their houses were built, the Maroons were provided with temporary shelter wherever it could be had. Fifty of them were lodged in an outhouse on the Governor's farm. He says "he was often without a sentry and without a door or a window locked, still they did no mischief." He sent to England for clothing for them and exerted himself in every possible way to make them comfortable. Soon however his opinion of

their character and conduct underwent a change. He found what might reasonably have been expected under the circumstances. These people had led a wild and savage life in their old home. In the climate of Jamaica they required little either of clothing or shelter. Food was largely the spontaneous growth of the soil. Negroes like an idle and lazy life, and have no aim or ambition for anything beyond mere animal existence. These men had no experience of the steady industry required in a climate like ours where shelter and clothing are actual necessities, and where food can not be had without toil or preserved without forethought. After Sir John had had a year's experience of them he still thought they might be useful in the Province as a corps to resist invasion. He did not think they could do much harm, but it is evident from expressions he used in his correspondence with his official superiors that his faith in them had gone. He says in one of his letters, "In fact they do not wish to live by industry, they prefer war and mutiny." On another occasion he says, "they wish to be sent to India or somewhere in the east, to be landed with arms in some country with a climate like that they left, where they might take possession with a strong hand, and murder and plunder at pleasure." It is quite clear that the governor's specific for "reclaiming these people to the church, and diffusing piety, morality and religion among them" had not been a success.

Year by year they became more and more turbulent and troublesome. They began to complain of the treachery which had been practised upon them at the time of their surrender. There was too much ground for this complaint, and no doubt the uneasy spirits among them used it with great effect to increase their discontent. Sir John had raised a Regiment in Nova Scotia for the service of the crown, and now he found use for it at home. He was obliged to send a detachment of fifty men to Preston to put down a serious disturbance, that had occurred there and to restore order.

It soon became evident that these people could not remain here, and shortly afterwards negotiations, at the instance of the Nova Scotia government were opened between the Imperial authorities and the Sierra Leone Company, which led to an arrangement to send the Maroons to join their predecessors from this Province on the coast of Africa. They were sent off in 1800, arriving at Sierra Leone in the month of October in that year.

Zachary Macaulay had before that time resigned his position and had returned to England. No sooner had his strong hand ceased to be felt at Siera Leone than the negroes broke out into open insurrection. The opportune arrival of the Maroons enabled the Governor to suppress it. They were faithful to the authorities and fought bravely on their behalf.

Some time, almost two years later, their behavior and character were the subject of a report made by a committee of the House of Commons in England. Their conduct was much applauded, and their character spoken of in the highest terms. They are represented "as active and intrepid, as prodigal of their lives, confident of their strength, proud of the character of their body, and fond, though not jealous of their independence." These qualities were probably the result of a century and a half of quasi independence in the mountains of Jamaica, while the other negroes had only just emerged from a state of slavery, and had all the weaknesses and vices of that condition, without any of the virtues and self restraint that belong to the descendants of a free race. We have given this appreciation of the Maroons in the light of subsequent facts, as a counterpoise to the very unfavorable opinion of them expressed by the governor of Nova Scotia at the time of their deportation.

There were however, some serious drawbacks in the case of the Maroons. They were not christians. They had little idea of any kind of religion. They believed in Acompang, whom they called the God of Heaven. They had no marriage ceremony. A man had as many wives as he chose to support, limited only by the obligation imposed by usage, that whatever presents he made to one he was obliged to make to all.

The report quoted above goes on to say that "the suppression of Polygamy among them has been hitherto deemed an experiment too hazardous to be tried, and no fair opportunity has yet occurred of ascertaining how far they would submit quietly to such restraints of the civil power as are repugnant to their inclinations or their taste."

A belief in Acompang, and the practice of Polygamy seem but poor qualifications for missionaries of civilization in the dark continent, and it is difficult to conceive upon what principle the friends of the Sierra Leone Colony consented to receive the Maroons. In the interests of African civilization it is not perhaps to be regretted, that the new settlers never abandoned the idea of a return to their old home. They seemed to have longed, as did the native Acadian French that we drove from our shores, for a return to the land of their birth and early

associations. They spent in the African colony about the same period of time that the Israelites passed in the wilderness, and forty years after their arrival, the great bulk of them returned to Jamaica. To-day only an inconsiderable number of their descendants remain in the African settlement.

The subsequent history of Sierra Leone, and also that of the Maroons, have no special interest to us as Nova Scotians.

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PAPERS

THE FOLLOWING PAPERS INCLUDED IN LIST GIVEN IN VOL. V. WERE PUBLISHED
IN VOL. VI.

DATE.	TITLE.	WHENCE OBTAINED.	Published in Transactions
1884.			
Nov. 13 1885.	King's College and the Episcopate in Nova Scotia.	T. B. Akins, Esq.,	Vol. vi. p. 123
May 7 1887.	Early History of St. George's Church, (part I.)	Rev. Dr. Partridge,	" " " 137
Mch. 16	The Acadian Boundary Disputes and the Ashburton Treaty.	Hon. R. L. Weatherbe.	" " " 17

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Read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society

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1887. Nov. 10	A Study of "Sam Slick."	F. B. Crofton, Esq.	
Dec. 8 1888.	Early Journalism in Nova Scotia.	J. J. Stewart, Esq.	Vol. vi. p. 91.
Jan. 20	Statement with referuce to "French } Cross" at Ayloxford. }	John E. Orpen, Esq.	
" "	The settlement of the early Townships, } Illustrated by an old census. }	D. Allison, Esq., LL.D.	Vol. vii. p. 45
Feb. 24	"T. C. Haliburton, Writer and Thinker."	F. B. Crofton, Esq.	
" 29	The Aroostook War.	C. G. D. Roberts, Esq.	
Mch. 27	Howe and his cotemporaries.	Hon. J. W. Longley.	
Apl. 10	The Loyalists at Shelburne.	Rev. T. W. Smith.	Vol vi. p. 53.
Nov. 13	Pictographs on Rocks at Fairy Lake.	Geo. Creed, Esq.	
Dec. 20	North West Territory and Red River } Expedition. }	Col. Wainwright.	
1889.			
Jan. 15	The Early Settlers of Sunbury County,	James Hanney, Esq., St. John, N. B.	
Mch. 42	Memoir of Governor Paul Mascarene.	J. MascareneHubbard Boston.	
Apl. 9	Legends of the Micmac Indians.	Rev. S. T. Rand.	
Nov. 12	United Empire Loyalists.	C. F. Fraser, Esq. }	
Dec. 10	Inquiries into the History of the Acadian } District of Pisiquid. }	H. Y. Hind, Esq. }	
1890.			
Feb. 13	History of Beaubassin.	Mr. Justice Morse, Amherst.	
Nov. 18	Early Reminiscences of Halifax.	P. Lynch, Esq.	
Dec. 5 1891.	An Historical Note on "John Crowne."	Prof. A. McMechan.	
Jan. 15	Richard John Uniacke.	Hon. L. G. Power.	
" 20	The Portuguese on the North EastCoast } of America, and the first European } settlement there. }	Rev. Geo. Patterson, D.D.	
Mch. 20	Facts and enquiries concerning the } origin and early history of Agricul- } ture in Nova Scotia. }	Prof. Geo. Lawson, LL. D.	

In Memoriam.

THE HONORABLE JOHN W. RITCHIE.

Born at Annapolis, 26th March, 1808; Died at Halifax, 13th Dec., 1890.

Since the publication of the last volume of its proceedings the Society has been called upon to mourn the death of the Honorable John William Ritchie, its first President, who passed away peacefully at his historic home of Belmont, in December last.

On the paternal side Judge Ritchie was of Scottish extraction. His father, Thomas Ritchie, was for several years a member of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, and afterwards a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. His mother was a sister of the late Honorable James W. Johnston. The subject of this notice was educated at the Academy in Pictou, which has sent forth so many men who have distinguished themselves in after life. Mr. Ritchie was admitted to the Bar in 1832, and devoted the leisure time, of which through lack of clients he had not a little during the earlier years of his professional career, to patient and thorough study of the law. The result of this quiet work, combined with great business capacity and a most upright and honorable character, was that, when practice came, it found him admirably prepared, and increased rapidly, so that in a comparatively short time he took his place amongst the leaders of the profession. More eloquent advocates our province has known, but it can hardly be said that she has produced any greater lawyer, and it certainly cannot be said of any other lawyer that he was more thoroughly trusted and respected than was Mr. Ritchie. He was for many years Law Clerk of the Legislative Council, and in this capacity was associated with the late Sir William Young, the late Judge McCully and the late Joseph Whidden, Clerk of the House of Assembly, in the preparation of the First Series of the Revised Statutes, a masterpiece of its kind. From 1864 to 1867 he was a member of the Legislative Council and Solicitor-General. As Law Clerk, and afterwards as Solicitor-General, he is to be credited with the enacting of much legislation of a useful but unobtrusive character. In 1867 he was appointed to the Senate of Canada; in 1870 became a Judge of our Supreme Court, and in 1873 was chosen to succeed his uncle, the Honorable James W. Johnston, as Judge in Equity. Finding his mental powers failing he resigned this office in 1882. In abandoning his high position, because he thought that he should give his country none but the best of his intellectual work, he set an admirable example for succeeding judges. As to the manner in which he discharged the important duties of his office there is abundant and explicit evidence, some of which may be fitly quoted. In the preface to the volume containing his decisions as Judge in Equity, the learned reporter, Mr. Russell, describes the court during his term of office as, in the language of Chancellor Kent, "presenting the image of the sanctity of a temple where truth and justice seemed to be enthroned and to be personified in their decrees"; and in the resolution of the Nova Scotia Barristers' Society, unanimously adopted just after Judge Ritchie's death, the following eloquent language is used with respect to the Equity Court:

"To the discharge of its duties he brought faculties and attainments of the highest order, and those judicial virtues without which even faculties and attainments of the highest order are no sure guarantee of success. Patient to listen and weigh,

keen to detect fallacy, merciless in the exposure of fraud, severe and exacting with seniors, but gracious and condescending to juniors, he discharged for eight years the duties of his high judicial office with an unbending integrity, which is happily not exceptional, but also with an unquestioned authority, which is almost without a parallel in the judicial annals of the Province. After a long and busy career, crowded with the most useful and most fruitful activities through many years, in which he wore the white flower of a blameless life, he has gone from our midst, leaving to the generation that follows him a noble example of high devotion to professional and public duty, and to those that were privileged to know him intimately the memory of his many endearing qualities of head and heart."

Having said so much, there is space only to add that in all the other relations of life, domestic, social, religious and political, Judge Ritchie did not fall below his professional record, and that, in the language of one who knew him thoroughly, he was, in the best sense of the words, a Christian and a gentleman.

THOMAS BEAMISH AKINS, D. C. L.

Born February 1, 1809; Died May 6, 1891.

While this volume has been going through the press, an irreparable loss has befallen the Nova Scotia Historical Society in the death of Dr. Akins, one of the committee of publication, and for the last two years Vice-President of the Society, of which he was President for the year 1882.

Thomas Beamish Akins was descended from Thomas Akin, one of the original New England settlers of the township of Falmouth. His father Thomas Akins, (who added a letter to his surname) was a merchant in Liverpool, N. S. His mother was a daughter of Thomas Beamish, for many years warden of this port. He was born in Liverpool, February 1st, 1809. His mother dying when he was but ten days old, his early life was spent in Halifax with his mother's people. He studied law with the late Beamish Murdoch, and was called to the bar in 1831. His practice, which was principally that of a solicitor, was a fairly lucrative one, and was marked by the same ability, prudence and uprightness that distinguished him in all the relations of life. At an early age, happily, he became interested in our provincial history. When only a lad he assisted Haliburton in the collection of materials for his history of Nova Scotia; and in his middle age he furnished a large portion of the materials for Murdoch's more elaborate work on the same subject. As early as 1857 he was recognized as the best authority in the province on matters pertaining to our provincial history, and was selected by the government of that date to be Commissioner of Public Records for the Province. This appointment, which Dr. Akins continued to hold until his death, was made in pursuance of the following resolution, which was moved by Hon. Joseph Howe, seconded by Hon. J. W. Johnston, and adopted by the House of Assembly on the 30th day of April, 1857:—

"That His Excellency the Governor be respectfully requested to cause the ancient records and documents illustrative of the history and progress of society in this province to be examined, preserved and arranged, either for reference or publication, as the Legislature may hereafter determine, and that this House will make provision for this service."

The difficulties in the way of the new Record Commissioner, and his earnest and intelligent method of grappling with them, may be gathered from his most interesting Report in the Journals of the Assembly for 1858.

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His skill and industry in arranging and cataloguing the documents in his keeping, and the important additions which he made to them with very inadequate grants, have won the approval of many historians. He has shown admirable judgment in his selection of manuscripts for publication in the single volume which he was authorized to print, a volume whose value he has largely enhanced by his excellent explanatory notes. Parkman, who has quoted frequently from it, pronounces it in his "Montcalm and Wolfe" to be "a government publication of great value." Numerous extracts from it, as well as several tributes to its excellence, may be found in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," edited by Justin Winsor. In the fifth volume of this elaborate work, in an essay on the sources of information concerning the final struggle of France and England in Acadia (pp. 418-419) Dr. Akins' compilation is classed as the first in importance.

The best known of the works of Dr. Akins is his "Selections from the Public Documents of Nova Scotia" (Halifax, 1869). Dr. Akins desired and proposed to publish three volumes of selections, but his wishes were overruled. His other works were a "Brief Account of the Origin, Endowment and Progress of the University of King's College, Windsor, N. S." (Halifax, 1865); and two pamphlets entitled "Prize Essay on the History of the Settlement of Halifax" (Halifax, 1847), and "A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Church of England in the British North American Provinces" (Halifax, 1849). All of these publications are, unfortunately, out of print. Two or three papers by Dr. Akins are printed in the collections of this Society.

Dr. Akins was an honorary or corresponding member of the American Historical Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, the Maryland Historical Society, the Historical Society of Texas, and several others. In 1865 he received the honorary degree of D. C. L. from King's College, Windsor.

Perhaps the finest and fullest private collection extant of works relating to British North America has been bequeathed by Dr. Akins to this Society, on condition that suitable and secure accommodation be provided for it, and that it be kept apart from the other effects of the Society. All his miscellaneous books and pamphlets he has willed to the Library of King's College. These include a collection of rare and old volumes, so important that, before it was impaired by his previous donations to the last-named library, it contained more specimens of the 15th century than the entire exhibit made some years ago by the Caxton Society at Montreal.

He died on the 6th of May, 1891. He was buried on the 9th, in the cemetery of St. John's Church, in the suburbs of Halifax, his funeral being attended by many of the most distinguished citizens. On the day after his death a resolution regretting his loss and acknowledging his services was adopted unanimously by the House of Assembly.

His memory was a store-house, not only of historic and antiquarian lore, but also of charming miscellaneous anecdotes. He was a kind friend, a genial companion, a doer of unobtrusive charities, a lover of truth, and a most thorough gentleman. "Shunning, almost abhorring, popular notice or applause," writes an editor who knew him well, "he did for Nova Scotia a work that well entitles him to rank with her most illustrious sons. Thinking only of 'the lightning of the deed' and caring nothing for 'the thunders of applause that follow at its heels,

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that men call fame, his name will live deservedly and honorably in the annals of his country, long after many apparently greater names are wholly forgotten."

ALBERT PETERS.

The Society has yet another loss to regret in the death of Mr. Albert Peters, who was the Recording Secretary from 1888 to 1890. He was born in 1859, admitted to the Bar in 1880, appointed Clerk of the Legislative Council in 1887, and died in September, 1891, after a lingering illness. Careful, courteous and industrious, he discharged his duties to the complete satisfaction of the Society, of his clients, and of the Legislative Council.

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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

Nova Scotia Historical Society,

FOR THE YEARS 1892-94.

VOLUME VIII.

HALIFAX, N. S.:

MORNING HERALD PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY,
1895.

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, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments and curiosities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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RULES AND BY-LAWS.

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

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

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

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

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

5. The regular meetings of the Society shall be held on the second Tuesday of every month, at 8 p. m. And special meetings

shall be convened, if necessary, on due notification of the President, or in case of his absence, by the Vice-President, or on the application of any five members.

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

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

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

8. Seven members shall be a quorum for all purposes at ordinary meetings, but at the Annual Meeting in February, when ten members shall form a quorum. No article of the constitution nor any by-law shall be altered at any meeting when less than ten members are present, nor unless the subject has either been discussed at a previous meeting, or reported on by a committee appointed for that purpose.

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

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

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OF THE

Nova Scotia Historical Society.

ELECTED 12TH FEBRUARY, 1895.

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PREFACE.

The late Dr. Akins, on the 18th of April, 1839, read a paper before the Halifax Mechanic's Institute on the "History of the Settlement of Halifax." In 1847 this paper was published in the form of a small-sized pamphlet, with notes prepared by the author. Subsequently, from time to time he added thereto, correcting and in some cases rewriting until a few years before his death, when it had reached the size of the present volume. After his decease the Society decided on publishing the History as he left it, in consideration of the historical value of the added matter. That determination has been carried out in the work as now presented. The reader will please bear that fact in mind, as it explains much that might otherwise be regarded as author's mistakes. Instead of being written at one time, its compilation covers a period of probably half a century, and events are referred to and facts are stated as they appeared to the author's mind at the time he wrote. The Society, however, felt that it was better that the work should appear with these trifling defects, than that any reconstruction of it by other hands should be permitted.

1839
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HISTORY OF HALIFAX CITY.

CHAPTER I.

Halifax, the metropolis of Nova Scotia, and the chief City of the Acadian or Lower Provinces, was founded in the year 1749, at the expense of Government, under the direction of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, and was named in compliment to George Montague, Earl of Halifax, then at the head of the Board, under whose immediate auspices the settlement was undertaken.

From the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, when Acadia was ceded to the Crown of Great Britain, to the year 1749, no progress had been made by the British in colonizing the country. The inhabitants consisted of a few thousand Acadian peasants, scattered around the shores of the Basin of Minas, Chignecto and the Valley of Annapolis. The Governor resided at Annapolis Royal, a small fortified port, with a garrison of two or three hundred regular troops, and was, in a great measure, dependent on New England for his necessary supplies. This was the only British port within the Province, with the exception of that of Canso, where, during the fishing season, a number of French, with a few Indians and New England fishermen, assembled, and where a captain's guard was usually stationed to preserve order and protect the rights of property. The French population, though professing to be neutral, had refused to take the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain, and were continually in a state of hostility to the British authorities in the country. Their poverty and ignorance placed them completely under the control of a few designing emissaries of the French Governor at Quebec, who incited the people to resent British rule, and frequently put all law at defiance, by assuming to themselves the sole management of municipal affairs in the settlements most remote from the seat of Government. The Governors of Canada had undertaken to claim all the country from the River St. Lawrence to the Bay of Fundy, as comprehended within their jurisdiction, confining the

territory of Acadia as ceded under the Treaty of Utrecht, to the Peninsula alone, and had actually commenced to erect forts on the River St. John and the Isthmus while the nations were at peace.

The necessity of a permanent British settlement and Military Station on the Atlantic Coast of the Peninsula, had long been considered the only effectual means of preserving British authority, as well as for the protection of the coast fishing, which, at this time, was deemed of paramount importance to British interests. But lately the continual breaches of neutrality on the part of the French, together with the loss of Louisburg, under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chappelle, in October, 1748, rendered such an establishment indispen- sibly necessary to the support of the British Crown in Nova Scotia.

The scheme for settlement at Chebucto is said to have originated with the people of Massachusetts,* who, in calling the attention of Government to the claims and encroachments of the French, suggested the necessity for, as well as the great commercial advantages to be derived from such an undertaking; and it has also been asserted that a committee of influential citizens had been formed in Boston for the purpose of more effectually advocating the design. No authentic information on the subject, however, has been found beyond the suggestions contained in Governor Shirley's letters to the Secretary of State, in 1747 and 8, in which one extensive plan of British colonization throughout Nova Scotia is proposed and details suggested, many of which, however, did not receive the approval of Government.†

A plan for carrying into effect this long-cherished design was, however, matured by the Board of Trade and Plantations, in the year 1748, and submitted to Government in the autumn of that year, and being warmly supported by Lord Halifax, the President of the Board, advertisements soon appeared under the sanction of His Majesty's authority, "holding out proper encouragement to officers and private men lately discharged from the Army and Navy, to

* One Thomas Coram, whose name appears frequently in the history of the state of Maine, is said to have suggested a scheme for building a town at Chebucto in 1718, and applied to Government for a grant of land, but was prevented by the agents of the Government of Massachusetts Bay, who supposed that such project might interfere with their fishing privileges, and he was compelled to abandon his enterprise. This, however, has not the weight of much authority.

† Copies of several of Shirley's letters were furnished Governor Cornwallis on leaving England, as part of his instructions.

settle in Nova Scotia." Among other inducements was the offer to convey the settlers to their destination, maintain them for twelve months at the public expense, and to supply them with arms and ammunition for defence, and with materials and articles for clearing the land, erecting dwellings and prosecuting the fishery. The encouragements appeared so inviting, that in a short time 1176 settlers, with their families, were found to volunteer, and the sum of £40,000 being appropriated by Parliament for the service, the expedition was placed under the command of Col. the Honble. Edward Cornwallis, M. P., as Captain General and Governor of Nova Scotia, and set sail for Chebucto Bay, the place of destination, in May, 1749.*

The fleet consisted of 13 Transports and a Sloop of War. The following is a list of the vessels, with the number of settlers.†

Sphinx Sloop of War, with Gov. Cornwallis and Suite.		Tonnage.	Number of Passengers.
TRANSPORTS.	Captains.		
Charlton Frigate.....	Richard Ladd	395	213
Winchelsea.....	Thomas Cornish.....	559	303
Wilmington	Thomas Adams.....	631	340
Merry Jacks.....	— Granger	378	230
Alexander	Samuel Harris.....	320	172
Beaufort	Elias Brennan.....	541	287
Rochampton	Samuel Williamson.....	232	77
Cannon Frigate.....	Andrew Dewar	342	190
Everly	S. Dutchman	351	186
London	John Barker.....	550	315
Brotherhood.....	.....	.....	27
Baltimore	Edward Cook.....	411	226
Snow Fair Lady	Isaac Foster.....	.....	10
			2576

The total number of males, exclusive of children, was 1546; of this number above 500 were man-of-war sailors.‡

The names of the principal settlers, with the rank and calling as they appear in the register, are as follows :

* Cornwallis was gazetted 9th May, 1749.

† Smollet's History mentions 4,000 settlers with their families; this probably was intended to include the Germans and other settlers who arrived between 1749 and 1753.

‡ But one death, a child, occurred during the voyage. This was attributed to the care of the Board of Trade and Plantations in providing ventilators and air pipes for the Transports, a new invention then lately introduced.

500
sailors

Leonard Lockman and Ezekiel Gilman, Majors in the Army; John Lemon, Foot Major and Commissary; Otis Little, Edward Amherst, Thomas Lewis, Benjamin Ives, Frederick Albert Strasburger, and Francis Bartelo, Captains in the Army; David Lewis, George Burners, George Colly, Richard Partridge, Thomas Newton, *John Collier, Robert Ewer, John Creighton, Thomas Voughan, John Galland, Richard Reves, William Joice, Joseph Wakefield, Augustus Graham, Alexander Callendar, David Haldame, Robert Campbell, William Bryan, and T. Vaughan, Lieutenants in the Army; James Warren, Thos. Reynolds, and Henry Wendell, Ensigns; John Hamilton, Adam Cockburn, and Wm. Williams, Lieutenants in the Navy; John Steinfort, Dennis Clarke, William Neil, Gustavus Mugden, and John Twinehoe, Lieutenants of Privateers; Chas. Mason, Robert Beatie, Charles Covy, Samuel Budd, John Ferguson, Nicholas Puxley, William Watson, Joseph Tomwell, Henry Chambers, Nicholas Todd, Roger Lowden, Joseph Gunn, John Thompson, Robert Young, Thomas Burnside, Timothy Pearce, Richard Drake, Newbegin Harris, William Vickers, Richard Cooper, Richard Mannering, Thomas Dumster, and Robert Cockburn, Midshipmen in the Royal Navy; John Jenkins, Cadet; Rene Gillet, Artificer; John Grant, John Henderson, Edward Gibson, William Hamilton, and William Smith, Volunteers; Lewis Hayes, Purser; John Bruce, Engineer; William Grant, Robert White, Patrick Hay, Mathew Jones, Thomas Wilson, M. Rush, James Handeside, H. Pitt, George Philip Bruscowitz, Cochran Dickson, Joshua Sacheveral, Thomas Inman, John Wildman, David Carnegie, and John Willis, Surgeons; John Steele, Lieutenant and Surgeon; William Lascells, Augustus Carsar Harbin, Archibald Campbell, John Wallis, John Grant, Daniel Brown, Timothy Griffith, Henry Martin, Robert Grant, and Alexander Hay, Surgeon's Mates and Assistants; Robert Thorekmorton, Surgeon's Pupil; Mr. Anwell, Clergyman, *John Baptiste Moreau, Gentleman and Schoolmaster; William Jeffery, Commissary; William Steele, Brewer and Merchant; Daniel Wood, Attorney; Thomas Cannon, Esquire; John Duport, and Lewis Piers, Gentlemen; Archibald Hinshelwood, John Kerr, William Nisbett, and Thomas Gray, Governor's Clerks; David Floyd, Clerk of the Stores.***

*Governor Cornwallis, in his letter to the Lords of Trade, dated Chebueto, 24th July, 1749, says: "The number of settlers—men, women and children—is 1,400, but I beg leave to observe to your Lordships that amongst them the number of industrious,

On the 21st June, 1749, old style, the Sloop of War, "Sphinx," arrived in the Harbor of Chebucto, having on board, the Honourable Edward Cornwallis, Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of the Province of Nova Scotia, and his suite. They had a long and boisterous passage, and did not make the coast of Acadia until 14th. They had no one on board acquainted with the coast, and did not meet with a pilot until the 20th, when they fell in with a Sloop from Boston, bound to Louisburg, with two pilots for the Government of that place. Governor Cornwallis' intention was first to proceed to Annapolis, but the wind not serving for the Bay of Fundy, and the officers assuring him that in case of foggy weather setting in they might be a long time in getting to Annapolis, he concluded on proceeding at once to Chebucto, rather than risk the possibility of being separated for any length of time from the fleet. He also felt, that by so doing, he would save the Governor of Louisburg the bad and long navigation to Annapolis, and accordingly, he dispatched a letter to Governor Hopson, by the Sloop, apprising him of his intention and desiring him to transport his garrison to Chebucto as soon as possible. The "Sphinx," before making Chebucto, first came to anchor in Malagash Bay, where they found several French families, comfortably settled, who professed themselves British subjects, and had grants of land from Governor Mascarine; they had tolerably good wooden houses covered with bark, and many cattle, and expressed themselves greatly pleased on hearing of the proposed new settlement. It happened that the same day on which Cornwallis arrived in the Harbor of Chebucto, a sloop came in from Louisburg with a letter from Hopson in expectation of meeting him. Hopson was in great perplexity, the French having arrived to take possession under the terms of the treaty, and there were no vessels to embark his troops. It appeared he was fully under the expectation that the ships which were to bring out the settlers would arrive in time to be sent down to him for that purpose, and he had made no other

active men proper to undertake and carry on a new settlement, is very small. Of soldiers there are only 100, of tradesmen, sailors and others able and willing to work, not above 200." The rest he reports as idle and worthless, persons who embraced the opportunity to get provisions for a year without labour, or sailors who only wanted a passage to New England, and that many were sick and unfit for settlers, and many without sufficient clothing. He describes the few Swiss who were among the settlers, as "regular, honest and industrious men," and observes that there are "indeed, many come over of the better sort, who, though they do not work themselves, are useful in managing the rest." "I have," he says, "appointed two or three of them as overseers of each ship's company."

arrangements. On receiving this letter, Governor Cornwallis immediately dispatched the Sloop to Boston, with letters to Aphorp & Handerik, whom Hopson recommended for the purpose, to hire vessels with all expedition to transport the garrison of Louisburg to Chebucto; also a letter directed to Governor Mascarine in case they should meet at sea with a vessel bound to Annapolis. At the same time, a Frenchman, acquainted with the country, was dispatched overland by Minas to Annapolis, with orders to Mascarine to come down with a quorum of his Council as soon as possible, that the new commission might be opened and another Council appointed in accordance with the Royal Instructions.*

Governor Cornwallis' first dispatch to England, after arriving at Chebucto, was sent via Boston, and bears date 22nd June, the day after his arrival. In this letter he says: "The coasts are as rich as ever they have been represented; we caught fish every day since we came, within 50 leagues of the coast. The harbour itself is full of fish of all kinds. All the officers agree the harbour is the finest they have ever seen. The country is one continued wood; no clear spot is to be seen or heard of. I have been on shore in several places. The underwood is only young trees, so that with difficulty one is able to make his way anywhere." "De Anvilles' Fleet have only cut wood for present use; they cleared no ground, but encamped their men on the beach. I have seen but few brooks, nor as yet have found the navigable river that has been talked of. There are a few French families on the east side of the bay, about three leagues off. Some have been on board."

Governor Mascarine having received Cornwallis' letter on the 26th, on the following day, ordered Captain Davis to make ready his galley and go round to Chebucto with fresh provisions. Mascarine was waiting the arrival of the new Governor at Annapolis, as appears by his letters to Governor Hopson on the 14th and 26th June, in which he says: "Get ready supplies for the new Captain General who will be here, but the fleet will be at Chebucto." The "Snow Fair Lady" arrived shortly after the Sphinx, and was dispatched to Annapolis to afford Mr. Mascarine the means of transporting his council and part of his garrison to Chebucto. On

*This messenger arrived on the fourth day, at Annapolis. "It is," says the Governor in his letter, "25 leagues over to Minas, (now Horton), and the French have made a path for driving their cattle over."

the 26th, the "Fair Lady" was in the harbour of Annapolis ready to receive Governor Mascarine and suite. On the 27th, the transport began to make their appearance off the harbour of Chebucto, and by the 1st July, they had all arrived. As their passage had been extremely good, and none of them had in the least suffered, the Governor found himself in a position to afford vessels to Colonel Hopson the moment the settlers should be put on shore.* Accordingly having countermanded the order to Boston for transports, he dispatched to Louisburg the ship "Brotherhood" on the 1st July, and on the 5th, the "London," "Wilmington," "Winchelsea," and "Merry Jacks." On the 8th he received from Louisburg, copies of letters from Governor Shirley of Boston, to Governor Mascarine, giving an account of the French having commenced a fort at the mouth of the River St. John, and on the following day sent Captain Rouse in the "Albany" and a small sloop to attend her, with orders to the commanding officer at Annapolis to furnish him with troops if required, and to proceed immediately to the River St. John, Governor Shirley having previously sent the ship "Boston" to Annapolis for the same service, there to await orders. It appears that the French had fitted out an expedition, under M. Ramey, for this purpose, a short time before the arrival of Cornwallis, and the vessel with ammunition, arms and provisions, bound to St. John River, had passed Malagash Bay a few days before the arrival of the "Sphinx" there; but having put into Port Mouton on her way, the information of their designs was communicated to the authorities of Annapolis.

Governor Mascarine having arrived with several of his Council on the 12th, the following day Governor Cornwallis opened his commission and took the oaths of office in their presence, and on Friday, the 14th July, the Civil Government was organized, and Colonel Paul Mascarine, Captain Edward How, Captain John Gorham, Benjamin Green, John Salsbury and Hugh Davidson were sworn in Councillors† on board the "Beaufort" Transport, and the Commission and Royal Instructions were then read. "The formation of the Board was announced to the people by a general salute from the

*The settlers who came out in the transport, afterwards sent to Louisburg, were first landed on George's Island.

†The table around which this Council assembled is now in the small Council Chamber in the Province Building.

ships in the harbour and the day was devoted to festivity and amusement." The four first gentlemen named in the Council were officers from Annapolis; Mr. Green was from Massachusetts, and had been with General Hopson at Louisburg, and the two latter were of His Excellency's suite; Mr. Davidson acted as Secretary.

Early in the month of July, a spot for the settlement was pitched upon near Point Pleasant,* then called Sandwich Point, and people were employed in cutting down the trees; but the want of sufficient depth of water in front, its great exposure to south-east gales and other inconveniences being discovered, it was abandoned for a more eligible situation to the northward, commanding a prospect of the whole harbour and on an easy ascent with bold anchorage close to the shore. Here Mr. Bruce the engineer, and Captain Morris the surveyor, were ordered to lay out the town, which was surveyed, the plan completed and the lots appropriated to their respective owners by the 14th September. The town was laid out in squares or blocks of 320 by 120 feet deep, the streets being 55 feet† in width. Each block contained 16 town lots, forty feet front by sixty deep, and the whole was afterwards divided into five divisions or wards, called Callendar's, Galland's, Ewer's, Collier's and Foreman's divisions, after the names of the persons who were appointed Captains of Militia, each ward being large enough to supply one company.

Buckingham Street was the north and Salter Street the south limit, and the whole was surrounded by a strong palisade of pickets with block houses or log forts at convenient distances. Foreman's new division was afterwards added as far as the present Jacob Street. The north and south suburbs were surveyed about the same time, but the German lots in the north were not laid off till the year following.

Great difficulty was at first experienced in the erection of dwellings; the European settlers being totally unacquainted with the method of constructing wooden buildings. Frames and other materials for building were, however, soon brought from Massachusetts, and before the cold weather set in a number of comfortable dwel-

*"From seeing the place only, one would be apt to choose Sandwich Point as the best situation for a town, being very defensible and having the advantage of Sandwich River, (now known as the North West Arm), navigable a great way. This was the general opinion at first, and they began to clear there, the first day they worked, but upon examination we found the strongest objections against it."—*Governor Cornwallis' letter to Board of Trade.*

†The streets are supposed to be 60 feet broad, but none of them are found to exceed 55 feet in width.

lings were erected. Provisions and other necessary supplies were regularly served out in the camp, and every exertion on the part of the Governor made to render the settlers comfortable before the approach of winter. Several transports were detained and housed over to accommodate those settlers whose houses were not complete, and the canvas tent and log hut were soon abandoned for more convenient and comfortable accommodations.

I have, says Governor Cornwallis, in his letter of the 20th August, contracted for frames and materials for barracks and officers' lodgings from Boston. Boards are very high owing to the drought. I have got none under £4 per thousand, and shall be obliged to furnish a vast number to help the people to get under cover, and have sent an officer on purpose to Boston to obtain them at a fair price. Many houses are begun and huts and log houses already up for more than half a mile on each side the town.

Tradition says that on clearing the ground for settlement a number of dead bodies were discovered among the trees, partly covered by the underwood, supposed to have been soldiers of the Duke D'Anville's expedition which put into Chebucto Harbor in 1746,* but the Governor in his letter does not mention the facts.

During the winter months the people were kept actively employed in cutting pickets for fences and wood for fuel, and for erecting new buildings. Mechanics were placed at the head of working parties to direct their labours, and by a judicious division of the people into small parties the more laborious portion of the work was executed with uncommon dispatch. Mills were also erected at the expense of Government for sawing lumber, and a mill master appointed with a salary, and every facility held out to enable those settlers, who had not yet been accommodated, to complete their dwellings on the approach of spring. The Governor in his letter of 27th July, describes the site of the Town as very advantageous. He says: "It

*The remnant of this formidable fleet which was destined for the destruction of the British settlements of Acadia and New England, put into Chebucto Harbor in distress in September, 1746. The troops it is said were encamped on the western side of the Basin, near the small Cove about 4 miles from town, which still bears the name of the French Landing. The Duke died of grief at the failure of the expedition, and the Vice Admiral Destourville, ran himself through the body, and was buried on George's Island. His remains, or what was supposed to have been, were afterwards removed to France by his family. Several of the ships of war were sunk on the eastern side of the Basin. The hulls of these vessels were visible in calm weather about 50 years ago, but they have long since disappeared. M. Jonquiere, afterwards Governor of Canada, was also in this expedition.

has all the conveniences I could wish except a fresh water river.* Nothing is easier than to build wharves; one is already finished for ships of 200 tons. I have constantly employed all the carpenters I could get from Annapolis and the ships here to build log houses for stores. I have likewise offered the French at Minas considerable wages to work, and they have promised to send fifty men to remain until October. As there was not one yard of clear ground you will imagine our difficulty and what we have here to do; however, they have already cleared about 12 acres, and I hope to begin my house in two days; I have a small frame and pickets ready."

The following extracts from a letter dated 25th July, 1749, written by a settler,† affords several interesting facts relative to the state of the settlement at this time:—"On our arrival we found the Sphinx, of 20 guns, which had come into harbor a few days before us; as I write the transports are entering the harbor with the two regiments of Hopson and Warberton on board from Louisburg. The assistance, as well as, the security we shall receive from them, will greatly forward our settlement; the officers have brought all their furniture, a great number of milch cows, and other stock, besides military stores. We have already cleared about 20 acres, and every one has a hut by his tent. Our work goes on briskly, and the method of employing the people in ships' companies has a good effect, and as the Governor is preparing to lay out the lots of land, we shall soon have a very convenient and pleasant town built, which is to be called Halifax. There are already several wharves built, and one gentleman is erecting a saw mill; public store houses are also building, and grain of various sorts have been sown. We have received constant supplies of plank and timber for building, and fresh stock and rum in great quantities, 20 schooners frequently coming in in one day. We have also a hundred cows and some sheep, brought down to us by land, by the French at Minas, which is about 30 miles distant from the bottom of the bay, and to which we purpose to cut a road. The French Deputies who came to make

*At this period when the settlement was confined to such narrow limits the brook known to us as Fresh Water River, in the south suburbs, was considered to be at a distance too far from the pickets to be of much value as a means of supply to the settlers.

†This letter appeared in one of the British periodicals for October, 1749.

submission have promised to send us 50 men for the purpose, and to assist us as far as they are able; we have received the like promise, and friendship and assistance from the Indians, the chief having been with the Governor for that purpose. In short, every thing is in a very prosperous way. But I should be equally unjust and ungrateful, were I to conclude without paying the tribute which is due to our Governor. He seems to have nothing in view but the interest and happiness of all; his zeal and prudent conduct in the difficult task assigned him cannot be too much admired."

The plan of the town having been completed and the building lots marked out, in order to prevent dispute and discontent among the settlers, it was deemed best that they should draw for the lots. Accordingly, at a Council held on the 1st of August, it was resolved that on Tuesday following, the 8th August, all heads of families who were settlers, should assemble at seven o'clock with the overseers, and single men should form themselves into families, four to each family, and each family choose one to draw for them. Mr. Bruce the engineer, being present on the occasion, assisted in distributing the lots according to the arrangement, and the whole were entered in a book of registry which was to be kept for the purpose and to constitute evidence of title and possession.*

The next object of importance was the erection of proper defences for the protection of the settlement. After they had taken possession of the lots, and commenced to build, the Governor endeavoured to induce the people to work for a few days in throwing up a line of defence around their new abode; "but," says he, "there was no persuading them to do it." It was not until the 13th August when the Council voted 1s. 6d. per day to each man employed, that this necessary work was commenced by the settlers. The harbour being broad and easy of access, the difficulty of selecting proper positions for fortifications, which would command the entrance, was at first seriously felt. This had been the great objection on the part of the French to making any settlement at Chebucto, La Have having been chosen by them for the principal post on the Atlantic Coast, being, from its narrow entrance, more easy of defence. In Admiral Durell's plan of Chebucto, the two points that flanked the entrance

*This allotment book still remains entire in the office of the Provincial Secretary, in Halifax. It was repaired in 1869 by the Record Commission, and a fac-simile copy made for use, and the original placed out of the reach of injury.

to Bedford Basin were marked as the places proper to fortify. Mr. Cornwallis says, their view must have been to have the settlement within that Bay (the Basin); this would have been subject to great inconvenience. In the first place, it would have been too far up for the fishermen, it being about five leagues from the entrance of the Harbour to those points, and the beach all along as well adapted for curing their fish as can possibly be imagined; no fisherman would ever have thought of going within these forts. Indeed no ship would choose to go so far, as no finer harbour can be than that of Chebucto, which reaches from these points to Sandwich River; so that notwithstanding any forts upon these points, an enemy's fleet might be secure and indeed block up all ships within the bay. He accordingly fixed upon Sandwich Point and the high lands opposite, (now called York Redoubt), and George's Island as the most proper positions for the erection of the necessary defences. On the latter he immediately placed a guard, landed his stores and planned and proposed to build thereon his magazine for powder.

The first act of Government, after the organization of the Council on the 14th, was an audience of the three French Deputies, who had come down to meet the New Governor. They were Jean Melanson, from Canard River; Claude le Blanc, from Grand Pre, and Philip Melanson from Pisiquid. Colonel Mascarine read to the Council the oath which the French inhabitants had before taken. Being asked if they had anything to offer from their several departments, they answered that they were sent only to pay their respects to His Excellency and to know what was to be their condition henceforth, and whether they would be allowed their priests. They were assured that their religion should be protected, but that, as heretofore, no priest should be permitted to officiate within the Province, without having first obtained a license from the Governor. They were furnished with copies of the Royal Declaration, a proclamation issued by Governor Cornwallis, and the oath which had been customary, with directions to return within a fortnight, to report to the Council the views of the inhabitants of the respective districts, and also to notify the other settlements to send deputies as soon as possible. The second meeting of the Council took place on the 17th, when Mr. Wm. Steele was sworn in a member of the Board, and on the following day the Governor's proclamation was read in the camp,

prohibiting all persons from leaving the Province without permission, and against the retail of spirituous liquors without license.

On the 18th, Mr. Bruce the Engineer, Lieutenants Ewer, Collier and Mr. John Duport were appointed Justices of the peace, and all the settlers having assembled in separate companies with their respective overseers, each company chose its constables.

The Governor designed opening more perfect means of communication with Minas by constructing a road, which he described as being 30 miles only, in a direct line, and to build a Block House half way, but having only two companies of soldiers with him, one of Hopson's and one of Warberton's regiment, together with about 60 of Goreham's Indian Rangers, and the 50 French, who promised to assist in the work, having disappointed him, he was compelled to postpone the object until after the arrival of the army from Louisburg. Proper access to the interior, by the construction of a good road to Minas, was deemed of paramount importance to the settlement of the country. The inhabitants of the rural districts were so insulated as to be in a great measure independent of all authority. Colonel Mascarine, on returning to Annapolis, received directions to send a Captain, 3 Subalterns and 100 men to Minas, and to erect a Block-house and Battery there, the troops to be first quartered at Grande Pre, where the Block-house was to be built, and the French people were to be hired at fair wages to assist in the work.*

Capt. How, who had been sent to St. John River in the Albany with Capt. Rouse, having returned overland with thirteen Indians, three deputies from the tribes at St. John, the Chief of the Chignecto Indians, and nine others of their tribes. They received an audience on the 14th; they consisted of Francis de Salle, Chief from Octfragli; the Chief Noellobig, from Medochig; the Chief Neptune Albodonallilla from the Chignecto tribe, for himself and tribe. The negotiation was carried on through Martin, the Indian, and André, the interpreter from Minas. They stated to the Council that they had come to confirm the treaty of 1726, and that several of them had been present at that treaty. Terms were drawn up by Mr. Secretary Davidson, and signed by the Chiefs on the 15th August,*

*Note.—These Indians are described in a letter from one of the Settlers, to England, dated 19th August, as quite different from the Indians of the peninsula, their faces all rubbed over with vermilion and across their nose and forehead are regularly drawn black lines. Their ears are bored full of holes and adorned with tobacco pipes and ribbons of different colours; their clothes are of the light homespun grey but intol-

1749, and Capt. How was ordered to carry it to St. John to be ratified, and to take with him presents to the Chiefs. It was accordingly ratified on the 4th day of September following, and signed by all the Chiefs and Captains at the River St. John, six in number, in the presence of Mr. How and seven other witnesses; Madame De Bellisle acting as interpreter by request of the Indians. This document is still in existence; also a copy of that of 1726, sent to Governor Cornwallis by the Governor of Massachusetts Bay. This treaty appears to have been little regarded, for in the beginning of October following, news arrived from Annapolis and Canso of further incursions on the part of the Indians, and Government was compelled to raise two new independent companies of Volunteers for that service, which were placed under the command of Major Gilman and Capt. Clapham, on the same footing with the Rangers under Gorham.

After the evacuation of Louisburg the population received a considerable accession; a number of the English inhabitants came with Governor Hobson and became settlers, and many from New England were daily arriving, and upwards of 1000 more from the old provinces had expressed themselves desirous of joining the Settlement before winter. The Governor therefore gave orders to all vessels in the Government service to give them a free passage. The New England people soon formed the basis of the resident population, and are the ancestors of many of the present inhabitants. They were better settlers than the old discharged soldiers and sailors who came on the fleet; most of whom died or left the country during the first three or four years, leaving, however, the most industrious and respectable among them as permanent settlers. Many settlers and traders came out for the purpose of making money; these people infested the Settlement in great numbers, and gave Mr. Cornwallis and his successors much trouble and annoyance, in demoralizing the people by the illicit sale of bad liquors, and in other ways retarding the progress of the country.

erably ragged. The French supply them with those articles. Their squaws or women dress equally as gay as the men. They are entire drunkards, and never cease drinking spirituous liquors as long as they can get it. They came on board to the Governor in great form. After the treaty was ratified they received presents and went on board the man-of-war, where they solaced themselves with singing and dancing. As to the songs it is one continued bellowing and noise. Upon their coming off, the man-of-war gave them a salute of 17 guns, as likewise they did on going aboard. They expressed a great deal of satisfaction at the honors done them; so they were discharged and sent in one of Colonel Goreham's sloops to St. John River with presents to the rest of their tribe.

A proposition was made about this time by a French merchant from the West Indies to Governor Cornwallis to bring to Halifax some Protestant families from Martinique with their effects, if he would give them protection and grant them lands, and the Governor was furnished with a list of their names, with what each of them was worth, which approached in all nearly £50,000. This gentleman proceeded to Louisburg to obtain for them a passport, and proposed to have his people on before winter; but it does not appear as far as any information on the subject can be gathered from the public records that any of these French Protestants ever arrived.

The Government found it necessary to check the indiscriminate sale of spirituous liquors by a license duty. On the 28th August an ordinance passed for that purpose, and all such licensed houses were to be closed at 9 p. m. under penalty. On the 31st August the Governor and Council for the first time sat as a Court of Law. This was named the General Court, all authority—legislative, executive and judicial—being vested in the Board. They met on this day for the trial of Abram Goodside, the Boatswain's mate of the Beaufort, who stabbed and wounded two men. A grand jury was summoned who found a bill of indictment; he was tried and found guilty by a petit jury, and hanged under the Governor's warrant on 2nd September, 1749. On 31st August, another Court was held for the trial of one Peter Cartal, for murder. The Acadian Deputies having returned from the country, they were called before the Governor and Council on September 6th, when they presented a letter signed by 1000 inhabitants claiming to take only a qualified Oath of Allegiance.

On the 30th August, a sloop from Liverpool, Great Britain, with 116 settlers, arrived after a passage of nine weeks. They were, however, all quite healthy, not one person being sick on board at the time of their arrival. Two streets were then added to the Town and lots assigned to these people. This was Forman's new division. We have no names of these settlers or the name of the sloop.

Information having reached the Government that the Indians of Acadia and St. John's Island, designed to molest the settlement at Halifax on the approach of winter,* it was deemed advisable to erect

* Governor Cornwallis' letter to Secretary of State.

outworks for its defence; accordingly the troops and inhabitants were immediately employed to construct a line of palisades around the town in connection with square log forts which were to be placed at convenient distances. A space of thirty feet was cleared without the lines, and the trees thrown up by way of a barricade, which constituted a complete defence against any attempt on the part of the Indians. Those settlers who had built their houses without the town had arms given them, and their dwellings being built of logs were musket proof; also the Ordnance Artificers, those from New England and such of the settlers as had been in the army, and such others as could be trusted with arms within the town, also received them, and an order was sent to Boston for a supply of lamps to light the streets during the winter nights. Col. Goreham was sent to the head of the Basin with his company of Rangers for the winter, with an armed sloop to assist him, and every preparation possible was made for the protection of the people during the ensuing winter.

The Indians had appeared in the neighbourhood of the town for several weeks, but intelligence had been received that they had commenced hostilities, by the capture of twenty persons at Canso under frivolous pretences, and of two vessels having been attacked by them at Chignecto, when three English and seven Indians were killed. In consequence of this information it was resolved in Council to send a letter to M. Desherbiers, Governor of Louisburg, to recall LeLoutre. On the last day of September they made an attack on the sawmill at Dartmouth, then under the charge of Major Gilman. Six of his men had been sent out to cut wood without arms. The Indians laid in ambush, killed four and carried off one, and the other escaped and gave the alarm, and a detachment of rangers was sent after the savages, who having overtaken them, cut off the heads of two Indians and scalped one.*

These proceedings compelled the government to take more active measures, and orders were given to the commanding officers at the out stations, to destroy the Indians wherever they met them, and a premium of ten guineas was offered for every Indian killed or

* This affair is mentioned in a letter from a gentleman in Halifax to Boston, dated October 2nd, as follows: "About seven o'clock on Saturday morning before, as several of Major Gilman's workmen with one soldier, unarmed, were hewing sticks of timber about 200 yards from his house and mills on the east side of the harbour, they were surprised by about 40 Indians, who first fired two shots and then a volley upon them which killed four, two of whom they scalped, and cut off the heads of the others, the fifth is missing and is supposed to have been carried off."

taken prisoner, this offer was in consequence of the large rewards offered by the French to the Indians for English scalps. Orders were given for raising two independent companies of rangers, one of one hundred men by Major Gilman, who was sent to Piscataqua for that purpose,* the other a company of volunteers by Captain Wm. Clapham, who with Goreham's Indian Rangers, now returned from their stations at the head of the Basin with a company of Philips' Regiment, were to scour the whole country around the Bay. The St. John Indians having kept the treaty, received from Governor Cornwallis a present of 1000 bushels of corn, and an order was also given to purchase at Minas 500 bushels of wheat, to be baked into biscuit for the same purpose. Captain How was intrusted with these and other presents, and was directed to bring back with him, if possible, some of the tribe to go against the Mic-Macs. The preparation necessary to the protection of the town against French-Indian hostilities tended to expedite the progress of the settlement; before the middle of October, about three hundred and fifty houses had been completed, two of the square forts finished and the barricade carried all around. A number of store houses and barrack buildings for the accommodation of the troops had been also erected and the Governor's residence completed. The Council met there on the 14th October. About 30 of the French inhabitants were employed on the Public Works, and in cutting a road from the town to the Basin of Minas. A number of influential and industrious families from New England and other places had already become settlers, and Halifax Harbor was the resort of a large number of fishing vessels.

About this time a destructive epidemic made its appearance in the town, and it is said nearly 1000 persons fell victims during the autumn and the following winter. On the 14th day of October, the Government found it necessary to publish an ordinance, commanding all Justices of the Peace, upon the death of the settlers, to name so many of the neighbourhood or quarter (not exceeding 12) to which the deceased belonged, to attend at the burial and carry the corpse to the grave, and whoever refused to attend without sufficient reason should have his name struck off the Mess Book and Register of Settlers as unworthy of His Majesty's bounty; and again in

*These men were supplied with hatchets and snow shoes for winter warfare.

December, another order was made commanding all householders to report their dead to a clergyman within twenty-four hours.

Owing to the frequent alarms of invasion from the Indians and French stragglers during the winter, it was resolved in Council to organize a militia force for the protection of the settlement, and on the Sunday following the 6th day of December, after divine service, all the male settlers, between the age of sixteen and sixty, were assembled on the parade, and drawn up in the following order:—
“Those of Mr. Ewer’s and Mr. Collier’s divisions to face the harbor, those of the quarters of Mr. Galland and Mr. Foreman to face the Citadel, and those of Mr. Callendar’s division at one end of the parade.” The proclamation bears date the 7th day of December, 1749. On the 16th, information arrived that a French force had been dispatched overland from Canada, to attack Halifax, and that the Indians’ were to co-operate with them, also, that two vessels with six hundred men were in the Bay Verte under LeCorne, and with ammunition and stores of all kinds for a winter expedition. The people having been again assembled on the parade after divine service, the proclamation was read and the settlers commanded to fell all the trees around the town without the forts and barricades. No attempt was, however, made upon the town, either by the Indians or French during the winter. These hostilities were being carried on by the Government of Canada, while the two Crowns were nominally at peace, under pretence that the Treaty of Utrecht only ceded to the Crown of Great Britain the peninsula of Nova Scotia proper.

The Governor deeming it expedient that some permanent system of judicial proceedings to answer the immediate exigencies of the Colony should be established, a committee of Council was accordingly appointed to examine the various systems in force in the old Colonies. On 13th December, Mr. Green reported that after a careful investigation, the laws of Virginia were found to be most applicable to the present situation of the province. The report was adopted. It referred principally to the judicial proceedings in the General Courts, the County Courts, and other tribunals.

Before concluding this chapter, which comprehends all that can be collected relative to the affairs of the settlement during the first year of its existence, it will be proper to observe that in founding

the City, the spiritual wants of the settlers were not lost sight of by the British Government. Preparatory to the embarkation of the settlers, a letter was addressed by the Lords of Trade and Plantations to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, dated Whitehall, April 6th, 1749, recommending to the Society to appoint ministers and school-masters for the new settlement at Chebucto, and for such other townships or settlements as should from time to time be formed in Nova Scotia, and requesting the Society to make some provisions for them until arrangements should be made for their sufficient support, by grants of land, etc.* The Society resolved immediately to act on this recommendation, and undertook to send six clergymen and six school-masters, when the settlements should be formed. The first missionaries appointed under this arrangement, were the Rev. William Tutty, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and the Rev. Mr. Anwell, who both came out with the settlers in June, 1749. Mr. Tutty officiated in the open air until the necessary church accommodation could be obtained. On laying out the town, a spot was assigned by Government for the church. The site was first selected at the north end of the Grand Parade, where Dalhousie College now stands, but it was changed immediately after for the present site of St. Paul's Church, which was erected at the expense of Government and ready for the reception of the missionary, who preached his first sermon there on the 2nd day of September, 1750. The pews and inside finish were not completed for several years after. The name of Mr. Tutty does not appear among those of the settlers who came with Cornwallis. He probably, however, accompanied him. Mr. Anwell came with the expedition, but his name does not again appear; he died shortly after his arrival. Mr. Tutty spoke German and administered the Lord's Supper to the German settlers in their own language. The other missionary, J. Baptiste Moreau, who came out as school-master, and afterwards went to England for ordination, returned to the settlement and went down to Maligash with the Germans, 1752. Mr. Halstead was the school-master in charge of the Society's schools at Halifax during the first two or three years.

Governor Cornwallis in 1749, assigned the lot at the south-west corner of Prince and Hollis streets for a Protestant Dissenting

*A copy of this letter will be found in the appendix.

Meeting house. The old building known as Mather's, or as it was afterwards called St. Matthew's Church (destroyed by fire in 1859,) was soon after erected on this site. It was appropriated originally to the Congregationalists, many of whom came from New England to settle in Halifax. It was called Mather's Church after the celebrated Cotton Mather, one of the leading divines of that denomination at Boston, in early days. The Presbyterians, and all who did not belong to the Established Church, attended divine service in this building. The Rev. Mr. Cleveland, who came from one of the old colonies, was the first minister who officiated in this building. It afterwards fell into the hands of the Presbyterians and became the property of the Church of Scotland, and the name of Mather's was changed to that of St. Matthew. This old Church was destroyed by fire, which consumed a large portion of the buildings in Hollis Street, in 1859. The lot of ground on which it stood was afterwards sold to Mr. Doull, who erected the fine stone store thereon, now known as Doull and Miller's building.

CHAPTER II.

The winter of 1749-50, as has been before mentioned, was spent in continual apprehension of Indian and French invasion, and in preparations to receive the enemy. On the 7th January, 1750, a number of the inhabitants petitioned that Martial Law should be declared, but the Governor and Council did not consider the danger so great or imminent as to make it necessary. However, stringent regulations with regard to the militia were enacted, and an ordinance was issued compelling all settlers able to bear arms between 16 and 60, to be formed into 10 companies of 70 men each,* and a guard of — officers and 30 men to assemble every evening near the parade to keep guard until sunrise, and all militia men called upon to labour at the fortifications, were to be allowed 1s. per day. Labourers were constantly employed in raising a barricade and continuing it to the water side, and block houses were erected between the forts.

During the winter intelligence frequently arrived from Minas, Pisiquid, and the eastern shore, of attacks being made by the Indians upon stragglers, and several young Acadians were brought from Minas to Halifax for trial, having been found in arms with the Indians. A large reward was offered for the apprehension of LeLoutre, the Indian missionary, and also £10 sterling for every Indian scalp or Indian prisoner. Capt. Sylvanus Cobb, an active and bold sea captain from Massachusetts, was taken into Government employ, and sent to Chignecto with his armed sloop for the purpose of surprising LeLoutre and his gang, and afterwards to search the harbors along the coast for Indians, and bring with him all he captured as prisoners to Halifax. Troops under Capt. Bartilo and others were sent into the interior and other active proceedings taken by the Governor and Council during the months of January and February for the peace of the province. A courier having been stopped at Cobequid, Priest Gourard and the French Deputies, were all brought to Halifax, by Capt. Bartilo, for examination before the Governor and Council; Gourard was detained at Government House until the courier returned, but the deputies were

*The Artificers formed one company by themselves, and the whole militia amounted to about 840 men. The Officers behaved well, but, says the Governor in his dispatch, "I cannot say so of the men."

dismissed. He disclosed the fact to the Council that the Mic-Mac Indians of Nova Scotia went every year to Quebec, to receive clothing from the French Government, and that LeCorn had made the French of Acadia take the Oath of Allegiance to the French King. Gourard on this occasion took the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain, and thereupon received a licence to officiate as Priest to the Acadians, and promised not to leave the province without special leave from the Governor.

Among the municipal regulations this winter, was an ordinance that all persons found breaking the liquor license law, should be put one hour in the public stocks, and for the second offence receive twenty lashes. These severe regulations were found to be absolutely necessary, in consequence of the demoralized state of the settlement from settlers and others who infested the town and who were not settlers.

On the 2nd February, 1750, an ordinance was passed in Council, prohibiting the recovery of any debt contracted in England or elsewhere, prior to the establishment of the settlement or to the debtor's arrival in Halifax, in any Court of Law within the province, except for goods imported into the Colonies. There appears to have been some difference of opinion at the Board on the subject; the Council divided, and the ordinance was carried by a small majority.

It was proposed in Council about this time, to build a quay along the shore in front of the town, but several merchants—Mr. Saul, Mr. Joshua Mauger and others, having applied for water lots, and liberty to build wharves on the beach, the subject was referred to Mr. Morris the surveyor, and Mr. Bruce the engineer. They thought the quay was a work of time and required means from England. Licences to build wharves were therefore granted, with a reservation of the right of the Crown in case the quay should be resolved on or the frontage required for government purposes. This scheme was afterwards abandoned by Government, and the licences remained unrepealed. At this period the line of the shore was so irregular, as in some places to afford only a footpath between the base line of the lots, which now form the upper side of Water Street and high water mark;* at the Market the tide flowed up nearly to

*According to the original plan of the Town published in October, 1749, a space appears to have been reserved between the line of the lots and the shore, but no Water

where the [old] City Court House stood, forming a cove, the outlet of a brook which came down north of George Street. Near the Ordnance Yard another cove made in, and this part of the shore was low and swampy many years after the batteries were built.*

The winter passed without any attack on the settlement, and the people were all quite healthy. The number of settlers was daily augmented by almost every vessel which arrived from New England and elsewhere; every thing required was provided for them, that they should be tolerably comfortable before the cold weather set in. The winter was very fine, very few extreme bad days, no heavy snow storms, the navigation never stopped in the slightest degree. More fine days and fewer bad ones (says the Governor) than I ever saw in winter. Spring opened early with fine warm days and thaw, and the fishing schooners began early in March to go upon the Bank.† The snow lay all the winter, from the middle of January; it was, however, only three feet deep in the woods. The healthy condition of the settlers may be inferred from there never being more than 25 in the hospital ship at any one time.

By the 19th March, a place had been erected for a public Hospital, and a school building commenced for the orphan children. The French from the interior engaged freely for money to square timber for the erection of the blockhouses, and preparations were in progress for the completion of the Church.

A meeting of the Governor and Council took place on 19th April, when the French Deputies again appeared with a petition to be permitted to sell their lands and leave the country. The names of

Street was laid out—the upper side of the present Bedford Row being the western limit. There were five forts, having each four quadrangular blockhouses, with a barrack in the centre; these were connected by wooden palisades or pickets.

*A number of licences to erect wharves and buildings along the beach had been granted by Government to individuals engaged in trade and the fishery, before the idea of a general Government breastwork had been abandoned. These titles continued to be held good; a number of wharf proprietors, however, obtained conformation grants from time to time as they required water extension. Mr. Charles Morris, the Surveyor-General, who had the sole management of the land office, in his reports to the Government, advised small spaces to be reserved on both sides in making these conformation grants as well as in subsequent water grants in fee, which have been found of much inconvenience to trade, and a drawback on the progress of the City. No reservation of water was originally made at the foot of the cross streets or hills. At the close of the last and the commencement of the present century, when conformation or extension water grants were asked for, he marked on his plans narrow strips or reservations on the sides of many of these water grants, which for there being in many instances inaccessible, have since proved of no value to the public and a great injury to the proprietors of water property.

† Cornwallis' letter of 19th March.

these deputies were Jaques Teriot from Grand Pre, Francois Grauger from River de Canard, Battiste Galerne and Jean André.

Mr. Cornwallis was continually embarrassed by letters from the Board of Trade, finding fault with the expenses incurred in planting the settlement. £40,000 had been voted by Parliament, and £36,000 of excess had been demanded as a further vote; this could not be considered so great an expenditure under all the circumstances, as it included the pay and equipment of two regiments of infantry. In his replies, he says, "Not a pound shall be expended by me unnecessarily, but without money you could have had no town, no settlement, and indeed no settlers. 'Tis very certain that the public money cleared the ground, built the town, secured it, kept both soldiers and settlers from starving with cold, and has brought down above 1000 settlers from the other Colonies. Lots in Halifax are now worth 50 guineas. If there was no public money circulating, lots would be given for a gallon of rum. The money is laid out in building forts, barracks, store houses, hospitals, churches, wharves, etc., public works all that seem absolutely necessary. According to your Lordship's directions, I have discharged the two Government Apothecaries and shall discharge some of the Surgeons' Mates that may be spared. As for the saw mill, we never had one board from it—it has been a constant plague from the beginning. Thirty men have been constantly kept there ever since the affair of the Indians. Gilman has behaved so ill I shall have to discharge him from all service. I have laid in a quantity of lumber in the King's yard this spring at a reasonable price. For want of stock I have been sometimes obliged to pay £5 per M. The settlers have paid £6. I have got them lately at £3 10s., £3 and £2 15s. No new boards are given to settlers."

The salaries to the public officers of Cornwallis' Government appear exceedingly small in comparison with the arduous duties which devolved upon them in organizing the settlement. His Aides-de-Camp, Capt. Bulkely and Mr. Gates,* had no allowance except some trifling commission on the issue of molasses and spirits.

In June, 1750, the Governor and Council assigned as a site the spot on which the [old] City Court House stands, for a market for black cattle, sheep, etc., and made market regulations. In

* This was the well-known Horatio Gates, afterwards a Revolutionary General.

July, the settlers were ordered to clear the streets in front of their respective lots to the centre. They had begun to clear George's Island and to erect block-houses. Seven 32-pounders had been mounted upon it, and a palisade carried all around the works. The frame of the Church, which had been brought from Boston, was erected and was being covered in, the estimated cost of finishing the edifice being £1000 sterling. The temporary barricades were removed, and the palisades carried completely round the town. 30,000 bricks had been manufactured in the neighbourhood and found very good. The meeting house for Dissenters had not yet been commenced. The town was increasing every day in settlers and the number of its houses, but no improvement of the lands in the neighbourhood had been made beyond a few small gardens. The fishery was prosperous and produced 25,000 quintals the first year.

In the month of August, 1750, three hundred and fifty-three settlers arrived in the ship *Alderney*; and in September following, three hundred German Protestants, from the Palatinate, in the ship *Ann*. The Governor and Council were embarrassed in providing for their support, and found it necessary to enter into pecuniary arrangements with the merchants of the town, who at this early period had formed themselves into an association for the benefit of trade. Those who came in the ship *Alderney*, were sent to the opposite side of the harbour, and commenced the town of Dartmouth, which was laid out in the autumn of that year. In December following, the first ferry was established, and John Connor appointed ferryman by order in Council.

In the spring of the following year the Indians surprised Dartmouth at night, scalped a number of settlers and carried off several prisoners. The inhabitants, fearing an attack, had cut down the spruce trees around their settlement, which, instead of a protection, as was intended, served as a cover for the enemy. Captain Clapham and his company of Rangers were stationed on Block-house hill, and it is said remained within his block-house firing from the loop-holes, during the whole affair. The Indians were said to have destroyed several dwellings, sparing neither women nor children. The light of the torches and the discharge of musketry alarmed the inhabitants of Halifax, some of whom put off

to their assistance, but did not arrive in any force till after the Indians had retired. The night was calm, and the cries of the settlers, and whoop of the Indians were distinctly heard on the western side of the harbour. On the following morning, several bodies were brought over—the Indians having carried off the scalps.* Mr. Pyke, father of the late John George Pyke, Esq., many years police magistrate of Halifax, lost his life on this occasion. Those who fled to the woods were all taken prisoners but one. A court martial was called on the 14th May, to inquire into the conduct of the different commanding officers, both commissioned and non-commissioned, in permitting the village to be plundered when there were about 60 men posted there for its protection.

There was a guard house and small military post at Dartmouth from the first settlement, and a gun mounted on the point near the saw mill (in the cove) in 1749. One or two transports, which had been housed over during winter and store ships were anchored in the cove, under the cover of this gun, and the ice kept broke around them to prevent the approach of the Indians. The attempt to plant a settlement at Dartmouth, does not appear to have been at first very successful. Governor Hobson in his letter to the Board of Trade, dated 1st October, 1753, says, "At Dartmouth there is a small town well picketed in, and a detachment of troops to protect it, but there are not above five families residing in it, as there is no trade or fishing to maintain any inhabitants, and they apprehend danger from the Indians in cultivating any land on the outer side of the pickets."

There is no record of any concerted attack having been made by the Indians or French on the town of Halifax. Many stragglers were cut off during the first years of the settlement, particularly along the western side of the Basin, where the best firewood was to be obtained. It was at length found necessary to send out an armed body when fuel or lumber was required. The enemy usually retired before a regular organized force. The Ranger companies under Goreham and Bartelo, were most efficient for this purpose; they were usually recruited in New England, where men for that service were more readily found.

*The Governor in his letter to England mentions 4 men killed, 6 soldiers prisoners who were not upon guard, and our people killed 3 Indians, and had they done their duty well, might have killed many more.

The German settlers who came in the ship *Ann*, were employed in the public works at 2s. per day, besides a supply of beer and other liquors to each. It was decided that all settlers who came in the previous year, should cease to draw provisions after the 15th September, 1750. This order was afterwards repealed on 29th, and it was determined that all settlers already in the town or who should come before 1st December, should be entitled to one year's provisions from the time of their names being entered on the victualling book.*

It was the intention of Government that the Germans should be sent into the interior of the province; but they having arrived so late in the season, and the want of a sufficient supply of provisions then in store to sustain them through the winter rendered it impossible, and they were retained in the town. They were very sickly, many of them old and unfit for settlers, and their passages not being paid, and there being no person to purchase them, they were employed on the public works to work out their passage money.

About this period a gloom was cast over the settlement by the news of the murder of the Hon. Edward How, one of the Council at Chignecto. "Captain How was employed on the expedition to Chignecto as knowing the country well and being acquainted both with the Indians and the inhabitants, and furthermore he knew personally their leaders, LeCorne and LeLoutre. His whole aim and study was to obtain a peace with the Indians, and get the English prisoners out of their hands, for which purpose he often had conferences with the French officers under a flag of truce. LeCorne one day sent a flag of truce by a French officer to the water side, a small river which parts his people from the British troops. Capt. How and the officers held a parley for some time across the river. How had no sooner taken leave of the officers than a party that lay in ambush fired a volley at him and shot him through the heart, an instance of treacherous brutality not to be paralleled in history, and a violation of a flag of truce, which had ever been held sacred, and without which all faith is at an end, and all transactions with an enemy."—[Cornwallis' letter 27th November.]

* See victualling list in the appendix.

The spring of 1751 the five acre lots on the Peninsula were laid out; the people engaged in clearing the land. The uncertainty from surprise by Indians, however, much retarded the work; a large space, however, was cleared around the town before winter set in.

Another vessel having arrived on the 10th June, with German Palatine settlers, they were directed to be employed at Dartmouth in picketing in the back of the town. In July, the arrival of 200 more was reported, and they were ordered to be placed at the head of the N. W. Arm and mouth of the Basin; and those who owed work for their passage, were directed to picket in their stations. Monsieur Dupacquir, who had engaged to bring out 300 Swiss, brought but twenty this year, but more were expected in the following spring.

Ninth July, a proclamation issued to forfeit all lots of the town settlers who only put up slight frames of houses, unless they immediately proceeded to board them in and finish them as dwellings.

On the 18th June, Jas. Stephens and Wm. Harris were hanged for house-breaking; this was the second public execution which took place in the town.

William Piggot had a license granted him to open a coffee house on the 8th April the same year.

In January of this year the Council passed a series of regulations for the General Court and County Courts, and ordered them to be published by the Provost Marshal by reading the same after the beat of drum through the settlement, and on the first day of the next sitting of the General Court and County Courts.

The only matters further recorded worthy of notice during the year 1751, was the dismissal of Mr. Otis Little, the Commissary of Stores, for remissness in his office, and the resolution of the Governor and Council to pay a draft for £882, sent from Quebec, for the ransom of English prisoners taken by the Indians and carried to Canada. It appeared that Lt. Hamilton and upwards of sixty officers, soldiers and settlers had fallen into the hands of the savages, and Priest LeLoutre had agreed to ransom them for the sum above mentioned,

It may here be mentioned that several batteries have already been erected on George's Island,* and expensive earth works had been thrown up.

Towards the close of the year Mr. Joshua Mauger, a gentleman from England, who came out at the commencement of the settlement to trade and distil rum for the soldiers, was charged by government with having attempted to make Halifax the repository for Louisburg merchandize, brought up secretly and to be carrying on an illicit traffic, he being at the time agent victualler to Government. Governor Cornwallis, upon information, caused Mr. Mauger's stores to be searched for contraband articles brought from Louisburg. Much discussion ensued, and the settlement was for some time thrown into commotion, by what Mr. Mauger called in his letter to England, the high-handed proceedings of the Governor.

*This Island is called in the old French maps *Isle Racket* or the *Snow Shoe Island*, being in the shape of a snow shoe.

CHAPTER III.

In January, 1752, Mr. Collier, who had been acting as Chief Justice, and Captain Frothingham, were called to the Council in place of Mr. Salisbury and Col. Horseman, who had returned to England. On 3rd February, a public ferry was established between Halifax and Dartmouth and John Connors appointed ferryman for three years, with the exclusive privilege, and ferry regulations were also established. At the same sitting of the Council, an order was passed for the recording of deeds and mortgages, making all papers unrecorded void against those which had been registered. Col. Horseman's stone building was purchased for a prison in place of that before used.

April 29th, Charles Morris, James Monk, John Dupont, Robert Ewer, Joseph Scott, John Wm. Hoffeman and Leonard Christopher Redolf were appointed Justices of the Peace. It was resolved in Council at their sitting on 12th June, that a lottery should be held for building a Light House near Cape Sambro, to raise £450. One thousand tickets at £3 each. Prizes from one of £500 to £7 the lowest. Two hundred prizes, in all amounting to £3000, 15 per cent. to be deducted from the prizes, to be drawn publicly in the Town House at Halifax, under the direction of managers to be appointed by Government.

The winter of 1751-2 had been severe, but the harbour had not been frozen or at all impeded by ice, and the spring opened early, and preparations for prosecuting the fishery were soon in active operation.

The Government mills at Dartmouth, under charge of Captain Clapham, were sold at auction in June. They were purchased by Major Gilman for £310.

16th July—An order passed to strike off the victualling lists all the German and Swiss settlers, who had arrived in the Speedwell.

In the spring of 1752, a number of settlers arrived in the Nancy, under the charge of Lt. Young. About the same time the Marquis DeConte, a Sicilian nobleman, and a number of other foreign settlers, came to Halifax from the island of Tercera, one of the Azores, and settled in the town,

Governor Cornwallis having obtained permission to resign the Government, the Hon. Peregrine T. Hopson, was appointed his successor, and was sworn into office before the Council on Monday, 3rd August. Mr. Cornwallis, however, did not leave the province until after the 10th of October, as he appears to have attended the Council held on that day.*

In September, 1752, John Baptist Cope, commonly called Major Cope, a Mic-Mac chief, head of the Shubenacadie Indians, came in with terms of peace, which were agreed to. This bears date the 15th September, in that year. Immediately after this document was signed, Cope left town in a vessel, having requested Capt. W. Piggot should be sent to Indian Harbour, to meet the Indians there, to ratify the Treaty. Mr. Piggot was accordingly dispatched, and brought up with him two or three Indians, who appeared before the Council, after which they were sent back to Beaver Harbour, under the conduct of Mr. Piggot, with blankets, provisions, etc. The terms of the Treaty were agreed to and confirmed in Council, and the whole was engrossed on parchment and ratified on 22nd November, 1752. The names of the Indian delegates on this occasion were, Andrew Hodley Martin, Gabriel Martin and Francis Jeremiah. Mr. Saul received directions to issue provisions, according to the allowance of the troops for six months, for 90 Indians, that being the number of the tribe under Cope, occupying the eastern part of the province.

This treaty does not appear to have been respected by the Indian Chief, who we find, not more than eight months after its ratification, refusing to respect the pass of Governor Hopson to one Anthony Cartel, who had been captured by the Indians, in one of the harbours eastward of Halifax, and carried through the country to Shubenacadie, the head-quarters of Major Cope, from whom he was ransomed by a French inhabitant. It would appear that the terms of amity, entered into by Cope and his men with the Government at Halifax, had been in some manner without the sanction of Abbe LeLoutre, who, when Anthony Cartel was brought before Count

*On September 29th, 1752, the first fire regulations were published at Halifax, among which are found the following: Two or three Magistrates may order a house to be pulled down or blown up to stop a fire, the owner to be indemnified by the house owners of the Town. The fire wards to be appointed by the Justices of the Peace, each to carry a red staff 6 feet long, with a bright brass spear 6 inches long on it; and other regulations. This custom is still kept up in the City, or was until very lately.

Raymond at Louisburg, was present, and as Cartel expresses it, inveighed bitterly against Governor Cornwallis, and said if he wanted peace he ought to have written to him, and not to have treated with the tribe of Indians. That he, Cartel, might depart, having been ransomed, but that the first Englishman he caught should be retained until he, LeLoutre, had full satisfaction for himself and his Indians.

In April following, two men named John Connor and James Grace, arrived at Halifax in an Indian canoe, bringing with them six Indian scalps. They informed the Council that they and two others, having put into a place between Tor Bay and Country Harbour, in a schooner, were captured by the Indians, and carried ten miles into the country, where their two companions were murdered; that they had surprised the Indians at night, killed several, whose scalps they secured, and having escaped to the seaside, seized a canoe, and made their way to Halifax. Along the coast, both east and west from Halifax, Indian massacres had been frequent. Those persons engaged in the fishery, who were compelled to land for wood and water, were chiefly the sufferers.

Much had been said and written in Europe at the time, relative to the aggressions of the French, during the suspension of hostilities between the two nations. The Indians, from their religion and trading intercourse, more favourable to the French in Canada and Acadia, were made use of to harass the British settlers, who (though the two nations were then at peace) were looked upon with a jealous eye by the resident French population. A French writer, (I refer to a little work, now a scarce book, published during the second siege of Louisburg), states that the English neglected to cultivate an acquaintance with the manners and customs of the Indians, and it was therefore not surprising at the time, that they should show less affection towards them than towards the French, who had great regard to their humours and inclinations.

“So strong is their aversion to despotic power,” says the author, “that force will never do; they will yield to nothing but persuasion. Though they know nothing of precepts or subordination, yet they enjoy almost every advantage derived from well-regulated authority. Their laws and customs appear impressed on their hearts. In order to gain an ascendancy over them, you must gain their esteem, for

they never confide in a person whom they do not value, and this esteem is very difficult to obtain."

The savages were exasperated against the English by a speech delivered by Count Raymond, at a meeting of the chiefs, in which, to suit his own purposes, he depicted the most frightful cruelties perpetrated by the English.

During the Indian hostilities, opposition on the part of the Colonists was altogether of a defensive nature. The regular troops, as well as the undisciplined militia, proving unfit for such warfare, it was found necessary to employ the New England Rangers. These were volunteers from the New England provinces, accustomed to Indian warfare, many of them Indians and half-bloods. They ascended the rivers, penetrated into the heart of the province, and attacked the enemy in their strongholds. The Indians finding they were opposed by men equally accustomed to the forest with themselves, soon found it their interest to make peace with the British.*

In 1758, it was found necessary to procure the services of 250 of these Rangers from New England, by promises of high pay and other advantages. Long accustomed to the border war with the Indians and French of Canada, they had become well disciplined, and accustomed to hardships and fatigue, and were perhaps at this time superior to all other provincial troops in America. The Provincials were troops raised in the Colonies at the expense of the Provincial Government, and were distinct from the Rangers, who were independent companies paid by the British Government. They served at Havannah, at Louisburg in the first siege under Pepperell, and with Wolfe at Louisburg and Quebec, and afterwards served to form the groundwork of Washington's army in 1775.

After the fall of Fort William Henry in 1758, it was said that the Marquis de Montcalm sent a number of prisoners taken at that place, in a vessel to Halifax. They were Provincial soldiers, chiefly from the New England provinces. This was said to have been an attempt to introduce the small pox into Halifax, many of the men being ill of the disorder on their embarkation. Providence, however, frustrated this benevolent design. The prisoners being kept on low diet, half starved, and exposed to the cold, soon

* Governor Cornwallis reduced the Rangers. He thought Goreham very incompetent to command them.

recovered, while the French in charge of the vessel, having indulged in the use of wine and strong fare, were thrown down with the disease, and nearly all perished. The vessel was brought into port by the prisoners.*

In the spring of 1751, nine hundred and fifty-eight Protestant German settlers arrived, and in the following year 1000 more.† The latter were from Montbeliard, of the Confession of Augsburg, and were placed under the spiritual charge of the Rev. J. B. Moreau. They had been induced to emigrate by promises from King George II, which it is said were never realized. Considerable difficulty appears to have been experienced by the Government in providing a suitable situation for settling so large a number of persons. The original design with regard to the foreign Protestants was to place them in the interior of the country, on the lands unoccupied by the French Acadians, it being supposed that their proximity to and intercourse with the French, would be the means of lessening the bad feeling which had been fostered by emissaries from Canada. The project was unfavorably received by the Acadians. There were, however, other difficulties in the way of its accomplishment, of a particular nature, which compelled the Government to abandon the object. The want of sufficient provisions to maintain so many settlers through the winter, the lateness of the season, and the helplessness of a large portion of the Germans, who were unfit for labour, induced the Government to place them in the neighbourhood of Halifax. It was at first proposed in Council to send them to the opposite side of the harbour over against George's Island, and Captain Morris was sent to survey the grounds. The mouth of Musquodoboit River was also suggested, and a survey of that part of the country ordered, but the distance from Halifax and the danger of the Indians, rendered the scheme impracticable. "All I could do," says the Governor, "was to build boarded barracks for them. They must be sustained by Government until they are capable of raising something of their own; most of them are poor and wretched, and have scarce a farthing of money among them."

These people had been collected together by a Mr. Dick, the Government agent for that purpose. He had persuaded these who

* This story was related by the late Titus Smith, who received it from his father.

† The names of the settlers who arrived after June and July, 1749, are not to be found among the records of the country.

came out this year to sell everything they possessed even to their bedding, before going on board; and they stated that owing to the want of bedding and other conveniences, many of them died on the passage and since their arrival. Many of these people are represented as very old, and as objects fitter to be kept in almshouses, several of them above 80 years of age. The Governor in his letter to the Board of Trade, says, "On the 26th September last, when the last of these settlers were landed, there were 30 of them who could not stir off the beach, and among the children there were 8 orphans, who in twelve days increased to 14 by the death of their parents. These had to be removed to the public orphan house, and had the best care taken of them." Many of these settlers became discontented with their condition, and went off to the Island of St. John, where they endeavoured to settle themselves. The difficulty of procuring provisions was very great. The Government appears to have been altogether dependent on the contracts of Althorp and Hancock of Boston, and Delaney and Watts of New York, for the necessary supplies for the settlement.

In June, 1753, about 1500 of these German settlers embarked for Malagash Harbour, west of Mahone Bay, where they afterwards built the town of Lunenburg. They were accompanied by a company of Rangers under Major Goreham. The expedition was placed under the command of Col. Charles Lawrence. There were also some regular troops, under Major Patrick Sutherland, who took a very active part in planting the settlement. Lieutenant John Creighton, of Warburton's Regiment, also accompanied the German settlers, and also the Rev. J. B. Moreau, who officiated as their minister.

The Lunenburg settlers were placed under similar regulations with those at Halifax, and received Government allowance for several years after their arrival at Malagash.

After the removal of the Germans from Halifax to Lunenburg, there were but 15 German families left in the north suburbs. Not knowing any English, they formed themselves into a separate congregation for religious worship, and built themselves a small house upon the German burial ground on Brunswick street, in which they had prayers every Sunday. In 1760, a steeple was built on this house, and the next year the Rev. Dr. Breynton, Rector of St.

Paul's, preached there for the first time, and it was on that occasion dedicated by the name of St. George's Church. The congregation followed the English Church rules of doctrine and appointed their Elders and Vestry. This old building still remains in its primitive state, the only monument now remaining of the old German settlement, called Dutchtown.

In October, 1752, Mr. Cotterall was appointed to the Council, and John Dupont sworn in Clerk of the Council. An order in Council and proclamation appeared on the 14th of November, forbidding persons from assembling or carrying about effigies on the anniversary of the holiday, called Gunpowder Treason, being the 16th of November, according to the alteration of the style.

At the Council held on the 22nd December, 1752, the Justices were ordered to look out for a proper place for a bridewell or work-house, and to form a plan for the building of a block-house for that purpose, and to obtain an estimate of the probable expense, and to report rules and regulations for the government of the same. The Constables were to go about the streets on Sundays to prevent disorders, and to make a report to the Justices in the evening after divine service, and to apprehend disorderly persons during the night. Proprietors of land were obliged to fence their quota; on failure, to be liable to an action for the recovery of the charges for fencing the same.

All proprietors of land upon the peninsula of Halifax were directed to clear half their lots by 1st May, 1753, to clear the remainder and fence the whole by 1st May, 1754, otherwise the lots would be forfeited and be disposed of to others who would improve them. And an order was made for permission to John Connors, to assign the Dartmouth Ferry to Henry Wynne and William Manthorne.

Among the local events recorded this year, was a robbery in one of the King's storehouses, which was broken open on the night of the 26th October. There was also a cartel published by Governor Hopson, for the exchange of prisoners with the French Government in Canada.

The most important circumstance of the year, however, was a charge against the Justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, sent in to the Council by a number of the most influential inhabi-

tants, charging them with partiality, and praying for a public hearing. This document was presented to the Council in December, and was signed by Joshua Mauger, Joseph Rundel, Isaac Knott, John Grant, Francis Martin, Edward Crawley, Richard Catherwood, Robert Campbell, William Nesbitt, John Webb, William McGee, Sebastian Zouberbuhler, Samuel Sellon and Isaac Deschamps. These charges came on for hearing before the Council on 3rd January following; they consisted of ten distinct charges against Charles Morris, James Monk, John Duport, Robert Ewer and William Bourn, Esquires, Justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, for the Town and County of Halifax, and were signed by the following inhabitants :

Joshua Mauger,	Louis Triquet,
S. Zouberbuhler,	William Clapham,
Samuel Sellon,	John Webb,
Edward Buckleton,	Robert Catherwood,
James Porter,	John Walker,
Daniel Wood,	Geo. Peter DeBreg,
Jonathan Gifford,	Richard Hollis,
William Schwartz,	Henry Sibley,
Edward Crawley,	Edward O'Brien,
William Jeffray,	Henry O'Brien,
Vere Rous,	Thos. Wynne,
Francis Martin,	John Grant,
John Brooks,	William Vanselson,
Henry Wilkinson,	Cheyne Brownjohn,
William Nesbitt,	Richard Tritton, *
John Woodin,	Edward Lukey,
James Ford,	Cyrus Jannin,
George Featherstone,	John Willis,
Thos. Mattison,	Roger Hill,
Joseph Antony,	Js. Deschamps,
Alex. Kedy,	Robert Grant,
James Fullon,	William McGee,
William Murray,	Joseph Rundel.

This affair arose from a dispute which occurred between the Government and Captain Ephraim Cook, who had been discharged

from the Commission of the Peace by Governor Cornwallis for bad behaviour, and appears to have been the result of party feeling.

It resulted in additional numbers being added to the bench of Magistrates, and the Governor and Council availed themselves of this affair to urge upon the Government the necessity of having a Chief Justice.

The necessity of a properly organized Militia force being kept up, had become apparent, in consequence of the continual threats of hostility on the part of the Indians and native French; it was therefore resolved on 22nd March, 1753, that a Militia should be raised and established for the security of the Province, and a proclamation was accordingly issued, compelling all persons (except foreigners, who were to be placed elsewhere) between the ages of 16 and 60, to serve in the Militia.

On the first day of June, another proclamation was issued for a muster of the Militia. Those of the south suburbs to assemble within the pickets opposite the end of Barrington Street, near Horseman's Fort. Those of the north suburbs, between the Grenadier Fort and Lutteral's Fort, and those of the town on the esplanade, near the Citadel Hill.

On the 12th of April, 1753, Glaude Gisigash, an Indian who styled himself Governor of LaHave, appeared before the Council, and having declared his intention of making peace, terms of amity were drawn up and signed by the Governor and the Indian Chief, on the part of himself and his people. The terms were the same as those made with Major Cope, and it was arranged that some of his tribe should come up and ratify the treaty.

Governor Hopson went home on leave in the autumn of 1753, and the government was administered by Col. Lawrence. In one of his last letters to the Board of Trade, in reference to the disturbed state of the country, Governor Hopson says, "Your Lordships may imagine how disagreeable it is to me to see His Majesty's rights eneroached upon, and those encroachments openly avowed and supported by the Governors of Canada and Louisburg, when it is not in my power to prevent it. I have barely a sufficient force to protect the settlers from the insults of an Indian war, under pretence of which the French take an opportunity to commit hostilities upon His Majesty's subjects. I am informed that the

French have often been mixed among them in the expeditions, and am convinced past doubt that they are fed and protected from our pursuit, and are encouraged to disturb us as openly and in as great a degree as in time of war."

There were three still houses in Halifax in 1753. Mr. Best the master mason, and Mr. Clewley the master carpenter, having been ordered to inspect them. The return was as follows :

Mr. Richard Bowers, 2 stills in Granville Street.

Wm. Murray, 1 still in Grafton Street, reported not safe.

Jonathan Gifford, 1 still in Barrington Street.

October 16th, Mr. John Greenwood presented a petition to the Council, stating that he had paid passage for 12 men, 1 woman and 2 children, foreign settlers, with the Governor's leave. They engaged to serve him for a year, but having been removed to Lunenburg by the Governor's orders, he lost their services; he was allowed £79 5s., the labour of 12 men for 96 days.

Governor Hopson took leave of the Council on 26th October, and received an address on his departure. He sailed for England on the 2nd November following.

On the 16th November, two Indians appeared before the Council, who had been sent from Lunenburg by Col. Sutherland. They stated they were of the tribe of Cape Sable Indians, which consisted of about 60 people with two chiefs; that Baptiste Thomas, one of their priests, was one of their chiefs, and the other Francis Jean de Perisse was not a chief, but deputed by the other chief. They stated that they had never joined with the other Indians to molest the English; that on the contrary they had always exhibited a friendly spirit, in consequence of which they had never received any assistance from the French. The Council gave them 2000 pounds of bread, 3 barrels of pork, 20 blankets, 30 pounds powder, some shot, tobacco and other articles, also two gold-laced hats for their chiefs, and one silver-laced for the deputy.

The close of this year was occupied by the Governor and Council, in investigation of the riots which occurred at Lunenburg, known as the Hoffman Rebellion. It was found necessary to send Col. Monkton with a body of regular troops to suppress the riots. Mr. Hoffman, the supposed ringleader, was brought to Halifax and

imprisoned on George's Island. He was afterwards tried and sentenced to a fine of £100 or two years imprisonment.

It may be proper to advert to the religious condition of the settlement at this period. The greater portion of the inhabitants were at this time of the Church of England. The Protestant Germans had nearly all united themselves to that Church, and sought missionaries from the S. P. G. Society.

The Rev. John Breynton succeeded Mr. Tutty in St. Paul's. In 1752, he reported that half of the population had professed themselves members of the Church, and that the actual communicants were between 500 and 600.

Mr. Breynton established an Orphan House, and the Orphan School was under his superintendence. In 1753, fifty poor children were diligently instructed. Ralph Sharrock was the school-master. In 1753, the Rev. Thomas Wood from the Province of New Jersey, was appointed to assist Mr. Breynton, and he remained jointly in charge with Mr. Breynton until 1763, when he was removed to Annapolis.

It may here be observed, that on the establishment of Representative Government at Halifax, in 1758, among the first acts of the Assembly, was that for the support of Religious Worship, which contained a clause for the free toleration of all Protestant dissenters, whether Lutherans, Calvinists, etc., completely exempting them from all charges for the support of the Established Church. By this act, the right of the parishioners of St. Paul's and all future parishes, to present their own minister to the ordinary for induction was declared, and immediately after its publication, the parishioners of the parish of St. Paul's, in the Town of Halifax, presented the Reverend John Breynton and the Reverend Thomas Wood as joint Rectors, or "Rector and Vicar," as they were called, to the Governor, who immediately went through the form of induction, a ceremony thought necessary in order to entitle them to privileges of incumbents. The record of this fact will be found in the correspondence of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at that period.

During the winter of 1753-4, there had been no disturbance from the Indians, and the Government availed themselves of the opportunity of sending out proper persons to make a survey of the

country around. The winter was mild and the frost not so severe as usual or of so long continuance. The valley of the Shubenacadie had been examined, but it was not found available for settlement, being the principal resort of the Indians under Cope. The Township of Lawrencetown including Chezzetcook, had also been undertaken, and further grants of land in that quarter of the country were sought for in the following spring.

The desertion of many of the lower orders of the German settlers at Lunenburg is mentioned; they appear to have gone over to the French. Governor Lawrence in his letter to the Board of Trade, August 1st. 1754, speaking of the French, says, "They have not for a long time brought anything to our markets, but on the other hand have carried everything to the French and Indians."

At this time the land was being cleared for the Battery at the east side of the harbour, the site probably of the present eastern battery. A fort was also in progress of erection at Lawrencetown when the settlement was progressing, not having been disturbed by the Indians. This settlement had been formed by Governor Lawrence in consequence of the good meadow lands at the head of the harbour, and he granted the township to 20 proprietors and built a blockhouse for their protection. But the undertaking was not prosperous, and finally failed to answer the object intended, owing to its exposed situation and the distance from Halifax.

The arrival of the *Vulture*, sloop-of-war, Capt. Kenzey, from the Bay of Fundy, produced much excitement in the Town; she brought several prisoners charged with murder, who were lodged in jail to take their trial before the General Court.*

Benjamin Street, Samuel Thornton and John Pastree, were placed on their trial for the murder of one of the midshipmen and a sailor of the *Vulcan*. It appeared on the trial that a schooner, of which the parties charged were part of the crew, commanded by one Hovey, belonging to Boston or some part of New England, was found trading in the Bay of Fundy and supplying the French with provisions, etc. Capt. Kenzey sent a boat aboard Hovey's shallop, under the idea that he had contraband goods on board. The crew refused to allow the man-of-war boat to come alongside, and fired

* Mr. Nisbett was Attorney General at the time. He had been acting in that office since the Spring of 1752.

into her, killing Mr. Jolly and wounding several others. Hovey, the master, appears to have gone below and hid himself during the whole affair. He was discovered in his berth by the officer in command of the man-of-war boat, after the sloop had been captured. This affair occurred in July, 1754, and the trial took place before the Chief Justice in Michaelmas Term of that year. This was the first sitting at which Chief Justice Belcher presided. The three prisoners were acquitted of the murder, but it would appear they were found guilty of the minor offence, as they were sentenced to six months imprisonment, and afterwards placed on board a man-of-war (1755). Joseph Hovey, the master, was discharged, the grand jury refusing to find a bill of indictment against him.

The following appointments were made by the grand jury in Michaelmas Term, 1754: Gaugers of Casks, Paul Pritchard and Lewis Piers; Surveyers of Pickled Fish, Henry Ferguson and Daniel Hills; Cullers of Dry Fish, Charles King and E. Gerrott; Cullers of Hoops and Staves, Dennis Heffernan and Benoni Bartlett; Surveyors of Lumber, etc., Joseph Scott and Joseph Marshall; Surveyors of Cordwood, Samuel McClure, Josiah Milliken and Joseph Wakefield.

On Monday 14th October, 1754, Jonathan Belcher, Esq., was sworn in Chief Justice. The Court then adjourned to the Court House, where His Majesty's Commission was read, appointing Lt. Governor Lawrence, Governor General of the province. Mr. Belcher's appointment bears date in July. At the commencement of Michaelmas Term, the following ceremonies and procession were observed, the first of the kind ever seen in Nova Scotia. On the first day of Michaelmas Term, the Chief Justice walked from the Governor's house honoured by the presence of His Excellency Charles Lawrence, Esq., Lieutenant Governor, and accompanied by the Honourable the Members of H. M. Council, proceeded by the Provost Marshal, the Judge's tipstaff, and other civil officers, the gentlemen of the Bar attending in their gowns, and walking in procession to the long room at Pontach's, where an elegant breakfast was provided, where the Chief Justice in his scarlet robes, was received and complimented in the politest manner, by a great number of gentlemen and ladies, and officers of the Army. Breakfast being over, they proceeded with the commission before them, to

church, where an excellent sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Breynton, from these words: "I am one of them that are peaceable and faithful in Israel." A suitable anthem was sung, after which they proceeded to the Court House, which upon this occasion was very handsomely fitted up, where the Chief Justice being seated with his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor on his right hand under a canopy, the clerk of the Crown presented His Majesty's commission to the Chief Justice, appointing him to be Chief Justice within the province, which being returned, and proclamation for silence being made, the same was read, and directions were given by the Chief Justice for the conduct of the practitioners, and the grand jury appearing in Court upon the return of the precept, were sworn and charged by the Chief Justice, and the business of the day being finished, the Court adjourned. His Honor the Chief Justice, accompanied and attended as before, returned to the Governor's house. A few days after Mr. Chief Justice Belcher, the Provost Marshal, the gentlemen of the Bar, and other officers of H. M. Supreme Court, and the gentlemen of the grand jury, waited on his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, when the Chief Justice, in his robes of office, addressed his Excellency in the name of the whole, as follows:

"Sir,—We esteem it our indispensable duty to testify our zeal,
" as Chief Justice, provost marshal, grand jurors, practitioners and
" officers of H. M. Supreme Court of judicature, for the interest of
" this province, and the protection of its laws, our attachment to your
" person, and our respect and gratitude for your eminent services,
" by expressing our joy in His Majesty appointing you to the chief
" command of this his dominion of Nova Scotia. We shall ever
" consider it as essential to our fidelity in the execution of the laws,
" to exert our most vigilant endeavors for the ease and success of
" your administrations, and not only to suppress any measures
" subversive of your consultations for the public good, but at all
" times affectuate the means prescribed by you for the prosperity of
" the province. Our solicitude for the advancement of justice
" under the laws, cannot be more fervently expressed, than by the
" tender of our ardent wishes for your being and happy continuance
" in the chief chair of this Government."

To which his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor was pleased to make the following answer :

“ Mr. Chief Justice and gentlemen of the Supreme Court and grand jury :

“ I have the highest sense of this testimony of your zeal for the public welfare and your esteem for me. I should be much wanting in my duty if I did not embrace this opportunity of returning my thanks for the late pious, learned and eloquent charge from the Bench, and I doubt not, gentlemen, but your vigilance and fidelity in the service of your country will have its desired effect.

“ While I have the power to sit in the chair, be assured the authority of Government shall be ready to support the law, for the law, gentlemen, is the firm and solid basis of civil society, the guardian of liberty, the protection of the innocent, the terror of the guilty, and the scourge of the wicked.

“ CHARLES LAWRENCE.”

Governor Lawrence in his letter of 12th January, 1755, says, “ I am now preparing to build three batteries of 10 guns each in front of the town, and contemplate finishing them in good time. These batteries were erected along the line of the shore. The middle or King's battery stood where the Queen's wharf now is, there was another at the present Ordnance Yard, another near the site of Fairbanks wharf, and a fourth at the present Lumber Yard, which latter still remains.”

The batteries along the front of the town were completed during the summer of 1755, and a plan of them sent to England in June of that year. They were twelve feet in height above high water mark, two hundred and forty feet in length, and sixty-five in breadth. The parapet raised on these was seven feet high, and the materials consisted of logs and timber framed and filled up with gravel, stones, earth and sand. The materials consisted of 9500 logs of 25 feet, 1280 tons of square timber and 25,000 tons weight of gravel and earth, the whole expense about £5,300. The work was commenced in January, 1755, and completed late in the summer. 20 guns were mounted on these three batteries in July of that year—the other batteries were afterwards added.

An attempt was made this year to involve the Government in a dispute with the Indian tribes. Paul Laurant, an Indian Chief of the

Mic-Mac tribe, appeared before the Council on 12th February, 1755, and informed them that he and another Indian Chief named Algamud, had set out from Beausejour for Halifax in order to treat of peace, but that the Chief had fallen sick at Cobequid and had intrusted him with the proposals. They demanded the whole eastern section of the Province, from Cobequid to Canso, to be set apart for them as feeding and hunting grounds. Being asked what security he could give that the Indians would keep the peace, he said he could say nothing to that, being only desired to bring in the terms. The Council dismissed him with a promise of an answer in writing. An answer in writing was drawn up and signed by the Governor on 13th February, 1755, which expressed a willingness on the part of the Governor and Council to allow them such lands as would be sufficient for their purposes. It mentioned the perfidious breaches of all former treaties on the part of the Indians, and where their conduct was complained of that the Tribes themselves had disallowed all authority on the part of their Chiefs to make such treaties, and that the Governor and Council demanded a full attendance of Chiefs before them, with full power to treat, before any further proceedings could be taken.

On the 3rd and 4th July, the Council was engaged with the French Deputies, again on 14th, 15th and 28th same month.

The defence of the settlement was the next subject of deliberation and the protection from the incursions of the French along the Bay of Fundy and from Louisburg, both nations being at the time arrayed against each other in open warfare.

On the 18th February, 1755, Mrs. Green, wife of Hon. Benj. Green, and her family, Captain Horatio Gates and Mrs. Gates, with Captain Hale and their servants and baggage, were received on board Captain Rogers' sloop for Boston. Captain Gates had been one of the Aides-de-Camp of Governor Cornwallis, he was afterwards a General in the American Revolutionary Army.*

The loss of the Mars, a 70 gun ship, occurred off the harbour in May, 1755. It was in an easterly gale and supposed to be the fault of the pilot. Guns and crew were all saved. The Mars rock at the western entrance of the bay marks the spot. The guns and stores were brought to Halifax. Admiral Holborn's letter announ-

* See Biographical note in the last Chapter.

ing the loss of the ship bears date the 28th May, off Halifax Harbour.

30th December, 1755, Montague Wilmot and Charles Morris, having been appointed to the Council, were sworn in. The other members were John Collier, Mr. Cotterell, Robert Monkton and Captain Rous.

A number of French prizes, taken by the fleet under Admiral Boscawen, were this summer brought into Halifax. There were in these 19,998 gallons of rum and brandy.

A Mr. Ellis had for several years held the office of Governor of Nova Scotia, and received the emoluments, but never came out. Lt. Governor Lawrence received the appointment of Governor-in-Chief on the resignation of Mr. Ellis, and Colonel Monkton became Lt. Governor; their commissions were read and they sworn into office on 23rd July, this year.

The following census of the town appears to have been taken about 1755 or 1756 :—

Masters of families paying poor tax . . .	256
Male children between 12 and 21 years of age	182
Male children under 12	291
Transient persons who pay no taxes . . .	108
	837
Married women	241
Girls unmarried above 12 years old. . . .	261
Girls under 12 years of age	345
Women servants	71
	918
	1755

The only other event of this year worthy of notice was the following melancholy affair detailed in Col. Sutherland's letter from Lauenburg, dated 12th September. "Yesterday," he says, "I received the melancholy account of Mr. Payzant's house being burned in Mahone Bay, and that he himself and other people who were with him, were killed by the Indians. I immediately sent out an officer and party, which returned this morning, by whom I am informed that on Payzant's Island the house is burned, he with another young

man killed and scalped, a woman servant and child also killed and scalped near the water side. His wife and four children missing. The young man was son to a family which lived on Captain Rous's Island. As his hands were tied the gentlemen immediately conjectured some further mischief was done there, and on their arrival they found the man thereto belonging, likewise scalped. It appears that Captain Rous's is the most advanced settlement, that they first came there and took the boy to conduct them to Payzant's.' Mr. Payzant came to this country with a strong recommendation from Mr. Pownall, secretary to the Board of Trade. The death of James Payzant, Esquire, a clerk in the office of the Secretary of State, of the age of 100 years is announced in the London Gazette for 1757. This was probably the father of the gentleman who came out to Halifax, to whom Mr. Secretary Pownall's recommendation referred."

1756. January 26th, the term of Henry Wynne and William Manthorn's licences of the Dartmouth and Halifax ferry having expired, John Rock petitioned and obtained the same on the terms of his predecessors.

On the 30th June, 1757, Lord Loudon arrived at Halifax with the troops from New York, destined for the invasion of Cape Breton.

Saturday, 16th July, 1757, His Excellency acquainted the Council that the Earl of Loudon had this day represented to him that a fever had broken out among the troops, under His Lordship's command, occasioned by the great quantities of rum that were sold to the soldiers by unlicensed retailers, and if continued must prove of fatal consequences to the service; and unless steps were immediately taken to effectually stop the same, he would feel himself justified in ordering all liquors found in the possession of such unlicensed retailers to be destroyed. The Council empowered the Provost Marshal and his deputies to enter such houses, seize the liquors and place them in the King's store until the army and navy departed.

On the 1st November, 1757, the grand jury of the County of Halifax petitioned the Governor and Council on behalf of the inhabitants of the town, that the town should be put into some state of defence "for the preservation of the place, the inhabitants, their families and effects." They stated that the property, etc., was

insecure from the want of proper defences; that the people were willing to assist in the work, and intimated that if their prayer could not be heard, humbly beg that they "may immediately know it in order to take the first opportunity of conveying themselves, their families and effects, to a place of safety in some of the neighbouring Colonies." A previous petition had been presented to the Governor, to which no answer had been returned. The names attached to the petition were, Robert Saunderson, Joseph Rundell, John Anderson, Paul Pritchard, Hugh McCoy, Joseph Fairbanks, William Schwartz, Robert Campbell, William Pantree, John Killick, John Brooks, Henry Wilkinson, Walter Manning, John Slayter, Richard Catherwood, Joseph Pierce, Alexander Cunningham, Richard Tritson, Jonathan Gifford and Benjamin Leigh.

The boundaries of the Township of Halifax were settled by order in Council 20th May, 1758, as follows: That until said township can be more particularly described, the limit thereof shall be deemed to be as follows:

To comprehend all the lands lying southerly of a line extending from the westernmost head of Bedford Basin, across the northerly head of St. Margaret's Bay, with all the Islands near to said land, together with the Islands called Cornwallis Island,* Webb's and Rous' Island.†

Minutes of Council 21st June, 1758: Mr. Josiah Marshall proposed to build a workhouse, 50 feet long, 20 feet wide and 8 feet high, in the town. The timber to be laid close, with a roof double boarded and shingled; to have 4 windows on each side, each window to have nine panes of glass and three iron grates; to have a staircase in the entry and a whipping post. The building to be placed on a good dry wall. Mr. Marshall's tender for £200 sterling, finding materials and labour, was accepted.

To Charles Morris, Joshua Manger and Charles Proctor, Esquires. "Whereas, it has been thought proper to convert to the "use of the public, a piece of land called Goreham's Point and the "lands next adjacent, lying in the north suburbs of Halifax, "formerly allotted to sundry persons, who have cleared and "improved the same and erected some buildings upon them; they

* Now McNab's.

† Now known as Lawlor's and Devil's Islands.

“were directed to value the lands and proportion each owner’s extent therein, and report to His Excellency. Dec. 9th, 1758.”

This is the site of the Commissioners’ House in the present Dockyard.

December 9th, 1758. Peter Marquis de Conte and Gravina, convicted for intent to commit rape on a child under the age of ten years, was sentenced by the Court to walk between the hours of 11 and 12 this day from the north to the south side of the Parade, and from thence to the jail with a paper placed on his breast with his crime inscribed thereon, and to be confined for three months and fined thirty pounds; to remain in jail till the same be paid. Governor Lawrence remitted the first part of this sentence. The Marquis de Conte was a Sicilian nobleman; he had been an officer in Goreham’s Rangers.

December 29th. 1758. It appears by an advertisement of this date, that Governor Lawrence had wells sunk and pumps erected as reservoirs against fires, and that they had been damaged by some unknown person. His Excellency caused them to be put in repair.

Governor Lawrence, in his letter to the Board of Trade, 3rd November, 1759, mentions that the masonry of Sambro Light House had been some time finished, and that the lantern was then in progress of erection. That a chart of the harbour was also in progress, as also proper directions for piloting in ships with safety. Copies of these directions were enclosed in his letter.

It appears that in the year 1758, the Governor appropriated out of the old crown duty money for the Light House £1,000, for the Work House £500, for the Church £400, and for the Meeting House £100.

Again in 1760, for the Light House	£987	5s.	5d.
“	452	10	10
“	635	6	8
	£2075	2s.	11d.

For the Work House £5,456, for the Church £350 18s. 6., Meeting House £174 0s. 4d., Jail £208 11s. 9d.

Captain Rous was placed in charge of the Light House, a post which he occupied for many years. This was not Captain John Rous, the member of Council, but a relative of his from New England.

21st December, 1758. The Governor and Council appropriated the sum of £400, raised by duties on liquors, towards the church in Halifax, under the direction of Benjamin Green, John Collier, Charles Morris, Robert Saunderson and Henry Newton, commissioners for that purpose.

[Extract of letter from Louisburg, June 9th.]

“Admiral Saunders, with the squadron under his command, arrived in good condition on the 21st April off Louisburg, but on account of ice blockading the harbour, was obliged to bear away on the 26th for Halifax, whence he arrived on the first of May.”

June 16th, 1759. Peter Marquis de Conte and Gravini, was released from his imprisonment, he having paid his fine. This gentleman died at Halifax. His will is recorded in the probate office.

Thursday 16th August, 1759, William Cottrel, Robert Grant and Montague Wilmot, Esquires, Councillors, being absent from the Province, the Governor appointed Richard Bulkeley, Thomas Saul and Joseph Gerrish, who were this day sworn in and took their seats.

February, 1760, two Indian Chiefs attended the Council, and were presented with laced blankets, laced hats, etc. They were informed that the same would be sent to the Chief of the St. John's Indians, and that the treaty of peace would be ready to be signed to-morrow, and if the wind was favourable they should embark on Sunday.

In Council 11th March, 1760, the Governor appointed the Hon. Jonathan Belcher, Benjamin Green, John Collier, Charles Morris, Richard Bulkeley, Thomas Saul and Joseph Gerrish, Esquires, and William Nesbitt, John Duport, Joseph Scott, John Creighton, Sebastian Zouberbuhler, Edward Crawley, Charles Proctor and Benjamin Gerrish, Esquires, to be justices of the peace for the town and county of Halifax. Charles Morris, John Duport, Joseph Scott, Joseph Gerrish and Edward Crawley, Esquires, to be justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the county of Halifax, to the several of whom His Excellency then administered the oath requisite.

CHAPTER IV.

Notwithstanding the advantages held out by Government to the settlers at Halifax, and the repeated large grants of money by Parliament, the people were rapidly removing to the old Colonies. Little progress had been made in clearing the country. The fishery, one of the main inducements of the settlement, was almost altogether neglected, and the population was reduced to much less than half its original number. They subsisted chiefly on the money expended by the Army and Navy, and were dependent on Boston for their provisions and many other necessary supplies.

In 1755, Dr. Breynton, the minister at St. Paul's, estimated the inhabitants of Halifax at 1,300, eight hundred of whom professed themselves members of the Church of England; and again in 1763, eight years later, according to the Doctor's returns to the Propagation Society, the number was still found not to exceed one thousand and three hundred souls; nine hundred and fifty of them being of the Church of England, and three hundred and fifty Protestants Dissenters and Roman Catholics.

Up to the year 1757, the enormous sum of £560,000 sterling had been expended on the settlements, and though in some respects the Colony had been considered a failure, yet in a military point of view it was of incalculable importance to Great Britain, and to its position as a naval and military depot may be ascribed in a great measure the downfall of the French power in America.

On 30th June, 1757, Lord Loudon with his transports and 12,000 regulars and provincials arrived at Halifax, and on July following, Admiral Holborn arrived with his fleet. This armament, which was destined for an attack on Louisburg, left Halifax early in August, but having proved a failure the fleet returned to England in September, but Loudon returned with his army to New York; they both left Halifax on the same day, 16th August. Holborn arrived at Louisburg on 20th, where finding the French fleet superior to his own, he continued to cruise off Louisburg harbour until 24th September, when he encountered a severe gale of wind which scattered his fleet, several ships were lost, eight sail got safe to

Portsmouth, and the rest got to New York. This powerful armament consisted of 13 sail of the line—the Newark 80 guns, Invincible 74, Grafton 68, Terrible 74, Northumberland 68, Captain 68, Bedford 64, Orford 68, Nassau 64, Sunderland 64, Defiance 64, Tilbury 64, Kingston 60, Windsor 54, and the Sutherland 50, with several others which afterwards joined them, and 16 smaller vessels of war. The naval forces amounted 10,000 men, and the land forces to 12,000, six thousand of whom were provincial troops. Loudon left three regiments at Halifax, and several of the vessels remained to winter here.

In May of this year the Governor and Council offered a bounty for sowing land with grass on the peninsula of Halifax, also for the erection of stone fences around the lots, and for raising grain and potatoes.

Loudon was succeeded in the supreme command by Abercrombie, another incompetent—a debilitated old man who remained in command for a short time. He was succeeded by Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

In the following spring about 12,000 troops arrived at Halifax, under the command of General Amherst. They were soon followed by Admiral Boscawen from England with a large fleet consisting of 23 ships of the line and 18 frigates. This great fleet arrived in Halifax harbour in May, 1758, accompanied by 120 transports. The land forces amounted to 12,260 men. On Sunday, 28th May, they set sail from Halifax, 157 vessels in all. They were met by General Amherst, with part of the force, as they went out of the harbour. Governor Lawrence accompanied the army and took command of one of the Brigades, Colonel Monkton being left in command during his absence.

After the siege, which was protracted for two months, part of the fleet and army returned to Halifax, and some of the vessels remained to refit. The colony was sacked for provisions and the town turned into a camp for the troops. A number of the provincial soldiers and others, having enriched themselves with the spoils at Louisburg, became settlers in the town. All the ammunition and stores, with a quantity of private property, were removed to Halifax, and the town once again began to assume a prosperous appearance.

This year was also memorable as the one in which Representative Government was established in Nova Scotia. The subject of calling a Legislative Assembly had undergone much discussion. It had been represented by the Governor and Council, to the authorities in England, that such a step at that particular time would be fraught with much danger to the peace of the colony. Chief Justice Belcher, however, having given his opinion that the Governor and Council possessed no authority to levy taxes, and their opinion being confirmed in England, it was resolved in Council on 3rd January, 1757, that a representative system should be established and that twelve members should be elected by the province at large, until it could be conveniently divided into counties, and that the township of Halifax should send four members, Lunenburg two, Dartmouth one, Lawrencetown one, Annapolis Royal one, and Cumberland one, making in all twenty two members, and the necessary regulations were also made for carrying into effect the object intended.

Much discontent prevailed in the town, and also in other parts of the province, in consequence of the opposition of Governor Lawrence to the calling of a Representative Assembly. Hitherto the Government had been carried on solely by the Governor and Council, who possessed both Legislative and Executive authority. Under the Royal instructions the Governor was directed to call a Representative Assembly as soon as the circumstances of the country would permit, but the Governor was of opinion that it would be injudicious to proceed to a popular election until the country was better prepared for it. After repeated remonstrances from the people of Halifax and some pressure from his Council, it was on the 7th January resolved in Council that an assembly should be called, and a plan was drawn up and submitted to the Board of Trade for the sanction of the home government. We find, however, that in February following it was resolved by the inhabitants of Halifax to petition the Crown against the conduct of Governor Lawrence, not only as regards his unwillingness to establish a representative government, but his oppressive and overbearing conduct in other respects to many of the leading inhabitants. This petition was entrusted to one Ferdinando Paris, a gentleman in London, accompanied by affidavits and a power of

attorney, conferring on him authority to represent the subscribers before the Privy Council and the Board of Trade and Plantations. A subscription was set on foot, and about £120 sterling subscribed, to meet the expenses of the application to Government. These documents were certified by Chief Justice Belcher as authentic, on 14th March. As these proceedings bear date in February, 1757, it is probable that the resolution of the Council of the 7th January had not been made known. The petition and power were signed by the following residents of the town who reputed themselves as a committee appointed by the people for the purpose of forwarding their views: Robert Saunderson, William Pantree, Malachi Salter, Jonathan Binney, Otto Wm. Schwartz, Robert Campbell, Henry Ferguson and John Grant. These papers were also accompanied by a copy of an address from the people of Halifax to Lt. Governor Robert Monkton, praying that certain sums of money, collected as rum duties, etc., might be expended on the fortifications of the town as a protection to the inhabitants, and offering to contribute both labour and money for the purpose. It also complains of the "miserable management of those who have had the direction of the defences." This petition bears date 19th October, in the same year. The language of one of the letters addressed to Mr. Paris, the request on the subject of the Halifax grievances and the overbearing military rule of Governor Lawrence, bespeak much excitement to have existed in the town on the subject. The feeling appears to have prevailed principally among the leading inhabitants. We find that the list above referred to was signed by Mr. Binney, Mr. Salter, Mr. Pantree, Mr. Schwartz, Dr. Grant, Mr. Saunderson, Mr. Fairbanks, Mr. Robt. Campbell, Mr. Butler, Mr. Suckling, Mr. Vanput, Mr. G. Gerrish, Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Wiswell, Mr. Mason, and many others.

On the first of November following, the Grand Jury of Halifax petitioned Governor Lawrence that some immediate steps may be taken to fortify the town so that the inhabitants might be placed in a more secure position in case of invasion. They refer to a petition presented to Lt. Governor Monkton on the same subject, to which no reply had been made, and concluded by asking that they might know without further delay what they were to expect; that if no further security is to be provided for the settlement they may have

an opportunity of conveying themselves, their families and effects to a place of greater safety in some of the neighbouring Colonies. The names of the Grand Jury were Robert Saunderson, Joseph Rundell, John Anderson, Paul Pritchard, Hugh McKay, Joseph Fairbanks, William Schwartz, Robert Campbell, William Pantree, John Killick, John Brooks, Henry Wilkinson, Walter Manning, John Slayter, Richard Catherwood, Joseph Pierce, Alexander Cunningham, Richard Tritton, Jonathan Gifford and Benjamin Leigh.

On Monday, the 2nd of October, 1758, the newly elected members met in the Court House in Halifax, pursuant to summons from the Provost Marshall; their names were as follows :

Joseph Gerrish,	} Esquires.	William Best,	} Gentlemen.
Robert Saunderson,		Alexr. Kedia,	
Henry Newton,		Jonathan Binney,	
William Foy,		Henry Ferguson,	
William Nesbitt,		George Suckling,	
Joseph Rundell.		Robert Campbell,	
		Willm. Pantree,	
		Joseph Fairbanks,	
		Philip Hammond,	
		John Fillis,	
		Lambert Folkers,	
		Philip Knout,	

They sent Messrs. Nesbitt, Newton and Rundell, to wait on the Governor, who sent Messrs. Morris and Green from the Council to swear them in. They then chose Robert Saunderson their speaker, which was confirmed by the Governor, who addressed them as follows: "Gentlemen of the Council and House of Representatives: His Majesty having been most graciously pleased by his royal instructions to his Governors of this Province to direct the calling an assembly of the freeholders to act in conjunction with his Governor and Council as the Legislative Authority, when such a measure should be found essential to his service; I am to assure you that it is with particular pleasure I now meet you convened in that capacity, in consequence of a plan some time since formed here for that purpose, with the advice and assistance of His Majesty's

Council, and by me transmitted to the Lord Commissioner for Trade and Plantations to be laid before His Majesty for his approbation.

“Gentlemen of the House of Representatives :

“I entertain the most sanguine hopes that you are come together
 “unanimously disposed to promote the service of the Crown, or in
 “other words, the real welfare and prosperity of the people whom
 “you have the honour to represent, in every point to the utmost of
 “your authority and capacity.

“This, I presume, you will conceive is justly to be expected, not
 “only from the immediate regard due to the Civil Rights and
 “Interests of your constituents, but likewise from the unspeakable
 “obligations you are under to demonstrate in their behalf your
 “dutiful sense of His Majesty’s paternal concern for the prosperity
 “and security of those his subjects in those distinguishing marks
 “of his royal favour and protection which we have from time to
 “time so happily experienced in the fleets and armies sent out for
 “our immediate preservation when we were under the most imminent
 “danger of being swallowed up by a merciless enemy ; also in the
 “ample supplies of money for so many years annually granted for
 “the support and encouragement of this infant colony ; and more-
 “over still, in the continuance of His Majesty’s royal bounty for
 “that purpose, when from the seeming inclination of the inhabitants
 “to have an assembly convened some time since, it might have
 “been presumed, and indeed by an article of His Majesty’s
 “Instructions, which I shall order to be laid before you, it has been
 “judged that the Colony has become capable of providing for the
 “necessary support of government here, as has been usual in all
 “His Majesty’s other American Dominions.

“Gentlemen of both Houses :

“As my Military occupation requires my attendance as early as
 “possible upon the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces to the West-
 “ward, and as the Lientenant Governor is now necessarily employed,
 “and will be for some time to come, upon an enterprise of
 “importance in a distant part of the province, there is not at
 “present an opportunity of entering upon such particulars as might
 “otherwise call for your attention ; I am therefore earnestly to
 “recommend to your serious consideration the expediency, or rather

“ the necessity of unanimity and dispatch in the confirmation of
“ such Acts or resolutions of a legislative nature, as the Governor
“ and Council under His Majesty’s Royal Instructions have found
“ expedient, before the forming of an assembly and indispensably
“ necessary for promoting the welfare and peaceable Government of
“ this people.

“ You may depend upon it, Gentlemen, on my return to the
“ Government you will find me perfectly disposed to concur with
“ you in enacting such further laws, making such amendments to
“ the present ones, and establishing such other regulations as shall
“ appear upon more mature deliberations to be consistent with the
“ honour and dignity of the Crown and conducive to the lasting
“ happiness of His Majesty’s subjects where I have the honour to
“ preside.

“ CHARLES LAWRENCE.”

The House then resolved that the members should all serve without pay for the session. The calling of the Legislature had been delayed till the autumn in consequence of both the Governor and Lt. Governor being absent with the Army at Louisburg. Governor Lawrence came up to Halifax from Louisburg specially to meet the Legislature.

The Governor in his letter to the Board of Trade about this time noticed particularly the serious effects on the settlement of the enormous importation and retail of spirituous liquors, and expressed a hope that the Legislature would check it. ✓

On 2nd July, 1761 (second session) the House voted £50 for a public clock in the Town.

The following year (1759) Halifax was again the rendezvous for part of the fleet and army both before and after the siege of Quebec; not a few of the more enterprising settlers followed the camp and enriched themselves during the war. Admiral Dorell with 4 ships of the line arrived in Halifax Harbor in April and left for the St. Lawrence on 5th May.

At the news of the victory, the town was illuminated, and fire works, bonfires and other public entertainments lasted several days.

Between the years 1759 and 1763 the harbor had been the constant resort of the squadrons under Lord Colville and others;

the place was enlivened by the presence of a large army and navy, and at the close of the war several gentlemen of condition were induced to become settlers.

Peace having been proclaimed in 1763, the 28th day of December of that year was solemnized at Halifax as a day of thanksgiving on account of the termination of the war. Though the town possessed all the advantages to be derived from the presence of the naval and military forces, the resident population did not increase. From the notitia parochials of the Rev. Dr. Breynton, the Rector of St. Paul's, the number of inhabitants in the town did not exceed 1300 souls. However, in 1769, six years after, the Doctor makes the following return: Inhabitants in and about Halifax including Garrison, Acadian French and fishermen, by the late public survey 5000 souls, of which 200 are Acadians and 55 protestant dissenters. The number of births that year was 200 and the deaths 190.

Among the local occurrences of the year 1759, was the trial of Thomas Lathum, baker, for the murder of Lieutenant Collins of the Royal Navy. It appeared that Mr. Collins, Captain Sweeney, Doctor Johns, Mr. Fulton and others of the Navy, had been sipping at the house of one John Field, and late in the evening proposed to go out in search of some women with whom one of them had made an engagement. They knocked at the door of one Hewitt, and inquired for Polly. On being refused admission, it appeared that Thomas Lathum, the brother-in-law of Hewitt, who lived in the neighbourhood, hearing the noise, came to his own door and demanded of the gentlemen in the street whether they intended to rob Mr. Hewitt. They replied that they were gentlemen and not robbers. Some further words provoked a scuffle, in which Fulton was dragged by Lathum into his house. The affair terminated in Lathum discharging a gun after the party, and mortally wounding Collins. Captain Sweeney had previously called the guard, who shortly after the affair arrived and took Lathum into custody. Lathum was tried on the 24th April, 1759.

The names of the grand jury, who found the bill of indictment, were Michael Francklin, foreman, Charles Proctor, Abraham Bowyer, Walter Manuing, James Quinn, Nathan Nathans, J. Pernette, John Craig, Terrence Fitzpatrick, John Kerby, Jonathan

Pierce, James Porter, Henry Sibley, J. Flanagan, Michael Moloney, Robert Cowie, Charles Terlaven, Jonathan Gifford and James Browne.

On the 11th March, 1760, the following gentlemen were appointed Justices of the Peace for the county of Halifax, viz.: The Hon. Jonathan Belcher, Hon, Benjamin Green, Hon. John Collier, Hon. Charles Morris, Hon. Richard Bulkeley, Hon. Thomas Saul, Hon. Joseph Gerrish, William Nesbitt, John Duport, Joseph Scott, John Creighton, Sebastine Zouberbuhler, Edward Crawley, Charles Proctor and Benjamin Gerrish, and on 30th December following, Malachi Salter, Alexander Grant, Jonathan Binney and John Burbidge were added to the number. Messrs. Morris, Duport, Scott, Gerrish and Crawley were appointed Justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas.

Governor Lawrence, who had been for 7 days ill, died of inflammation of the lungs on the morning of the 19th October, 1760. The Council were immediately summoned, and Chief Justice Belcher sworn in to administer the Government. A question had arisen on a previous occasion, between Mr. Belcher and Mr. Green, as to the eligibility of the Chief Justice to the office of administrator of the Government, which was decided in favour of the Chief Justice, but some years after, the question was determined by the British Government declaring that the two offices of administrator of the Government and Chief Justice, should never be held by the same person.

It was resolved in Council, that the funeral of the late Governor should be at the public expense, and a monument to his memory was afterwards voted by the Assembly to be placed in St. Paul's Church.*

The funeral of Governor Lawrence took place on the Thursday following, 24th October, at 4 p. m. The procession began from Government House as follows:—

The Troops in Garrison, the Military Officers, two field pieces 6 pounders, the Physicians, the ministers, the corpse in a coffin covered with black velvet, and the pall, to which were affixed

*The inscription to be placed on this monument is given at full length in the Gazette of that day, but it was not to be found among those which cover the walls of old St. Paul's. There is, however, an escutcheon with the arms of Lawrence on the east gallery.

escutcheons of His Excellency's arms, supported by the President and the rest of His Majesty's Council.

The Mourners, the Provost Marshall, the House of Assembly, the Magistrates, the Civil Officers, the Freemasons and a number of the inhabitants. The Bearers, Clergy, Physicians and all Officers, Civil and Military had linen and cambric hat-bands.

The corpse was preceded near the church by the orphans singing an anthem. The pulpit, reading desk and the Governor's pew, were covered with black and escutcheons, and a most pathetic Funeral Sermon was preached by the Reverend Mr. Breynton, Rector of the Parish, after which the corpse was interred on the right side of the Communion Table.

Minute guns were fired from one of the batteries, from the time the procession began, until the interment, when the whole was concluded with three volleys from the troops under arms.

The Supreme Court, which began on Tuesday following, was hung in mourning and escutcheons.

The following fulsome eulogium, to the late lamented Governor, appeared in the newspapers of the day: "The Lieutenant Governor was possessed of every natural endowment and acquired, accomplishment necessary to adorn the most exalted station, and every amiable quality that could promote the sweets of friendship and social intercourse of human life.

"As Governor, he exerted his uncommon abilities with unwearied application, and the most disinterested zeal in projecting and executing every useful design that might render this Province and its rising settlements flourishing and happy. He encouraged the industrious, rewarded the deserving, excited the indolent, protected the oppressed and relieved the needy. His affability and masterly address endeared him to all ranks of people, and a peculiar greatness of soul made him superior to vanity, envy, avarice or revenge.

"In him we have lost the guide and guardian of our interests, the reflection on the good he has done, the anticipation of great things still expected from such merits, and circumstances which, while they redound to his honour, aggravate the sense of our irreparable misfortune."

About the end of October, Commodore Lord Colville arrived in the harbor with the Northumberland and three other ships of the line and several frigates from Quebec. The Sloop-of-War England also arrived from England with dispatches and next day sailed for Louisburg and Quebec. Several transports also came in about the same time with Col. Montgomery's Highlanders to relieve the two battalions of the 60th Royal Americans.

Among the advertisements in the Halifax Gazette of 1st November, 1760, is the following :

“ To be sold at public auction, on Monday the 3rd of November, at the house of Mr. John Rider, two Slaves, viz. : a boy and girl, about eleven years old ; likewise, a puncheon of choice old cherry brandy, with sundry other articles.”

1759. Among the town officers nominated by the Grand Jury this year were, John Fillis, Richd. Wenman, Richd. Gibbon and Wm. Schwartz as Commissioners of the poor for the town.

Surveyors of Highways, Chas. Morris, Esq., Chas Proctor, Esq., Mr. Wm. Prescott and Mr. John Rider.

This year an Act of the Legislature was passed to regulate the Sambro Light House at the entrance of Halifax Harbor, which had been erected the previous year at the expense of £1000. The Work House was also erected this year. Firing guns within the town and peninsula was forbidden in 1758 under a penalty.

The accession of King George the Third was proclaimed at Halifax on the 11th February, 1761, with great ceremony. The proclamation was first read at the Court House door,* then at the north gate of the town,† at Government House, at the south gate,‡ and lastly on the Parade, where the troops were drawn up and a salute fired by the artillery. Lord Colville's fleet being in the harbour at the time, “ each ship fired a Royal Salute, beginning with his Lordship's flagship the Northumberland.”

The order of the procession on this occasion was as follows :—
1st, A Company of Grenadiers ; 2nd, Constables of the Town ; 3rd,

* Now Northup's corner, Buckingham and Argyle Streets.

† At this period there was a fence on the north side of what is now called Jacob St. and a gate near the opening of Brunswick St., in front of the North Barrack old parade, some say further north.

‡ The situation of the south gate is uncertain ; there were several south gates. It was along Salter Street, probably in a line with the old forts known as Luttrell's and Horseman's Forts.

Magistrates; 4th, Civil Officers of Government; 5th, Constables; 6th, The Provost Marshall with two deputies on horseback; 7th, a Band of Music; 8th, Constables; 9th, The Commander-in-Chief of the Province, the Honorable Jonathan Belcher, with Admiral Lord Colville and Colonel Foster, commandant of the Garrison, and the members of His Majesty's Council; 10th, the Speaker and the members of the House of Assembly, followed by the principal inhabitants. At three o'clock the company waited on the Commander-in-Chief at Governor Lawrence's head tavern, where a very elegant entertainment was provided for them, and after dinner His Majesty's health was drunk under Royal Salute from the Batteries, also other toasts, and the evening concluded with great rejoicings and illuminations, bon-fires and artificial fire works, played off by the Royal Artillery. A sermon was afterwards ordered to be preached (13th February, 1761) in St. Paul's Church, on account of the decease of the late King, and all public amusements were ordered to cease for one month from that day. The 17th was accordingly set apart and the sermon preached by the Rev. T. Wood, the Curate. Part of St. Paul's church was hung in black, and minute guns were fired for an hour and a half, and the flags on the Citadel and George's Island were half-mast during the day. X

On the 11th day of February, 1760, two Indian Chiefs of the Passamaquoddy and St. John River tribes, came to Halifax with Colonel Arbuthnot and appeared before the Council, and by their interpreter, settled with the Governor terms of peace, renewing the Treaty of 1725 and giving hostages for their good behaviour. At their request truck houses were established at Fort Frederick. Benjamin Gerrish, John Collier and Thomas Saul were appointed a Committee to prepare the Treaty in French and English, which was to be taken back with them to be ratified by their tribes. It was arranged that Colonel Arbuthnot should accompany them, and that they should be sent back at the public expense, after which His Majesty's health was drunk and the Chiefs returned to the quarters assigned them by the Governor. On the 13th the Treaty was ratified in Council and the Indians and the Governor and Council settled the table of the prices to be established at the truck houses. The Indians stated that the number of their tribes, men, women and children, was about 500. During the sitting of the Council on the

13th, Roger Morris, one of the Mic-Mac Indians, appeared and brought with him three Frenchmen who were lately arrived from Pictou, and another Indian called Claude Renie, who said he was Chief of the Tribe of Cheboudie Indians. He stated that he had left 70 of his people at Jeddore; the men were out killing moose and their families were in want of provisions. It was arranged that provisions should be sent to them and that the men should forthwith come up and conclude a peace.

Treaties of peace were afterwards concluded on 10th March following with three Mic-Mac Chiefs, viz., Paul Laurent, chief of the Tribe of LaHave, Michael Augustine, chief of the Tribe of Richibucto, and the before-mentioned Claude Renie, chief of the Cheboudie and Musquodoboit Indians; the treaty was signed in Council on that day and they received their annual presents. Another treaty of peace was signed in Council on 15th October, 1761, with Jannesvil Peitougawash, Chief of the Indians of the Tribe of Pictock and Malogomish, and the merchants and traders were notified that the Indian trade to the eastward would be thrown open under regulations in the following spring. The following summer Joseph Argunault, Chief of the Mongwash Indians, with a number of followers, appeared before the Council and executed a final Treaty of peace. The members of Council and Legislature, with the Magistrates and public officers, attended on the occasion.

The Abbe Mallaird being introduced, interpreted the treaty to the Chief, who was then addressed by the Hon. Mr. Belcher, the Commander-in-Chief. The treaty was respectively signed by the Commander-in-Chief and the Indian Chief, and witnessed by the members of the Council present, the Speaker of the Assembly and Mr. Mallaird.* The Chief then addressed Mr. Belcher in the following manner: That he had formerly paid obedience to another King, but that he now acknowledged King George 3rd for his only lawful Sovereign, and vowed eternal fidelity and submission to him; that his submission was not by compulsion, but that it was free and voluntary with his whole heart, and that he should always esteem King George 3rd as his good father and protector. That he now buried the hatchet in behalf of himself and his whole tribe, in token

* NOTE.—This document is not to be found among the papers preserved in the Secretary's office at Halifax.

of their submission, and of their having made a peace which should never be broken upon any consideration whatever. The Chief then laid the hatchet on the earth, and the same being buried the Indians went through the ceremony of washing the paint from their bodies, in token of hostilities being ended, and then partook of a repast set out for them on the ground, and the whole ceremony was concluded by all present drinking the King's health and their Haggas. This ceremony is said to have been performed in the Governor's garden, westward of the old English burial ground, where the Court House now stands. Benjamin Gerrish, Esquire, was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and additional truck houses were built and other arrangements made throughout the Province for more effectually carrying on the Indian trade.

On the 30th December, 1760, Malachi Salter, Alexander Grant, Jonathan Binney and John Burbidge were appointed Justices of the Peace for the Town of Halifax. Mr. Burbidge was a member of Assembly; he afterwards removed to the country and settled in Cornwallis township, where his descendants now remain.

The French having invaded the British settlements in Newfoundland, and captured the fort of St. John, a council-of-war was called at Halifax, for the purpose of consulting on means of the defence of the town in case of an attack. This Council was composed of Lt. Governor Belcher, Col. Richard Bulkely, Halifax Militia, Major General Bastead of the Engineers, Col. William Foster, Lt. Col. Hamilton, Lt. Col. Job Winslow, and the Right Honorable Lord Colville, commander-in-chief of the squadron. They met on the 10th July, 1762, and continued their sittings until 17th August. They recommended to Government the embodying a portion of the militia force, and that the Batteries on George's Island, Fort George, Point Pleasant and East Battery should be put in repair and guns mounted, and the erection of such works around the town and at the Dockyard as might be considered necessary for the protection of the place. The whole to be placed under the superintendence of General Bastead of the Engineers. Some of the old works were put in repair and others added on this occasion, but the cause of alarm having subsided, further expense was deemed unnecessary.

At the first settlement it had been found necessary to occupy not only every elevated position in the vicinity, but also large spaces

around the town as at first laid out, for the purposes of defence and other military objects. After the necessity for those defences had ceased, it frequently occurred that the military commanders would lay claim to the grounds as military property, and in this way obstacles had continually arisen to the extension of the town, a grievance which has continued to be felt until the present time. Those whose duty it was to plan and lay out the town appear to have been guided more with a view to the construction of a military encampment than that of a town for the accommodation of an increasing population. The narrow blocks and small dimensions of the building lots have been found to be a continual drawback on the comfort, the health and the convenience of the inhabitants, and of late years these inconveniences have been severely felt in the business parts of the city. This, however, was not the case in laying out the north and south suburbs; here the lots were of ample dimensions, and though the streets were not of the width frequently met with in modern cities, yet of sufficient dimensions to ensure comfort. It is to be regretted that the town and city authorities, during the last 35 years, have not, as in other places, exerted their authority in the arrangement and laying off of building lots, and by wholesome regulations, prevented the crowding of buildings on pieces of land not sufficiently deep to admit of proper ventilation. It is also a matter of the utmost importance to the future welfare of the city that those lands now in the hands of the military and naval boards in various directions around the city which are not immediately required for military works should be handed over to the Civil Government for public promenades and other useful purposes.

July 18th, 1768. The Chiefs of the tribes of Indians of St. John's River, named Pierre Thomas and Ambroise St. Aubon, appeared before the Council with the following requests: They said the use of rum and spirituous liquors was too common among them, and requested that a remedy might be thought of to prevent it. They also required lands for cultivation, and that they should not be required to bear arms in case of war with any of the European powers. That some further regulations of prices in their traffic should be made, and several other matters, all of which appear to have been granted them. They desired to return home as soon as possible, that their people might not be debauched with liquor in the town.

This year (1768) Mr. Joshua Mauger retired from the office of Agent of the Province in London. Mr. Mauger came up from Louisburg with the army and resided in the town as a distiller of rum, and followed the camp for several years. He received grants of land from the government in various parts of the province. The beach at the south-west extremity of Cornwallis Island, now known as McNab's Island, was named after him. Mr. Mauger was afterwards elected a member of the British Parliament.

In the month of May of this year was presented to the Legislature the celebrated revolutionary document known as the Massachusetts or Boston Letter. This was a letter addressed by Speaker Cushman of the House of Representatives at Boston, to the Speaker of the Assembly in Nova Scotia. It bears date February 11, 1768, and was on the subject of the differences existing between the British Government and the American Colonies, then on the eve of revolt. This letter is couched in very moderate but firm language; it appears to have been received, however, with great indignation by the House, who declined to have it read. A memorial was presented to the Governor and Council in March, 1767, by Colonel Dalrymple, then commander of His Majesty's troops at Halifax, complaining of the undue occupation of grounds about the town, on which there had been palisaded forts and lines of defence. It appeared that Governor Lawrence had granted certain small tracts of land on which a palisaded line of defence had formerly been, and that such tracts of land could not be supposed to come into use on any future occasion for fortifications. That Colonel McKellan of the Engineers had advised the situation of the Work House with an enclosure, in the front of said line, and that a whole bastion of two curtains of Lutterell's fort were covered by it, and that Governor Lawrence had further laid out more of such grounds on which part of the palisading of Horseman's Fort formerly stood, all of which it appeared he did by an undoubted right of the power given him by the King's Commission, to erect and demolish fortifications, and therefore to convert the ground to other uses, it being no more serviceable for the former purposes. But it also appeared that none of the Barracks were ever granted or admitted into private occupation. That Governor Lawrence had admitted the occupation of some of the ground reserved for fortification, on condition it should be

surrendered when the King's service should again require it, by which it was evident that the King's rights in their lands had been sufficiently secured. Horseman's fort occupied the ground in the vicinity of the present Roman Catholic Cathedral. Lutterell's fort stood where the old Poor House and County Jail formerly stood. In June, 1763, the Council recommended the Governor to make a grant of the Common for the Town of Halifax to trustees for the benefit of the inhabitants. The Trustees were John Collier, Charles Morris, Richard Bulkeley, William Nesbitt, Charles Proctor and Richard Best. Some question having arisen as to the limits of the common, the Council were unanimously of the opinion that the lands which had been granted without the town were not within the limits of the Common as appeared by the plan thereof laid before the Lords of Trade, and which had not been disapproved of by their Lordships. No copy of this plan is now to be found.

The number of families residing in and around the town in 1763 was estimated at 500, which would make the population about 2500 souls. There was also supposed to be, at this time, about one thousand Acadian French in and about the town.

In June, 1763, the Hon. Montague Wilmot was sworn in Lieut. Governor in place of Mr. Belcher. In the following year he received the appointment of Governor-in-Chief.

On the 29th day of September, 1766, the Germans, who had been located to the west of the peninsula, the settlement now known as the Dutch Village, petitioned the Government that a convenient road should be laid out for them to their settlement. The Surveyor was ordered to report on the petition. He reported that he found the road from the north German lots to the southward of George Bayers' stone wall, now laid out, in the most convenient place, and that the road should be at least four rods wide. That from George Bayers' stone wall the road should be on the south side of said wall and thence to run until it meets the public road leading to the town.

About this time, at the request of the Magistrates, the Hospital was granted for an alms house. This hospital was established very early for the use of the settlers, and stood on part of the land now occupied by the Government House, to the north of that building.

The church of St. Paul's had now been for some years finished, and the Town and vicinity had been, by an Act of Legislature,

constituted into a parish with corporate powers in the church wardens and vestry. After the death of Mr. Tutty, the Reverend Thomas Wood, from the Province of New Jersey, was appointed to assist Dr. Breynton, and he and the doctor were jointly inducted into the parish in 1758; Dr. Breynton as rector, and Mr. Wood as vicar or curate, to assist. Mr. W. continued at St. Paul's until 1763, when he was removed to Annapolis Royal with the consent of the Governor and the church wardens and vestry, when the whole duties of the Mission at Halifax devolved upon Mr. Breynton. Mr. B. was in the habit of officiating to the Germans in their own language. In 1761, he preached in German and English to the small congregation in the old Dutch church in Brunswick Street, on occasion of its being dedicated as the church of St. George. In 1770, at the solicitation of the Governor and Council, the Chief Justice and the congregation of St. Paul's, he received from the University of Cambridge the degree of D. D., to which he was entitled from his standing in the University. Early in his ministry the Doctor established in the Town an orphan school, and provided for the tuition of 50 poor children, through the assistance afforded him by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Mr. Ralph Sharrock, a discharged soldier, was his first schoolmaster. In 1776, Dr. Breynton mentions in his report to the Society, having administered the Lord's Supper to 500 men of the Baron de Seiltz's German regiment in their own language "whose exemplary and regular behaviour" he says, "did them great honour." The following extract from a document, in reference to Dr. Breynton, said to have been written by a Dissenter, is given by Mr. Hawkins, from the records of the Propagation Society: "As a person who, during a residence of upwards of twenty years in this Province, has deservedly gained the good will and esteem of men of all ranks and persuasions. He preaches the Gospel of peace and purity, with an eloquence of language and delivery, far beyond anything I ever heard in America." He lived to a good old age, preserving the esteem of his fellow townsmen to the last. He appears to have lived on terms of Christian fellowship with the clergy of other denominations, as we find that at the annual meeting of the Church Society, which took place in St. Paul's in 1770, the dissenting ministers all attended at the Church to hear the doctor preach his

Visitation Sermon. One of the last acts of his ministry was the establishment of a Sunday School in the city. This was about 1783, perhaps a little later, and was the first Sunday School instituted in Nova Scotia.

In the month of July, 1769, a large number of Indians, many of whom at this time appear to have been Protestants, attended divine service in St. Paul's Church, when prayers were read by the Reverend Thomas Wood, in the Mic-Mac language, the Governor and many of the principal inhabitants being present. The Indians sang an anthem both before and after the service. Before the service began a Chief came forward, and kneeling down, prayed for the prosperity of the Province and the blessing of Almighty God on King George, the Royal family and the Governor of the Province. He then rose up, and Mr. Wood, who understood the language, at his desire explained the prayer in English to the whole congregation. When service was ended the Indians returned thanksgivings for the opportunity they had of hearing prayers in their own language. In the following year Mr. Wood again performed divine service at Halifax in the Mic-Mac language at the residence of Colonel Joseph Gorham, where a number of Indians were assembled. He had obtained great influence with the Indians through his friendship with the Abbe Maillard, and particularly from his behaviour to him a little before his death. He was in consequence frequently called on both by the Indians and French to baptize their children and visit the sick in the absence of a priest of their own church. In one of his letters to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in 1762, he mentions having attended the Abbe Maillard during his illness of several weeks, and at his request, the day before his death read to him the office of visitation of the sick in presence of many of the French, and having performed the funeral service of the Church of England, in French, on his remains in the presence of the principal inhabitants of Halifax and a number of French and Indians. The Governor and all the public functionaries attended the funeral of M. Maillard, who was highly esteemed and beloved in the community, and the members of His Majesty's Council were the pall bearers.*

*It must be understood that M. Maillard did not leave the Roman Catholic Church, but there being no priest of his own persuasion in Halifax at the time, he availed himself of the pious offices of his friend, Mr. Wood, whom he no doubt esteemed as a good Christian,

Mr. Wood was shortly after removed to Annapolis Royal, where he died in the year 1778. While there he applied himself to a closer study of the Mic-Mac language, and by assistance of papers left him by M. Maillard was enabled to prepare a Mic-Mac grammar and dictionary. He sent the first volume of his grammar, and a Mic-Mac translation of the Creed and Lord's Prayer to England in 1776. He continued occasionally to minister to the Indians in their own language until his death.

February 26th, 1769. Halifax harbour was so full of ice that vessels could not come in, which had not been the case for (says the Gazette for that day) ten years. The cold was intense, snow between four and five feet deep in the woods and on the peninsula, an instance of which had not been known for several years.

May 9th, 1769. Major Leonard Lockman died after a lingering illness in the 73rd year of his age; he was interred under the old German church in Brunswick Street, and a monument to his memory, with coat of arms, is yet to be seen in that church. Major Lockman was one of the leading settlers among the Germans. The street running between the German lots and Water Street in the north suburbs bears his name.

In the fall of this year the town was visited by a severe gale of wind from the S. W., which caused the destruction of much property and some loss of life.

Among the principal merchants in Halifax in 1769, the Hon. John Butler, uncle to the late Hon. J. Butler Dight, Robert Campbell on the Beach, John Grant, Alexander Brymer, Gerrish and Gray appear most prominent. Among the shopkeepers and tradesmen who advertized during the year were, Robert Fletcher on the Parade, Bookseller and Stationer, Andrew Cunod, Grocer, Hammond and Brown, Auctioneers, Robert Millwood, Blockmaker, who advertized best Spanish River Coal at 30s. per chaldron.

The period between 1770 and 1776 was one of great public excitement, emissaries from the revolted colonies were numerous, and the Governor and Council deemed it expedient as early as 1770, to prohibit all public meetings of a political nature.* The

* Among the various exhibitions of public feeling at this period was the erection of a gallows, on the Common, with a boot suspended from it as a token of disapprobation of Lord Bute's Government.

same spring the general election took place, after which the House sat for fourteen years without being dissolved.

In 1771, Governor Lord William Campbell issued a proclamation forbidding horse races as tending to gambling and idleness.

October 8th, 1773. Governor Legge was sworn into office.

The subject of fortifying the town came under the consideration of the Council in the following year. It was considered that the ground being rocky in many places around the town, it would not admit of entrenchments being made, and that the only practical fortifications would be temporary blockhouses and palisades, and it was resolved that the Engineers under Col. Spry do immediately proceed to fortify the Navy Yard in that manner, which may be defended by the people of the town, and afford a retreat for them. Any attempt at fortifying the Citadel Hill this season was thought to be out of the question, the season being too late, the scarcity of workmen very great, and there being no troops for its defence.

The Governor proposed and it was agreed in Council to collect a force of 1000 men with pay and provisions, and that four companies of light infantry now forming at Lunenburg be ordered up, and that 100 Acadians from Clare and Yarmouth, and two light companies from Kings County do march immediately to Halifax. The public authorities appear to have been kept in a constant state of apprehension of invasion, while a continued suspicion of many of the leading inhabitants being favourable to the revolt, seemed to have taken possession of the mind of Governor Legge, who, having differences of opinion with some of his officials, attributed their disagreement with him on subjects of finance, etc., as marks of disloyalty. He at length became so obnoxious to those in authority, that it was deemed advisable to remove him from the Government. His quarrels with Jonathan Binney, Governor Francklin and other leading men of the town, are disclosed in the official letters and minutes of Council of that day.

It was found necessary to remove the Military Stores to George's Island for safety, and additional batteries were erected there. The officers of the Town Regiment of Militia were called on to subscribe the Oath of Allegiance before going on duty. Those who subscribed were Col. Butler, Major Smith, Captains Vanput, Brown, Finney and Millet, Lieutenants Pyke, Piers, Solomon, Clarke and

↓ Fletcher, Second Lieutenants Tritton, Jacobs, Schwartz and Kerby, and Adjutant Peters. Among them we recognize several family names, the grandsires of some of our present citizens.

Among the magistrates appointed in 1771 were Joseph Gray, John Amiel and Captain Thompson of His Majesty's Ship *Mermaid*.

The bureau of Governor Legge, at the Government House, was broken open in 1744, and a reward of £100 was offered for the detection of the thief.

The condition of the Orphan House, and the children therein, was considered bad, and an order was issued for immediate steps to be taken for its being put on a better footing.

During the winter of 1774, Sambro Light House was without light for five successive nights in consequence of Mr. Woodmass, the contractor, not having sent down a supply of oil, for which he was dismissed by Order of Council.

The following year William Nesbitt, speaker of the House of Assembly, was appointed Custos of Halifax County, and the names of Thomas Bridge and Thomas Proctor added to the Commission of the Peace.

Col. Butler, commanding the militia force, reported that the sickness in the town, together with the daily labour of the inhabitants, rendered it difficult to make up the number of men ordered for the town guard, which duty the people considered a hardship. The guard was accordingly ordered by the Council to be discontinued.

The scarcity of provisions in the town was at this time so great that the government found it necessary to dispatch the *Snow Elizabeth* to Quebec for flour for the inhabitants.

The impressment of men for the Navy had been a great grievance; the trade of the country was not only injured, but the town was becoming deprived of fish and fuel in consequence of the scarcity of fishermen and labourers. The merchants petitioned the Governor and Council on the subject. The memorial was sent to the naval commander of the station; it does not appear, however, that any further attention was paid to the remonstrance.

In September, 1775, it was proposed to throw up some temporary works in addition to the old works on Citadel Hill, and to entrench about the naval yard. On consideration, it was thought too late in this season to do any earth work on Citadel Hill. Col. Spry,

however, proposed the erection of Blockhouses in the neighbourhood of the town. It is probable the old Blockhouses at Fort Needham and Three Mile House, the remains of which are within the recollection of many of our citizens, may have been originally constructed about this time. They were in full repair during the war of 1812.

A continual influx of strangers from the old colonies caused Martial Law to be proclaimed on the 30th of November of this year, and it was deemed necessary by the Council that a proclamation should be issued requiring all persons not being settled inhabitants of the town, who had arrived since September, to give notice of their arrival and names to two Magistrates, and all inn and tavern keepers were required to report arrivals at their houses, and vessels were forbidden entering the North West Arm without license. One thousand militiamen were ordered for the defence of the town. The constant arrival of loyalist refugees from the revolted colonies, during this and the subsequent years, rendered provisions scarce, and in addition to these troubles, the small-pox broke out in the town about the middle of July. The King's troops had all been removed from Nova Scotia to the revolted provinces, and the Governor was informed by the home authorities that no troops could be spared, and that the inhabitants themselves must defend the town. The town guard was accordingly again composed of militia.

1775. The fifth General Assembly held this year its seventh session from 12th June to 20th July. Mr. Nesbitt was Speaker. Chief Justice Belcher presided at the quarter sessions this summer, and gave a very loyal address to the Magistrates and public functionaries present; all Magistrates and town officers took the Oath of Allegiance. The general feeling throughout the town appeared to have been eminently loyal; some of the leading citizens, however, though firm in their allegiance to the British Crown, yet thought that self government in the Colonies in fiscal matters was the correct policy. This threw several under suspicion; Mr. John Fillis, Mr. Malachi Salter and Mr. Smith, who were natives of Boston, were among the number.

Mr. Legge, the Governor, proposed to raise a regiment in Halifax, to be commanded by himself, but was unsuccessful owing to his unpopularity.

In the autumn of the previous year, a difficulty had arisen regarding the importation of some tea, in which Mr. Smith and Mr. Fillis were concerned; and it having been understood that Fillis had said the measures of Government were oppressive, these two gentlemen were ordered to be removed from all offices under Government. The year previous a quantity of hay belonging to Joseph Fairbanks, intended for the King's service, had been burned. Some one in Halifax sent to Boston a statement charging Fillis and Smith as being privy to the act. They complained to the House of Assembly, then in session, when the following resolution was passed: That this House do esteem Mr. Fillis and Mr. Smith to be dutiful and lawful subjects to the King, etc., and that the "House is unanimously of opinion that the said reports are base, infamous and false, and that the authors thereof merit punishment." The garrison having been reinforced by King's troops, the Governor concluded on bringing no further drafts of militia to the town.

1776. This was a memorable year for Halifax. The British forces under General Howe having evacuated Boston, a fleet of three men-of-war and 47 transports arrived in the harbour on 30th March, with troops and a number of inhabitants of Boston. These were followed on 1st April by many more transports, nearly 100 in number, with the remainder of Howe's army and a number of Loyalist refugees. Howe demanded accommodation for 200 officers and 3000 men, and about 1500 loyalists with their families, with supplies of fresh provisions, etc. Rents of houses in the town were consequently doubled and the town soon presented the appearance of a military camp.* Many complaints appear against the soldiers for pulling down the fences and demolishing the stone walls on the peninsula. One Christopher Schlegall had been killed in one of the numerous affrays with the soldiers. Three soldiers were arrested and tried for murder, but no convictions occurred. Several persons were called on to give security for their good behaviour in the town.

Among the events of this year was the appearance in one of the Halifax newspapers of copies of treasonable articles from the Rhode Island and Boston papers. The printer was brought before the

*The engravings of the town published in 1777 show the Common, west of the Citadel, and Camp Hill covered with tents, where a large part of the troops appear to have been encamped.

Council and reprimanded and cautioned against permitting any such publications again to appear in his paper.

The names of the Members of Assembly for Halifax County and Town in 1776 were Wm. Nesbitt and Henry Smith, and Thomas Bridge and Joseph Fairbanks. Mr. Fenton was still Provost Marshall with jurisdiction throughout the province, there being then no County Sheriffs at this time. Henry Newton was Collector of Customs at Halifax, James Burrows, Comptroller, Lewis Piers, Gauger of Liquors, etc.

The Magistrates of the town were John Creighton, John Burbridge, Malachi Salter, Benjamin Green, John Cunningham, George Cotnam, John Newton, Winkworth Tonge, Jos. Desbarres, Charles Morris, Junior, George Smith, J. Gray, Giles Tidmarsh, George Deschamps, Dan. Cunningham, Thomas Proctor and Thomas Bridge.

The death of Chief Justice Belcher occurred this year. Mr. Morris, one of the assistant judges, was appointed to fill the office of Chief Justice until another should be appointed.

1777. The jail at Halifax was at this time in a very insecure condition. Criminals were continually escaping from it, several of whom had been found guilty of being in arms against the King. The jailor was infirm and his wife took charge. There were no regulations enforced for visiting the prisoners at night, and the shackles on the prisoners were found not to be sufficient. The Provost Marshall was suspended and Mr. Bridge appointed to act in his place.

Malcolm McIntyre, Thomas Crow, John Chalk, John Sewlock, Samuel Miller, Robert McMullen, Tulley McKilley, Cornelius O'Brien, Thomas Whitteny, John Cribben and John McIntyre, all fishermen of Herring Cove, were this year rewarded for attacking and taking a shallop and apprehending seven persons, being part of the crew of an American privateer which had been driven on shore and destroyed by the armed brig Hope, off Canso, from which they had made their escape in the shallop.

1778. The names of John Hosterman, Thomas Stevens and Edmund Phelan appear as Commissioners of the Poor, John Woodin, Keeper of the Poor House, and Thomas Brown, Schoolmaster at Halifax.

On the 13th July, 1779, the *Revenge*, privateer, Capt. Sheppard of Halifax, was taken and destroyed by two American armed vessels. In December following, H. M. Sloop-of-War *North* and the armed sloop *St. Helena*, in coming into the harbour from Spanish River, Cape Breton, the night being very dark and a south-east storm, were driven on shore about a league from the light house; both were lost and 170 persons perished.

1780. This year the following gentlemen were in the Commission of the Peace at Halifax: William Nesbitt, Winkworth Tonge, John Burbidge, Benjamin Green, John Cunningham, John Newton, Isaac Deschamps, William Russell, W. Phipps, J. F. W. Desbarres, Charles Morris, junior, George Smith, Enoch Rust, Joseph Gray, Giles Tidmarsh, John Fillis, George Deschamps, Daniel Cunningham, Thomas Proctor, Thomas Bridge, George W. Sherlock and John George Pyke.

A public slaughter house was erected this year in the town and John Woodin, senior, made keeper.

March 12th, 1780. John O'Brien advertizes as keeper of the tavern known as the *Golden Ball*, formerly kept by Edward Phelan. The *Golden Ball* was situate at the corner of Hollis and Sackville Streets, opposite the building now called *Variety Hall*, occupied by W. Harrington. The hotel called the *Pontac*, at the corner of Duke and Water Streets (now Roger Cunningham's corner) was at this time kept by one Willis. It was here the Town Assemblies, Public Balls and Entertainments were held.

The Court House stood at the north-east corner of Buckingham and Argyle Streets, where the store of Messrs. Northup & Sons now is. Chief Justice Belcher presided here when first appointed. This building was, some years after, burned down and the lot on which it stood, sold.

On the 15th January, this year, the town was illuminated and there were great rejoicings throughout the day for the success of the British troops in Georgia.

The Governor being informed from England that a large armament was fitting out at Brest, it was resolved in Council that the town militia should be called out for duty and a portion of the country militia got ready to march to Halifax if required. General McLean, then in command of the Garrison, was directed to put the

fortifications in working order. The Halifax militia was employed in the erection of bomb batteries. Drafts of militia from the country came down and were employed for three weeks on the works.

At this period the means of communication between this country and England had been very uncertain. The intercourse of Halifax with the old colonies having been cut off, Governor Sir Richard Hughes urged on the British Government the necessity of a line of packets being established between Halifax and England. Several privateers, during this and the following years, were fitted out at Halifax to cruise in American waters. The *Revenge*, Capt. James Gandy, and the *Liverpool*, Capt. Young, the former mounting 30 and the latter 8 guns, sailed for Halifax early this spring. They were accompanied by the *Halifax*, Robert E. Foster, master, owned and fitted out by Alexander Brymer, one of the principal merchants of the town.

The 18th January being the Queen's birthday the citizens and militia had a Ball at Willis' rooms in the Pontac.

In May, the *Revenge* brought in a richly laden *Snow*, bound from Cadiz to Chesapeake Bay. The *Blond Frigate* and an armed sloop both brought in American prizes.

For several years two large ships, the *Adamant* and *St. Lawrence*, were regular traders between Halifax and Great Britain. They were regular in their trips, spring and fall, and the merchants of Halifax depended chiefly on them for their supplies of British merchandize.

A government armed vessel called the *Loyal Nova Scotian*, and several other small vessels, were kept to cruise off the mouth of the harbour to prevent surprise from the pirates and privateer cruisers which infested the coast. Several were captured and brought into Halifax during this and the two following years.

In May, 1779, an election for the County took place in Halifax. John George Pyke and Francis Boyd were the candidates. Pyke was returned.

General McLean left Halifax in June with a force for the reduction of Penobscot. In August, a squadron, consisting of several men-of-war and some merchant vessels, among which were the *Adamant* and *St. Lawrence*, sailed from Halifax for his relief,

The town continued to be infested with Press Gangs for the ships of war. The inhabitants complained to the Governor and Council. Several riots on the wharves having occurred in consequence of the press, proclamation was issued demolishing all impressments except under the sanction of the Governor and Council.

October 26th, 1780. The committee of the House of Assembly, at this date, reported the sum of £1500 to be granted for the erection of a "proper and convenient building in the town for a public school, and a sum not exceeding £100 per annum for a master, and £50 for an usher when the number of scholars shall exceed forty." The trustees were to be five in number, to be appointed annually by the government, and the £1500 was to be raised by lottery. This lottery was carried into effect, but the building does not appear to have been erected. How the proceeds of the lottery were disposed of is not mentioned. The Halifax Grammar School had its origin from this proceeding. It was established in the old building at the corner of Barrington and Sackville Streets, from which it has only lately been removed to the private residence of the Rev. Doctor Gilpin, the Head Master. This building was originally occupied as a place for the meeting of the Legislature, and was previously at one time used as a Guard House. It appears to have undergone very little alteration since 1780, until sold a year or two ago. It is one of, if not the oldest building in the city, except St. Paul's Church, and the old Dutch Church on Brunswick Street. The Rev. William Cochran, afterwards Vice-President of King's College, was the first head master. He was succeeded by the Rev. George Wright, who was Garrison Chaplain and minister of St. George's. On his death, in 1819, the Rev. John Thomas Twining received the appointment. He retired from the school in 1848, when the Rev. Edwin Gilpin, succeeded him.

CHAPTER V.

At the commencement of the year 1781 many of the Loyalist refugees who came to Halifax after the evacuation of Boston by the British Army, had left the town, and the price of provisions was beginning to come down. The constant influx of strangers, however, from the revolted colonies, with the prisoners taken in the prizes brought into the port by the privateers and ships of war, tended again to augment the population. Captains of men-of-war, when vessels were in port, in order to fill up their complements of men, undertook to impress in the streets of the town without authority from the civil magistrate. On the 6th January an armed party of sailors and marines assisted by soldiers and commanded by naval officers, seized in the streets of the town, some of the inhabitants and several coasters belonging to Lunenburg, who had come up in their vessels to sell their produce; bound their hands behind their backs, carried them through the streets and lodged them in the guard houses, from which they were conveyed on board the ships of war in the harbour. The Grand Jury were in session at the time and presented the outrage to the Sessions, who requested the Governor, Sir Richard Hughes, to interfere. The Governor issued his proclamation declaring all such impressments, without the sanction of the civil authority, to be illegal and an outrageous breach of the civil law, and calling upon all magistrates, etc., to resist such proceedings and to bring the offenders to justice. It does not appear, however, that the proclamation was sufficient to procure the release of the unfortunate coasters. The names of the Grand Jury on this occasion were William Meaney, William Graham, Robert Kitts, Peter McNab, John Boyd, William Mott, William X Millett, junior, John Moore, William Carter, James Creighton, John Cleary, Richard Jacobs and Charles Hill.

On the 13th January, this year, died Malachi Salter, Esq., aged 65 years. He was one of the first members of Assembly for the town. His colleague in the representation was Joseph Fairbanks. Mr. Salter came from Boston to Halifax, very soon after the town

was commenced, and carried on business as merchant. He is said to have visited Chebucto Harbour while engaged in the fishery, several years before the arrival of Cornwallis in 1749. The old building at the corner of Salter and Barrington Streets, formerly the residence of the late Hon. William Lawson, afterwards owned by John Esson, was originally built by Mr. Salter, and was his residence for many years. This is one of the oldest houses now remaining in Halifax. It received improvements, and was enlarged by Mr. Lawson, about 60 years ago.

The School Lottery, before mentioned, was carried on this year. It was divided into two classes. The first to consist of 5000 tickets, at 20s. each, was advertised on the 25th September. The highest prize was \$2000. The prizes in all came to £4,250, leaving a balance of £750 for the purposes of the school.

The most exciting occurrence of the year was the arrival of the Charleston Frigate, the sloop Vulture, and the armed ship Vulcan, in July, after a sharp conflict with a French Squadron. The Charleston had left the harbour a short time before in convoy of some transports, and while out had taken several prizes, which had been sent in a few days previously. On the 10th July, the Charleston discovered near Spanish River, Cape Breton, two French Frigates, of 40 guns each. Captain Francis Evans, of the Charleston, having thrown out signals for the transports to make for a port, bore down upon the enemy. The Little Jack, convoy to the Quebec fleet, being in company, supported the Charleston and the Vulture. Some time after the action began, Capt. Evans being killed by a cannon shot, Lt. McKay, the succeeding officer of the Charleston, under the direction of Capt Dennis George,* of the Vulture, continued the action with the greatest coolness and bravery. Nor was the Vulcan, armed ship, in the least deficient in giving signal proof of the resolute determination of the troops on board, under command of Capt. Ewatt, of the 70th Regiment. But notwithstanding the superiority of the French, after an obstinate resistance they were enabled to sheer off and bear away, and Capt. George conducted his much-shattered little squadron into Halifax Harbour.

* Afterwards Sir Dennis George, Baronet. He was father of the late Sir Rupert D. George, Secretary of the Province for many years, and of Sir Samuel Hood George, who was for a short time member of Assembly for the County of Halifax. Capt. George married Miss Cochran, of Halifax.

The Little Jack stuck to one of the French Frigates of 42 guns, but was afterwards recaptured. On the 31st, the remains of Captain Evans, were interred with military honors, under St. Paul's Church, where his monument is still to be seen on the east side of the chancel. He was a young man of great promise, and his premature death was a loss to the service, and shed a gloom over the town, in which he had made many friends.

This year (1781), Lord Charles Montague, who had been Governor of one of the West India Islands, arrived at Halifax, with 200 of his disbanded corps from Jamaica. This nobleman died at Halifax, from the effects of fatigue, in travelling over land from Quebec to Halifax, in winter. He was buried under St. Paul's Church, where a monument to his memory is to be seen near that of Capt. Evans. He was a younger son of Robert, Duke of Manchester.

1782. The continual intercourse at this time carried on with the revolted colonies, rendered it necessary that a more strict system of inspection should be adopted with respect to vessels and passengers entering and leaving the port; accordingly Capt. Thomas Beamish was appointed Port Warden. His duty was to grant passes to all vessels and boats leaving, and to visit all those entering the harbour. No vessel or boat was allowed to pass George's Island, in the night time, or leave the harbour without sending a boat to the island, and also producing a pass from the Port Warden; and all vessels coming in were to be hailed from the island, and ordered to send their boat on shore to the Market Slip, or public landing, to be examined by the Port Warden before landing in any other part of the town. The Port Warden's office was in the old building which formerly stood at the corner now known as Laidlaw's Corner on Water Street, just above the Steamboat Wharf. At this time the water came up as far as the spot on the wharf, where Bauld and Gibson's store or shop now stands.

The Governor, Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, went to England this year, and was succeeded by Governor Parr. He received a very flattering address from the inhabitants of the town. Hammond was esteemed a good Governor, and had gained the good will of the people by his courteous manners and desire to meet, as far as possible, the wishes of the inhabitants in all municipal matters.

This summer 57 transports with troops, and the *Renown*, a fifty gun ship, put into Halifax on their way to New York and Canada. In October the *Renown* sent in a prize, laden with a rich cargo of silks, etc. The annual ships *Adamant* and *St. Lawrence* made their trips this season in 35 days.

Among the occurrences this year was the conviction and sentence of a man named William McLean, for street robbery, and the murder of a Mrs. Ann Dunbrack in July, by persons unknown. The grand Jury recommended McLean to mercy, but the Governor and Council saw no reason to grant a reprieve, and he was executed. Street robberies were at the time of frequent occurrence in the town.

Articles of peace between Great Britain and the United States of America were signed in November of this year, and with France in January following.

The principal public amusements in the town during the year were subscription assemblies, held at the *Pontac*, and at Mrs. Sutherland's Coffee House, every fortnight. The latter establishment was in Bedford Row, opposite the Commissary offices. The national societies dined together, and levees were held and parties given at Government House on all public holidays. The Garrison consisted of the 70th, 82nd and 84th Regiments, with Baron de Seitz's* Germans. Night riots were frequent, and continual complaints appear to have been made before the Sessions, of signs being removed from shops, and windows broken.

The views of the town and suburbs at this time show the fortifications at Citadel Hill, Fort Needham and Point Pleasant. They were supposed to have been taken by one Colonel Hicks, and were engraved and published in London. These views were mere outlines. Copies of them are to be seen at the Provincial Museum, where there are also a series of views, very neatly executed in copper plate, of the Government House, St. Paul's Church and other parts of the town. These latter were published about 1776, some six or seven years before those of Colonel Hicks.

* Baron de Seitz died at Halifax in the following year. He was buried under St. Paul's Church with military honors, with his full uniform, sword and spurs, according to the ancient custom in Germany when the last Baron of the race dies. His monument, a quaint old German performance, may be seen in the east gallery of St. Paul's, with his armorial bearings, etc. Among his effects advertized for sale was his diamond ring and coach with 3 horses.

Governor Parr and family came out in the ship *St. Lawrence*, and assumed the government in October.

Benjamin Green, Esq., son of the Hon. B. Green, one of the first members of Council, was elected member of Assembly for the town in February, without opposition. Mr. William Shaw was at the time Sheriff of the County.

In December, 1782, a large quantity of heavy ordnance was brought to Halifax from Charleston, South Carolina; also 500 refugees, men, women and children, arrived about the same date.

In August, 1783, a number of Negro refugees arrived from New York. It was resolved that they should be settled in different parts of the Province; however, not a few remained in Halifax, and became servants and labourers.

The Loyalists continued to come from the old Colonies, many of them in a destitute and helpless condition, until the population of the town was increased to three times its former number, and much temporary suffering in consequence prevailed. Yet many intelligent and enterprising settlers were at this period added to our population, giving new life and spirit to the town. Many spacious and commodious buildings began to be erected, taking the place of the low gambrel-roofed and picketed buildings of an early day. It is very remarkable, however, that in the year 1791, only seven years after this great influx, the population had again so decreased as scarcely to exceed 5,000. In 1783, Governor Parr estimated the population at only 1,200. This was before the Loyalist emigration from New York. In 1784, one hundred and ninety-four Negro men, women and children arrived in Halifax from *St. Augustin's*, in a destitute condition; they did not remain in the town, but were distributed by the Government throughout the interior parts of the Province.

Governor Parr in his letter to England of November 20th, 1783, says, "upwards of 25,000 Loyalists have already arrived in the Province, most of whom, with the exception of those who went to Shelburne, came to Halifax before they became distributed throughout the Province."

Again in his letter of 15th January, 1784, he says, "In consequence of the final evacuation of New York,* a considerable

* New York was finally evacuated by the British Troops on the 25th November, 1783.

number of refugee families have come to Halifax, who must be provided for at the public expense. They are in a most wretched condition, destitute of almost everything—chiefly women and children, all still on board the vessels, and I have not been able to find as yet any place for them, and the cold is setting in very severe.*

On the 20th October, 1784, an advertizement appeared in a Halifax paper, for sale, “All that land near the entrance of the harbour and opposite to Cornwallis’ Island, called Mauger’s Beach, containing by particular grant 5 acres according to the plan attached to the grant.” This beach had been formerly occupied for curing fish, and had buildings erected thereon for that purpose.†

The Penal Statutes had been repealed in 1783. The Roman Catholics in the town, chiefly emigrants from Ireland, having become numerous, purchased a piece of ground in Barrington Street, where they built a Chapel, which was dedicated to St. Peter. The frame was erected on 19th July, 1784, and many of the inhabitants, both Protestants and Roman Catholics, attended the ceremony. This building stood in from the street, directly opposite the head of Salter Street. It was painted red, with a steeple at the western end. It was removed in or shortly after Bishop Burke’s time, on the completion of the new stone church, now St. Mary’s. The Rev. Mr. Jones was the first officiating priest. The Rev. Edmund Burke, who came from Canada, officiated at St. Peter’s for many years before he was appointed Bishop.

A number of emigrants arrived in Halifax this year from England. Three hundred passengers came in the Sally transport, in a great measure destitute of clothing and provisions. Fresh provisions became very dear, and the merchants of Halifax had flour up to £3 10s. per cwt. The Governor and Council, in consequence, ordered the admission of provisions from the United States to afford relief to the inhabitants.

* NOTE.—Tradition says that the town was then so crowded by refugees and soldiers, that the cabooses from the transports were removed from the vessels, and ranged along Granville Street in rear of Government House, for the accommodation of the people.

† The tower now on Mauger’s Beach was not built until about the commencement of the present century.

The House of Assembly was dissolved this year; it had sat fourteen years without being dissolved, in consequence of the American troubles. The only alteration in the Halifax representation was the return of Capt. William Abbott for the County. Mr. Francis Green, second son of old Councillor Green, was again chosen Sheriff of Halifax in 1784.

1785. January 3rd, Mr. Sampson Salter Blowers, a barrister from Boston who came among the Loyalists, was appointed Attorney General in the place of Mr. Gibbons, who had received the appointment of Chief Justice for the Island of Cape Breton, then a separate province.

The Orphan house being no longer in use, was ordered to be let on a lease for one year.*

In September, 1785, a number of whalers from Nantucket came to Halifax; three brigantines and one schooner, with crews and everything necessary for prosecuting the whale fishery, which they proposed to do under the British flag. Their families were to follow. A short time after they were joined by three brigantines and a sloop from the same place.

On the twentieth of October following, the Chief Land Surveyor was directed to make return of such lands as were vacant at Dartmouth to be granted to Samuel Starbuck, Timothy Folger, and others, from Nantucket, to make settlement for the whalers. The Town of Dartmouth had been many years previously laid out in lots which had been granted or appropriated to individuals, some of whom had built houses, and others though then vacant, had been held and sold from time to time by their respective owners. Most of these lots were reported vacant by Mr. Morris, the surveyor, and seized upon by the Government, as it is said, without any proceeding of escheat, and re-granted to the Quakers from Nantucket, which caused much discontent, and questions of title arose and remained open for many years after.

At a Court of Admiralty held on Friday, the 27th August, 1785, for the trial of piracies committed upon the high seas, M. Buckley and Belitham Taylor were tried, committed and sentenced to death for running away with the schooner John Miller of Chedabucto and

* The locality of this orphan house is uncertain.

her cargo. Two men were also hanged this year for robbery committed to the eastward of Halifax.

The death of the Chief Justice, Bryan Finucane, having occurred this year, Judge Isaac Deschamps filled the office until the appointment of Chief Justice Pemberton. Judge Finucane was buried under St. Paul's Church. His escutcheon is in the gallery.

A general election occurred in 1785, when Mr. S. S. Blowers, John George Pyke, Richard John Uniacke and Michael Wallace were returned for the County, and John Fillis and William Cochran for the town.

The whale fishery was the chief subject which engaged the attention of the public during the year. Much advantage was expected to accrue to the commerce of the place from the Quakers from Nantucket having undertaken to settle in Dartmouth. They went on prosperously for a short time, until they found the commercial regulations established in England for the Colonies were hostile to their interests, and they eventually removed, some of them, it is said, to Wales and other parts of Great Britain, where they carried on their fishery to more advantage.

A petition was presented this autumn to the Governor and Council from a number of merchants, tradesmen and other inhabitants, praying for a Charter of Incorporation for the Town. This was the first occasion on which the subject was brought prominently before the public. It was, however, not deemed by the government "expedient or necessary" to comply with the prayer of the petition. The reasons are not given in the Minute of Council, which bears date 17th November, 1785. The names of the Councillors present were Richard Bulkeley, Henry Newton, Jonathan Binney, Arthur Goold, Alexander Brymer, Thomas Cochran and Charles Morris. The functions of His Majesty's Council at this period of our history embraced all departments of executive authority in the Colony. They were equally supreme in the control of town affairs as those of the province at large. The magistrates, though nominally the executive of the town, never acted in any matter of moment without consulting the Governor and Council. The existence of a corporate body having the sole control of town affairs would in a great measure deprive them of that supervision which they no doubt

deemed, for the interest of the community, should remain in the Governor and Council.

1786. It was customary at this period to celebrate the Royal birthdays and almost all public holidays by a levee at Government House, a review of the troops in garrison on the Common, and occasionally a public ball, either by the Governor at Government House or by the inhabitants of the town at the public assembly room. This custom continued in Halifax until about the year 1844 or 1845, when it was broken through by Governor Falkland. On the 18th June, 1786, Queen Charlotte's birthday was celebrated in the town by a levee and review, and in the evening by a ball in the old Pontac building. The confectionery on this occasion was very superb. It was prepared by one Signor Lenzi. The ball commenced at half-past eight, supper was announced by the elevation of a curtain that separated the two rooms. In the middle of the table there arose an artificial fountain, with the temples of Health and Venus at the top and bottom, all constructed of sugar. The Gazette of the time says, they "did not go home till morning."

A regular post communication was opened this summer with Annapolis; a courier was engaged, who went through once a fortnight with the mail between Halifax and Annapolis. John Howe, who had lately come to Halifax from Boston and had established a newspaper, was at this time postmaster; he succeeded Mr. Stevens. The following spring (1786) the town was so enveloped in smoke for many days as almost to impede business, caused by a great fire which raged in the woods in the neighbourhood.

On 10th October, 1786, arrived His Majesty's Ship Pegasus, commanded by His Royal Highness Prince William Henry. He was received at the King's Slip by Governor Parr and Major General Campbell, then in command of the Garrison, and conducted to the Government House, which stood in the square now occupied by the Province Building, where he was waited upon by the military and the principal inhabitants. The Prince expressed a desire that all display should be laid aside, but the people illuminated their dwellings, and by 8 o'clock the whole town was lighted and the streets crowded with people.

In the Gazette of the 9th February, 1786, appears a resolution and engagement entered into by the merchants and others at a

public meeting lately held in Halifax, wherein they pledged themselves neither to buy nor sell articles imported from the United States, prohibited by the Governor's proclamation. The document is signed by 75 persons.

On 28th February, a German Society was formed in Halifax, when John W. Schwartz was chosen President, Doctor F. Gschwint, (pronounced Swint) Vice-President, Godfrey Schwartz Treasurer, Henry Uthoff Secretary. In 1790 Adolphus Veith was secretary of this Society.

On 4th March, the jail was broken open and the prisoners, six in number, all escaped, of whom five were re-taken. Mr. Green was then Sheriff. Inquiries were instituted, but no information obtained. The delapidated and insecure state of the jail at the time was the subject of public comment.

The money collected for Liquor Licences in the town, between 31st May, 1784, and 31st May, 1785, amounted to £531. Mr. Francis Shipton was Clerk of Licences.

Three vessels were fitted out during the summer of 1786 for the whale fishery,—the schooners Parr and Lively, and the ship Romulus.

This year the merchants and shipowners formed themselves into a society called the Halifax Marine Association, for the benefit of trade. The following year Nova Scotia was erected into a Bishop's See. The Right Reverend Charles Inglis was appointed Bishop. He arrived from England on 16th October, and made Halifax his residence.

On the 3rd July, 1787, the Pegasus, frigate, commanded by Prince William Henry, arrived again at Halifax, 15 days from Jamaica. On Friday, at half-past two o'clock, the troops were drawn up in double line from the wharf to Government House. The Prince landed at the slip under a salute from the artillery on the King's Wharf. He was accompanied to Government House by the Governor and Council, where he received an address from the inhabitants. There was a dinner and ball at Government House in the evening, and a brilliant illumination of the town.

This month two whalers returned bringing 1,060 barrels oil and 72 cwt. whalebone. It is not mentioned whether these vessels belonged to the Quakers or to some of the merchants of the town.

On the 24th June, the Freemasons had a grand procession. They walked to St. Paul's Church, where they heard a sermon from the Rev. Mr. Weeks. The Prince reviewed the troops in garrison on 30th July, consisting of the 57th and 37th Regiments, and the first Battalion of the 60th Regiment.

On the 7th July the fleet, consisting of the *Leander*, Commodore Sawyer—*Pegasus*, Prince William Henry—*Ariadne*, Capt. Osborne, the *Resource*, and the Brig *Weazel*, Commander Hood, fell down to the beach, intending to proceed to Quebec the first fair wind. They sailed on the 14th. The *Pegasus*, with the Prince, returned to Halifax early in November. He received an address on the 6th, from the House of Assembly then in Session. At two o'clock on that day, the barge of the *Pegasus* with the Royal Standard flying, preceded by the Commodore in his barge, with his pendant, and the Captains of the other ships of war in their barges, proceeded slowly in procession from their ships to the King's Wharf, where the party landed under a salute of 21 guns. They were received at the stairs by the Governor, Council and Assembly, and the troops, under General Ogilvie, being ordered up, they proceeded to Government House, where a number of members of the Legislature were presented to him. They then proceeded through the lines of troops to the Golden Ball,* where a handsome dinner was prepared, and where the Prince dined with the members of †Assembly and the principal officers of Government. He retired at 6 o'clock, after which a ball was given in the evening at Marchington's new building in Water Street, adjoining the Ordnance Yard, called the British Coffee House. The Prince entered the ball room a little after 8 o'clock, and at 12 the company were conducted into the supper room. The table was handsomely decorated and contained places for 200 people. The Prince is said to have displayed great affability in conversation on the occasion.

An Act was passed this Session authorizing the sale of the Orphan House, the Court House, the Public Slaughter House, and the Old Jail, and to erect a Jail, and also to erect on the Lower Parade a Public Hall, a Province House of Brick or Stone for the setting of the Legislature and Public Offices. The Commissioners

* S. W. corner of Sackville and Hollis Streets.

† The House afterwards voted £700 for the cost of the day's entertainments.

appointed for this purpose were John Newton, Richard John Uniacke, John George Pyke and Mr. Taylor. Such parts of this Act as have been executed were afterwards repealed by Act of 1797.

1788. An Election for Members for the Town took place this winter, which was attended with extraordinary excitement. On the 20th February the poll opened, at the Court House, in Halifax; the candidates were Mr. Charles Morris and Jonathan Sterns. It closed on the Friday following, when it stood: Morris, 415; Sterns, 274. Majority for Morris, 141. Mr. Morris was carried through the Town and then taken home to his father's house. Hand-bills had been posted up reflecting on the government. Serious riots at the election occurred and many persons were hurt, some of whom received fractures of the skull and other severe injuries. Armed persons paraded the Town assaulting individuals. As this was a very remarkable election, and resulted in more turbulence and riot than had ever before occurred in the town on such occasions, we here copy the following extract from Anthony Henry's *Gazette* of 25th February:—"The unwearied and spirited exertions of a number of respectable gentlemen in a great measure calmed the minds of the people, and prevented their violence being carried to any very great length; nevertheless it was utterly impossible, in such confusion, to prevent many persons from being wounded and hurt, two of whom, we are sorry to inform the public, remain in a dangerous state; one having his skull fractured by some persons who rushed out of Laycock's house on the beach, and the other having been dangerously wounded by a shot from a window in the same house. We are likewise sorry to inform the public, that Mr. Benjamin Mulberry Holmes and his son, have been much beaten and abused by the populace on Friday night, and were it not for the very fortunate and timely interposition of Mr. Tobin's man and some others, it is probable they would have fallen a sacrifice to an enraged multitude."

The excitement had been caused partly by certain proceedings on the part of the judges of the Supreme Court against Mr. Sterns and Mr. Taylor, two practising lawyers in the town, whose names had been struck off the roll by Chief Justice Deschamps. One of the gentlemen, Mr. Sterns, was the defeated candidate at the election.

On the 3rd June, Bishop Inglis held his primary visitation of his

Clergy, when he delivered a charge, received an address, and held a confirmation in the afternoon at St. Paul's, when one hundred and twenty young persons went through the ceremony of confirmation.

A heavy rain-storm occurred on Saturday, 5th July, when the streets of the town were very much injured by the torrents of water which poured down the hills. It was estimated that the rainfall was upwards of 186 tons of water to an acre, which, allowing the rain to have fallen equally on the whole peninsula, would make the fall of water on that small space equal to 345,000 tons, in four hours.

July 30. Arrived five sail of whalers, having on board the following valuable cargoes :

Sloop "Watson," Danl. Ray, Master, 150 bbls. sperm,
50 do. headmatter.

Brigt. "Lucretia," J. Coffin, Master, 250 bbls sperm,
300 bbls. black oil, and 3000 cut bone.

Brigt. "Somerset," S. Gardner, Master, 230 bbls. sperm.

Brigt. "Sally," P. Worth, Master, 200 bbls. do.

Brigt. "Industry," W. Chadwick, Master, 84 bbls. do.
26 bbls. headmatter, and 300 do. black oil, also
3000 cut bone.

The "Andromeda," frigate, commanded by Prince William Henry, from England, arrived on 17th August, 1788; he was again received with the usual honours and the town was illuminated. The Prince attended a sham-fight on the Common, on 10th September, in which, the 4th, 37th, and 57th Regiments took part. Three soldiers were wounded by bursting of their muskets during the performance.

On 21st October, the new Chief Justice Jeremiah Pemberton, took, the oaths and his seat on the bench, and his patent was then read in open Court.

Wednesday, Oct. 22nd, was launched at the south end of the town, a handsome brig, the property of Messrs. Gouge & Pryor; she was the first vessel of the size ever built in the town.

The following gentlemen composed the Magistracy of the town this year, viz :—Benj. Green, John Cunningham, John Newton, Charles Morris, George Smith, William Sherlock, John George Pyke, Thos. Cochran, Anthony Stewart,* W. Taylor, Stephen N. Binney, J. M.

*Anthony Stewart was a gentleman from the province of Maryland; he was the father of the late Judge James Stewart, who married a sister of the late Chief Justice Sir B. Haliburton and who died in 1830, and was succeeded on the Supreme Court Bench by R. J. Uniacke, junior.

F. Bulkeley, Revd. Michael Houseal, James Gautier, William Morris, Charles Morris, junior, Daniel Wood, junior; Matthew Cahill was High Sheriff.

It appears that the rank of Esquire was not applied to any person, at this or any previous period, except Magistrates and high public functionaries, and persons to whom it was accorded in consequence of their personal wealth and rank in society. Being a member of the House of Assembly did not confer the title.

There was then no regular police establishment in the town, the Magistrates, by turns, attended to police duties with the aid of the town constables, who were annually appointed. All special matters were discussed and settled at the special sessions, which was generally a private meeting of Magistrates in the back office in conjunction with the Clerk of the Peace. Criminal charges of a delicate nature, or when private character was likely to be affected, were usually investigated with closed doors, and no information made public until found to be necessary for the ends of justice. This system continued until Mr. John George Pyke received the appointment of Police Magistrate, about 60 years since. His duties were merely to relieve the Magistrates from the more onerous duties of attending daily at the Police office. Colonel Pyke became incapacitated by age about the year 1825 or 6, when Mr. John Liddell was appointed, who had to his aid three or four Police Constables, two of whom had attended his predecessor, and the valuable assistance of David Shaw Clarke, the clerk of the peace. Such was the arrangement until the Act of Incorporation in 1848.

The "Royal Gazette" was published by Anthony Henry, until about 1801, when it fell into the hands of Mr. John Howe, from Boston.

The "Weekly Chronicle," another paper, was at this time established by Mr. William Minns, stationer, in Barrington Street, opposite the north-end of the Grand Parade. It was commenced in 1787, and continued to exist until about 1828 or 9.

Among the merchants who advertized in these papers we find the names of James Vetch, opposite the woodyard; David Hall & Co., in Hollis Street, opposite Government House, (Crown Prince Building); and George Bell, Granville St. The shops appear to have contained both groceries and dry-goods, like the country stores of

the present day. A. & R. Leslie were at the corner of Duke and Water Streets, near the Pontac. Lawrence Hartshorne, Hardware, corner of Granville and George streets, between the market house and the parade. This old corner, so many years known as Hartshorne & Boggs' corner, had a gun at the corner of the platform which extended down the hill to the lower corner, occupied by one Hart, a Jew, afterwards known as Martin Gay Black's, and now occupied by the new building of the Merchant's Bank; this walk was the resort of the merchants in the morning, and the fashionable and idle in the afternoons.

1789. On the night of Friday, the 23rd January, Cochran's buildings, a range of three-storey buildings in the market square, were totally consumed by fire. Firewards were John Fillis, J. G. Pyke, R. J. Uniacke, Michael Wallace, Geo. Bell, Lawrence Hartshorne, William Lawlor, Charles Hill.

On 9th February, an advertisement appeared in the "Gazette," as follows: "I am directed by His Excellency the Governor, to acquaint the several gentlemen called upon on Friday last to form a Fire Company, that he desires their attendance at the 'Golden Ball' on Thursday next, at twelve o'clock, to agree to rules and regulations. (Signed) Jas. Gautier."

On 15th August, the jail was broken open, and a prisoner for debt, one Livesay, who had been imprisoned at the suit of William Stairs, escaped, for which Sheriff Green was prosecuted; Green stated that he had repeatedly represented to the Council the insecure state of the jail. Mr. James Clarke succeeded Mr. Green as Sheriff of Halifax, this year.

The Dockyard at this period was in full operation. The Commissioner in charge was the Honorable Henry Duncan, who was also a member of His Majesty's Council. Doctor John Haliburton, father of the late Chief Justice Sir Brenton Haliburton, was Surgeon of the Naval Hospital, Mr. Provo Wallis was Master Superintendent, Elias Marshall, foreman of shipwrights, William Lee foreman of carpenters, Alexander Anderson and Provo F. Wallis, Chief Clerks.

A great scarcity of bread was felt in the town this summer. Vessels sent to Canada for wheat, returned empty. On the 9th July, the Governor received a letter from the Governor of Canada, stating

the great scarcity of provisions in the Province of Lower Canada or Quebec, that a famine was dreaded, and requesting him not to obstruct the exportation of corn and flour from Halifax to Quebec. But the Justices of the Quarter Sessions presented a memorial which had been laid before them by the bakers of Halifax, setting forth that there is not more of flour in the town than sufficient to provide bread for three or four days, whereupon it was ordered by the Council that no vessel be permitted to clear out with bread or flour to Quebec, except the brigantine "Ceres," until further consideration.

There were amateur theatrical performances this winter at the Pontac. It would appear that the old theatre in Argyle Street, in the recollection possibly of some of the oldest inhabitants, was in operation this year. We find plays advertized to take place there in February and March. This building stood on the spot on which the present Acadian School was afterwards erected. It was the only theatre in the town during the time of the Duke of Kent. It was afterwards occupied by Walter Bromley as a public school upon the Lancaster plan, until removed to make way for the present building, in the year 1816.

The first Agricultural Society was formed in Halifax in the year 1789; the Hon. Richard Bulkeley was the first president, and Mr. James Clarke,* (afterwards Sheriff Clarke,) was the first secretary.

The old Block House on the Citadel Hill being in a ruinous condition, was taken down this year, but the flag and signal staffs which were on it, were preserved.

June 1, 1789. The old gaol and garden were offered for sale at auction. This old building was in Hollis Street, nearly opposite the present Halifax Hotel, and was formerly the property of the late Mr. Robert M. Brown.

On the 16th June, in conformity with the Act of the Legislature formerly passed, the Governor was pleased to nominate Hon. Henry Newton, Hon. Thos. Cochran, James Brenton, John Newton and R. J. Uniacke, Trustees of a Grammar School forthwith to be erected in the town. "These gentlemen chose Mr. William Cochran, of "Trinity College, Dublin, and lately Professor of the Greek and

*Sheriff Clarke was father of the late David Shaw Clarke, for many years Clerk of the Peace, and one of the Police Magistrates of the town.

“ Latin languages in Columbia College, New York, to be master.
“ Mr. George Glennie, who was regularly educated in the University
“ of Aberdeen, to be usher, and Mr. Thomas Brown, already well
“ known in this town, to be teacher of writing, arithmetic and
“ mathematics. It is thought proper to give this early notification
“ to the public, but until a suitable building can be provided, the
“ school will be opened without delay in the room where the
“ Assembly of the Province meets.”

The Legislature after this met in the building known as Cochran's building, which was erected at the Market Square after the fire before mentioned, and the old building appropriated permanently for the Grammar school, which remained so until lately, when the school was removed to the private residence of Mr. Gilpin, the head master, and the old building sold.

The following advertizement appeared in the “ Royal Gazette :”
“ Information for Masters of Vessels. The Block House on Citadel
“ Hill, which was a conspicuous object, is removed, having been in
“ a ruinous condition. The flag and signal staffs remain.” “ The
“ hulk of the large ship, sometime since stranded at the back of
“ Thrum Cap, was beaten to pieces in the last gale.”

On the 15th October, Charles Hill advertized for sale at auction, the ground where the Court House stood, now known as Northup's Corner ; measuring on Buckingham Street, 94 feet, and on Argyle Street 43 feet. On the 17th July previous, the old Court House, and the building adjoining, known as Kirby's soap-house, and other buildings, were destroyed by fire.

1790. In the month of July, this year, the whaling fleet arrived, after a successful voyage. The brig Prince William Henry, Capt. Pinkham, with 110 barrels of sperm oil ; brig “ Hibernian,” Capt. Worth, 100 barrels sperm and 32 black oil ; ship “ Parr,” Capt. Chase, 480 sperm and 100 black oil, and brig “ Harvest,” Capt. Kelly, with 200 sperm. In August following arrived the “ Romulus,” with 170 bbls. sperm oil.

Among the chief merchants of the town at this time were William Forsyth, Philip Marchington,* Brymer & Belcher, Hardware

*Mr. Marchington was a Loyalist from New York. He commenced business in Halifax soon after his arrival, and accumulated a large landed property in the town. He owned all the land on the north side of the lane known by his name, leading from the ordnance into Argyle Street, since called Bell's Lane, also the wharf adjoining the

merchants, successors to Thomas Robie; Michael Wallace, retail store-keeper; James Moody, Hollis Street; Sabatier, Stewart & Co., Chas. Geddes, dry goods, lower side of the Parade; Richard Kidston, general merchandize; George Deblois, William Millet, Charles Hill, Hugh Kelley, all auctioneers. John W. Schwartz kept store at the corner of Granville and Buckingham Streets; Lawrence Hartshorne, at his corner, had a general assortment of cutlery, etc., D. Hall & Co., in Hollis Street, opposite Government House; Ann Bremner kept a dry goods shop at the north-west corner of the parade; Peter Lynch kept a hat store at the sign of the "King's Arms;" C. C. Hall & Co. was the chief dry goods store in the town; Benjamin Salter, Ship Chandlery, Water St.; John Fillis & Son and G. & J. Thirlock were among the wholesale dealers; Linnard & Young were the fashionable tailors; Richard Courtney had a shop at the lower side of the parade, William Sellon in Granville Street, King & Story in Marchington's buildings, John Butler Dight, wholesale store in Marchington's buildings; C. C. Hall & Co. had this year removed to Marchington building; Winkworth Allen, general dealer, in Cochran's new building. Mr. Wm. Millet the auctioneer, on the 9th Sept. advertized for sale, "a negro man and sundry "other articles." In the following year, James Forman & Co. occupied a store on Copeland's wharf, also Benjamin Salter. The British Coffee house was kept by John Gallagher at the head of Marchington's wharf. Mrs. Sutherland's coffee house, was at this time, one of the chief places of resort for Public Committees and Societies, as well as for Public entertainments; concerts were held here throughout the winter, commencing in September. The Halifax Marine Society, which had been established in Halifax for several years, held their quarterly meetings at this house. There was a house of entertainment then kept on McNab's Island by one Mary Roubalet, for tea parties in the summer. It was called the Mansion House.

On the 12th day of January, 1790, James Clarke and George Geddes, Church Wardens of St. Paul's, advertized that in consequence of the inclemency of the weather on Sunday there was so small an attendance in church, that the contributions towards the

Ordnance yard, long known as Marchington's wharf, afterwards the property of Tim. Oonnors. He died at Halifax; he was the grandfather of Major Welsford, killed in the Crimean War, whose monument is to be seen in the old English burial ground.

clothing of the children in the Sunday Schools in the town, were so small, that they desired to invite contributions from the inhabitants for the relief of the orphans and others attending the schools. In February following, the church wardens again advertized the distribution of clothing to the poor children of the Sunday Schools: 15 great coats, 64 shirts and shifts, 70 pairs stockings and 35 pairs strong shoes, which cost £30. 7s. 2d. The St. Paul's school had nineteen boys and sixteen girls in attendance.

On the same day, there was a visitation of the Halifax Grammar School by the Governor, the Bishop, the Trustees and others. The attendance during the winter was usually about 60. The school was addressed on this occasion, by one of the elder boys, and after the examinations in the Latin classes, writing and arithmetic, several scholars repeated pieces and dialogues. Mr. Cochran was the headmaster; he shortly afterwards accepted the charge of the Academy at Windsor; and the Rev. George Wright was appointed in his place. His salary was £150 per annum from the Legislature, with what he could get from the pupils. The number of scholars was 68. He states his loss in the shape of discount on his Treasury warrants amounted to from 15 to 20 per cent, in consequence of the delay in payment.

The winter was very severe; The harbour was frozen over, and the destitute condition of the poor very great. The gentlemen amateurs of the theatre, sent £25 to the Rev. Mr. Weeks, of St. Paul's, Dr. Andrew Brown, of the Presbyterian meeting house, and Mr. Houseal of St. George's in Dutchtown, for the poor of their respective parishes. The overseers of the poor, Jonathan Tremain, James Gautier, James Kerby and Andrew Belcher, met at the "Golden Ball," to assess the inhabitants of the town for the poor rates.

The Court House having been destroyed by fire, the Quarter Sessions held their sittings on the 19th February, in the long room of the "Golden Ball," for the trial of offenders. The "Golden Ball" was kept by Edward Phelan this winter, who occupied the north end of the building as a store for general merchandise.

An Act of the Legislature had been passed this year, and was published early in May, reciting that the destruction of the Court House by fire, and the inconvenient situation of the present Assem-

bly House, made it necessary that a more suitable place should be provided, and the state of the Province finances not being such as to admit of the expense of erecting a proper and suitable building, it was therefore enacted, that Commissioners be appointed to treat with Thomas James and William Cochran, for their building opposite Government House, for £200 per annum, and to expend £100 in furniture for the purposes of the meeting of this Legislature and the Courts of Law. This building lately erected after the fire, stood on the spot now occupied by the new Dominion Public building, and continued to be the place of holding the General Assembly, the Courts of Law, etc., until the Province Building was completed for their reception in 1820. The building in which the Legislature formerly held its sittings, and which was now appropriated for the Grammar School, was this year repaired at the public expense.

In June, the Grand Jury addressed Chief Justice Strange on his arrival from England. The names of the Jury were:—Richard Kidston, foreman, William Millet, Lawrence Hartshorne, Godfrey Schwartz, Winkworth Allen, John Davis, J. Forbes, James Lewis, Benjamin Salter, James Strachan, William Lawlor, Martin Shier, John Boyd and Alexander Copeland.

In the autumn, the Secretary of the Province announced to the people of the town, that in the event of a war with Spain, and the withdrawal of the troops from the Province, it would be necessary to call out the Militia for the defence of the town, and the Colonels of regiments were called upon to hold themselves in readiness, and to make returns of the state and condition of their respective regiments.

About this time, Captain Stack was a regular trader between this port and Ireland, and sold his cargoes of beef, salt pork, lard, etc., at auction, at Charles Hill & Co.'s rooms.

The Halifax Bar addressed Chief Justice Strange, on his leaving for England on a visit, this autumn. The address was signed by S. S. Blowers, R. J. Uniacke, James Sterns, E. B. Brenton, James Stewart, Daniel Wood, Foster Hutchinson, J. Prout and W. H. O. Haliburton.

At a Court of Quarter Sessions, held at Halifax, in June term of this year, the Sheriff, pursuant to law and by virtue of a warrant directed to him by the Justices of the Sessions, to lay out a road

in the north suburbs of the town, reported that he had laid out the road by a jury, in the manner following, viz:—Beginning at the north-east corner or angle of Lot No. 2. on the road leading from the Dockyard to the Naval Hospital; thence to run north 28 west, 40 feet; thence north, 59 east, 238 feet, which leaves a road of 40 feet wide, between Allbright's ground and the Hospital fence; thence north, 28 west, 660 feet; thence north 20 west, 664 feet to the road leading to Fort Needham, leaving the road 50 feet wide between the shore at the Narrows at high-water mark, and the Lots Nos. 3 and 4. This notice was published, that all persons who might think themselves aggrieved by the laying out of the road might have an opportunity of being heard before the sessions, on Tuesday, the 5th September, 1790. It was signed by Thomas Wood, Clerk of the Peace. X

This road was intended as a continuation of Water Street northward, to meet the road which leads up from the water to Fort Needham, but it does not appear to have been on the line of the present road, but to have gone through the northern end of the Hospital grounds, along the water side, below the site of the old magazines.

At the session of the House of Assembly in 1790, several articles of impeachment against the Judges of the Supreme Court, as before mentioned, passed the House, which were laid before the Executive Council by the Governor, on 7th April. It was proposed to suspend Chief Justice Deschamps and Judge James Brenton, in conformity with the request of the Assembly.

1791. Governor Parr died on 25th November this year, in the 66th year of his age, and the ninth of his government. He was buried with military honours, under St. Paul's Church, on the 29th of the month. The procession moved from Government House to St. Paul's Church, in the following order:—All the Lodges of the Freemasons, (His Excellency having been the Grand Master,) the 20th regiment as the firing party, the Church Wardens, the Physicians of deceased, the Clergy, the Bishop, the body covered by a pall adorned by eight escutcheons, Pall-bearers, Hon. A. Brymer, Major Boyd, the Commissioner of the Dockyard, the Admiral, the Hon. S. S. Blowers, Hon. Thomas Cochran, Major Rawlinson, the General, the relatives and servants of deceased, particular friends, the Sheriff of

the county, members of Council, viz., Morris, Bulkeley and Newton, Judges Brenton and Hutchinson, the treasurer of the province, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, Custos of the county and Justice Binney, Magistrates of the town, the bar, staff of the army, officers of the navy and army, officers of militia, gentlemen of the town, and the whole garrison all under arms, lining the streets. Minute guns were fired by the men-of-war in the harbor and by the Royal Artillery, during the procession. The service was performed by the bishop, Dr. Charles Inglis, and the body was buried under the middle aisle.

During the autumn and winter, a number of black people from different parts of the province were brought to Halifax, to be removed to Sierra Leone. Michael Wallace was agent, who on 5th December, advertised for 1000 tons of shipping, for the purpose. Ships "Venus," "Parr," "Eleanor;" Brigs "Betsy," "Beaver," "Mary," "Morning Star," "Catherine," "P. W. Henry;" Schrs. "Liberty," and "Two Brothers," the whole commanded by Lieutenant Clarkson, having on board the colored people, all sailed for Sierra Leone on 15th January, 1792. The hire and damages amounted to £3965 8s. 0d. sterling. This expense was borne by the Sierra Leone Company. These colored people were chiefly those who came from the old provinces with the Loyalists. They formed a colony in Africa, called the "Nova Scotia colony,"* which still exists, and about 15 years since several old negroes were living who recollected the removal from Halifax, when children. The fleet arrived at their destination after a passage of 40 days. The number embarked was 1139. The day of arrival was 28th March, and the 28th March in every year is still kept up by the adherents of the Lady Huntingdon Congregation at Sierra Leone, as the anniversary of the arrival of their fathers in the colony.

Until these Nova Scotian adherents of Lady Huntingdon's connection could erect a chapel for themselves in their new home, they united with the other coloured congregations of Methodists and Baptists. Mr. Zachary Macaulay, who was at one time Governor of this colony, says: "There were five or six black preachers among the Nova Scotians

*Among these negroes was a coloured preacher, the Rev. John Marrant, who had been ordained in London in 1785, as a minister of Lady Huntingdon's connection. He laboured among the people of his own colour while in Nova Scotia, and having accompanied them to Sierra Leone, officiated among them there for several years. He returned to England, and died in 1791.

“raised up from their own body, who are not without a considerable “influence.” Among these, was John Ellis, who was Superintendent of the churches; he was succeeded by Anthony Elliot, a young Nova Scotian negro; he acquired several of the native dialects and became an active Christian missionary in Africa. He died in 1854 at the advanced age of 80. Elliot followed the avocations of a fisherman and pilot as the means of livelihood, and on the Sundays he preached to the people the Word of Life.

The population of the city and suburbs, in 1791, had fallen to 4,897.

The returns on the census this year, are as follows;—

1301 males over 16 years of age.

935 “ under “ “

2209 females.

422 black people.

The Agricultural Society of Halifax, offered premiums this year, and published a volume on husbandry.

A gold medal and 10 guineas was offered for the best essay on the natural history of the Hessian fly, and the method of stopping its progress in the wheat crop. A volume of the Society’s proceedings, was this year published at Halifax by John Howe.

1792. On the 17th April news arrived of the appointment of Mr. John Wentworth as Governor. He had resided in Halifax for seven or eight years, having held the office of Ranger of woods and forests, and had been Governor of New Hampshire. On 12th May, the “Hussar,” frigate, Capt. Rupert Denis George, arrived, having on board Governor Wentworth, etc. He landed at the King’s wharf under a salute fired from the parade and a guard of honour from 21st regiment. On the 14th he was sworn into office. In the evening the town was brilliantly illuminated.

On 17th August a fire broke out in the property of John Welner, soap-maker in Granville Street. Six tenements and the Ordnance laboratory were consumed; Welner and his wife, two aged persons, were burnt to death. The sum of £140 was raised by subscription for the sufferers at the fire. The principal sufferers, however, declined to receive any aid, and a committee was appointed to examine the claims and distribute the fund.

Folger and Starbuck, the Quaker whalers, who settled at Dart-

mouth a year or two since, left Halifax this year, for Milford Haven, in Great Britain, where they expected to carry on their whale fishery with greater facilities than at Dartmouth.

Died at Halifax, on 27th September, 1792, Mrs. Hester Godfrey, aged 101 years.

The Grand Jury at Halifax, for 1792, were as follows, viz:— George Smith, foreman, Andrew Liddell, John Masters, Philip Marchington, Benjamin Mulberry Holmes, Rufus Fairbanks, Peter Smith, Michael Wallace, John Steeling, Richard Jacobs, John Kirby, Thomas Filles, Charles Hill, J. W. Schwartz, William Cochran, John Butler Dight,* Thomas Russell, Alexander Brymer, George Grant, William Williams and George Deblois.

Several petitions were presented this year to the Governor and Council, from the merchants and others of Halifax, on the subject of trade regulations and the collection of debts. Among the signatures to these petitions, we find the names of James Forman & Co., James Moody, William Veitch, George Grant, Winkworth Allen, William Kidston, Samuel Rudolph, Benjamin M. Holmes, James and Alexander Kidston, Chas. Geddes, Wm. Forsyth & Co., Thomas Russell, Hall, Bremner & Bottomry, William Taylor, Burnes, Liddell & Co., P. Smith, Jonathan Masters, Williams & Lyons, Geo. Deblois, John Moody, and S. Hall & Co.

Again 1793: Brymer & Belcher, Forman & Grassie, John Steeling, Jonathan Tremain, P. Marchington, Andrew Liddell, George Sherlocke, Francis Stevens, Geo. Bell, Geo. Moren, Edward Butler, Nathan Hatfield, Thomas Watson, Peter McNab, Benjamin Salter, Frederick Major and John Brown.

The town Assemblies were held this winter in Mrs. Sutherland's rooms in Bedford Row, opposite the Commissary offices.

On Thursday evening, Dec. 20th, 1792, Governor and Mrs. Wentworth gave a grand ball. The decorations in the supper room were very elegant. The ladies sat down and the gentlemen waited on them. Among the decorations were the exact representations of

*John Butler Dight was the nephew and heir of the Hon. John Butler, one of the early councillors. Under the will of his uncle, he assumed the name of Butler only and was afterwards known as John Butler Butler. He first was engaged in keeping a shop in the town; having acquired a fortune by the death of his uncle, he became a member of council and obtained a situation in the Commissariat department, after which he was removed to the seat of war with the army under Lord Wellington and others. Being owner of a large property near Windsor, he came back to Halifax in about 1833, and died at Windsor. He was the father of Colonel Edward S. K. Butler of 35th regiment, who afterwards settled and died at Windsor.

Mr. Jonathan Tremain's new flour mill at Dartmouth, of the wind-mill on Halifax Common. A model of the red light house at Shelburne, and the tract of new road from Pictou, was delineated in the most ingenious and surprising manner, as was also the representation of our fisheries.

To all these inimitable ornaments, corresponding mottoes were attached, so that not only taste and elegance were conspicuous, but encouragement and genius were displayed. Such was the description of this affair as it appeared in the newspapers of the day.

Cochran's buildings were again on fire, 30th January, 1793, but the fire was extinguished without much damage.

War with France was announced by letters from the Secretary of State to the Governor, dated 9th February, 1793. Orders were also received to raise a provincial regiment. This regiment was to be called the Nova Scotia Fensibles; they were to be raised in Halifax, but were not to have half pay, and the Commissions were to be given to half pay officers. Young Haligonians were thus excluded. It was about the same time decided on embodying a part of the Militia force for the defence of the town. 1050 effective men were accordingly marched into the town from the country, who were to receive pay from the British Government while on duty. The Governor published his thanks to the militia on 2nd November, for the alacrity with which they obeyed his orders in marching to Halifax. By the month of May the number of men enlisted for the Nova Scotia regiment, amounted to 100, the enlistments were afterwards increased to 600 men.

Apprehensions appear to have been entertained of an attack on the town by the French fleet. Every precaution appears to have been taken by Governor Wentworth for the protection of the Capital. In his letter to the Secretary of State of 23rd July, the Governor says, "In twenty minutes I could put under the command of General Ogilvie, 900 militia men, and in a few hours a second battalion of 600, who reside in the neighbourhood of the town."

The Halifax Militia Artillery, commanded by Capt. J. Tremain was a most effective body of men. It had been this year formed and consisted of sixty freeholders of the town. The Town Regiment of Infantry was commanded by Col. John George Pyke. 550 men of the Town Militia assisted the Garrison in repairing

and mounting the batteries on Citadel Hill and elsewhere. On the 2nd April, two French Prizes were brought into the harbour by H. M. Ship Alligator, with cargoes valued at £40,000.

Among the events of the War was an expedition fitted out at Halifax to attack the Island of St. Pierre, in Newfoundland. It consisted of the Alligator and Hussar, men-of-war, with a body of troops under General Ogilvie. Before leaving, the two ships of war received permissions from the Governor and Council to press through the town and complete their crews. The place surrendered without fighting, and the Governor, M. Danseville, with several hundred prisoners and stores were brought to Halifax. They landed on the 20th of June. Governor Danseville was placed on parole, and resided at Dartmouth for many years in the house known as Brook House, now or lately the residence of the Hon. Michael Tobin, junr., about a couple of miles or more from Dartmouth town. The old gentleman displayed some taste in beautifying the grounds at Brook House. He built a fish pond and laid out walks among the beech and white birch groves near the house. The pond still remains, but the walks and most of the trees have long since disappeared. He remained a prisoner with an allowance from Government until the peace of 1814, when he returned to his own country a zealous royalist. Mr. Mizanseau was his aide-de-camp; he married a farmer's daughter in the South East Passage, and left a family who bear his name in that neighbourhood.

Governor Wentworth proposed to place the French prisoners who had been brought to Halifax from time to time, on an Island in the North West Arm, afterwards known as Melville Island, but the General preferred the Cornwallis *Barracks. The Island was not the property of the Government at this time, but hired by Governor Wentworth for this purpose of a prison. It afterwards became Admiralty property.

A poll tax existed at this time. It had been imposed by Act of the Legislature in 1791. One shilling per head was imposed on all males above 21 years of age. The law also contained a tax on cattle, with an extra tax on certain trades and occupations. It was ostensibly for the purpose of reducing the provincial debt. It does not appear, however, to have been regularly collected in the town.

NOTE.—* Uncertain as to where the Cornwallis Barracks were situated.

1794. On the 10th May, His Royal Highness Prince Edward arrived at Halifax in the *Blanche* Frigate, twelve days from St. Kitts. He landed immediately under a salute of 21 guns.

A levee took place on the 14th and an address was presented to him couched in the most fulsome and ridiculous language. On the 24th there was a garrison review under the command of General Ogilvie.

On the 22nd January, the following year, he set out by land for Quebec. He was at Boston on 5th February, where he remained 10 days and then embarked for the West Indies. It appears, however, that he was in Halifax on 25th February.

1794. This year a number of merchants of the town agreed to underwrite policies of insurance on vessels and goods, and appointed Benjamin Salter the broker, who, on the 10th May, advertised attendance every day during "change" hours at the "Coffee Rooms."

The town was again harassed by press gangs from Admiral Murray's ship. The Admiral had persuaded the Governor and Council to allow him twenty-four hours power over the inhabitants to man his fleet—though Capt. Home had been previously refused the privilege in January.

In December the Marine Society, which had been established by the merchants of Halifax several years previously, was re-modeled and extended in its operations. About this time a project had been formed by Governor Wentworth for uniting the waters of Halifax Harbor with the Bay of Fundy by a canal from the River Shubenacadie, and rendering the river navigable. Suggestions on the subject had been made to Governor Wentworth by persons whom he supposed competent to judge of the feasibility of the project, and was very sanguine of success in the work if not interrupted by hostilities. It does not appear, however, that any attempt was made this year towards effecting the object, but three years after (1797) the sum of £250 was voted for a survey of the projected canal.

All public lands in the town were this year granted to trustees. A grant of part of the King's Stores for a fishmarket was made, also the Province Building ground and the Grand Parade. The old English burial ground opposite the present Government House on Pleasant Street had been originally set apart, in 1749, as a genera

burial place for the inhabitants of the town. It consisted of two acres and a quarter, but the title had not passed out of the Crown. It was this year granted to the Church Wardens and Vestry of St. Paul's Parish. They have been considered to hold it in trust for the original purpose for which it was dedicated. The old poor house burial ground was also included in this grant.

The French prisoners brought from St. Pierre and Miquelon, who had been lodged in the town with others who had been taken in prizes, were sent, in the month of July, to the Island of Guernsey.

We find Captain George of the Hussar receiving permission from the Council to fill up the complement of his men by impressment. In July following a similar application from Capt. Knowles of the ship *Daedalus* was refused. Admiral Murray, it appears, obtained another license in September to press through the town for seven days.

Commodore George informed the Governor that intelligence of the state of the defences of the town had been, or was likely to be, communicated by the French prisoners, through persons from the United States, to the French ambassador at Washington, and suggested an embargo on all vessels going to the United States for the present until he should receive intelligence from Admiral Murray. The Collector of the Customs at Halifax was accordingly ordered not to clear any vessels to the United States until further orders.

The following gentlemen were added to the Magistracy of the town: Michael Head, M. D., George Sherlock, Francis Green, J. M. F. Bulkeley, J. B. Dight, John Phillips, M. D., Jonathan Tremaine. James Clarke was Sheriff. Among the advertisements which appeared in the newspaper this and the previous year was a notice that sedan chairs would stand for hire in Barrington Street, also at the Court House, for the convenience of the public. The principal merchants and ship owners in the town between 1787 and 1795 were Geo. Bell, Hardware and Glass Store in Granville Street, near the town guard, then kept in the old house behind Masons' Hall; Peter Smith, Wines & Groceries; James Veitch, Groceries and General Store, shop opposite the wood yard; David Hall & Co. Dry Goods Store in Hollis Street, opposite old Government House; Charles Handesayde, Boot & Shoe Maker in Granville Street; Alex.

and Robert Leslie, Dry Goods Store at the corner of Duke & Hollis Streets, near the Pontac; Lawrence Hartshorne, Hardware Store at corner of Granville Street, between the Market House and the Parade; Wm. Forsyth & Co., Importing Merchants; Linnard & Young, Tailors, in Marchington's Buildings, Upper Water Street; George DeBloise, General Dealer; John Butler Dight, Importing Merchant, and Winkworth Allen and the Messrs. Cochran. William Minns, Stationer, Benj. Salter, Importing Merchant, Chas. Geddis, Watch Maker & Jeweller, lower side the Parade; John Hill, Cutter, Hollis Street; Edmond Phelan, "Golden Ball" tavern, Hollis Street; Wm. Brindley, Wines, etc., Forman, Grassie & Co., Importing Merchants, store on the Long Wharf (late Copeland's); Hall, Bremner & Bottomley, Dry Goods, etc.

Between '95 and '99. James Romans, Boot & Shoe Maker, corner of Duke & Granville Streets; Wm Dickie, Dry Goods, Phebe Moody, Dry Goods, Matthew Richardson, General Store, Robert Chrisley, Dry Goods, John McMasters, Dry Goods, Edward King, Livery Stable, John Kidston, General Dealer.

In 1798 the firm of L. Hartshorne & Co. was changed to Hartshorne & Boggs.

Moody & Tidmarsh, Dry Goods, Thos. Wallace, Dry Goods, etc. opposite wood yard; J. Hemmington, Grocer, near the Navy Yard; Lyon & Butler, General Dealers, Saml. Leddiet, Soap Boiler from Liverpool, kept the London Porter House above the Grand Parade; Philip Garrell, Tailor, Fraser, Thom & Co., Importing Merchants, Marchington's Wharf; Robert Scaiff, successor to Wm. & Thos. Williams, Hardware, Jewellery, etc., Forsyth, Smith & Co., Importing Merchants, James Leaver, Lower Water Street, Dry Goods, David Seabury, Auctioneer, Joseph Davis, Dry Goods, Michael Head, Apothecary, Saml. Hart, Dry Goods, D. Marshall and D. Fraser, both Importing Merchants, Wm. Annand, Groceries, etc., Saml. Greenwood, Mast Maker, Ed. Bartlett, Dry Goods, Marchington's Wharf; Jacob Miller & Son and Philis, Boyd & Philis, Importing Merchants, Tremain & Boggs, opposite the fuel yard, Hardware, etc., Thomas Roby, Merchant, Granville Street, Brymer & Beleher, John Grant, Wm. Forsyth & Co., Jonathan Tremain, Merchants, James Moody, Grocery & General Store keeper, Hollis Street, Michael Wallace, Wines, Groceries, etc. C. C. Hall & Co.

appear to have been the leading dry goods shop keepers ; their store was in Marchington's buildings near the Ordnance. Charles Hill, Auctioneer, James Forbes, Wine, Groceries, etc., Water Street, near Fairbanks' Wharf. Andrew Gallagher kept the British Tavern opposite Marchington's Wharf. Sabatier, Stewart & Co., General Merchants ; their firm was dissolved in 1790. William Millett, Auctioneer, King & Stoe, Shop-keeper, No. 6 Marchington's buildings, near the British Tavern ; Thomas Russel, shop-keeper, store near the Coffee House ; Alex. Morrison, Bookseller, Thos. Donaldson, Confectioner, Etter & Tidmarsh, corner of the Parade, British Merchandise, D. Curry & Co., Dry Goods, James Frame, Cabinet Maker, Jonathan & John Tremain, Hardware, etc., David Rudolph, near the Golden Ball, Dry Goods & Groceries, Richd. Woodroffe, Furrier, near the South Barracks.

1795. At the request of Prince Edward, the men of the Militia were employed on the fortifications in the neighborhood of the town during the summer. At this time the French prisoners in the town became very riotous ; they were ordered to be removed to a place of confinement and none to be permitted at large. Several French prizes were brought in during the summer by Capts. Cochran and Beresford, of the Hussar and the Thetis, Sloops-of-War. An armed Snow named the Earl of Moira was kept by the Provincial Government for the protection of the coast. The most stirring event of the year was the arrival of the Hussar and Thetis after a long cruise bringing with them two French ships-of-war which they had captured ; part of the enemy's squadron bound from the West Indies to Virginia.

Several Halifax ship masters lost their vessels and were made prisoners by French privateers in 1795. The names of Capts. Jacobs, Lloyd, Ewing and John Pryor appear among them. They suffered much hard usage at Guadaloupe where they were detained. A project for building a bridge across the Narrows was contemplated about this time. A petition was presented to the House of Assembly dated 11th March, 1796, from a number of persons praying for an Act to authorize the building of a bridge across the Narrows.

Between January, 1795, and January, 1796, the Halifax markets appear to have been well supplied. The newspapers of the day mention that 786 head of fat cattle, 30 cows and calves, besides sheep and swine had been brought into the town.

1796. St. George's day was celebrated with much festivity by the English Society. They had a dinner in the evening at which Governor Wentworth and Prince Edward were present. Among the decorations were sixty variegated lamps. Genl. Ogilvie and Chief Justice Strange were among the guests. The Prince arrived and departed under a royal salute and, during the dinner, sat under a canopy of white satin and gold lace.

During the spring of 1796 Halifax suffered from a scarcity of provisions. The inhabitants were indebted to Messrs. Hartshorne and Tremain, whose mills at Dartmouth enabled them, through the summer, to obtain flour at a reduced price and to afford a sufficient supply for the fishery.

The 4th June, old King George's birthday, was celebrated this year with the usual ceremonies. There was a levee and a review of the troops, and Sir John Wentworth entertained the Prince and a number of the principal inhabitants at a Ball, when the old Government House was brilliantly illuminated. There was a dinner the same afternoon among the merchants at the British Tavern, Marchington's buildings.

St. Patrick's day, this year, was also celebrated by a levee at the Government House and a dinner at Gallagher's hotel. The society sat down to dinner at five o'clock. His Royal Highness Prince Edward, Governor Sir John Wentworth, several members of Council, the Speaker and a number of members of the House of Assembly attended. The Prince and the Governor retired early, but the society kept up their festivities to a late hour.

On July 21st, vessels arrived in the harbor with five hundred Maroon negroes from Jamaica. The Maroons were the descendants of a number of African slaves, who, when Jamaica was conquered from the Spaniards, took refuge in the Island. They continued in a state of insubordination, but occasionally made treaties with the English. At this time they were in open hostility, but had been conquered, and it was arranged that a number of them should be sent as settlers to Canada. They put into Halifax on their way. They were under the superintendence of Colonel Quarrell of Jamaica, who had letters from the Governor of Jamaica to Sir John Wentworth. Prince Edward was commander of the garrison at the time, and on inspecting the people was so much pleased with the athletic

proportions of the young mulatto men that he proposed to detain them to work on the fortifications of the town, which were then in progress under his direction. The French squadron under Admiral Richery was then off the coast, and it was expected that he would visit Halifax. The fortifications at the mouth of the harbor having fallen into decay were under repair, but not sufficiently forward to afford protection in case of an attack. The proposal was accepted by the Maroons; some were accordingly accommodated with sheds, and others placed in barns and such places of shelter as could be found in the town for their temporary accommodation. A number were sent to work on Citadel Hill, and one of the bastions there was called the Maroon Battery. The assent of the Secretary of State having been obtained for their settlement in Nova Scotia, land was assigned them in the Township of Preston. Col. Quarrell did not like the treatment they received. Many of the Maroons were permitted to come to town and seek work among the inhabitants. It was about this time that Sir John Wentworth proposed, as has been before mentioned, to open communication between Halifax and the River Shubenacadie which was to be performed by Maroon labor. This was the first proposal to be met with in reference to the Shubenacadie Canal which, in after years, caused so much loss and suffering by its failure. Differences arose between Col. Quarrell and the Governor, the Maroons refused to work, and discontent increased. Sir John and Prince Edward had a project of forming them into a corps of militia, and bestowed militia commissions on several of the young men among the Maroons, and two of their leading men, Montagu and Johnson, were appointed Colonels. Jarret, Bailey, Mayers and others were made Majors and Captains, which gratified their vanity.

The winter of 1796-7 was very severe, the want of provisions was felt, and the scarcity of flour threatened a famine in the town. The expenses of supplying these people had hitherto been borne by the Jamaica Government. Land had been purchased at Preston and the large building known as Maroon Hall, afterwards the property of Lieut. Katzmann, was erected as a residence for the superintendent. Some difficulties arose with the Jamaica Legislature. Quarrell left Halifax in the spring of 1797, leaving the Maroons discontented and refractory. It was finally arranged that they

should be sent to Sierra Leone. Eight years previously a number of negroes had been sent there from Halifax. The Maroons were to be united with them in the hope that the union would be a check on the turbulent conduct of the Nova Scotia colony, which at that time had been the source of some trouble to the Sierra Leone Company. They were accordingly embarked in the autumn of 1800, and arrived on the coast of Africa in October.

Sir John Wentworth had received intelligence in September which led him to apprehend some attempt on Halifax by the French forces now in Newfoundland. At the close of the year the harbor defences were brought into good condition, and capable of affording a tolerable defence in case of invasion. Two press warrants were issued this year by the Council; one on 31st January to Admiral Murray for twenty-four hours in the town, and another in October to Admiral Vandiput for two months through the province.

On the night of the 21st March a fire broke out in the range of houses opposite St. Paul's Church, in Barrington Street, which consumed the property of Dr. Greaves. The trees around the Church escaped uninjured.

The sudden death of James Michael Freke Bulkeley, the Secretary of the province, on the 12th November, threw a gloom over the community. He was a young man of pleasing address and highly esteemed. He had been for some time member for the county, which he held in conjunction with that of Provincial Secretary. He had succeeded his father, Richard Bulkeley, in the office but a short time before his death.

In November, the fleet, under Vice Admiral Vandiput, sailed from Halifax on a cruise. It consisted of the Resolution, 74, bearing the Admiral's flag, Capt. Ledmore; Assistance, 50 guns, Capt. Mowatt; Andromeda, 32 guns, Capt. Taylor; Ceres, 32, Capt. Otway; Lynx, 18, Capt. Hall, and the Hunter, 18, Capt. Tucker.

1797. During this summer the town was enlivened by the presence of four or five hundred embodied militia who did garrison duty. Several battalions were enrolled in the country with the intention of their being removed to Halifax for the protection of the town in the absence of the regular troops. They were, however, not required, and were discharged in the latter part of October by order of the Governor.

At this time Dr. Robert Stanser was rector of St. Paul's, Dr. Archibald Gray, minister of St. Matthew's, at the corner, Mr. Michael Bernard Houseal, missionary to the Germans and minister of St. George's, north suburbs. Chief Justice Strange resigned this year and was succeeded in the office by Mr. Sampson Salter Blowers, who remained Chief Justice until 1835, when he was succeeded by Sir Brenton Halliburton. Chief Justice Blowers died in 1842, at the age of 100 years. His monument is in the south-east corner of the east aisle of St. Paul's. He built the house at the corner of Barrington and Blowers Streets, lately occupied by Mr. Romans as a hotel, and known as the Waverley House, where he resided for about thirty-five years.

Mr. Shaw was Sheriff of Halifax this year; he was succeeded by Lewis M. Wilkins, afterwards a Judge of the Supreme Court, and father of the late Judge Wilkins of that Court.

Prince Edward, who was Commandant of the garrison, appears to have patronized almost all the public entertainments in the town. He dined with the national societies, and honored the balls given by Governor Wentworth with his presence. His manners were affable, and he was, in consequence, quite popular with all classes in the town. He was very much affected by the sudden death of Lieutenant Charles Thomas of his own regiment, the 7th Fusiliers, who was accidentally shot by a brother officer while on a hunting expedition in August of this year. Lieut. Thomas was the son of Nathaniel Ray Thomas, a magistrate and collector of the customs of Windsor, and a cousin of Governor Wentworth. He was a favourite and protegé of Prince Edward, who attended his funeral and erected a monument at his own expense over his grave.

On the 23rd November, this year, H. M. Ship *La Tribune*, Capt. Baker, was lost in coming into the harbor. The following authentic account of this disaster is from the newspaper of the day:

"*La Tribune* was one of the finest frigates in His Majesty's service, mounted 44 guns and had been lately captured by Captain Williams in the *Unicorn* frigate. She was commanded by Captain S. Barker, and sailed from Torbay the 22nd September, as convoy to the Quebec and Newfoundland fleets. In Lat. 49° 14' Long. 17° 29' she fell in with and spoke His Majesty's ship *Experiment* from this place, out 12 days. She lost sight of all her convoy October 19th, in Lat. 46° 16' Long. 32° 11'. On Thursday morning last, they discovered this Harbour about 8 o'clock. The wind being E. S. E they approached it very fast, when Captain Barker proposed to the master that they should lay the ship to till they could obtain a pilot; the

master replied, 'he had beat a 44 gun ship into the harbour—that he had been frequently here and that there was no occasion for a pilot, as the wind was fair.' Confiding in these assurances Captain Barker went below and was for a time employed in arranging some papers he wished to take on shore with him. The master in the meantime taking upon himself the pilotage of the ship, and placing great dependence upon the judgment of a negro man by the name of John Casey, (who had formerly belonged here) whom he had placed forward to con the ship. About 12 o'clock the ship had approached so near the Thrum Cap Shoals, that the master became alarmed and sent for Mr Galvin the master's mate, who was sick below. On his coming on deck he heard the man in the chains sing out 'by the mark five,' the black man forward at the same time singing out 'steady.' Galvin got on one of the carronades to observe the situation of the ship, the master in much agitation at the same time taking the wheel from the man who was steering with an intent to wear ship, but before this could be effected or Galvin able to give an opinion, she struck. Captain Barker instantly came on deck and reproached the master with having lost the ship. Seeing Galvin also on deck, he addressed him and said (as he knew he had formerly sailed out of this harbour) that he was much surprised that he could stand by and see the master run the ship on shore. Galvin informed the Captain he had not been on deck long enough to give an opinion. Signals of distress were instantly made and answered by the military posts and the ships in the harbour. Boats from all the military posts, from His Majesty's ships and from the Dockyard, proceeded to the relief of La Tribune. The military boats and one of the boats from the Dockyard, with Mr. Rackum, boatswain of the Ordinary, reached the ship; but the other boats, though making the greatest exertions, were not able, the wind being so much against them, to get on board. The ship was immediately lightened by throwing all her guns, except one retained for signals, overboard, and every other heavy article, so that at about half-past eight o'clock in the evening the ship began to heave and about nine she got off from the shoals. She had before at about five or six o'clock lost her rudder, and on examination it was now found that she had seven feet of water in the hold. The chain pumps were immediately manned and such exertions made that they seemed to gain on the leaks, and by advice of Mr. Rackum the Captain ordered to let go the best bower anchor. This was done but it did not bring her up. The Captain then ordered them to cut the cable, and the jib and fore topmast stay sail were hoisted to steer by. All this time the violent gale, which had come on from the south east, kept increasing and carrying them to the western shore. In a short time the small bower anchor was let go, at which time they found themselves in about thirteen fathoms water. The mizzen mast was then cut away. It was now about ten o'clock, the water gaining fast on the ship, little hope remained of saving the ship or their lives. At this critical period Lieut Campbell quitted the ship. Lieut. Nooth was taken into the boat out of one of the ports. Lieut. James of the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment, not being to be found was so unfortunate as to remain, and to the great distress of his worthy parents and friends shared the general fate. From the period when Lieut. Campbell quitted the ship all hopes of safety had vanished, the ship was sinking fast, the storm was increasing with redoubled violence, the rocky shore to which they were approaching resounding with the tremendous noise of the billows which rolled toward it, presented nothing to those who might survive the sinking of the ship, but the expectation of a more painful death from being dashed against those tremendous precipices, which even in the calmest day it is almost impossible to ascend.

Dunlap, one of the survivors, informs us that at about half-past ten, as nearly as he could conjecture, one of the men who had been below came to him on the fore-castle and told him the ship was sinking; in a few minutes after, the ship took a lurch as a boat will do when nearly filled with water and going down; immediately on which Dunlap began to ascend the fore shroud, and at the same moment casting his eyes towards the quarter deck saw Capt Barker standing by the gangway and looking into the water, and directly after heard him call for the jolly-boat. At the same time he saw the Lieutenant of Marines running towards the taffrail, he supposed to look for the jolly-boat, as she had previously been let down with four men in her—but instantly the ship took a second lurch and sank to the bottom; after which neither the captain nor any other of the officers was seen. The scene, sufficiently distressing before, became now peculiarly awful—more than 240 men, besides several women and children were floating on the waves making their last efforts to preserve their existence. Dunlap, whom we have before mentioned, gained the fore top. Mr. Galvin, the master's mate, after incredible difficulty, got into the main top—he was below when the ship sank, directing the men at the chain pump. He was washed up the hatchway, thrown into the waist and from thence into the water, and his feet as he plunged, struck a rock. On ascending, he swam to gain the main shrouds when he was suddenly seized hold of by three men—he was now afraid he was lost. To disengage himself from them he made a dive into the water which induced them to quit their hold. On rising again he swam to the shrouds and arrived at the main top and seated himself on an arm-chest which was lashed to the mast.

From the observations of Mr. Galvin from the main-top and Mr. Dunlap in the fore-top, it appears that near one hundred persons were for a considerable time hanging to the shrouds, the tops and other parts of the wreck; but from the extreme length of the night and the ferocity of the storm nature became exhausted, and they kept at all periods of the night dropping off and disappearing. The cries and groans of the unhappy sufferers, from the bruises many of them had received and as their hopes of deliverance began to fail them, were continued through the night; though as morning appeared from the few that then survived they became feeble indeed. The whole number saved from the wreck amounted to eight persons and several of them so exhausted as to be indifferent whether they were taken off or not. Mr. Galvin mentions that about twelve o'clock the mainmast gave way; at that time he supposes there were on the main-top and on the shrouds upwards of forty persons. By the fall of the mast the whole were again plunged into the water, and of that number only nine besides himself regained the top. The top rested upon the main yard, and the whole remained fast to the ship by some of the rigging. Of the ten persons who regained the main-top four only were alive when morning appeared. Ten were at that time alive on the fore-top, but three of them had got so exhausted and had become so unable to help themselves that before any relief came they were finally washed away; three others perished, and four only were also finally left alive in the fore-top. The place where the ship went down was only about three times her length to the southward of the entrance into Herring Cove. The people came down in the night to the point opposite to which the ship sunk and kept large fires, and were so near as to converse with the people on the wreck.

The first exertion that was made for their relief was by a boy, thirteen years old, from Herring Cove, who ventured off in a small skiff by himself about eleven o'clock the next day; and this truly deserving young lad with great exertions and at extreme risk to himself, ventured to approach the wreck and backed in his little boat so near to the fore-top as to take off

two of the men, for the boat could not with safety hold any more; and here a trait of generous magnanimity occurred which deserves to be noticed. Dunlap and Munroe had, throughout this disastrous night providentially preserved their strength and spirits beyond their unfortunate companions, and had endeavoured to cheer and encourage them as they found their spirits sinking; they were now both of them able to have stepped into the boat and put an end to their own sufferings, but their other two companions, though alive, were unable to help themselves. They lay exhausted on the top, wished not to be disturbed, and seemed desirous to perish as they lay. These generous fellows hesitated not a moment to remain themselves on the wreck and to save, though against their will, their unfortunate companions. They lifted them up and by the greatest exertions got them into the little skiff, and the manly boy rowed them triumphantly to the Cove and instantly had them conveyed to a comfortable habitation. After shaming, by his example, older persons who had larger boats, he put off again in his little skiff, but with all his efforts he could not then approach the wreck. His example, however, was soon followed by the men in the Tribune's jolly-boat and by some of the boats of the Cove, and by their joint exertions the eight men were preserved, who, with four that escaped in the jolly-boat make the whole number of survivors of this fine ship's company.

Some have been disposed to blame Capt. Barker as exhibiting too much obstinacy in not abandoning the ship and preserving his crew, as a violent storm was evidently approaching, but on examining the men who have survived we find (though other officers in the same situation might have formed a different judgment) that the conduct of Capt. Barker was throughout the trying scene completely cool and collected. Though from the manner in which the ship had been run ashore, no blame could attach to him, yet he could not reconcile it to himself to lose so fine a ship without making every exertion to save her. Having by the greatest efforts considerably lightened her, he had reason to suppose she might get off before high water. She made no water while she lay aground, there was therefore great hopes, if she could not that night have been got up the harbour that she might with safety have been brought to anchor and have rode out the gale. When she finally got off, universal joy was diffused throughout the ship—every man thought the object of their joint efforts was attained—but the rapid manner in which the water poured into her, soon damped their joy and plunged them into despair. Had the ship been finally saved by the great exertions which were made to effect it, every man would have praised Capt. Barker, and, notwithstanding those exertions failed, we think we may justly say, in the language of Mr. Addison,

“ ‘Tis not in mortals to command success
Barker did more; he did deserve it ”

To his memory therefore and that of his brave fellow-sufferers, the commiseration of their countrymen is justly due. From every generous heart they will receive that commiseration; and while the mind runs over the whole trying scene the tears which must involuntarily flow will embalm their memory.

Having closed the general scene, we think it will not be unacceptable to our readers if we notice the conduct of some individuals. A quartermaster belonging to the ship, by the name of McGregor, had his wife on board; they were a respectable couple and greatly attached to each other. McGregor from his affectionate solicitations for her safety, endeavored to persuade her, while the ship lay on the shoals, to go ashore in one of the boats which came off from the Island, as his mind would be more at ease, could he put her in a place of safety. To his solicitations she replied, ‘that she never would abandon him; if it was his lot to perish, she wished

not to survive him.' Finding it in vain to urge her further, he desisted from the attempt and she afterwards shared the common fate. A considerable time after the ship had foundered a man was discovered swimming towards the wreck. On his approaching near it was found to be McGregor; he informed his comrades who were hanging by the wreck, that he had swam towards the shore; that he had ventured as far as he could with safety into the surf, and found if he went further he should be dashed to pieces, and he cautioned them all to avoid making a like attempt, but if possible to hold by the wreck. He himself gained the main shrouds and remained there till the mast gave way, and then met the same fate as his unfortunate consort, whose death he was continually deploring while on the shrouds.

Dunlap relates another instance which occurred, which though it may appear ludicrous after the distressing scenes we have noticed, is so descriptive of that cool thoughtlessness of danger which so often distinguishes our British tars that it would be inexcusable to omit it. Daniel Munroe, one of the survivors had as well as Dunlap got into the fore-top. After a while he disappeared and it was concluded that he had been washed away with many others; after an absence from the top of about two hours, he suddenly popped his head up through the lubber hole to the surprise of Dunlap, who enquired where he had been; he said he had been cruising about for a better berth; and it appeared that, after swimming about the wreck for a considerable time, he had returned to the fore shrouds, and crawled in on the cat-harpins and had actually been to sleep there more than an hour, and he said he was and really appeared to be greatly refreshed.

Mr. Brennan of the Dockyard, who had gone aboard with Mr. Rackum, after the sinking of the ship, had got on the maintop and remained there till the mainmast gave way and was never after seen.

While noticing the immediate disasters of the ship, we forebore to mention the fate of one of the boats which had gone from George's Island. About nine o'clock as the ship went off, the boat got under the ship's bow and was upset; by this circumstance a part of the men, consisting of two sergeants and four privates of the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment were unfortunately drowned; the remainder were taken up by the boat belonging to the Eastern Battery. Too much praise cannot be given to the men who manned these boats, and particularly to Sergt. Bourke, and the boat's crew who persevered in following the ship, and finally brought off Lieuts. Campbell and Nooth of the Royal Fusiliers.

Great praise is also due to the dock-yard boat which carried Mr. Rackum on board. They followed the ship at a short distance till she foundered, and with extreme difficulty at length reached Herring Cove. We are sorry to mention that Mr. Rackum, whose exertions on board *La Tribune* to preserve the ship were gratefully acknowledged, perished with the unhappy ship's company.

Having mentioned all the disastrous circumstances which have attended this distressing scene, it is with pleasure we now notice the attention which has been paid to the widows and children of the unfortunate sufferers. His Royal Highness Prince Edward with that uniform generosity which has distinguished his Royal Highness during his residence in this province, directed immediate provision to be made for the bereaved families, and there is reason to hope through his Royal Highness' representations, that provision will be made as permanent as their sufferings. Actions like these dignify even kings and add splendour to the highest rank.

Besides the attention shown by his Royal Highness a liberal subscription has been made by the garrison and gentlemen of the town for the widows of the soldiers who were drowned and for the men who manned the boats.

There is another instance of generosity, which the occasion seems to require, and it seems to be the earnest wish of the men who were saved from the wreck ; it is that some reward may be bestowed on the boy who first came off to them. They attribute in a great measure their deliverance to him, and they mention with the warmest gratitude, not only his exertions to save them from the wreck, but his kind and hospitable attention to relieve them after they had reached the Cove. Surely if a subscription were set on foot, there is not a man in the country who would not give something to reward and encourage so young an instance of humane and heroic magnanimity.

Mr. Club, the master of *La Tribune*, was master of the *Active*, frigate, when she was run ashore on the Island of Anticosti.

Mr. Fennel, first lieutenant, and Mr. Galvin, the master's mate, were both formerly prisoners at Guadeloupe with Colonel Wetherall, and were all for a considerable time chained by the legs together. Lieut. Fennel declared to Lieut. Campbell that his only motive in coming out in *La Tribune* was to have the pleasure of seeing Colonel Wetherall ; and such appears to have been the attachment of Galvin to Lieut. Fennel that, though he speaks with becoming feeling of the fate of the ship's company, the loss of Lieut. Fennel seems peculiarly to affect him. On enquiring of him if he saw Lieut. Fennel after the ship sunk, he replied, he did not, for if he had, though he was himself in a place of apparent security, he would again have risked his life to preserve him, and would have effected it or perished with him. A similar attachment to each other appears among the men who have survived the wreck, and these circumstances unite to prove that the virtues which render human being the most pleasing are those they are taught in the trying school of adversity.

List of the officers lost in *La Tribune* :—Captain, Scory Barker ; First Lieutenant, Thomas Fennel ; Second do., Thomas Clarke ; Third do., Thomas Shearp ; Master, James Clubb ; Lieutenant Marines, James Cregg ; Surgeon, — Jones ; Purser, — Stanford ; Carpenter, James Jurd ; Boatswain, John Franklin ; Master's Mate, William Stacey ; Midshipmen, John Dennington, Charles Belcher, John Cloudsley, William Crofton, — Nops ; Captain's Clerk, William Foley ; Surgeon's Mate, James Mulquinney ; Gunner, William Thomas.

List of officers and men saved from *La Tribune* :—John Galvin, Master's Mate ; Seamen, Abraham Wanhill, James Crawford, Robert Parker, Daniel Monroe, E Knowles, Richard Best, James Green, Henry Husley, Chris. Dowling, Robert Dunlap and John White. ✓

We have been favored with the following extract of General Orders, dated Halifax, November 26, 1797 :

Lieutenant General, His Royal Highness Prince Edward thinks it his duty to return his particular thanks to Lieutenants Haliburton, Campbell and Nooth of the Royal Fusiliers, also to the several non-commissioned officers and privates of the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment, who manned the boats sent to give assistance on Thursday last to His Majesty's frigate *Tribune*, unfortunately wrecked by getting on shore at the mouth of this harbour.

His Royal Highness most sincerely laments the loss of Lieut. James and two non-commissioned officers with four privates of the Royal N. S. Regiment, who were unfortunately drowned in executing the first of all duties, that of giving succor to brother officers and men in distress.

His Royal Highness directs that the Commissary-General will serve free rations to the widows of the non-commissioned officers and privates lost, as follows :—

To the wife of Sergt. Baker, and two children, two rations.

To Sergt Mullen's wife, one ration.

To the wife of John Bush and two children, two rations.

Tuesday last the body of Lieut. James was found and brought up to town to his disconsolate parents—and Wednesday was interred with military honors."

Michael Wallace was appointed Treasurer of the Province in October of this year on the resignation of Benning Wentworth. Mr. Wallace remained treasurer until 1827 or 1828, when he was succeeded by his son. Mr. Wallace administered the government as senior councillor several times during the absence of the Governor, Sir James Kempt.

The old playhouse lot in Argyle Street was granted, about this time, to James Putnam, from whom it came into possession of the trustees of the Acadian School. The grant from the Crown of part of the King's Stores for a fishmarket, before referred to, was, on 29th August, signed by the Governor and the Prince as commander in chief of the troops. This is what was called the new fishmarket. The old market had formerly been private property, and the rents of stalls at this time were received by Mr. Cochran, but it was subject to town regulations. Commissioners were about the same time appointed to purchase land and to erect buildings for the accommodation of the Legislature and Courts of Justice as soon as peace should occur and the price of labor should be lower. The Act formerly passed for erecting buildings for this purpose on the "lower parade" was repealed, and that of 1797 was amended in 1799 and the Commissioners were directed to purchase land in the south suburbs, and build a Government House.

The winter of 1797-8 was again very severe. The heavy falls of snow rendered the road from Halifax to Windsor impassable. The Prince ordered the troops to clear the road between the town and his residence on the Basin. The supply of fat cattle from the country for the troops was retarded for a long time by the state of the roads.

It was proposed to raise a fund in the town to be at the disposal of Government for the purposes of war. The inhabitants subscribed a sum approaching £4000 towards this fund; the officers of the Royal Nova Scotia Fencible Regiment, £200. The boys of the Grammar School contributed about £24, and the regiment in garrison and the officers in the public departments, including the contributions of the Nova Scotia Regiment, amounted to £2097. Much enthusiasm on the subject prevailed, and great loyalty was displayed by the people.

A general fast was proclaimed on 21st May, which was kept at Halifax with much solemnity.

A commission was issued in July to William Forsyth, Andrew Belcher, William Cochran, Lawrence Hartshorne, Charles Hill, Richard Kidston, John Bremner, William Sabatier and Michael Wallace, as directors for the Shubenacadie Canal. A survey and report was made by this committee which was printed and published.

There were several regular traders at this time between Halifax and Boston. The principal and most regular one was the Schooner Nancy, Captain Tufton.

In the month of January, 1798, a boat arrived in the harbor with Capt. Wyatt and several passengers of the Brig Princess Amelia, bound to Halifax, which had been wrecked on the south side of Sable Island on 9th November. The wreck had been reported by an American schooner, who saw signals of distress on the Island. Sir John Wentworth immediately sent a vessel to the Island with clothing and provisions for the relief of the sufferers. Capt. Wyatt equipped his long boat and, having got over to the north side of the Island, embarked with four of his crew and Lieut. Cochran of the Fusiliers, one of the passengers, intending to seek relief. He arrived safe in one of the harbors to the eastward of Halifax, where he obtained a pilot who brought him to Halifax. Capt. Parker, who had charge of the vessel sent to the Island, brought off the remainder of the crew and passengers in safety.

1798. On the 8th August, this year, Prince Edward received an injury by a fall from his horse while riding on one of the streets in the town. The horse broke through a defective wooden bridge over one of the street gutters. The horse rolled over him hurting one of his legs; it did not, however, prevent him from attending to his

military duties. He was recommended by the physicians to go to England for further advice. An address subscribed by about four hundred of the inhabitants was presented to him on his departure, which took place on the 21st October, when he embarked in H. M. Ship *Topaz*, Captain Church. The House of Assembly had previously voted five hundred guineas to purchase a star of the order of the Garter to be presented to His Royal Highness.

Among the events of the year was the arrival in the harbor, in November, of the United States Squadron, consisting of the Sloop-of-War *Herald*, Capt. Stevens, and the *Pickering*, Capt. Chapman, with the Brig *Commeree*, Capt. Childs. Salutes were exchanged, and the captains landed and paid their respects to the Governor, Admiral and General, and were hospitably entertained. The United States was at this time at war with France.

On the 25th November news of Nelson's victory at the Nile arrived in Halifax. The town was illuminated in the evening. Salutes were fired and other demonstrations of joy occurred throughout the day. A number of prizes were brought into the port during this autumn.

Mr. James Stewart, afterwards Solicitor-General, was this year elected without opposition for the county.

On the 25th September a tremendous hurricane visited Halifax and continued through part of the night. Nearly all the wharves in the town were swept away, and most of the shipping in the harbor damaged. The tide rose to an unprecedented height, overflowed Water Street and did much damage to property. The water came up to the old market house where the city brick building now stands. The market wharf and King's wharf were partially destroyed, and the market slip or public landing swept away. The loss of property in the town, including the shipping, was estimated at above £100,000.

Among the names of persons engaged in business in the town this year we find, James Kidston, Wholesale and Retail Dealer, Matthew Richardson, at the foot of Prince Street, James Moody and James Tidmarsh just entered into co-partnership; Forman & Grassie, Fraser, Thom & Co., Shipping Merchants, Lyon & Butler, Shopkeepers, near the market house; Thomas Moody, Dry Goods, etc., corner of Marchington's wharf; James Leaver, opposite the

Dartmouth Mill Flour Store, in Water Street; John McMasters, Benjamin Etter, Watchmaker and Hardware Store at the corner of George and Barrington Streets, lower side of Grand Parade (Crosskill's corner); Phoebe Moody, Dry Goods, opposite the Parade, in Barrington Street. In the following year the names of Jonathan and John Tremain, Samuel Hart, Tremain & Boggs and William Annand appear.

The members of Assembly for the county were: Michael Wallace, Jonathan Sterns, Lawrence Hartshorne and Charles Morris. Mr. Sterns was replaced by James Stewart.* William Cochran and J. G. Pyke were still members for the town. Mr. Benning Wentworth was Provincial Secretary. The Hon. Richard Bulkeley, the senior councillor, was Grand Master of the Masons.

The papers of the day are filled with long advertisements about the Government Lottery.

1799. The chief event which occupied the attention of the good people of Halifax during the autumn of this year was the arrival and movements of His Royal Highness Prince Edward, who had now been created Duke of Kent. Having received the appointment of commander-in-chief of the troops in British North America on 6th September, he arrived in H. M. Ship *Arethusa*, Capt. Wooley, forty-three days from England. The Prince landed in state. A procession of boats was formed from the frigate to the King's Wharf under a royal salute from the ships, and on reaching the wharf, by a salute from the Citadel. A double line of soldiers, including the militia, lined the street from the King's Wharf to Government House, through which the procession passed. The Governor and Council, Admiral Vandiput, General Ogilvie, the officers of the staff and public departments and a number of the principal citizens, attended. On his arrival at Government House the bells of St. Paul's and the old Mather Meeting House rang out a merry peal, and a large number of the inhabitants crowded around to bid him welcome again to Halifax. In the evening, bonfires were lit on the Grand Parade in honor of his arrival. The Duke soon after removed to

*NOTE.—Mr. Stewart was the son of Anthony Stewart, before mentioned, a Loyalist gentleman from Maryland. He was Solicitor General and afterwards a Judge of the Supreme Court. He married a sister of the late Chief Justice, Sir B. Haliburton. Judge Stewart's residence was the yellow brick house at the corner of Pleasant Street and Morris Street, afterwards the residence of Mr. Alexander Stewart, Master of the Rolls, but not related to Judge James Stewart. The late Reverend James Stewart, of Dartmouth, was his grandson,

his villa on the Basin, six miles from town. This beautiful little retreat had been erected by Prince Edward on the land of the Governor, Sir John Wentworth. The grounds were laid out and improved at considerable expense under his direction. The Rotunda, or music room, on the opposite side of the road, next the water, surrounded by the rich foliage of the beech groves, and surmounted by a large gilded ball, flashing in the sunlight, presented a beautiful and picturesque appearance on the approach to the Lodge. The villa was built altogether of wood, consisting of a centre of two stories containing the hall and staircase, with a flat roof. There were two wings containing the Duke's apartments. In the rear was a narrow wooden building with pointed gothic windows, resembling a chapel, containing the kitchen and offices, which extended some distance southward beyond the main building. The grouping of the beech and birch trees in the lawn and around the house was well arranged. They were the original forest trees, selected and permitted to stand in clearing away the space for the buildings. The rooms were not spacious, and the ceilings low, which appears to have been the fashion of building in Halifax at the time. The woods around were very beautiful. They were traversed by walks, and in several places by a carriage road with vistas and resting places where little wooden seats and several imitation Chinese temples were erected. Several of these small summer houses were in existence in 1828, and probably later, and portions of them could be seen through the openings in the trees on passing the main road. The Duke erected a range of low buildings on the edge of the Basin, a little to the north of the Rotunda, which were occupied by two companies of his regiment, and contained the guard room and a mess room for the officers. This building was afterwards known as the Rockingham Inn, a favourite resort in summer, when tea and ginger beer were to be had under the piazza which ran along the edge of the water. This hotel acquired the name of the "Rockingham," having been for a long time after the Prince's departure the place of meeting of the Rockingham Club. This club was established either while the Duke was resident here, or very soon after his leaving for Canada. It was composed of Governor Wentworth, the members of His Majesty's Council, the Admiral of the station, several of the principal military officers, and

a number of the leading citizens of Halifax. Dr. Stanser, rector of St. Paul's, was one of its members; also the Hon. Andrew Belcher, both of whom had villas on the Basin, the former at Sherwood, afterwards the property of the late Mr. Thos. Kenny, and the latter at Birch Cove, now in the occupation of the family of the late Peter Donaldson.

The Rockingham Club was partly literary and partly social. The members dined together at the hotel, which was styled the Rockingham House, in compliment to Sir John Wentworth, the head of whose family, the Marquis of Rockingham, was about that time in, or at the head of the British Ministry. The large room which extended along the south wing of the building, east and west, with the end to the water, was hung with the portraits of many of the members of the club painted by Field, a portrait painter of considerable talent who, at that time and for several years after, resided in Halifax, and from whose brush the portraits of many of the then principal citizens and their ladies still remain.*

In 1799 the prices of provisions in Halifax markets were as follows: Beef, by the quarter, from 4d. to 5d. per pound; pork, 6d., mutton, 7d. to 8d., veal, 8d. to 9d., fowls, from 3s. to 4s., oats, 2s. 6d. and 3s., butter, 1s. 3d. and 1s. 6d.

In 1798 the number of illegitimate children in the Halifax Poor House was fourteen, in 1799, seventeen, and in 1800, fifteen. The total cost of the establishment during the three years was £570 16s. 1d. Fines received at Halifax, 1798, £60; 1799 and 1800, £82 10s. Fresh Water Bridge was renewed and completed in 1798.

In 1799 the Legislature made some amendments to the Act for the erection of public buildings. The Commissioners appointed by the Governor and Council were authorized to purchase land for the site of a new Government House. The old House to

*Among Field's portraits remaining in Halifax, are those of the Hon. Michael Wallace, Hon Wm. Lawson, Hon. Andrew Belcher and Mrs. Belcher, Bishop Charles Inglis, Rev. Dr. Archibald Gray and Mrs Gray, the late Andrew Wright, of the firm of Belcher & Wright, and his sister Mary, the late Dr. W. J. Almon, and others. That of Sir John Wentworth, a full half length, the best performance of Field in this country, was removed from the Rockingham to Government House by Sir John after the club had been dissolved, and became Government property. It was afterwards removed to the Province Building, whence it was taken some years ago, and is said to have fallen into private hands, having been either lent or given away by order of one of the gentlemen who, some years ago, occupied the office of Provincial Secretary. It is to be hoped that ere long it will find its way back to its place in the Building.

That of Commissioner Inglefield, also a member of the club, hung for many years over the mantle piece of the committee room of the Legislative Council Chamber, but was afterwards presented to the late Admiral Inglefield, father of Sir Edward Inglefield, lately Admiral on this station.

be appropriated to the House of Assembly and Courts of Law. The Commissioners were Messrs. Wallace, Cochran, Hartshorne, and John Beckwith. The House of Assembly voted £10,500 for the building, etc. The old Government House having been found unfit for the accommodation of the Legislature, was sold and the block of buildings known as Cochran's, before mentioned, was leased this year for £300 per annum for the accommodation of the Law Courts, the Legislature, and the public offices connected with the Provincial Government. Commissioners were also appointed to build a new market house for the butchers and for a vegetable market. This was the wooden building which was removed during the administration of Governor LeMarchant, to make way for the present brick structure. A clerk of the market was appointed. There being then no convenient accommodation for the vegetable market, the country people were permitted to sell in the streets and the square in front of the market house.

This has once more become the custom; the portion of the new market appropriated to the country people having been lately taken for city offices. The want of sufficient space in the central parts of the town for the convenience of markets and the erection of public buildings, has been always an impediment to the improvement and embellishment of the city. The small dimensions of the lots as originally laid out, being only forty feet by sixty, and the short space between the streets, the narrow spaces allowed for the public landings, and the small size of the water grants for the erection of wharves in the old town, have been a continual drawback to the convenience of trade and the progress of improvement in front of the town. And it is a subject of regret that at the present day so little attention is paid by the public authorities to the future welfare of the city in respect to laying off building lots and streets by private owners and speculators.

The regular packet between Halifax and Boston, the Schooner Nancy, usually occupied three days in her trips. She was commanded by Capt. J. Huxford. He was afterwards known in Halifax as Crazy Huxford. He was on board the Shannon, frigate, in the engagement with the American ship Chesapeake, and had been wounded in the head, from which he never fully recovered. He was one of the best pilots on the coast and was, until his death, a naval

branch pilot attached to the Dockyard. When under the influence of liquor he became frantic and was continually shouting through the streets of the town without hat or coat. This poor old man died about twenty-five or thirty years ago at a very advanced age.

In May the small pox made its appearance in the town and strict quarantine regulations were enforced. Dr. Gschwint (pronounced Swint) was appointed health officer.

The elections took place this autumn. Messrs. William Cochran and John George Pyke were again returned. The former polled 104 votes and the latter 346. At this time the electors were confined to freeholders only. The franchise was not altered till about the year 1836. Mr. Cotnam Tonge, Edward Mortimer, Messrs. Fulton and Morris were elected for the county. Only two resident in the town succeeded, Tonge and Morris; Wallace, Stewart and Hartshorne were rejected by the Pictou votes.

On Saturday, the 11th August, attempts were made by persons unknown to set fire to the Dockyard, Government house and the engine house. The Governor and Council offered a large reward for discovery. A night patrol of militia and inhabitants was ordered out under the superintendence of the magistrates.

The Rev. Bernard Michael Houseal, minister of St. George's, in the north suburbs, died on the 9th March, this year, in the seventy-second year of his age. He was a native of the Duchy of Wurtemberg, was educated at one of the German universities, and was esteemed a good scholar and a pious minister of religion. He had been chosen by the learned consistory of Stuttgart for the ministry of the Lutheran Church, and embarked for America in 1752. After being several years in the ministry he took charge of a congregation of Germans in New York, and came with the Loyalists to Halifax in 1783. He was buried in the old German burial ground attached to his church in Brunswick Street, and his tombstone remains there. Mr. Houseal was succeeded in the Church of St. George by the Rev. George Wright, who was also principal of the Halifax Grammar School and chaplain to the garrison. The Round Church, in Brunswick Street, was at this time only in process of erection and was not finished until the year 1811, or thereabouts.

On the 30th October, H. M. Ship Porcupine, Capt. Evans, arrived from New Providence, having on board the Duke of Orleans

and his two brothers, the Duke of Montpensier and Count Beaujoile, attended by Count Montjoye. They had been waiting for a passage to England and had proceeded here in the Porcupine in hope of meeting with an opportunity of going to Europe. Finding no immediate opportunity to England, they both took their passage in a merchant ship for New York. Though considered as prisoners on parole, they dined with the Governor, and paid a visit to the Duke of Kent at the Lodge. They also attended a public ball at Government House on the 17th November. The Duke of Orleans was afterwards elected to the French throne as Louis Philippe, King of the French, and eventually died in exile in England. After he became king, on meeting with several persons from Nova Scotia, he very kindly enquired after several gentlemen of Halifax by name and spoke with much feeling of the kindness he experienced while in Halifax. On arrival he was found to be in very straitened circumstances and the Duke of Kent was believed to have given him pecuniary assistance to enable the party to proceed on their voyage.

CHAPTER VI.

1800. At the commencement of the century Halifax presented a prosperous condition. The population now approached 9,000. Trade was brisk, and the place was enlivened by a large garrison and the presence of a Prince of the Blood Royal. The harbor was the resort of the fleet and was the principal station of the naval commander. The war was at its height and the Prize Court in full operation. Several privateers had been fitted out by the merchants of the town and captures of French vessels were frequent, though the trade of the port occasionally suffered from the French cruisers on the coast. Among the captures from the enemy at the time, the most remarkable was that of two prizes, one French and one Danish, brought in by Captain William Pryor, commander of the Privateer *Nymph*, of Halifax.

Several public buildings were commenced this spring. On the 5th June the Prince laid the corner stone of the Masonic Hall. His Royal Highness was Grand Master of the Masons of Lower Canada, and acted for the Hon. Richard Bulkeley, Grand Master of Nova Scotia, when age and infirmities prevented him from attending. A masonic procession was formed and the ceremony is said to have been one of the finest which Halifax ever witnessed. The band of the Prince's own regiment, the 7th Fusiliers, performed under the direction of Mr Selby, organist of St. Paul's, one of the craft.

On the 10th April, Sir John Wentworth laid the corner stone of the Round Church (St. George's) in Brunswick Street. The Legislature this session voted £500 towards its completion. The land on which the church was erected had been purchased some time previously by the Committee of Superintendence. The design is said to have been the work of the late John Merrick and Mr. J. Fliegear of the Surveyor General's department, and for some years surveyor to Governor Wentworth while Surveyor General of Woods and Forests in Nova Scotia. St. George's old church, then known as the Dutch Church, was at this time occupied by the congregation

of the north suburbs, many of whom were the descendants of the first German settlers. Though always an independent congregation, it had been considered part of the parish of St. Paul's, the whole Township of Halifax having been originally included in that parish, and it continued so until legally erected into a separate parish by the name of St. George's parish, under the Act of the Legislature passed for that purpose in 1827. The Rev. George Wright was at this time minister of St. George's congregation. He had lately succeeded Mr. Houseal, who was styled Missionary to the Germans.

A sum of money, as we have seen, had been voted by the Legislature for the erection of a Government House. Much discussion had arisen in the House of Assembly and with the Executive authorities, regarding the funds to be appropriated for this purpose, and some difference of opinion existed regarding the site for the building. It was finally arranged that it should be placed in the field between Hollis and Pleasant Streets, to include the site of the old hospital. The corner stone of this edifice was laid by the Duke of Kent on the 11th of September. A procession was formed which proceeded from the old Government House, accompanied by a band of music, and the ceremony was concluded by a prayer by the Rev. Doctor Robert Stanser, Rector of St. Paul's. Isaac Hildrith was the architect, and John Henderson chief mason. No building since erected in Halifax exceeds Government House in neatness of design and solidity of workmanship. Some of the old brick buildings now remaining in the city were erected by Mr. Henderson.

The old market house was taken down this year and the new one commenced. This old market occupied the site of the recent City Court House. The new one was erected in the open space opposite the King's wharf, where the new brick market house now stands. It was a flat-roofed wooden building intended to accommodate the butchers only. A pitched roof was afterwards put on this building. There was a small green market built at the same time next the north line of the fuel yard, which was afterwards removed. These buildings were erected at the expense of Government, the sum of £2,252 having been granted by the House of Assembly to be appropriated to the erection of this new meat market, also to the repair and extension of the market slip or public landing, and for

the fish-market, and, at the same time, £250 was voted to the heirs of the late Joseph Gerrish who claimed some interest in a portion of the old market house lot. A small piece of ground at the corner of the military fuel yard, next to the new market house, was about the same time purchased from Mr. Kidston who then occupied it for weigh scales and other purposes. The Grand Jury refused to accept the grant from the Crown of the old market house lot in the way it had been drawn by the Secretary of the province. The Council declined to make the alterations in the grant required, and concluded that the old building and the lot should remain under the control of the Commissioners of Public Markets, and ordered the old buildings to be taken down and the ground leased.

In March the House of Assembly was in session. The elections of Mr. Tonge for the County and Mr. Pyke for the Town were declared void by the House in consequence of some defect in their qualifications. On the 9th April following, the new election for the town took place, and on the 14th, Andrew Belcher was returned by a majority of 65 votes. Mr. Michael Wallace was returned for the County. Mr. Tonge, having been also chosen by a country constituency, fell back on the double return and retained his seat. On the 12th March, the House attended at St. Paul's church in a body, when the Rev. Dr. Stanser, then chaplain, preached before them.

This summer His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent took his final departure from Halifax. The usual addresses were presented by the House of Assembly, His Majesty's Council and the people of the Town. He embarked in H. M. Ship Assistance on the 3rd August, and sailed on the 4th. His embarkation was attended with full military ceremony, the troops lining the streets. His Royal Highness, accompanied by the Governor and Council and the principal Naval and Military Officers, proceeded on foot through the avenue formed by the troops to the King's Wharf, whence he reached the ship under salutes from the batteries, the artillery corps and the ships of war. Several of the old inhabitants not many years since recollected the scene, and could describe the feelings evinced by the townspeople on the occasion. His tall commanding figure in full military uniform, his hat surmounted by the lofty white plume, then worn by the fusiliers, could be seen above the

heads of the surrounding crowd as he walked down the line with a smile of recognition for his friends, on passing them, amidst the plaudits of the crowd.* Though the Duke exhibited on all occasions the most kind temper in civil life, and his manner and conversation with those he liked almost amounted to familiarity, yet his sternness in military affairs never forsook him. Eleven soldiers had been sentenced to death for mutiny and desertion, and had been left by the Duke for execution, which was carried into effect under his orders a few days after he left our shores. On the 7th August, those unfortunates were brought out on the Common, dressed in white, with their coffins, accompanied by the Revd. George Wright, the Garrison Chaplain, and Doctor Burke, the Roman Catholic clergyman, in the presence of the whole garrison. Eight of them were reprieved under the gallows, and the three who belonged to the Newfoundland Regiment were hanged. Public feeling was against the Duke in this affair. It was thought that on the eve of his departure he should have granted a remission of the death sentence, which, as General Commanding, he had power to do, until the King's pleasure should be known. Three executions only a day or two after his departure, produced a disagreeable impression of His Royal Highness in the minds of the people of Halifax, who had just taken leave of him with so much kind feeling.

The Quarter Sessions having authorized the establishment of a military exercising ground on the north end of the Common, an act for which they had no authority, laid the groundwork of much dispute and controversy with subsequent military commanders, who on several occasions later undertook to interfere with the City authorities in beautifying and improving the Common.

The death of the Hon. Richard Bulkeley, late Secretary of the Province, occurred this year; he was in his 83rd year. Mr. Bulkeley came to Halifax as Aide-de-Camp to Governor Cornwallis in 1749, and had twice administered the Government as Senior Councillor. Also that of Anthony Henry, the King's printer. He published the Royal Gazette at Halifax for about 40 years. John Howe was his successor in the office of King's printer.

*NOTE.—After the Prince's departure Governor Wentworth occupied the Lodge on the Basin, which had been built on his land. He resided there for some time after retiring from the Government.

1801. Early this year it was proposed to establish a bank in Halifax by means of a joint stock company whose capital was to be £50,000 in shares of £100 each. A committee of management was named consisting of Edward B. Brenton, William Forsyth, Foster Hutchinson, Lawrence Hartshorne, James Forman, James Fraser and Captain John Beckwith. They required a monopoly, which was refused them by the House of Assembly, and the project fell through.

The winter of 1800-1801 had been very sickly. Smallpox had made its appearance in town early in the autumn, and 182 persons had died of it between September, 1800, and the month of February following.

Several fires occurred during the winter. Sir John Wentworth's stables at the lodge were burned down. The most disastrous fire which had occurred in the town for many years took place on the 5th February, when the block fronting the old Government House on Hollis Street was partially destroyed.

On the 13th February this year, the society known as the Sun Fire Company was established at Halifax. It was, perhaps, the first Fire Company ever instituted in the town. Those known as the Phoenix Fire Company, the Hand and Hand and the Heart and Hand were of a subsequent date. The Sun Fire Company in the year 1810, included most of the principal inhabitants of the town. Their names will be found in the Appendix.

1802. A considerable outlay of money appears to have been made on the streets of the town about this time. The commissioners appointed for this purpose were Charles Morris, J. G. Pyke, Lawrence Hartshorne, Michael Wallace and William Lyons. The expenditure this year on the streets amounted to £930, and in the two succeeding years to £696 and £808. The sum of £500 had been granted in 1801 towards the expense of paving some of the streets; the remainder probably was raised by assessment.

The names of the town magistrates in 1802, were John Newton, Custos, Jonathan Binney, Geo. W. Sherlock, J. G. Pyke, Dr. Michael Head, W. Taylor, Stephen H. Binney, Jas. Gantier, Wm. Cochran, Charles Morris, Junior, Daniel Wood, William Thompson, Michael Wallace, Charles Hill, Richard Kidston, P. Marchington, Jonathan Tremain, James Clarke, William Schwartz, Hibbert N. Binney and John Bremner. These are the Magistrates for the

County of Halifax. They all appear to have been residents in the town. Lewis M. Wilkins was Sheriff; John Newton and H. N. Binney were joint Collectors of the Customs; Daniel Wood, Inspector; John Cleveland, Collector of light duties; and John H. Fliegar, Gauger. The Firewards of the town were Mr. Pyke, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Hill, Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Clarke, William Millet, Elias Marshall, Thomas Fillis, Andrew Liddell, John Fillis, Wm. Lyons, Thomas Boggs, John Howe and Garret Miller.

The Royal Nova Scotia Regiment on being disbanded this year, presented an address to Sir John Wentworth, their Colonel, in August. The names of the officers of this Regiment were Lt. Cols. Francis Kearney and Samuel V. Bayard,* Major Geo. Thesiger, Capts. John Solomon, Jones Fawson, Alexander Howe,† John Allen, William Cox and Joshua W. Weeks, Capt. Lieutenant John G. Degreben; Lientenants Thomas Morris, Otto W. Schwartz, Philip Kearney, Eric Sutherland, George H. Monk, Michael Pernette, Charles Rudolf, John C. Ritchie, John Emerson, Timothy Ruggles, Richard Green, Isaac Glennie, Hebbert Newton, Thomas A. C. Winslow, Alexander Hamilton, Charles W. Solomon and John Fraser; Ensigns James Moore, Robert Bayard, Henry Green, Thomas Wright, Richard Gibbons; Paymaster Benning Wentworth, Surgeon John Fraser.

Governor Wentworth directed his reply to this address from "the Lodge."

The population of Halifax had again decreased towards the end of the year 1802. The returns of the number of inhabitants in the town and on the peninsula were as follows:—

	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Whites	1924	2489	1790	1669	7872
Blacks	96	166	81	108	451
In Naval Yard	25	36	27	27	115
Dutch Village.....	15	16	30	33	94
Total.....					8532

*Col. Bayard retired from active service and settled in Annapolis County. He was the father of the late Dr. Bayard of St. John, and grandfather of the present Doctor William Bayard of that city.

†Capt. Howe was a descendant of the Hon. Ed. Howe, one of Cornwallis' first councillors.

There were 1000 dwelling houses in the town and peninsula. In taking the census, the wards of the town were distinguished as follows: North Barracks Ward, Pontac Ward, Market House Ward, Governor's Ward, Meeting House Ward, South Barracks Ward, South Suburbs and North Suburbs.

The sum of £8,900 had been expended by the Commissioners on the building of Government House, and but the first story had been completed. Much dissatisfaction was expressed in the House of Assembly with the course pursued by the Commissioners. Belcher, Hutchinson, Cochran and Beckwith had kept no minutes of their proceedings. Wallace appears to have had the principal supervision. He was censured by the House for having acted without the concurrence of those associated with him, and for exceeding the limits prescribed him by law. But his zeal and ability were commended and no corrupt motives were attributed to him. In 1804 an additional sum of £2,500 was voted to complete the building, a considerable sum having been voted and expended the previous year.*

Several fires occurred in June which were supposed to be the work of incendiaries. It had been proved beyond all doubt that buildings in several parts of the town had been set on fire. A patrol of militia under Colonel Pyke was ordered to patrol the streets from sunset to sunrise, and all suspected persons who could not give a good account of themselves at night were ordered to be arrested. A reward of £100 was offered for discovery, and several arrests were made. A boy who confessed to having attempted to set fire to the Dockyard was sent out of the province.

On the 2nd September the 97th regiment arrived in the harbor and landed immediately at the King's Wharf. On the 14th the fleet arrived from Jamaica under the command of Commodore Baynton, consisting of the Cumberland, 74, Bellerophon, 74, Ganges, 74, Vanguard, 74, Goliah, 74, Thesis, 74, Elephant, 74 and the Pelican, Brig. The 7th regiment embarked shortly after, and the town people presented a farewell address to Col. Layard and Lieut.-Col. Edwards. In April the Governor and Council were prevailed on to grant a press warrant to Capt. Bradley of the Cambrian for

* The building cost about £18,000.

ten days in the town to enable him to fill up the number of his crew, it being 50 short of its complement.

The Rev. Dr. Burke was at this time Roman Catholic Vicar General of Nova Scotia under the Bishop of Quebec; he afterwards administered the Episcopal office in Halifax as Bishop of Zion. Dr. Burke was a gentleman of education and highly esteemed in the community.

The death of a very aged inhabitant, John Murphy, occurred this year. He was 90 years of age, and had been one of the first settlers of the town. He had acquired a large property in fields in the south suburbs, where he kept a large number of cows, and for a great many years supplied the principal inhabitants with milk and butter. The fields extending northward from Smith's tan yard to the corner house formerly occupied by the late Sheriff Sawyer, were known formerly as Murphy's fields.

1803. The following is an account of the butchers' meat sold in the Halifax market for six months commencing July 1st and ending December 31st, 1802.

	Sheep.	Calves.	Oxen.	Pigs.
July.....	785	264	157	—
Aug.....	964	147	186	—
Sept.....	1409	91	273	21
Oct.....	1017	85	224	76
Nov.....	928	78	465	407
Dec.....	883	—	614	692
Total.....	5986	665	1919	1196

The above is exclusive of the meat issued under contract for the Navy, but it is to be assumed it included the Army contract.

1804. This spring the House of Assembly recommended that the old market house should be taken down and a new building erected on the ground for the purpose of a County Court House and police office. This was the brick building lately used for city purposes. An Act was passed in 1804 with that object.

The trade of the port was much depressed this season by the number of captures made by the enemy, and from the low prices obtained for fish in the West India market, where the merchants of Halifax were undersold by U. S. fishermen.

Among the events of the year was the arrival of several distinguished prisoners, among whom was General Brunet and suite, who put into Halifax on their way to England, having been made prisoners at St. Domingo. Governor Wentworth assigned them the old Rockingham Inn, near the Prince's Lodge on the Basin, as a place of abode while here. They were shortly after removed to England.

In the autumn General Boyer, commandant of the garrison, undertook to try the metal of the Haligonians by causing a false alarm of invasion. The report was spread early in the morning that the French were off the harbor. Before 10 o'clock, A.M., about 1,000 militia men were embodied and at their respective posts. Two hundred of them were artillery men. The dress companies were all in uniform and fully equipped. Among the first who appeared on the parade ground with their guns were Parson Wright, head master of the grammar school, and the Solicitor General, James Stewart, better known as Judge Stewart.

1805. Press warrants were granted by the Council on the 6th May to Vice Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell, then in command of the station, for fourteen days. He afterwards demanded an extension of his warrant for six months, which was refused by the Council at their meeting on the 18th. In their reply to the Admiral they mention that the number of seamen engaged in the West India trade, etc., had been so reduced by captures, imprisonment and other causes that there were not sufficient in the port to man the vessels, and that all the seamen to be found in the town would not now be enough to meet half the demand for one sloop-of-war in the fleet. Moreover, that there were many at the time in French prisons whose families were supported by charity in the town. This, together with the high rate of wages in the United States, had reduced the commerce of the port to the greatest necessity. Finally, that the execution of impress warrants on shore were attended with much disturbance and annoyance to the laboring poor and others not fit for service, and the Council were of opinion that it should only be resorted to on the most urgent occasions and when advantage from it was to be reasonably looked for.

Mitchell, finding he could not prevail on the Council, undertook, in the following October, to send press gangs through the town

without warrant. An armed party of sailors and marines from the *Cleopatra*, frigate, under the command of one or more officers, were sent out. The citizens resisted and a riot ensued, which resulted in the death of one person and the wounding of several others. One of these encounters occurred in the store of Messrs. Forsyth & Co., where a number of merchant sailors had secreted themselves. General Wentworth called a meeting of the Council on 23rd November, and it was ordered that the Solicitor-General should proceed to prosecute all persons belonging to the ships of war who had been engaged in impressments. The Attorney General, R. J. Uniacke, Mitchell's father-in-law, was in England at the time, on leave of absence. The Admiral's gang had broken open the store of Forsyth & Co. under the pretense of looking for deserters, and Sir Andrew defended his conduct under the authority of a warrant from the Admiralty, but he was condemned in heavy damages for his illegal proceedings.

The town artillery at this time consisted of three companies commanded by Captains Charles Morris, Bremner and Fillis, and there was another under Capt. McIntosh of Spryfield, which did duty at York Redoubt, composed principally of market fisherman who were regularly trained to battery exercises. Governor Wentworth appears to have been assiduous in his efforts to keep up the local defences of the town, and to have placed much reliance on the volunteer companies for that purpose.

There was a plentiful harvest this year throughout the whole province. Provisions of all sorts were plentiful in the town, so much so that the arrival of the fleet and a large export to Bermuda and Newfoundland did not augment the prices. The importations of flour from the United States, both this and the following year, were very extensive.

In October an unfortunate French prisoner named Pierre Paulin was executed on the common for the murder of a fellow prisoner. The Governor and Council refused to reprieve him.

In December the town was illuminated and other joyful demonstrations made by the inhabitants on the news of the Battle of Trafalgar.

1806. In the month of February, Lieut.-General Gardner, the commandant of the garrison, died at Halifax; his funeral was

attended with much military pomp and ceremony. He was buried under old St. Paul's Church.

A general election occurred in 1806, when Edward Mortimer of Picton, Simon B. Robie, S. G. W. Archibald and William Lawson were returned for the county, and John George Pyke and Foster Hutchinson for the town. Cochran, the old member, petitioned against Lawson on the ground of qualification.

The Government House remained still unfinished. The sum of £4,292 had been expended on the building since the last session, which was £2,000 more than had been voted.

On the 29th April Halifax was thrown into alarm by the appearance of a number of large vessels in the offing. Signal guns were fired from the alarm posts in the harbor, and the military and militia were under arms. There was another alarm of French invasion on or about the 20th May, when several large vessels were again reported off the harbor. The militia of the town were again assembled, but the greater part of them were without arms. Governor Wentworth had previously made several applications to the Imperial Government for arms for the Halifax Militia, but it does not appear that much attention was paid to his solicitations.

Among the advertisements which appeared in the the Gazette this year was notice of a periodical publication to be called the "Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Magazine or Historical Library," which was offered for sale at the book stores of Messrs. Morrison, Bennet, Edmund Ward und William Minns. Morrison kept his book and stationer's shop at the corner of Duke and Granville Streets, afterwards known as Joseph Robinson's hat store, now owned by Mr. Kiezer. He was succeeded in his business by George Eaton, who was the principal book seller and stationer in the town for several years. This old building, with others along the upper side of Granville Street was destroyed by fire about 1827. At this time there was a law in existence to prevent persons building wooden houses in the town above a certain height. The present wooden building at the corner was then erected under this law and did not exceed what by measurement was deemed one story and a half. Several stone and brick buildings were erected in consequence of this law. That to the south of Kiezer's corner occupied by Mr. Simonds and others, another in the same block built by the late William Macara,

druggist, and the large double three story stone building in Barrington Street, nearly opposite St. Paul's, were all erected about this time by Mr. Matthew Richardson on the site of the late Andrew Belcher's garden. Several old gamble roofed houses, the remnant of the first settlement, were destroyed by the above-mentioned fire.

On 22nd December, the American Government laid an embargo on all vessels within American ports bound to any foreign places, and the officers of the Customs throughout the States were directed to refuse clearances to all such vessels. This was a great check to trade, and Halifax felt the result in the scarcity of provisions and particularly of flour, which went up immediately to £5 per bbl., the inhabitants having been in a great measure dependent on the States for that article.

A sailor named John Wilson had been taken from the American Frigate Chesapeake on charges of mutiny and desertion. He was tried in Halifax by Court Martial on board the Flag Ship Belleisle on 26th August, condemned and executed on 31st. Two other seamen were in October following executed on board the Jason, Capt. Cochran, for mutiny.

The following list of town officers appointed by the Grand Jury for the Town in 1806, will be found interesting :

Halifax, Nova Scotia, } COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS.
 March Term.

The Grand Jury present to the Worshipful Court the following as proper persons to serve as Town Officers for the ensuing year, in the different offices to which they are named, viz :

William Lyon, County Treasurer ; Henry Yeomans, Town Clerk ; Samuel Muirhead, Stephen Oxley, Clerks of the Market ; Richard Woodin, Michael Denny, William Hogg, Enoch Wiswell, Surveyors of Lumber and Fence Viewers ; Joseph Hamilton, James Romans, Sealers of Leather ; Nicholas Vass, Thomas Adams, Patrick Ryan, William Ford, John Knowdie, Frederick Stormy, Surveyors of Pickled Fish ; Thomas Adams, William Ford, Cullers of Dry Fish ; Nicholas Vass, William Ford, Frederick Stormy, Gaugers of Oil ; John H. Fleigher, Gauger ; Henry Shiers, Richard Woodin, William Graham, Measurers of Wood ; Francis Le'Guire, Measurer of Wood and Coals for the Fuel Yard ; Richard Woodin, Henry Shiers,

William Graham, Measurers of Grain; Richard Woodin, Henry Shiers, William Graham, William Hogg, Measurers of Salt and Coal; John Brown, William Ford, Cullers of Hoops and Staves; James King, Edward King, Weighers of Hay; John Metchler, Surveyor of Bricks and Lime; W. G. Forsyth, Lawrence Hartshorne, John Sullivan, John William Morris, Hogleaves; John Phelan, Pound Keeper; Thomas Stone, John Atkins, John Mansfield, David Fletcher, William Shea, George Isles, Peter Laffen, Edward Herbert, John Clarke, Richard Munday, Henry Wright, Hugh Chisholm, Andrew Bowers, Francis Wade, Alexander Cummings, Patrick Tobin, Constables; Jacob Michael, Constable for Dutch Town; Peter Shaffro, Constable for Dutch Village; John Mc'Alpin, Overseer of Highways for Dutch Village and Pen.; Jacob Bower, George M'Intosh, Overseers for Harriot and Spryfields; William Adams, Constable for Harriot and Spryfields; Peter Vambolt, John Duffeney, Constables for Margaret's Bay; Christopher Boutteleer, Overseer of Highways for Margaret's Bay; Frederick Boutteleer, Measurer of Cordwood for Margaret's Bay; George Duffeney, Fence Viewer for Margaret's Bay; George Mc'Intosh, Overseer of Highways from Spryfield to Catch Harbour; William Keys, Overseer of Highways from Windsor Road to Gay's River; Robert Fletcher, Terence Canty, Constables for the Shubenaecadie Fisheries; Edmund Bambrick, Jonathan Shelling, George Hiltz, Overseers of Roads from Sackville Bridge to the extremity of the County; Jacob Haverstock, Overseer of Roads from Nine Mile River to Hammond's Plain; George Dunn, George Hiltz, Surveyors of Lumber for Nine Mile River to Hammond's Plain and Windsor Road; Colin Grant, Christopher Shultz, Robert Anderson, Fence Viewers; Christopher Haverstock, Joseph Fielding, Jacob Pentz, Constables for Windsor Road and Hammond Plains; Henry Bambrick, George Fultz, Hogleaves; John Shultz, George Hershman, Hugh Bambrick, Assessors of the County Rates; Henry Miller, Pound Keeper; Edward Foster, Surveyor of Highways from Dartmouth Town Plot to the Basin; Samuel Hamilton, Constable from Dartmouth Town Plot to the Basin; Jon. Tremain, Sr., William Penny, Surveyors of Highways, Dartmouth Town Plot; David Larnard, Constable, Dartmouth Town Plot; James Munn, Pound Keeper, Dartmouth Town Plot; Henry Wisdom, Surveyor of Highways from the Ferry

up the Preston Road to Tanyard; Mark Jones, Constable; John Wisdom, Hogreave; Mark Jones, Pound Keeper; George Simpson, Surveyor of Highways and Fence Viewer from Tanyard to Simpson's; Hugh Ross, Constable; Thomas Settle, Surveyor of Highways and Fence Viewer from Simpson's eastward to the new bridge; Philip Molyneux, Constable; Timothy Crane, Surveyor of Highways for all Preston, and Fence Viewer; John Richardson, Constable; Thomas Settle, Surveyor of Lumber and Bark; George Horn, Hogreave; John Stewart, Surveyor of Highways from Cole Harbour to Turner's; Robert Collins, Surveyor of Highways from Turner's to Jones'; Robert Turner, Constable; Peter Mc'Nabb, Surveyor of Highways, Eastern Passage; Benjamin Horn, Constable; Adam Archibald, Musquodoboit, Surveyor of Roads; William Gould, Constable; George M'Leod, Robert Nelson, Fence Viewers; Hugh Archibald, Pound Keeper; Archibald Crawford, Overseer of Roads for Meagher's Grant; Alex. Grant, Constable for Meagher's Grant; Peter Ogilvie, Overseer of Roads from Meagher's Grant to George Anderson's; Peter Gordon, Constable for Meagher's Grant to George Anderson's; Jacob Bayer, Overseer of Roads from Musquodoboit Harbour; John Turple, Constable for Musquodoboit Harbour; George Bayer, Overseer of Roads for Pitpiswick; George Baker, Constable for Pitpiswick.

March 5, 1806.

WILLIAM LYON, *Foreman.*

On 11th May, 1807, it having been reported to His Majesty's Council that the Grand Jury and Sessions had refused to accept a grant of the piece of land on which the old Market House stood, upon the conditions which had been inserted in the grant, (probably on it being vested in Commissioners) the Governor and Council refused to alter the grant, and if not accepted by the Session it was ordered that the old building be taken down and the ground cleared and remain under the control of the Commissioners of Public Markets. This was the site on which the late City Court House was afterwards erected.

1808. In the month of April, 1808, the new Governor, Sir George Provost, arrived to take the place of Sir John Wentworth, who was allowed a retiring pension of £500 per annum. He

brought with him the 7th, the 8th and the 23rd Regiments, consisting of about 3000 men, with Brigadier General Houghton. The Governor came in H. M. Ship Penelope. At six o'clock on the same evening of his arrival, he landed at the King's Wharf under a salute from the Batteries. Sir John Wentworth was at his villa on the Basin—the Prince's Lodge as it was called—when his successor arrived, and did not receive the official letter announcing his appointment until 18 days after the arrival of Sir George Provost. On the 13th April, Sir John came to town and the new Governor was sworn into office.

It was deemed advisable that some trusty person should be sent to the United States to obtain information as to warlike preparations then progressing in that country. Mr. John Howe, the postmaster at Halifax, was chosen. He proceeded to Boston and afterwards visited other parts of the Union. Mr. Howe was again dispatched on a second mission late in the fall, and on his return made a report to the Lieutenant Governor.

Mr. Samuel Hood George, afterwards Sir Samuel, came out with Sir George Provost. He was appointed Provincial Secretary, and afterwards represented the County of Halifax in General Assembly. He was the eldest son of Commodore Sir Denis George, who married Miss Cochran of Halifax, and succeeded his father in the Baronetcy. This young man died early of consumption, and was succeeded both in the Baronetcy and the office of Secretary by his youngest brother Sir Rupert D. George, who remained in office until responsible government was established in the province.

The ships Milan, Observateur and Centurian were stationed at Halifax during the winter. The Centurian was the ship in which Lord Anson circumnavigated the globe. She remained in the harbour as a receiving and store ship for many years, and was broken up at the Dockyard somewhere between the years 1820 and 1823.

Among the visitors to Halifax this year was the notorious Aaron Burr, late Vice-President of the United States. He passed under an assumed name.

1809. The winter of 1808-9 was remarkably severe. During the month of February the cold continued so long that the great expenditure of fuel was felt by all classes of the community. Much

distress prevailed among the poor, and large sums of money were raised by subscription for their relief.

An expedition had been fitted out at Halifax, under the command of Sir George Provost, for the capture of the French Island of Martinique. It was composed of the 7th, 8th and 23rd Regiments with a Brigade of Artillery. Having succeeded in this enterprise they returned to Halifax on the 15th April. The gentlemen of the town gave a ball at Mason Hall in honor of their return. Three soldiers of the 7th Fusiliers were the only men killed in the expedition, the place having surrendered immediately on the attack being made. A tablet to the memory of these three soldiers may be seen in the gallery of the Round Church in Brunswick Street.

The Harbour was again this year the scene of another of those Naval executions, which were performed with so much severity during the time of war. A mutiny had occurred, or was supposed to have occurred, on board the Columbine on the 1st August, off St. Andrews. Four seamen and two marines were found guilty and executed on the 18th September. They were afterwards hung in chains on Meagher's Beach.

One of the most atrocious cases of piracy and murder on record occurred this autumn on the coast to the eastward of Halifax. The vessel was the *Three Sisters*, of Halifax, owned by Jonathan and John Tremain, merchants of the town, commanded by Captain John Stairs, brother of the late Honorable William Stairs, formerly president of the Union Bank. She was on her way from Gaspé Bay to Halifax with a cargo of fish. Edward Jordan, who had been formerly owner of this vessel or in some way concerned with her, took passage for himself and wife and four children with Capt. Stairs for Halifax. The following account is taken from a Halifax newspaper of 16th October, 1809 :

"MONDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1809.—The following are the particulars received from Capt. Stairs, of the piracy and murder that took place on board the schooner *Three Sisters*, belonging to this place, some account of which we gave in our last.

"This most atrocious act of piracy and murder, of which none could be guilty but the most diabolical incendiaries in human shape, took place, as has been stated, on the 13th ult. off Cape Canso, on the coast of this province, on board the schooner *Three Sisters*, bound and belonging to this place from the Bay Cheleaur. Edward Jordan, who has been represented as a passenger, and who had some interest in the vessel, appears to have been the exciter of this act of barbarity. Jordan having corrupted the mate, Kelly, who joined him in effecting his wicked intention, they secured

the arms, and availing themselves of that moment most likely to assist their horrid design, which was when Capt. Stairs was below with one of his men,* shot the other man who was on deck, and taking aim at Capt. Stairs through the sky-light with a pistol, wounded him in the face and shot the man who was near him in the breast. Capt. Stairs immediately ran on deck, where he met Jordan with a pistol in one hand and an ax in the other. Capt. Stairs then retreated into cabin and searched for his pistols but found them taken from his chest with a sword; finding himself destitute of arms he again ascended the deck and saw Jordan giving the fatal blow to the man who was on the deck, when he turned from him and presented another pistol at Capt. Stairs, which flashed when they closed and the pistol in the struggle was thrown overboard. The man who had received the wound below having reached the deck, made an effort to assist his captain, but in his attempt, from weakness, fell on his face, where he was shortly after dispatched with an ax by Jordan. In the scuffle Capt. Stairs called upon his mate (Kelly) for assistance, whom he perceived was in the act of loading another pistol, but who made him no answer. At which time Jordan's wife, a fit companion for so base a monster, attacked him with a boat hook which he parried with his arm, and after much exertion disengaged himself, and seizing one of the hatches, jumped into the sea. The wind blowing a strong breeze, the vessel soon left him to his precarious fate, where he remained about three hours, when he was taken up by the schooner Eliza Stoddard, of Hingham, in an almost lifeless condition from wet and cold."

The vessel was captured and brought into Halifax, and Jordan and his wife placed on their trial before a special commission for the trial of piracies on the high seas on 15th November. The Commission or Judges who sat on this occasion were Lieut.-Gen'l Sir Geo. Provost, Vice Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, Chief Justice Blowers; Councillors, Butler, Wallace, Brenton, Hill, Uniacke and Morris; Capt. Lloyd, R. N., Capt. Lord James Townshend, R. N. and Capt. Simpson, R. N., Sir Samuel Hood George, Provincial Secretary, T. N. Jeffery, the Collector of Customs. Doctor Cooke, the Admiralty Judge, refused to attend because the Commissioners would not allow him precedence of the Governor with a veto on the proceedings of the Court. No jury was called under this commission. Jordan was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged, which sentence was carried into execution on the beach some distance below Fresh Water Bridge, and the body was afterwards gibbeted on the shore some distance further down. The wife was acquitted, and a subscription was raised in the town to send her to Ireland. Dr. Burke, the Roman Catholic clergyman, Dr. Archd. Gray, minister of St. Matthew's, and Dr. Stanser, Rector of St. Paul's, acted as a committee for the purpose.

* Thomas Heath, who left a wife and two children in this town,

The court assembled again a short time after, for the trial of the mate, Kelly, who was convicted, but afterwards pardoned.*

This being the 50th year of the reign of King George III, a jubilee was celebrated at Halifax on the 23rd October, with great ceremony.

The market slip, the new fish market and meat market were all repaired and improved this year at the cost of £571, £500 of which had been voted by the Assembly for the purpose. The taxes gathered in the town for liquor licenses in 1809 amounted to £1400.

The Fire Insurance Association of Halifax was established on 24th April, 1809. The first directors were Andrew Belcher, Charles Hill, Lawrence Hartshorne, Foster Hutchinson, James Fraser, George Grassie and H. H. Cogswell. Mr. J. H. Flegar was secretary and the office was kept in his house in Hollis Street, where it continued to be kept for a great many years. He was succeeded by Mr. William Newton, at whose death Mr. Tremain was appointed.

Meetings of the Committee on Trade were held during the autumn. The Halifax Marine Insurance Company first opened their office for business in Water Street, opposite the fuel yard, this year. The committee of management were George Grassie, Jesse Woodward, Garret Miller, James Kerby, Lawrence Doyle, Lewis E. Piers, John Osborne, Thomas Deblois and John Albro'.

Among the merchants of Halifax at this time we find, in addition to the above, the names of Wm. Stairs, Wm. Bremner, Hartshorne & Boggs, at the old corner of George and Granville Streets, Kidston, Dobson & Co., Richard Kenefick, who had lately brought out Irish linen goods, Forman & Grassie, Shipping Merchants; William Bowie, afterwards a partner of Stephen W. Deblois, and who lost his life in a duel with the late Judge Richard Uniacke, Alexander Izat, Dry Goods, at corner opposite two pumps, corner of Hollis and Duke Streets, now occupied by the People's Bank; Martin Gay Black, Dry Goods; Geo. N. Russell, afterwards Wallace & Russell, Hardware Merchant, corner of Hollis and Prince Streets, now occupied by the Union Bank building; Temple and Lewis E. Piers, Ship Chandlery. This firm several years later

* A report of these trials was published in 1810 by Mr. Bagnall at the office of the newspaper called the "Novator," taken from the notes of two students at law, Charles R. Fairbanks, afterwards Master of the Rolls, and Andrew W. Cochran, who for many years was Secretary of the Province of Lower Canada and member of Council.

purchased the irregular shaped lot adjoining the City Court House lately occupied by Stairs, Son & Morrow, removed a range of one story buildings or sheds known as the Ratstail, and erected a building in which they carried on the ship chandlery business until the establishment was purchased by Mr. William Stairs. Henry Austin, afterwards a partner with William Stairs in ship chandlery, Water Street, south of the fuel yard, and John Owen, shop keeper and shipping merchant.

There was a small newspaper, quarto size, called the "Novator" established or published at Halifax in 1809 by one James Bagnall in Sackville Street. It was not of long continuance.

Jones Fawson was Sheriff of Halifax this year.

From the commencement of the year 1810 until the month of April, 1812, there was a constant apprehension of a rupture with the United States. The garrison and navy enlivened the town by their frequent balls and festivities. The Rockingham Club, before mentioned, continued to have their weekly dining on Saturday at the old Rockingham Hotel on the Basin. It was then customary for the merchants and other principal inhabitants, occasionally to give public dinners to the generals, admirals and principal officers of both army and navy. These dinners, as well as those of the National Societies, were held at the old Mason Hall, that building then containing the most spacious and convenient room in the city.

In January, 1811, the merchants of Halifax petitioned the King, through the Lieutenant-Governor, to permit the coal mines in Nova Scotia to be opened and worked under regulations. A proposal was made this year for the formation of a Joint Stock Bank. The books for subscription were opened at the office of Henry Yeomans, insurance broker, and were first signed on 13th February by the Committee of Trade, consisting of William Sabatier, Andrew Belcher, John Black, James Fraser, George Grassie, Charles R. Prescott and John Pryor. No further proceeding appears to have been taken towards this object.

Much suffering as usual among the poor prevailed this winter. A society for the relief of the poor had been formed, which distributed during the year ending 9th February, 1811 :

285 cords wood which cost	£994
860 lbs. sugar	49 15 6
111 " tea	
702 " rice	
236 " flour	
1560 loaves bread to 255 persons.	36

£1079 15 6

Eighty-four persons in distress, with their families, and others, in Halifax, Preston, Dartmouth, Chezzetcook, Windsor Road and Lawrencetown, with several families in Digby and Shelburne, were relieved at the time from the same funds.

Subscriptions raised for the above purposes.... £255

Donations from individuals, &c..... 384

£639

The committee in charge of this fund and its distribution were Edwd. B. Brenton, Revd. Robert Stanser, Revd. Archibald Gray, W. J. Almon, M. D., Hibbert N. Binney, John Lawson, Treasurer.

On Wednesday the 19th February, a public fast was proclaimed throughout the Province, which was observed at Halifax with due solemnity.

Two fires occurred this year, one at Commissary Buildings on Hollis Street, the spot on which the Bank of Nova Scotia stands, on 18th April, and the other at Bellemont, Mr. John Howe's residence at the North West Arm, on 6th May. Both buildings were saved.

The office of the Nova Scotia Marine Insurance Company was kept by Henry Yeomans, broker, of the Company. A new Marine Insurance Office had been started in February; George Grassie was Chairman of the Committee of Management, and John Bonnett was Secretary.

THE PROVINCE BUILDING.

Decisive measures were adopted this session by the Legislature for the erection of a building for the accommodation of the legislative bodies, the courts of law and the public offices, on the site of the old Government House on Hollis Street. Commissioners were appointed and plans and elevations prepared or procured by Mr. John Merrick. Chief Justice Blowers, Mr. Speaker Wilkins and Judge Hutchinson had the planning of the interior arrangements,

and George Grassie, Winkworth Allen and John Merrick were the commissioners to erect the building. Mr. Richard Scott was the builder employed to conduct the work. The building was fully completed and finished, ready for the sittings of the Courts and Legislature, in 1820, at the cost of £52,000.

A new steeple and an addition of 16 feet to the northern end was added to old St. Paul's Church this year, at the cost of £1000, granted by Government, £500 from a fund known as the Militia Arms Fund, and the remainder from funds arising out of the forfeited estate of one Jonathan Clarke. Hibbert N. Binney and H. H. Cogswell were the churchwardens. Their advertizement for tenders for the work appears in the Gazette. The sum of £500 from the Arms Fund was at the same time granted to St. George's Church towards finishing the interior of that building. These works were commenced this year, but were not finished until late in 1812. But one capital criminal conviction is recorded in 1811, that of one Sarah Wilson for burglary. She was sentenced to death, but afterwards reprieved.

On the 27th May the sloop of war, Little Belt, Capt. Bingham, arrived from a cruise. She reported having fallen in with the United States frigate, President, by whom she was fired into, and had sixteen men killed and twenty-one wounded, and the rigging of the ship much cut up. The two nations being at peace at the time, the affair caused much excitement in Halifax. Explanations were offered on the part of the Captain and Officers of the U. S. frigate, which only tended to show the bitterness of feeling which shortly afterwards manifested itself in open hostilities. Early this season non-intercourse was established between the United States and Great Britain.

Sir George Provost was now appointed to the chief command in Canada. The inhabitants of Halifax presented a congratulatory address on his promotion on the 19th August. He sailed for Quebec on the 25th, and Sir John Cope Sherbrooke, his successor, arrived with his family from England on 16th October following in the ship Manilla.

On 26th September a poll was opened by Capt. Jones Fawson, then Sheriff, for the election of two members for the town and four for the county. John Pryor, John Geo. Pyke and William H. Taylor were nominated; the latter retired and the two first were

declared elected. The four old members for the county were returned. Mr. William Sabatier was nominated but afterwards retired from the contest.

The merchants of Halifax, on 20th July, petitioned the Governor respecting the state of trade, etc., stating that they were agreed to take gold and silver coins at the following values, viz: A Guinea, £1 3 4, Halifax currency; a Johannes, at £4; a Doubloon, at £3 17 6; an Eagle, at £2 10; the old French Guinea, at £1 2, and and all the other decimal parts of the same coins at a proportional value; English and old French Crowns, at 5s. 6d.; Spanish Dollars, (including those which heretofore passed current at 4s.) at the rate of 5s. At this time British silver was unknown at Halifax—Spanish silver was the current coin. It came up from the West Indies and Spanish America in the course of trade, and the British Government found it more convenient for various reasons to pay their troops stationed here in Spanish silver than to import British coin for that purpose.

The names attached to this petition were William Bowie, Garret Miller, Starr & Shannon, Charles Loveland, Moody & Sinclair, Alexander McDonald, William A. Black, Martin Gay Black, John Albro, Charles Boggs, Henry Ford & Co., Henry Austin, Michael Forrestall, Jonathan and John Tremaine, John W. Pyke, Matthew Richardson, Richard Tremain, Samuel Head, M. D., Kidston, Dobson & Telford, H. Taylor, John Liddell & Co., Capel Hines, Jas. Ewing, George W. Mitchell, Prescott Lawson & Co., James Fraser, Winkworth Allen, Smith & Thom, Scaiffe & Baine, R. Lyon, Sr., Andrew Belcher, Forsyth, Black & Co., Lawrence Hartshorne, Charles Hill, Forman Grassie & Co., John Lawson, James Leaver, William Minns, John Osborne and John Owen.

A proposition concerning some alteration in Water Street, near the Ordnance Yard, was made by Captain Gustavos Nichols of the Royal Engineers. It was understood that the town would not agree to the proposal unless the Military authorities surrendered a road in continuation of Hollis Street, southward. The subject had been mooted for a long period previous to this time, but no arrangement could be agreed on between the military and the town authorities. Captain Nichols' letter makes an offer according to the plans therein enclosed. This letter and plans are not now forthcoming among

the City or Provincial Records, and therefore the particulars of the proposition made by the Engineer Department cannot now be understood. Copies of these plans may possibly exist at the Lumber Yard and Engineers' office.

On the 17th March, the Irish Society celebrated the anniversary of St. Patrick this year by a dinner at Mason Hall, which was attended by the Governor, General Balfour, Commissioner Inglefield, Judge Croke, the Captains of the Navy in port and the Staff of the Garrison, etc. The Hon. Charles Morris was President, and Samuel Hood George, afterwards Sir Samuel, was Vice. The dinner was at five o'clock, the fashionable hour in those days. The Governor and principal guests retired at nine. The rest of the company sat late, but the utmost harmony and good feeling prevailed. These national festivals were better attended in those days, when no political animosities existed to disturb the harmony of the good people of Halifax.

On the 11th May, there was a public examination of the Halifax Grammar School under old parson Wright—a ceremony in which the inhabitants at this period took much interest. On this occasion Mr. Edward Monk, son of Judge Monk, took the first prize; Lewis M. Wilkins, the late Judge, won the second, and the third was given to James Bailey, and the fourth to Edward Fairbanks, a brother of S. P. Fairbanks, Esq., and of the late Judge Charles R. Fairbanks, Master of the Rolls.

A Company was formed this year, in Halifax, for prosecuting the codfishery. The managers were John Lawson, Henry H. Cogswell, William Pryor, Garret Miller, John Brown, John William Morris and Charles Loveland. A large capital was raised in shares of £50 each.

On the 20th November, the fleet sailed for Bermuda, consisting of the Flag Ship of Admiral Sawyer, the Spartan and Melampus, Frigates; the Atalanta, Ratler and Indian, Sloops-of-War.

At the commencement of the year the following Ships of War, under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, were on this station, viz.: Swiftsure, 74; Guerriere, 40; Melampus, 36; Æolus, 39; Cleopatra, 32; Euridice, 24; Little Belt, 22; Halifax, 18*; Indian, 18; Emulous, 18; Atalanta, 18; Colibre, 18; La

*This brig was the only vessel of war ever built at the Halifax Dockyard.

Fantome, 18; Plumper, 12 and the schooners Vesta, Juniper, Holly, Barbare, Bream, Cuttle and Chub. The old Centurian was the receiving ship; she remained for many years off the dockyard. The Pyramus was afterwards used as a receiving ship for the fleet lately sold and broken up; she was an old-class 50 taken from the Danes at the capture of Copenhagen.

The Eighth and Ninety-eighth British regiments, the Nova Scotia Fencible Infantry, with a battery of Artillery and a company of Engineers composed the Garrison of Halifax. Captain Philip Van Cortlandt was Town Major, and Stephen Hall Binney, Barrack-master. The former was succeeded by Lieutenant John McColla as Town Major, who resided in Halifax for a number of years, and was Adjutant General of the Provincial Militia. Major-General Balfour* commanded the Garrison. Captain J. N. Inglefield, R. N.,† was Commissioner of the Dockyard, and Mr. P. F. Wallis, first clerk. Mr. W. was father of Admiral Sir Provo Wallis, who distinguished himself in the action of the Shannon and Chesapeake.

A Marine Humane Society existed at Halifax in 1811. Their drags, for the recovery of drowned persons, were advertised as being lodged in the respective stores of Hon. And. Belcher, John Pryor, John Brown, Samuel Muirhead and John Starr.

The 30th September was marked by a severe gale of wind from the S. E., by which many of the wharves in the town were ripped up and much damage done to the shipping in the harbour and along the coast.

The year terminated by a proclamation opening the Port of Halifax to vessels of neutrals. The proclamation bears date the 24th December.

Among the deaths recorded this year was that of James Gautier, Esq., for many years clerk of His Majesty's Council and keeper of the public records in the Secretary's office. He died poor. The Legislature voted £30 to defray the expenses of his funeral. He left no family.

The principal retail merchants in the town at this time were Martin Gay Black, Smith & Thom, Carret & Alfort at the corner

*General Balfour was this year removed to New Brunswick, where he died Lieutenant Governor of that Province.

†Commissioner Inglefield was grandfather of Vice Admiral Sir Edward A. Inglefield, lately in command of the Squadron at Halifax.

lately occupied by Messrs. Duffus; John Liddell & Co., H. Ford, McDonald & Co., Robert Lyon, W. Bremner, John Lawson, Kidston, Dobson & Telford, Scaiffe & Bain, Thomas Heaviside, James Fraser, Arthur Brymer, all Dry Goods—Moody & Sinclair, C. & R. Hill & Co., Red store, road leading to Dockyard, Thomas Leaver and William Remmington, all Auctioneers; William Minns and Geo. Eaton, Stationers. Mr. Minns occupied the old building in Barrington Street below the Parade, opposite Dalhousie College, where he died about 1825. He conducted a paper called the *Weekly Chronicle* for above 20 years. Windham Madden and William Conroy kept Livery Stables.

1812. Orders had been issued early this season to put the Forts in repair; the works on the Citadel Hill having again fallen into a dilapidated condition. Captain Nichols, commanding the Royal Engineers, made an elaborate report, and operations were commenced forthwith under his superintendence. The United States had now declared war. Commodore Rogers, in command of an American Squadron, had fallen in with the British Frigate *Belvidere*, 36 guns. She sustained the attack for two or three hours and at length got off with the loss of several of her crew killed, the Captain and 22 wounded. The *Belvidere* came into the harbor on the 27th June, and on the following evening a special dispatch arrived from the Governor of New Brunswick with intelligence of the Declaration of War. Sir John immediately made the necessary arrangements for calling out the militia. All able-bodied men between 18 and 50 were to be ballotted for service and a portion of them to be immediately embodied. This was arranged by Order in Council dated 28th June. The *Belvidere*, after she had escaped from the American Squadron, captured three American merchant vessels which she brought in with her. Halifax being the headquarters of the Naval force under Admiral Warren, who had upwards of 60 pendants under his command, prizes now began to be brought into port. The Court of Admiralty under Judge Croke was in active operation, and the newspapers of the day appear filled with advertisements of sales of prizes and prize goods. Cartels frequently came and went between Halifax and the American ports for the exchange of prisoners. With all this bustle of business money became plenty, and the foundations of small fortunes began to be

laid by the Crown lawyers and the prize agents. The presence of a large army and navy caused much dissipation in the town. Festivities of all kinds prevailed. Subscription assemblies at Mason Hall were kept up during the winter under the management of Mr. Jeffery, Collector of the Customs, Capt. Brenton, of the navy, and Lieut.-Col. Robertson, of the garrison. Dinner parties at Government House, and balls and levies on state days, with the frequent rejoicings on the news from time to time of the success of the British Armies, both in Europe and America, completed the round of Halifax festivities.

The capture of the British ship *Guerriere*, a first class frigate commanded by Capt. Dacres, belonging to the Halifax squadron, by the Americans, in August, caused much talk and excitement throughout the community. Capt. Dacres, a young and inexperienced officer, it was thought had surrendered too early to the enemy. He had only left the harbor a short time when he lost his ship.

In July, a press warrant was granted to Rear Admiral Sawyer for 48 hours. Desertions from the navy were frequent and large offers were reported to have been made by the enemy for such able seamen as would come over to the American navy. The Commander-in-Chief, in consequence, found it necessary to publish a proclamation at Halifax offering the King's pardon to all who had deserted, on their returning to their duty. Letters of Marque against the Americans were ordered in Council on 31st July, and all vessels were prohibited from leaving the port without special license, for the space of one month.

The old Halifax Artillery Company was at this time a very popular corps, and included many of the young merchants as well as tradesmen of the town. It was at one time supposed that the property owned by those whose names were on its roll comprised no small part of the wealth of our town.

An Act of the Legislature was passed this year regarding that part of the public road or highway which leads from Fort Massey to the exercising ground on the Commons. His Majesty's service required that this piece of road should be enclosed for the purpose of enlarging the Artillery Park. It was therefore enacted that when the officers of His Majesty's Ordnance should have laid out a new road agreeable to the plan submitted to His Excellency Sir

John Cope Sherbrooke, and filed in the Surveyor General's office, measuring fifty feet in breadth, through the field of John George Pyke, and shall have procured a release from Mr. Pyke, and shall have completed said new road, that the Engineer should take in 310 feet in length of that part of said road which now leads from Fort Massey to the exercising ground on the Common, forever for the Ordnance Department at Halifax. The new road to be substituted therefor.

1813. The arrival of DeWatteville's regiment of Germans in May on their way to reinforce the army at Quebec, and of the American ship *Volante* with a valuable cargo and mounting 21 guns taken by H. M. Brig Curlew, Capt. Michael Head,* and the accession of the 64th Regiment to the strength of the garrison were the chief events during the spring of 1813.

On Sunday morning, the 6th June, the inhabitants of Halifax were surprised by the arrival of His Majesty's Ship *Shannon*, Capt. Broke, with her prize the United States Frigate *Chesapeake*, Capt. Lawrence. The engagement which was said to be the result of a challenge on the part of Capt. Broke, took place off Boston Harbor a very short time after the *Shannon* left Halifax. The enemy surrendered after about 20 minutes fighting. Capt. Broke ran his ship in upon the *Chesapeake*, and captured her with his boarding party who, "rushing upon the enemy's deck, carried away everything before them with irresistible fury." Capt. Lawrence, and his First Lieutenant, Ludlow, were killed; the latter died at Halifax on the 13th June. The engagement was one of the most bloody on record. The *Shannon* had 30 men killed and 57 wounded, and the *Chesapeake* 74 killed and above 100 wounded, all within the short space of little more than fifteen minutes. When the ships came up the harbor the decks were being swabbed and the scuppers ran quite red. Numbers of the inhabitants of the town put off in boats and visited the ships. Though the bodies of the slain had been nearly all removed from sight, yet the marks of the slaughter were terribly conspicuous. Mr. Provo Wallis, a Halifax man, one of the Lieutenants of the *Shannon*, brought in the prize. He received his promotion as Commander soon after, and later became a full Admiral and Knight Grand Cross of the Bath. On the 8th, the

* Brother of the late Dr. Samuel Head of Halifax.

funeral of Capt. Lawrence took place. The body was landed under minute guns from the ships and the procession proceeded from the King's Wharf to the old English Burial Ground attended by an immense concourse of people. The coffin was covered by the U. S. colours and six British Post Captains bore the pall. The 34th Regiment formed the firing party. The officers of the garrison, His Majesty's Council, the principal civil officers and heads of departments, and all the officers of the navy in port followed in procession, the American officers walking next the coffin.

X On the 10th August, following, an American Brig with a flag of truce arrived for the bodies of Capt. Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow, which were taken up and carried to their native country. That of Capt. Lawrence lies in the yard of Trinity Church, Broadway, New York, where his tomb is to be seen on the left of the entrance.

A memorial of the merchants of Halifax, numerous signed, was presented to the Colonial Secretary through the Governor, complaining of the permission of American vessels to resort to the British West Indies, and of the right of fishery conceded to the Americans by the Treaty of 1783, and praying that the interests of Nova Scotia might be considered in any future negotiations. Among the principal signers were William Sabatier, John Black, John Pryor, Geo. Grassie and Enos Collins. At this time the English Government was very jealous of British Colonial rights, and was ready to fight in their defence.

The town and its vicinity had for the last two years abounded with French prisoners of war. Those taken from American prizes now increased the throng. A prison had been erected at Melville Island, at the head of the North West Arm, for their accommodation, and soon became crowded. Many of the French sailors were ingenious workers in wood and bone, and made articles of use as well as ornament, which they sold to the numerous visitors who were freely permitted access to Melville Island. It was the favorite resort of the young people on Sundays and holidays, where a pleasant hour could be passed in conversing with the French prisoners and examining their toys. The French naval officers were on parole of honor, and resided in Dartmouth and Preston. They spent their time chiefly in field sports, occasionally visiting Halifax,

where they mixed freely in society. M. Danseville, the Governor of St. Pierre and Miquelon, resided in the house near Preston lately owned by the Hon. Michael Tobin, known as the Brook House, where he entertained his friends with great politeness and hospitality. Many of the French prisoners were permitted to come to town and work for the inhabitants. A number of our own Halifax people were at this time languishing in French prisons. The sum of £130 sterling was subscribed in Halifax for their relief, and remitted to England in the month of July of this year.

Great quantities of prize goods were sold at auction this year, taken principally from American vessels. The American trade was terribly cut up by the British cruisers. On one occasion we find advertised for sale at public auction by order of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, dated 19th March, twelve full-rigged ships, eight brigs, seven schooners and ten or twelve small vessels, with their cargoes.

On 7th September, the merchants of Halifax petitioned the Governor and Council for permission to export to the States portions of the prize goods as being particularly adapted to the American market. The following names, among others, appear attached to this petition: John Lawson, Temple F. & Lewis E. Piers,* Jas. Forman, Samuel Head, M. D., Hartshorne, Boggs & Co., James and Michael Tobin, James Hamilton, Roy Leslie & Co., Carrett & Alport, Scaiffe & Bain, G. Grassie; James Ewing, William Annand, Matthew Richardson, William Phillips, James Russell, Miles W. White, Smith & Thom, John Brown, W. H. Reynolds & Co., Harding & Hill, A. McDonald, Henry Ford, Stephen W. DeBlois & Co., Wm. Bremner, John Moody & Co., Collins & Allison, † Henry Austin, William Stairs, Richard Tremain & Co., G. N. Russell, Jonathan & John Tremain.

On the 7th September, Sir Borlase Warren with his fleet arrived in Halifax Harbor in eight days from the Chesapeake. The fleet consisted of the St. Domingo, 74 guns, Diadem, 64, Diomede, 50, Junon, 38, Romulus, 36, Success, 32, Fox, 32, Nemesis, 28, Loupevier, 18, Mariner, 15, Highflyer, 10, and several transports.

* Messrs. Piers were the grandsons of Mr. L. Piers, who came with Cornwallis in 1749. Descendants of Temple F. Piers still reside in Halifax.

† This firm was Hon. Enos Collins and Joseph Allison, both of whom became members of His Majesty's Council. They succeeded to the business of Prescott & Lawson on the wharf afterwards known as Collins' wharf, where Mr. Collins, in 1823, built the range of stone stores, a part of which is occupied by the Halifax Banking Company.

The following passage from Murdoch's history affords a lively picture of the condition and aspect of Halifax at this period, drawn no doubt, in some measure from his personal recollection :

"The effects of the war upon the people of Halifax were very marked. Our harbor had become the temporary home of the ships of war, and the place where their prizes were brought and disposed of. Our youths were eager to participate in the path that seemed to lead by a few steps to honor, glory, and fortune; and indeed when it is borne in mind that several Halifax lads rose to be admirals, we can hardly wonder at the school-boys' desire to wear the white stripe on his collar, and the ivory-handled dirk that indicated his authority to command men. The little capital, then occupying a restricted space, became crowded. Trade was active, prices rose. The fleet increasing, provisions were in great demand, and this acted as a large bounty in favor of the agriculturist and the fisherman. Rents of houses and buildings in the town were doubled and trebled. A constant bustle existed in our chief streets, cannon were forever noisy; it was a salute of a man-of-war entering or leaving, practising with guns or celebrating something or somebody. There is another side to this picture which must not be omitted. The moral condition of the town had become dreadful in the extreme. Eight or ten thousand soldiers, sailors, and prisoners of war let loose in a little town of less than 10,000 inhabitants can well be imagined."

The upper streets were full of brothels; grog shops and dancing houses were to be seen in almost every part of the town. A portion of Grafton Street was known under the appellation of Hogg Street from a house of ill-fame kept by a person of that name. The upper street along the base of Citadel Hill between the north and south barracks was known as "Knock him Down" Street in consequence of the number of affrays and even murders committed there. No person of any character ventured to reside there, nearly all the buildings being occupied as brothels for the soldiers and sailors. The streets of this part of the town presented continually the disgusting sight of abandoned females of the lowest class in a state of drunkenness, bare headed, without shoes, and in the most filthy and abominable condition.

The Acadian School was this year established by Walter Bromley, Esq., on the Lancaster system. It was intended chiefly for the instruction of the poor. Mr. Bromley had been paymaster of the 23rd Fusiliers, and having retired from the army while that regiment was in garrison at Halifax, devoted all the energy of his philanthropic mind to the amelioration of the condition of the poor. He first opened his school on 13th January, 1814 in the old building in Argyle Street, then lately used as a theatre for amateur performers, where he held Sunday school for poor children of all denominations

and had a large class of blacks, both children and adults, to whom he devoted particular attention. Many colored men and women who afterwards became valuable servants, and some of whom entered into business in Halifax, owed their success and subsequent christian life to the exertions of Mr. Bromley. His labors to improve the condition of the Mic-mac Indians will be remembered by not a few individuals now living. His house was open to them at all times, where those who were not addicted to the habitual use of spirits were hospitably treated, clothed and furnished with means of following their hunting and other occupations. This continued until he left the country. The old play house having fallen into decay, the present stone building was erected on its site in 1816 and apartments for Mr. Bromley were therein provided. A printing press which had been established by him at the Acadian School became the means of disseminating his views regarding education throughout the province, and his little pamphlets, entitled Appeals to the People of Great Britain on behalf of the Indians of Nova Scotia, were very forcible and touching. The first edition of T. C. Halliburton's history of Nova Scotia was issued from Bromley's press in 1824. When Bromley left Halifax in 1828, the poor lost a true friend and the Indians their chief patron.

Halifax was visited by a great gale of wind in the autumn of 1813. The Gazette of the 19th November says :

"On Friday evening last, a most tremendous gale, or rather hurricane from the south-east, rushed up the harbor with such destructive violence as has not been witnessed since the tornado which happened in September, 1798. The lapse of little more than one short hour left but few vessels at their anchors and of those scarcely one that had not sustained material injury. Its utmost fury being felt about dead low water, less damage was sustained by the wharves and stores than might otherwise have been expected, but several shallops and small craft were sunk, and many others wrecked and torn by the sea. H. M. Ships St. Domingo, Hogue, Maidstone, two brigs and a schooner were driven on shore. Fourteen other men of war, including small ones, suffered by vessels being driven against them. The Barossa, Diadem and the old Centurian suffered least. There were forty-six merchant vessels, transports and prizes, all large vessels except about seventeen, stranded ; most of them having been got off again. Twenty-four, including store ships and transports, suffered more or less injury, and a brig, a transport and one or two sloops sank and were totally lost. Several schooners were sunk at Prospect, and two large vessels were reported upset off the harbor. A number of lives were lost during the gale, and many seamen badly hurt on board the ships of war."

Among the deaths recorded this year was that of James Creighton, Esq.,* in his 81st year. He was the son of one of the settlers who came with Governor Cornwallis in 1749, and had acquired a large property in the neighborhood of the town which was inherited by his son who was the ancestor of the family of that name now in the city. The fields in the north suburbs adjoining the common were for many years known as Creighton's fields; long since laid off into building lots, including the streets known as Maynard Street, Creighton Street and Bauer Street, etc.

The death of Sir Samuel Hood George, Provincial Secretary of the Province, took place this year in England, where he went for the benefit of his health. He died of consumption in the 24th year of his age.

In the month of January, 1813, a murder was committed on the Market Wharf, which caused considerable excitement in the town. About 7 o'clock on Monday evening, January 25th, five soldiers, having had some dispute with the shallop men on the wharf, attacked them with their bayonets and badly wounded four men, Frederick and Henry Publicover, Cornelius Uhlman and George Teele. The main guard from the King's Wharf being called out, three of the soldiers were secured. Henry Publicover died of his wounds and the Coroner's Jury brought in a verdict of wilful murder against some persons unknown. One of those who had been apprehended, a young soldier named Oliver Hart, was tried and convicted of the murder at the Easter term of the Supreme Court, but was afterwards pardoned by the Governor. Much dissatisfaction existed in the community in consequence of the termination of this affair.

In the month of March the crew of a Spanish schooner, the *Serifna*, was brought into Halifax. They had killed six of their fellow-sufferers upon the alleged necessity of saving their own lives by subsisting on the flesh of those they killed. Investigations were entered into, the result of which does not appear.

The Commissioners of Streets for the town were appointed on the 12th May. They consisted of James Forman, John Albro, Michael

* Mr. Creighton was not related to Lieutenant Creighton, who afterwards settled in Lunenburg and was known as Col. Creighton. He came out, however, in company with him in the same vessel, being friends; they were both from the same part of England.

Tobin, Frederick Major, James Fraser and John Allen. The three former remained in office until about 1829 or 1830, when a new system was inaugurated under the management of H. H. Cogswell and others. Matthew Forrester was the Overseer and Superintendent of Streets under the Commissioners for many years. The old Commissioners, a short time before their retirement, undertook to remove all obstructions to side paths; many old houses stood on banks with cellar doors projecting into what was supposed to be part of the street. Others again were approached by flights of steps, all of which were removed to the detriment of many buildings in the suburbs. At this time the town was adorned in many places by ranges of trees in the sides of the streets. St. Paul's Church was surrounded by large old willow trees; a range of fine old willows extended from William Pryor's corner down the eastern side of Hollis Street past the Lumber Yard Gate. A fine range of willows of less dimensions also ran along that part of Argyle Street between the late H. H. Cogswell's stone house and the residence of the late R. J. Uniacke, since sold for a country market. Again in Poplar Grove, and the old Grenadier fort house which stood on the site of the present Trinity Chapel in Jacob Street, on both sides of Brunswick Street, particularly on the east side, there were several fine clusters of Lombardy poplar trees of gigantic size, several being in front of the residence of James Kirby. There were also some fine trees in other parts of the town. These were all cut down without mercy by Mr. Forrester, under the directions of the Commissioners before the year 1830, and the lower stairs of a number of buildings were buried in levelling the streets. Albermarle and Grafton Streets were at this time in a very rough condition, particularly the former, where banks of earth and stones were to be seen in the centre of the street, sufficient in some places to obstruct carriages. These were removed by the new Commissioners.

The town was at this time supplied with water by public wells and pumps in various parts of the town. A pump stood at the north end of the Province Building Square, in George Street, known as Black's pump; another at the south end of the square; another, known as the White pump, stood in the centre of Prince Street, where it is crossed by Albermarle Street; this was one of the last to be removed. There were two known as the Sisters at the corner

of Duke and Hollis Streets, near the site of the building occupied by the People's Bank. There were four or five along the east side of Brunswick Street, one at the foot of Cornwallis Street, and a number in the south suburbs and other parts of the town; also two in Barrington Street in front of the Parade.

1814. During the winter of 1813-14 some distress existed among the poor in the upper streets. This part of the town was chiefly occupied by people of the lower order, and in consequence of the war had become a resort for soldiers and sailors. Barrack Street, before mentioned, was known as "The Hill" and was as well known through His Majesty's dominions for its evil reputation as the worst haunts of Plymouth or Portsmouth in England.

On the 25th February a public fast was proclaimed by the Governor, after which we do not find any further proclamations of this kind for many years.

A press warrant was granted to Rear Admiral Griffiths on 28th February, when many of the idle and worthless vagabonds of the town were happily secured for His Majesty's service, where they would be brought under wholesome restraint.

It had been arranged this spring that a residence for the Admiral of the station should be erected. The British Parliament had granted the sum of £3000 for this purpose, which being found insufficient, the House of Assembly of this province voted £1500 towards its completion. A site was selected in the field between the Naval Hospital grounds and Gottingen Street, and the present building known as Admiralty House was commenced this year, but not finished until some time after. Why the local funds of the province should have been devoted to this purpose does not clearly appear.

The arrival of the English packet on 21st May furnished news of the fall of Napoleon Bonaparte and the entry of the allied armies into Paris. It being Sunday, the event was celebrated on Monday by a military review with salutes, and the whole town was illuminated in the evening. A military band performed during the evening on the flat roof of the old market house, long since removed to make way for the present brick structure, and the streets were crowded to a very late hour. The merchants and many of the principal inhabitants met at the Exchange Coffee House and other

places, where hot suppers were consumed in honor of the occasion.

Among the captures this year was that of the American privateer, *Snap Dragon*, six guns and 70 men, brought in by *H. M. Sloop*, *Martin* on 5th July, taken off *Sambro Light*, and on the 13th, the *United States Sloop Rattlesnake*, 18 guns, by the *Leander* frigate, taken near *Shelburne Harbor*. About the same time 340 British prisoners were brought to *Halifax* in *Cartels* from *Salem* in *Massachusetts*. The *Rattlesnake* was afterwards sold and fitted out as a privateer by merchants in *Liverpool*, *Queens County*.

The British forces having captured *Washington* in August, 1814, a large number of black slaves, of both sexes, from the plantations along the *Potomac* and *Chesapeake Rivers*, who had deserted their masters, took refuge on board the British men-of-war while they laid in *Chesapeake Bay*. *Sir George Cochran*, the naval commander, sent them on to *Halifax*, where many of them arrived in September, following in a transport ship and the *Brig Jasper*. They were afterwards located at *Preston* and *Hammond's Plains*. Many of the domestic slaves remained in the town as servants, attaching themselves to the inhabitants. Those who went to the country, being unused to cold and hard labor, were unable even with the assistance of the Government allowance to make their living; soon became paupers and a burden to the community, a condition in which their children and grand-children largely remain. At the close of the war a quantity of American soldiers' uniforms, taken at *Castine*, in *Maine*, were served out to the *Chesapeake negroes*. Their grotesque appearance in the blue and yellow coats, occasionally intermixed with the green and red facings of the corps called the *York Rangers*, (at the peace disbanded in *Halifax*,) must be within the recollection of many of our old inhabitants.

The grand event of this year for *Halifax* was the fitting out of the expedition for the invasion of the *State of Maine*. This expedition consisted of the 29th, 60th, 62nd and 98th British Regiments, with artillery and some militia. The two brigades were commanded by *Major Goslin* and *Colonel Douglas*; the whole being under the command of *Lieutenant-General Sir John Cope Sherbrooke*. *Rear Admiral Griffiths* commanded the squadron, which was composed of 3 seventy-four gun ships, the *Bulwark*, *Dragon* and the *Spencer*, with two brigs, a schooner and ten transports.

Castine was taken on 1st September, and the town of Michias by Lieut.-Col. Pilkington, on the 11th. Thus all the State or District of Maine fell into the hands of the British as far west as the old bounds of Acadia. This territory was originally part of Nova Scotia, and at the peace of 1783 had been conceded to the Americans through the ignorance and imbecility of Lord Gambier, who had been intrusted by the British Ministry with the settlement of our lines. The British Government was erroneously induced to relinquish this conquest at the close of the war, a policy which has deprived this Dominion of the fairest timber lands of New Brunswick, and caused the loss of the most direct line of communication between the Canadian provinces through British territory, a loss which the whole expense incurred by the British Government during the war could not now repay. Sir John, having left a garrison to take care of his conquest, soon returned with his little army to Halifax. Several Halifax merchants availed themselves of the opening afforded to make money, sent agents with supplies of goods to establish shops at Castine, etc. The British authorities collected the Revenue of Maine while in occupation, which amounted to a considerable sum of money. This fund was placed by the colonial minister in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, who appropriated it in various ways as he thought most for the benefit of the country. It was from this fund that Dalhousie College was afterwards built and endowed by the Earl of Dalhousie, who succeeded Sir John Cope Sherbrooke in the government, the Legislature of the Province having been induced to vote the sum of £5,000 currency towards the same object.

In the autumn the small pox made its appearance in Dartmouth and Preston and was very fatal among the Chesapeake negroes.

The old Rockingham Club, which in the days of Prince Edward and Sir John Wentworth dined periodically at the Rockingham Hotel on the Basin, had ceased to exist, but it appears to have revived about this time under the name of the Wellington Club. A dinner at the Rockingham by the Wellington Club was announced in the papers of 26th August to take place on the 30th instant at half past four o'clock. Five o'clock was the fashionable dinner hour. The Governor's dinner cards of this date were all for that hour.

The old Rockingham was destroyed by fire nearly half a century ago. It stood on the shore of the Basin, a short distance north of the Rotunda. After the departure of the Prince it became a house of entertainment, kept successively by Graves, Paine and others. It was a favorite resort being a convenient distance from town. The approach from the post road was by a carriage drive next to the Rotunda, between two beech trees, from which hung suspended a sign with the Wentworth Arms. When destroyed it was the property of the estate of David Muirhead.

In September the body of General Ross, who had been killed before Baltimore, was brought to Halifax for interment. He was buried in the old English burial ground with all military honors. No monument to his memory appears in St. Paul's Church.

On the 24th November, the Man-of-War Brig Fantome, 18 guns, went on shore at Prospect. She soon went to pieces, as also a schooner which accompanied her. No lives were lost.

The merchants presented several petitions to the Governor this year relative to the trade of the port. The following names appear appended to these petitions, among which we will find those of many of our principal citizens whose faces were once familiar to many now living :

James Forman,¹ Belcher & Wright,² John Clarke, William Rudolf, John Stayner, Rufus G. Taylor, William Strachan, William Young, Jr., Austin & Stairs,³ Jessie Woodward, Richard Kidston, Lawrence Doyle, John Carrol, Henry Yeomans, Francis Stevens, Benjamin Etter, John Merriek, W. C. Wilkie, Charles Boggs, And. Smith, William Duffus, James Kerby, Charles Tropolet. Again, Thomas Wallace, Bowie & DeBlois,⁴ Hosterman & Etter, John & David Howe,⁵ W. A. & S. Black,⁶ James Baine, Martin Gay Black, Duncan McColl, Thomas Cleary, Robert Phelon, Levi Moses & Co., and John A. Barry.⁷

The Province Building and the Admiralty House were both slowly progressing during the summer and autumn.

NOTE.—1. For many years Custos of the County. 2. Hon. Andrew Belcher, son of the first Chief Justice and member of Council. His partner, William Wright, was son of old Parson Wright of the Grammar School. Neither left male descendants in Nova Scotia. 3. Hon. Wm. Stairs, Sr., afterwards in Council. 4. William Bowie, killed in a duel with R. J. Uniacke, Sr. 5. Both brothers of the late Hon. Joseph Howe, Provincial Secretary, etc. 6. Hon. William A. Black of the Legislative Council. 7. Mr. Barry was afterwards in the House of Assembly for Shelburne; died at LaHave aged 80 years.

Halifax did a brisk trade during the period of the American War. The following list of exports for the year 1813 is given by Murdoch in one of his notes: Vessels, 412; Tons, 54,457; men, 2,868; Boards and Plank, 1,881,722 feet; Staves, 232,562; Dry Fish, 82,059 quintals; Pickled Fish in tierces, 408; Barrels, 29,829; Smoked Herring in barrels, 142; Boxes, 6,425; Fish Oil, 49,668 gallons.

1815. The winter of 1814-15 was more severe than the previous one. The small pox had broken out in the town and many persons died of it. A number of the black refugee negroes had been, about the month of May, after the removal of the prisoners, placed on Melville Island. They were all vaccinated to prevent the spread of the disease among them. They remained here for a short time until they could be located in the country.

The treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States was ratified in February 1815, and executed at Ghent on the 24th December following. An immediate exchange of prisoners took place after the ratification, and many seafaring men belonging to Halifax, who had been confined in American prisons, were restored to their homes. Peace was proclaimed at Halifax on 3rd March. This spring an Act of the Legislature passed for establishing a Bridewell or House of Correction in Halifax. It was placed under the control of the sessions, and the old gamble-roofed building formerly used as a poor house, then situated at the western end of the space known as the old poor house grounds, was taken for the purpose and fitted up with cells, etc., for the prisoners. This building was taken down, having ceased to be used after the erection of Rock Head Prison and the Provincial Penitentiary on the North West Arm. It was one of the oldest buildings in the town afterwards, and was in early days the residence of Mr. Wenman, the keeper of the Asylum. When it was first built is uncertain, but being situate within the lines of the old forts, was probably a military residence of some sort during the first five or six years of the settlement.

A regular police court was this summer established in the brick Court House. John George Pyke, John Howe and John Liddell were appointed police magistrates. Mr. Pyke had long been custos of the county, and he and subsequently Mr. Liddell gave regular

attendance at the office. Mr. Pyke was allowed eleven shillings and eight pence per day, and had three police constables at his command, with the additional assistance of Hawkins, a colored gentleman, who dressed in an old military uniform with cap and feathers, usually escorted the criminals to and from the workhouse, and when occasion required inflicted his 39 lashes on juvenile offenders at the old whipping post, which stood at the south-west corner of the building opposite Messrs. Stairs' office—a system of punishment less expensive than paying their board and lodging for eight or ten weeks from the taxes of the citizens.

The Spring of 1815 was very backward. The Basin had been frozen up all winter, and was not free from ice until the month of June. On the first of June the harbor was full of ice so as for an hour or two to impede the progress of the ferry boats. It was partially collected from loose ice which came down the Narrows from the Basin, and some drift ice which was brought in in the night previously from the sea by the tide and southerly wind.

There were two ferries at this time. The upper ferry was conducted by John Skerry, whose memory is still cherished by many, both in Dartmouth and Halifax, as one of the most obliging and civil men of his day. Skerry's wharf in Dartmouth was a short distance south of the steam boat wharf. The other ferry was the property of Mr. James Creighton, known as the Lower Ferry, situate to the south of Mott's Factory. It was conducted for Mr. Creighton by deputy and was afterwards held under lease by Joseph Findlay, the last man who ran a ferry boat with sails and oars in Halifax Harbor. These ferry boats were furnished with a lug sail and two and sometimes four oars. They were large clumsy boats, and occupied some thirty or forty minutes in making the passage across the harbor. There were no regular trips at appointed hours. When the boat arrived at either side the ferryman blew his horn (a conch shell) and would not start again until he had a full freight of passengers. The sound of the conch and the cry of "Over! Over!" was the signal to go on board. The boats for both ferries landed at the Market Slip at Halifax. An act of the Legislature had been obtained this session to incorporate a Steamboat Company with an exclusive privilege of the ferry between Halifax and Dartmouth for 25 years. They could not succeed in getting up a

company, steam navigation being then in its infancy, and in the following year had the act amended to permit them to run a boat by horses to be called the Teamboat. This boat consisted of two boats or hulls united by a platform with a paddle between the boats. The deck was surmounted by a round house which contained a large cogwheel, arranged horizontally inside the round house, to which were attached 8 or 9 horses harnessed to iron stanchions coming down from the wheel. As the horses moved round, the wheel turned a crank which moved the paddle. It required about twenty minutes for this boat to reach Dartmouth from Halifax. It was considered an immense improvement on the old ferry boat arrangement, and the additional accommodation for cattle, carriages and horses was a great boon to the country people as well as to the citizens of Halifax, who heretofore had been compelled to employ Skerry's scow when it was found necessary to carry cattle or carriages from one side of the harbor to the other. The first trip of the Teamboat was made on the 8th November, 1816. The following year an outrage was committed which caused much excitement and feeling in the town. All the eight horses in the boat were stabbed by a young man named Hurst. No motive for this cruel act could be assigned, drunkenness alone appearing to be the cause. The culprit was tried for the offence and suffered a lengthy imprisonment. Mr. Skerry kept up a contest with the Company for several years, until all differences were arranged by his becoming united with the Company, and after a short time old age and a small fortune, accumulated by honest industry, removed him from the scene of his labors. The teamboat after a year or two received an addition to her speed by the erection of a mast in the centre of the round house, on which was hoisted a square sail when the wind was fair, and afterwards a topsail above, which gave her a most picturesque appearance on the water. This addition considerably facilitated her motion and relieved the horses from their hard labor. As traffic increased several small paddle boats were added by the Company, which received the appellation of Grinders. They had paddles at the sides like a steamboat, which were moved by a crank turned by two men. In 1818 the proprietors of the old ferries petitioned the House of Assembly against the Teamboat Company suing these small boats as contrary to the privilege given them by

the Act of Incorporation. It afterwards became a subject of litigation until the question was put an end to by Mr. Skerry becoming connected with the Company. Jos. Findlay continued to run his old boats from the south or lower ferry until about the year 1835.

On the 3rd August, the Man-of-War Brig *Vesta* arrived from England with the news of the Battle of Waterloo. The town was illuminated in honor of the victory, and the inhabitants kept up their rejoicings till a late hour in the evening. Preparations were made for a public dinner on the occasion, which took place at Mason Hall on the 15th. The Attorney General, R. J. Uniacke, took the chair and James Forman was Vice-President. The committee of management were Doctor William B. Almon, John Pyke, eldest son of old John Geo. Pyke, the custos. David Shaw Clarke, G. Lewis and John Howe, junior, John Albro, Thomas Heaviside, Edward Alport, Joseph Allison and William Bowie were the Stewards. Subscriptions had been opened throughout Great Britain and the Colonies for the families of those soldiers who were killed and wounded in the action. The Town of Halifax including the garrison and public officers contributed the large sum of £3,800.

This year an Act of the Legislature passed for regulating the appointment of Trustees and Master for the Grammar School of Halifax. The first Act establishing this school bears date 1780.

The refugee Negroes brought to Halifax by Admiral Cockburn had been in a great measure a burden upon the community. A proposition was made this year by the British Government to remove them to a warmer climate, but no steps appear to have been taken to effect the object. Had this suggestion been carried out at the time much suffering would have been spared to these poor people, and the inhabitants of Halifax relieved from a burden.

On 26th February a resolution passed the House of Assembly directing the commissioners of the poor to cause an account to be taken of the number of black persons in the Town and the environs, who were brought to this country from the United States of America. The following return, dated March 6th, was signed by Richard Tremaine, Chairman of the Committee :

	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
In the Town of Halifax	179	56	101	336
Windsor Road.....	11	14	26	51
Dartmouth and Preston	...	..	...	270
Mr. Fairbanks' Estate at Lake Porter .....	...	..	...	27
				684

The men and women with families were generally in need; none appear to have been located at Hammonds Plains at this time.

James Archibald was tried for the murder of Captain Benjamin Ellenwood of Liverpool, N. S., before Chief Justice Blowers, in Easter term of the Supreme Court at Halifax this year. He was convicted and executed soon after on the Common.

Another attempt to incorporate Halifax was now made. It will be seen that in 1785 the merchants of the town suggested the subject for the consideration of the Governor and Council, but they disapproved of the measure; again in 1790, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, in consequence of complaints regarding the settlement of the poor and the necessity of a police force, etc., drew up the following resolution, which was passed: "Resolved, that it be recommended to this House to present a humble address to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, to request that he will be pleased to grant a charter to the Town of Halifax for incorporating the same, and enabling the inhabitants thereof to make such by-laws as shall be sufficient to regulate the police of said town." No step, however, was taken by the Governor and Council relative to this resolution.

The merchants of the town had a meeting on the subject in 1816, which resulted in a definite proposition being made, in which all the details of the proposed charter were fully set out in a pamphlet of some length.

The following preface or introduction to this pamphlet affords a sketch of the plan proposed:

INTRODUCTION.

The following plan for regulating the municipal affairs of this town has been drawn up in the form of a charter, as the clearest and best method to express the extent of the proposed improvements. The objects have been pointed out by a thorough investigation into the various modes of con-

ducting the public business ; which was entered into in consequence of a presentment made by the Grand Jury to the Court of Quarter Sessions in the December Term of 1812. The Court having appointed six different investigating committees of the Magistrates to meet the various objects contemplated by the grand Jury, their several reports combined clearly prove the necessity of some reform ; but as it would now become an invidious as well as a useless task, to point out the *prevailing errors* of the present practice, which are but too evident to admit of a doubt, the gentlemen who have undertaken the task of sketching out the *means of improvement*, have left it to the Public to compare the one with the other.

It will be perceived by a perusal of the following sheets, that the Charter has but two leading objects—to establish regularity in business, and to define and extend the powers of the Magistrates and Grand Jury (acting as a Common Council) to the same limits as (and not a step beyond) the powers granted to all corporations within the King's Dominions.

The only novelty introduced is that of preserving a gradual change of the ruling members of the corporation, without incurring the unpleasant duty of the electing system. This is done by the appointment of ten magistrates to act as trustees, two of whom will go out and two others come in annually, and the appointment of the Grand Jury of the existing year, (or if it is preferred that of the last year, or a draft from the whole list until it is gone through), to act as a Common Council.

By these means the whole of the leading members of the community (likely to take an active part in the affairs of the town) will, in turn, partake of the duties of a respectable office, and become intimate, and thereby feel interested in its affairs. The various articles of consumption and of commerce will be better inspected than they are at present ; the revenues will be regularly attended to, and every desirable improvement in possession of other similar communities in His Majesty's Dominions will in time, no doubt be adopted.

The provisions of the Charter have been selected and drawn up with the utmost care to avoid objections by an attentive reference to the London, Philadelphia, New York and New Brunswick Charters, and the East Company's by-laws ; and the whole is arranged and worded agreeably to the most approved forms, in order to obviate any difficulties on the part of Government, or from local partialities.

In debating the merits of the following pages, these three queries will naturally occur to and guide every reflecting mind :

- 1st. Whether the present management requires any improvement ?
- 2nd. If so—is this an effectual plan ?
- 3rd. If not—what is better ?

N. B. When the terms of the Charter are agreed on and assented to by His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, it is proposed to apply to His Excellency to grant it for a term of three or five years by way of trial ; during which period such amendments may be made to it as experience shall point out to be necessary ;—after which, if it proves acceptable to the inhabitants, application may be made to renew it for another term of a few years, for the purpose of improving it still further, as its deficiencies may appear ; then the Charter may be made perpetual if the inhabitants approve of it. It will be necessary to have an Act of the General Assembly to confirm the Charter when first granted, and on every renewal of it.

Mr. Sabatier and a few others were principally concerned in endeavoring to forward the object, but the Governor and Council appear to have been still influenced by the belief that their own supervision of local affairs was preferable and better suited to the circumstances of the town at that time.

It will be seen that in the plan proposed the idea of a popular election of members of the corporation was not even thought of either by the Government or the people of the town.

CHAPTER VII.

1816. Soon after the peace the prosperity of Halifax began to wane. The price of provisions and all the necessaries of life, the value of real estate and the high rents of houses in the town all became more or less affected by the scarcity of money arising from the withdrawal of the troops and navy and the sudden alterations in trade. The reaction was not fully realized until about two years after peace was proclaimed, when the rapid fall off in the value of real estate and the sudden check given to commercial pursuits was found to have reduced many speculators to poverty.

Sir John Cope Sherbrooke having been appointed Governor General of Canada, the principal inhabitants of the town gave him a farewell dinner on 25th June. It was presided over by Chief Justice Blowers and the vice chair was occupied by Michael Wallace, the treasurer of the province. An address, largely signed by the inhabitants, was presented to the Governor on his departure. Sir John had rendered himself very popular in Halifax by his affable manners and his prompt and decisive way of treating all matters brought to his notice by the citizens. He embarked at the King's wharf on Thursday, 27th June, under a salute from the batteries and the cheers of the inhabitants.

The rough condition of the streets of the town at this period rendered immediate and extensive improvements necessary. Those in the least frequented parts of the town had been so much neglected that in many places they were impassable from the accumulation of rubbish and the broken condition of the wooden platforms or bridges at the gutters and crossings. In many places the streets were overgrown with grass except in the centre. Brunswick Street, though one of the principal highways of the town, was overgrown at each side with grass. Many of the old Dutch houses then still remaining in this street stood on banks a few feet above the sidewalk and where there were no buildings rough

stone walls or fences marked the line of the street. Water Street, from the continual traffic and wear during the period of the war, had been worn into holes and was in wet weather almost impassable from the accumulation of mud, particularly between the Ordnance Yard and the foot of Prince Street. The market square at this time, as also that portion of Water Street between Collins' Wharf and the King's Wharf, was much lower than at present. It was found necessary to pave this portion of Water Street, which was accordingly accomplished during the years 1816 and 1817. The pavement, which was with round stones, extended from the Ordnance to Black and Forsyth's Wharf, (later Mitchell's) at the foot of Prince Street. The Provincial Legislature contributed the sum of £1,200 towards the work, and the expense of flagging the sidewalks was charged to the owners of property fronting on the street. About the year 1835 this pavement had so sunk down as to be no protection from the accumulation of mud. The lower part of the market square bordering on Water Street and the way leading to the market slip or public landing were raised about five feet. Between 1820 and 1824 new Street Commissioners were appointed. The Macadamizing system began to be introduced and extensive improvements in the way of levelling the streets and filling up hollow places were proceeded with.

The Acadian School, conducted by Walter Bromley, had now been under way for about three years. It was inspected on 31st July. There were 400 children in attendance. On this occasion Mr. Bromley stated that since the opening of the school in 1813, eight hundred and ninety-three children had received instruction there, and about one hundred apprentices and colored children in the Sunday schools. The latter were under the special superintendence of Mr. Bromley himself, who devoted all his leisure to the instruction of the black children and others who could not attend school throughout the week. The small sum of £200 was voted annually by the Legislature in aid of this school. Subsequently a grant of money was made by the Assembly to the National School, which was about this time set on foot on the Madras system, under the auspices of the Bishop and members of the Church of England in Halifax, who had lately erected the large three-story building in Argyle Street, opposite the parade, for the purpose. In 1818 this

school had 117 children in attendance. The daily attendance at these two schools exceeded 500, which was a large number considering the extent of the population at this period.

The appointment of Dr. Robert Stanser, Rector of St. Paul's, to the Bishopric of Nova Scotia, vacant by the death of Bishop Charles Inglis, took place in 1817. Interest had been made with Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, and the Archbishop of Canterbury to have Dr. John Inglis, son of the late Bishop, appointed to the See. The appointment was said to have been arranged in favor of Dr. Inglis, but a recommendation from both branches of the Legislature then in session in favor of Dr. Stanser, their Chaplain, prevailed, and Dr. Inglis was appointed Rector of St. Paul's, vacant by the elevation of Stanser to the Bishopric. Dr. John Inglis proved a highly popular Rector; his bland manners and kind disposition rendered him a favorite with all classes and denominations, and when he afterwards, in 1825, obtained the Bishopric he carried with him to England addresses in his favor not only from his own parishioners, but largely signed by his friends among other denominations.

The remains of the old Bishop were brought to town from Aylesford, where he died, and buried under St. Paul's Church on the 29th February. The funeral was attended by the Governor, Sir J. C. Sherbroke, Sir John Wentworth, the retired Governor, His Majesty's Council and a large assemblage of the citizens. A monument to his memory is on the west side of the chancel of the church. 18

On the morning of the 18th April great excitement prevailed throughout the town in consequence of a murder which had been committed in one of the streets during the previous night. Capt. Westmacott of the Royal Engineers who, as officer of the night, was going his rounds on horseback to visit the guards, met two men in Sackville Street whom he challenged in consequence of their suspicious appearance. They immediately attacked him and by a sudden effort threw him from his horse, having first wounded him fatally with a bayonet. He lingered until the 4th day of May, when he died. The murderers were soon after discovered and proved to be two soldiers, deserters from one of the regiments in garrison. They had been stealing fish through the night from a

store on one of the wharves. They were identified by the Captain and, being tried and convicted of the murder, were executed on the Common.

The Nova Scotia Fensible Regiment, after the close of the war, remained in Canada for some time. Early in June of this year they embarked at Quebec for Halifax. The transport in approaching Halifax ran upon a reef of rocks known as Jeddore ledges, which lies off the harbour of that name eastward from Halifax. The weather was calm and the troops were landed in safety, with the exception of four private soldiers, two women and several children, but with the loss of considerable part of the baggage. It was found on landing the men that the tide was rising, and that in all probability the greater part of the ledge would be covered at high water. It was proposed that the women and children should be first landed and placed on the higher part of the rock. But on the soldiers perceiving that Colonel Darling, who commanded the Regiment, and several of the officers were intending to avail themselves of the higher parts of the ledge, immediately declared that all officers should be compelled to remain with their respective companies and share the fate of their men. One officer, a captain, is said to have shown symptoms of impatience or something worse on the occasion, and abandoned his wife and family and his men, seeking shelter for himself on the rocks amidst the reproaches and jeers of his comrades. The Regiment was, however, successfully landed on the ledges, chiefly through the heroic exertions of the Adjutant-Lieutenant Stewart, who volunteered to carry a cable from the bowsprit of the ship to the rock, when having there made it fast the sailors were enabled to construct means for landing the men in safety. Part of the Regiment was brought to Halifax in coasting vessels about the first July, and others found their way by land, having been brought on shore from the rocks by the fishermen of the neighbourhood. Col. Darling and some others being displeased at all the credit of the exploit being attached to Lt. Stewart, who was probably not a favorite of the Colonel, brought him to a Court-Martial for some trifling offence supposed to have been a breach of orders, and it is said he was compelled to leave the Regiment.

Two very extensive fires occurred at Halifax this year. One on the 8th October, remembered as the "Haliburton" fire in conse-

quence of the brick building at the corner of Hollis and Sackville Streets owned by Mr. George Haliburton, having been the first house consumed. The fire destroyed nearly the whole block from Haliburton's corner to where Mrs. Howard's new stone building stands, on the east or lower side of Hollis street. All the buildings on Sackville Street down to the corner known as Reynolds' corner, and the whole of the buildings on the upper or Western side of Bedford Row were consumed. The fire commenced at ten o'clock in the evening and continued to rage until six o'clock next morning. It was considered the most disastrous fire that had ever occurred in Halifax. The old buildings were all of wood except Haliburton's corner house. The block was soon rebuilt with a better description of buildings. Mr. W. K. Reynolds erected a fine stone store at the corner of Sackville Street and Bedford Row, which still remains; this was far the finest store in Halifax at the time. A range of brick buildings along Bedford Row were at the same time erected by the late Nicholas Vass. Haliburton's corner was also rebuilt of brick, and the buildings on Hollis street, the property of Mr. LeNoir and others, were built about the same time by the late Judge William Hill and his brother T. T. Hill, then both at the Halifax Bar. Several old wooden houses were pulled down during the fire by order of the firewards to prevent the spread of the fire. The town was assessed to pay the damage. The other fire was on Water Street at Creighton and Grassie's wharf. It occurred in the night of 17th December, during very cold weather. All the stores at and near the head of the wharf were consumed, and the fire extended to buildings on the opposite side of the street. Mr. Grassie rebuilt with brick and stone, and afterwards lined the shutters of his new store with sheet iron.

The Earl of Dalhousie, a Scotch nobleman, who had distinguished himself in the Spanish campaign as a general of Division under Lord Wellington, had been appointed to succeed Sir J. Cope Sherbrooke in the Government. He arrived in Halifax on 24th October, 1816, in the Frigate Forthe. Lord and Lady Dalhousie, immediately after their arrival, landed in state and proceeded to the Council Chamber under a salute from the Citadel attended by the heads of Departments, civil and military, when the Earl was sworn

into office in presence of His Majesty's Council. The troops lined the way from the King's wharf to Cochran's building where the Council Chamber was then situated.

There had been no theatrical performances worthy of mention in the town since the Duke of Kent's old theatre in Argyle Street had been appropriated to the school under Mr. Bromley. In the autumn of this year a company of players, Messrs. Price, Chamock, Placide, etc., fitted up an old store on Fairbank's wharf as a theatre. Placide, Price and Mrs. Young were considered good performers and attracted large audiences. At the close of their career the manager got into jail for debt, when Placide, the best comic actor of the company, distinguished himself by escaping from prison and passing the sentry at the jail gate in the night, who supposed it was a Newfoundland dog, Mr. Placide being famous for imitating the bark and whine of the canine species.

1817. The winter of 1816-17 was much more severe than that of the preceding year. The south-east passage was closed with ice all winter, and the ice remained until late in April. Great distress prevailed in the town as usual among the laboring classes during this winter, which was also the case throughout the whole Province. The sum of £600 was contributed this winter by the inhabitants of Halifax for the support of destitute emigrants who had been brought up from Newfoundland.

An attempt was made by the Legislature in their session of 1817 to relieve the pressing necessities of the county by an Act authorizing the Governor and Council to procure copper coin to the value of £2,000 to be issued from the provincial treasury. The Act was disallowed by the Colonial Secretary in England. No good reason appears to have been assigned for its rejection. The circulating medium at this time in the town and throughout the country was Spanish doubloons, old Spanish dollars, pistareens and other small Spanish coins, with a mixed collection of copper coinage, English and Spanish, with all kinds of half-penny tokens issued by private individuals in the town. No British coinage ever reached Halifax except the old English Guinea. The troops were paid in old Spanish money, which was brought from South America and the West Indies by the merchants in exchange for their cargoes of fish with occasional importations of Spanish silver by the British

Government for the troops, etc. An issue of paper money was at this time made under an Act of the province.

It was in the year 1817 that the project was first broached for the establishment and erection of a college on the Grand Parade.

The sum of £9,750 was then remaining in the hands of the Governor from the revenues collected at Castine while the State of Maine was in the hands of the British troops. This sum Lord Dalhousie obtained the permission of the Colonial Secretary to appropriate towards the erection of a college in Halifax on the model of the Scotch Universities. The professors were to receive moderate salaries. The students were not to reside in the college building, but only to attend courses of lectures which were to be open to all students and all else who might feel disposed to purchase tickets for the courses.

This winter the theatre on Fairbanks' wharf was again in operation and as attractive as ever. Miss Powell was at this time giving lessons in dancing. She gave her spring ball at Mason Hall on 21st May. This lady, who was patronized by the fashionable part of the community, was the daughter of Mr. Powell who conducted the theatre in Argyle Street when under the patronage of the Duke of Kent. She lived many years in Halifax and died at an advanced age, having been dependent on the charity of her friends for several years before her death.

The naval force on the station had now been reduced to a few ships under the command of Rear Admiral Sir David Milne, father of Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Milne, who some time since commanded on the North American Station. Sir David's flagship was the Leopard, Frigate.

It may here be noticed that the British and Foreign Bible Society had lately organized a branch in Halifax. The second annual meeting of the branch society took place on the 5th May. It was attended by the Earl of Dalhousie, who occupied the chair, and a number of officials. The chief speakers on the occasion were Judge James Stewart, the Rev. Dr. Archibald Gray, of St. Matthew's, and Judge Wilkins. Martin Gay Black was treasurer and Walter Bromley, secretary. Mr. Black continued to act as treasurer of this society to the year of his death. The Speaker of the House of

Assembly and a number of the members of the House were also present on this occasion.

The great destitution of the laboring part of the population during the winter, as usual, rendered it necessary on behalf of the Commissioners of the Poor for the town to call on the inhabitants for contributions in addition to the annual poor rate assessed. The poor house at Halifax was then, as has been the case frequently since, the receptacle for transient paupers from the country, and the sum of £300 was voted this year by the House of Assembly towards the expenses of the establishment.

The charitable societies of St. Patrick and St. Andrew dined together on the respective anniversaries of their patron saints. Richard J. Uniacke, the Attorney General, occupied the chair at the St. Patrick's dinner, and Dr. Samuel Head the Vice. The Governor, Mr. Philip Woodhouse, the Commissioner of the Dockyard, the Bishop of Nova Scotia, the Commanding Officers of the Garrison and other distinguished guests were present at both dinners.

A fire occurred in the southern part of Granville Street this winter, which destroyed the chocolate manufactory of Mr. John Ferguson and his dwelling house. The fire companies of Halifax at this time were, perhaps, the most useful institutions in the community. These companies consisted of several hundred gentlemen each, who formed themselves into a company for the purpose of rendering assistance at fires. Each member provided himself with a leather cap, two or three buckets, canvas bags, etc., on which were painted the name of the owner and device of the company. The members were elected by ballot. They held quarterly meetings and occasionally dined together, and gave annual balls at Mason Hall. The Heart and Hand and the Hand in Hand Companies were the oldest, but the Sunfire Company was the most exclusive. The Phoenix Company was also very efficient, being composed chiefly of young tradesmen of the town. The Engine Company was a very ancient institution, and tolerably efficient, considering the kind of machinery they had to work with. The Axe Company, as now, was composed of carpenters and others suitable for such work at fires. It was customary for the soldiers in garrison to turn out at fires and form lines with the inhabitants for the conveyance of

water by buckets, handed through the lines from the harbor or the wells and tanks of the town. One feature which is now never seen at fires was the guard which was furnished by the military to take charge of the property removed to the streets from the burning houses. Scarcely a pile of furniture or goods could be observed without a sentry over it with fixed bayonet pacing up and down. The supply of water was principally drawn from the wells and pumps which were kept in order by the Magistrates of the town. These pumps have been before noticed. The inhabitants of the suburbs, however, depended for good water on their private wells. Almost every house in Brunswick and Lockman Streets had a good well in the garden or near the house. The north suburb lots were of very large dimensions; fruit gardens were numerous; the plum, the Dutch cherry and red and black currants were raised in abundance. The caterpillar and other vermin which now infest the fruit gardens had then not been imported.

Among the names of merchants who were carrying on business this year in Halifax we notice those of John Pryor, father of the late City Judge, Henry Pryor, William Strachan, White, Creighton & Co., Ironware Merchants, Wallace & Russell, Hardware and Wines, at the corner of Hollis and Prince Streets, now occupied by the Union Bank; Prescott & Calkin, Fruits, etc., in Granville Street; James Leishman & Co., Woolen Ware, lately from Glasgow; Hartshorne, Boggs & Co., Hardware, etc., at the old stand, corner of Granville and George Streets, and S. & W. DeBlois at the opposite corner. The firm of Hartshorne & Boggs existed for many years. The head of the firm, the Hon. Lawrence Hartshorne, retiring from business, the name was altered to Boggs & Hartshorne; the late Thomas Boggs became head of the business and Lawrence Hartshorne, Jr., afterwards County Treasurer, was junior partner. The business continued until the old corner building was taken down, about the year 184-, and replaced by the fine stone edifice erected by Mr. George E. Morton on the site.

Scarff & Bain, afterwards James Bain* & Co., carried on an extensive importing business at the corner now occupied by W. & C. Silver. James Romans, Boots and Shoes, who succeeded Mr.

* Mr. Bain married a daughter of the late Benjamin Salter and grand daughter of Malachi Salter, one of the first Members of Assembly for Halifax, the ancestor of Mr. Benjamin Salter of this city.

McNab at the old corner of Granville and Prince Streets, lately owned by Mr. Robert Romans, who succeeded his father in the business; John Witham and Thomas Donaldson, the former Groceries and Wines, the latter Confectionery, were fashionable resorts on the lower side of Granville Street. Mrs. Jane Donaldson carried on the business after the death of her husband and finally retired to her residence at Birch Cove on the Basin, which had been purchased from the late Andrew Belcher on his leaving the province for England. Sherwood, which was built by Bishop Stanser, was also the property of Mrs. Donaldson. The late William Donaldson afterwards sold it to Thomas Kenny, Esq. James Donaldson, the brother of Donaldson of Granville Street, was also a Confectioner and carried on business at the corner of George and Barrington Streets, now occupied by Cragg Bros., opposite the Parade, and was afterwards succeeded by the late Adam ~~Esson~~. The principal auctioneers were Bowie & DeBlois, Moody & Boyle, Fillis & Perkins, and Charles Hill & Co. The latter carried on business in Bedford Row near the corner of Sackville Street. Among the dry goods stores were Israel Allison & Co., Carnot & Alport, where Mr. Duffus afterwards erected his stone building; Thomas Cleary, M. G. Black, Winkworth Allen & Co., in Cochran's Buildings near the market. Among the importing and West India merchants, Abram Cunard & Co., Lawrence Doyle, Collins & Allison, Collins' Wharf; James Forman, Sr., James and Michael Tobin, Tobin's Wharf; Thom, Salter & Co., Ship Chandlery.

A court for the summary trial of actions in the town was established this year. The Commissioners named by the Governor and Council were James Forman, Richard Tremain, William Minns, Charles Boggs and James Tobin. The Commission bears date in April of this year.

In addition to the public schools before mentioned, Mr. Thomas Crosskill kept a good school for young men in rear of the Acadian School, entrance from Barrington Street; his classes were more advanced than those of Mr. Bromley. Mr. Addison kept his classical academy in Marchington's Lane. There were several schools for young girls. Miss Wenman kept a school for small children in Granville Street; she was one of those who were burned out in the great fire before mentioned. Mrs. Henry in Barrington

Street and Mrs. McCage, for young ladies, also in Barrington Street, in the brick house lately the property of Mrs. Doctor Slayter.

On the 25th April, 1818, a public meeting was called to petition the British Government to make Halifax a free port so that foreigners might have access and take cargoes of the produce of the country or merchandise imported into it; accordingly, on the 27th May, an order of the Prince Regent in Council was obtained making Halifax and St. John, New Brunswick, free ports. Halifax was declared by proclamation of the Governor bearing date August 13th.

At the request of the inhabitants of the town an Act of the Legislature was obtained this year authorizing the leasing of 25 acres of the Common for a period of 999 years at a small ground rent. The lots were each 60 feet in front by 330 feet deep. These lots were gradually disposed of and the broad street known as Spring Garden Road was laid out with the lots fronting on it. Very few of these lots were built on at first, and not until many years after was there any appearance of improvement in this part of the town. The only residence westward of the General's quarters was the house of old Colonel Pyke, the Police Magistrate, which stood in the field next his brewery.

About this time the late John Stayner, of Water Street, commenced to erect the building known as Brookside, afterwards the residence of the late Hon. Joseph Allison. Many years afterwards John Spry Morris, the Surveyor General, erected the building, and planted the trees, lately occupied by D. Cronan. The fields on the west side of Queen Street, opposite the General's quarters, known as Pedley's Fields, or Smidtvilleville, were not then built upon and the whole space from the present line of Queen Street to the Tower Road was occupied as pasture for cattle. Queen Street led up to Fort Massey military burial ground; it was covered with grass and seldom used except for military funerals.

Owing to the frequent alarms of fire and other disturbances in the town this winter, the Magistrates made application to the Legislature for an Act to establish a night watch, and accordingly, on the 5th May, a nightly watch was established by order of the Governor and Council for three months.

During the spring of 1818 and the previous autumn, several vessels arrived in this port with emigrants from Europe, many of whom were found to be in a most destitute condition. They could not be permitted to remain a burden on the town and the Governor and Council advanced funds to assist their removal to the country, and Mr. Samuel Cunard and Mr. Michael Tobin were intrusted with the funds for the purpose.

“On the 9th February there remained of these emigrants in town only 20 families and 30 single men. Their distress and that of the humbler classes in the town this winter induced the Governor to place £100 more in the hands of Messrs. Tobin and Cunard to be used by them to mitigate the suffering of the poor in general. They, in consequence, established for a time a public soup house, beginning with 50 gallons of soup a day; but in three days they were obliged to double the quantity, finding that 50 pounds beef and vegetables, producing 100 gallons a day, did not more than answer the demand. The fitting up of the place and eight days’ issue cost over £50, and they supposed the money would be all gone in a fortnight more. They attended constantly in person at the daily issues and say that 500 daily partook of the gift. They estimated that £200 more would be required to keep up the establishment until the pressure of want should be alleviated in some other way. The first £50 was paid out of the Arms Fund, £100 from the Treasury, and the House voted £200 on 10th February for temporary relief of the poor at Halifax.”—[Murdoch.]

Eight armed fishing vessels were seized this summer by the ships of war on the station, and brought into the Harbor of Halifax. Five were released and three condemned in the Court of Vice-Admiralty.

A general election occurred this year, The poll for the County and Town of Halifax was opened at the County Court House on Monday, 15th June, and continued until Wednesday, when one of the candidates, Mr. Richard Kidston, having withdrawn, the other two, Mr. John Albro’ and Mr. H. H. Cogswell were returned. Capt. Thomas Maynard, R. N., was Sheriff this year. He resided in the old house in Jacob Street formerly known as the Grenadier

Fort, which stood on the spot where the Trinity Church has since been erected.

Among the events of the year worthy of notice was the appearance of Anthony H. Holland, proprietor of the *Acadian Recorder* newspaper, (which had been established in 1813) at the Bar of the Assembly to answer charges of having published severe animadversions on public affairs, particularly from some remarks relative to Edward Mortimer, one of the County members, for which Mr. Holland suffered a short imprisonment. This affair, with the letters of *Agricola*, which now began to appear in the same paper brought that paper into public notice.

A Bill was introduced into the House of Assembly this session by Mr. Shaw, who resided near the Three Mile House, for lighting Water Street, but it does not appear that the object was effected.

Paper money, issued from the Provincial Treasury, had been for some time in circulation and had to some extent taken the place of the Spanish Silver, which had been, heretofore, the only circulating medium in the town.

During the month of February this year, the harbor was blocked up with float ice as far down as George's Island. Between 13th and 20th, persons crossed from Dartmouth on the ice at the Narrows.

In the "good old days when George the Third was king," his birthday, the 4th June, was celebrated with great enthusiasm at Halifax. A levy at Government House, a review of the troops, and sometimes the militia on the common, and a royal salute from the Battery and shipping in harbor, terminating with a ball in the evening.

This year the officers of the 3rd Halifax militia regiment gave a dinner at the Exchange Coffee House in the large room lately occupied by the Corporation as a Council Chamber. The North British Society also dined together on St. Andrew's day at Masons' hall. Lord Dalhousie, and all the heads of departments, civil and military, and Bishop Burke attended. Judge Brenton Halliburton was President, and Geo. Mitchell Vice-president.

Dr. Burke had been officiating priest at St. Peter's, the old Roman Catholic church which stood on the present St. Mary's grounds at the head of Salter Street. He was this year appointed Bishop for this province under the title of Bishop of Zion. He was consecrated

at Quebec on the 5th July. Dr. Burke was a very popular clergyman, was highly thought of in the town and was very remarkable for his hospitality, great benevolence, and Christian self-denial and care for the poor. Though on several occasions engaged in theological controversies with Dr. McCulloch of Pictou and others, he never permitted those differences of opinion to interfere with that kindly and gentlemanly intercourse with his friends for which he was so remarkable.

On the 15th December this year the Agricultural Society of Nova Scotia was inaugurated at a public meeting held at Masons' Hall. The Earl of Dalhousie presided, the Hon. S. B. Robie, Judge Brenton Halliburton, Rev. Dr. Inglis, afterwards Bishop, and S. G. W. Archibald addressed the meeting. Resolutions were passed for the organization of the society, Lord Dalhousie appointed President, and John Young, the author of the letters of Agricola, was appointed Secretary with a good salary. Chief Justice Blowers was named as Vice-president, and a Committee of twenty named to manage the business.

Mr. Placide's theatre at Fairbanks' wharf was again in full operation this winter; Mrs. Young was the favorite actress, and young Mr. William Blake, a native of the town who joined the Company, acquired much popularity. Mr. Blake afterwards visited Halifax as manager of a company of play actors, about 1830 or '31.

Mr. John Black* and James Fraser, two wealthy Halifax merchants, were this year appointed to His Majesty's Council. Mr. Black was senior member of the firm of Black, Forsythe & Co., afterwards known as Fiddis, May & Robinson. This business was carried on for many years on the wharf at the foot of Prince Street, lately the property of George Mitchell. Mr. Fraser† carried on business near Commercial wharf. His residence was on the upper side of Water Street nearly opposite his place of business. His

*Mr. Black's daughter was the wife of the late Hon. Jas. B. Uniacke. Mr. B. built the handsome stone mansion near Government House in Hollis Street, afterwards the residence of Bishop Binney. The granite with which this house was built was brought from Aberdeenshire. Mr. William Black, his son, removed to Scotland.

†The Hon. James Fraser married a daughter of Mr. DeWolf of Windsor, his eldest son James D. Fraser, was for many years member of Assembly for Windsor, and his second son was Dr. Benjamin D. Fraser, of Windsor. His eldest daughter married Hon. Chas. Gore, afterwards Gen. Sir Chas. Gore, G. C. B., and her daughter married the Earl of Errol, a Scotch peer. Another daughter became the wife of the Right Rev. Dr. Suther, Bishop of Aberdeen.

garden extended into Argyle Street, and occupied the space on which the Salem Chapel stood.

CENSUS OF THE TOWN OF HALIFAX, TAKEN 1816-17.

Men, 3114, males under 16 years of age, 2120, Total males	5234
Females, total	5177
	<hr/>
	10411
Colored population, males 391, females 324	745
	<hr/>
Total population of the town	11156

MEMO :—Population in 1752,—4249.

“ “ 1791,—4897.

In the spring of 1819 the excavations at the north end of the Grand Parade were commenced for the erection of Dalhousie College. A grant under the great seal of the province, of a part of the parade ground had been made to Trustees as a site for the college in August 1818. The Legislature at their sitting in February, voted £2000 towards the erection of the building and a sum of £3000, part of the Castine fund before mentioned, was also appropriated to the building, the balance together with an additional vote of £2000 from the province being invested for the support of the college.

The space known as the Grand Parade had been reserved for military and other necessary purposes on laying out the town in 1749. It had never been military property or claimed by the military authorities, but was originally reserved as a place of muster for the militia of the town, though used also by the King's troops for mounting guard. An old building originally erected on the upper side of the space next Argyle Street for an Artillery barrack, was remaining there as late as 1777, and ranges of cannon appear in front of it in the old pictures of the town about that date. Prince Edward when General Commanding at Halifax had the parade ground walled up and a new rail or fence erected. The surface was levelled and the wall built at the north end bringing the surface high above Duke and Barrington streets; ice houses were built under this wall which were occupied by Mrs. Jane Donaldson, Confectioner of Granville street. This wall was removed to make way for the foundation of the college building. It had always been asserted as a right on the part of the inhabitants of the town, that a free, unobstructed way for foot passengers should be kept open

across the centre of the old parade from one part of George street to the other, and wooden steps had been provided soon after the wall along the upper side had been erected and a gate and turn stile at the town side for the accommodation of the public.* There was a high wooden rail around the parade painted red.

The Province Building being now finished, the Courts of Justice and the Public Offices were removed from Cochran's building, and the Legislature, which met on the 11th February, took possession of the chambers appropriated to the Council and Assembly with all due ceremony.

The reduction of the Dockyard establishment this year was a great loss to the town. A large force of workmen were discharged, many of whom were thrown out of employ without any provision from government.

The project for the removal of the Dockyard to Bermuda was found in many respects not to have realized the advantages contemplated by the change. It was removed at the time that one of the Admirals on the Station had taken offence at some occurrences in the town and had used his influence to effect the change.

A few years afterwards the Shears, a gigantic apparatus at the Dockyard, for throwing down vessels, was demolished. The Shears

* The Grand Parade as it is called, like other spaces reserved in 1749 for public purpose, such as the old burial ground, public landing, the common, etc., had been used for the purpose to which it was originally appropriated but the title had been supposed not to have passed out of the Crown. Towards the close of the last century it was thought advisable to vest all the public property in Trustees under several grants from the Crown for that purpose; accordingly a grant was made of the parade ground to certain public officials and their successors in office, to be held by them for the public purposes for which it had been originally reserved. This grant with all the others had been constructed under the supervision of old Attorney General Uniacke and of Chief Justice Blowers, but it having been afterwards discovered that none of the public officials to whom it was granted possessed the corporate powers and therefore had no succession in law, and the original incumbents at the time of the grant being all dead, it was concluded that the title had lapsed to the Crown. Lord Dalhousie, Mr. Wallace and a few others, in their exuberant zeal for the erection of a college on the Scotch model, undertook to have another grant from the Crown passed of the whole or part of the parade ground to the Governors of the College, reserving, it is understood, certain privileges over a portion of the ground to the public.

The Governors of Dalhousie College claimed under this grant. The City contends that the old grant was not forfeited and that this space among other public property appertaining to the town was under the Act of Incorporation turned over to the city. That in order to create a legal forfeiture there must be process of Escheat gone through, and further, that though the public functionaries to whom it was granted were not possessed of corporate rights or had any succession of their offices in law, yet the fact of their having been by Royal patent constituted trustees of the property, by inference of law the Crown intended to make them a corporation for that particular purpose, and that their successors in the various offices they held, or the successor of any one of them, would possess the power of supporting the grant. Otherwise the object of the Crown in making the grant would be defeated, and as Crown grants are always constituted in law most favorably for the Crown, it might be inferred that the Crown intended to support its grant by constituting those public officers and their successors in office a corporation with succession for that special purpose. Later the dispute was settled by private arrangement.

was a very conspicuous object, and stood so high that it could be seen from most parts of the town. It is still in the recollection of many of our older citizens. The Royal Standard floated from the staff which surmounted the Shears on the King's and Queen's birthdays and other public holidays. The Dockyard of Halifax, as mentioned in a previous chapter, was first established in the year 1758. The present wall was first erected in 1769 and bears the date of 1770 over the gate, but it has been improved and some portions rebuilt since that time.

Anthony H. Holland, built a paper mill at the head of the Basin this year, on the stream near the opening of the Hammonds Plains Road. The paper made here was used for his newspaper, and the various pamphlets which issued from Holland's press and occasionally by other newspapers. It was of a very inferior quality. The brown paper, however, used for shop purposes, was of a tolerably good description. It was the first paper manufactory set on foot in Nova Scotia. It was kept up for many years after the death of Holland.

On the night of the 11th of November a fire broke out in the Naval Hospital adjoining the Dockyard, which destroyed several buildings. In consequence of the removal of the Naval Station the space remained unbuilt on for many years.

The Magistrates of the town, in session in December, voted a portrait of Chief Justice Blowers. It was painted by a Mr. Drake in full dress, wig, and scarlet gown. This picture occupies a place in the Legislative Chamber, with that of Chief Justice Sir Thomas Strange, by Benjamin West, late President of the Royal Academy.

Among the promotions which appeared in the Royal Gazette this year we find the appointment of Mr. Hibbert N. Binney* to His Majesty's Council.

An event occurred in the month of July which cast a gloom over the whole community. Mr. Richard J. Uniacke, junior son of the Attorney-General of that name, a member of the Bar, in his address to the jury at a trial before the Supreme Court, made some observations offensive to Mr. William Bowie, of the firm of Bowie and

*Mr. Binney was a native of the town. He was the father of the late Edward Binney and Grandfather of the late Bishop of Nova Scotia. His residence was at the corner of Hollis and Salter Streets, opposite that of the late Honorable William Lawson. The old house was removed some years since to make way for a range of wooden three-story buildings, erected by Henry G. Hill, along the east side of Hollis Street. Mr. Binney was many years Collector of Imports and Excise at Halifax.

DeBlois; a challenge from Mr. Bowie was the consequence, and on the morning of Wednesday, following the 21st July, the community was startled by the announcement that Mr. Bowie had been mortally wounded. The duel was fought in the grove at the Governor's north farm, near the Lady Hammond Road. Mr. Bowie was carried to the house at the corner, then or afterwards occupied by Mrs. McNeil as a tea house, where he died in a few hours, the bullet having entered his right side below the rib. Mr. Uniacke and the two seconds, Stephen W. DeBlois and Edward McSweeney, were indicted for murder and tried the same term, and were acquitted by the jury of the capital offence. This was the first criminal trial of importance which took place in the Province Building. The Court Room at the time, now the Legislative Library, comprised the three rooms overhead, lately used by the keeper of the building. A large gallery then surrounded the Court Room on three sides. This gallery was removed in 1827 or 1828, the height of the Court Room reduced, and the upper space made into three rooms, which were appropriated to the Law Library, Admiralty Records, etc. This unfortunate duel excited much feeling in the town, and some blame was attached to the seconds who promoted or advised the parties to fire a second time, when a reconciliation might have been effected. The combatants were both gentlemen highly esteemed for their amiable qualities. Bowie was a handsome young man and very popular for his social qualities. He was buried from his lodgings in town, and his funeral was said to have been more numerously attended than any within the recollection of the oldest inhabitants. Mr. Uniacke afterwards became a Judge of the Supreme Court. The recollection of the sad event is supposed to have shortened his life. He died at the early age of 45. Judge Uniacke was one of the handsomest men Halifax ever produced, and was more popular than any other of his family, several of whom were in public positions.

1820. On 7th April, King George IV. was proclaimed at Halifax. The ceremony was performed by the Governor, Council, and such Members of the House of Assembly as remained in town, together with the Magistrates, the Grand Jury, and a number of private citizens, proceeding to the Council Chamber, where the proclamation was signed by the Governor, Councillors, and others. David Shaw

Clarke, the Clerk of the Peace, acted as Herald, accompanied by the High Sheriff in a carriage, escorted by a body of troops. The proclamation was read by the Herald in the Market Square, at St. Paul's Church, and on the Military Parade in Brunswick Street in front of the officers' old barracks. A royal salute was fired and the procession then returned to the Province Building, where the proclamation was again read. The Royal Standard, which had been flying on the citadel, was then lowered to half-mast and minute guns fired from George's Island, there being none mounted on the hill at the time on account of the decease of the late King George III. Sermons were preached in all the places of worship and the inhabitants of the town went into mourning.

The House of Assembly, being dissolved by the death of the Sovereign, a public meeting of the freeholders of the Township was held at the Exchange* Coffee House on the 3rd May for the nomination of the candidates to represent the town. Richard Tremaine, Esq., was called to the chair. Mr. Stephen W. DeBlois nominated John Pryor and George Grassie. Mr. Cogswell, the former member, retired, as also Mr. James Forman and Mr. John Young, both of whom had been suggested. John Albro', one of the former members, led the poll at the close of the election, Pryor and Grassie stood even. Captain Maynard, the Sheriff, made a special return of the facts. It was said that the last vote polled was that of the Sheriff, who first declared the poll closed and then voted for Mr. Grassie, which placed the candidates even. On the validity of his vote rested the question of the majority. The election lasted three days and closed on Saturday evening. At the close the poll stood, Albro, 453; Grassie and Pryor, each 395. Freeholders or owners of real estate only had the privilege of voting at this period. The new House met on 12th November following, and Mr. Pryor having died in the interim the House ordered the return of Mr. Grassie.

William Lawson, Simon B. Robie, Samuel G. W. Archibald, and George Smith were returned for the County. Mr. Robie was elected Speaker of the new House. Mr. Smith resided in Pictou, the other three in Halifax. Pictou and Colechester then formed part of the County of Halifax.

*The building afterwards used as the City Hall was then called the Exchange.

X
The walls of the new College had now been built up even with the surface of the parade ground, and it was arranged that the corner stone should be laid with proper ceremony by Lord Dalhousie, the patron and originator of the scheme. Accordingly, on the 22nd May, 1820, the troops in the garrison were turned out and formed a double line from the Province Building to the Grand Parade. The Freemasons, under the Grand Master, John George Pyke, proceeded from Mason Hall along Barrington Street and formed a square on the Parade. About 2 o'clock, Governor Dalhousie, the Admiral, the officers of the Governor's Staff, with the Members of His Majesty's Council, the Magistrates of the town, and a number of leading inhabitants, proceeded through the line of troops to the south-east corner of the building. Dr. J. T. Twining, the Grand Chaplain, offered a prayer, after which a brass plate containing the necessary inscriptions and a quantity of coins, were placed under the stone, after which the Earl addressed the meeting and explained the objects contemplated in erecting the college. The stone was then laid with all due Masonic ceremony. A royal salute was fired from the forts and the whole was concluded by a ball and supper at Government House.

On the 24th May, the corner stone of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church was laid with full religious ceremonies by Bishop Burke. The old church of St. Peter, usually known as "the chapel" was a small wooden building painted red. It stood opposite the head of Salter Street, inside a rail, and was approached by a gate and turn stile. This old building was the first Roman Catholic place of worship in Halifax. It was built some time between 1785 and 1790. It was removed soon after the new building was ready for occupation.

On the 29th November, Bishop Burke died in the 78th year of his age. He was laid out in state in his Episcopal robes and mitre for several days. Bishop Burke was succeeded by Dr. Fraser, Bishop of Tanen in partibus. He resided at Antigonish. Mr. Miniot was parish priest at this time; he was succeeded by Mr. O'Brien and afterwards by Mr. Lochnan, etc., until the appointment of Bishop Walsh. The St. Mary's Cathedral crept on slowly for many years for want of funds, but was finished according to the original plan about the time of the appointment of Bishop Walsh.

The Earl of Dalhousie having been appointed Governor General of Canada on the death of the Duke of Richmond, a farewell ball was given to him and his Countess by the officers of the garrison on 28th May, and on 31st the inhabitants presented him with an address. On the first of June, his successor in the Government, Sir James Kempt, arrived at Halifax in the *Phaeton*, frigate, Capt. Montague, 42 days from England. He landed at the King's Wharf, and was driven to Government House. At 3 o'clock the same day he went to the Council Chamber, where he was sworn into office.

On the 5th, Lord Dalhousie embarked for Canada. The flank companies of the First Halifax Regiment of Militia, under the command of Capts. John Liddell and John Pyke, attended on the wharf as a guard of honor. Sir James Kempt brought with him as A. D. C., Major Charles Gore, afterwards General Sir C. Gore, G. C. B., Lord Frederick Lenox, a younger son of the Duke of Richmond, who lately died in Canada, and Major Couper, afterwards Sir George Couper, Comptroller of the Household of the Duchess of Kent, the Queen's mother. Sir James Kempt was one of Lord Wellington's Officers in the peninsular war. He commanded a brigade at the Battle of Waterloo, and after the death of Sir Thomas Picton, the General of Division, who was killed early in the action, the command of the division fell to him.

The only other occurrences worthy of notice during this year were the dinner given to Governor Dalhousie by the inhabitants of the town, which took place at Masons' Hall on 17th June, the Hon. Michael Wallace in the chair, and John George Pyke, Vice. Sir John Wentworth, Baronet, the former Governor, died this year at his residence, Mrs. Flieger's, Hollis Street. His death took place on 8th April. He was in his 84th year. He was succeeded in his Baronetcy by his son, Charles Mary Wentworth, a native of Halifax, who had retired to England, where he held some subordinate office under Government. At his death, unmarried, the title became extinct. By his will, he gave the old villa and grounds on the Basin, built by the Duke of Kent, to Mrs. Gore, the novelist, who was a distant relative of his family.

A Fair and Cattle show was held by the Agricultural Society on 6th September on Camp Hill. The Governor distributed the prizes.

John Young,[†] John Albro', William Young, John Starr, Peter McNab and Frederick Major, Esquires, were Judges of the cattle.

1820-21. This winter was, if anything, more severe than the three preceding. Early in January the harbor became frozen over, and by the 20th the ice extended to Meagher's Beach and was sufficiently strong to bear sleighs. By the 27th the ice formed a firm bridge between Halifax and Dartmouth, over which a continuous line of sleighs, teams and foot passengers might be seen on market days. Skating and sleighing parties were numerous. The Governor, Sir James Kempt, drove tandem almost to McNab's Island, and the double sleigh of Judge Brenton Halliburton, in passing over a weak spot in the ice, fell through but was rescued without damage to the horses or the ladies in the sleigh. The navigation was completely stopped for several weeks. A passage was, however, cut from Cunard's wharf to the mouth of the harbor with much labor and expense, to permit the Government Brig Chebucto to proceed on her cruise. This little brig was owned by A. Cunard & Sons, and was employed by the Imperial Government in cruising along the shores of the province to protect the fishery, and at the same time to enable the officers of Government to visit the outposts, and was occasionally employed on special service to proceed to Quebec and other places with despatches, etc. The channel through the ice by which this vessel was taken out, and which ran along close to the wharves, was afterwards kept open while the ice remained, and a boat and two rafts were used to convey over passengers and sleighs.

On the 17th September, a fire occurred in the town, which destroyed nearly all the buildings on the eastern side of Barrington Street, between Sackville Street and Blowers Street and extended back into Granville Street, where several houses were consumed. Most of the buildings destroyed were old and delapidated except those at the corner of Granville and Sackville Streets occupied by Mr. Liswell's Bakery, etc. There were in all about 24 houses consumed. A large portion of the burned district remained for many years after unbuilt upon.

It was customary at this time for the dress companies of the militia to give balls. On 23rd January the Grenadier and Light Companies of the 1st Halifax Regiment gave a ball at Mason Hall

at which 300 persons were present. The regiment was commanded by Hon. T. N. Jeffery, the Collector of the Customs, who had only lately succeeded old Col. J. G. Pyke in the command. John Liddell commanded the Grenadiers and Brevet Major John Pyke, the Light Company. Lieut.-Col. Richard Tremain commanded the Town Artillery.

The condition of the transient poor of the town was very sad this winter. An organized system of relief known as the Poor Man's Friend Society, was instituted. The town was divided into wards, and three or four gentlemen volunteered in each ward to visit the poor throughout the winter months. A soup house was established, and other arrangements made to meet the objects intended. This society continued for about six or seven years. In 1824 Beamish Murdoch was its secretary. The following year William Young (the late Chief Justice) was acting secretary.

A large issue of paper money by the province took place in 1820. Silver change was almost driven out of circulation by the issue of small notes, many at one dollar, at 2s. 6d., and even at 1s. 3d. These notes were issued by private individuals upon their own credit and responsibility. Those of William Lawson and Adam Esson were the most numerous. The doubloon was at this time established at £4 currency, and the Spanish dollar at five shillings. The price of flour had fallen to twenty-seven shillings and six pence per barrel.

An anonymous pamphlet was published from the press of A. H. Holland, charging the magistrates of the town with malpractices, which caused much excitement. It was discovered to have been written by Mr. William Wilkie, of Halifax. He was indicted for libel, tried at the Easter term of the Supreme Court, found guilty and sentenced to two years imprisonment with hard labor in the House of Correction. This was esteemed a most tyrannical and cruel proceeding on the part of the government. The pamphlet was a very paltry offence, such as at the present day would be passed over with contempt. Wilkie, though not a person of much esteem, yet being a member of a respectable family in the community, should have been spared the indignities thrown upon him by Chief Justice Blowers and the other Judges of the Supreme

Court. After the sentence was known, the sympathy in his favor was very general throughout the town.

The reaction after the peace had reduced the price of agricultural produce, not only in Halifax but throughout the province. The West India trade, then the chief branch of commerce, had begun again to be prosperous, and the merchants were looking forward to profitable voyages. But the value of real estate had so fallen that sales were made in the body of the town for much less than half the cost of the buildings. This state of things continued for several years, and very few new buildings were erected between 1819 and 1823. The population was about 15,000, but the number of houses did not exceed 1,600.

The market square at this period presented a very different appearance from what it does at present. A low wooden building stood on the site of the present brick market house. The roof was originally flat and afterwards a pitched roof was added. The butchers' stalls in this old building were very convenient, perhaps more so than those in the new market house. The cellars of this building fronting on Water Street were let for the benefit of the town, and the south end was, some time after this, occupied by Mr. Alexander McLeod as a liquor store and grocery for many years. The ground in front of the market wharf and market slip was much lower than at present, and also that part of Water Street between the old City Court House and Stayner's Wharf, all which was filled up about 1830 or, perhaps, a year or two later. A range of shops under the Court House before this alteration in the streets afforded a large revenue to the town, but their value as places of business was destroyed when the street was raised, and though partially occupied afterwards, they proved damp and unfit for storage of goods. The truckmen, who were then very numerous, ranged their trucks and carts in lines in the square fronting the meat market (there being no other stand allowed) and in cold weather they might be seen, in the afternoons, when not engaged in trucking, amusing themselves with the game of football. Two liquor stores, one at the head of the market, on Beamish's Wharf, and the other at the opposite corner, now known as Laidlaw's corner, kept by Samuel and David Muirhead, were the chief places where spirits and beer were retailed to the truckmen

and fishermen. In front of these shops were ranges of apple and cake stalls kept by old women, where also gull eggs and lobsters boiled hard could be had by the fishermen and shallop men from the wharves. The red woollen night cap was generally worn in those days by the market fishermen and the people from the coasting vessels.

The sidewalks throughout the town with the exception of part of Water Street, were all of wood. The old platform on George Street, between Granville and Hollis Streets, was known as Hartshorne's platform. Messrs. Hartshorne & Boggs occupied a range of wooden buildings at the corner of Granville Street, since replaced by the stone building erected by George E. Morton and now occupied by Knowles' Bookstore. On the lower corner, known as Martin Gay Black's corner, there stood an old gamble-roofed house on a high green bank occupied by Mrs. Hart as a dry goods store, and afterwards by T. & S. Greenwood, watchmakers. This old building was about this time replaced by another which afterwards made way for the handsome free stone building erected by the late Martin Gay Black.* This platform was the resort of merchants and others who congregated there in the mornings for a short walk and to talk over the news. A large ship gun did duty as a post at Hartshorne & Boggs' corner, and another at Black's, and formed a nucleus for loungers—not smokers, for smoking was strictly prohibited in the streets of Halifax at this time by the Magistrates of the town. Opposite, near the Province Building rail, was the old town pump mentioned above, known as Black's pump, remarkable for its good water, where dozens of boys and girls might be seen towards evening getting water for tea. The old wooden range known as Cochran's building, which occupied the site of the present Dominion building, had been only lately evacuated by the Legislative Assemblies and the Courts of Law, and was now being fitted up for shops. Among those who first occupied shops in this building were Winkworth Allen, who afterwards went to England, Mr. David Hare, who afterwards became the purchaser of the property; W. A. Mackinlay, on the north side, and Clement H. Belcher, at the north-west corner, both well known stationers and

* This fine stone building has been since pulled down and a new building for the accommodation of the Merchants' Bank now occupies the corner.

booksellers, occupied their respective shops a long time, the latter for more than twenty years. At the opposite corner, to the south, on Hollis Street, stood a large three story building erected by the late James Hamilton, who carried on an extensive dry goods business. It was afterwards sold to Burns & Murray, who erected the present handsome freestone edifice on the corner. Mr. William A. Black kept his watchmaker's establishment at the corner below, now occupied by the P. Walsh Hardware Co. The old Halifax Journal office occupied a wooden building at the corner of George and Granville Streets, where the stone store of T. & E. Kenny now is. Mr. Benjamin Etter had his watchmaker's shop at the corner of George and Barrington Streets, now known as Crosskill's corner, in the same old wooden building which has since undergone extensive alterations. Mrs. Donaldson carried on the confectionery business at the corner opposite and was succeeded by Adam Esson. There were two Donaldsons, both confectioners, whose wives carried on the business after the death of their husbands and accumulated large properties, usually known as upper and lower Donaldson's; the latter was in Granville Street and was the most fashionable, being patronized by the military and navy officers during the war. The parade ground was surrounded by a high wooden rail painted red and had a gate and two turn stiles opposite George Street; the latter for foot passengers who claimed the right to pass across the ground to the steps which led up into Argyle Street, and which still remain. John Howe kept the Post Office in the old building opposite the parade later occupied by Mr. Brander, Cabinet Maker. The late Matthew Richardson a year or two later erected the three story stone building next to Mrs. Donaldson on the site of the Hon. Andrew Belcher's garden, which occupied an open space south of Donaldson's or Esson's corner. Mr. Belcher had, a few years before this, left Halifax to reside in England. His residence was in Granville Street, the same building formerly owned and occupied by the late Doctor Hoffman a short distance south of Kenny's buildings, and his garden extended in rear fronting on Barrington Street. No part of the city has undergone greater changes since this time than Granville Street. From George Street northward all the old houses on both sides have been replaced by lofty buildings with some rare exceptions. Between

Romans' corner and the Ordnance Square, the street at this time was elevated about 20 or 25 feet above the present level. It was cut down about the year 1830 or 31, (perhaps a little earlier) and the old shabby buildings on the upper side removed, and those on the lower side had an additional story added to them below in consequence of the street being lowered. The whole of this part of Granville Street has been since twice destroyed by fire and replaced by the present buildings, at a cost and in a style far beyond the requirements of the city. Proceeding southward along Hollis Street from the Province Building, both sides as far as Sackville Street were occupied by a range of small low buildings. At the corner now occupied by the Queen stone building, there stood an old gambled roofed house of one story with a little shop at the corner occupied by a worthy old man, James Smith, who held the office of Deacon of St. Matthew's Presbyterian Church, opposite. The other deacon was James Dechman, senior, who was for many years keeper of the town clock, and resided in the clock building. These two old worthies have long since gone to their rest. The latter was father of the late James Dechman, of Halifax, master carpenter, who died at an advanced age some years ago at his residence in Bishop Street. The Rev. Dr. Archibald Gray* was minister of St. Matthew's at this time. His place of residence was the old house in Granville Street, opposite the Province Building, now known as the Acadian Hotel. Several buildings both in Hollis and Granville Streets, remnants of the first settlement, stood on high grassy banks with porches and steps outside and cellar doors on the side of the bank with plank platforms over the gutters; the porches and steps frequently projecting out on the side path.

The Hon. John Black, a short time previous to the year 1821, built the fine granite building in Hollis Street north of Government House, afterwards the property of his son-in-law, Hon. James B. Uniacke, since the residence of the Bishop of Nova Scotia. The old house within the railing at the upper corner of Hollis & Salter Streets, lately owned by Mr. Esson, was then the residence of Hon. William Lawson. It was originally built by Malachi Salter about 1760, perhaps before. At the opposite corner stood the residence

* Dr. Gray married a daughter of Dr. Michael Head and was father of the late James F. Gray, of the Halifax Bar, many years Clerk of the House of Assembly.

of the Hon. Hibbert N. Binney, since removed. At the other corner Mr. Charles R. Fairbanks, some time Solicitor-General, afterwards Master of the Rolls in Chancery, son-in-law of Mr. Lawson, had just erected the fine brick building since occupied as a boarding school for young ladies. The late Samuel Lydiard Brewer built the iron stone house of three stories south of Mr. Binney's residence about the same time. The residence of the Hon. Michael Wallace, Treasurer of the Province, was in Hollis Street immediately opposite the Government House. It was a wooden building and considered a first class residence in its time; now altered into two separate dwelling houses. Trees were common in the streets of Halifax at this period as has been before mentioned. The stone building in Morris Street, the residence of Chief Justice Sir Brenton Halliburton, then Judge Halliburton, had been erected some years before this. Judge Stewart, his brother-in-law, built the yellow brick building at the north-west corner of Hollis & Morris Streets, now the residence of a gentleman of the same name, son of Hon. Alexander Stewart, late Master of the Rolls and Judge of Admiralty. The Hon. Thos. N. Jeffery, Collector of the Customs, built and resided in the building later occupied by Mrs. James Donaldson. The late Bishop Inglis, then Rector of St. Paul's, owned and occupied the low wooden building nearly opposite Mr. Jeffery's, since the residence of Mr. Hagarty. At the corner, opposite Judge Stewart's, was the old gambler roofed house, the residence of James B. Franklin, son of Governor Franklin. This old fashioned house still remains as one of the few relics of the early town. The Hon. Charles Morris built a handsome wooden dwelling house on the south side of Morris Street, between Hollis and Water Streets, afterwards the property of Hon. S. G. W. Archibald, Attorney-General and Speaker of the House of Assembly; since his death occupied as a boarding house. The late John Trider about the same time built his rough stone house at Freshwater Bridge. The late John Tremain had a Ropewalk adjoining his residence on the south side of the road leading up from Freshwater Bridge, now known as Inglis Street. This property was afterwards purchased by James Forman, Junior, and the old ropewalk building removed. The residence of Major Bazelgette at the head of this street had been originally constructed by John Trider from the materials of the old

Government House which had been removed and the materials sold to make way for the foundation of the Province Building. It afterwards became the property of the late John Moody, a merchant in the town, who sold it to Major Bazelgette about the year 1817 or 1818, who added to the building and improved the grounds. Mr. Moody purchased the adjoining grounds and erected a new house; after his failure his residence was purchased by Hon. Enos Collins, who improved the property and beautified the surrounding grounds.

Old Fresh Water Bridge, so well known in former times, crossed the stream from Smith's Tanyard nearly in the same place as the present abutment. It was a rickety old wooden structure with a rough curb or rail. It was a favorite resort of the young of both sexes on Sundays and summer evenings, and the old wooden rail was covered with names and initial letters carved with the pen knife by visitors. The walk down Pleasant Street and up the road now known as Inglis Street and round the new road, as the Tower Road was then called to Pyke's Bridge, and thence down Spring Garden Road to Government House, was the fashionable promenade for all classes on Sundays and holidays. The old English Burial ground was then surrounded by a high, rough stone wall, built without mortar, which was removed some years after the new cemetery on Camp Hill was consecrated. The Governor's garden up Spring Garden Road adjoining the burial ground extended as far as the General's quarters. A portion of this field was taken for the site of the new Court House and County Jail. The new Poor House in the opposite space, then lately erected, was a rough stone building whitewashed on the outside, but the Work House or House of Correction was the old gamble roof building probably originally erected as a soldiers' barracks in the days of the forts, and afterwards used as a Poor House. All these buildings have been since removed and the ground sold to private speculators, a step much to be regretted, as the space was very extensive and the most eligible situation for a public building in the whole city.

The Poor House Burial Ground, at the corner opposite the present new Court House, was at this time a standing nuisance in consequence of the want of drainage and the careless manner in which bodies of paupers were interred. After the law for closing all places of burial in the city had been carried into operation, this

open space was planted with trees and ground carted in to fill up hollow places, and a substantial wall built around it. The old tan Yard of Andrew and John Smith was then one of the most picturesque and secluded spots in the neighborhood of the town. The stream which turned their mill passed down from the south common through Smith's Fields, where it formed a pond near the town road, known as the mill dam, for many years the resort of skaters in winter, continuing south-eastward to Freshwater Bridge and passing through a range of willow trees, some of which may still be seen above the present bridge. Southward from old bridge the road was at this time but a footpath winding along the shore to Steele's Pond, beyond which it was passable for carriages. At a very early period, however, there had been a broad carriage road all along the shore to Point Pleasant, but the earth had fallen in or been washed away by the tide. Black Rock, a point running out south from Trider's old lime kiln, was then, and for many years after, the resort of bathers. There was a fine gravel beach outside the old Freshwater Bridge leaving a large expanse of gravel when the tide was out. It was customary for gentlemen's servants, truckmen and others who came morning and evening to water their horses in the stream above the bridge to ride their horses in the surf at low water.

That part of the city known as Schmidville, or Pedley's Fields, west from Queen Street and the General's quarters, was not laid out into building lots until many years after the period we are now describing.

The stone house at the corner of Prince and Argyle Streets, opposite the south-west angle of St. Paul's Church, was originally the mansion of the Hon. Richard Bulkeley, and is, perhaps, now the oldest stone building in Halifax; it was purchased about 1818 by H. H. Cogswell, who improved the old house and resided there until his death in 1854. The stone house at the opposite corner was built after the close of the war by Dr. William J. Almon. It afterwards became the residence of his son, Matthew Byles Almon, who sold it to Dr. Daniel McN. Parker. Proceeding southward along Argyle Street at the next corner was the handsome residence of Hon. Richard John Uniacke, who held the office of Attorney General for a great number of years. This was a wooden building

of three stories originally with a flat roof and a parapet all around with ornaments in the shape of urns at the corners and in the centre. A roof was put on this building about the time of the death of old Mr. Uniacke, and the parapet removed. At the south termination of Argyle Street stood the residence of Mr. Alexander Creighton, a small low house, and along Blowers Street, to the west, was a low range of wooden buildings which had been a soldiers' barracks or guard house. The late Chief Justice Blowers, about the commencement of the present century, erected the large wooden building at the corner of Barrington Street, adjoining the Roman Catholic property, as a residence. After his death it was sold and became a hotel under the name of the Waverley House. It has since been purchased and attached to the Roman Catholic church property.

In the year 1821 there were no houses in Gottingen Street, north suburbs, except the stone house at the corner of the lane leading westward, some years before built by Major McCola, Town Major of Halifax, since owned by Mr. R. Dupont. A wooden house, a short distance north of it, built by Peter Hay, Mason, and the old hipped roofed building at the corner of Gerrish Street, known as the North Pole, still standing. Mr. Lewis Demolitor had then lately built a large house at the northern extremity of Brunswick Street, which at that time was considered a very wild speculation. This is the same house lately the residence of the Hon. Senator Northup. The late Benjamin Etter also, about this time, built himself a residence at the corner of North Street, afterwards the mansion of the late Hon. William A. Black. Captain Michael Head, R. N., occupied the two story house to the westward of W. A. Black's property, which a few years before had been built by the late William Rudolf, of Halifax, and was afterwards the residence of Commissary General, W. H. Snelling, and afterwards by John Northup; now or lately known as Belle-Air. Lockman Street then could boast of very few buildings and was so grown up with grass as in some places only to afford a narrow path in the centre for pedestrians and occasionally a stray carriage. The original Lockman Street extended only from North Street to Gerrish Street, in the rear of what was called the Dutch Lots; it was afterwards continued southward by consent of the north suburb

lots, as far as Cornwallis Street. The old house, formerly the residence of Major Leonard Lockman, a German officer, one of the original settlers, for whom the street was called, stood on the western side near the northern extremity of the street. It became very delapidated and was removed some years ago.

In the year 1818, or perhaps as late as 1820, that part of the north common known as Camp Hill, since appropriated as a public cemetery, as also all the swampy space westward of the drill ground, was in a state of nature, covered with cradle hills, laurel bushes and ground juniper. The butchers' boys kept their sheep there, and in autumn the swampy portions afforded to the sportsmen good ground for snipe, plover and curlew. An old building, known as the St. Andrew's Cross, stood on the hill at the corner where Quinpool Road, so-called, now meets the common. On the opposite side an old two story house called Quinpool, which had been the residence of a Mr. O'Brien, stood in a field to the north of the road. This old house became uninhabited and was afterward taken down by Dr. Cogswell, the proprietor of the property, when he divided the fields into building lots. There were two main roads leading from town to the Basin, both meeting at what was called the Three Mile House, a building erected by Mr. Shaw, a member of Assembly, as a hotel, afterwards known as Increase Ward's country house. The Wistermont Road was known as the Blue Bell Road from a very old house with a swinging sign which stood at the corner before you arrive at the Willow Park property. Mr. John Young, known as the author of the letters of Agricola, had then lately purchased this latter place, had improved the house and gardens, and was commencing to work it as a model farm. Further north were the old Dutch farms of Philip Bayer and Jacob Shefforth on either side of the road, surrounded by groups of old willow trees. The Bayer's house has disappeared, but that of the Shefforth family fell to the late Mr. Henry Vieth, who repaired the old buildings. The other road, known as the Fort Needham or Lady Hammond Road, was a prolongation of Gottingen Street. After passing the farms of the late John and James Merkel, it turned to the westward down the hill to the shore of the Basin at the Three Mile House. The Kempt Road had not yet been opened though for some time in contemplation. Two block houses, the remnant of the old fortifi-

cations of Halifax, overlooked these roads. The first or nearest blockhouse, was at Fort Needham on the hill south of the Governor's north farm. The other surmounted the hill just above the cottage of the late John Steel, called Three Mile Cottage, at the termination of the Blue Bell Road, near the present Three Mile Church. The old house at the Governor's north farm known as Lady Hammond's house was then in good repair, since fallen down. This house was erected by Lieut. Governor Hammond as a country residence for his family. The north farm, as it was called, extended eastward to the shores of the narrows and included the beech grove near the old railway station. This beautiful grove has been lately cut up by one of the Government Railway Superintendents who caused building lots to be laid off and sold in the grove. This fine collection of trees had been carefully preserved for nearly a century, and had been the scene of many festivities, and was associated with very many pleasing events in the minds of the older citizens.

The common was the usual resort of a large portion of the inhabitants on a Sunday afternoon during the summer months. It had been the custom for many years, and had continued to be so until discontinued by Governor Maitland, for the whole garrison, which usually consisted of service companies of three regiments, a part of artillery, and a company of sappers and marines, to parade on the common every Sunday afternoon at three o'clock during the summer season. The Governor and his staff attended and the whole brigade, with their regimental colors, and the artillery, with their field pieces, formed a line and were inspected by the Governor or Commander-in-chief, after which they marched around the drill ground, passing before him at slow time, saluting him in open column of companies. No booths, however, were allowed on the common for the sale of refreshments except on the King's and Queen's birthdays, when grand reviews came off.

Sunday presented a gay scene at Halifax in those days. There being then no garrison chapel for the troops, the regiments in garrison, preceded by their brass bands playing, marched in full dress to St. Paul's and St. George's churches amid the ringing of bells and the sound of martial music. The carriage of the Governor (who was then always a general officer) in full military costume, with his aids-de-camp, drove up to the south door of

St. Paul's, the whole staff having first assembled under the portico which then ran along the southern end of the church. His Excellency, followed by a brilliant display of gold lace and feathers, the clank of sabres and spurs, and the shaking of plumed hats of 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 those of several 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 surplice and hood (he who was about to preach, however, always in the black gown) 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. The Rector, Dr. John Inglis, usually preached in the morning, and the Curate, Mr. J. T. Twining, performed the service. They were frequently accompanied by other church clergymen on a visit to town, and in Lord Dalhousie's time, his Chaplain, the Rev. Isaac Temple, always took part in the service, frequently preaching in the afternoon at 3 o'clock. On the sermon in the morning being concluded, the troops marched back to barracks and the general and staff returned to Government House, where they partook of luncheon, and were again in requisition by 3 o'clock for the grand review of the troops on the common. There were no evening services in the churches and meeting houses in those days, except with the Methodists, who were quietly doing their work in the old Argyle Street meeting house, under the Rev. Wm. Black.

The police of the town were conducted by one paid magistrate and one unpaid assistant, together with the clerk of the peace and three police constables, afterwards increased to four. Old Colonel Pyke presided as Chief Magistrate for many years, and was usually to be seen sitting in the little police office in drab knee breeches with gray yarn stockings and snuff colored coat. Age and infirmity having at last compelled him to retire, Mr. John Liddell, the second in command, was appointed Chief Police Magistrate by Sir James

Kempt.* David Shaw Clarke had been for some years Clerk of the Peace. He was a member of the Bar and particularly well qualified for the office he held, the duties of which he performed with much satisfaction to the public. He was very remarkable as being the most corpulent man in town. The late Samuel Muirhead, who kept a liquor shop at the head of the Market Wharf, was next in size to Mr. Clarke. Muirhead died in 1820, and Clarke, from that time to the day of his death, had no competitor. No man was better known or more popular for about thirty years in Halifax than David Shaw Clarke. He was succeeded in his office by his son James Stewart Clarke.

Drunken people were frequently to be seen in the streets in those days, yet the peace of the town was tolerably well preserved by the three or four police constables. Old Jock Henderson was very corpulent, but his great knowledge of his profession rendered him an exceedingly useful officer. Jack Mahar was celebrated as a detective, but king alcohol at last put an end to his usefulness. The practice of publicly whipping thieves had almost altogether gone out of fashion by this time, though occasionally resorted to at the work house. Among the town oddities was Constable Hawkins. He was a negro, one of those who were brought from the Chesapeake by Admiral Cockburn. He had been for some years employed at the work house to do the whipping. He was usually dressed in an old military green uniform, epaulets, plumed cap, with red sash, and on state occasions, a sword. With constable's staff in hand, this worthy might be seen in the morning at the opening of the police office, escorting prisoners down George Street to the office for examination, accompanied by a mob of boys. Among the other curiosities of the town was old Ben Myers, usually known as Major Ben. This old fellow, an idiot, was dressed in a long tailed red coat of a fashion then long obsolete, a cocked hat and long white feathers hanging over his shoulder, and on particular occasions, a star on his breast and a sword and sash. He was the messenger of the poor house and Bridewell and came down to the market every morning with his wheelbarrow in which he brought back supplies for the establishments.

* Governors had a voice in all appointments at this time.

The troops mounted guard every morning on the Grand Parade and went through the salute and troop before relieving guard. This formed a great attraction to strangers and people from the country. The band usually played for half an hour before the ceremony of inspecting the guards commenced. At sunset and at gun fire, at eight o'clock in the evening, the drum and fife proceeded from the town clock, in Barrack Street, to Government House or the General's quarters, and back again to the barracks. This had been an ancient custom in the Halifax garrison and was partly kept up until about the year 1845. Guard mounting on the parade at 10 o'clock in the morning during summer continued until Governor Le Marchant left Halifax in 1856.

One feature of the town which frequently afforded amusement to visitors must not be omitted. The negro population of Hammonds Plains and Preston, the latter particularly, had been, after the peace, supplied with the American uniform coats taken at Castine or somewhere in Maine in the year 1813. The sky blue coats with red and sometimes yellow facings, in conjunction with old torn and patched trousers of every description, presented the most grotesque appearance. A short time before this a fensible regiment known as the York Rangers, having been disbanded in the town, their old green uniforms, faced red, and the sugar loaf shaped caps, were given to the negroes, who presented the most ridiculous appearance on market days.

M. Geneni kept dancing school at Mason Hall and gave many pleasant school balls in the winter season to the great delight of the young people. M. Perro, a polite old French naval officer, was most popular as a teacher of French and was much esteemed in the community. M. Chenalette was the most famous confectioner ever known in Halifax. In his latter days he kept his establishment in Sackville Street, opposite Bedford Row, and was celebrated for his French cordials and fancy confectionery. Such was Halifax in 1821 and thereabouts.

CHAPTER VIII.

FORTIFICATIONS AND DEFENCES OF THE TOWN—PUBLIC BUILDINGS, ETC.

From the year 1749 to '54 or '5, the defences of the town consisted of palisades or pickets placed upright, with block houses built of logs at convenient distances. This fence extended from where the Roman Catholic Cathedral now stands to the beach south of Fairbanks' wharf, and on the north along the line of Jacob Street to the harbor. These palisades were in existence in 1753, but were removed at a very early period, not being within the recollection of the oldest natives of the town living in the year 1825.

A large portion of the front of the present Citadel Hill was originally private property; a small redoubt stood near the summit with a flag staff and guard house, but no traces of any regular or permanent fortification appear until the commencement of the American Revolution. There were several block houses south of the town—at Point Pleasant, Fort Massey and other places. A line of block houses was built at a very early period of the settlement, extending from the head of the North West Arm to the Basin, as a defence against the Indians. The foundation of the centre block house was still to be seen in 1848 in the hollow below Philip Bayers' pasture. During Governor Lawrence's time, the Indians made an attack upon the saw mills at the head of the North West Arm, which stood near the site of the present mills, and murdered three men; their bodies were buried by the soldiers near one of the block houses, and were three times dug up by the Indians in defiance of the guard, for the purpose of securing the scalps. These block houses were built of square timber, with loop-holes for musketry,—they were of great thickness, and had parapets around the top and a platform at the base, with a well for the use of the guard.

In 1755, four batteries were erected along the beach—the centre one, called the middle or Governor's Battery, stood where the Queen's Wharf now is, being then directly in front of Government House; another where the Ordnance Yard was afterwards built, called the Five or Nine-gun Battery; the third was situated north of the present Fairbanks' wharf; and the fourth called the South or Grand Battery, still in existence at the Lumber Yard. They were composed of stone and gravel, supported by cross logs, covered with earth and planted with grass, having battlements in front and the two ends, elevated about twenty or twenty-five feet above the water. These fortifications were removed about the year 1783, and the grounds appropriated to their present purposes. The Ordnance Yard, then a swamp around the battery, and the King's Wharf, were both filled up and levelled by stone and rubbish removed from the five-acre lots of the peninsula which were beginning to be cleared about this time.

There were block houses along the beach, near the Dock Yard wall, built by Col. Spry about 1775. The drawings of the town, published about the year 1774 or '6, show a strong fortification on George's Island.* It was not until the commencement of the revolutionary war that regular works appear to have been constructed for the defence of the town and harbor. About the year 1778, the Citadel Hill appears to have been, for the first time, regularly fortified; the summit was then about eighty feet higher than at present; the works consisted of an octangular tower of wood of the block-house kind, having a parapet and small tower on top with port holes for cannon—the whole encompassed by a ditch and ramparts of earth and wood, with pickets placed close together, slanting outwards. Below this there were several outworks of the same description extending down the sides of the hill a considerable distance.

Fort Massey, George's Island and the East Battery exhibit the same kind of fortifications in the pictures of the town made about 1780. At the latter place there was a barrack, afterwards rebuilt by the Duke of Kent about 1800.

* We have seen that Governor Cornwallis, at the very commencement of the settlement, selected George's Island as the most eligible position for fortification. Prisoners were sent here at a very early period.

During the American Revolutionary War, Colonel Spry, the chief engineer, erected a battery and several small block houses near the old Dutch Church in Brunswick Street. Several fields on the north and east sides of the Citadel were then taken by government and equivalents given to the owners. There was another block house at the extremity of Brunswick Street, in the field adjoining the present Admiralty grounds; the first were demolished about 1783, and part of the land granted by the Crown as a parsonage lot for the minister of the Germans, but the latter remained many years after till it fell into decay.

The Lumber Yard, Ordnance Yard and King's Wharf were all commenced about the same time, (1784 or '5) but the present buildings were put up at a much later date. The north barracks were built soon after the settlement. The buildings known as the south barracks were erected under the directions of the Duke of Kent, as also the north barracks, destroyed by fire some years ago.

During the revolutionary war the main guard house stood on the spot now occupied by the Mason Hall. It was used as a military post at a very early period, as the French prisoners from Annapolis, etc., were lodged there. The guard house was removed over ninety years ago, and the present building afterwards erected.

A building called the Military Office stood at the south corner of the market wharf, near where the main guard house now is. It was used as a military office until 1790, or perhaps later. At this time a guard was kept at the Prince's old playhouse, where the Acadian School now stands.

The house lately owned by Capt. Maynard, where the Trinity Chapel now stands, in Jacob Street, was a barrack as early as 1769. It was the site of one of the old block-house forts erected at the first settlement. It continued to bear the name of the Grenadier Fort until removed to make room for the present brick edifice known as Trinity Church.

The old wooden fortifications were removed from Citadel Hill about the time Prince Edward was Commander-in-Chief.

The hill had been cut down and ramparts of earth constructed mounting five or six guns at each angle, with a deep ditch. There were also covered ways and passages leading into the fort; willow trees were planted round the ramparts, and the whole was surrounded

by a picket fence. The remains of this work were removed at the commencement of the present fortifications. Much of the old work was performed by the militia drafts from the country, embodied at Halifax at the close of the last century, particularly in 1793, during Sir John Wentworth's administration, and at subsequent periods. The Maroon negroes from Jamaica were for a short time engaged on these works.

The towers on George's Island,* Point Pleasant, the East Battery, Meager's Beach and York Redoubt were built at the commencement of the present century. The Prince established signal stations between Halifax and Annapolis, the first post being on the hill behind his residence on Bedford Basin. He levelled the ground called the Grand Parade, and it is said, built the walls at the north-east and south-west angles. The Chain Battery at Point Pleasant was first constructed, it is said, by Lord Colville, in or about 1761. The present ring bolts were put down the war of 1812-15. The old block house at Fort Needham and that on the hill above Philip Bayers' farm on the road leading to the Basin, called the Blue Bell Road, were built during the American Revolution, and re-constructed during the Prince's time. They were there in 1820, but soon after fell into decay, being composed of square timber only. All the other block houses had disappeared many years previous to that date. The building used as an army hospital, which stood on the north slope of Citadel Hill, in rear of the north barracks, since destroyed by fire, was erected as the town residence of Edward, Duke of Kent, when commander of the forces. The low range of buildings since used as barrack stores and as a military library, were his stables and offices. His residence was a very elegant building with a portico supported by Corinthian pillars in front, all which remained for many years after it became an hospital. About the same time he built his villa on the Basin, the ruins of which were to be seen a few years ago. The Rotunda, or band room, still remains. The lands where the buildings stood were the property of Sir John Wentworth, the Governor, to whom he left it on his removal from the garrison. The old Rockingham Inn was his guard house, since burned down.

* Lately removed.

In the year 1765 there were two hospitals in the north suburbs, near the beach at the foot of Cornwallis Street, called the Red and Green Hospitals. They were there in 1785. One stood on the site of the present North Country or Keating's Market, the other on property now owned by the heirs of late H. H. Cogswell.

Until the year 1780 the streets of the town were in a very rough condition, and some of them least frequented were impassable for carriages, from stumps of trees and rocks. As early as 1761, there was a good road to Point Pleasant;—it was a continuation of Water Street, and said to have passed through or near the present Lumber Yard grounds, following the shore of the harbor.

In 1764 the people of the north suburbs applied to the Governor and Council to call their settlement Gottingen. The name soon fell into disuse; the main street obtained the name of Brunswick Street, the rear street only retaining that of Gottingen.

The first Government House was erected soon after the town was laid out; the frame and materials were brought from Boston, and the apartments prepared for the reception of the Governor early in October. He held a council there on the 14th of that month. It was a small low building of one story, surrounded by hogsheads of gravel and sand, on which small pieces of ordnance were mounted for its defence. It stood in the centre of the square now occupied by the Province Building. About the year 1757 or '8, this little cottage was removed to give place to a more spacious and convenient residence. It was sold and drawn down to the corner of George Street and Bedford Row, opposite the south-west angle of the City Court House, and again, about 1775, removed to the beach and placed at the corner of the street leading to the steam boat landing, where it remained until 1832, when the present building, occupied lately by Thomas Laidlaw, was erected on the site. The new Government House was built during the time of Governor Lawrence. Lord William Campbell built a ball room at one end, and several other improvements were made to the building by subsequent governors. It was surrounded by a terrace neatly sodded and ornamented. The building was of wood, two stories high. The office of Capt. Bulkeley, the Secretary, stood at the north-east angle of the square inside the rails. Prince Edward resided in this house with Governor Wentworth in 1798. This old

house was pulled down about the commencement of the present century and the materials sold to Mr. John Trider, Sr., who used them in the construction of the building on the road leading to the tower at the head of Inglis Street, formerly owned by Colonel Bazelgette, and afterwards the residence of the late Mr. George Whidden.

St. Paul's Church is now, perhaps, the oldest building remaining in Halifax. It was erected at the expense of government in the year 1749, and was esteemed one of the best constructed wooden buildings in America. The oak frame and materials were brought from Boston, and the building was ready for divine service by the autumn of 1750. It received an addition to the north end with a new steeple somewhat similiar to the old one in the year 1812. The first sermon was preached in this building by the Rev. Mr. Tutty* on 2nd September, 1750. It remained in nearly all respects as at its first erection until certain late alterations have changed its appearance, particularly an addition to the south end from which the fine old altar window, with its Doric pillars and small panes has been removed to make way for a large Gothic window full of painted glass, altogether incompatible with the architecture of the building itself. The old escutcheons in the galleries have been permitted to remain. The walls below are covered with monuments and tablets recording the deaths of governors, military commanders, who fell during the old American and French wars, and not a few of our leading citizens. The most conspicuous are those of Governors Sir John Wentworth, Wilmot, Lawrence, and Sir John Harvey, Capt. Evans of the ship *Charleston*, who was killed off the coast of Cape Breton in defence of a convoy against a superior French force, Lord Charles Montague, late Governor of Georgia, who died of fatigue after a journey in winter from Quebec to Halifax by land, the Right Rev. Charles Inglis, first Bishop of Nova Scotia, and his son Dr. John Inglis, third Bishop of the Diocese, Baron De Seitz, who commanded the Hessian troops in the old war, General McLean, the Hon. Richard Bulkeley, Attorney General Uniacke, with a number of others of lesser note. The first organ was purchased, partly by private subscription, during the

* Mr. Tutty usually officiated on the parade in the open air until the church was sufficiently advanced to enable him to hold service in it.

incumbency of Dr. Breynton, about 1765. It was replaced by a new one about 1829, but the old case of Spanish walnut was preserved.*

The old German church of St. George, in Brunswick Street, bears the date 1760 on its spire. It was originally erected by private subscription among the German settlers of the north suburbs in or about the year 1752 or '3. After the removal of the Germans to Lunenburg there were but fifteen families of Germans remaining in the north suburbs. This small congregation, not knowing any English, erected the building on the German burial ground as a school house and chapel. The present steeple was erected in 1760, and the following year the building was dedicated as a church by Dr. Breynton of St. Paul's, after which the congregation followed the forms of the Church of England. Dr. Breynton on that occasion preached in German and in French, after which he addressed the congregation in English. In 1783 Rev. Bernard Houzeal, a Lutheran minister, came to Halifax among the Loyalists from New York and, having been ordained a minister of the Church of England by the Bishop of London, became the minister of St. George's, receiving a stipend from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts. He died about the close of the last century, a few years after the present round church, known as St. George's, was erected, and Mr. Gray was appointed to the charge, after which service in the old church was discontinued. It was then appropriated as a school house. About the year 1833 or '4 it underwent a thorough repair which was superintended by several persons in the parish who were descendants of the original German settlers.

Old St. Matthew's was coeval with the first settlement of Halifax. Governor Cornwallis assigned a lot at the south-west corner of Prince and Hollis Streets for a dissenting meeting house in 1749. It was built soon after at the expense of government, and was called Mather's Church in compliment to the memory of Dr. Cotton Mather, the celebrated New England Congregationalist divine, by the dissenters then in the town, who were principally from New England and of that denomination. The Rev. Aaron Cleveland, from New England, was the first minister who officiated in this

* This organ has been lately removed to Trinity Chapel, in Jacob Street,

building. The Presbyterians from Scotland and the North of Ireland, having become numerous in the town, soon amalgamated with the American dissenters, and gradually obtained exclusive possession of the building, after which it received the appellation of St. Matthew's Church. The late Rev. Mr. Russell, father of the late George N. Russell, of Halifax, officiated there for some time after it became Presbyterian. Dr. Archibald Gray was the officiating minister there for about twenty years; he was succeeded by Rev. Ebenezer Renny, Rev. Mr. Knox, and finally by Rev. John Scott, the last minister who preached in the old building which was burned in the great fire which destroyed a considerable portion of Hollis Street, on New Year's day, 1859. The lot of land on which it stood was, some years after, sold to Doull & Miller, who erected there a large stone warehouse, which is one of the neatest and most substantial buildings in the city.

The first market house occupied the site of the brick building lately used for the City Courts and offices. It was built soon after the settlement. A balcony ran along the lower side which was used by merchants, etc., as a public promenade. About the commencement of the present century the remains of this old building were removed to make way for the brick edifice. The upper portion of the new building was let as a public coffee house; the large room now used as a City Council Chamber was appropriated for public meetings, festivals, etc., and the south end, above the police office, was occupied for many years as the Exchange or Merchants' Reading Room.

The first court house in Halifax, as before mentioned, stood at the corner of Buckingham and Argyle Streets, where Northup's store and country market stood later. Chief Justice Belcher held his court there in 1755, and the first Representative Assembly held their session there in 1758. It was destroyed by fire about the year 1783. Chief Justice Belcher resided in the old house in Argyle Street to the north of the old Methodist meeting house, formerly owned by the Rev. William Black, Methodist minister. This building, at the time of its removal, was one of the very few old buildings then remaining in the town. It was taken down some years ago and a range of shops and a market house now

occupy its site. The old Zoar chapel, the cradle of Methodism in Halifax, has been lately turned into shops.

The stone house at the corner of Prince and Argyle Streets, opposite the south-west angle of St. Paul's Church, was originally built by the Hon. Richard Bulkeley, the first Provincial Secretary, and was his residence for many years. It was purchased by the Hon. H. H. Cogswell about 1818, and since his death has undergone extensive alterations to render it suitable for a public hotel. It is now known as the Carlton House. There is an old house still standing on the western side of Grafton Street, in Letter—, Forman's Division, which was the residence of William Nesbitt, the Attorney General of Nova Scotia and Speaker of the Assembly, in 1760. After the death of Mr. Nesbitt, towards the end of the last century, it fell to his daughter, Mrs. Swann. This old lady died there nearly 80 years ago and the property was afterwards sold. The street was cut down about 50 years since and a story or breast work was erected on the street under this little old cottage which may yet be seen projecting from the main building, presenting the appearance of a balcony. The residence of Richard Gibbons, formerly Attorney General, stood at the corner of Buckingham and Grafton Streets, formerly known as George Isles' corner; it was lately taken down and replaced by a range of brick buildings now owned by Mr. Maloney. This was also one of the remnants of the first settlement of the town. The building at the corner of Barrington and Sackville Streets, formerly occupied as the Halifax Grammar School, is also a very old building. The House of Assembly held its sittings there in 1765, perhaps earlier. After the court house was burned down the Supreme Court met there for several years. It was also used at one time for a guard house. It was devoted to the purpose of a school on the establishment of the Halifax Grammar School in 1785.

Houses of entertainment were numerous and well kept at an early period. The Great Pontack was a large three-story building, erected by the Hon. John Butler, uncle to the late John Butler Dight, previous to 1757, at the corner of Duke and Water Streets, afterwards known as Michael Bennett's corner, now Cunningham's corner. It was the principal hotel in 1764. In 1769 it was kept

by John Willis. The town assemblies and other public entertainments were held at the Pontack in 1758.*

The Crown Coffee House, frequented by country people, was kept by William Fury in 1769 on the beach near the Dockyard. Jerusalem Coffee House occupied the northern extremity of the block near the Ordnance Yard, opposite Collins' wharf, between Hollis Street and Collins' stone stores. It was built by the Hon. Thomas Saul as a private residence about 1753 and afterwards occupied by the Hon. Alexander Brymer; some of the rooms were highly finished and ornamented with carved work, and the whole establishment was on a scale beyond any other private residence in the place. It was let out for a coffee house about 1789, or perhaps earlier. This old building was destroyed by fire in 1837. The present stone stork known as the Jerusalem Warehouse occupies the site of the old mansion.

Public Gardens were much in fashion between 1753 and '80. Adam's garden was an extensive enclosure south of the Citadel, near the present Artillery Park and south barracks. It was opened to the public, contained a pavilion and a great variety of fruit trees and shrubs. The Artillery Park was then kept on the Grand Parade; the Artillery Barracks stood in a line with the late engine house; the Parade was not levelled at that time; a foot path from George Street passed through the centre, and the descent at the north-east corner was very abrupt.† Spring Garden was another place of public resort in 1768. At this time there was a Provincial Gardener, who received an allowance of £32 10s. per annum.‡ About 1764, Mr. Joseph Gerrish, of His Majesty's Dockyard, laid out an extensive garden in the north suburbs and imported fruit

*Among the annual festivals of the old times, now lost sight of, was the celebration of St. Aspinquid's Day, known as the Indian Saint. St. Aspinquid appeared in the Nova Scotia almanacks from 1774 to 1786. The festival was celebrated on or immediately after the last quarter of the moon in the month of May. The tide being low at that time, many of the principal inhabitants of the town, on these occasions, assembled on the shore of the North West Arm and partook of a dish of clam soup, the clams being collected on the spot at low water. There is a tradition that during the American troubles when agents of the revolted colonies were active to gain over the good people of Halifax, in the year 1786, were celebrating St. Aspinquid, the wine having been circulated freely, the Union Jack was suddenly hauled down and replaced by the Stars and Stripes. This was soon reversed, but all those persons who held public offices immediately left the grounds, and St. Aspinquid was never after celebrated at Halifax.

† Whether there was a passage for carriages across the Parade does not appear; probably not, as it was used for a public parade ground in 1749.

‡ Probably employed at the Governor's gardens.

trees at great expense. This was a private enclosure, extending from Lockman Street to the beach, south of the Dockyard; his dwelling house stood in the centre and faced the harbor. Part of the old wall, a year or two since, was to be seen in Lockman Street. The old Governor's gardens, west of the English burying ground, were well kept up for about 30 years. There was a large summer house in the centre.

Mr. Grant, the victualling agent, had a large fruit garden south of Government House, where St. Matthew's Manse now stands, extending from Hollis to Pleasant Streets. It was surrounded by a stone wall. Ornamental trees were, at an early period, very numerous in the suburbs, particularly in the south, and tended much to the beauty and comfort of the town. The poplar trees which stood in front of the residence of the late James Kerby and others, in Brunswick Street, and the willows on the eastern side of the street, near the round church, are within the recollection of many of the old inhabitants. The fine old willow trees which occupied both sides of Argyle Street near the residence of the late Attorney General Uniacke, those at the south end of Hollis Street, near the Lumber Yard, and those around St. Paul's Church, are also still within the recollection of many. These trees were all cut down by the Commissioners of Streets in 1829 and 1830, because they grew on the side paths and were therefore deemed an encroachment on the public highway. Halifax was thus denuded of its shady walks by the gentlemen of taste who constituted the Commissioners of Streets at that period. Within the last few years several attempts have been made to re-produce trees on the sidewalks, but with partial success, there being no protection afforded to them by the city authorities.

Before the year 1760, the houses were generally built of square and round timber, some with small pickets placed upright between the stubs of the frame, and the whole covered over with clap boards; they were usually of one story with a hipped roof, the shops and half doors with no glass, swinging signs, and wooden shutters opening downwards, on which goods were exposed for sale. Several of these old houses were in existence in 1850, windows and doors being altered.

In 1768 and '77, there were lamp posts at all the principal corners, the town being then lighted at the public expense.

The Dutch in the north suburbs usually built with the ends of their houses to the street; those of the better sort had ornamental windows and heavy cornices with weathercocks. One or two of these old houses were to be seen in Brunswick Street about thirty-five years ago. Among the old houses which have now disappeared was one which stood in the field opposite the tower wharf, near Point Pleasant; it was built about 1770, and occupied by General Fanning about 1783.

A year or two after the settlement Mr. Gerrish built several small stone houses near the tower; the clearance east of the pine woods is still to be seen; they were occupied for a short time by the settlers from the north of Ireland who went to Cobequid.

A large wooden building stood in the centre of the enclosure now occupied by Government House, built before the American Revolution, and used as a residence for field officers and other military purposes. The public hospital stood on part of the land now occupied by Government House to the north of the present house; it was afterwards sold; probably the spot on which St. Matthew's church now stands.

The first jail stood where the late Mr. Robert Brown's house in Hollis Street stood, opposite the Halifax Hotel; the jail was kept there till 1787, or thereabouts. In 1777, the Provost Marshal was suspended from his office in consequence of the repeated escape of prisoners from this building.

In 1752, government purchased a small stone house built by Col. Horseman for a prison, probably a military one; this was near where St. Mary's Cathedral now stands.

One remnant of the first settlement, now forgotten, was an old hardwood tree which stood on the beach, just above high water mark, at the corner of the Market Slip; this tree was used as a public gallows from 1749, and was there within the recollection of one or two aged persons living in 1825; it was cut down about 1763, but the stump remained until 1784 or '5.

The progress of crime between 1749 and '54, was perhaps less rapid than might have been expected among a population of 5,000 or 6,000, composed of such materials. During the first five years

there were fifty criminal trials on record, many convictions for grand larceny, which was then the subject of capital punishment. After the appointment of Chief Justice Belcher, convictions were less frequent; most of the executions, as in the time of the general court, were for stealing or receiving stolen goods.

The Dockyard was first established at Halifax in 1758. It was extended and improved in 1769. The date over the gate is 1770. The walls have since undergone several renewals.

The Town Clock was erected early in the present century jointly by the garrison and the town. The merchants of Halifax raised a subscription towards the object. It was placed at the head of George Street for the convenience of the inhabitants. It was managed by the garrison. The late James Dechman, senior, was keeper, and resided in the clock for many years; he died about 1829 or 1830.

According to the plan of the town made by Col. Desbarres in 1779 or '80, and published in his nautical charts in 1781, there was a nine-gun battery about where the Ordnance wharf now is, and the five-gun battery a little to the north, but on an angle with the other. Gerrish's wharf, since known as Marchington's wharf, was immediately north of the five-gun battery, and Joshua Mauger's wharf at the foot of Jacob Street. Proctor's wharf appears to have been situated near where Cunard's old wharf now is. The old market wharf, known as Fredericks' wharf, and afterwards as Beamish's wharf, was as at present. Fillis' wharf appears to have been that now known as Mitchell's, south of the Queen's Wharf. Terrance Fitzpatrick's wharf was situated about the spot now occupied by Esson & Boak's wharf. Crawley's was to the south of the latter, and Collier's about where Pryor's wharf now is.

There was a battery at the Commissioners' point at the south end of the Dockyard, and the storekeeper's wharf ran out to the south of the Commissioners' point somewhere, apparently, in the vacant space between the Dockyard and West's property. Joshua Mauger's Distillery was situated between the Dockyard and the present hospital grounds. Guns were mounted on the careening wharf. Three batteries with ditches and enclosures were formed by Col. Spry, Chief Engineer, on the lower side of Brunswick Street; one on the corner of Brunswick and North Streets, one on the south

corner of Dockyard Lane, and the other down Gerrish Street below the Dutch burial ground. It was generally understood that these works were on the opposite or western side of Brunswick Street, but Desbarres' plan places them on the east side. The works on Citadel Hill appear to consist of a small enclosure, but no regular fortifications appear.

EARLY PRINTING IN HALIFAX.

In 1751 printing was first introduced into Nova Scotia. The first press was established at Halifax, and there was not a second in the province until 1766. Bartholomew Green, Jr., was the grandson of Samuel Green, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and was of the firm of Green, Bushell & Allen, of Boston. He removed to Halifax with a press and type in August, 1751. He died about six weeks after his arrival, 52 years of age.

John Bushell, who had been the partner of Green in Boston, immediately succeeded him in Halifax. He printed for the government, and in March, 1752,* published the first newspaper printed in Nova Scotia. The work for government was inconsiderable, but was the chief support of Bushell. He was a good workman but had not the art of acquiring property, nor did he make the most economical use of the little which fell into his hands. Bushell died in February, 1761. The proclamation published by Governor Lawrence in 1758 for the settlement of the French lands on the Basin of Minas was printed by John Bushell. Anthony Henry succeeded Bushell as a printer at Halifax. He was a German, and had lived some time with a printer, but had left his master and became a fifer in one of the provincial regiments. With this regiment he came to Nova Scotia, but some time after obtained his discharge. There was then no printer in the province, and his pretensions to skill in this art greatly facilitated his release from the army. There appears, however, to have been a printing office at Halifax in March, 1756, conducted by one Isaac Ourry. Henry began business with the press and type which had been used by Bushell. He published the Gazette. The government, through necessity, gave him some work which was badly executed. This paper was edited for some time by the Hon. Richard Bulkeley, Secretary of the Province.

* See Thomas' History of Printing in America.

In 1766 a printer with a new and good apparatus came from London and opened another printing house. He published a newspaper and was employed by government. Henry, who had been inattentive to his affairs, did not despond at the prospects of a rival, but, much to his credit, exerted himself and did better than before. After a few years' trial, his rival, not finding the business so profitable, nor place agreeable, sold out his paper, and Henry was again the only printer in the province. He procured new type and a workman better skilled than himself. His printing from this time was executed in a more workmanlike manner. He remained without another rival until the British army evacuated Boston, in March, 1776, when the printers in that town who adhered to the Royal cause were obliged to leave that place, and they, with other refugees, came to Halifax. Henry continued printing until his death. He possessed a fund of good nature, and was of a very cheerful disposition. He died December, 1800, aged 66 years.

Robert Fletcher arrived at Halifax from London in 1760, with new printing materials and a valuable collection of books and stationery. He opened a book store and printing house near the parade, published a newspaper and printed for the government. Until this time there had been no book store in the province. Fletcher executed his printing with neatness, and raised the reputation of the art in Nova Scotia. He remained in Halifax until 1770, then sent his printing materials to Boston for sale and went into other business.

Alexander and James Robertson, who had been printers in New York, Norwich and Albany, went to Shelburne, in Nova Scotia, in 1783, where they printed a newspaper. John Howe began printing in Halifax in 1776, and was publisher of the Gazette in 1801. Howe commenced the Halifax Journal in 1780. In 1790 his office was at the corner of Sackville and Barrington Streets. This paper was afterwards purchased and carried on by John Munro; his office was where Mr. Kenny's new stone building now is, at the corner of George and Granville Streets. The weekly Chronicle was set on foot by William Minns, a Loyalist settler, in 1786, and was continued until 1828. Mr. Minns kept a stationer's shop in Barrington Street, below the parade. This paper had the Star and Garter at its heading.

Henry's printing office was in Grafton Street, in rear of the residence of the late Attorney General Richard John Uniacke, where his descendants resided for many years. There was another printing office in the same street, further north, which is represented in the engraving of the town in 1776 with a steeple surmounted by a hand holding a pen.

After the peace of 1784, printing found its way into the Province of New Brunswick.

CHAPTER IX.

The following short sketch of some of the persons who took a lead in establishing the Colony, has been compiled chiefly from public records :

The Honorable Edward Cornwallis, the first Governor and Commander-in-Chief, was a younger son of Charles, third Baron Cornwallis by Lady Charlotte Butler, daughter of Richard, Earl of Arran and uncle to the celebrated Duke of Ormonde. He was born in 1713, was member of Parliament for the borough of Eye in 1749, and was elected member for the city of Westminster in 1753, shortly after he returned from Halifax. He married the same year, a daughter of the late Lord Townshend, but left no children. He was afterwards raised to the rank of Major General and appointed Governor of Gibraltar. General Cornwallis was twin brother of Dr. Frederick Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury.

The gentlemen who composed the first Council were Paul Mascarene, Edward How, John Gorham, Benjamin Green, John Salisbury and Hugh Davidson.

Col. Mascarene was a native of Castras in the south of France, was born in the year 1684. His parents were Huguenots and were compelled to fly from their native country on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes when all Protestants were driven from France. He made his way to Geneva at the age of 12, where he received his education. He afterwards went to England, where he received a commission in the British army in 1708. He was appointed Captain in 1710 and ordered to America, where he joined the regiment raised in New England for the taking of Port Royal. He was at the capture of Annapolis Royal that year, and was for some time commander of the garrison as senior major of the regiment. On the death of Colonel Armstrong he became Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment under General Phillips, and was third on the list of councillors in 1720, when the first Council was organized in Nova

Scotia. In 1740 he was appointed Lieut.-Governor of the fort, and administrated the government of the Province until the arrival of Cornwallis in 1749. He remained in command at Annapolis after the settlement at Halifax, and was subsequently engaged as agent of the British Government in arranging treaties with the Indians of New England and Acadia in 1751. He retired from active duties and died a Major General in the British army at Boston, on 20th January 1760. He left a son and daughter. His son was said to be living in New England in 1835, at a very advanced age. The late Judge Foster Hutchinson, of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia and the late Deputy Commissary General William Handfield Snelling, were his grandsons. His great-grandson, Mr. W. Snelling Stirling, has his portrait, painted by Smybert of Boston about 1725.

Benjamin Green was a native of the province of Massachusetts, born in 1713, youngest son of the Rev. Joseph Green, minister of Salem, Mass., and graduate of Harvard College. He was brought up as a merchant under his elder brother Joseph in Boston. In 1737 he married a daughter of the Honorable Joseph Pierce of Portsmouth. He accompanied General Pepperal to Louisburg in 1745, as Secretary to the expedition. After the capture of that place by the Provincial army, he remained there as Government Secretary and manager of the finances until Cape Breton was restored to the French, when he removed with his family to Halifax, and was appointed to the Council by Governor Cornwallis in July 1749. After the removal of Mr. Davidson he acted as Secretary of the province. He held several other important public offices, among which were those of Treasurer and Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty. On the death of Governor Wilmot in 1766, Mr. Green being then senior councillor, was appointed Administrator of the Government. He died at Halifax in 1772, in the 59th year of his age. His eldest son Benjamin succeeded him as Treasurer of the province. Benjamin Green, Junior, was father of Lieutenant William Green of the Navy, and Joseph Green and Henry Green of Lawrencetown, the latter left descendants at Lawrencetown. The second son of Governor Green was many years sheriff of Halifax, and having married a Boston lady, afterwards removed to that place. His daughter was married to Mr. Stephen H. Binney, son of Jonathan Binney of Halifax, whose descendants are numerous.

John Salisbury was brother to Dr. Thomas Salisbury, the eminent civil lawyer in London. Lord Halifax was his friend and patron, and sent him out with Governor Cornwallis as one of his suite. He does not appear to have taken any active part in the settlement. He married a Miss Cotton, who brought him a fortune of £10,000, which he spent in extravagance and dissipation. He returned to England in 1753, and died at Offley, the country seat of his relative Sir Thomas Salisbury in 1762. His only daughter was the celebrated Mrs. Thrale, the friend of Dr. Johnson, afterwards married to a Mr. Piozzi.

Hugh Davidson also came out with Governor Cornwallis. He was the first Provincial Secretary; he returned to England in 1750 under charges of trading in the supplies and stores for the settlers. Governor Cornwallis in his letters to the Board of Trade, thought him innocent of the main charges made against him.

Captain Edward How was a member of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis in 1744. He was with Col. Noble at the affair at Minas and Grand Pre in 1747, where he was severely wounded and taken prisoner by the French under DeCorne. He came down from Annapolis with Governor Mascarene in June 1749, and was sworn in a member of Cornwallis' first Council. He was well acquainted with the language of the Indians and their manners, and was sent on a negotiation to the French and Indians at Beaubasin in 1751, where he was treacherously murdered by the enemy, though acting under a flag of truce, having been shot through the back from the bush. The French officers denied having anything to do with this disgraceful affair, and charged it on Mr. LeLuttre, the Indian missionary, who it was said was jealous of Mr. How's influence with the Micmacs. His widow afterwards petitioned the government for pecuniary aid, in consequence of her husband's services, and for money advanced by him for public service. The late Richard W. How, captain in the 81st regiment, formerly of Halifax, was his grandson.

Colonel John Goreham was a native of Massachusetts; he was with General Pepperal at the siege of Louisburg in 1745, as Lieutenant-Colonel of his father's regiment raised in Massachusetts. He afterwards had command of a company of Rangers at Annapolis and came down to Chebucto with his rangers to meet Governor

Cornwallis in 1749. He took precedence next to Governor Mascarene at the council board. He is styled Captain Goreham by Mascarene and by Cornwallis in his commissions and correspondence. That of Lieutenant-Colonel was probably militia rank only. It is probable he returned to Boston soon after the settlement was formed as his name does not appear on the Council books after 1752. He had a brother, Joseph Goreham, who was also a member of Council in 1766; he afterwards attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the British army. He was engaged in the border skirmishes on the isthmus from 1754 to about 1758, and was afterwards appointed Commandant at Newfoundland.

Lieutenant-Colonels Horseman, Ellison and Merser, who were afterwards appointed to the Council, were the officers in command of the regiments which came from Louisburg. They all retired soon after to England.

Charles Lawrence was a Major in Warburton's Regiment of Infantry. He came up with the army and was engaged during 1749 and '50 in the French wars at Cobequid. He acted as Brigadier General under Amherst at Louisburg; he was a member of the Council and sworn in Governor of the Province on the death of Governor Hobson; the first assembly was convened during his administration, (2nd October, 1758); he died unmarried on 11th October, 1759, it is said of an inflammation, caused by overheating himself at a ball at Government House; he was deeply respected by the whole community, and the Legislative Assembly caused a monument to be erected to his memory in St. Paul's church "from a grateful sense of the many important services which the Province had received from him during a continued course of zealous and indefatigable endeavors for the public good, and a wise, upright, and disinterested administration." This monument has now disappeared from St. Paul's Church. His escutcheon remains in the East Gallery. Lawrence, though an active and zealous governor, by his desire to favor the officers of Government with a partiality for his military friends, brought on himself an organized opposition from the leading inhabitants of the town, who petitioned the Home Government for redress of their grievances, which they in a great measure attributed to the Governor and his Lieutenant Colonel Monekton. His resistance to the desire to call a Legislative

Assembly was among the chief charges against him. His death shortly after the petition put an end to the difficulties. He was succeeded by Judge Belcher as Administrator of the Government.

Charles Morris was a native of England; he was Captain of Provincials under General Pepperal at the siege of Louisburg in 1745. He had been engaged by Governor Shirley of Boston in a survey of the interior parts of Nova Scotia with a view to British colonization, in 1745. He also commanded one of the Provincial Companies sent to Minas under Colonel Noble in 1747. He was in Halifax in 1749, and in company with Mr. Bruce the Military Engineer laid out the town and peninsula. He was appointed to the Council in 1755. Though Surveyor General of the Province he acted for some time a Judge of the Supreme Court during the time of Chief Justice Belcher, which offices were both afterwards filled by his eldest son Charles. Captain Morris died in 1781, and was succeeded in the office of Surveyor General by his son Charles, whose son, the Hon. Charles Morris, also filled the same office and was a Member of Council in 1808. He was the father of John Spry Morris, Esq., afterwards Surveyor General, who was the fourth in succession who had charge of the Surveying Department in Nova Scotia. There are numerous descendants of Captain Morris in Halifax.

Jonathan Belcher, the first Chief Justice, was a native of Massachusetts, son of the Governor of that province, of an eminent colonial family; he was appointed Chief Justice of Nova Scotia in 1754, when a young man, and administered the government on the death of Governor Lawrence; Chief Justice Belcher arranged and revised the laws as they appear on our first Statute Book, and rendered good assistance to Governor Lawrence in founding the settlements at Horton, Cornwallis, Falmouth, &c., in 1758, '9, and 1760. Judge Belcher died poor; the Legislature voted a provision to his only daughter. His son, the Honorable Andrew Belcher, was for many years a resident in Halifax and member of Council.

Captain Wm. Cotterell was the first Provost Marshal or Sheriff, (there being no county divisions at this time). He was succeeded in that office in 1750 by Captain Foy, who held that situation many years, and received a small pension on his retirement. Mr. Cotterell afterwards acted as assistant Provincial Secretary.

William Nisbett came out with Cornwallis in 1749 as one of the Governor's clerks. He practised as an attorney and solicitor. He was appointed Attorney General on the resignation of Mr. Little, which office he held for 25 years. He was one of the first representatives in the General Assembly of 1758, and was elected speaker on 4th December 1759. He continued in the Chair of the House (with the intermission of one session when sick) until 1783, when he retired on a small pension and died the following year aged 83. In 1763 he declined a seat in the Council. During the period of his being Speaker, the House sat for 14 years without being dissolved. The old house in which Mr. Nisbett resided situated in Grafton Street, Block letter E, Collins' division, mentioned in a former chapter, still remains, though much changed by the cutting down of the street many years ago. He left no male descendants. His daughter, Mrs. Swann, died in the old Grafton street house about 60 years ago.

Archibald Hinshelwood was one of Governor Cornwallis' clerks, and performed the duties of Deputy Secretary with Mr. Cotterell and others for many years. Most of the drafts of the letters sent to England by the first three Governors are in his handwriting. He was elected a member of Assembly for Lunenburg in 1759 and again in 1765. Lord William Campbell the Governor appointed him to the Council in 1773, but he died before taking his seat. His property on Argyle Street after occupied by the City Water office fell to his nephew, (he having no children), who left two sons in the navy, both of whom died young. The old property was sold about 60 years since and purchased by Mr. W. A. Black, who resided there many years.

Otis Little was Captain of one of the New England Independent Companies. He was probably a native of England. Being in England in 1749, he came out with Governor Cornwallis, who appointed him Commissary of Stores, from which office he was dismissed on suspicion of having traded in the supplies for the settlers. He acted as first Attorney General of the Colony, and was probably a lawyer by profession. He was the author of a well-written pamphlet on the resources of Nova Scotia, written in 1748,

with a view to encouraging British emigration to the province. Capt. Little left a daughter, who died unmarried at Halifax early in the present century.

John Baptiste Moreau, designated gentleman and schoolmaster in the book of the settlers, had been originally a Roman Catholic priest, and Prior of the Abbe of St. Matthew at Breste. He joined the expedition under Cornwallis in 1749, and went to Lunenburg with the settlers in 1752. He received ordination as a clergyman of the Church of England in 1750, and officiated to his countrymen and the Germans in the County of Lunenburg, where he died much esteemed and regretted in the year 1770. He left a son, Cornwallis Moreau, who was the first male child born in Halifax, and was called Cornwallis after the Governor. This old man was living at La Have, in Lunenburg County, in the year 1848, being nearly 100 years of age. He received pecuniary assistance from the Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society in that year.

Doctor John Breynton came up from Louisburg with the army, where he had been acting Chaplain to the Forces. He succeeded Mr. Tutty at St. Paul's in 1751 or 1752, in conjunction with Rev. Thomas Wood. Mr. Breynton was inducted Rector in 1758 or '9, under the provisions of the Statutes of the Province, and Mr. Wood acted as Curate or Vicar. After Mr. Wood's removal to Annapolis in 1763, Mr. Joshua Wingate Weeks, from New England, became assistant minister at St. Paul's. Dr. Breynton received his degree of D. D. in 1770. He died in 17—, and was succeeded at St. Paul's, as rector, by the Rev. Doctor Robert Stanser, afterwards Lord Bishop of the Diocese. Dr. Breynton was esteemed an eloquent preacher, and was in the habit of addressing the settlers in English, French and German.

John Creighton was an officer in the army. He served in the Dragoons at the Battle of Fontenoy. Having been discharged at the peace of Aix la Chappelle, he was placed on half pay as Lieutenant of Warburton's Regiment of Infantry, and came out with the expedition in 1749. Mr. Creighton was sent to Maligash with Col. Lawrence in 1752 to assist in forming the settlement at Lunenburg, where he continued to reside until his death, which took place in 1807. He was Colonel of the Militia, Judge of the Common Pleas, and for some time a member of His Majesty's

Council, to which he was appointed in 1776. Col. Creighton was a native of the South of England. He left numerous descendants in this country. His youngest son, Col. Joseph Creighton, half pay of 56th Regiment of foot, died at Halifax about 1854. His grandson, the Hon. John Creighton, of Lunenburg, was a member of the Legislative Council. Mr. James Creighton, the ancestor of the family of that name now in Halifax, came out with Col. Creighton. It does not appear there was any relationship between them. Mr. James Creighton became one of the most thriving and influential settlers in the town, and was the ancestor of one of our most numerous and estimable families. Col. Creighton's daughters married, one to the late Judge Wilkins and another to Hon. Hibbert N. Binney, both of whom have left numerous descendants.

Perigrin Thomas Hopson, the second Governor at Halifax, was Commander-in-Chief at Louisburg when that place was delivered up to the French after the Treaty of Aix la Chappelle. He came up with the army and was sworn in a member of Council in August, 1749. He succeeded to the government on the resignation of Governor Cornwallis in August, 1753. He did not remain long at Halifax. In 1757 he was gazetted a Major General, and in the following year was appointed to the command of the forces destined for the West Indies. He died before Guadaloupe a short time before the Island was captured.

John Collier was a Captain in the army and Member of Council in 1752. He was appointed by Governor Cornwallis one of the magistrates of the town, and had command of a section of the militia; one of the divisions of the town being named after him. He died at Halifax in 1769. It is uncertain whether he left any descendants.

Richard Bulkeley accompanied Governor Cornwallis to Nova Scotia as one of his A. D. C. in 1749. He was appointed Secretary of the Province in or about 1759, which office he held until 1793 when, on his retirement, he was succeeded by his son, Michael Freke Bulkeley, who died a few years after his appointment, 1796. Capt. Bulkeley was called to His Majesty's Council in 1759, and as Senior Councillor, he administered the government on the death of Governor Parr, in 1791. He held, at various times, the offices of Judge of Admiralty, Brigadier General of Militia, and Grand Master

of the Masons. He died December 7th, 1800, at the age of 83, beloved and respected by all classes throughout the province. He was justly esteemed the father of the settlement, being the only person of consideration then living who came in 1749. He had been twice married. His first wife was a daughter of Capt. Rouse, R. N.; she died in 1775. He had three sons, all of whom died before him. His residence was at the corner of Prince and Argyle Streets, opposite the south-west corner of St. Paul's Church. The old stone house built by him still remains; it was for many years the residence of the late Hon. H. H. Cogswell, and is now known as the Carlton House. Mr. Bulkeley was buried under St. Paul's Church. His escutcheon, with the bull's head crest, hangs in the west gallery. The Hon. Richard Bulkeley was the only person who ever held the rank of General of Militia in this country.

Capt. Horatio Gates was A. D. C. to Governor Cornwallis with Capt. Bulkeley. He had been in command of an independent company of provincials in New York in the year 1737. After his arrival in Halifax he was employed for a short time in the country against the Indians and French. In 1762 he was appointed A. D. C. to General Monckton, with the rank of Major, and accompanied him in the expedition against Martinique. Gates was afterwards better known as a General in the American Revolutionary Army. Sir Robert Walpole, in a letter dated 1778, says Gates was the son of a housekeeper of the Duke of Leeds. Sir Robert was his God-father.

Jonathan Binney was a native of Hull, a small village near Boston. He came to Halifax shortly after the settlement was formed, and was engaged in business. He was elected a Member of Assembly for the town in 1761, and in 1764 was elevated to the Council. In 1768 he was sent to the Island of St. John (now Prince Edward Island) as Second Judge of the Local Court, and afterwards held the offices of Collector of the Revenue at Canso and Collector of Imports and Excise at St. John Island. He was charged with errors in his accounts by Mr. Legge, the Governor of the province, under which he went to England in 1776, where he completely refuted the charges made against him. Mr. Binney married Hannah, daughter of Mr. Henry Newton, a Member of Council, and is the ancestor of the whole Binney family now in Nova Scotia.

Joseph Fairbanks was from Massachusetts. He was one of the representatives in the first House of Assembly, summoned in 1758. Mr. Fairbanks left no children. His nephew, the late Rufus Fairbanks, became heir to all his property in Halifax, which at the time of his death was very considerable. Mr. Rufus Fairbanks was for many years one of the magistrates of Halifax; he married a daughter of Charles Prescott, sister to the Hon. Charles Prescott, of Cornwallis, and was the father of the Hon. John E. Fairbanks, of the firm of Fairbanks & McNab; of Hon. Charles R. Fairbanks, many years a Member of Assembly for Halifax and Judge of Admiralty and Master of the Rolls, and of Samuel P. Fairbanks, formerly Member for Queens County, with other children.

Benjamin and Joseph Gerrish were both from New England. The former was a member of His Majesty's Council, appointed in 1768, and Agent for Indian Affairs in 1760. The latter was many years Naval Storkkeeper at Halifax. He was also a Member of Council. His appointment to the Board bears date August 16th, 1659, from which he was suspended in 1762 for non-attendance. He died at Halifax in 1774. Mr. Joseph Gerrish built a residence in the north suburbs, south of the Dockyard, between Lockman and Water Streets, and had a fruit garden, the old stone wall of which remained on the east side of Lockman Street until about 1835. One of these gentlemen carried on business for some years in company with Mr. Gray, who was connected with him by marriage. Mr. Gray was father of the late Rev. Dr. Benjamin Gerrish Gray, minister of St. George's, and afterwards Rector of Trinity, St. John, New Brunswick, who was succeeded by his son, the Rev. Dr. William Gray, lately deceased. He was also the ancestor of Mr. Charles Gray, British Consul at Virginia. The Hon. John Gray, of St. John, New Brunswick, and Benjamin Gerrish Gray, Esq., barrister at law, of Halifax, are their descendants; one the son of Mr. Charles Gray, the other of Dr. William Gray. A Mr. John Gray came out with Governor Cornwallis in 1749 as a Deputy Secretary; probably Mr. Gray who was in partnership with Gerrish was the same person.

Major Leonard Lockman, (spelt wrongfully Lockman) was a German doctor and practised his profession in early life. He came out with the settlers in 1749 and resided in the north suburbs,

where he built a residence for himself and had a large garden. This old house was lately pulled down. It stood on the upper side of Lockman Street and was built with a hipped or gamble roof. He received the rank of Major in the army for services performed to the British Government. He died at Halifax, and was buried under the little old Dutch Church, in Brunswick Street, where his escutcheon and monument with armorial bearings are still to be seen. The street between Brunswick Street and the water, which was laid out between the German lots, was named Lockman Street in compliment to the Major, who was for many years a leading man in Dutchtown. It is not known whether he left any descendants in the province.

The names of Jonathan Prescott, Malachi Salter, Richard Gibbons, Lewis Piers and Otto William Schwartz appear among the principal inhabitants of the town in 1750. Mr. Salter was from New England, had been extensively engaged in the fishery, and had visited Chebucto Harbor in 1744, five years before the settlement, while on a fishing voyage along the coast. Chebucto was the frequent resort of Cape Cod and Marblehead fishermen previous to the settlement. He was a Member of Assembly and Justice of the Peace for the town in 1759. The old house at the corner of Salter and Hollis Streets, afterwards the residence of the Hon. W. Lawson, and later of Mr. Esson, was built by Mr. Salter and was his place of residence for many years. During the American revolt, Mr. Salter, with several other gentlemen of the town, became suspected of treasonable correspondence. He was twice under prosecution, but on a full investigation nothing appeared to have been said or written by him of sufficient moment to warrant the charges. Mr. Salter was the ancestor of the family of that name now remaining in Halifax. He died at Halifax, in January, 1781, aged 65.

Mr. Gibbons was acting Attorney General for several years, and a leading practitioner at the Bar of Halifax. His son, Richard Gibbons, died at Sydney, Cape Breton, at an advanced age, where his descendants are numerous. The old gamble-roofed house at the corner of Buckingham and Grafton Streets, known as Isles' corner, lately pulled down, was the residence of Mr. Gibbons.

John Dupont was the English Attorney. He came out with the settlers in June, 1749, and in July following was appointed a

Justice of the Peace. In 1752 he was made Judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas. He performed the duties of Secretary of Council for many years. He was sent as a Judge to St. John's Island in 1770, and was afterwards Chief Justice of the Island. Mr. Duport left a daughter married to Mr. P. Skey, of Falmouth, and a son who was in the army and was father of Mr. Robert Duport, later an officer in the Purveyor's department of the British Army. Judge Duport was much esteemed, and appears to have been an active public servant during the first twenty years of the settlement.

Joshua Mauger was an English trader, who had been connected with the government contracts at Louisburg, and appears to have resided in Halifax for the purpose of commerce only. In 1751 he held the office of Agent Victualler for the navy at Halifax. In 1754 he had shops established at Pisiquid, (Windsor) Minas, (Horton) and other places, where he sold goods and spirits to the French and Indians. He had still houses in Halifax where he made rum which he supplied to the troops and the navy. Mr. Mauger had some difficulties with Governor Cornwallis regarding illicit dealing. He went back to England about 1761, and was appointed Agent of the Province in London, which he resigned in the following year, having secured a seat in the British Parliament. He owned much property in and about Halifax. The beach at the entrance of the harbor, extending westerly from Cornwallis, now McNab's Island, was originally granted to Mr. Mauger, and still bears his name.

Michael Franklin was a merchant from England who settled in Halifax about 1752 or 1753. He was elected a Member of Assembly in 1759, and appointed to His Majesty's Council in 1762. In 1766 he received the appointment of Lieut.-Governor of the Province, which he held until 1776, when he again took his seat at the Council Board. Governor Franklin was a most active and esteemed public officer. His name appears connected with almost all the transactions of importance which occurred in the town from 1763 to 1780. During the American Revolt, his exertions in support of British authority while administering the government, were in a great measure instrumental in preserving the tranquility of the province. He married a daughter of Mr. Boteneau, of Boston,

whose wife was a daughter of Peter Faneuil of that city. He left several children. The late James Boteneau Franklin, for many years Clerk of the House of Assembly, was his eldest son. Mrs. Fitzgerald Uniacke was his grand-daughter.

Lewis Piers was a grand-son of Sir Henry Piers, 1st Bart. of Tristernagh Abbey, Ireland.

The Hon. Thomas Saul was the wealthiest and most enterprising merchant from 1749 to 1760.

The names of Benjamin Gerrish, Charles King, Henry Ferguson, Joseph Fairbanks, William Piggot, William Fury, James Grant, Jacob Hurd, Daniel Shatford, Samuel Sellon, Carles Mason, Lewis Piers and Robert Campbell appear on the lists of the Grand Jury between 1751 and 1754.

The following names appear on the register of early settlers:—
Richard Wenman, Thomas Keys, John Edes, John Gosbee, Ralph Coulston, Edward Orpen, John Christopher Laurilliard, Philip Knaut, Peter Burgman, Otto William Schwartz, John Jacob Preper, John Woodin, Andrew Wellner, Christopher Preper, Simon Thoroughgood.



APPENDICES.

A.

The following is a copy of the advertisement which appeared in the London Gazette, March, 1749 :

WHITEHALL, 7th March, 1749.

A proposal having been presented unto His Majesty for the establishing a civil government in the Province of Nova Scotia, in North America, as also for the better peopling and settling the said province, and extending and improving the fishery thereof by granting lands within the same, and giving other encouragement to such of the officers and private men lately dismissed His Majesty's land and sea service, as shall be willing to settle in said province. And His Majesty having signed his royal approbation of the report of the said proposals, the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations do, by His Majesty's command, give notice that proper encouragement will be given to such of the officers and private men lately dismissed His Majesty's land and sea service as are willing to accept of grants of land, and to settle with or without families, in Nova Scotia. That 50 acres of land will be granted in fee simple to every private soldier or seaman, free from the payment of any quit rents or taxes for the term of ten years ; at the expiration whereof no person to pay more than one shilling per annum for every 50 acres so granted.

That a grant of ten acres over and above the 50 will be made to each private soldier or seamen having a family for every person including women and children of which his family shall consist, and from the grants made to them on the like conditions as their families shall increase, or in proportion to their abilities to cultivate the same.

That eighty acres on like conditions will be granted to every officer under the rank of Ensign in the land service, and that of Lieutenant in the sea service, and to such as have families, fifteen acres over and above the said eighty acres, for every person of which their family shall consist.

That two hundred acres on like conditions will be granted to every Ensign, three hundred to every Lieutenant, four hundred to every Captain, and six hundred to every officer above the rank of Captain. And to such of the above mentioned officers as have families, a further grant of thirty acres will be made over and above their respective quotas for every person of which their family shall consist.

That the lands will be parcelled out to the settlers as soon as possible after their arrival, *and a civil government established, whereby they will enjoy all the liberties, privileges and immunities enjoyed by His Majesty's subjects in any other of the Colonies and Plantations in America, under His Majesty's Government, and proper measures will also be taken for their security and protection.*

That all such as are willing to accept of the above proposals shall, with their families, be subsisted during the passage, also for the space of twelve months after their arrival.

That they shall be furnished with arms and ammunition as far as will be judged necessary for their defence, with a proper quantity of materials and utensils for husbandry, clearing and cultivating the lands, erecting habitations, carrying on the fishery, and such other purposes as shall be deemed necessary for their support.

That all such persons as are desirous of engaging in the above settlement do transmit by letter, or personally give in their names signifying in what regiment or company, or on board what ship they last served, and if they have families they intend to carry with them, distinguishing the age and quality of such person to any of the following officers appointed to receive and enter the same in the books opened for that purpose, viz :—John Pownell, Esq., Solicitor and Clerk of the Repts. of the Lords Comrs. of Trade and Plantations, at their office at Whitehall; John Ressel, Esq., Comr. of His Majesty's Navy at Portsmouth; Philip Vanburgh, Esq., Comr. of His Majesty's Navy at Plymouth.

And the proper notice will be given of the said books being closed as soon as the intended number shall be completed, or at least on the 7th day of April.

It is proposed that the Transports shall be ready to receive such persons on board on the 10th April, and be ready to sail on the 20th, and that timely notice will be given of the place or places to which such persons are to repair in order to embark.

That for the benefit of the settlement, the same conditions which are proposed to private soldiers and seamen shall likewise be granted to Carpenters, Shipwrights, Smiths, Masons, Joiners, Brickmakers, Bricklayers, and all other artificers necessary in building or husbandry, not being private soldiers or seamen.

That the same conditions as are proposed to those who have served in the capacity of Ensign shall extend to all Surgeons, whether they have been in His Majesty's service or not, upon their producing proper certificates of their being duly qualified.

By order of the Right Hon. the Lords Comrs. of Trade and Plantations.

(Signed) THOMAS HILL, *Secretary.*

B.

The following notices appear in the Gazettes and Magazines of the day :

LONDON, Saturday, July 1, 1749.

Three vessels came up the river with about 300 German Protestants, who were ordered to remain at Lambeth and Vauxhall till they can be conveniently shipped to Nova Scotia.

Friday 21st July, 1749.

A great number of German Protestants from the Palatinate attended the Baron Munchausen, Chief Secretary for Hanover, with a petition soliciting a passage to Nova Scotia.

Wednesday, 12th April, 1749.

A great number of disbanded soldiers, discharged sailors, poor artificers, laborers, etc., who have accepted of His Majesty's grant of lands in Nova Scotia, attended at the Plantation Office in Whitehall, and received orders for admission, with their families and effects, on board the transports.

WHITEHALL, April 18, 1749.

Lieut.-Col. Cornwallis made Colonel and Commander of the Forces destined for Nova Scotia, with a salary of £1000 per annum.

May 9, 1749.

Hon. Edward Cornwallis to be Captain General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia.

C.

Extract from a letter in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1749 :

BOSTON, 10th July, 1749.

We have advice that two French men-of-war of 80 guns, and 20 transports, with a Governor and troops for a garrison, have arrived at Louisburg. The French Government offered Governor Hobson to transport his garrison to Chebucto, which was accepted, and orders came to discharge the vessels taken up here for that service. Col. Cornwallis, Governor of Nova Scotia, arrived at

Chebucto on 21st June* in the Sphinx, and Capt. Rouse in a sloop of war, and fifteen transports with 2000 adventurers on board, whose first settlement will be at or near Chebucto, where the Governor intended to keep the transports till next year for the convenience of the people, especially the women and children, until houses are built. The same encouragement that has been given to the British disbanded soldiers is given to Governor Sherley's and Col. Pepperell's regiments. Rum was sold at Louisburg for 9d. per gallon, and molasses extremely cheap. The French lost a great number of men in their passage to Louisburg by the small pox, yellow fever, etc., but the transports at Chebucto lost only one child.

D.

The following account of the expenditure on the settlement for the year 1749, was submitted to Parliament by the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations :

Blankets, Woolens and Shoes for the settlers, and presents for the Indians	£ 1,325	4	8
Lines, Nets and Hooks for Fishery, Stationery, Surveyors' Instruments, Bricks and Garden Seeds	2,729	12	9
Lighterage and Shipping off the settlers, package and charges of Hospital Stores, a Surgeon with medicines by the Transport from Liverpool, and the Union Snow	336	0	3
Medicines, Sugar, Live Stock, for the voyage, and Drugs, Instruments and necessaries for the Hospital	680	14	8
French Bibles	102	17	10
Cash paid for victualling for settlers	12,068	5	6
Treasurer of the Navy's account for Bedding and Victualling during voyage	7,354	19	0
Ditto, on account of the Sarah, Transport, from Liverpool	67	18	8
Treasurer of the Ordnance account for field pieces, swivel guns, small arms and powder	3,592	4	4
Printing and incidental expenses by directions of Lords Commissioners of Trade	445	19	10
Ventilators for six Transports	102	11	6
2 Fire Engines	72	16	0
Pay of Surgeons, Apothecaries, Midwife, exclusive of what they received at Halifax	860	0	0
Silver and Gold carried out by the Governor	3,922	8	0
Bills of Exchange drawn by the Governor, the account of the expenditure not yet received	11,452	13	4
Bill to Capt. Ives for a boat	40	0	0
The Treasurer for Scales and Weights	21	7	0
Bills drawn by Delancey & Watt, of New York, for Silver sent to the Province	5,523	5	9

* The memorandum on the first page of the register of settlers makes the date of Cornwallis's arrival the 8th June—the writer of this letter may have been misinformed.

Thomas Hancock, Esq., for Boards, Plank, 2 Schooners, Salt and Money shipped to purchase materials for mills	£ 1,528 15 0
Bills drawn by S. Martin, from Boston	576 8 6
	<hr/>
	£52,804 2 7
To the Transport Service for conveying the Settlers to Nova Scotia, etc.	23,672 1 3
	<hr/>
	£76,476 3 10
To Governor Cornwallis for personal outfit	500 0 0
	<hr/>
	£76,976 3 10

(Signed) CHRISTOPHER KILBY.

Account submitted to Parliament by the Lords Commissioners the following year :

Blankets, Woolens and Shocs for settlers, and presents for Indians	£ 1,325 4 8
Supplies for Fishery, Surveyor's Instruments, Bricks and Garden Seeds	2,729 12 9
Lighterage and Shipping Settlers, package and charges of Hospital Stores, etc	336 0 3
Medicines, Sugar, Live Stock, Drugs, Instruments, etc., for Hospital	680 14 8
French Bibles	102 17 10
Cash paid for Victualling Settlers	12,068 5 6
Treasurer of the Navy's account for Bedding and Victualling during voyage	7,354 19 0
Ditto on account of Sarah, Transport, from Liverpool	67 18 8
Treasurer of the Ordnance account for field pieces, swivel guns, small arms and powder	3,592 4 4
Printing and incidental expenses by directions of the Lords of Trade	445 19 10
Ventilators for 6 Transports	102 11 0
Two Fire Engines	72 16 0
Bill to Capt. Ives for a Boat	40 0 0
The Treasurer for Weights and Scales	21 7 0
Thomas Hancock, Esq.	1,528 15 6
Pay of Surgeons, Apothecaries and Midwife, exclusive of what they received at Halifax	860 0 0
To Transport Service for conveying settlers to Nova Scotia	23,672 1 3
Fees thereon	147 19 9
Fees on money received from the Exchequer, exclusive of the sums charged on the foregoing articles	473 4 6
To Freight, Bed, Bedding and Cabins for 514 passengers on board the Alderney, Nancy, Fair Lady and Two Friends, Transports, and incidental expenses attending embarkation, etc., etc.	3,144 4 4
To expenses repairing and fitting Sloop, New Casco	833 19 6
Gratuities 322 Foreign Protestants from Holland	338 2 0
Cash paid on account of Victualling settlers	4,500 0 0
Cash to Treasurer of Ordnance for Bills drawn by Governor	1,000 0 0
To Governor Cornwallis for the purchase of stores, payment of officers, package of stores, artificers and laborers, and contingent expenses, exclusive of £2,500 paid to his regiment for the four pence stopped for provisions to 11th Sept., 1750	35,268 0 2
Lieut. Martin's disbursements at Boston, for materials, vessels and stores	6,503 18 2

To Apthorp & Handcock, disbursements at Boston, for materials, vessels and stores	£	6,924	14	6
Thos. Gunter's Bills remitted him at Boston, on account of Expedition to Chignecto		2,600	0	0
Benj. Green, Treasurer, by his account from Sept. 20, 1750, to Nov. 30, 1750		3,621	14	0
Richard Bulkley, Paymaster of Works, from 1st August, 1750, to Nov. 30		4,073	16	3
To hire of Transports retained in the service and not paid by the Navy		4,002	2	4
To Foreign Settlers employed in public works at 12d. per day, till the money advanced is thereby reimbursed		1,005	0	0
To Col. Phillips' (now Cornwallis') Regt., to return deductions for provisions to Christmas, 1750		3,919	5	8
To provisions supplied Cols. Warber-ton's and Lascelles' Regts., Artillery Company, Independent Companies, seamen in vessels, laborers and artificers		17,832	3	8
Victual and transporting Lascelles' Regt. from Ireland		8,581	3	9
To Office of Ordnance for Timber, Materials and Tools sent from Annapolis, hire of vessels, magazine of powder and payment of officers and artificers employed by the Board		10,417	15	3
		<u>£173,838</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>

Cr.

By account of Money granted by Parliament for Nova Scotia Colony Regiment, March 23, 1748, granted upon account towards the charge of transporting to His Majesty's Colony of Nova Scotia, and supporting and maintaining there such reduced officers, etc., etc	£	40,000	0	0
1749. Granted upon account for defraying the charges incurred by transporting to H. M. Colony of Nova Scotia. and supporting and maintaining settlers not provided for by Parliament		36,476	3	10
1749. Granted on account for supporting, maintaining and employing the settlers, March 19, 1750		39,778	17	2
Exceedings		57,682	19	3
		<u>£173,938</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>

CHRISTOPHER KILBY.

The charge for contingencies, and the last charge of £10,417 15. 3., probably embrace the expenditure on Government buildings—the two churches of England, St. Paul's and St. Matthew's; also the fortifications and other government works then in progress.

WHITEHALL, February 20, 1750.

Estimate for 1751	£74,970	Estimate for 1756	£61,657
1752	96,639	1757	40,068
1753	58,559	1758	15,753
1754	47,741	1759	13,081
1755	55,799		

E.

The following extracts are from the letters of a French officer after the siege of Louisburg :

“ The eyes of all Europe are fixed on this formidable armament ; they have assembled an army of 22,000 men, 1600 brought from Europe, the remainder provincial militia, with a large train of artillery and munitions of war, 22 line of battle-ships and 200 transports. Yet Admiral Holburn, who appeared off Louisburg with 22 sail of men-of-war, took it into his head that our numbers were equal to his own, and has made his way back to Halifax. They will ask him there, why did you run away? Oh! says he, a superior force venit, vedit, fugit. It is vexatious that the first squadron which France has equipped since 1703 should be shackled with orders only to keep a look out. If ever there was a certainty of firing gunpowder to the renown of the white flag, it was on the 19th August, when Holburn appeared off Louisburg.”

In some of his subsequent letters he appears to give a very accurate account of the seige, and some facts relative to the war not to be found in any history of that period. In speaking of the landing of Wolfe at the head of the Highlanders and the American Light Troops—

“ It is the interest of the conquered not to diminish the glory of the victor, and besides it is our duty to do justice even to our mortal enemy, for which reason I confess that the English on this occasion behaved with such valor as before the event must have appeared temerity. Yet it must be allowed that at the same time the difficulty of the enterprise does them infinite honor, it saves ours ; who would have foreseen that they would have ventured to have climbed rocks till then rendered inaccessible, under a heavy fire from our batteries, notwithstanding their boats were every moment knocked to pieces in the surf, which drowned great numbers.

In speaking of the capitulation he says :

“ Though reduced to the last extremity we demanded far more advantageous terms than we had reason to expect. After a consultation between Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst, an unconditional surrender was demanded. Dracourt, the Governor, extremely exasperated at those terms, resolved to hold out, but was compelled to give in on receiving a most peremptory petition on the part of the inhabitants, presented by M. Prevost. The capitulation was signed on 15th July, 1758, after a bloody siege of two months. On the day following, our troops were drawn up, and the colors and arms surrendered to General Whitmore, who took command of the town. The evening before the English took possession of the

town, we suffered our soldiers to plunder the magazines, and the priests spent the whole night in marrying all the girls of the city to the first who would have them. No one here can perceive, at least by any personal inconvenience, that we are in a conquered town. The garrison has embarked with as much tranquility as if it had been going on a voyage of pleasure. Every soldier has taken away whatever belongs to him without suffering the least injustice. M. De Dracourt has received all the honors which a person of his rank deserved; Admiral Boscawen has shown all the respect to Madam De Dracourt as were due to her merits. This lady has performed such exploits during the siege as must entitle her to rank among the most illustrious of her sex, for she fired three cannon every day in order to animate the gunners. After the surrender she interested herself in behalf of all the unfortunates; in this number M. Maillet de Grandville was a striking instance of the instability of fortune. He left France at the age of 17, arrived at Quebec in indifferent circumstances; by his industry and application to business, he accumulated a vast fortune which enabled him to purchase the Lordship of St. Louis, which cost him 80,000 livres; but now, by the taking of Louisburg, he is left quite destitute with a numerous family."

F.

HALIFAX, July, 1752.

A list of the families of English, Swiss, etc., which have been settled in Nova Scotia since the year 1749, and who now are settlers in the places hereafter mentioned.

NORTH SUBURBS OF HALIFAX.

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
John Scutt	2	1	.....	.....	3
Edmund Dwight	1	2	1	2	6
Benjamin Brown	5	.....	.....	.....	5
William Gindler	1	3	1	1	6
Samuel Shipton	3	3	3	.....	9
Charles Procter	2	2	5	.....	9
Jonathan Hoar	2	.....	.....	.....	2
Gerchon Tuffs	1	2	.....	2	5
Preserved Cunnable	2	2	.....	2	6
William Bourn	9	1	.....	.....	10
Matthew Barnard	2	3	.....	.....	5
William Rundal	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Anthony Caverly	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Charles Hay	2	2	.....	.....	4
Nathaniel Henderson	1	1	.....	.....	2

NORTH SUBURBS.—(CONTINUED.)

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
Henry Chadwick	2	1		1	4
Samuel Lyne	1	1	2	2	6
Thomas Fitzpatrick	1	1	3		5
Judah Riger	1	1			2
Ezekiel Gilman	6	1			7
John Kinselagh	3	2			5
Benjamin Ives	5				5
Mrs. Decorot		2	1	2	5
Josiah Crossby	1	1	1	2	5
William Harris	3	1		2	6
Benjamin Phippeny	1	1		2	4
George Gerrish	3	1	1	5	10
Robert Norman	1	1			2
John Cox	1	1			2
Edward Bowden	1	1	1	1	4
John Tongue	2	1	1		4
Samuel Tanner	1	1		2	4
Samuel Chandler	1	1	1		3
George Sanders	2	1	2	1	6
John Christian Mulhlhe	2	3	2	1	8
Ernst Preper	2	1	1		4
Christopher Harness	1	1	1	3	6
Charles Robins	1	1	1	1	4
Ezekiel Wildman	3	1		1	5
Walter Motley	2	1		1	4
Charles Christ	2	2	1	2	7
Peter Schahlan	1	1			2
Peter Mozar	2	3	2	3	10
John Hoffens	1	1		3	5
Peter Wayte	1	1	1		3
Thomas Hay	3				3
Jacob Cheney	2	1	1	2	6
John Jones	2	1			3
Mary Birin	1	1	2	1	5
Charles King	1	1	1	2	5
John Porter	1	1	1	4	7
Joseph Pratt	1		1	1	3
Daniel Brewer	2	1			3
William Hunstable	6	1	1		8
Benjamin Storer	3	1		3	7
Jasper Battel	1	1		2	4
Ulrich Dithoe	1	1			2
Hans. Geo. Kohl	2	2			4
Joseph Chadwick	2	1			3
Christopher Warner	1	1	1		3
John Christopher Rodoph	1				1
John Burger Erad	6			1	7
John A. Le Mand	3	1		4	8
Ludovick Schnerr	1	2	2	1	6
	139	75	42	63	309

SWISS AND GERMANS IN THE NORTH SUBURBS.

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
Chs. Ludk. Hagelsieb	2	.....	1	2	5
John Peter Tahn	2	1	.....	1	4
Michael Brier	1	1	1	1	4
La renz Busgler	4	3	2	3	12
Leonhard Ulrich	1	1	.....	1	3
Jacob Craft	1	1	1	.....	3
Wendal Ramjer	1	1	1	1	4
George Storch	1	1	1	.....	3
Peter Klattenburger	2	1	1	1	5
Michael Clouser	3	.....	.....	.....	3
Michael Morash	2	2	.....	1	5
Jacob Schmidt	1	2	.....	.....	3
Joseph Ley	2	1	.....	.....	3
Barthel Hans	3	3	1	.....	7
Jacob Moser	2	1	1	4	8
Conrad Hall	1	1	.....	1	3
Jacob Hall	2	1	2	.....	5
Joseph Bley	3	1	.....	1	5
Michael Ley	1	1	1	.....	3
E izabeth Werner	.....	1	.....	2	3
Magdalen Orell	.....	2	.....	.....	2
Benedict Mayhofer	1	2	.....	.....	3
Andreas Kalb	1	1	1	.....	3
Adam Rundl	1	1	.....	.....	2
U rich Seeger	3	.....	.....	4	7
Daniel Schumaker	1	.....	.....	.....	1
John Jacob Schmidt	1	2	.....	.....	3
Adam Luty	1	1	.....	.....	2
Conrad Mucher	1	1	.....	.....	2
Godfried Knotz	3	2	.....	1	6
Peter Lawner	2	2	1	.....	5
Godfried Torpel	2	1	2	.....	5
Jacob Tanner	1	1	2	2	6
Johannus Buhofer	1	1	.....	.....	2
George Nagel	1	1	1	.....	3
Rudolph Pense	1	1	2	2	6
Adam Wambolt	2	2	.....	.....	4
Peter Wambolt	1	1	.....	.....	2
Ruchart Schup	1	1	1	1	4
Michael Hagg	2	.....	.....	.....	2
Michael Gimber	1	1	1	.....	3
Adam Buhler	1	1	.....	.....	2
Andreas Young	1	1	.....	.....	2
— Beringer	1	1	.....	.....	2
Casper Hickman	1	1	1	.....	3
Henrick Oxner	2	1	1	3	7
Jean Mange	1	1	2	.....	4
Casper Lehry	1	1	.....	.....	2
Peter Estmann	1	1	.....	1	3
Johannus Lonus	1	1	4	.....	6
Loui Eouton	1	1	1	.....	3

NORTH SUBURBS.—(CONTINUED.)

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
Casper Trillian	1	1			2
Augustin Wolf	1	1	2	1	5
Anton Halton	1	1		3	5
Matthias Nagel	2				2
Franciska Schnider	1			1	2
Ludwig Kosnig	2	1		3	6
Nicholas Wolf	1	1		1	3
Johannes Schroeder		2			2
Johannes Loesten		3			3
Utrick Klett	1	1			2
Maria Schlitter		2	1		3
Johannus Miller	1	1		3	5
Johanues Hoaif	1			1	2
George Vogler	6	2		4	12
Jacob Paulus	2	2	1	1	6
Conrade Werner	2	2	1	2	7
Matheus Finer	1	1		1	3
Andreas Sronnagel	1	1		2	4
Jacob Heish	2	1	1		4
George Polleber	1	1			2
Christian Finis	1	1		3	5
Gotleib Schermuller	5	2		1	8
Adam Schmidt	3	1	1	2	7
Christian Perfek	1	1	2		4
Christian Ernst	2	1			3
Frederick Aurenburg	2	2	2	2	8
Nicholas Eggly	6	1			7
Henrick Kuhn	4	2			6
Ulrick Schenekill	2	3	2	1	8
Jacob Shaffhouser	1	1			2
Johannes Simon	1	2	1	1	5
Asmus Diel	5	2			7
Jacob Sperry	2	2			4
Adam Jung	4	2		1	7
Johann Jung	4	1	1	1	7
	61	41	13	26	141

SOUTH SUBURBS.

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
Mary Rance		1	2		3
Thomas Latham	3	1			4
Jonathan Prescott *	11	1	1		13
Joseph Kent	1	1	1		3
Edmund Crawley †	4	1	1	1	7
John Winton	3	1		1	5
William Trefoy	4		1		5
Darby Cavanaugh	1	3		2	7
Edward Lush	5	1	1		7
Alice Twyny		2			2
James Ridder	4				4
John Crooks	2	1	2		5
James Hickens	1	1		1	3
James Pierpont	1	2		1	4
John Shippey	2	3	2		7
Peter, a negro	1	1		1	3
John Call	2	2		1	5
Ruth Wheeler	5	2			7
Joseph Harris	8				8
Richard Peirie	1	1			2
Francis Coburne	5	1	1	1	8
Charles Terlaven	5	1	2		8
Darby Sullivan	1				1
John Jackson	3	1		2	6
Gregory Ives	1	1			2
Samuel Sellon	2				2
Isaac Underdunk	1	1	2	2	6
George Featherstone	1	1	1	2	5
Maurice Welsh	1	1		1	3
Andrew Shepperd	2	1		1	4
William Mallus	4	1	4	1	10
Phillip Hammond	1	1		2	4
Solomon Reed	1	1	2		4
Joseph Evans	2				2
John Walker	1	1	2	2	6
Thomas Nunan	3	1			4
George Knox	1	1			2
Joseph Gullison	1	1		2	4
Jason Chapman	3	1		2	6
Rebecca Baldwin	1	1	2	1	5
Richard Manning	3	2			5
James Cane	1				1
Dennis Hieffernou	2	1	1	1	5
William Wickham	1	1			2
John Rider	2	1	2		5
Josiah Marshall	2	2	2		6
Joseph Pierce	2	1			3
John Steel	4	3			7

* Father of the late Hon. Charles Prescott.

† Afterwards Member of Council.

SOUTH SUBURBS.—(CONTINUED.)

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
Malachy Salter.....	3	2	1	2	8
Charles Kanier.....	3	.....	.....	.....	3
Jeremiah Rogers.....	3	1	.....	3	7
* Peter, Marquis D'Conti and Gravina.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2
Samuel Cleveland.....	2	1	2	4	9
Richard Graham.....	2	2	.....	.....	4
William Nesbitt.....	4	3	.....	.....	7
Isaac Knott.....	12	16	2	1	31
Daniel Tappoon.....	3	.....	1	.....	4
Hannah Hutchinson.....	.....	1	.....	1	2
Isaac Basset.....	.....	2	.....	1	3
Thomas Clarke.....	1	1	1	1	4
Robert Davis.....	1	1	1	1	4
William Lawson.....	1	1	2	1	5
John Eustace.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
John Miller.....	1	1	1	2	5
James Grimes.....	2	1	1	.....	4
John Griffin.....	1	1	3	1	6
Joseph Mehany.....	2	2	.....	1	5
Josiah Cleveland.....	1	.....	3	1	5
Felix McMeahan.....	2	.....	2	.....	4
Josiah Nottage.....	3	1	.....	2	6
Mathew Mullens.....	2	1	2	1	6
Henry Ferguson.....	5	2	3	.....	10
Jean Campbell.....	.....	1	.....	3	4
Ezekiah Averil.....	1	2	2	3	8
Thomas Hardin.....	1	1	2	1	5
Thomas Maggee.....	1	1	4	1	7
Robert Brooks.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
James Jordan.....	1	2	1	.....	4
John Poor.....	2	2	.....	1	5
Thomas Lamb.....	1	1	2	2	6
Thomas Collicut.....	2	1	.....	.....	3
John Barry.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
Maurice Driscoll.....	1	1	.....	1	3
John McCuller.....	2	1	.....	.....	3
Benjamin Child.....	2	1	2	2	7
William Wallace.....	1	1	1	.....	3
John Murphy.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
Henry Rigby.....	1	1	1	2	5
William Peters.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2
David Carmer.....	2	1	.....	.....	3
Patrick Mahoney.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
Samuel Fulton.....	2	1	.....	.....	3
Dennis Sullivan.....	1	2	.....	.....	3
Stephen Wisdoms.....	1	1	3	3	8
Richard.....	1	1	1	.....	3
Bartholomew Calahan.....	1	1	.....	1	3

* A Sicilian Nobleman, who came with a number of settlers from the West Indies. He was afterwards a Lieutenant of one of the companies of Rangers

SOUTH SUBURBS.—(CONTINUED.)

HEADS OF FAMILIES	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
Cornelius Crowley	3	.....	1	2	6
Nathaniel Millett	1	1	1	.....	3
Peter Wallace	1	.....	.....	.....	1
John Slayter	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Martin Ludovig	1	.....	.....	.....	1
John Wisdom	1	1	.....	1	3
George Cheshire	3	1	.....	.....	4
George Featherstone	1	1	.....	1	3
Richard Sparks	2	1	.....	.....	3
Jacob Hurd	3	.....	.....	.....	3
William Williams	3	1	1	.....	5
Jedediah Harris	2	1	1	1	5
Abraham Slayter	3	1	1	.....	5
Richard Winter	1	2	.....	.....	3
John Arbuckle	1	1	3	3	8
Perfect Miller	3	1	.....	.....	4
Mary Miller .....	.....	1	.....	1	2
Samuel Greenfield	1	1	.....	.....	2
Moses Clarke	1	2	.....	.....	3
—— Lewis	1	.....	.....	.....	1
William Matthews	1	1	.....	1	3
William Christopher	1	1	.....	1	3
Thomas Walker	1	1	2	.....	4
Daniel Hills	4	.....	1	.....	5
Richard Williams	1	1	.....	.....	2
Daniel Farrel	5	1	1	1	8
James Fullerton	1	1	2	.....	4
Nathaniel Mason	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Aaron Porter	4	.....	.....	.....	4
Jacobus Derkindrekin	1	1	.....	.....	2
William Seward	5	.....	1	.....	6
Joshua Orne	6	.....	.....	.....	6
Elias Girott	3	1	1	.....	5
Richard Wenman	3	.....	.....	.....	3
Daniel Shatford	1	1	2	.....	4
Charles Henderson	5	1	.....	.....	6
Jonathan Harris	2	1	.....	.....	3
Patrick Cambell	3	2	.....	.....	5
Aaron Cleveland	1	1	1	2	5
James Monk	1	1	2	4	8
Samuel Crafts	7	1	.....	.....	8
William Russel	65	1	.....	.....	66
Ann Wenmen, in Orphan House .....	.....	4	4	11	19
Joseph Palmer, in Hospital	21	1	.....	.....	22
Michael Naddow	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Joseph Gerrish	27	.....	1	.....	28
Dennis Mehaney	1	1	.....	.....	2
John Conway	1	1	3	1	6
Mrs. Taylor .....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Michael Lawler	1	1	.....	.....	2

SOUTH SUBURBS.—(CONTINUED.)

HEADS OF FAMILIES	Males above 16	Females above 16	Males under 16	Females under 16	Total
Peter Murpil.....	1	1	.....	1	3
John Gallant.....	17	2	1	1	21
Nicholas Nagler.....	1	1	3	.....	5
1 Swiss.....	1	1	2	.....	4
Josiah Bracket.....	3	1	1	.....	5

WITHIN THE TOWN OF HALIFAX.

HEADS OF FAMILIES	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
Thomas Power.....	11	2	1	1	15
Joshua Manger.....	14	3	2	1	20
William Steele, Esq.....	2	2	.....	.....	4
Benjamin Gerrish.....	2	2	.....	.....	4
Robert Cowey.....	7	2	1	1	11
Abigail Ward.....	.....	1	1	.....	2
William Austin.....	1	1	.....	1	3
Thomas Matterson.....	1	1	.....	1	3
Frederick Beeker.....	1	1	1	1	3
William Schwartz.....	1	1	1	1	4
Isaac Deschamps.....	1	.....	1	.....	2
Madam D'Pacquet.....	3	5	.....	1	9
John Brown.....	2	2	.....	1	5
Thomas Fulford.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
Lewis Pierce.....	1	1	1	1	4
Thomas Greoak.....	1	2	2	2	7
Leonard Lockman*.....	5	4	.....	.....	9
William Ford.....	1	2	.....	.....	3
John Johnstone.....	1	1	1	1	4
Thomas Luke.....	1	1	1	1	4
Leonard Cotton.....	5	1	1	3	10
William and Edward Nichols.....	3	.....	.....	.....	3
James Brenock.....	1	2	1	1	5
Thomas Oakes.....	2	1	.....	1	4
Mr. Wheyland.....	.....	1	.....	2	3
John Wellenon (Wellenor?).....	1	1	3	.....	5
Thomas Price.....	1	.....	2	.....	3
Vernon Merefield.....	1	1	3	.....	5

* Leonard Lockman was a German. In early life he practised medicine. He afterwards held the rank of Major in the army, which he received for services rendered to the British Government. He came out with the settlers in 1749, and eventually settled in the North Suburbs. He died at Halifax, and was buried beneath the old German Church on Brunswick Street, where his monument still remains. Lockman Street was named after him.

WITHIN THE TOWN OF HALIFAX.—(CONTINUED.)

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
John Brown	3	3	1		7
Allen Usher	1		1		2
Jeremiah Fitzsimons	3	1	2		6
Daniel McCylster	2	1	3	1	7
John Panier	2	1			3
Peter Anchote	2	2			4
John Aubony	7	2	1		10
David Loyd	1	1			2
Thomas Saul	10	1			11
Alexander Keddy	1	2			3
Jane Knight		1	1		2
William Brew	1	2			3
John Marlow	1	1			2
Jacob Cone	2	1	1	1	5
George Twelve's wife		1		2	3
John William Hoffman	2		1		3
Mr. Surget	2			1	3
James Fitzgerald	1	1			2
James Stewson	1	1			2
— Redman	1				1
James Colbeck	1	2	2		5
Alexander Abercrombie	1				1
John Baxter	1	2		1	4
Giles Harris	3	1	1	1	6
William Pierce	1	2	2		5
Edward Luky	1	1	1		3
James Patfield	1	1			2
Widow Clerk		1			1
William Davis	1	1	1		3
— Melony		1			1
John Steinfeld	1	1		1	3
George Suckling	1	1		1	3
Alexander Allen	1	1			2
Widow Henry		1		1	2
Thomas Frost	1	1			2
Ephraim Cook	12	4			16
by Mr. Brown					
James Colvill	3	2		1	6
Thomas Moore	1	1	1	2	5
Joseph Maseen	1	1	1		3
Edward Potter	1	1	1	1	4
China Brownjohn	1	1		1	3
Francis Lock	1	1	1	1	4
Daniel Stewart	2	3	1	2	8
Robert Grant	3	1	2		6
John Stockley	1	3	1		5
Edward Marguin	3	2			5
George Greenwood	1	1	1		3
James Smith	1	1	2	1	5
John Collier, Esq.	2	2			4

WITHIN THE TOWN OF HALIFAX.—(CONTINUED.)

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
William Piggott.....	7	1	3	4	15
William Best.....	6	2	2	1	11
William Henderson.....	3	2	.....	.....	5
Anne Woodside.....	2	1	2	.....	5
John Connor.....	3	1	.....	.....	4
Richard Barry.....	2	3	1	.....	6
William Heyslup.....	1	2	2	2	7
John Peter De Brace.....	3	1	.....	.....	4
John Raet.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
John Mudy.....	1	1	4	.....	6
Richard Stritton.....	1	2	1	.....	4
Joseph Churchill.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
Laurence Collins.....	1	1	.....	1	3
John Humphreys.....	1	1	.....	1	3
Joseph Coeishton.....	6	1	.....	.....	7
Ebenezer Petty.....	1	2	1	2	6
Robert Bowden.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
Thomas Newman.....	7	2	.....	2	11
William Griffin.....	3	.....	.....	.....	3
James Euston.....	4	.....	.....	.....	4
Thomas Hagan.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2
Thomas Mannen.....	1	1	.....	1	3
Edward Butler.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
John Grant.....	3	2	.....	.....	5
Edward Orpin.....	4	1	.....	.....	5
John Vintonen.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2
Thomas Branham.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2
Henry Wilkinson.....	1	1	.....	2	4
William Wright.....	1	1	1	2	5
Henry Wynn.....	4	1	.....	1	6
Paul Pritchard.....	1	2	.....	1	4
Alexander Forbes.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2
William White.....	3	1	.....	2	6
John Hall.....	1	1	2	1	6
Thomas Wilder.....	5	.....	.....	.....	5
Thomas Greensword.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
George Nelson.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
Robert Parfect.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
William McCarty.....	2	1	.....	.....	3
John Ewes.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
James Fallon.....	5	1	1	1	8
William Johnson.....	2	1	.....	.....	3
Thomas Campbell.....	1	1	1	.....	3
James Porter.....	3	1	.....	2	6
William Vanfelson.....	1	1	1	.....	3
James Ford.....	1	1	2	3	7
Robert Freeman.....	1	1	3	2	7
John Wooden.....	2	1	2	2	7
William Roacock.....	1	1	1	1	4
Peter Parkman.....	1	1	.....	.....	2

WITHIN THE TOWN OF HALIFAX.—(CONTINUED.)

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
Matthew Hopkins	1	2	2	1	6
James Douglass	1				1
John Meeds	1	1		1	3
Mary Robertson	5	1	3		9
Mary Williams		3			3
Nathan Nathans	5				5
George Taylor	3		1		4
Patrick Furlong	2	1			3
John Slayter	1	1	3		5
John Ker	2				2
John Clewley	8	2			10
Garret Mead	2	2			4
Charles Mason	3	1		1	5
Matthew McNemara	3	2			5
George Frank	1	2		1	4
John Webb	1				1
Robert Ewer	14	1			15
Peter Martin	1	4			5
Michael Mullineaux	1	2	1	2	6
Thomas Reeve	1	1			2
John Bohanan	1	1	2	1	5
— Ray		1		2	3
Euste. Butter	1	1		1	3
Thomas Golden	2	2			4
William Williams	1	1			2
Edward Lee	1	1	5		7
James Bannerman	2	1			3
Richard Bulksley	3	2			5
John Franks	1	1	1	1	4
Christopher Cooke	1	1	1	3	6
Robert Dickie	2	2	2		6
Joseph Wakefield	1	1	2		4
Thomas Bryant	1	1			2
Edward L'Cras	3	3	1		7
Lawrence Ren	1	2	2		5
John Fenly	1				1
William Walker	1	2			3
Mr. Bruce	2				2
Thomas Rundal	1	1			2
— Wigel	1	1	1	1	4
Mark Cullymore	1	1	1		3
Nathaniel Gosford	2	2			4
John Naymers	1	2	3	2	8
Davis Townsend	1	1	2		4
John Cleary	2	2			4
John Kent	4	1			5
William Crafts	1	3	2	1	7
Rosana Scott		3	2		5
Patrick Britt	2	2		1	5

WITHIN THE TOWN OF HALIFAX.—(CONTINUED.)

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
William Bearsto *	1	1	3	1	6
Joseph Ford	3	2	1	1	7
William Eaton	1	1		1	3
James Tate	1	1		1	3
Samuel Sprague	1				1
Stephen McKine	1	1	3	1	6

WITHIN THE PICKETS† OF HALIFAX.

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
James Vickars	1	1			2
Joel Waterman	1	1	1	1	4
Catherine Austin		1			1
Andrew Maxwell	4	1		1	6
John Gaffer	2	2			4
Luke Shippey	1	1	1		3
Henry Sweetland	2				2
Jonathan Markham	3	1			4
Francis Porter	4	3			7
Matthew Corker	1	1	1		3
Thomas Landerkin	1	1			2
Griffin Jenkins	1	1			2
Mary Hollowell		2			2
Edward Castle	6	1			7
Mrs. Whitehand	2	2	1		5
John Crowley	1	1		1	3
Philip Knaut	1	2	1		4
Storker Nelson	3	2	1		6
John Lowrey	1	1		1	3
Joseph Scott	2	1	1		4
Israel Abrahams	2	5	1	2	10
Thomas Ames	2				2
Thomas Dame	1	1	1	1	4
Benjamin Lee	1	2	1		4
Mary Cooper	1	1			2
Michael Sexton	3	2			5
George Popplewell	1	1			2
John Beswick	1	1	1		3
John South	1	1			2
Richard Hollis	1	2	1		4

* Captain in the army.

† Between Buckingham Street and the present Blowers Street.

WITHIN THE PICKETS OF HALIFAX.—(CONTINUED.)

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
Mr. Reynolds	1				1
James Whellon	1	1		3	5
William Giles	1	1			2
Frederick Barley	1				1
Ezekiel Budd	1	1			2
Josiah Hardy	1	1	3	1	6
John Edmundson	1	1			2
James Thompson	1	2	1		4
Mary Webb		1			1
Timothy Cane	1	1		1	3
James Banfield	1	1	1		3
James Babrig	3	2			5
Isaac Solomon	1	1		1	3
James Thorp	1	1		1	3
Samuel Blockden	1	2	2	4	9
Elizabeth Gunnel	1			2	3
Eleanor Cannon	1			1	2
Thomas Walker	3	1		1	5
Charles Morris	5	2		1	8
Josiah Millekin	2	1			3
John Codman	2				2
Lewis Hays	2	2	1		5
William Moore	4	1			5
William Cannon	1	1			2
Samuel McClure	1	2	1	1	5
Henry Fielding	1	1		1	3
Patrick Kennedy	2	2		1	5
John Walker	3	1	1		5
Benjamin Fogg	2	2		1	5
William Foye	2	4			6
Otis Little	4	2	1	1	8
Hugh Vans	3		1		4
Lewis Frignet	4	1			5
Joseph Antrims	2	2		1	5
Benjamin Green, Esq	3	2	3	1	9
H. J. O'Brien	2	2	1	2	7
Bartholomew Kneeland	2	1			3
Joseph Fairbanks	9	1			10
James Fillis	1		1		2
John Rous	2	4	1	2	9
Joseph Rous	4	2	1		7
John Greensword	17	4			21
William Fury	3	1	1	1	6
Debtors in Gaol	19				19
Criminals	8				8
William Falkner	1	1			1

ON SEVERAL ISLANDS AND HARBORS, EMPLOYED IN FISHERY.

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.
ON CORNWALLIS ISLAND :				
Capt. Joseph Rouse	4			
“ Manger	7			
“ Cook	5			
— Bradshaw	16	1		
	32	1		
AT KETCH HARBOR :				
John Grace	10	2	1	
Capt. Gill	6			
— Brown	3	2	1	
	19	4	2	
AT SAMBRO ISLAND :				
Capt. Matterson	21	1		
Thomas Youngston	1	1	1	1
	22	2	1	1
AT ST. MARGARET'S BAY :				
Benjamin Frog	10	1	2	
James Ford	13			
Adam Clown	1	1		1
— Allen	5			
	29	2	2	1

LABORERS EMPLOYED IN HIS MAJESTY'S WORKS ON GEORGE'S ISLAND.

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
Richard Reeve	1	1	1		3
Thomas Leak	1	1	1		3
Patrick Hamilton	1	1			2
Cornelius Larigan	1	1			2
Laborers	11				11

AT THE BLOCK HOUSE AND THE ISTHMUS.

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
Adam Schafner	1	2			3
Jacob Soloer	1	1	1		3
Johannes Frederick	1		1		2
Peter Moeser	1	1			2
Richard Voleker	1				1
Adolph Henokel	1	1	2	2	6
Philip Krepof	1	1	1	1	4
Casper Meisner	1	3	2		6
Johannus Hoars	1				1
Henrick Hiltz	2	1		1	4
Henrick Mertz	1	1			2
Johanna M. Girtler		2		1	3
Margaretta Hoars		1	2	2	5
Philip Sponnagel	1	1	1	1	4
Michael Westhoefer	1	2			3
Wilhelm Wensell	1	2	2		5
Johannes Forrokner	1	1			2
Ferdinand Shultz	1	1	1		3
Christian Schmidt	1	1	1		3
Johannus Schnok	1	1	1		3
Christopher Schafner	1	1			2
Lorentz Conrat	4	1	2	1	8
Jacob Brande	1	1			2
Philip Winter	1	1			2
Johannus Knaut	1	1			2
Wenel Wust	1	1	1	1	4
George Evalt	1				1
Adam Lehnhart	1	1	2	1	5
Conrad Graff	1	1			2
Jacob Berger	1	1			2
Philip Sigler	1				1
Frederick Heison	2	1		2	5
Henrick Lehn	1	1			2
Johannas Barget	1	1		2	4
Andrew Walter	1	1	1	1	4
Henrick Minok	2	1	1	2	6
Wilhelm Knveller	1	2		3	6
Adam Fileoh	1	1			2
Andrew Sauer	1				1
Eva Gibhart	1	4		2	7
Peter Krauner	1	1	2	1	5
Jacob Scely	1	1	1	2	5
Adam Boettinger	1	1			2
Caspar Ditrich	1	1			2
Christian Gothart	1				1
Johannes Schmidt	1	1			2
John Sebastian Nicolas	2				2
Ditrich Klauter	1				1
Ludovig Feller	1				1
Leonard Anton Freher	1	1		1	3

AT THE BLOCK HOUSE AND THE ISTHMUS.—(CONTINUED.)

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
Laurenz Lahn.....	2	1	2	.....	5
Andreas Velocker.....	1	2	.....	2	5
Ludovig Schnoer.....	2	1	1	2	6
Philip Hirschman.....	1	1	1	.....	3
Anna Luse.....	1	.....	.....	1	2
Caspar Qenok.....	1	1	2	1	5
Philip Rotehauser.....	1	2	1	2	6
Conrad Teele.....	1	1	1	2	5
Michael Merokel.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1
George Grant.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Partel Hoarse.....	2	5	1	.....	8
Alon Ostertay.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1

	Families.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Males under 16.	Females under 16.	Total.
Within the Pickets of Halifax.....	468	846	622	279	285	2032
Within the North Suburbs.....	169	317	205	105	138	765
Within the South Suburbs.....	151	429	169	115	105	818
Within the Town of Dartmouth.....	53	81	47	29	38	195
On several Islands and Harbors employed in Fishery, etc. }		168	13	18	3	202
On the Isthmus and the Peninsula of Halifax. }	65	73	66	38	39	216
	906	1914	1122	584	608	4248

906 families.
 1914 males over 16.
 1122 females over 16.
 584 boys under 16.
 608 girls under 16.

1914
 1122

792 excess of males over females (over 16).

The foregoing is copied from a book in the Crown Land Office, having been in the Surveyor General's office, apparently, since 17th May, 1779, as the blank leaves contain memoranda of different warrants of survey from that date to June, 1781. Copied 4th December, 1862.

G.

From the Gentlemen's Magazine, Vol. 20, 271.

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA, December 7, 1749.

DEAR SIR,—I have at various times given you the last account I was able of the state of affairs in this Colony. The summer was beautiful beyond description and even the conception of those who are always confined within the liquid walls of Britain. As to the winter, which you know I always dreaded, I do assure you I have felt severer weather in England. The people acquainted with this climate say that it began this year sooner than was ever known in the memory of man, and assure me likewise that it will not be more severe than it has been already; if so, there is no danger to be apprehended from it. This you will readily grant when I tell you, notwithstanding the tenderness of my constitution, to which you are no stranger, that I have not added a single thing, not so much as a great coat, to my dress since I have been in this Province. When I look back upon the 21st June, the day of our arrival, I am astonished to see the progress made; there are already about 400 habitable houses within the fortifications and not less than 200 without. So surprising is the growth of this colony, so great the happiness of being ruled by one who has no other interest at heart but that of making thousands happy.

From my soul I wish that all other governors would copy such an amiable example of imitation; he does not, like most others gripe and squeeze to accumulate a fortune; on the contrary, he derives no profit to himself from anything, but, with the most unexampled generosity, gives all places and commissions gratis to the most deserving, nor suffers his officers to take any fees at present. You know what an English rabble is (and the greatest part of this colony was such.) You know they are generally tumultuous, refractory, full of discontent and murmuring, capricious in demanding favors, not long satisfied with present concessions, and not seldom abusing them by restless importunity for more. Such generally is the rabble of mankind, and such were many of the settlers of this province, but by his prudent management and proper generosity, by his condescension, candor and affability, the Governor has charmed the tiger's fury and turned a sad tumultuous rabble into a tractable and quiet people. They now work with ten times the alacrity they did at first, are patient under disappointments, and when they meet with a repulse, they conclude their petitions to have been unreasonable, from a firm persuasion that His Excellency has their true interest at heart; they cannot ask with reason, but what he grants with pleasure.

Yours, etc., etc.,

* * * * *

H.

COPY OF MINUTES OF COUNCIL OF 12TH JUNE, 1752, REGARDING THE ERECTION OF A LIGHT HOUSE AT SAMBRO.

At a Council holden at the Govrs. House at Halifax, Fryday, June 12th, 1752.*

PRESENT—His Excellency the Govr.

Benj. Green, Wm. Steele
John Collier, Geo. Fotheringham, } Esqrs.

Resolved, That, Whereas a Light house at the Entrance of the Harbor of Halifax, would be greatly beneficial to the Trade, Navigation, and Fishery of this Colony, and might be the means of preserving the Lives and properties of many of his Majesty's Subjects, and whereas altho' many persons might willingly contribute towards so good a Work without any Expectation of a Reimbursement, yet probably many may more readily be concerned therein, when attended with any hopes of promoting their own Interest at the same time.

A Lottery, according to the following Scheme, be set on foot for raising a sum of £450 towards building a Lighthouse at or near Cape Sambrough, (whereby, besides the advantages before mentioned,) a considerable number of Settlers will be usefully employed for some time, and a great & lasting Benefit to the province be gained, by a voluntary Tax upon those persons (amongst others) who at present contributed nothing towards the Expence of the Government whose protection & favour they enjoy.

Scheme of a Lottery for Raising £450 towards building a Lighthouse at or near Cape Samborough:—

The number of Tickets to be 1000 at £3 each, £3000.

The number of Benefit Tickets to be 200, vizt.:

1 Prize of £500	£500
1 Ditto of 300	300
2 Ditto of 100 each	200
5 Ditto of 50 each	250
10 Ditto of 30 each	300
40 Ditto of 10 each	400
140 Ditto of 7 each	980
1 The first drawn	70

200 prizes.

£3000

* At a previous meeting of the Council held on the 3rd of February, a public ferry was established between Halifax and Dartmouth, and John Connor of the latter place appointed ferryman, with the exclusive privilege for 3 years to keep boats constantly passing and repassing, between Sunrise and Sunset, every day in the week, except on Sunday, when the boats should pass only twice—the ferriage to be 3d., and 6d. after hours, for each Passenger, and a reasonable price to be paid for goods, other than baggage, etc., carried in the hand, which passed free.

Fifteen per cent. to be deducted from the fortunate Tickets, and the remainder to be paid, without any other Deduction, to ye possessors of the sd. Tickets, as soon as the drawing shall be over—To be drawn publicly in the Town House, at Halifax under the Direction of managers to be appointed by his Excell. the Govr. as soon as all the Tickets shall be disposed of, and in case the said Tickets shall not be all disposed of, before ye 31st Augt. next, the money reed. for any sold to be repaid to the possessors thereof on Demand.

ED: CORNWALLIS.

I.

Governor Cornwallis to Duke of Bedford.*

(COPY.)

CHEBUCTO, 22nd June, 1749.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I arrived here yesterday,—this morning a Sloop arrived from Mr. Hopson, which I am obliged to send to Boston in case any ship should be going thence to England. I would not neglect an opportunity of writing to your Grace. I met the “Fair Lady” storeship at sea the eleventh, after we had been from England four weeks, who told me the Transports arrived at Spithead the day before he sailed, and were to sail in three days after him, we were then off the island of Sable, and except the first eight days had met with contrary winds all the passage, besides we had steered our course for Cape Race but was forced off the banks by a gale of wind from the North West so that I had reason to think the Transports might be soon at Chebucto—we had nobody on board that knew anything of the coasts nor of the Bay of Funday, so were to cruize off the coasts till we met with a pilot, we made the Coast of Acadie the 14th, but met with no pilot till the 20th, when we met with a sloop from Boston to Louisburgh with two pilots on board, for the use of the Governor,—the wind not serving for the Bay of Funday, and the officers assuring me in case of foggy weather (not unusual upon those coasts) we might be a fortnight getting to Annapolis. The wind was fair for Chebucto, so I thought it advisable to go in there rather than risk the being some weeks, perhaps, after the settlers arrived.

*The Honorable Edward Cornwallis was fifth son of Charles, third Baron Cornwallis, by Lady Charlotte Butler, daughter of Richard, Earl of Arran, and uncle to the celebrated Duke of Ormonde. He was born 22nd February, 1712-13. He was Member of Parliament for the borough of Eye in 1749, and in 1753, shortly after his return from Halifax, he was elected for the city of Westminster. He married, the same year, a daughter of the late Lord Townshend, but left no family. In 1759 he was made a Major General, and was afterwards Governor of Gibraltar. General Cornwallis was twin brother of Dr. Frederick Cornwallis, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and uncle of the Lord Cornwallis who defeated General Gates at Camden, South Carolina, in 1780, and afterwards surrendered at Yorktown, to the Revolutionary General Lincoln. — *Collins' and Debrett's Peerages.*

I could save the garrison of Louisburgh the bad and long navigation to Annapolis, so I sent to Governor Hopson that I was going for Chebucto and desired him to transport the garrison thither, imagining he had transports ready; by his sloop that came in this day I find him in great perplexity, the French arrived, and he no transports.—The Council of War it seems were of opinion that the orders from the Secretary at War did not empower him to hire transports, but to wait my arrival and that I was to send the transports that brought the settlers here. As I cannot know when the transports will arrive, in what condition, nor how many I can spare, I think it absolutely necessary for the service to send the sloop to Boston with orders to Apthorp and Hancock, who Mr. Hopson has recommended as the persons who have been always employed on the part of the Government, to hire vessels with all expedition for the transportation of these troops from Louisburgh to Chebucto. I send a letter by the same sloop to Colonel Mascarene in case he should meet at sea any vessel going to Annapolis. I likewise send a Frenchman that knows the country over land, by Minas to Annapolis. I have ordered Colonel Mascarene to come here with a quorum of the Council as soon as possible that I may open my commission, take the oaths and appoint another Council, according to His Majesty's instructions.

I can give Your Grace little information as yet as to this country—the coasts are as rich as ever they have been represented. We caught fish every day since we came within fifty leagues of the coast, the harbor itself is full of fish of all kinds; all the officers agree the harbor is the finest they have ever seen—the country is one continual wood, no clear spot to be seen or heard of. I have been ashore in several places—the underwood is only young trees so that with difficulty one might walk through any of them; D'Anville's fleet have only cut wood for present use, but cleared no ground, they encamped their men upon the beach. I have seen but few brooks nor have as yet found the navigable river that has been talked of—there are a few French families on each side of the bay about 3 leagues off; some have been on board. As to the disposition of the French or Indians I can give Your Grace no account till I see Colonel Mascarene, when I shall write more fully and continue from time to time to acquaint Your Grace of our proceedings. I wish the French may not be uneasy at waiting so long on board for the evacuation of Louisburgh as it may be some time before Mr. Hopson will get transports—it will, I fear, retard the settlement.

I am &c.,

ED. CORNWALLIS.

P. S.—I expect the transports daily.
His Grace the Duke of Bedford.

(From the Duplicate.)

We came to anchor in Merligniche Bay, where I was told there was a French settlement. I sent ashore to see the houses and manner of living of the inhabitants—there are but a few families with tolerable wooden houses covered with bark, a good many cattle and clear ground more than serves themselves—they seem to be very peaceable, say they always looked upon themselves as English subjects, have their grants from Colonel Mascarene, the Governor of Annapolis, and showed an unfeigned joy to hear of the new settlement. They assure us the Indians are quite peaceable and not at all to be feared—there are none hereabouts.

I have, &c.,

ED. CORNWALLIS.

(From the Duplicate.)

This Frenchman will be there in three or four days—'tis 25 leagues from hence to Minas, and the French have made a path for driving their cattle over here.

*Governor Cornwallis to Duke of Bedford.**

CHEBUCTO, JULY 23rd, 1749.

MY LORD,—

My last to Your Grace was of June 22nd, a duplicate of which is enclosed,—the 27th, the transports appeared off the harbor and in a few days most of them got in. As their passage had been extremely good and none of them had in the least suffered, I found they would be ready to sail the moment the settlers should be put ashore. I despatched a sloop to Boston to countermand the order I had given, and sent to Mr. Hopson to let him know I would send in a few days transports to bring away his garrison. Mr. Hopson had wrote me that he had agreed with Desherbier, the French Commissary, to make use of the French transports upon condition that in case the English ships should arrive before they were all on board he should be at liberty to disembark them. I sent him one the 1st of July and four more, the largest of the fleet, the 5th. I own I was much disappointed in finding Mr. Hopson unprovided with transports as I never had the least intimation that he was to wait for the ships that should bring the settlers. I have an account from Boston of July 3rd that my second order got there soon enough to prevent all but one from sailing, but as they were all hired this will cause some expense; they write me it will not be much.

* John Russell, 4th Duke of Bedford, was appointed Secretary of State in 1747-8 and resigned the office in 1751. He was afterwards Minister Plenipotentiary to France. He died in 1771.—*Collins' Peerage.*

July 8, I received from Mr. Hopson copies of letters from Governor Shirley and Colonel Mascarene giving an account of the French having begun a settlement and a fort at the mouth of the St. John's River. As my instructions direct me to prevent all such encroachments, and particularly mention that River as of the greatest consequence, I next day sent Capt. Rous of the Albany with a small sloop to attend him with orders to the commanding officers at Annapolis to furnish him with troops if demanded. Copies of my letter to Capt. Rous and one to the commander of St. John's, I send Your Grace enclosed. I hope what I have done in this affair will meet with Your Grace's approbation. July 12th I heard from Governor Shirley, that he had sent the Boston to Annapolis to receive my instructions about the affair of St. John's. I sent Capt. Pearse the same directions I had given to Capt. Rous, and a copy of the declaration asserting His Majesty's rights. As to Port Mouton which is mentioned in these letters, I believe it was a mistake occasioned by the French having put in there in their way to St. John's.

I shall now lay before Your Grace our proceedings at Chebucto.

Colonel Mascarene arrived here on the 12th with five of the Council; next day I opened to them His Majesty's commission, and took the oaths; the day following I nominated the members of a new Council:

Colonel Mascarene.*

Capt. How.

Capt. Gorham.

Mr. Benj. Green.

Mr. Salisbury.

Mr. Davidson.

I have added since, Mr. Steel.

As, perhaps, no copies were taken of the plans sent me of the harbor, I send along with this a copy of Durel's plan. Your Grace will see that the place I have fixed for the town is on the west side of the harbor—'tis upon the side of a hill which commands the whole peninsula and shelters the town from the north-west winds. From the shore to the top of the hill is about half a mile, the ascent very gentle, the soil is good, there is convenient landing for boats all along the beach and good anchorage within gunshot of the shore for the largest ships. In Durel's plan the two points that make the entrance to Bedford Bay are marked as the places proper to fortify, which is likewise taken notice of by Mr. Knowles. Their view must then have been to have the settlement within that bay. This would have been subject to great inconveniences. In the first place, it would be too far up for the fishermen, it being about five leagues from the entrance of the harbor to these points, and the

* Col. Mascarene was the Lieut. Governor of Annapolis; Capts. How and Gorham were two of his councillors. Mr. Green was secretary to Governor Hopson at Louisburg. Messrs. Salisbury and Davidson came out with Governor Cornwallis. Mr. Steel, afterwards added to the Council, was one of the settlers from England.

beach all along as proper for curing their fish as can possibly be imagined, so that no fisherman would ever have thought of going within these forts—indeed no ships would choose to go so far, as no finer harbor can be than that of Chebucto, which reaches from these points to Sandwich River,* so that notwithstanding of any forts upon these points an enemy's fleet might lie secure and indeed block up all ships within the bay. The proper places to fortify for the defence of the harbor seem to be Sandwich Point and the bank opposite to it. George's Island lies likewise very convenient for a battery to defend both the harbor and the town. It contains about ten or twelve acres. It was there I landed the settlers from on board the ships sent to Louisbourg—I have now a guard there and stores, and propose to build a magazine upon it for powder.

As there was not one yard of clear ground, Your Grace will imagine our difficulty and what work we have to do. However, they have already cleared above 12 acres and I hope to begin my own house in two days; I have a small frame and planks ready.

The Indians are hitherto very peaceable, many of them have been here with some Chiefs; I made them small presents, told them I had instructions from His Majesty to offer them friendship and all protection and likewise presents which I should deliver as soon as they should assemble their tribes and return with powers to enter into treaty and exchange their French commissions for others in His Majesty's name.

Three of the French Deputies have been here to know what is to be their condition for the future; I gave them copies of His Majesty's Declaration and copies of the Oath of Allegiance which I told them they must take without any condition or reservation, but in the same manner as His Majesty's English subjects;—they pretend their only difficulty is from fear of the Indians in case of a French war. I have ordered all the Deputies to come here and expect them in a few days. I think 'tis necessary to show them that 'tis in our power to master them or to protect them, and therefore I design to send as soon as possible two companies to Minas with orders to build a barrack and stay there the winter. I shall also send an armed sloop into the Bay of Minas to prevent all correspondence with the French by sea; another company I shall send to the head of the bay where the road to Minas begins. I propose, likewise, a blockhouse half way for the conveniency of travellers, and then to employ all the men I can get together, soldiers and inhabitants, to clear the road from hence to Minas; 'tis about 30 miles in a direct line—whether this can be executed before winter I cannot say. Had the garrison of Louisbourg been arrived,

* North-west Arm.

they would have been of infinite advantage; at present I have only one company of Hopson's, one of Warburton's and 60 of Gorham's Rangers.*

A list of the civil officers I shall be able to send Your Grace by the next ships that sail, with an account of what further progress we shall have made.

I am, &c.,

ED. CORNWALLIS.

To His Grace the Duke of Bedford.

J.

NAMES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SUN FIRE COMPANY OF HALIFAX
IN THE YEAR 1819.

John W. Pyke.	Robert Lyons, Jr.
John Tremain.	John Howe, Jr.
Michael Tobin.	James T. Alport.
Stephen W. DeBlois.	Henry Austin.
Charles Hill.	John Carroll.
John Owen.	Joseph Allison.
Richard Tremain.	Lewis E. Piers.
Henry Taylor.	W. Bremner.
J. E. Butler.	Samuel Story.
David Shaw Clarke.	George N. Russell.
James Grant.	James Russell.
James Kerby.	E. J. Hopson.
William Bowie.	Samuel Cunard.
Alexander Creighton.	Enos Collins.
John Letson.	James Cogswell.
Alexander Fiddis.	John Dupuy.
William Lawson.	Lewis DeMolitor.
Adam DeChezeau, Jr.	Temple F. Piers.
Andrew Smith.	Edward Alport.
John Liddell.	John Salter.
Joseph Dolby.	John Moody.
William Milward, Jr.	George Mitchell.
Azor Stephens.	S. Morris.
Joseph Marchington.	John Ferguson.
Lawrence Hartshorne, Jr.	W. N. Silver.

* These Rangers came from Annapolis; they had been enlisted in New England and were chiefly composed of Indians of half blood,

James Bain.	Miles W. White.
William K. Reynolds.	A. McDonald.
Charles Boggs.	H. Ford.

D. McColl.

ABSENT MEMBERS.

P. Sennerats, London.	John Telford, Scotland.
Mark Etter, Trinidad.	G. W. Anderson, Glasgow.
James Barlow, London.	James Walker, Chester.

MEMBERS LATELY DECEASED.

John Henry.	Samuel T. Prescott.
Thomas Leo DeWolf.	Winkworth Allen.
James Bell.	John Buchan.
Robert Lyon.	Thomas Austin, Jr.

Peter Bain.

K.

From the Gentlemen's Magazine, Vol. 20, 1750. (June.)

The Town of Halifax is entirely built according to the plan given in our last February number, and many additional buildings are carrying on. The barracks for the soldiers are completed and the fort at the mouth of the harbor will soon be in a good posture of defence.

The story in the papers of the Indians burning a town of 200 houses is without foundation.

Major Lawrence, of Warburton's Regiment at Nova Scotia, appointed Lieut.-Col. of Governor Cornwallis' Regiment and Lieut. Governor of Annapolis Royal. (July number of the Magazine, 1750.)

August, 1750. Halifax, Nova Scotia.—The fishery here is extremely good, one company only having 1400 or 1500 quintals of good dry fish ready to ship for a foreign market, and others also have been very successful. Mr. Brown, gardener to Governor Cornwallis, with his son and four others, going out two or three miles from the town, were beset by the Indians, who killed him and his son; the latter they buried, but the other body was found on the ground scalped, and brought hither and buried; the four others, it is feared, are killed or carried off. The Indians have also attacked and scalped seven men that were at work on the other side of the harbor. Parties are gone out to repel them.

L.

RETURN OF THE 1ST COMPANY OF HALIFAX VOLUNTEER ARTILLERY,
UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPTAIN RICHARD TREMAIN, 6TH
JULY, 1812.

Peter Robb, Sergt. Major.	Alexander May.
John Brown,	Thomas Gentles.
Wm. Forsyth,	John Pendergrass,
Thos. Fenerty,	William Stairs.
John Rogers,	John N. Ford.
Charles Dunbrack,	Nicholas Wright.
Thomas Nelson,	Samuel Black.
John D. Scott,	Azor Stevens.
William Rudolf,	Henry Monson.
David Muirhead,	Dennis Connor.
William Story, Jr.,	Paul Cermanatti.
Martin Piazza,	Henry Wright.
John Tremain.	Abner Stowell.
Frederick Major.	William Schwartz.
William Gorham.	Peter McNab.
James McAllen.	Thomas Muirhead.
John Miller.	Alexander Fiddis.
William Bond.	Herven Cameron.
John Peeples.	Thomas Simmons.
William O'Brien.	William H. Barry.
Alexander Smith.	John Hussey.
George Morin.	Thomas Richey.
Francis Story.	John McPherson.
George Nock.	Fred'k John Knight.
Samuel Lydiard.	John Cobb.
Benjamin Marshall.	Thomas Smith, Jr.
Benjamin Kingston.	Daniel Ferguson.
Peter Hay.	Charles W. Hill.
Frederick Kringle.	William Murray.
John Henry.	Thomas Beamish.
William Smith.	Nicholas Vass.
Martin Gay Black.	Alexander Clarke.
Leslie Moffatt.	Joseph Lordley.
John Phillips.	Henry Boyer.
Frederick Runvell.	John Bonnell.
Francis Muncey.	Henry Warner.
Robert Grinton.	David Hutton.
George O'Brien.	Ralph Turnbull.
Morgan Doyle.	Donald Fraser.
Daniel Fraser.	James Wilson.

John Forrest.
 John F. Salter.
 John Fillis.
 Richard Scott.
 William Strachan, Jr.
 John Simpson.
 Robert Fraser.

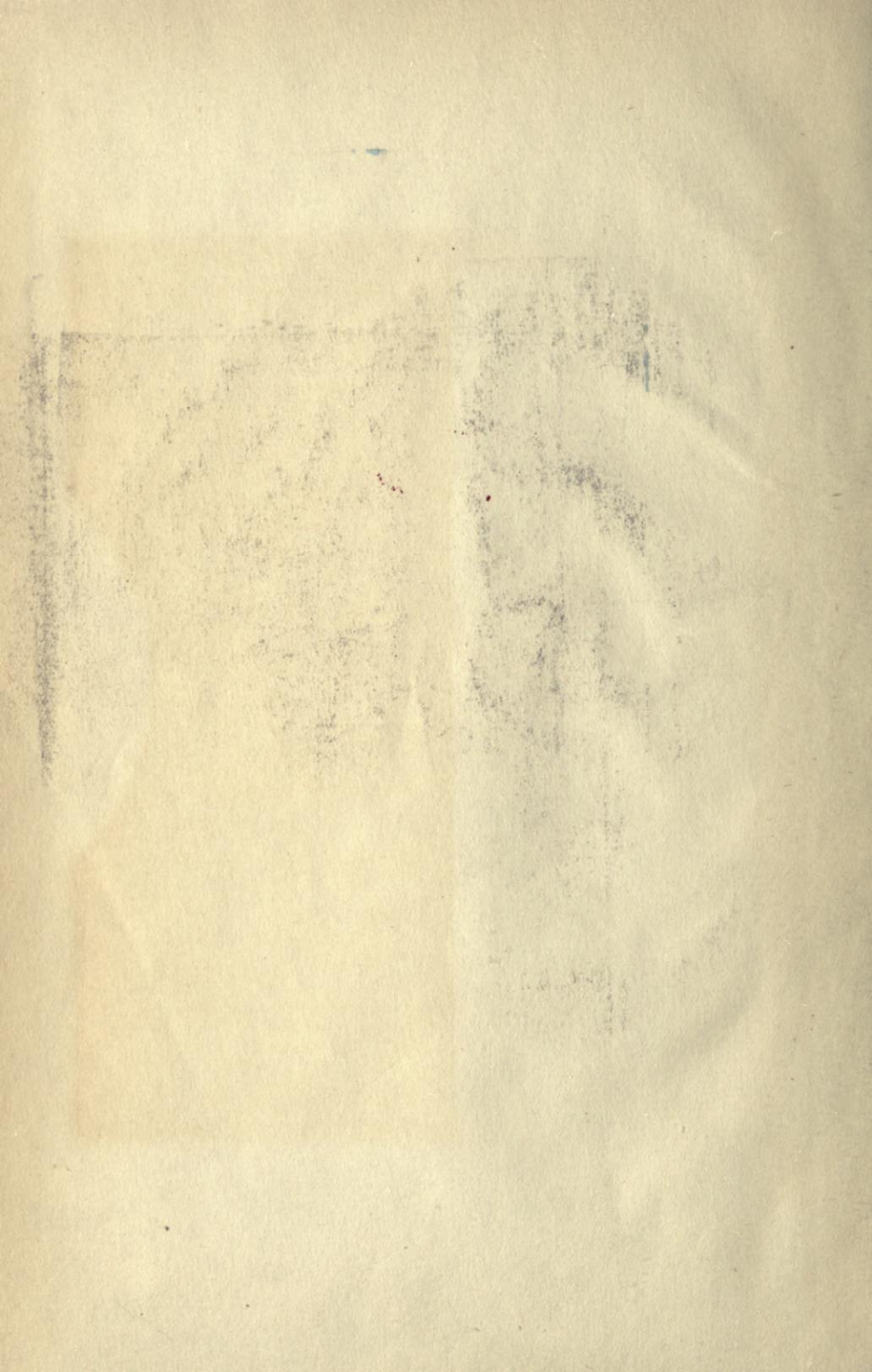
James Cogswell.
 John Buchan.
 Wyndham Madden.
 James Leishman.
 Hugh Gall.
 Alexander Smith.
 Joshua Lee.

Robert Field.

Halifax, July 6th, 1812.

Sgd. **RICHARD TREMAIN,**
Capt. H. V. A.





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