

Charles Bruce Fergusson

AMBROSE F. CHURCH, MAP-MAKER

NEXT TO HIGHWAY and perhaps geological maps, the maps of Nova Scotia most frequently consulted are the topographical township maps of the counties of the province that were prepared by Ambrose F. Church and published by A. F. Church & Co. These handsome maps, generally about four and a half feet square, or a little larger, include insets of Nova Scotia and adjacent provinces, plans of the various townships, and names of residents. Each (excepting Cumberland) bears a certification that it was entered according to law on the twenty-fourth day of March, 1864, by Ambrose F. Church. But none of the maps was published in that year, and very little is generally known about Ambrose F. Church.

In his search for information, the writer consulted directories, perused records and newspapers, located persons who remembered him, and endeavoured to discover descendants. The quest extended from Halifax and Bedford, Nova Scotia, to Portland, Maine, and Washington, D. C., and from Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro to Maryland.

As a man, as well as a map-maker, Ambrose F. Church was an interesting figure. He retained his United States citizenship even though he resided in Nova Scotia for many years. It is alleged that he was a deserter from the United States army and that that was one reason why he came to Nova Scotia and never returned to the United States to live. He was not only a respected resident of Nova Scotia but a great family man, and it must have been heart-breaking for him to be separated from his family when his daughters and his son went to the United States for additional training and employment and his wife went along to keep house for them, while he himself, partly at least on account of his business, remained in Nova Scotia.

Descended, it is said, from one of a legendary family of six Church brothers who arrived in America from Wales about the middle of the seventeenth century, Ambrose Finson, son of Greenleaf and Elizabeth (Finson) Church, was born in Hartland, Maine, where the family had resided for many generations, in the year 1836. He had one brother, John, and five sisters, all

of whom went West and settled in Nebraska or California or British Columbia, excepting John, who disappeared en route. Ambrose Finson Church became a civil engineer by profession, and he married Nancy Anne (or Mercy Anne) Saunders of Sydney, near Augusta, Maine. For a time they lived in Hartland, Maine, where their eldest daughter, Alice, was born about 1864.

Although it has been said that Ambrose F. Church eventually went from Nova Scotia to Rio de Janeiro with his son Harold because he could not, as a deserter, go back to the United States, this statement has not been authenticated and there is apparently no record of any military service for Ambrose F. Church in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. However that may be, the story told to the writer is that one day on a march Church was ordered by an officer to put out a cigar which he was smoking. This he refused to do and instead of facing the consequences Church is said to have skipped the country. Although this story has not been fully substantiated, it is said to have accounted for Church's arrival and sojourn in Canada for many years.

Even before the birth of his daughter Alice, Church had become involved in making maps. According to his own statement, for four years before he went to Nova Scotia in 1865, in the spring of which year the American Civil War ended, he had been engaged in the work of making a map of the State of Maine for Jacob Chace, Jr., map publisher, of 55 Danforth Street, Portland, Maine.

Evidently it was Church's association with Jacob Chace, Jr., that led to his becoming interested in Nova Scotia. In 1862 the government and the legislature of Nova Scotia were thinking about procuring, by means of detailed surveys, maps of the province and its counties, and Jacob Chace, Jr., visited Halifax and conferred with a committee of the House of Assembly which had been appointed to deal with the matter. Chace explained his views and showed maps of parts of the State of Maine, the Province of New Brunswick, and the County of Halifax, similar in kind to those he proposed to make in Nova Scotia. Favourably impressed, the committee was of the opinion that such maps would be highly useful if obtained on reasonable terms. Chace offered to commence the necessary surveys of the County of Halifax and to furnish the maps, "provided reasonable encouragement be given him that a certain number of them will be taken for distribution by the Government, when he is prepared to furnish them, he to depend for further aid upon private subscription, and the sale of the maps when made." The committee recommended that the necessary arrangements be made to take one hundred copies of the

maps from Chace when they were satisfactorily furnished. The report of this committee was adopted by the House of Assembly on April 11, 1862.

Two years later, perhaps after the death of Chace, Ambrose F. Church offered to furnish the proposed plans of the counties of Nova Scotia. His proposal of 1864 was to include in one plan the counties of Halifax, Hants, Colchester, Pictou, and Cumberland, instead of making a separate plan of each county as at first proposed. A select committee of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia considered this proposal and concluded that one plan composed of those adjacent counties could be furnished at only a small additional charge to the expense of providing a plan of a single county and that from their contiguity and situation those counties could be grouped together without making the map inconveniently cumbersome.

Having purchased from J. Chace, Jr., & Co., of Portland, Maine, and H. F. Walling, of New York, some surveys of a portion of Nova Scotia, Church went to Nova Scotia in 1865 to proceed with the work. He now proposed to issue maps of the counties not in groups but separately, commencing with Halifax County, surveys of which had already been made by and under the direction of H. F. Walling. Thereupon a committee of the House of Assembly reported on April 27, 1865, that it was of the opinion that in order to economise the expense and ensure the completion of the work throughout the whole of the province the report of the committee of the previous session should be followed. But in order to enable the parties to proceed, the committee also recommended that "such portion of the grant of the present session as the Government may deem advisable be advanced to Church and Co." This report was received and adopted by the House of Assembly on April 28, 1865.

The map of Halifax County was the first of the maps of the counties of Nova Scotia to be published by A. F. Church & Co., and one copy of it was forwarded on August 3, 1865, to the office of the Provincial Secretary for examination. The company, incurring considerable expense in its work, based its claim for financial assistance on its presumed understanding that \$1,000 of the grant in aid of publication of the maps would apply to Halifax County, for which the Government was to receive 200 copies of the work. To this claim the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council agreed on September 11, 1865, when it was decided that Mr. Church would be paid \$5 each for 200 copies of the map of Halifax County to be distributed to the Public Offices and to the Superintendent of Education. This was not the end of Mr. Church's financial difficulties. The same arrangement was not automatically followed in other

cases, and time and again Church was to petition for a continuation or a resumption of financial aid at the rate of \$1000 per county.

The map of Halifax County was made from actual surveys drawn and engraved under the direction of H. F. Walling. It measured 62" x 64½", on a scale of 500 rods to one inch, and it included plans of the City of Halifax, Oldham Village, Upper Prospect, Waverley Village, Herring Cove, Ketch Harbor, Peggy's Cove, Falkland Village, Tangier Village, Bedford Village, Portuguese Cove, Sambro Village, and Germantown, as well as directories of settlements and an inset containing a map of Nova Scotia and adjacent provinces. Two hundred copies of this map of Halifax County were purchased by the government of Nova Scotia at \$5 per copy. Some of the maps ordered by the government were shipped in the barque *Halifax*, which was wrecked on February 17, 1866.

Meantime, on September 1, 1865, A. F. Church & Co. announced that the map of Pictou County would be the next one to be published. By that time its compilation was nearly completed, but it still had to be engraved and issued. Its price was fixed at \$5. However, A. F. Church & Co., finding themselves in need of more funds than they then had at their command, requested an advance of \$800 from the government of Nova Scotia, for which they promised to deliver at the Provincial Secretary's office 160 copies of the map of Pictou County on or before September 1, 1866. But they hoped to issue it much earlier than that date, and Ambrose F. Church went to New York to get it lithographed as quickly as possible. In spite of his urging, however, he found that it would be impossible for him to deliver the maps to the Provincial Secretary quite as soon as promised. The map of Pictou County was issued in 1867. "It is about the same size as the map of Halifax County," it was reported in the *Morning Chronicle* of November 14, 1867, "and got up in the same splendid style". Actually it was 45 inches by 55 inches, on a scale of one mile to the inch, with plans of New Glasgow, Hopewell, Pictou, Durham, Albion Mines, and River John. Subsequent maps were made according to the same general pattern, from actual surveys made, drawn, and engraved under the direction of A. F. Church, manufactured by various firms in Boston, New York, and Montreal, and published in Halifax by A. F. Church. (The surveys of Digby and Yarmouth Counties were made by H. F. Walling). The usual dimensions were about 54 by 55 inches, and the scale—except for Cumberland, Colchester and Guysborough Counties at 1½ inches—was one inch to

a mile. Most maps included directories of settlements and an inset map of Nova Scotia and adjacent provinces.

In the meantime, on the eve of Confederation, A. F. Church & Co. decided that a new Provincial map of the Dominion of Canada would be both useful and timely, and a copy of their work of this kind, which was then in course of publication, was forwarded to the Provincial Secretary's office in May, 1867. They had set its price at \$3 per copy, and they hoped that the government of Nova Scotia would also take 200 copies of this map, so that they would be able to put the work into all parts of Nova Scotia without delay. This New Provincial Map of the Dominion of Canada, including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Isd., Newfoundland, Ontario & Quebec. With Northern Territories & Border States was published by A. F. Church & Co. of Halifax in 1867. It was lithographed by C. & A. Clarke of Halifax, and it was about $23\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $35\frac{3}{8}$ inches, on a scale of 55 miles to the inch.

By the midsummer of 1868 maps of Halifax and Pictou Counties had been published—for which A. F. Church & Co. had received assistance from the government of Nova Scotia at the rate of \$1,000 for each county—and accurate surveys of ten counties had been completed. Church and his associates then had in course of publication a map of Yarmouth County, which they hoped to issue during that season. Church pointed out that he and his associates had incurred large expenditures on the encouragement held out to him by the legislature and the government of Nova Scotia that financial aid would be continued. He applied for a continuation of that assistance at the same rate of \$1,000 per county for the map of the County of Yarmouth and of other counties to be published thereafter.

Maps of Yarmouth and Digby Counties were either completed or in course of publication when a committee of the House of Assembly took into consideration A. F. Church's petition in 1870. The members of that committee reported that Mr. Church had, in their opinion, performed the work well, so far as it was finished, and that it was very desirable that maps of the remaining counties should be published. This time, however, the committee recommended that the government should pay not \$1000 but \$600 upon his publishing and completing to the satisfaction of the government a map of each county not already published, and delivering to the government 25 copies of it. Early in 1871 Church again petitioned to be remunerated for services performed in preparing maps of the counties of Digby and Yarmouth, and the committee of the House, to which this petition was referred, declared, on February 16, 1871,

that in reporting in 1870 in favour of granting Mr. Church the sum of \$600 for maps of each county, not then published, they did not consider themselves called upon to report respecting the counties of Digby and Yarmouth "as they considered that any arrangement entered into with Mr. Church by a former House of Assembly or government should not be interfered with by them, and they therefore reported only in reference to work not then undertaken by Mr. Church." After considering the claim of Church for maps furnished by him of the counties of Digby and Yarmouth, this committee in 1871 recommended that the sum of one thousand dollars be paid Mr. Church in full payment of his claim for publishing and furnishing maps of those two counties.

The Topographical Township maps of Digby County and Yarmouth County were made from actual surveys drawn and engraved under the direction of H. F. Walling and published by A. F. Church & Co. of Halifax. The map of Digby County included plans of Saulnier Village, Freeport, Digby Town, Sandy Cove, Westport, Weymouth Village, Meteghan Village, and Bear River Village. The map of Yarmouth County contained plans of Hebron Village, Maitland Village, Tusket Village, Yarmouth Town, and Arcadia Village.

Evidently the map of Hants County, published in 1871, was the fifth in the series. Manufactured by Walling & Gray of Boston, it included plans of Windsor, Ellershouse, Brooklyn, Walton, Renfrew, Hantsport, Mt. Uniacke Gold Mines, Avondale, Maitland, and Shubenacadie, as well as directories of settlements and an inset of Nova Scotia and adjacent provinces. A. F. Church & Co. received a grant of \$600 from the government of Nova Scotia for this map, and 25 copies of it were delivered to the government.

Next to be published was the map of Kings County, for which A. F. Church & Co. received a grant of \$584 from the government of Nova Scotia in 1872. It embraced plans of Morden Village, Port Williams, Berwick, Wolfville, Sheffield Mills, Harborville, Kentville, Somerset, Canada Creek, Canning and Halls Harbour, besides directories of settlements and an inset of Nova Scotia and adjacent provinces.

Immediately following Kings County was Cumberland County, for the map of which A. F. Church & Co. received a grant of \$600 from the government of Nova Scotia in 1873. It contained plans of Amherst, Oxford, Pugwash, Parrsborough, and Wallace, as well as directories of settlements and an inset of Nova Scotia and adjacent provinces.

Eighth in the series was Colchester County, for the map of which A. F.

Church & Co. received a grant of \$600 from the government of Nova Scotia in 1874. It included plans of Lower Stewiacke, Acadian Iron Mines, Fawleigh Village, Earltown, Tatamagouche, Upper Stewiacke, Great Village, Brookfield, and Truro, as well as directories of settlements and an inset of Nova Scotia and adjacent provinces.

In the years 1875-1877 the government of Nova Scotia made grants of money on account of the maps of the remaining ten counties, but the maps of five of those counties still remained uncompleted early in 1879 and the last one was not published until 1888. Between 1875 and 1878 maps of Annapolis, Antigonish, Cape Breton, and Guysborough Counties were completed.

The map of Annapolis County was probably published in 1876, for the balance of the grant for it was made in 1877. It included plans of Bear River, Paradise, Middleton, Nictaux Falls, Granville Ferry, Clements Port, Bridgetown, Lawrencetown, Wilmot, Port George, Margaretville, and Annapolis Royal.

The map of Guysborough County was also probably published in 1876, as financial assistance for its completion was provided by the government of Nova Scotia in 1876 and 1877. It contained plans of Wine Harbour Village, Indian Harbor, Goshen Village, Sherbrooke Village, Mary Joseph, Melrose and Vicinity, Canso Town, Guysborough Town, Larrys River, Charlo Harbor, Port Felix, Sonora, Boylston, Port Mulgrave, Isaacs Harbor, and Goldenville.

The next map to be completed was that of Cape Breton County, published in 1877. It included plans of Cow Bay, Little Glace Bay, Sydney Town, North Sydney, Sydney Mines, Lazytown, Lorway & Reserve Coal Mines, Lingan, Louisburg, and Main-a-Dieu, as well as directories of settlements and an inset of Nova Scotia and adjacent provinces. Prepared in a similar manner, and on the same scale, the map of Antigonish County evidently appeared in 1878. It contained plans of Heatherton, Tracadie Village, Antigonish Town, Port Mulgrave, and Harbour au Bouche, and a view of St. Ninians Cathedral, in addition to the usual directories of settlements and inset map of Nova Scotia and adjacent provinces.

Early in 1879 there were maps of six counties still to be produced: Shelburne, Lunenburg, Inverness, Richmond, Victoria, and Queens.

By 1882 the map of Shelburne was apparently completed. It included plans of Lockeport, Port LaTour, Clarke's Harbour, Osborne Village, Shelburne Town, Barrington, North East Harbour, Clyde Village, and Jordan Falls.

Between 1883 and 1887 four more maps were completed—Lunenburg, Inverness, Richmond, and Victoria—but the map of Queens County was still to be completed. The Topographical Township of Lunenburg County was prepared in the usual way, and lithographed by G. E. Desbarats & Co., of Montreal. It contained plans of Lunenburg, Chester, Bridgewater, Chester Basin, and Mahone Bay. Prepared in the same fashion, but lithographed by the Canada Bank Note Co., Ltd., of Montreal, was the Topographical Township Map of Inverness County. On a scale of 1 mile to 1 inch, and measuring 56½ inches by 56½ inches, it included plans of Port Hawkesbury, Mabou, Port Hastings, West Bay, Whycomagh, Margaree, and Port Hood, as well as a view of the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa. The map of Richmond County was prepared from actual surveys made and engraved by and under the direction of A. F. Church, and drawn by his son, Harold A. Church. It also was lithographed by the Canada Bank Note Co., Ltd., of Montreal. It contained plans of Arichat, D'Escouse, L'Ardoise, Acadiaville, Poulament, Goulet, St. Peter's, and River Bourgeoise. The inset map of Nova Scotia is dated 1886. Also with an inset map of Nova Scotia dated 1886 was the Topographical Township map of the County of Victoria. It included plans of Baddeck, Northern Section, New Haven, and Neil's Harbour.

The last of this series of maps to be published was that of Queens County, which was completed in 1888. Drawn by Harold A. Church, it included plans of Milton, Brooklyn, Mill Village, Greenfield, Liverpool, Port Medway, South Brookfield, North Brookfield, Caledonia Corner, and Chesley's Corner, besides the usual inset and directories.

Thus it was that a fine series of Topographical Township Maps of the counties of Nova Scotia was published during the years 1865-1888. Though the initial arrangements seem to have been rather informal, Ambrose F. Church was induced to undertake this enterprise by the assurance of aid and support from the government of Nova Scotia. The form that that encouragement would take was foreshadowed in 1862 when a committee of the House of Assembly recommended that arrangements be made to take 100 copies of the maps from Jacob Chace, Jr., when the maps were satisfactorily furnished. Two years later Ambrose F. Church succeeded his associate, Jacob Chace, Jr., in this project, and a committee of the House of Assembly approved of Church's proposal to include in one plan the counties of Halifax, Hants, Colchester, Pictou, and Cumberland, and recommended that 300 copies of it be taken by the government for distribution at a price not exceeding \$6.00 per copy. Church

apparently undertook the project on those terms, but in 1865 he decided to issue a map of each county separately and the legislature of Nova Scotia agreed to pay him \$1,000 for 200 copies of the map of Halifax which was completed in that year. The same aid from the government was provided for the map of Pictou County, and Church anticipated that similar support would be provided for the map of each of the remaining counties. Such was not the case, however, for the sum of \$1,000 was thereafter granted for the maps of two counties, Digby and Yarmouth, and in 1870 the legislature of Nova Scotia decided to pay Church \$600 for the map of each of the remaining counties upon receiving 25 copies of each.

Time and time again Church petitioned for a continuation or a resumption of financial aid at the rate of \$1,000 per county which had been granted for the first two maps of Halifax and Pictou Counties. "A portion of this subsidy being withheld," Church stated in 1879, "he, with the limited amount of funds at his command, could only make such slow progress as precluded all possibility of its proving remunerative."

This slow progress provoked questions and comments from members of the legislature for those counties whose maps were among the last to appear. In 1879, at a time when the maps of six counties—Shelburne, Lunenburg, Inverness, Richmond, Victoria, and Queens—still remained to be completed, a committee of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia reported that the government had up to that date paid Mr. Church \$3,484 in excess of the sum to which he was entitled. It recommended that the government take immediate steps "to secure the completion of the contract". Eventually, on March 31, 1883, the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council considered a memorial from A. F. Church & Co. and ordered "That a subsidy of four thousand dollars be allowed them for the completion of the maps of the Counties of Lunenburg, Queens, Inverness, Richmond, and Victoria. Being \$800 for each County. Said amount of \$800 to be paid to them on completion of each map, subject to the approval of the Governor-in-Council, the delivery of 25 copies thereof at the office of the Provincial Secretary, and on evidence being given that a sufficient number of said maps are ready for delivery to subscribers for the same. Provided also that the whole 5 maps are completed within four years from the date of this Minute."

A copy of this Minute was forwarded to Ambrose F. Church, and it was regarded by the government of Nova Scotia as a final settlement. But when the four years had expired the map of Queens County remained unpublished.

Church was informed that if he would proceed to finish the work the Council would waive the time limit and the \$800 would be paid. Church stated that he was unable to finish the work on those terms. He claimed that in addition to the \$800 proposed he should receive \$866 to make his total receipts correspond with the original arrangement for \$1,000 for each of the eighteen counties. The Council refused to admit Church's claim. "In the absence of any contract it must be held," the Council declared on November 11, 1887, "that the Government and Legislature were free to regulate the matter from time to time and as Mr. Church continued his work year after year under the reports and orders referred to he may reasonably be held to have assented to the arrangements. Nevertheless, with a view to securing the publication of the map of Queens County which would complete the series, the Council recommended that the sum of twelve hundred dollars (including the eight hundred dollars already offered) be paid to Mr. Church for the map, provided that it be completed on or before the first day of March 1888." This was to be a full and final settlement of Church's claim, and this payment was to be made only upon Church giving a receipt in full of all demands upon the Province in connection with the publication of County Maps. By early 1888 the last of the eighteen County Maps was completed.

A. F. Church & Co. of Halifax and later of Bedford, Nova Scotia, published not only the eighteen County Maps of Nova Scotia, but also the time-elapsed New Provincial Map of the Dominion of Canada in 1867 and Church's Mineral Map of Nova Scotia in 1889. This mineral map, on a scale of about six miles to an inch, and measuring $45\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $57\frac{3}{4}$ inches, showed by symbols the outcrop of the known seams of coal, as well as gold bearing veins of quartz beds of ore, with explanations.

For a time A. F. Church & Co. were located at 36 Duke Street, Halifax. By 1868, however, they were at 98 Granville Street, where they remained until about 1872, when they moved to Bedford, Nova Scotia. In the Nova Scotia Directory of 1890-1897, A. F. Church, map publisher, is listed at Bedford, and in the Nova Scotia Directory of 1896 Harold A. Church, map maker, is listed as being at Bedford.

When Ambrose Finson Church moved from Maine to Nova Scotia in 1865, he had a wife and one daughter, Alice Isabel, who was then about 10 years old. Probably after living in Halifax for a time, they took up residence on Ochterloney Street in Dartmouth by 1868. There they lived until about 1872 when they moved to Bedford, Halifax County, Nova Scotia. The farm

still living in Dartmouth at the time of the census of 1871. Ambrose Church was then 34 years of age and his wife was 30, and they were listed as Methodists. Their daughter Alice Isabel was seven years old; Nina Elizabeth and Harold Ambrose, who had been born in Nova Scotia, were, in order, three years and less than a year old. Subsequently, Ambrose Finson and Nancy Anne (Saunders) Church had two additional daughters, Charlotte Zelda and May Evelyn.

None of the daughters married, and all were teachers. Nina Elizabeth Church graduated from Dalhousie University, Halifax, with the degree of B. A. in 1896. She also graduated from Radcliffe College, and she taught at several women's colleges, including Wellesley, before becoming Dean of Women at Oklahoma University. Charlotte Zelda taught school in Bedford, Nova Scotia, and in Boston, Massachusetts. She was living in Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1968. May Evelyn taught music in Boston, and she died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1966.

Harold Ambrose Church, who assisted his father in making the Topographical Township Maps of Richmond and Queens Counties, studied law at Dalhousie University from 1896 to 1898. Afterwards he went to Boston, then to New York, and thereafter, as a civil engineer with the Rio de Janeiro Tramway Light & Power Co., Ltd., to Rio de Janeiro. He married an American, May Burnap, and they had two children, Harold, Jr., and Rosemary, both born in Rio de Janeiro. He died in 1930. To Harold A. Church, Jr., the grandson of Ambrose, the writer is grateful for much of the the information in this paper.

Meanwhile, Ambrose Finson Church continued to live in Bedford, Nova Scotia. According to those persons who remember him when he resided in the Ten Mile House, he was a bearded, short, rather stout sort of man who wore a beaver or Panama hat. Looked upon as being quite learned, he is described as being a very quiet man who kept much to himself and who was rather eccentric. He is said never to have emptied the teapot until it was too full of leaves to take water. It is told about him that he used to eat half a pound of nuts after meals, that he used to put flypaper on his head in the house, and that he sometimes slept with a revolver under his pillow. He is also said to have carried a sextant in a wheelbarrow while surveying, and he is credited with having planted the willows along the road at the front of his property in Bedford.

His grandson corroborates, in a general way, the description of the physical appearance of Ambrose F. Church: "He was of rather small stature,

like all of us, wore black shoes, white pants, a black coat of some kind of thin shiny material, long white whiskers and a Panama hat." This description is appropriate for the later years of the man who had previously been photographed by Notman and whose photograph was lent to the writer by Ambrose F. Church's grandson.

By an indenture dated November 22, 1872, Emma F. Church of Bedford conveyed to William A. Hendry of Halifax property at Bedford in trust for the benefit of Mercy A. Church, wife of Ambrose F. Church, of Bedford, during her life, and after her decease for the benefit of Ambrose F. Church, and after his death for the benefit of their children. Subsequently by an indenture dated August 27, 1894, Ambrose F. Church, of Bedford, Topographer, conveyed property at Sackville, Halifax County, Nova Scotia, to his son Harold A. Church, of Bedford, Draughtsman, for the benefit of his creditors.

After his wife went to Boston to establish a home there for the daughters and the son, Ambrose F. Church occasionally visited them, while maintaining a residence in Bedford, Nova Scotia, on account of his business. Since his enterprise in Nova Scotia had not turned out as well as he expected, circumstances beyond his control compelled him to remain there and continue his established line of work, although he maintained connections in the United States. In 1879, for example, he had declared that the reduction of the government subsidy had caused very great injustice, rendering it impossible for him to proceed with the work with any satisfactory degree of rapidity and making it impossible for him to abandon the undertaking with honour or credit since at that time he had partially completed surveys in several counties for which payment had not been made.

Eventually, about the outbreak of World War I, he went to Rio de Janeiro to live with or near his son. He kept up his earlier interests in draughting and maps, and in traversing the countryside, and he especially enjoyed tramping with his grandson over the dunes and tangled vines along Copacabana and Ipenama beaches or taking long leisurely walks through and around Rio de Janeiro. He died at Rio de Janeiro, after a stroke, on February 19, 1920. His maps, particularly his County Maps of Nova Scotia, are his memorial.