

M. A. Thesis
Transportation and Communication
in Nova Scotia
1749 to 1815
by
A. Tanner Smith, B.A.
Dalhousie
1936

DAL-MSS
Hist.
S64
1936

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

IN

NOVA SCOTIA

1749-1815

A thesis submitted by A. Tanner Smith B.A. in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts. Prepared under the direction of Professor D.C. Harvey.

Geographical Note.

Communication by Sea

Chapter One.

Shipbuilding in Nova Scotia prior to 1749

The continent Table of Contents is, roughly, an inverted triangle in shape, having as its base the Arctic Circle and its apex the Isthmus of Panama. Communication by Sea ally it is divided into five

- great regions one of which, the Appalachian, comprises the East-Chapter One. of Shipbuilding in Nova Scotia prior to 1749. 1 - 19
arise from a range of mountains that, rising in Alabama, continues
- Chapter Two. The Growth of Shipbuilding as an Industry. 1749-1800. 20 - 61
island of Newfoundland and the North Atlantic. By the close of
the tertiary period, erosion had created the main topographical
formations that Communication by Land s region with a rocky and in-
dented coastline while glaciation, being moderate, changed its
- Chapter Three. The Highways of Nova Scotia. 62 - 94 how-
ever, meant also that comparatively small quantities of glacial
Chapter Four. The Main Trunkroads of N.S. 95 - 188
drift were left by the receding ice with the result that in this
- Chapter Five. Roads and Settlement England and the 189 - 192
Provinces, the underlying rock formation has a more marked effect
- Chapter Six. Wages and Labour, 193 - 200
upon the soil than elsewhere on the continent.
- Chapter Seven. Couriers and Coachmen Nova Scotia may be 201 - 207
into three regions;³ the Island of Cape Breton, the Southern or
Chapter Eight. Taverns and Travel 208 - 216
Atlantic Slope and the Northern Slope, the Northern and Southern
- Bibliographical Note. 217

¹ Canada & Its Provinces, Vol. 9. pp. 28, 29, 58, 64, 70-71

² Ibid. Volume 14. pp. 598, 621, 639, 644.

³ Forest Conditions in Nova Scotia, Fernow, B.E. pp. 9-12

Communication by Sea

Chapter One..

Shipbuilding in Nova Scotia prior to 1749

The continent of North America is, roughly, an inverted triangle in shape, having as its base the Arctic Circle and its apex the isthmus of Panama. Geologically it is divided into five great regions one of which, the Appalachian, comprises the Eastern portion of the continent. The Appalachian region takes its name from a range of mountains that, rising in Alabama, continues Northwards through New Brunswick, finally losing itself in the island of Newfoundland and the North Atlantic. By the close of the tertiary period, erosion had created the main topographical formations that today distinguish this region with a rocky and indented coastline while glaciation, being moderate, changed its physical characteristics but slightly.¹ Moderate glaciation, however, meant also that comparatively small quantities of glacial drift were left by the receding ice with the result that in this Eastern area, especially through New England and the Maritime Provinces, the underlying rock formation has a more marked effect upon the soil than elsewhere on the continent.²

Geologically the Province of Nova Scotia may be divided into three regions;³ the Island of Cape Breton, the Southern or Atlantic Slope and the Northern Slope, the Northern and Southern

¹ Canada & Its Provinces, Vol. 9. pp. 28,29,58,64,70-74

² Ibid. Volume 14. pp. 598,--621, 639, 644.

³ Forest Conditions in Nova Scotia, Fernow, B.E. pp. 9-12

slopes being two areas of equal extent that constitute the mainland.. The Southern, or Atlantic Slope, of the mainland is located on a formation of granite, quartzites and slate besides glacial deposits. Stretching, in an arc, southwest from Bedford Basin, there lies a large granite formation of some 3000 square miles, ending in the interior of the Province at the apex formed by the Counties of Annapolis, Digby, Yarmouth and Queens, with smaller areas nearer the coast in Yarmouth County and in Queen's County.. This granite area, although useless for agricultural purposes, has furnished excellent forest soil and supports a good forest growth, the thinly covered ridges of the district supporting conifers, mainly fir, the slopes a mixed growth and the gentler slopes and bases being chiefly spruce and hemlock. The Eastern area of this Atlantic slope, extending up into Cumberland and Guysborough Counties, is formed predominately of quartzite which does not produce good forest soil. Conditions, therefore, are not favorable for extensive forest areas and barrens are frequent. Topographically the region is diversified with hill, dales, lakes and swamps..

The Northern Slope of the mainland, while topographically not as diversified as the Southern Slope, geologically is more complex.. Here the formation is of igneous and metamorphic rocks and sandstones, cglomerates and limestone, together with some glacial drift.. The complex formation has produced good and extensive hardwood growth while the general forest growth² is also

¹Forest Conditions in Nova Scotia, Fernow, B.E.

²Denys: Description & Natural History of Acadia, Ganong, Champlain Society, 1908.. pp. 107,108,119,124,150,377-379

Page Three..

more luxuriant..

The Island of Cape Breton may also be subdivided into two parts, the Southern peninsula, an undulating plain and the Northern peninsula, a high plateau. The composition of the forest varies although it is predominately fir while climatic differences are too slight to have effect on the growth except on the higher altitudes of the Northern peninsula. The forest types, in general, may be classed as mixed broad leaf and conifers, grading off to pure stands of mixed conifers, stands of a single species being rare and never of large extent..

Endowed by Nature with abundant forest growth of both conifers and hardwood, a comparison showing that the varieties enumerated by Denys¹ are still native to the province although not in such quantities, the exception being, perhaps, the White Oak which has practically disappeared, the Red Oak (*quercus rubra*) being the only species of this variety found today in in any quantity and then largely in the Western portion of the Province.

Nova Scotia was thus possessed with great potential wealth for masting, lumbering and shipbuilding. Geographically also she was fortunately situated, lying close to the great North Atlantic fishing banks while strategically her position was unique, being so placed that she could command the entrance to the St. Lawrence and the New England coasting trade..

The building of ships as an industry, however, is dependent ultimately upon profits, real or anticipated. Nova
Denys.. Ibid..

Page Four.

Scotia within its ancient limits that extended North Eastward from the Penobscot River and bounded by the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Gaspe Coast possessed the necessary timber and variety of woods for shipbuilding while her coast line, indented with safe harbours and sandy coves, offered ideal natural shipyards. But not until more than one hundred and fifty years after her first settlement had begun did shipbuilding as an industry become prominent for during the long dreary years, first under French rule and then, after 1713, under the English, her natural timber resources remained comparatively untouched, offering little inducement to either capital or to labour. Shipbuilding as an industry, as would be expected, was during a period extending somewhat roughly from 1604 to 1764 but sporadic and barely sufficient to cover the exigencies of the time.

Shipbuilding, however, as a necessary part of travel and transportation began early and continued throughout the subsequent history of the province until the end of the Eighteenth Century when, as an industry, it at last became established. As early transportation was dependent upon waterways, so also any transportation whatsoever was dependent upon ships until the last half of the Eighteenth Century in Nova Scotia.

Early Shipbuilding

In december of the year 1603, Sieur de Monts obtained a patent from Henry the Fourth of France and to him was given the task of planting a settlement in the lands of La Cadie in return for a monopoly of the fur trade for ten years.¹ While profit was, without doubt, the ultimate aim of the expedition there seems to have been also an honest desire to settle, convert and plant organized French institutions in the new country "from the Fortieth Degree unto the Forty Sixth ... having long since seen by the report of the ship captains, pilots, merchants and others who, for many years past, have visitèd, frequented and trafficked with the various tribes of these parts how fruitful advantageous and useful to us, our estates and subjects would be the occupation, possession and colonization thereof."²

The expedition comprised two vessels, one under Captain Timothy of Havre de Grace with de Monts and Poutrincourt on board, sailed on the Seventh of March in the year 1604 the other, under Captain Morel of Honfleur, following on the Tenth.³ These details possess a certain significance in that they led to the construction of the first ship built in America.

In discussing Seventeenth Century ships and shipbuilding it is necessary to bear in mind the extremely small size of the early vessels, the tonnage⁴ of the ships chartered by de Monts

¹ Lescarbot, History of New France. Vol. 2. p. 221.

² Ibid. p. 211.

³ Ibid. pp. 227-228

⁴ Murdock, History of Nova Scotia.

Page Six.

servicing as an index, being of but one hundred and twenty tons and one hundred and fifty tons respectively. It seems safe to assume that the vessels of de Monts carried no supplies of lumber, being quite well filled by necessities and members of the expedition, the leaders well knowing the vast timber resources of the land to which they were going. Instead, amongst their numbers, were ship carpenters, joiners and sailors¹ one of whom, Champodore, "was a good carpenter skilled in building vessels and careful in fitting them out with everyting needful." These men, skillful with the adze, could when necessary build and equip small coasting boats such as were used by the hardy French fishermen in their annual dangerous fishing voyages.²

The early boats built in America of which we have record were apparently either long boats, shallops, pinnaces and snows, boats usually without decks and from 10 to 20 tons burden. Although it was an early custom amongst the French shipbuilders to build their boats under carvel construction, that is, to have every frame or rib cut out from a pattern, sometimes none being put in place upon the keel until all were ready, it seems safe to say that the early French boat builders in America used clench work for the construction of their boats.³ This system was better adapted for rough usage and stronger and lighter than carvel or smooth work as the lapped outer skin of the dench work could give to the boat almost as much strength as the ribs, which were usually bent by boiling or steaming and were fitted into the boat after she was well planked up so that, "as plank by plank

¹ Lescarbot. Ibid. Vol. 2. p. 319.

² Champlain, Vol. 1. Edf Biggar. Champlain Society, 1922. p. 383

³ Old sea Wings, Ways and Words. Leslie, R.C. pp. 49-53

Page Seven.

the form of the boat unfolds from the keel upwards her model depends almost entirely upon the builders eye instead of on moulds or lines laid off upon paper or in the mould loft beforehand. Indeed, experienced clench boat builders can finish the planking of a boat without putting a single mould or pattern into her to work by." Both long boats, shallops, pinnaces, galley boats and snows could thus be built, differing from one another only in size and rigging, the exception being the galley which was an open boat of six and eight oars.. The snow, a term often used amongst 18th. Century shipbuilders, was the forerunner of the brig, the modern contraction of the older word brigantine or brigandine, originally any fast vessel used by corsairs or pirates. Other types of vessels, such as the bark brig, casco sloop, sloop, frigate, packet, corvette, schooner and cutter were not built until a later date.¹

The first ship of de Monts' expedition, under Captain Timothy of Havre de Grace, arrived off the coast of Nova Scotia in May, 1604, and put in at Port Mouton in order to refresh themselves after the long voyage. Before leaving France de Monts had arranged with Captain Morel that they should meet at Canso on their arrival but, due to a change in plans, the rendezvous was not kept and Captain Morel, seeing no sign of de Monts, instead put in at English Harbour, the site of modern Louisbourg and there having no boat "they wasted their time in building one at the spot where they first arrived, which was English Harbour."² No doubt they dared not trust the expedition's vessel in sailing

¹Old Sea Wings, Ways and Words. Chapter 20.

²Lescarbot. Ibid. Vol. 2. pp. 227, 230, 242.

close to an unchartered coast to look out the other members of the party and while there is no further reference to this incident, it seems safe to accept Lescarbot's statement and give to Cape Breton the honour of having the first vessel in America built upon her shores.

The expedition finally selected the island of St. Croix to pass the Winter of 1604-1605 where they felled and "laid low the cedars and other trees of the said island" and erected dwellings. It is uncertain what means of communication with the mainland that the colonists possessed, Lescarbot saying that they had but "a skiff and a long boat"¹ and again but one boat and that small and inadequate² while from Champlain it would seem that they had, even after the return of the ships to France in August, 1604, "a small vessel of 17 or 18 tons."³ In the Spring of 1605 de Monts, after an exhausting Winter and "weary of this sad abode of St. Croix," decided to explore further and "ordered a boat rigged and provisioned in order to follow the coast."⁴ From the somewhat conflicting and vague accounts it is difficult to ascertain just what boats the colonists actually did build but it is certain that some form of shipbuilding was undertaken,⁵ a statement further confirmed by Lescarbot who, in describing the

¹ Lescarbot, Ibid. Vol. 2.. p. 250.

² Ibid. p. 257 & Footnote

³ Champlain, Voyages, Vol. 1. p. 280

⁴ Lescarbot, Vol. 2. p. 272.

"For this reason, on the 15th. of May, the sieur de Monts decided to have a pinnace of 15 tons burden and another of 7 fitted out so that at the end of June we might go to Gaspe."

⁵ "L'hyer passe, le sieur de Monts fist equipper la bourgne pour aller découvrir nouvelles terres ..." Collection de Documents, Vol. 2.. p. 48

events at Port Royal in the following year and describing their shipbuilding activities there, closed by saying that they had built the boats at Port Royal "as de Monts had done the year before in order to take passage therein..."¹

The two boats that the colonists built at Port Royal under the direction of Pont Grave and with Champadore's skill, the shipbuilder who had been with de Monts the year before at St. Croix² are the first attempts at shipbuilding recognized by Canadian historical writers..

On the return of the ships to France, in the Autumn of 1605 the colonists left behind a pinnace which was wrecked during a voyage of exploration undertaken by Pont Grave and Champadore in the Spring of 1606. Champadore, as the navigator of the expedition, was put in irons for his alleged carelessness in losing such a valuable part of the expedition's equipment..

The loss of their only boat cause anxiety "for we saw ourselves, through want of a vessel, without hope of completing the voyages we had undertaken and we were unable to construct another for time was pressing, although there was another pinnace on the stocks, it would have taken too long to get her ready."³

Anxiety over exploration, however, soon gave way to anxiety as to how they should ever return to France. de Monts and his relief ship, the Jonah, had been grounded in the harbour of Rochelle and did not get away until the Eleventh of May, 1606⁴

¹ Lescarbot History, Vol. 2. p 283 - 284

² Ibid.. p. 255

³ Champlain, Voyages, Vol. 1. p. 382-385

⁴ Lescarbot, Vol. 2.. p. 290

Page Ten.

and the colonists, after looking in vain for them, decided upon building two pinnaces (deux Barques) in order to reach Canso or Cape Breton in the hope of securing passage there on one of the fishing boats returning to France.. With this in view, Champadore was relieved of his irons in order "to finish the pinnace which was on the stocks," which duty he discharged "very well." Finally, on the Seventeenth of July, 1606, the colony broke up and embarking "from the entrance to Port Royal in two pinnaces, one of 18 and the other of 7 or 8 tons burden," they set out on their return to France..

Shipbuilding, the Origin of an Industry

A century and more was to pass Nova Scotia by, a period when intestine strife and the greed of rival claimants made any progress in industry impossible. Meanwhile New England flourished and prospered; there communities, bound together by a stern faith that nurtured thrift and industry, grew undisturbed by the maritime ambitions of great powers. During this barren period in the history of Nova Scotia, New England was rapidly developing her resources, the building of ships becoming a vital industry, and by the year 1631 one Wil Stephens, a master ship builder, had constructed a vessel, the Royal Merchant, of 600 tons while many more were being planned.¹

There was, however, during this period a growing recognition of the forest wealth and naval supplies that Nova Scotia could produce and scattered through the documents relating to the early history of the Province during the Seventeenth Century and the early years of the Eighteenth, there are glimpses of some activity howsoever slight and unorganized it might have been, in lumbering, masting and in shipbuilding carried on by adventurous individuals and, as early as 1618, we find a report from Charles Biencourt de Poutrincourt to the authorities in Paris urging upon them the importance of developing the country that they possessed,² a land not only abounding with fish and fur but "comme aussy les bois de deca vous fourniront de navires de cendres et secours de bastimens que vous faictes venir de Suede,"

¹ Calendar State Papers, A & W.I. 1574-1660. Jan. 3rd. 1632. p 158

² Collection de Documents - Nouvelle France p 59, Volume 1.

Danemarck ou Muscovie," which entailed a long and dangerous voyage..

In 1632, after the formation of the Company of New France, a powerful organization prepared to exploit Acadia,¹ further interest was aroused in the country's possibilities and in Nicolas Denys, who came to the province in the same year with de Razilly,² we have the first instance of a man who not only theorized upon the potential timber wealth of Acadia but actually put his theories to the test. Having settled at La Have with de Razilly where he discovered the oak that he had been seeking, he there set his "maker of planks and carpenters to work and in two years ... had a lot of planking and of beams for building, all squared, as well as rafters."³ Unfortunately his lumbering exploits were to prove fruitless for lumbering is an industry essentially dependent upon transportation by water: upon de Razilly's death he was left without vessels to export it and, thus, was "forced to abandon the country and more than 20,000 livres worth of timber all manufactured." Denys, however, never despaired and fifty years later, as an old man living amidst poverty in Paris, he could still, in petitioning Louis 16th. for an audience, declare that if it were granted he could show His Majesty a land "full of wood fitt to build ships and make planks, where the tar and other things fit for the sea are very plenty."⁴

Denys has also left a detailed survey of places most likely for the pursuit of shipbuilding together with a report on how

¹ Acadia, New England's Outpost. Brebner, J.B.. p 24.

² Denys.. History, Introduction, p 5.

³ Ibid. p 150

⁴ P.A.N.S.. Vol.. 7, doc. #4: May 10th.. 1687

the several varieties of timber could be used: the beech (American Beech) from which galley oars might be made and also "one could make of them fine and good planking for the bottoms of ships which could be as good as the oak," as the wood could not split; the Black Birch was good for planking and to use as deck ribs of a ship and for the upper works, uses that he himself had tested as "he had several vessels built of it" that remained without injury in heat or cold. Birch might also be used for ribs, floor timbers, knees, stems and stem pieces while the oak he praised highly. Apparently this wood "which is said to have no value for shipbuilding" in New France was satisfactory and he maintained that if he "were once well established I should show that good ships can be built there (Acadia) as durable as those of France as I have already tested several times." Pine was useful for planks and constructing decks and for the finishings and upper works while spruce, pines and firs could furnish pitch and tar; supplies of hemp were possible and he did not doubt that iron would eventually be found in short, that everything needful for shipbuilding lay within the province. That this opinion was not general is seen in the fact that even the fishing vessels that came across to fish off the coast of Nova Scotia found it easier to bring their open boats, in sections that could be joined together on their arrival, rather than build them here.!

During this same period between 1660 and 1680 another

Frenchman, Charnizay, was also engaged in lumbering and shipbuilding but the undertaking could not have been profitable for his children were forced to seek compensation from the authorities on the grounds that their father had ruined himself by his activities at Port Royal where "le dit sieur D'Aulnay Charnizay avait fait construire ... cinq pinnasses et plusieurs chaloupes et deux petits navires d'environ 70 tonneaux .." ¹

During the year 1693, in the course of a masterly survey of New France, ² a further attempt was made to force upon the French authorities the importance of Acadia as a source of naval supplies, masts, planks and as a centre for shipbuilding and during the closing years of the Seventeenth Century we find some further activity in lumbering and shipbuilding with Fresneuse ³ carrying out operations on the St. John River, from whence a cargo of lumber was exported in 1700 on board L'Avenant, ⁴ masting operation on the Salmon River, in Guysborough, and around Chedabuctou ⁵ while the proposal of a triangular trade between France, New France and the West Indies was being considered by the authorities to exploit the resources of the province. ⁶ Also, in the year 1698, two Frenchmen, Paquinet and Aubie had not only constructed a small boat but "ils ont enchanter un petit bati-ment de 130 a 140 tonneaux qu'ils esperent mettrea l'eau le printemps prochaine" which was a good sized boat. ⁷

¹ P.A.N.S. Vol. 2. Doc. #38, 1687.

² Ibid.. Vol.. 2. Doc. #48, 1693.

³ Ibid. Doc. #70, undated..

⁴ The River St. John.. Raymond.. p 473..

⁵ P.A.N.S. Vol. 4. Document dated 1684.

⁶ Ibid.. Doc.. #73 June 21st. 1699..

⁷ Ibid. Doc. #70..

Despite the activities of individuals they were faced with the insurmountable handicap of being dependent on their shipping from outside the province, the French supply ships were, but in few instances, able to transport masts and other timber products and when, as in Port Royal, the people went to much trouble to secure good masts¹ and found that the French relief ships refused to take them, further incentive was destroyed. Perhaps the first to recognize this weakness was Subercase who, viewing the progress that the New England people had made in shipping and, through it, trade, from his fortress of Port Royal, realized that with an organized community in the rich country of Acadia "l'on pourra tirer de bois et construire des batiments de toutes (sortes) de grandeurs en suivant l'usage etablie aujourd'hui a Baston."²

But the days of French control in Acadia were numbered and in the Autumn of 1710 Port Royal passed into the hands of England..

While Nova Scotia had its French enthusiasts, England was not entirely unmindful of its existence. As early as 1630 a survey had been made to ascertain the naval supplies and provisions that the country could furnish³ while, in 1632, France once more having secured control of Nova Scotia, her activities in Acadia were not looked upon with favour, "the building of ships, employing them in fishing and in the manufacture of salt"⁴ being detrimental to English fishing along the coast while

¹ P.A.N.S. Vol. 3. Doc. #18. Nov. 29th. 1703

² Ibid. Vol. 3. Doc. #35. Dec 20th. 1708

³ Ibid. Vol. 1. Doc. #74.

⁴ Calendar State Papers. A & W.I. 1594-1660 June 16th. 1632 p 152

thirty five years later it was shown that it was to the interest of England to possess Acadia and the countries adjacent which were "the sole nursery of shipping and mariners for France and Spain ... of very considerable consequence for the trade of furs, fish, masts, pitch and tar,"¹ while, in the year 1668, it was described as "a country that might be of infinite importance to His Majesty's subjects were it improved, abounding in good harbours, rivers and good lands and mines, excellent timber of all sorts, especially for shipping."² However, no matter how enthusiastic reports might be, Nova Scotia remained unpeopled and undeveloped with the exception of a few adventurous Frenchmen.

The early years of the Eighteenth Century saw renewed interest being aroused regarding Nova Scotia and in an earnest representation regarding its possibilities and resources it was described as "a country proper for ye producing of stores, there being a great quantity of mast trees, white and other oaks, pine, spruce, firr and other sorts of wood ... and good hemp has been produced by ye inhabitants for their use and a great quantity of tarr, pitch and resin may be obtained there."³

With the annexation of Nova Scotia by England there came another obstacle to obtaining timber, the hostility of the Indians, and the danger of moving far from the fort at Annapolis is seen in the costly expedition of Vetch⁴ to subdue the Indians

Calendar State Papers. A & W.I. 1594-1660 Oct. 4th. 1667.

¹ P.A.N.S. Vol. 1. Doc. #46.

Ibid. Vol. 1. Doc. #57 Feb. 5th. 1668

Ibid. Doc. #75 Sept. 10th. 1709

Ibid. Vol. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ Doc. #21 June 18th. 1711.

who had persisted in cutting the timber floats as they came down the river.. An expedition to punish them under Major Forbes and a party of 64 men being utterly routed and forced back with a loss of 18 men killed with nine wounded held for ransom by the natives..

From the Treaty of Utrecht to the founding of Halifax was a barren time for the growth of any industries and the province became utterly dependent upon New England for supplies.¹ Although the forest resources were recognized early in the preliminary reports of Phillip's survey, only the North Eastern portion of the province, around Canso and Milford Haven, were ^{as} regarded as being of any great consequence "with quantities of good timber in many parts, particularly for masting for the largest ships, which growing near the water, may be furnished to the navy vastly cheaper than what are now brought from New England."² But, for any other industry beyond the fishery at Canso, "I am sorry to say, there is none," wrote Governor Armstrong in 1734. The lands lying to the southward, "from the Bay of Fundy to the confines of New England, having never been surveyed," were unknown except by a few wandering trappers..³

The lack of shipping during this period is manifest, even the survey of Governor Phillips being held up for the want of a vessel, which was finally built in Boston and sent to Annapolis,⁴ but then it was not satisfactory for coasting purposes and the carrying of supplies, it being necessary that another vessel be

¹P.A.N.S.. Vol. 17. Doc. #17

²P.A.N.S.. Vol. 7. Doc. #21

³Ibid.. Vol. 17. Doc. #6

⁴Ibid. Doc. #26

⁵Ibid.. Vol. 7. Doc. #28

Procured "having a much larger hold than this small province sloop." In the next year Governor Phillips was still in need of a satisfactory boat to complete the survey of the Province and Captain Durell drew the plans for one but even then it was once more necessary to send to Boston to have it constructed.¹ The lack of shipping and the delay attendant upon securing vessels caused the Governor to report that "the worst evil is the want of transportation at this time" in a country "no part of which has any communication with another but by sea."²

Until the year 1749 and the founding of Halifax it seems safe to assume that the necessary shipping for transportation and the carrying of supplies was furnished by New England vessels and His Majesty's ships sent out from England, the necessary small boats, or chaloupes, being supplied by the French neutrals who had long been active in making small open boats for their own use.³

Almost a century and a half had passed over Nova Scotia since her first settlement but her lumbering and shipbuilding remained dormant. The coasts had been explored, the harbours and bays had been examined and reported upon for their excellence, both for supplying timber and for shipbuilding, settlement and skilled labour alone being necessary to lay the foundation of the great shipping industry. During the second half of the Eighteenth Century there were settlements being formed along

¹ P.A.N.S. Vol 7. Doc. #32

² Ibid.. Vol. 7. Doc. #33.

the coast of Nova Scotia, usually near the sites that had been chosen by the early French adventurers as being suitable for lumbering, fishing and shipbuilding, along the North shore, Southward down the Atlantic coast from Halifax, on the South Western shore, at the head of the Minas Basin and on the St. John River, districts endowed by nature with ample forest supplies and bordering upon the sea. With these natural advantages and enjoying free intercourse in the protected English market it was inevitable that shipbuilding, as an industry, should grow..

3 { P.A.N.S.. Vol.. 7. Doc.. #8. "The French here and at Mines
built by report 40 or 50 sloops."
Ibid.. Vol. 9. Doc. #16

Chapter Two.

The Growth of Shipbuilding as an Industry

1749-1800

In the year 1751 Governor Cornwallis and his Council decided that in order to encourage shipbuilding in Nova Scotia bounties should be paid to stimulate private enterprise. It was proposed that the necessary revenue would be raised by imposing a tax of three pence a gallon on distilled spiritous liquors but that hereafter molasses should be admitted into the province free of duty. The freights from the anticipated molasses imports together with the exportation of such staple commodities as fish, staves, hoops and shingles would also encourage shipping^{building} as well as shipping and with this in view the Council resolved on the Thirty First of July "that a bounty of 10/ per ton be paid out of the Treasury of this Province to the owners of every vessel or boat which shall be built after the date hereof within this Province."¹ The enactment was to continue in force for three years and although during the ensuing period we have no record of any individual actually laying claim to a bounty for ships or vessels actually built at Halifax or within its environs it seems safe to assume that^{at} least some of the settlers took advantage of the government's offer.

The few years following the founding of Halifax saw an increase in shipping² about this time we hear that³ "two ships were

¹ Minutes of the Council p 125. July 31st. 1751.

² Trade & Finance in Nova Scotia 1749-1758

³ Select Documents of Canadian Economic History. Innis. p 173

building for the fishery," vessels which no doubt secured the premium granted by the Council. In July, 1754, however, the provincial finances were no longer able to bear the strain of bounties and it was decided, on the recommendation of the provincial secretary, to discontinue the premiums on shipbuilding. A deficit of some £500 had accumulated above the sum collected in duties during the preceding three years and not only had the anticipated duties fallen short but the bounties on fish and oil had not had the desired effect. It seems probable, therefore, that from the comparatively large sums paid out in bounties from 1751 to 1754 at least a small portion of it should have gone to some of the settlers who had built vessels at Halifax during that period.

Three years later, on the recommendation of the Council, further bounty legislation was enacted but it was not considered necessary that shipbuilding be given assistance,² they being guided no doubt by the fact that there were already a sufficient number of vessels within the province to take care of its immediate needs and that private enterprise would eventually provide others. That this legislation was passed during the period of the Seven Years War when ships were being brought into Halifax almost daily to be sold by the Courts of Vice Admiralty at low prices may also have influenced them yet that does not seem entirely adequate as there were to be no further bounties granted on shipbuilding for nearly another thirty years and during that

¹ Minutes of the Council p 155 July 31st. 1754

² Ibid. May 6th. 1757

period there seems to have been no need to subsidize or to encourage the industry.

It was during this time that shipbuilding as a profitable industry began to grow: traders and merchants in the outlying coastal settlements commenced to export lumber and fish with increasing confidence to the West Indies and vessels, being perishable articles, had to be replaced. It was natural, therefore, that the occasional shipcarpenters who were finding their way to Nova Scotia in the stream of immigration from the New England Colonies where shipbuilding had been a thriving industry for more than a century should soon find employment and, in 1764, in order that a satisfactory record of ships should be kept, a most detailed form was sent out from England wherein the particulars of all vessels built within the province were to be recorded. Hereafter, every ship was to be registered, the owner being required to come to Halifax to swear to the ownership of the vessel and to pay a fee of \$5.00 for registration.² It is unfortunate that these early ship registers have been lost, the whole period covered from 1763 to early in the 19th. Century having been destroyed by fire although originally kept in triplicate copies. With no official records of these early days in Nova Scotia when transportation by water was the only highway and losses were swift, unexpected although always possible, the number of ships built can only be surmised.

Fortunately there still remains a detailed diary that was kept by one of the earliest inhabitants of Liverpool, Simeon

¹ P.A.N.S. Vol. 349 Doc. #10 March 16th. 1764

² Diary of Simeon Perkins: Vol 2. Sept. 14th. /85
Vol. 1. April 12th. /70

Perkins. Being a merchant and a trader himself he recorded the shipping and shipbuilding activities of the town from day to day over a period covering forty six years and if we consider Liverpool as a typical coastal settlement of the time we can gauge, if but roughly, the extent of early shipbuilding in the other settlements along the Atlantic coast, Chester, Lunenburg, Dublin, Port Roseway, Barrington and Yarmouth where there lived merchants and traders having similiar interests to those of Liverpool.

In 1763 Liverpool was a small coastal settlement of some hundred families, "more than one half fishermen;"¹ the other half being engaged in lumbering and having little or no cleared land. To this typical Nova Scotian fishing village Simeon Perkins had come on May the Fourth, 1762,² and set up a general store, supplying goods in exchange for fish. He soon apparently became interested in the possibilities of shipbuilding both for the exportation of his own fish and lumber and in building them for others and prior to the year 1766 we know that he had built himself at least one schooner, the Jolly Fisherman.³ Others were engaged in the same pursuit, men such as the Dexters, the Tappers, the Lodges and the Deans who had come to Liverpool soon after its first settlement; and in the Spring of 1766 Dodge built and launched a schooner, the Dolphin,⁴ at Port Medway, not far

¹ P.A.N.S. Report 1934: p 25

² Diary of Simeon Perkins Vol. 2. Feb. 24th. /86

³ Ibid: Vol. 1. Nov. 28th. /69 "sailed in the Jolly Fisherman which I built at Liverpool." As there is no mention made of this vessel from the beginning of his Diary in 1766 it must have been built earlier.

⁴ Ibid. June 28th. 1766

from Liverpool, while in the next month Dexter and Tupper launched the schooner Bilboa.¹ Meanwhile another schooner was being built at Port Medway in which Knowles, Stevenson, Dodge and Perkins each had a quarter share:² this schooner which was a flat bottomed boat called the Experience³ was launched on September the Twenty First, 1766,⁴ and a month later we hear of another vessel being planned by Follingsby, a merchant from Newbury in New England and which Dexter and Tupper were arranging to build.⁵

It is certain from Perkin's diary that he owned at the end of the year 1766 the schooners Polly, Sally, Jolly Fisherman and Experience,⁶ the last two which he built himself at Liverpool. In building vessels for other people Perkins acted as a contractor securing the sails and rigging from New England⁷ and contracting with others for the necessary lumber if he could not supply it himself, apparently making sufficient to find the undertaking profitable although at times he was forced to complain against the high prices he was forced to pay for his materials.⁸

The year 1767 found him continuing his activities although even at this early date he was having labour difficulties: supplies being short his carpenters threatened to strike at the shipyard while he was trying to push forward work on a brig that he had contracted for and although he sent to Halifax for more carpenters

¹ Diary of Simeon Perkins: July 21st. /66

² Ibid. June 4th. /66

³ Ibid. Aug. 12th. /66

⁴ Ibid. Sept. 19th. /66

⁵ Oct. 31st. /66

⁶ Ibid. Dec. 8th. /66 p 14; p 23; p 34; p 36.

⁷ Ibid. June 4th. /66

⁸ Ibid. Oct. 8th. /66. "vessels building there.." the other was a brig Bridge and Meany had contracted (for) with Perkins to be ready in 1767; raised by Tribble on July 23rd. 1766

and provisions¹ he was unable to secure them.² In April he got the masts for this brig and in May received the rigging from New England³ and finally on May the Eighth launched the brig Endeavour⁴ that he had built for Captain Meany, Perkins much to his annoyance being forced to supply an adequate quantity of rum for the christening ceremony.⁵ Soon after the launching of this brig another schooner, the Harlequin, of 40 tons and built by Robert Stevenson was launched.⁶ June of that year in Liverpool was a dull time "with not a vessel in the harbour"⁷ but during this period he contracted with Elisha Doten to build a schooner of 31 tons.⁸ The year 1767 was rather a poor one and shipbuilding seems practically to have ceased although another vessel, also named the Endeavour, was built by Ephraim Dean and launched in October.⁹ In the late Autumn Perkins decided to leave Liverpool and return to New England, the place was "in poor condition no fish: not one month's provisions and in debt in general more than they can pay"¹⁰ and on the Twenty First of November he sailed for his home in Norwich, not returning to Liverpool until the Spring of 1769.

Apparently conditions had improved during his absence and he found on his return two vessels being built, one by Captain Wilson of White Haven, England, of 250 tons¹¹ and another by Steph

¹ Diary Simeon Perkins: Vol 1. March 20th. /67

² Ibid. March 29th. /67

³ Ibid. May 3rd. /67

⁴ Ibid. May 30th. /67

⁵ Ibid. May 8th. /67

⁶ Ibid. June 1st. /67

⁷ Ibid. June 16th. /67

⁸ Ibid. June 28th. /67

⁹ Ibid. Oct. 26th. /67

¹⁰ Ibid. Nov. 21st. /67

¹¹ Ibid. Jun3 16th. /69 March 24th. /70

Collins of 30 tons. Within a few days he had found a ready sale for his goods and arranged for the wood and iron work for a new vessel he had contracted to build for Thomas Russel,¹ the Nassau,² which was launched in July 1770.³ During the Summer of that year there was little shipbuilding in Liverpool and although there is a break in the diary from the Autumn of 1770 to the Spring of 1772 there is no record of any ships being built until 1773. Apparently conditions were bad and "I think Liverpool is going to decay and it may be many years before it is more than a fishing village ... the people are in poor circumstances, everything needed is very high, their pay is uncertain, the land hard and rocky" wrote Perkins in his diary.⁴ The West Indian market was poor and the cargo of his schooner, the Polly, that returned from a voyage in February 1773 brought him small returns, "lumber sold at £4 and fish at 16/ - a bad voyage."⁵ Another contract for a new schooner however was in the air, this time from Malachy Salter of Halifax who sent his son Benjamin in the Royal George to Liverpool in the early Spring to arrange for its construction.⁶ The vessel was to be of 160 tons and at first it was planned to build it at Sandy Cove, or Herring Cove, but neither of these places was found suitable;⁷ timber was to be supplied by Nathaniel Freeman "to be delivered at the yard as high as the tides will allow at 16/ per ton and knees at 2/ each, all together:"⁸ the lumber was secured largely from Birch Point in April⁹ and during

¹Ibid. June 17th. /69

²Ibid. Feb. 18th. /73

³Ibid. July 28th. /70

⁴Ibid. Feb 8th. /73

⁵Ibid. Feb. 28th. /73

⁶Ibid. March 2nd. /73

⁷Ibid. March 5th. /73

⁸Ibid. May 29th. /73

⁹Ibid. April 27th. /74

May Perkins got the necessary oak logs and finally, in October, the brig Rising Sun was launched, the bilge ways being well covered with new mutton tallow.¹

It was during the Autumn of this year that Perkins removed from Liverpool to the Falls or Milton, where there was better timber and living was cheaper. The extent of lumbering activities may also be gauged from the fact that he could arrange to Samuel Doggett & Sons with two ship loads of 65,000 and 45,000 boards from his mills.² Winter came and from a simple entry in his diary for December 25th: "Christmas Day, I work in the woods; no fresh provisions so I dine on salt fish" we get a glimpse of a lonely settler stoically facing the realities of pioneer life.³

1774 found little activity in shipbuilding, but one being built in Liverpool by Mr. Rookes⁴ although there is mention made of another constructed in Yarmouth for Captain Dean by Stephen Gallishan, a ship carpenter of that place.⁵ Perkins however was laying plans to purchase, rather than build, a schooner from Salem⁶ and during the next year, 1775, he in partnership with others purchased four vessels, the Betsy, the Dragon, the Mermaid and another vessel also called the Mermaid which he re-named the Abigail. During this year there appears to have been only one vessel built, the brig Liberty by Joseph Bangs for Caleb Dean while during 1776 only one was constructed, also by

¹ Diary of Simeon Perkins. Oct. 28th. /73

² Ibid. June 26th. /74

³ Ibid. Dec. 25th. /73

⁴ Ibid. Nov. 4th. /74

⁵ Ibid. Oct. 25th. /74

⁶ Ibid. July 21st. /74

Joseph Bangs, called the Betsey for Joseph Christopher. The war in America was beginning to be felt in Nova Scotia and with privateers daily becoming more numerous upon the coast³ shipbuilding practically ceased⁴ and only one ship was built during 1777 in Liverpool⁵ but before it could be finished the frame was sold for debt to Joseph Tinkham for £22.15.⁶ A cargo of timber was however exported to England in this year by Malachy Salter in the brig Rising Sun that had been built by Perkins in 1773.⁷

From 1778 to 1784 shipbuilding was brought practically to a standstill in Nova Scotia. The industry that had begun to grow, if but slowly, after 1763 through its own efforts was effectively stopped by the uncertainty and chaos caused by the War of Independence to Atlantic shipping. Privateers infested the coast and no solitary vessel was safe from these roving marauders who would even burn vessels if they could not take them. Further incentive to progress being destroyed, the people of these coastal settlements were forced to eke out an existence as best they could and in the Summer of 1778 Perkins noted that the people "are much discouraged and seem to be looking out to leave the place." Some of the merchants were willing to take their chance and attempt to evade the enemy vessels surrounding the coast but having risked their ships and cargoes in an attempt to reach the West Indies it availed them little for trade and

¹ Ibid. Sept. 27th. /75

² Ibid. Sept. 30th. /75

³ Ibid. ~~September~~ Oct. 7th. /75

⁴ Ibid. Jan. 7th. /76

⁵ Ibid. Oct. 1st. /76

⁶ Ibid. July 14th. /77

⁷ Ibid. July 6th. /77: it was however seized the next day Boston Privateers.

⁸ Ibid. Dec. 8th. /75

industry had been practically destroyed there by the blockade and the disruption caused to shipping.¹ With markets closed and merchant shipping, unless under convoy, practically non-existent² the inhabitants of these ports took to privateering after they had been ruined and plundered by the enemy and in 1780 Liverpool sent out her first privateer, the Lucy,³ a vessel of 70 tons which had been purchased from Mr. Mires as a local venture in which several of the inhabitants were interested, the £619.7.5⁴ required for outfitting her being divided up into thirty two shares of £19.7.5. The shortage of able bodied sea men who had escaped impressment or employment in the Service caused delay and the schooner was forced to sail on her first voyage with but thirty three of her full complement of fifty men.⁴

Vessels were cheap and bargains could be secured by shrewd bidders at the sale of prize ships ordered condemned by the Courts of Vice Admiralty at Halifax. In 1780 Perkins bought one of these, a prize schooner called the Charming Sally, for £83 which he considered a very low price but remarked that "there is so little demand for vessels we cannot expect that they will sell for near their value."⁵ Labour also was scarce and ship carpenters soon found ready employment in the Fleet and early in the War Governor Legge had received a requisition from Governor Gage to secure all the available carpenters he could spare. Fifty one of them were found at Halifax and under the leadership of

¹ Diary of Simeon Perkins Vol. 1. June 7th. /78

² Ibid. May 12th. /79

³ Ibid. Octg 5th. /79: Oct. 6th. /79: Dec. 30th. /79: Jan. 5th. /80

⁴ From Letter of Marque. Admiralty Records. Vol. 49

⁵ Diary of Simeon Perkins Vol. 2. July 19th. /80

a certain James Barton, apparently an unreliable man, were exported to the New England colonies. They did not embark without difficulty, sixteen being left behind by the transport ship Hope and the remainder not getting away until several days later in the Lucy, augmented by others who were attracted by the wages offered, about £5 a month.

In 1783 came the peace and with it an invasion of the Province by some 20,000 refugees from the Independent Colonies in America. Some families had come early in the War, thirteen having arrived in July 1775, others after the evacuation of Boston in 1776 and a few, such as the families of Robert Foster and Nehemiah Webb, who had come to Lunenburg in the Autumn of 1779.¹ The greatest influx began in the Fall of 1782 following the evacuation of Charleston and continued on until the Winter months of 1784. The old coastal settlements, from small hamlets grew, as it were, overnight with the sudden increase in the population which was practically doubled by the new arrivals. Port Roseway became Shelburne with more than eight thousand people; others went to the County of Sydney in the North Eastern portion of the province, to Annapolis, to Halifax and other places along the coast although only a few removed themselves to Liverpool and the older settled districts such as King's County.

After seven years of hardship the old settlers were at last given an opportunity to recoup some of their former losses.⁵

¹ P.A.N.S. Vol. 136. p 136; p 220; p 221; p 223

² Simeon Perkins Vol. 1. July 19th. /75

³ Ibid. Oct. 6th. /79; Sept. 20th. /83

⁴ Ibid. Vol. 2. Oct. 17th. /83

⁵ Ibid. April 7th. /84

The Refugees needed boards and timber which the government had contracted to pay for and a post war lumber boom soon became evident. Trade between Shelburne and the other coastal settlements was brisk in lumber and in fish and the outport merchants soon began to feel the need for more vessels. Perkins set up one of 30 tons for this coasting trade and in the Fall of 1783 and during the early Spring of 1784 another vessel belonging to Snow Parker was launched.

Despite the fact that vessels had been cheap and plentiful during the closing years of the war they were, by 1784, "scarce and dear."¹ To supply this deficiency two more vessels were built at Liverpool during the Summer, one, the Good Fortune owned by Captain Bradford which was launched in June² and another, the Betsey, owned by Simeon Perkins, was launched in October.³ This last vessel was about 60 tons, valued at £690 and made by three carpenters from Perkins⁷ own design in slightly more than fifty four working days,⁴ the rigging, anchor and cable being purchased in Halifax instead of New England which had been his former custom.⁵

The next year saw greater activity. A Mr. Riley of Liverpool England had ordered a vessel to be constructed by Mr. Darrows⁶ but in April, 1785, he was unable to continue its construction⁷ and sold the vessel on the stocks to Captain Collins⁸ who engaged

¹Diary Simeon Perkins. Vol. 2. Jan. 21st. /84

²Ibid. June 2nd. /84

³Ibid. Oct. 14th. /84

⁴Ibid. July 7th. /85

⁵Ibid. July 24th. /84

⁶Ibid. April 18th. /85

⁷Ibid. Aug. 10th. /85

⁸Ibid. July 28th. /85

Ibid. Aug. 11th. /85

Joseph Bangs as master workman and finally launched it in August, naming it the Dolphin, while about the same time Joseph Freeman got his new vessel registered, calling it the Loyalty. Perkins meanwhile was active and even before he had launched a vessel, the Lively, of some 49 tons in August, he had another one under construction, the Dispatch, which was launched in November, a vessel of some 59 tons.¹ Both of these vessels were built under the supervision of James Yewell, a refugee who had recently come to Shelburne as a master workman at £5.10² a month. The rigging also came from Shelburne, being supplied by the firm of Benjamin Davis & Company.⁴

With four vessels already built during 1785, Benjamin Collins was at work on another new schooner, the Pilgrim, of 47 tons which was launched in the following Spring while Captain Dean was also at work on a vessel of 74 tons that was finished in the Spring of 1786 and was the first vessel in the district for which a bounty certificate was granted, following the resolutions that had been agreed upon by the General Assembly at Halifax during the late Autumn of the year 1785.⁶

¹ Diary of Simeon Perkins. Vol. 2. Nov. 25th. /85

² Ibid. June 28th. /85

³ Ibid. July 9th. /85

⁴ Ibid. Aug. 30th. /85; April 1st. /86

⁵ Ibid. Volume 3. April 13th. /86

⁶ Ibid. May 27th. /86. This bounty was granted on the Twentieth of February, 1787, one month after Captain Dean's death, in January: the vessel was of 74½ tons and was granted a bounty of £38.8.9 which was debited in the accounts of the Provincial Treasurer in August 11th. 1787; another built in the Spring of 1787 was the cause of prolonged discussion but this is evidently not the same vessel, the brig Charlotte being of but 60 tons. Although it may seem strange that the bounty warrant was not issued until nearly a year after the vessel was launched apparently Captain Dean's estate was being settled at this time and all available money was needed.

Over a period covering the years between 1760 and 1785 settlement had gradually extended along the entire coast of the peninsula. Before 1785 it may be said that generally there had been but little progress in industry and whatever tentative beginnings had been made were effectively checked by the Rebellion in America with the attendant chaos and uncertainty following upon it. Development of resources had also been local each little coastal village securing their necessary supplies by barter with the American fishing vessels or, as in the case of Liverpool, exporting fish and lumber to the New England colonies, the West Indies and to Great Britain in return for manufactured goods, salt, molasses and other products. Some of the early settlers had prospered by their enterprise and had built vessels of their own along the coast in order to take care of their immediate needs although it is impossible to discover how extensive their efforts were. By 1776 some 292 vessels, "square rigg'd and others," were owned in Nova Scotia but there can be little doubt that the greater number had either been brought by the early settlers or purchased by them in New England. The number of vessels owned was not sufficient to make up for the lack of internal communication and convenient transportation of goods and supplies from one settlement to another. Governor Francklyn saw the weakness and in commenting on the lack of inland communication wrote in a report of the same year that "although many settlements are forming for the fishery on the coast between this, Halifax, and Canso, they have no communication but by water only, and all the settlements

to the Westward of Lunenburg are in the same state ... the produce of the fine fertile marshes and other rich lands in the Bay of Fundy are now chiefly carried to Boston, as the carriage by water is less dangerous than coasting round to this and other Ports on the Sea Shore: and, ^{it} this should continue ... we shall be a province too much dependent upon New England and remain in a feeble languid state." The traders at Liverpool, as it has been observed, attempted to supply the deficiency by building vessels yearly after 1766 but in the other districts of the Province the extent to which shipbuilding was carried on during this period can only be surmised.

Along the North and North Eastern shore of Nova Scotia, today comprising the counties of Cumberland, Pictou, Antigonish and Guysborough or what was the old county of Sydney, progress had been slow and attended with much difficulty. Only two settlements of importance had been begun, one around Pictou and the other at Canso, one of the oldest villages of the province that had suffered greatly by the vicissitudes of war and by 1787 had become rather a "barren place" ³ with but a few families carrying on the once prosperous fisheries.⁴ Pictou, which in 1767 had contained only a few families, had been reinforced by Scottish immigrations during 1773 and 1774. It was a small settlement with no communication with the capital at Halifax except by a long voyage around the coast and solely dependent on the "small trading vessels from the Old Colonies," employed

¹ Innis. Documents. p 214-215

² Journal of Education. 1931. p 70

³ N.S.H.S. Vol. 21. Canso: Hart, H.C.

⁴ Innis. Documents. p 158

⁵ History of the County of Pictou. Patterson. p 71

principally in fishing" which brought them the necessary supplies, "receiving in exchange their fish, fur and lumber." One of its earliest settlers was Squire Patterson who had imigrated from Scotland, bringing with him a supply of goods and setting up a general store on his arrival in Pictou as Perkins had done at Liverpool some year earlier. When further immigration took place during the next few years and the settlers, on their arrival, found the promised homesteads covered by virgin forest they attempted to make some small profit from necessity and Patterson, having secured a condemned vessel from Prince Edward Island,¹ exported a cargo of lumber that had been cut by the settlers to Great Britain in 1774 while in the next year he had cut and sawed some 17,000 more feet of timber which was exported. With the Revolution vessels from the Old Colonies, which had heretofore brought necessities, could no longer come and fish off the coast of Nova Scotia and Patterson, as an enterprising merchant, resolved to send to Scotland for supplies, making his first trip in 1779² and continuing yearly thereafter. War also brought an increase in the price of lumber and trade in it from Pictou, increased, there "being three or four cargoes shipped yearly to England."³ The inhabitants, however, could prosper but little and after the war conditions were still primitive: "there being not a merchant in the district or anyone who commonly kept goods for sale ... little schooners came around in the Summer to which the people⁴

¹ History of the County of Pictou. Patterson. p 92

² Ibid. p 98

³ Ibid. p 136

⁴ Ibid. p 115

repaired in their canoes ... for which they exchanged a little produce." But individual enterprise was not dead and with increased immigration after 1783 "the whole shore of the Eastern part of the country was in some measure occupied." Amongst these settlers were men such as Captain Lowden and the Copelands who were to be active in the shipbuilding trade and by 1788 we have certain record of shipbuilding being actively carried on. It is probable that small boats had been constructed earlier while it is evident that a number were owned by the inhabitants; Dr. Harris possessing a sloop or schooner as early as 1769 while in 1784 there is recorded a bill of sale to Hugh Dawson from Barnabas McGee for "the good shallop, Nancy" that may or may not have been built around Pictou. Before 1788 however there seems to have been no definite activity in shipbuilding along the North Shore; the inhabitants were generally poor and contending against greater obstacles than those facing the settlers along the Southern Coast who were not only nearer to the Government at Halifax but also to the New England States and the West Indies, the most profitable outlet for their resources.²

In Halifax and the district round about, although we have evidence of shipping activity from the beginning of the town, there seems to have been no shipbuilding worth of record. Timber supplies were inadequate and evidently the merchants, if they did not buy their vessels elsewhere, sent to one of the outports to have them constructed:³ in 1778 Malachy Salter had ordered a

¹ History of the County of Pictou. Patterson p 157: p 66

² Diary of Simeon Perkins. Vol. 1 Oct. 28th. /73

³ Ibid. Volume. 3. June 30th. /87: Aug. 17th. /87

a vessel from Liverpool that Simeon Perkins had built while early in 1786 Edward Nicols, another merchant and shipowner of Halifax was making plans to go to Liverpool, there to carry on ship-building operations. The first definite record of a ship being built at Halifax is given by Akins who says that on the Twenty Second of October, 1798, there "was launched at the South end of the town a handsome brig, the property of Messrs. Gouge (Goudge & Pryor; she was the first vessel of the size ever built in the town." It is extremely probable however that smaller boats had been constructed earlier especially soon after the founding of Halifax under the stimulus of bounties when timber was still plentiful around Bedford Basin, Dartmouth and the North West Arm.

Shipbuilding in Lunenburg County before 1785 may be judged comparatively by the progress made at Liverpool. Lunenburg itself, settled in 1753, had by 1754, "cut a vast quantity of timber staves and Hoops and built a great number of Boats and Canoes."² They were chiefly intent however in following agriculture, supplying Halifax with "Roots, Cordwood, Timber and some Boards" in their small boats and having but little inclination for the fishery "tho' well situated for that purpose."³

Chester, Dublin, La Have and Port Senior, coastal districts in Queen's County, were settlements no doubt active in a small way, the scattered families having begun fishing and lumbering operations soon after the district was inhabited in

¹ 1759. In Chester there is reference to one Abraham Whitman
N.S.H.S. Vol. 8 p 93 & Errata

² Innis. Documents. Vol. 1. p 190

³ Ibid. p 243

Ibid. p 177

⁴ Diary of Simeon Perkins. July 30th. /67
Report: P.A.N.S. 1934. p 35

"who engaged in the timber trade with England, building many vessels suitable for his purpose" before removing to Pictou although it is uncertain if there is more than tradition to warrant the statement. Shipbuilding at Port Roseway before 1784 when it was renamed and became Shelburne, in the county of Shelburne, is also uncertain. There had been a project to settle the district as early as 1767 with fifty families but Deschamps, in his survey of the Province in 1782, makes no mention of it so that before the coming of the Loyalists it would seem to have been but a small and scattered settlement of little importance.

Yarmouth County and the settlements at Barrington, Argyle and Pubnico have been subjected to a somewhat detailed investigation by writers interested in the district. It is evident that shipping and shipbuilding ~~was~~^{were} active soon after the inhabitants emigrated to the district from New England and in 1761, further to encourage sea faring settlers, it was decreed that "fishermen, ship carpenters and other professions belonging to the sea be admitted as well as farmers"¹ and soon after there came with the new settlers two men who were to be identified with early shipbuilding in Nova Scotia,² one Joseph Tinkham who traded extensively out of Liverpool in later years, the other Captain Ephraim Cook who possessed not only the one pleasantly legendary leg of fiction but also a vessel constructed entirely of oak of some thirty five tons which he evidently brought with him.³

¹ History of Yarmouth County. Campbell. p 39

² Ibid. p 43

³ Sequel to Campbell's History. Brown. p 227

⁴ Diary of Simeon Perkins. Oct. 25th. /74. Lawson, in his Record of Yarmouth Shipping makes no mention of this vessel.

Captain Cook had had a varied career before he settled near Yarmouth, being amongst the first settlers at Halifax in 1749 but in 1754 having had some differences with the Governor, he moved to Mahone Bay. He is credited with building two vessels during the time that he was there, his plan being to import cattle from Massachusetts but evidently the project failed and in 1762 he went to Chebogue Harbour where he secured a grant of land. Before going to Chebogue he had often sailed to the coast in earlier years, making the Summer fishing voyage from his home in Kingston, and not only was he thoroughly familiar with the district but he has also been called the founder of the fishing industry along this section of the province after its settlement by the New Englanders. He apparently carried on active shipbuilding operations at Yarmouth and twelve years later we hear of him sailing to Liverpool in a new vessel built for him by Stephen Gallishan, a master ship carpenter who had come to Yarmouth and received a land grant in 1766, continuing to carry on his trade there.¹

Traditionally the first vessel built in the district was a schooner whose name is unknown which was built in the year 1764 by Walter Sollows "at Fish Point in Cape Forchue Harbour"² although according to another authority Walter Sollows was, at this date, as yet unborn and that the vessel was built by John Sollows.³ Apparently the early settlers owned only one vessel the Pompey, prior to 1763⁴ which had been brought by the settlers

¹ History of Yarmouth County. Campbell. p 56

² Ibid. p 97: Brown's Sequel p 53

³ Lawson. Record of Yarmouth Shipping. p 19

⁴ Ibid. p 43

to Chebogue but in 1763 or 1764 John Sollows built a shallop at Fish Point, "the first vessel alunched in Yarmouth County" while sometime between 1763 and 1765 David Pearl, Ebenezer Clark and James Allen "built a shooner supposed to be the James at the mouth of Broad Brook" the keel of which "was the first laid in the County" although it would seem that a launch would presuppose a keel being constructed for Sollow's first vessel.

The details are in themselves trivial but they serve to mark the beginning of the shipbuilding industry in the district and these men are worthy of recognition in so much that they were pioneers in the trade that was eventually to make Yarmouth famous.

Throughout the district it is evident that shipbuilding was soon undertaken by the inhabitants and there seems no reason to suppose that shipbuilding was not carried on as actively here as it was in Liverpool during the same period before 1785. The supplies of necessary timber lying close to the shore and the proximity of New England as a market were factors operating in its favour while not only was the construction of vessels desirable but the ownership of small boats for intercommunication a necessity, "the fifty families who had arrived from 1761 to 1764 inclusive were scattered along both sides of the Chebogue River, from the head to Chebogue point; along both sides of Yarmouth Harbour ... some had pitched their tents at Little River and others ... upon the shores of Salt Pond and Cheggogin River: to be able to handle a sailing craft became, therefore, a necessity of their existence and the skill they then acquired

Brown's Sequel. p 199

as navigators has been handed down from generation to generation." The Revolutionary War had disastrous effects upon the settlement and until after the War only a small and dangerous illegal trade could be carried on by the inhabitants but Yarmouth possessed a unique situation in respect to the American Colonies and after the Peace her shipping and shipbuilding took on a new and greater importance.¹

At Barrington and the surrounding district there is also mention made of early shipbuilding. Captain Eldad Nickerson, one of the earliest settlers,² "had a schooner, the Barrington, which traditionally heads the list of home made craft"³ although Captain J.F. Coffin, while accepting the Barrington as the first vessel constructed also mentions the claim put forward that Joshua Nickerson, who received a land grant in 1765, built the first decked vessel.⁴ Here also the War caused severe disruption to shipping and industry and although it is difficult to accept the somewhat platitudinous statement that "when the fetters of the Revolutionary War were slackened enterprise" led to the construction of ships and "that piles of shapen timber lay ready in the neighboring forest, awaiting the declaration of Peace," rather the inhabitants could start once more the hard and difficult task of building ships with confidence in the safety that the Peace could promise.⁵

Along the Shores of the Bay of Fundy, St. Mary's Bay and

¹ Annals of Yarmouth & Barrington p 1-16 Poole, D.V.

² Barrington Township. Crowell. p 88

³ Ibid. p 344

⁴ Ibid. p 346

⁵ Ibid. p 343

Digby and Annapolis there is little record of early shipping. A privateer vessel fitted out in 1780 by Thomas Ritchie called the Annapolis Rover of but ten tons may have been, from its small size,¹ built within the district but there seems to be little evidence that shipbuilding was being actively carried on before 1785 while from an account given by a Loyalist refugee of the progress made in trade and industry in this part of the province shortly after the War we may believe that the county was in a poor and backward state with but little enterprise being shown by the old inhabitants.²

In the district all around the Minas Basin small boats had long been made by the early French inhabitants while as early as 1699 we hear that most of the trees suitable for masting had been used or destroyed.³ Although in the present county of Kings the earliest record of a ship being constructed would seem to be a "schooner rigged craft of forty tons, register built at the Cornwallis Town Plot about 1790, builder unknown"⁴ we have earlier reference to shipbuilding in Hants' County. Dr. George Day, a former surgeon in the Royal Navy who had evidently come with Cornwallis to Halifax in 1749, secured a grant of land along the St. Croix River and built himself a home at Newport. He soon became interested in trading and built his own ships to transport produce to New England and, prospering by his enterprise, continued to build larger vessels for the European trade. Early in the War of the Revolution he had

¹ Admiralty Records. Vol. 492. Sept. 29th. /80. L of M issued.
² P.A.N.S. Vol. 193
³ P.A.N.S. Vol. 1. Doc. #76
⁴ Eaton: History of King's County. p 198

contracted with the army in Boston to supply the garrison with hay but this venture being ended by Howe's evacuation of that town he resolved to carry on further trade with the Colonies in Revolt and in 1777 embarked from Newport with a cargo for Massachusetts. Off the New England coast however his vessel was struck by lightning and this pioneer shipbuilder and exporter of Hants County with his entire crew and vessel were lost.

Along the St. John River, now in the province of New Brunswick but which was, prior to 1784, a part of the province of Nova Scotia, there had been some early activities in lumbering and shipbuilding. In 1767 there had been formed the company of Simmonds, Hazen and White at Newburyport in Massachusetts who were prepared to develop the limestone resources around the present city of St. John. Between 1764 and 1774 this group of men carried on operations and employed some seventeen vessels in their business, ranging in size from ten to eighty tons. Some of these vessels were engaged in carrying lime and others were used for fishing but with the increasing number of ships that were resorting to the fishing grounds around Pasamaquoddy competition became too great and they decided to dispose of some of their older vessels because, as they remarked somewhat quaintly,³ "we look upon it in general to be the better way to sell all the vessels when they come to be old and crazy, as

¹ Eaton. Chapters in the History of Halifax County. American Magazine. 1915. p 34-35

² Raymond. River St. John. p 381: p 399

³ Ibid. p 402. March 16th. 1769. Letter to Hazen & Jarvis from Simmonds "and then cut the timber for a schooner" evidently the first stage of its construction. Ibid. p 394

we find by experience that old vessels are great moths." The first vessel built in the district would seem to be the schooner Betse, constructed for Simmonds and White under the supervision of one Michael Hodge at a cost of 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ / per ton and which was launched in the Autumn of 1769.

Other settlers continued to emigrate to the district and in 1769 six families had been sent out under a land settlement scheme by a company that had reserved the rights of hunting, shooting and fishing around St. John as also the right "to erect wind and water mills besides the springs and river and all the wood for building ships," while a few years before a Scotsman by the name of Mr. Davidson had come out from Inverness to carry on lumber operations up the River Miramachi, exporting a cargo of timber in 1770 and building, in 1773, the first schooner launched in the district.

Here, as elsewhere, the War brought further activity in industry to a standstill. Apparently the Company of Simmonds, Hazen and White realized the prospects of shipbuilding as a profitable undertaking and but a short time before the outbreak of hostilities brought one John Jones, a master ship carpenter probably from Newburyport, to carry on shipbuilding at Portland Point. The Revolution stopped further work and although Hazen was sufficiently certain of the undertaking to continue to pay John Jones his wages during the duration of the upheaval but unfortunately the war continued for Seven Years and the records

¹ Innis. Documents. p 203

² Raymond. The River St. John. p 478

of the company cease.¹ It is evident however that many years before the Loyalists came to New Brunswick adventurous individuals were actively engaged there, carrying on comparatively prosperous pursuits in exploiting the natural resources and building ships necessary for the transportation of their produce.

The sudden increase of the population caused by the incoming refugees naturally quickened activity in lumbering and in shipbuilding and the new inhabitants soon after their arrival took advantage of the resources of the district to which they had come and by 1785 it was reported that the progress made at At. John would "astonish every stranger as it would to see the improvements going on in the Country. The number of saw mills erected are very great and can only be imagined from the noble prospect this Country opens for Lumber and which is not to be equalled in any of the States. The only wood that is scarce is White Oak: Red and Gray Oak there is in abundance and the most convincing proof that I can give you of the fair prospect there is in this article is, that a few days ago in consequence of proposals I received from a merchant of eminence at Halifax to load two vessels here in the Spring ... and in a few days I expect ... to conclude the contract for upwards of 2000 tons of timber consisting of White, Red and Grey Oak, Elm, Beech, Birch, Pine, Spruce, Black Birch and Rock Maple, timber for shipbuilding, assorted as Spars, Masts, Keel pieces, Top Masts, Yards, Planks, Barrels and Staves."

¹ Raymond. The River St. John. P 403
² Winslow Papers. Feb. 8th. 1785. P 266

Shipbuilding was reflected in the increased activity in industry and it was natural that the building of ships "where every material is, or may be got on the spot, cannot fail to be an article of great importance to this Country. Many vessels large and small are now building on the River, and as the materials are of the best sort, it may be expected that the vessels will be lasting and durable and have a preference at foreign markets."¹

By 1785 it is evident that shipbuilding was being regularly carried on in Nova Scotia and the foundations being laid for the future development of the industry. Before the War of American Independence we have scattered references to ships being built here and there in new settlements along the coast by the inhabitants who were engaged in an active, if small, foreign trade and progressively developing the natural resources of the Province but with the War there comes a break and in the coastal settlements the people were reduced almost to despair by the sudden and complete disruption to their shipping.

The pioneers in this industry have long been overlooked and if not ignored entirely which has been the usual case have been summarily dismissed as individuals whose efforts and enterprise have been unworthy of comment.² Sometimes their activities have not been examined which has led such men as Mors, in his History of Queen's County to declare³ that "the first vessel built in Nova Scotia was built here (Shelburne, abt 1786) and was of 250 tons burden. It is, however, stated that the French

¹ Winslow Papers. p 266

² Murdock, Allison, Campbell, Haliburton.

³ Mors, J.F. History of Queens County. p 25

had built vessels in this province in early years but on no good authority" which of course is not the case. It has further been stated that "the War of the American Revolution was, in one way at least, a benefit to Nova Scotia because the inhabitants of the province added to the number of their vessels by the captures of French and American craft" while slipping over the fact that when Nova Scotians were seizing enemy ships the French and Americans were capturing "Nova Scotian vessels with monotonous regularity and although it is evident that ships were cheap in the closing years of the War it was not so much due to the increase in their number caused by the captures made by Nova Scotian privateering vessels as the fact that they were useless for trade, commerce or transportation during a period when a ship bound for sea very often got no further than the harbour mouth. By the early months of the year 1784 vessels had become "scarce and dear" and insufficient to supply the demand while the merchants in the outport villages were busily engaged in constructing vessels as quickly as they could in order to take care of their merchant shipping, an evident fact from the shipping records of Liverpool, Yarmouth and St. John.

Although during this period private enterprise was actively engaged in shipbuilding it was decided, from motives that seem obscure, to further stimulate the shipbuilding industry by the payment of bounties and on the Sixteenth of December, 1785, it was proposed³ upon the recommendation of Col. Tonge that a committee of three men "be appointed to consider the utility of

¹ Canada & Its Provinces. Volume 10th. p 558

² Admiralty Records. P.A.N.S. Volumes, 492, 493.

Diary of Simeon Perkins. Vol. 1. & Vol. 2.

³ Journal of Assembly 16th. December 1785.

giving bounties on the produce of this province ... and other articles the growth or manufacture of the province and also the exportation of whale oil."

The committee appointed comprised Col. Tonge, Col. Simeon Perkins and Mr. Wallace and on the Twenty Fourth day of the same month they brought in their report advising that "a bounty of 10/ per ton be allowed and paid on all vessels built in the province and launched and fitted for sea within the year 1786 of the burthern of 40 tons and upwards, carpenter's measurement." Three days later the committee on bounties conferred with the Council and reported that they would agree "to the resolves respecting bounties and premiums." No specific act was considered necessary, the resolutions being regarded as a temporary measure and this first bounty legislation was apparently included in the General Appropriation Bill for year 1786.

By the next year the bounties were apparently having the desired result and on the first of July, 1786, the committee reported to the House that "we have used the utmost endeavours to encourage the lumber trade of this province which is one of its greatest exports to the West Indies and we are happy to inform Your Excellency that our endeavours have been crowned with success, the number of saw mills have increased beyond our most sanguine expectations and the quantities of lumber now ready for market far exceed the shipping we have to transport the same." A week later it was⁴ "resolved that the bounties and premiums

¹ Journal of Assembly. December 16th. 1785

² Ibid. December 27th. 1785.

³ Ibid. July 1st. 1786

⁴ Ibid. July 7th. 1786. Minutes of the Council. July 10th. /86

heretofore granted by this House shall be continued to the end of the year 1787 agreeable to the resolves of the General Assembly in their last Session" and the legislation was embodied in the Acts of the Assembly, Cap. 8, a bill intituled "an Act for applying certain monies ~~for applying certain monies~~ for the year 1787 etc.," section 11 wherein it was stated that "be it further enacted that the bounties and premiums voted and allowed by the General Assembly in their last sessions shall be continued and the same are hereby continued until the end of the year 1787 and no longer and shall and may be paid and satisfied conformable to such votes by virtue of this Act."

During the years 1786 and 1787 we have record of twenty five bounties having been granted and entered in the account of the Provincial Treasurer.² Ships constructed during this period received a bounty of ten shillings per ton and from the premiums paid it is possible to gauge the size of the vessels constructed; there being eleven which received a bounty of more than twenty but less than thirty pounds or were between forty and fifty tons burden, carpenter's measurement; six of between sixty and eighty tons; two between eighty and one hundred tons; two of between one hundred and one hundred and twenty tons while one vessel, the brig Abigail which was built at Truro by Eliakin Tupper and David Whidden during the year 1786 was of some 128 tons while another, the Roseway built at Shelburne by Bartholomew Sullivan

¹ Statutes at Large. Nova Scotia.

² Journal of Assembly. December 6th. 1787. The account was taken from Oct. 25th. /87. Ibid. March 25th. 1789. There has been paid since October 1787 for Shipbuilding ... Also P.A.N.S. Provincial Treasurers Accounts for 1787

received a bounty of £96 and was of some 192 tons burden.¹

During the Autumn of 1787 there was a rumour that the General Assembly planned to discontinue further bounty legislation on shipbuilding at the end of the year when the enactment would automatically lapse with the General Appropriation Bill for that year. By the Twenty Fifth of October it was reported in the House that £352 had been paid out in bounties and no doubt there were some who felt that this added expenditure was unnecessary. In anticipation of the bounties being discontinued Alexander Copeland of Pictou forwarded a petition to the Assembly which was received on the Third of December. He had already secured one bounty for the sum of £28.6. on the Tenth of April, 1787, and had then gone ahead with a larger vessel, already under construction but, faced with the prospect of bounties being discontinued and therefore no longer valid at the close of the current year, he resolved to ask for some special consideration. The petition is illustrative,² although perhaps stressed from the motive involved, insomuch that it shows the effect of the provincial subsidy on shipbuilding. In his plea to the Provincial Assembly he declared that "encouraged by the Bounty offered by the Honourable, the General Assembly, of said province during a former Session ... your petitioner on the Month of August last entered into an agreement with an able master work man to superintend the construction of a ship at Pictou with two decks, of sixty eight feet straight keel, twenty six feet

¹ List. Appended.

² Assembly Papers. Volume 2. Portfolio.

Ibid. Miscellaneous Portfolio. Also, Accounts of the Provincial Treasurer.

beam & sixteen feet depth of hold and to be built in a compleat and workmanlike manner; that your petitioner hath sent said Master and a number of other workmen to Pictou who are now employed in building her and have also sent every material which is necessary to finish her" but, on being informed that bounties were to be discontinued "at the expiration of the present year," declared "that from the infant state of the Business of Shipbuilding in said Province, it is impossible at present to carry on the same without certain Loss unless some premium or Bounty be allowed by the Province to those who shall construct good and serviceable vessels and that your petitioner would not have embarked on the said undertaking but from the prospect of the aforesaid premium."

The vessel in question, the Prince William Henry of 242 tons, was finished sometime during the year 1788 and received a bounty at the rate of 7/6 shillings per ton or £90.15.

On the Sixth of December, 1787, on account of the satisfactory effect that the bounty on shipbuilding had produced, it was resolved "that a bounty of 7/6 per ton be allowed and paid on all vessels of 75 tons and upwards that shall be built within this province of good and sufficient materials and in a workmanlike manner and launched and fit for sea within the year 1788" The resolution was embodied in the General Appropriation Bill for the year, Cap. 16, a Bill intituled "an Act for applying certain monies therein mentioned for the year 1788" section 5

¹ Journal of Assembly. Dec. 6th. 1787

² Statutes at Large. Nova Scotia.

Petitions. Assembly Papers. Portfolio Vol. 2 & 3. Also miscellaneous portfolio.

of which read that "be it further enacted that by or out of such monies as are or may come into the public treasure of this province and are not herein and hereby specially appropriated for other uses, there shall be allowed and paid a bounty of seven shillings and six pence per ton measure on all vessels of seventy five tons Statute measure and upwards which shall be built within this province of good and sufficient materials and in a substantial and workmanlike manner and launched and made fit for sea in the Year 1788."

During the year 1788 there were 9 vessels of more than 75 tons built which claimed the bounty, the largest of which was the brig George Tracey built by Benjamin Collins at Liverpool and which was granted a bounty on the Fifteenth of August 1788.

In March, 1789, the General Assembly met at Halifax and during the session several petitions were presented by ship-builders who had, from various reasons, been unable to reach Halifax at the end of December, 1788, to secure the premiums which lapsed at the close of that year. Ten bounty certificates were granted at this time although not all were given without discussion while, in the case of the Royal Charlotte, it was not granted until after prolonged investigation.

In July 1786 James Kavanagh, a merchant of Halifax for many years who had removed himself to St. Peters and was interested in carrying on the fishery there and trading along

Assembly Papers. Petitions. Portfolio #2.
 Journal of Assembly. March 4th: 6th: 10th. 1790
 Assembly Papers. Ibid.

the coast of Cape Breton, drew up an agreement with Captain Ephraim Dean of Liverpool to have a vessel constructed there for him. The agreement drawn up is interesting in that as it was probably according to the form usually adopted by Halifax and other merchants who ordered vessels constructed in the out-ports. In the document drawn up it was agreed "that said Dean doth agree and obliges himself to furnish good sound and sufficient timber and Planks all of Oak with Trunnells and Spars of first quality Pine. To build or cause to be built therewith at Liverpool in this province a good Schooner of the plan of the Marble Head Bankers ... the said Dean paying all the carpenters Caulkers and Mast Makers Bills and to have the Hull of said vessel compleately finished from the hands of the erpenters and in a workmanlike manner by the First day of March next in order for the Riggers to fit her out for sea. And the said Kavanagh doth on his part agree to furnish iron and to pay the Blacksmiths, Joiners and Blockmakers Bills and to pay or cause to be paid to the said Dean for a Carpenter's work, etc., the full sum of fifty seven shillings and sixpence, Halifax Currency, for each and every ton said vessel shall measure, carpenter's tonnage: said Dean drawing the bounty on said vessel as is or shall be given by the Government in this province and as well on the following express conditions: one half besides in Goods at the signing of these presents: the other half in Cash at the compleating of and delivering said vessel to said Kavanagh's order

{ Assembly Papers. Portfolio Volume #2.
 Diary of Simeon Perkins. Volume 3. October 22nd, /86
 Ibid. January 27th, /87

at Liverpool. The Parties to the herewithin mentioned conditions Bind themselves the one to the other in the Final sum of £300 sterling to be paid by the retracting Parties."

In January 1787 Captain Dean, who had returned from Halifax in the late Autumn of 1786 with orders for the construction of three vessels, died but it was decided by the executors of his estate, Peter Marchinton, Patrick MacMaster and Godfrey Schwartz, to carry on the construction of the vessel then on the stocks and Benjamin Collins agreed with Mr. Cheever, as master workman,¹ to complete the vessel which was launched on "or about the Sixth day of April, 1787, staunch, strong and well built."²

There was difficulty in securing vouchers for the vessel and not until the Eleventh of March, 1789, did the executors of Captain Dean's estate lay before the House a complete statement of the brig, the Royal Charlotte, and petitioned for the bounty. On the Nineteenth of March, however, James Kavanagh hearing of their claim, put in a counter claim, apparently on the grounds that as Captain Dean was dead he had claim to the bounty money and declared that as he understood "that Peter Marchinton, one of the members of this Honourable House" had preferred a claim "for the same bounty" he wished to bring forward documents to substantiate his charge.

As it was declared on oath the vessel had been constructed within 1787 it was entitled to a bounty at 10/ a ton and finally when in March 1790 a further statement was presented by the ex-

¹ Diary of Simeon Perkins. February 13th. 1787
² Assembly Papers. Portfolio. Perkins does not mention the launching in his diary although the details of the vessel were sworn before him March 7th. 1788 by George Moren, Surveyor.

cutors of Dean's estate and Kavanagh's claims were shown to be groundless from the agreement made with Dean before his death with Kavanagh and they were granted their bounty of £30 on the Eighth of April 1790.¹

There were in all eight bounties granted during the Spring Session of the Assembly in 1789 and four more in 1790 on account of petitions from interested parties who, from peculiar circumstances, had been unable to secure their claims earlier. The enquiries into the petitions of these later comers was very strict and, in the case of the claim for a bounty on the brig Ruby built at Liverpool during 1788 of 163½ tons and owned by Forester Sherlock, a Halifax merchant engaged in trading operations with Kavanagh, Simeon Perkins and Joseph Crowell before whom the details of the vessel were sworn were in turn further checked by Joseph Tinkham and Joseph Bangs and were in turn checked by Benjamin Collins and John Thomas, before the statement was finally passed.²

During the years 1786 and 1787 twenty five vessels of more than forty tons had been built, launched and fitted for sea while during the year 1788 there were twenty vessels of more than seventy five tons built within the peninsula of Nova Scotia. It is also evident that shipbuilding was established and being carried on in practically every outport settlement in the province with the exception, perhaps, of Yarmouth where shipbuilding during these early years is conspicuous by its absence. Although

¹ Assembly Papers. Portfolio Volume #2.

² Ibid.

from the record of Yarmouth Shipping in 1787 there were three vessels of over forty tons, in 1788 one and, in 1789, one or five in all, it would appear that the Yarmouth shipbuilders, from the record of bounties issued, were not living up to the somewhat fulsome praises given to them by enthusiastic historians of the district, as there are no records of ships being built there during the years that the province was giving subsidies to shipping and new ships. It was not until later that Yarmouth shipping was to become famous.'

By 1790 it is evident ant shipbuilding as an industry was firmly established, awaiting only the greater development of the industry that was to come with the turn of the Nineteenth Century.

But while ships were being built along the coast of Nova Scotia and her hardy mariners were sailing them over the seven seas the increase in population and the growth of trade made it imperative that the inland districts of the province be opened up and a system of roads cut that would allow the rich produce of the agricultural districts to be made available at the sea ports, that would bind the scattered districts together by giving ~~them~~ them the means of easy communication with one another and which would create new settlements for development. It is, therefore, to the opening up of the roads in Nova Scotia and communication by land that we now must turn.

{ Lawson, Record of Yarmouth Shipping. Pp. 20, 21, 22.

~~History of Yarmouth County. Campbell. P 133.~~
History of Yarmouth County. Campbell. P 133.

Bounty Certificates Granted for Ships Built in Nova Scotia of 40
Tons or Over during 1786 and 1787.

Warrant issued to:

Charles Dickson at Truro for shipbuilding		
	Jan. 26th. /87	£48.14.4
Ephraim Dean at Liverpool for ditto		
	Feb. 20th. /87	£38. 8.9
Eliakin Tupper & David Whidden at Truro for		
brig <u>Abigail</u>	Feb. 20th. /87	£64.
Cameron V. MacCaskill at County Harbour for		
ditto	March 2nd. /87	£20.
Daniel MacNeil at County Harbour for ditto		
	March 2nd. /87	£21.
Thomas Meston at	for ditto	
	March 5th. /87	£38.10
Peter Boyle & Company at Shelburne for ditto		
	March 6th. /87	£35.10
David Whidden at Truro for ditto		
	March 30th. /87	£31.
Mex Copeland at Pictou for ditto		
	April 10th. /87	27.6
James Knowles & Snow Parker at Liverpool for		
ditto	April 11th. /87	£20.
John & Hugh Nickerson at	for ditto	
	April 11th. /87	£24.
William Robertson at	ditto	
	April 13th. /87	£36,
Thomas Millidge, Isaac Bennel & Phineas Millidge		
at Digby the schooner <u>Hope</u>	May 3rd. /87	£21.
Bartholomew Sullivan & Nathaniel Mills	May 15th. /87	
at Shelburne for schooner Governor Parr		£56
Duncan MacLean & Peter Boyle at Shelburne		
for ship <u>Roseway</u>	May 15th. /87	96
Caleb Wheaton at	for ditto	
	June 5th. /87	£41.

Casper Wollenhaupt at Lunenburg for the ship <u>Jasper</u> Oct. 23rd. /87	£54.
Bartlett Bradford at Liverpool for the brig <u>Morning Star</u> Nov. 10th. /87	£56.10
John Stairs at Sheet Harbour for the sloop <u>Hope</u> Nov. 24th. /87	£26.10
Stephen Collins at Liverpool for shipbuilding Dec. 4th. /87	£28.
Donald Patterson & Alex MacDonald at Cole Harbour for the schooner <u>Margaret</u> Dec. 10th /87	30.
James Lodge & William Armstrong at Antigonish for schooner <u>Laetitia</u> Dec. 19th. /87	£20.10
Charles Dickson at Truro for the schooner <u>Charles</u> Dec. 24th. /87	£53.
John Umlack at St. Margaret's Bay for shipbuilding Dec. 28th. /87	£22.10
John Harris & William Cock at for shipbuilding Dec. 28th. /87	£26.

Warrants marked x were cashed prior to October the Twenty Fifth, 1787, and amount to £352.43.1. From a statement made in the Assembly on December the Sixth, 1787, it was declared that £352 had been paid for shipbuilding at the close of the current year, October the Twenty Fifth, 1787. The odd amount of 43/1 may be accounted for by accumulated interest before the warrents were cashed. In the case of Casper Wollenhaupt his warrant was not cashed until the Twenty Sixth of June, 1789. (Provincial Treasurer's Accounts.)

Bounty Certificates Granted for Ships built in Nova Scotia
of 75 tons and over during 1788.

Warrant Issued to:

Jacob Conrad at Cole Harbour for shipbuilding.	April 24th. /88	x £20.
John & Godfrey Schwartz at for brig <u>Adamant</u> .	Jan. 8th. /88	£64.10
William Cunningham at Shelburne for schooner <u>Plow</u>	Aug. 15th. /88	£33.10
Benjamin Collins at Liverpool for brig <u>George Tracey</u> .	Aug. 15th. /88	£72.
Jonathan Fowler, John Smith & Lemuel Bourne at (Digby) for schooner <u>Digby</u>	Aug. 15th. /88	£58.10
Thomas W. Moore & Company at for shipbuilding	Aug. 29th. /88	£26.17. 6
William Nixon at Manchester for shipbuilding.	Oct. 3rd. /88	£36.
Edward Nicols at Liverpool for brig <u>Ceres</u>	Nov. 14th. /88	£50.16. 6
James Macabe & Company at for shipbuilding	Dec. 16th. /88	£32. 5

In the warrant issued to Jacob Conrad it is stated that
the schooner, the Betsey, was built within 1787 and therefore
that it was entitled to a bounty at the rate of 10/ per ton.

Bounty Certificates granted in 1789 for ships of 75 tons and over built within the province of Nova Scotia at the rate of 7/6 per ton during 1788 but which were unable to reach Halifax at the end of the year 1788.

Warrant Issued to:

John & Edward Kirby at for shipbuilding.	Jan. 13th. /89	£20. 2. 4
Edward Prior & Company at Halifax for the brig <u>Halifax</u>	Jan. 23rd. /89	£54. 7. 6
Joseph Barss & Company at Liverpool for the brig <u>Union</u>	Feb. 27th. /89	£40. 7.11
Benjamin DeWolfe at Truro for the brig <u>Sally</u>	Feb 10th. /89	£48.16
Mex Copeland at Pictou for the ship Prince <u>William Henry</u>	March 16th. /89	£90.15
William Johnston at Sississibou River for schooner <u>James & Jane</u>	April 4th. /89	£37. 7. 6
Simeon Perkins at Liverpool for the brig <u>Minerva</u>	April 7th. /89	£41.12. 6
Charles & Daniel Dickson at Truro for the brig <u>Amelia</u>	April 7th. /89	£57. 7. 6

In the Autumn of 1786 the owners of ships who could not bring their vessels to Halifax to claim the bounty were instructed to send in a sworn affidavit of the size and details of their vessels. This was in force until January 1788 when this privilege was withdrawn, and all owners of ships who wished to claim the bounty for vessels constructed during the time allowed were ordered to bring them to Halifax to be measured.

Bounties granted during the year 1790 to shipbuilders who for various reasons were unable to secure proper recognition of their ships before the close of the year 1788.

From the Journal of Assembly, March 4th. 1790.

"Petition of James Moody presented by Mr. Marchinton that the said Moody built, rigged and sent to sea a ship from Sissibou in this Province of 193 tons." Granted a bounty of £72.7.6 at the rate of 7/6 a ton by an Act of Assembly, Cap. 16 June 14th. 1791. This vessel was called the Loyalist.

March 10th. 1790.

Petition of James Lodge and William Armstrong that they built a brig in Guysborough in 1788 and could not reach Halifax in time to secure the certificates for, "owing to the severity of the weather they were prevented from navigating the said brig to Halifax until the Spring of 1789 which excluded the petitioners from obtaining the legal certificates for bounty and praying that the House would be pleased to enquire into the merits of their claim and grant them such relief as in their wisdom they may seem meet."

March 10th. 1790.

Petition of Joseph Tinkham who built a brig at Liverpool, the Ruby, and could not reach Halifax in time to secure the certificates.

April 8th. 1790.

Petition of the executors of the estate of Ephraim Dean, Claiming bounty on the brig Royal Charlotte built within 1787.

Communication by Land

Chapter Three

Highways of Nova Scotia.

The story of ships and shipbuilding is one primarily of communication and the transportation of commodities by water. From the physical basis of Nova Scotia it was natural that the sea should have ^{been} the first and only highway, not merely for the carrying of supplies, but also for travel and exploration. The barren hinterland drew no settlers and was unknown except by the wandering Indian and solitary trapper. Settlements fringed the coast line, close geographically, but separated from each other effectively by natural barriers to easy inland communication with the result that for more than a century and a half after the break up of de Mont's ill fated expedition these scattered outports remained isolated from each other except by sea. But while shipbuilding grew, first from the immediate needs of the coastal settlers and then, later, as an industry carried on profitably in conveying the staple products of the province to foreign markets, attempts were being made to join the coastal settlements together by roads in order to establish safer and more rapid means of transport and communication.

Strategically and economically it was not until the last half of the Eighteenth Century that the need for roads became pressing. The survivors of de Mont's expedition who had fled to the upper reaches of the Bay of Fundy in 1608, thus forming

the nucleus of the future Acadian people, sought isolation. Throughout the Seventeenth Century and its years of strife the settled district around the Basin of Mines, although growing yearly more populous, continued to remain isolated. The stormy Bay of Fundy and shallow tidal rivers provided a natural barrier against marauding plunderers while the forest land between Annapolis Royal and the Cornwallis River remained an impassable area with the overland route possible only for the Indian or the experienced woodsman. From the friendly Indians these Acadians were familiar with the easiest trails through the forests lying at the head of the Minas Basin and it seems safe to assume that it was from these devious routes through the woods over which they drove their cattle that roads as such took their course in Nova Scotia. With the coming of the English after the Treaty of Utrecht even greater secrecy was necessary for the Acadians in carrying on their agricultural activity but it seems evident that many years before the founding of Halifax a well marked system of overland trails were being used by the French neutrals in their travels to and fro over the peninsula.

Three main routes appear to have been used, having as their starting place the Indian village of Pigignuit, near the present town of Windsor, and probably not far from Windsor Forks where the Avon River could be easily forded. The first of these was a trail to the South Shore, no doubt following approximately the route used today in passing from Windsor overland to Chester although it apparently touched the coast

at Prospect Harbour, "near la Heve on the South Coast." The second of these appears to have been overland "to Cape Marie on the same coast not far from Canso," while a third route extended "from Cobegnuit, at the Bottom of the Bay, to Tetamagouche on the East Coast."

The early years following the founding of Halifax saw no apparent ^{effort} on the part of the local government to push forward a system of land communication. Although a road seems to have been cleared from Windsor to Halifax eighteen feet in width by Acadian labour in the year 1749 over which some cattle were driven for the new settlement at Halifax, it was made primarily for military purposes and as settlement did not extend inland and the danger from roving Indians made a journey by land both uncertain and precarious, roads were not essential, all travel and transportation of goods being carried on by sea.

In and around the newly formed German settlement at Lunenburg road building for local purposes was soon undertaken. In 1754 they were reported as being employed "in cutting Roads thro' their great lots" while three years later a more ambitious plan was undertaken and a new road suggested, to be cut from Lunenburg to Halifax. Several of the inhabitants of Lunenburg marched overland to survey the most suitable route and appeared before the Council at Halifax in February, 1757,² and were offered the contract of making a road one rod wide at the rate of \$6 per mile "Which they would by no means accept of but, on the contrary, insisted on so exorbitant a price that no agreement could

¹ Select Document. Innis. Vol. 1. p 141.

² Council Minutes. Feb. 27th. 1757. May 20th. 1757

possibly be made with them." In May, however, an enterprising man by the name of Mr. Pernette decided to accept the Government's proposal and offered to build a road ten feet wide from Chester, or Mushmush, to the Block House on the peninsula of Halifax. The Government were to furnish the contractor with boats to supply his workmen with provisions and to give him an armed guard, the road to be finished within three months. In order to help the project, £50 was given in advance, the balance to be received when the road was completed. Although some work may have been laid out upon it, the scheme was not carried through and many years were to elapse before communication by land was established between Halifax and Chester along the Shore.

In the year 1761 the care of the roads was undertaken by the General Assembly and a bill introduced for repairing and making highways, roads, bridges and streets and making new ones where wanted within the several townships of the province.¹ The enactment was an interesting one and illustrative of an honest attempt to construct and maintain the new roads on a systematic basis. The Grand Juries of the various Counties were to nominate "two fitt and discreet persons" to be surveyors of highways for each county town, the penalty of refusing the nomination being a fine of £5. Statute labour was introduced and everyone living within each township who owned a cart, team or truck were to send "on every day appointed by the said surveyors of highways one cart or team or truck with two oxen or two horses and an able man to drive the same for four days in every year ..

¹ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 4. 1761

allowing eight hours to each days work" while others, who were not sufficiently fortunate to own conveyances, were to work for six days a year under penalty of a fine if they neglected to appear. Evasion of responsibility was impossible as the constables of the various townships were to make a return of all householders in their districts to the road surveyors who, in turn, were to be responsible to the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace.

The Bill was ordered ingrossed but little or nothing seems to have been done and two years later, when the bill was once more presented to the House, the motion was not agreed to.

During the Summer of the next year some road building was accomplished, due largely to the activities of Major Otto Hamilton and the soldiers under him. In commenting on the work done through Major Hamilton's efforts the Governor, in addressing the House in the Autumn of 1764, remarked that "that as nothing can contribute more to the flourishing condition of a country than an open and convenient communication with the different parts of it, the repairs and improvements made during the Summer on the Road into the interior parts of the Province have greatly answered that end."² A few days later, the House in making its formal reply, stated that "our communication with the interior settlements of the province being now in a considerable measure opened by several good roads into the country ... it must be attended with the best consequences and we shall be ready to afford whatever is in our power under our present circumstances towards the discharge of the expence that

¹ Assembly Minutes Nov. 26th. 1763

² Ibid. October 12th. 1764: Oct. 13th. 1764

has necessarily accrued in the prosecuting of a work of such great advantage to the province."

Despite these efforts roadbuilding was troublesome: not only were the natural obstacles difficult to surmount but the scarcity of labourers rendered the project costly. In the year 1765, in an attempt to force the owners of large grants of land who dwelt elsewhere to share this burden, a bill was introduced in the Assembly to compel absent proprietors to meet their share in repairing highways, roads and bridges within their districts¹ but despite the efforts of the government only £491.4.10 was available for roads during the following year, the work being done largely by the Royal troops.²

It was not, however, until the time of Governor Francklyn that a definite policy of internal land communication was put forward and a new and more ambitious scheme of road building undertaken.

For Governor Francklyn the need for roads was pressing and the lack of easy land communication the source of grave economic disadvantage to the province. Writing to the Lords of Trade in the Autumn of 1766 he proposed that if the coal mines of Cape Breton were allowed to be worked and coal exported, under a monopoly, a profit of approximately 7/6 a chaldron might be expected which not only would serve as an inestimable boon to trade and shipping but would also provide the Government with a road building fund that was so necessary for road building in the province and yet which was, from the financial condition of Nova Scotia, impossible of otherwise being accomplished.

¹ Assembly Minutes. June 8th. 1765

² Ibid. July 3rd. 1765.

From the money thus raised he suggested that:

"main Roads be immediately opened from hence (Halifax) to Cape Sable and thence around to Annapolis and another from this to the Gut of Canso, in order to pass from thence by a Ferry to the Island of Breton, not far distant from St. Peters where, I am informed, there is a road of Communication with Louisbourg. That another main road be carried by way of Cobequid, thence to branch off to Tatamagouche for a communication with St. John's Island, this same Road to be carried from Cobequid to Cumberland, thence to the head of Pit-icoudiack River and so on to ... the River St. John where in future one may be made to the Eastern parts of New England. By this means every part of this province will have a communication with its capital as the several Towns near to which the (proposed) main Roads may go will be able to make proper bye Roads from them to the main Roads at their own expence, as well as to cut across the peninsula and from one town to Another."

By the series of new roads, such as he proposed, he felt the country would become fully explored, that new settlements would be opened up which, "once accomplished will enable the whole Country to unite its strength for its defence and safety," that the Courts of Justice could be held regularly in the various counties, that the people could be kept in good order and that above all the farmer would find an easy means of transportation for his produce and the fisherman cheaper provisions for his family.'

He planned that "these Main Roads should be opened at least forty feet in width, the Trees cut close to the ground, cleared of Brush, fallen Timber and all Impediments and that Bridges of Timber, where necessary, be laid over the Rivers and Swamps" which he estimated might "be executed at the rate of £25 per mile, one mile with another," which would serve as an arteria system of highways along which settlement would afterwards

follow. As he considered that from £500 to £1000 might reasonably be raised from the revenues arising from the coal mines alone it would be possible to lay out and construct thirty or forty miles of these roads annually at no further expence to the government.

The plan seemed reasonable enough but unfortunately it interfered with Imperial interests. However the Governor proceeded with the plan and a concession was granted to Benjamin Gerrish, James Amesbury, Peter Bard and William Lloyd who gave in return for the privilege a bond of £500. Unfortunately for them the coal mines fell in during their operations, making it impossible for them to deliver the 3000 chauldrons of coal that they had contracted for and it was necessary for them to ask that an extension of their concession be made which was granted by the Council in February, 1768.¹

Although the monopoly had been granted on the authority of the Governor without confirmation from the Board of Trade the Council and Assembly, acting on the precedent thus made, put forward a plea that not only should the revenue from the coal mines be allotted to the province but that the quit rents should be allowed as well, maintaining that the provincial debt had been contracted from necessary improvements to the province and the great expence arising from opening roads of communication to the interior parts of the country.² The request was unsuccessful and while the Secretary of State, in his reply, stated that although His Majesty approved of road building he could not,

¹ Council Minutes. Feb. 29th. 1768

² P.A.N.S. Vol. 43. Doc. #32

under any consideration whatsoever consent to have either the coal revenues or the quit rents appropriated for that purpose.

Although, by 1766, several paths had been cut to some of the outlying settlements, none of them except that leading to Windsor was possible or sufficiently opened up and improved to allow the passage of carriages and even then the journey to Windsor was possible only with difficulty and at certain seasons of the year while no others were passable for horses except the path that continued on from Windsor to Annapolis via Cornwallis on account of the rivers and swamps, over which there were no bridges, so that it may be said that inland communication was dependent on little more than trails that had been blazed into the interior.

The lack of roads caused both inconvenience and economic distress. With the development, and gradual growth, of the fertile districts of the province it was essential that the agricultural produce should be readily accessible to the market at Halifax by an overland route rather than by a long and tedious voyage around the coast. Being thus cut off, the country people were deprived of the advantage of dealing directly with the Halifax merchants "and of discharging the debts contracted with them ... greatly to the disadvantage of the Proprietors of those lands who reside in this town (Halifax) on account of the difficulty of obtaining returns of the profits arising from the money laid out in their improvements"³ while a further obstacle was the fact that roving New England traders could buy up the

¹ P.A.N.S. Vol. 43. Doc. #49: Vol 31. Feb. 26th. 1768
² Select Documents of Canadian Economic History. Innis. p 204
³ Ibid. p 302

produce of the agricultural districts around the Minas Basin in exchange for necessities and then ship it around to Halifax in their small coastal vessels and dispose of it there at a substantial profit.

The difficulty of remedying it was complicated by the fact that the population was both scattered and sparse with many miles of uninhabited land between the settlements so that in order for the people to maintain their roads it was necessary for them to do so at the neglect of their cultivated lands from which they drew their whole support. It was not unnatural therefore, that attempts at road building should have been ineffectual and sporadic.

During the year 1766 a survey was taken of Nova Scotia and a map made by Captain Montresor, a Royal engineer, on which were traced the roads of the province. From this map it would seem that the roads, although they were at that time little more than woodland trails, followed similiar courses ^{to those} that are used today. The most travelled route was that leading from the North West district of the peninsula at Halifax, probably not far from the head of the North West Arm, to Fort Sackville, near Bedford, and from thence overland to Windsor, crossing the Rivers Ardoise, the St. Croix and the Avon to Fort Edward: then following through to Grand Pre, across the Gaspereau River, and over towards the North Mountain range, crossing the Cornwallis River at a narrow place and then on across the dykelands towards Canard and Pereau. From Cornwallis westward towards Annapolis it would appear that the trail was in bad repair to Granville Ferry while westward from Annapolis towards Yarmouth

P.A.N.S. Maps.

there was no communication except by sea.

From Fort Edward two other routes met - one going overland to the head of Mahone Bay with a branch westward through Musumush Lake and the river beds to end abruptly near Lunenburg and another brance Northward, following approximately the present route from Chester to Halifax, to about the head of the North West Arm. The second road from Fort Edward led through to Truro and seems to have followed rather closely some of the secondary roads used today: from somewhere about the present district of Three Mile Plains it continued across the Kennetecook River then Northwest to Noel, following the shore to Maitland and then on to Truro.

From Truro two further trails extended, one across the River Macan to Fort Lawrence at the head of Chegnecto Bay, through to Fort Cumberland, then on to Fort Moncton, on Bay Verte, while another led straight overland from Truro to Patameragouche on the East Coast.

It is uncertain whether this ^{had} map [^] any influence in formulating the policy of the Board of Trade in respect to future road allotments for the province. Although the revenue from the coal mines and the quit rents had been refused, Governor Francklyn, who was in England, had in March 1768 secured £500 from the Secretary of State for the use of roads in Nova Scotia¹ so that in the Autumn of that year the Governor, Lord William Campbell, was able to announce² that "His Majesty has graciously granted a considerable sum of money this year towards the continuation of

¹ Canadian Archives Report 1894. March 1768
² Assembly Journals. Acot. 22nd. Oct. 24th. 1768.

roads through the province, a bounty of which by steadily persevering in the conduct of dutiful subjects, I trust you will not fail to gain a further grant from a Sovereign so earnest in promoting the good of his people and solicitous to reward the well deserving." Thus exhorted and stimulated an improvement in the overland trails became temporarily evident but the King's bounty was insufficient to cover the expence of building roads through a wild and difficult country and even the resort to a lottery in order to help defray expences failed on account of there not being a sufficient number of adventurers interested in the scheme. Later, when a motion was made for an allotment to cover the expences of repairs made on the road from Sackville to Windsor, it was stated by the House that the provincial debt was already due in large measure to the expense of road building and the matter dropped.

The problem of raising a sufficient sum of money not only to open roads but to maintain and to repair them was the chief obstacle to any improvement in land communication, Spring floods usually carrying away the few bridges that existed while the Autumn rains quickly removed any soil that had been thrown up on the roads during the preceding Summer months.

Various ways had been tried in order to create a fund for this purpose but with no effect, the duties arising from the licenses on public houses being insufficient for the expense of road building while even a quaint attempt to appropriate the grants made originally by the Imperial authorities for two

P.A.N.S. Vol 44 Doc. #11 Nov. 29th. 1772
 P.A.N.S. Vol. 43. July 5th. 1770
 Assembly Journals.. Inded. 1768-1775 Roads.

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY
 LIBRARY
 HALIFAX, N.S.

school masters and two midwives, who were somewhat inexplicably found to be dead or non existent in the year 1766, had proved to be useless!

In 1772, however, a new and more systematic attempt at road building and road maintenance was undertaken, all other means having been tried for so necessary a purpose "but without Effect." By an Act passed in July of that year,¹ a direct tax on lands was enforced whereby every householder and landowner in the province who had held land for one year or more was to be assessed at the rate of 2/6 for every five hundred acres, or less, while every owner or proprietor of land exceeding this amount was to pay six pence for each and every hundred acres over five hundred acres. As a precaution it was added that no tax on any person should exceed 50/ although, if a grantee held lands in various districts, he was to be assessed proportionately.

The justices of the peace in the various counties were to appoint two "or more fit and sufficient inhabitants as assessors in each township ... and one or more responsible persons being Inhabitants and Freeholders in said County, to be collectors of taxes." These assessors were to examine into the number of householders and the quantity of land owned in each township and to make an assessment roll that was to be returned to the Justices, the notice being posted in a public place for ten days and, if no sufficient cause was given in that time to show that the assessment was unreasonable, the Justices were to approve the assessment roll "by endorsing their names thereon and shall

¹ P.A.N.S. Inland Letter Book. Vol. 131 Sept. 9th. 1766
² Acts of Assembly. Cap. 9. July 6th. 1772.

issue their warrant to the Collector or Collectors with said assess Rolle annex'd, thereto Impowering them immediately to levy the same." The collectors were compelled to carry out their duties under the penalty of a £10 fine and were to be allowed for their trouble 1/ in every pound collected.

Under the same Act the Liut- Governor or Commander in Chief was empowered "to appoint such and so many able and discreet persons as to him shall seem meet, not less in number than three in each County, to be commissioners or directors of Roads in the respective Counties of this province," and in this year road commissioners were appointed for the several counties, Halifax and Lunenburg having each seven commissioners; King's Cumberland and Sudbury Counties having four; Annapolis and Queen's each having five. The appointment seems to have been unsalaried one, being dependent upon a percentage of the road allotments made for the various districts for the repair of their roads.

Despite the laudable intention implied within the Act its results were disappointing. For the year 1773 the total collected within the township of Liverpool seems to have been only 2/6, an amount that ^{could} scarcely enrich the collector, while in the next year the Governor wished to ^{be} informed how much had been collected from the road tax in Lunenburg, "also whether any part hath been applied and how?"²

In the townships of Horton, Cornwallis, Palmouth and Newport the results were a little more successful, their need for

¹Diary of Simeon Perkins. Sept. 10th. 1773. p. 64

²Inland Letter Book. Sept. 3rd. 1774 Vol. 131.

roads being, perhaps, more pressing and important than the districts along the South Western shore which had comparatively easy communication with each other and the capital at Halifax by sea. For the year 1773 the road assessments for these townships was £85.1.4.¹ In July of the same year the Road Commissioners met and took into consideration "how they should proceed to carry the Road Act into Execution, agreeable to the intention thereof ... having duely and very attentively considered the state and condition of the several Publick Roads in said County (King's) with the situation, difficulty and great expense that would attend the repair of these Roads, particularly the old Road leading from the Falmouth Ford to Horton Town and also the very little purpose such expensive Repairs would answer to the Publick in the End, on account of the prodigious ascents and Descents on said old Road as such repair would be carried away by the next Thaw or heavy Rain," and a new road was proposed.² How far the Act was successful in the Township of Horton may be judged from the following returns:³

1773,	Amount of rate bill	£33.10
	" Collected	£28.2.9
	" Expended, 1774,	£13.17.
1774,	Amount of rate bill	£28.18.4 $\frac{1}{2}$
	" Collected	£16.17.1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	" Expended, 1775	£18.8
1775	Amount of rate bill	£30.0.9.
	" Collected	£14.
	" Expended, 1776	£6.17.3
1776	Amount of rate bill	£29.19.1
	" Collected	£20.0.0
	" Expended, 1778	£19.5.3

¹ Chipman Mss. Doc. # 13. 1773

² Ibid. Doc. # 11. 1773.

³ Ibid. Doc. # 5. 1778

Con't.			
1776,	Amount	of rate Bill	£29.19.1
	"	Collected	£20.0.0
	"	Expended, 1778	£19.5.3
1777,	Amount	of Rate Bill	£30.12
	"	Collected	NONE
	"	Expended, 1779	£1.16
1778,	Amount	of Rate Bill	£28.16.3
	"	Collected	£3.10
	"	Expended, 1780	£45.6.3

Although the sums collected in this district may be considered fairly successful, except during the years of the Revolutionary War, elsewhere the Act was not so popular and in an attempt to cope with any resistance that might arise in collecting the road assessments an act was passed in the next year, 1773, whereby the fines due from disregarding the Road Act of 1772 were to be considered and recovered "as actions of debts or tresspass are recovered, a law that proved to be equally as unpopular."

Meanwhile the Governor, Lord William Campbell, was doing all in his power to secure Imperial aid for road building in the province. In 1772 he had written to England entreating their Lordships "aid to our efforts in making and repairing the necessary roads," and complaining of the fruitless attempts at road building and the unsystematic method followed, through lack of money, which caused "the produce of the country, for want of communication with Halifax, to be carried to New England" which was detrimental to the province and raised the cost of provisions

{ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 3. 1773
 { Diary of Simeon Perkins. Jan. 19th. 1773
 { P.A.N.S. Vol. 44. Nov. 27th. 1772

in the Halifax market. In the year 1773 it was declared, in another appeal to the Secretary of State, that, through lack of money, "the damage done by the Winter weather will destroy the greater part of what had been done before" in the way of road building while another disadvantage was that with the market at Halifax being inaccessible to the agricultural districts and being dependent on roving New England traders to purchase their produce at a cheap rate the back settlements were being seriously retarded in their development and restricted in their growth.¹ In 1774 Governor Legge made one more appeal to the Imperial authorities, declaring that if a grant of £500 were made annually for five consecutive years "it would be of more essential service to this colony than anything I could propose."² The appeal was, however, not answered.

The lack of roads not only caused economic disadvantage but difficulty in administering the government of the province. In July, 1774, the trouble and inconvenience encountered by the people of Yarmouth and Argyle in travelling to Liverpool for the law Courts was voiced in the Assembly³ while, in the Autumn of that year, it was necessary for the House to be dissolved early in November "as the advanced Season and difficulty of travelling, in the present situation of the roads, obliges members who reside at a distance from Halifax to return to their homes."⁴

One the eve of the American Revolution another need for

¹ Select Document. Innis. p 204. P.A.N.S. Vol. 43. Doc. #24

² P.A.N.S. Vol. 43. Doc. #47. Oct. 18th. 1774

³ Council Minutes. July 13th. 1774

⁴ Ibid. Nov. 12th. 1774.

roads became evident, that of military defence. Heretofore money for roads had been granted, when it had been granted at all, for the convenience and use of the inland settlers and the transportation of commodities to the market at Halifax but in November 1775 Governor Legge, in reporting to the Home Authorities made a plea that a sum of money should be allotted for roads to enable troops to be transferred more readily through the out-lying settlements. The suggestion found but little favour in England at a time when the gravity of the situation in America made Parliamentary money grants to the colonies a subject for close inspection and the suggestion was not acted upon.¹ Some years later, however, the lack of roads was considered useful for the protection of the colony and, in 1781, when reporting to England on the military defences of the province, it was said that although an armed force might land on the peninsula, the transportation of their troops and supplies by land would be attendant with so many difficulties that their advantage would be lost.²

By the end of the year 1775 it would seem that there were only two roads worthy of the designation in Nova Scotia, that leading from Halifax to Windsor which was capable of allowing carriages and, at certain seasons of the year, the road from Sackville to Truro. This last road is shown in part on Montresor's map as extending only from the vicinity of Windsor Junction around Grand Lake to Enfield but, with further monies voted by the General Assembly, the route had been extended at this time from "Halifax to Chebenacadie Lakes and from Chebenacadie River to Truro."

¹ P.A.N.S. Vol. 44. Doc. #80. Nov. 20th. 1775
² Innis. Feb. 28th, 1781. P.A.N.S. Vol. 48. Doc. #126. Sept. 16.

Despite the fact that road commissioners had been appointed in 1772, no systematic progress in road building had been achieved, due to the lack of money and revenue, the scattered situation of the settlements and the natural obstacles to be overcome in pushing roads through a wild and difficult country. It may be said, therefore, that in the years preceding the American Revolution the roads of Nova Scotia were little better than woodland trails that involved a dangerous and uncertain journey for travellers and were passable only at certain seasons of the year. In the Nova Scotian Almanac for the year 1772¹ the only route, with the distances and houses of entertainment along the way, that was given was for the old overland trail from Halifax to Annapolis, beyond Annapolis the way being by water and with settlements still confined to the coast travel by sea remained the accepted means of communication.

With the outbreak of hostilities in America it might have been expected that all attempts at road building in Nova Scotia would have been suspended and yet some activity seems evident. During the year 1776, it is true, little was done except to see that the proper dissemination of scriptures should not be hampered by the increasing cost necessary to establish inland communication and after some discussion had taken place² a bill was passed³ whereby "the taxes imposed and set by the several laws of this province for the making, repairing and amending highways doth

² P.A.N.S. Vol. 301. Doc. 64

³ Journals of Assembly. June 24th. 1777.

Ibid. June 15th. 1778

Ibid. Oct. 21st. 1780

¹ N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle Dec. 1st. 1772 Advertisement.

not, nor ought, to extend to the taxing and levying the same on any ministers of the gospel, except for their lands" which formerly had been exempt yet, during the year 1778, the comparatively large sum of £1000 together with the money raised from licensed houses until the Eleventh of June, 1779, was appropriated for roads and bridges, mainly from Fort Sackville to Annapolis.¹

Not only were the roads of the province little more than rocky trails but even the streets of the capital were in a wretched condition. In 1779 a sum of money had been voted for their repair but in the year following a petition was received praying for a further sum of £90.9.7 for the task of fixing the streets of Halifax "some of which, being almost impassable, required more labour than the inhabitants were obliged to perform in one year, agreeable to Law." However, several wheel carriages were owned in Halifax from an early date and in 1772 there was a regular hackney coach service instituted by one Richard Holmes; his advertisement is curious and it would seem that he was willing to take "not more than four gentlemen or ladies ... to Fort Sackville" for 20/ with the intermediate stops at proportionally ^{te} rates. But the chief terror to pedestrians in Halifax at this time was the galloping horsemen and the various complaints uttered by indignant citizens against "speeders" is strangely familiar.³ In the Autumn of 1773 it was maintained that these careless riders were "not a few giddy young gentlemen" only but a "set of idle pampered scoundrels of servants" and in December a by-law was passed laying down stringent penalties for offenders including the possibility

¹ Journals of Assembly. June 15th. 1778

² Ibid. Oct. 21st. 1780

³ N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle Dec. 8th. /72; Sept. 14th. /73

of ten stripes being inflicted upon those who were careless enough to disregard the law.¹

The maintenance and repair of the old roads, rather than the construction of new ones, was still the chief difficulty. With more expenditure on the roads it was becoming increasingly important to prevent damage being done to those already in use and in an effort to provide for this a bill was introduced in the Assembly during the Autumn of 1779 to regulate carriers and owners of waggons, carts and trucks employed for hire on the roads between Halifax and the townships of Windsor, Truro, Onslow and Londonderry.² The enactment was an interesting one designed as it was not only to protect the roads from abuse but the consumer and traveller also. All carriers of goods were to be licensed at 5/ and give a bond of £25 for good behaviour while "the price of carriage goods, wares and merchandize between Halifax and Windsor and between Halifax or Fort Sackville to the Bridge over the River Chebenacadie" was to be carefully regulated, "consideration being had to the price of hay and other provender and the price of labour." It was further ordered that no carter should ask more than 20/ per hundredweight gross weight from Halifax to Windsor while for bundles less than 28 lbs. the charge was not to be more than five halfpence per lb. and from Sackville the rate was to be 16/ per hundredweight and four halfpence per lb. for parcels under 28 lbs.³ These licensed carriers in order to retain their privilege had to make the journey between Halifax and Windsor at least three times in every

¹ N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. Dec. 7th. 1773

² Acts of Assembly. Cap, 13. June 22nd. 1779

³ N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. May 22nd. 1781

four weeks, to have their name, place of abode and number painted in large letters on their waggons and to "have at least one bell hung to each horse." Receipts were to be given to all customers and they were to carry a tarred cloth of sufficient size to cover the load.

This attempt to preserve the roads would seem to have had but little effect and it was stated that "whereas the Roads and Bridges in several parts of the province are in a very bad state and, unless immediately repaired, the communication between Halifax and those places will be attended with great danger as well as inconvenience to travellers"¹ further efforts must be made. The regulations also were not popular and a petition was soon forthcoming from the owners of waggons and carts "employed in carrying goods, wares and merchandize from Halifax to Windsor and other parts of the province," setting forth "the many inconveniences and the great detriment they, as well as the public in general, suffer under the several restrictions imposed upon them."²

Although the need for roads was pressing and some £1400 was voted by the Assembly in 1781 for roads, little was accomplished. Labour, naturally, was difficult to secure and in an attempt to remedy the shortage a bill was introduced in the Assembly during 1782 to compel servants hired by the year, who formerly had been exempted from road service, to share the burden³ together with a proposal that level routes⁴ be surveyed for

¹ Journals of Assembly. July 3rd. 1781.

² Ibid. June 27th. 1781

³ Ibid. July. 3rd. 1781

⁴ Ibid. June 16th. 1782

Winter use. One of the great obstacles to a satisfactory road was the ancient custom of a trail taking the highest route: while natural from the desire to avoid swamps and in order that the solitary traveller might get a direction from the hill tops yet, for a carriage, this system of taking road from peak to peak had obvious disadvantages; in the Winter, however, the streams and swamps were frozen, thus minimizing the danger of a level route and sleds could pass over the cleared trails if the snow were deep.

There were difficulties in the way of changing the accustomed routes, chief of which was the clamour raised by the immigrant who had settled close to the old road and his fear that he would be cut off from the highway while towns and villages, then as now, disliked the prospect of having their roadways altered, allegedly to their disadvantage.

In 1779 an act was passed protecting landowners from arbitrary treatment at the hands of the road surveyors. Compensation was to be given if the plaintiff had suffered, or was likely to suffer, damage the charges to be heard before a jury for "whereas the surveyors of the highways do often take upon themselves to alter roads and the determination of the place or part of the town where the repairs of streets, or highways, shall be made, to the great injury of such town in general" no alterations were to be made thereafter unless made on the advice and consent of three justices of the peace within the district.'

In the year 1765, with perhaps more ambition than reason, an Act had been passed whereby "all public highways hereafter
'Acts of Assembly. Cap. 8. 1779

to be laid out ... shall not be less than one hundred feet in width." It is apparent that the enactment was never seriously considered or attempted but in 1783 protestations were forthcoming from landowners over the legislation implied in the Act, especially if roads of this width were to be run "thro' their most valuable improved lands." It was suggested "that the main roads now in use be limited to 64 feet wide, the road from town to town to 32 feet wide and the roads through marshlands to 24 feet wide, between the ditches." The suggestion was acted upon and in the Autumn of that year it was declared that as doubts had arisen as to whether the Act of 1765 "extended to Highways and Roads then in use only," all roads through the province "which were in use as such at the time of making said Act should be continued of the same breadth they then were, or not to exceed Sixty Six feet wide."³

The increasing cost of road building to the government was becoming a burden and it was declared in the Assembly that as the road accounts were "of such a nature and so enormous that it requires the most mature deliberation of the legislature to adopt some more economical mode proceeding in that department in future" and in order to help defray some of this expense it was decided that turnpikes should be erected on the Windsor Road. These turnpikes were not successful. The first gate was across the Sackville to Windsor Road at Piggot's Farm and in charge of James Lockert jr. who took over his duties on August 12th. 1782 but late one Saturday night in October "some evil minded persons

Acts of Assembly. Cap. 2. 1765
 Journals of Assembly. June 15th. 1782
 Ibid.

to the number of eight did .. surround the house of James Lockert jr on the Halifax Road with guns and bayonets and threatened to kill anyone that offered to come out said house while part of them cut down and destroyed the gate and gateposts" and having "taken the same into consideration and representing the nature and enormity of such a crime so subversive to good order and civil government" a reward of £20 was offered.¹ The culprits however never seem to have been prosecuted and the next year an amendment was made to the Turnpike Act wherein it was stated that "if any person or persons shall pull down, burn out or destroy the said turnpike gate or any part thereof ... or shall send threatening messages to the persons concerned in collecting the tolls at said gate .. if found guilty of such offence shall be deemed guilty of felony with Benefit of Clergy."² The act was to continue only for a year and it seems to have been renewed annually until 1786. In 1785 there were two toll gates, one at the foot of Sackville Hill and one at Piggot's Farm on the Windsor Road and the keepers were to prevent "any carriages, Horses, Mares or Geldings, Asses or mules, cattle, sheep, goats and swine from passing without paying the toll." The collectors were to receive 10% of the total collected and were to charge for waggons, carts, trucks, sleds or sleighs, 1/; for every beast of burden drawing a vehicle or in company with one, 1/; for every calf, sheep, lamb, goat, swine, ld. However, cattle going or coming

¹ Murdock, History. Oct. 19th. 1782.
² Journals of Assembly. Oct. 17th. 1782
 N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. Nov. 19th, 1782
 Ibid. Dec. 9th. 1783.

from pasture were exempted and it was further stipulated that people passing and repassing within twenty four hours need only pay one toll within that time.¹ In 1786 the toll gate was farmed out and a further amendment made whereby settlers on the Sackville road were exempted from paying the toll. The toll was again farmed out in 1787 but the legislation lapsed at the end of the year and was thereafter discontinued.²

By the time of the close of the Revolutionary war little progress had been made in opening up new roads and in 1783 there were still only two roads in Nova Scotia, that from Sackville to Windsor and from Sackville to Truro, which were in sufficient repair and condition to allow waggons to pass over them. With the arrival of the Loyalists, however, and the growth of new settlements the need for new and improved roads became imperative. At first the problem was one of getting the Loyalists settled but, once settled, it was essential that the outlying settlements should not only have convenient access ^{to} ~~with~~ each other but also ^{to} ~~with~~ the capital at Halifax.

In the Autumn of 1783 a correspondent writing to the newspaper suggested³ that with the arrival of the new settlers "the many obstacles that were injurious before to the few inhabitants settled in the different parts of" the province might be removed which could be done by a program of public works and the building of roads. It was shown that the road from Sackville could soon be made passable if the inhabitants put their full statute

¹ N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. Feb. 22nd. 1785

² Ibid. Jan. 20th. 1786; Jan. 16th. 1787

³ Ibid. Nov. 4th. 1783.

Labor

on it and if they should refuse that their lands should become forfeit but that the road beyond Windsor to Horton was very bad and should be carried around by Windsor Forks, an expensive undertaking as there were three bridges to be built across the Avon, while the road "from Cumberland to Cobequid and from thence to Halifax" would also require much labour to render it fit for travel.

Two other roads were shown to be necessary but which had not been laid out, one from the Annapolis River across the peninsula to the South Shore which would facilitate the new settlements and open new land and one from the mouth of the Shubenacadie or Noel River through to the head of Kennetecook River "and to come out near Preper's on the Halifax Road." Although these roads were proposed they were not undertaken until some years later.

In the year 1785 the first large appropriation for road building was made by the Assembly, £1500 being granted "for the purpose of opening roads from Halifax to Shelburne and from thence to Yarmouth" while in the next year a further sum of £1450 was granted to connect the settlement at Shelburne with Annapolis, Yarmouth and Digby, to open roads in the County of Cumberland and the North Shore and to open up settlements in Sydney County via Pictou and Truro. In the next year, 1787, some £1800 was spent on roads while in March, 1789, it was reported that £106617.6 had been paid for roads and £1392 for bridges, amounts which were, by comparison with the sums expended on roads in the years prior to the Revolution, enormous.

{ Assembly Journals. Dec. 23rd. /85; Dec. 6th. March 25th. 1789
Acts of Assembly. Cap. 1. 1785

The problem of keeping an open communication during the Winter was not only important but essential, travel by sea during these months being uncertain and precarious. In 1787 an Act was passed extending the statute labour of the inhabitants. The surveyors of the highways throughout the various townships and districts were to order and to direct the people to do Winter work on the roads "with their Oxen, Horses or Sleds" in order that the roads might be rendered passable; so that no undue hardship should be occasioned it was provided "that no inhabitant shall be compelled to furnish more than one days labour of himself or Cattle for any one fall of snow or, where the fall of snow shall not exceed Twelve inches," the penalty for violatōrs being a 10/ fine for each offense. Further legislation was, however, necessary to provide for the proper working of the Act and two years later it was declared that, "as the Road from Halifax to Annapolis is frequently impassable form the Snow and the injudicious manner of using it" after the publication of the amended act "all waggons going or coming on this Road, which are drawn by more than one Ox or Horse shall be in breadth, from outside to outside the runners, not less than four feet and that the Horses or Oxen be yoked two to two, side by side, $\text{\textcircled{6}}$ each other."¹

The task of giving travellers a direction along the lonely roads of the province was also an important one and to this end mile posts had been established,² probably along the

¹ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 7. 1787

² Ibid. Cap. 3. 1790

Assembly Papers. Bill of Charles Bacon, Windsor, for carrying 3 directing stones in 1815 from Halifax to Windsor weighing 900 lbs. at $7/8$ per hundred weight.

main road from Halifax to Annapolis. In the year 1790, however, it became necessary to provide protection for them as it was declared that "mischevious and ill disposed persons have, in many instances, wantonly and wickedly defaced and destroyed them." To prevent such destruction in future a Bill was passed in the Spring of that year whereby offences of that nature were to be punished by a fine of £2 and, if the culprit was unable to pay, it was to be lawful "to direct and order the offender a corporal punishment of not less than twenty lashes nor exceeding thirty lashes, to be inflicted at the most public place" within the district.

The task of maintaining the roads in a passable condition in the Spring and Autumn of the year was also an especially difficult task, despite the improvements that were being constantly put on the roads. In 1779 it had been declared that "whereas great damage is done to the Highways and Bridges by the heavy burthenes carried in carts which travel between Halifax" and other parts of the province it was necessary that the carriers be regulated. In 1792, with more travel on the roads, and, as great injury had been done in former years to "the road leading from the Head of Bedford Basin, towards Windsor, by Carts, trucks, Waggones and other carriages with narrow wheels, heavily laden with logs and Timber, passing and repassing," it was enacted that from the First of October, 1792, no vehicle was to pass or travel on the road when the snow was off the ground and that no logs or lumber was to be trailed or drawn without wheels unless the felloes of the wheels were "at least

{ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 6. 1792
P.A.N.S. Vol. 48. Doc. #110. Dec. 6th. 1793

Nine inches in Breadth."

During the year 1793 further road building was carried on with "new ones being opened up and the old ones made passable" while in the Autumn of 1794 it was reported that as the people were very thinly scattered over an extensive country, "covered with woods, much intersected by waters, the Roads, though improving," were yet very difficult, "in the new settlements more especially."³

At this time there seems to have been more travelling by the the people of Halifax and during 1792 and 1794 both Governor Wentworth and H.R.H. Prince Edward made journeys overland to Windsor and the Minas Basin districts, the early Autumn being the time most favoured for such excursions, and it was largely due to the enthusiasm of Governor Wentworth that so much activity in road building was shown and through his interest so much progress made during the closing years of the Eighteenth Century.⁴ In 1797, in addressing the Assembly, he admonished them to adopt "such measures as may appear best calculated to continue and secure the Permanent credit of the Country ... as well as for improving the communications between the Country and the Metropolis, by making and repairing Roads and Bridges" while, in the next year, his reports to the Secretary of State were jubilant and he declared that nearly £6000 had been allotted for road building with as much more prepared and proposed for the year following, the money being collected without a complaint

¹Acts of Assembly. Cap. 6. 1792

²P.A.N.S. Vol. 48. Doc. #110. Dec. 6th. 1793

³Ibid. Doc. #120 Dec. 20th. 1794

⁴N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. Sept. 25th. (92. Aug. 12th./94

⁵Assembly Journals. June 6th. 1797. p. 236. (Legislative Library)

"or murmur of high taxes, nobody feels them, they are scarcely known, being so lightly dispersed." Well might it seem that the Millenium had dawned.

Although his reports to England were more than impressive at home Governor Wentworth had small reverses to contend with in his efforts to preserve and improve the roads. Under the Act passed in 1792 forbidding travel on the Halifax to Windsor road during certain seasons of the year, vehicles having the felloes of their wheels less than nine inches in breadth were not permitted. The enactment was a reasonable one although not so easy to enforce and in the year 1799 one Mr. Fielding had the temerity to challenge the ruling. The incident was reported to the Road Commissioners but the court refused to enforce the Act, presumably on the grounds that it was unreasonable or unfair, despite the admonition of the Governor to the contrary and the case was dismissed, much to the chagrin of Sir John Wentworth who wrote Mr. Uniacke the following:

"I am exceedingly disappointed and not a little mortified to find that the information against Fielding for unlawfully (and in declared defiance of the Laws) destroying the Roads by giving narrow wheels is not prosecuted, in which they exult ... for although I despise the foolish triumph these people express over me I lament that the Laws suffer more in being insufficient."

It was difficult to cope with the purely local attitude of these people who claimed that as they were amongst the first British settlers they should be allowed to use the road as they pleased quite unmindful of the fact that by their efforts they were ruining communication³ along the main and only road

¹ P.A.N.S. Vol. 158. Sept. 30th. 1799

² Ibid. Oct. 29th. 1799

³ Assembly Papers. Petition of James Fielding & Others. 1801

worthy of the name within the Province.

A journey, however, even from Halifax to Sackville in 1809 was something of an obstacle race and it was shown that "the Main publick Road leading from Halifax to Sackville Bridge is frequently encumbered and obstructed with Logs, Spars, Bark, Scantling, Boards, Plank, Slabs, Cordwood, Hoop Poles, Staves, Laths, Fencing Materials and Stones, to the great annoyance and danger of Travellers and passenges on the Road" while five years later, when instructions were given to the Road Supervisors as to how they should proceed with the construction of the two provincial Great Roads, they were told once again, to "let the Bridges and the worst parts of the Road be immediately repaired that Travelling may be as safe and essy as possible" which was but a faint echo of half a century before.²

Although, by 1815, it may be said that the main roads of Nova Scotia had been opened and made fairly passable at some seasons of the year, only the frame work of a system of land communication had been established. Trade and the transportation of commodities was still carried on solely by sea while travel by land was infrequent except by those bound on business. No doubt during the Summer months or in the Winter when the Winter Roads were good, some intercourse was carried on between settlements lying close to one another but travel to and fro over the peninsula was not a pleasant journey, the roads being bad, the distances long and the accomodation for travellers poor so that although the means of inland communication had been supplied the facilities for easy travel were lacking. The scattered hamlets

¹ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 9. 1809
² P.A.N.S. Vol. 136 Sept. 20th-1774: Vol. 341. April 12th. 1814

lying along the coast or inland were still, socially, separated from one another, the inhabitants of the various districts of the province carrying on their particular trades and interested only in the problems of their own communities.

To the sea, rather than to the land were the people thoughtful during this period for although roads had been opened up and improved it was upon the sea that the prosperity of the province depended. Only one road appears to have been used regularly up to this time for trade and travel, the old overland route from Halifax to Windsor where vessels from New England could, instead of sailing around Cape Sable, go up the Bay of Fundy and there land their cargoes to be taken overland to Halifax. A ferry also connected with the Parrsborough Shore so that Windsor, Horton and Cornwallis were important points. Mail was regularly taken over this route to Annapolis and then across the Bay to be carried overland to the Canadas by land while it was the first route to be levelled and made easier for waggons, the task being begun in 1799 when the old route over the Ardoise Hill and Tanner's Hill, near Windsor, was changed. Stage coaches and regular freight services were also begun over this road years before many of the other roads in Nova Scotia were little more than stump encumbered trails.

In order to follow the opening up of the main highways of Nova Scotia, however, it is necessary to treat them particularly and under separate heads.

The Main Trunk Roads of Nova Scotia

Chapter Four.

1. The Road from Halifax to Yarmouth, via the Annapolis Valley.

The road from Halifax to Windsor and from thence down the Annapolis Valley was not only the first and earliest road to be opened in Nova Scotia but was also the most important, connecting as it did the fertile agricultural districts around the Minas Basin with the market at Halifax.¹ Although the plan had been projected at an earlier date, a road was not cut until 1749 by Acadian labour from Windsor to Halifax over which some cattle were driven for the new settlement but it could have been of but little use either for carrying supplies or for travelling upon and when, in the Autumn of 1760, it was necessary to send supplies from Halifax to the townships of Horton, Cornwallis and Falmouth, vessels had to be engaged to ship them around the coast and up the Bay of Fundy to their destination.²

In the next year, 1761, it was necessary to open the road from Halifax to Fort Sackville, the old overland trail only extending from Windsor to the head of the Bedford Basin and then following along the shore of the Basin to Halifax and application was made to Colonel Forster³ "for the assistance of a sufficient

¹ History of King's County. Eaton. p. 176
² Council Minutes. Oct. 24th. 1760. p. 132
³ Ibid. September 21st. 1761. p. 220

number of Acadian prisoners at Halifax for carrying on that purpose as no other Labourers" could be procured for the work elsewhere.

During the following year further work was undertaken to open the road from Windsor towards Halifax and it was judged "expedient to make the road leading from Fort Edward to Fort Sackville fit for carriages" and Isaac Beschamps and Henry Denny Denson were appointed as joint surveyors for the task.¹

In 1763 a new road was proposed from the townships of Cornwallis and Horton over the River Piziquid and the sum of £100 appropriated for "two Bridges at the Forks and one over the Creek," the money to be raised from the licenses on public houses.² The bridges were built by one Gideon de Ledernier at a price greatly in excess of the original estimate and £193.1.10 was necessary to defray the expence.³

During the next few years many grants of land were made along this road, some of 1000 acres being granted together with aid and assistance to those desirous of opening taverns along the way. Amongst these grants was one to the Rev. John Breynton who applied for lands "on the Road leading to Fort Edward, in King's County, for his two daughters .." who intended to keep a house of entertainment for the convenience of travellers while another was made to one James Ratchford, near Mooselands on the road leading to Annapolis, who, with his three sons, wished to set up a blacksmith shop, a very necessary enterprise in the days of travel by horseback.⁴

¹ P.A.N.S. Vol. 32. September 27th. 1762

² Council Minute. September 6th. 1763. p. 316

³ Ibid. March 30th. 1764. p. 336

⁴ Ibid. April 9th. 1764: April 30th. 1765: August 5th. 1765.

Beyond Windsor to Annapolis the road seems to have been fairly passable at some seasons of the year for travellers. During the Summer of 1761 a journey had been made to Annapolis by the Rev John Breynton who, in his report on the condition of the road, stated that he had "given particular attention to those passes, rivers, swamps, etc. that at present render the communication with that County and the marching of Troops difficult and precarious; but that as the principal Obstruction arises from the path being embarrassed with young alders and other Brush," he was of the opinion that "Thirty Acadians would, in Twenty days, so far clear the Road between Penouse and the first house on the Annapolis River as to make it a good bridle road and a safe passage for stock during the greater part of the year." He suggested that three small rivers were necessary to be bridged and the sum of £50 was voted by the Assembly in 1761 for the repair of the road in the manner that he had suggested.¹

Two years later, Charles Morris and Henry Newton in reporting further on the road, stated that they found "the Road Twenty miles this side of Granville in many places very dangerous by reason of deep slows" and they considered that, with the sum of £50, the most hazardous places might be repaired and the road rendered safe for travellers.²

In the next year, 1764 it was reported³ that although a horseman could get through to Annapolis the roads were yet "too bad for Women to travel on" while in the Autumn of the

¹ Council Minutes. September 25th. 1761. p. 221

² Ibid. Council Minutes. July 28th. 1763

³ Records of the Missionaries of the S.P.G. in Nova Scotia: July 30th. 1764. Letter of Thomas Wood.

same year it was declared that the old bridge over the Gasper-eau River, "on the Road leading from Horton To Falmouth and Halifax is so much out of repair that the subjects of Our Lord, the King, are in Great danger in travelling to and fro" while two years later it was further shown that the road from the Cornwallis Bridge to Horton "is so very Badd that those who try to Pass with any Carts or Carriages cannot, without the Utmost Danger."²

This bridge referred to over the Cornwallis River was built either in the Autumn of 1765 or in the Spring of 1766 by Samuel Willoughby and Isaac Bigelow, probably at a narrow point some distance up the river from Port Williams.³

In this same year, 1766, Isaac Deschamps was "desired to employ proper persons to repair the Road leading from Fort Sackville to Windsor," the sum of £40 being granted for that purpose while a further sum of £40 was made for repairing the road from thence to Annapolis, under the supervision of Mr. Winniett and Colonel Hoar.⁴

In 1768, in an attempt to keep the road from Halifax to Fort Sackville open, the sum of £200 was raised on loan, the license fund being mortgaged for its repayment while in the Autumn of that year the road commissioners for King's County were appointed and instructed "to lay out a great Publick Road through the upper Parts of the Town of Falmouth, which should be of the most general benefit to the County in passing over the Bridges at the Forks of the River Pissiquid, especially in the

¹ Chipman Mss. 1764 Doc. #7

² Ibid. 1766 Doc. #12

³ Council Minutes. Aug. 1st. 1766. p. 460

⁴ Council Minutes. August. 13th. 1766

⁵ Ibid. April 30th. 1768 p. 94

Winter when the way over the Great Ford becomes impassable.

Apparently this work was of some use and in the Autumn of 1769 "the Governor and His Lady," accompanied by a party of friends, were able to take a weeks journey to "Windsor in order to visit the interior parts of the Province." As this journey seems to have been taken solely for pleasure some material improvement must have been made in the road although no doubt the party went on horseback as the journey by carriage would have involved too cumbersome a trip.

During the next few years a somewhat complicated system of roads was opened up in and through the Townships of Cornwallis Horton and Falmouth, usually along the line of the old "French trod paths." In protesting against the plan of a road through Newport and the unwise decision of the road commissioners it was maintained "that Whereas in the days of the Acadians, who before us Resided in this Country, roads of communication were opened and made in a direction nearly parallel to the Rivers from the heads or extremities of one Marsh to another and from fording places on the Rivers to the Villages," the system should be followed, it having been tried and found practical.³

This was true especially of the old road from Cornwallis to Annapolis. In writing on the course of this road it has been stated that "it ran nearer the dykes and intervalles of the Cornwallis River than it does now,"⁴ a fact borne out by the instructions given to the road commissioners in 1774 when repairs were being made to the road from Cornwallis "towards

¹ Chipman Mss. 1768. Doc. #6

² N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. October 4th. 1769

³ Chipman Mss. 1770. Doc. #8

⁴ History of King's County. Eaton. p. 176

Wilmot," they being instructed to follow the river from Liverpool Brook, in Cornwallis, to New Brook, to Third Brook, to Fourth Brook and on "to Pillies," on the Annapolis River.¹

In the year 1773 a new road was laid out from the North West end of Falmouth Town Plot to run "to the Lower Bridge on the River Gaspereau" which had been found to be the best, and most practical, route and which would, when finished, "answer all the Ends of a Good carriage Road."²

It was also "resolved to clear the Road leading to ... the Bound of Annapolis County of bushes and Rubbish that incommode Travellers" and "to clear the old road Leading from the Forks, so Called, and the village of Falmouth Township to Horton ... so that it may answer the end of a bridle path, as the surface of the land will admit of no more improvement being done on that Road." It is difficult to ascertain the course of this old road. Although today there are two routes from Falmouth to Horton, the old Bog Road and the Shore Road, which is used as the main highway from Falmouth to Hantsport, apparently this "ancient middle road leading from the Fording Place of the River Avon, in Falmouth, to the bridge on Salmon River in Horton, in King's County" went directly overland, disregarding "the prodigious Ascent and Descents" encountered in its course.³

The road dues arising from the Land Tax, in force from the First of August 1772, collected in the Township of Horton for that year and the two following years were used on the road to Annapolis, the work being confined to cutting brush and making necessary bridges, labourers being hired at 3/ a day.

¹ Vol 136 - Sept 20th 1774

² Chipman Mss. 1773. July 25th. Doc. #11.

³ Ibid. 1776. Doc. #12.

Anticipating an increase in the revenues available for road building a circular letter was sent to the Road Commissioners for the several counties in the year 1773 advising them of the method to be followed in road construction. In order that the public might secure the greatest, and most immediate, advantage they were were ^{instructed} informed to make their "first Repairs on the Worst Place by laying Fascines in the hollow places and over them large stones; at the tops of these placing small stones, Broke with an Iron Mall, and then Cover the whole with Earth, which is to be taken from a trench on each side of the Road and will become a drain to Carry off the water and thereby preserve the work, compact and firm."

While The road may, in a sense, be said to have been opened in the year preceding the American Revolution it was far from being a highway. From Halifax to Windsor the road at certain seasons of the year was passable while from Windsor through (on) to Cornwallis a series of roads in indifferent repair served the inhabitants for their daily communication. Butchers and drovers herded their sheep and cattle through this district, frequently "taking into their flocks Sheep they have not lawfully purchased."² Horned cattle and horses grazed along the way and lay "in the Streets and no person appearing to take care of the Same" while in Horton it was complained that the house of one John MacCut, a shoemaker was "of Great innusince to the Township on account of its being in the middle of the highway," in all a pleasantly haphazard and rural scene.³

¹ Inland Letter Book. Vol. 136. Aug. 12th. 1773

² Chipman Mss. Doc. #5 1775

³ Ibid. Doc. #7. 1775

Beyond Cornwallis to Annapolis the road would seem to have been a somewhat vague trail between the upper reaches of the Cornwallis River and the head of the Annapolis River. In 1777 it was declared "that there is a necessity of the Road being laid out and Established from Cornwallis towards Wilmot which has never yet been done" to meet the "Cornwallis Road that is Laid out beyond towards said Wilmot Town."

In this same year a new bridge was built over the River St. Croix at a cost of £284.7.3 by Israel Andrews and a new road to this bridge opened at a cost of £109.8. The old bridge over this river had been destroyed, in the previous year, "by inundation" and in order to guard against such a loss in future the plan and position of the new bridge had been entrusted to Michael Francklyn and "Mr. Justice Deschamps, if necessary."

During the year 1778 road allotments to the amount of £750 together with the duties arising from the licenses on public houses were made for the Halifax to Annapolis Road, £250 of which was used "for the erection of a bridge over Annapolis River near Mount Pleasant Farm, so Called."

In 1779 a proposal was laid before the House for "making the Windsor Road, that is to say, a good road all the way from Sackville Bridge to Windsor - a trench to be dug on the upper side of the road and, where necessary, on both sides; to be rounded in the middle, at the hollow places, to be bedded with stones where they are to be had and, where they cannot be had, to be brushed and gravelled; all bad hills (where it may be judged necessary) to have the tops taken off and carried into

the hollow places to make an easy ascent; the trees and brush to be cut down 20ft. wide on each side of the road from the Centre; all short turns and bad hills to be altered where judged necessary," the work to be done for the following prices, "viz: 20/ per Rodd for all road that is brushed and bedded as foresaid and, for all new road, the remainder at 10/ per Rodd." ¹ This seems to have been the first attempt at permanent road building actually undertaken in the province and during the next year the comparatively large sum of £1072.1.3. was expended on the road from Fort Sackville to Windsor. ²

Further work was continued on this section of the road during the next few years. In the summer of 1780 the Lt. Governor wished to be informed "of the Construction of the Road leading from the Blockhouse Hill, near Halifax, to Windsor" and requested Isaac Deschamps and Charles Morris to survey and report on "what repairs and improvements ... have been made thereon during the two years last past," ³ while in the next year the Superintendent of Roads, Wentworth Tonge, was ordered to carry on the repairs to the Halifax to Windsor Road and it was specified that "the long Swamp, near Springfield, be Covered with Brush and Gravell'd and the two bridges near the Farm, formerly Doctor Breynton's, about eight miles and a half from Windsor, be repaired also that the Trenches on the Road be opened as soon as Conveniently may be for letting the water off." ⁴

Although this road was the most travelled route in the province few travellers have written of their journeys over it.

¹ P.A.N.S. Vol. 301. Doc. #33 1779

² Journals of Assembly. Oct. 11th. 1780

³ Inland Letter Book. Vol. 136. June 30th. 1780

⁴ *Ibid.* April 19th. 1781

In the early days it seems safe to assume that all travelling was by horseback for although wheel carriages were owned in Halifax from an early date and there was at least one "neat Coach with harness compleat for two horses" owned in Windsor in 1772,¹ such a mode of travel was impractical except for short distances. However, by the year 1786, the roads through the Counties of Kings and Hants were sufficiently improved to induce one adventurer to bring a vessel, the Robert and Jane, to Cornwallis "loaded with Phaetons and other wheeled carriages" in anticipation of a quick sale on account of the improved state of the roads.² It is about this time also that we have the description of one traveller, the Rev. Jacob Bailey who is sometimes called the Frontier Missionary, who made the overland journey from Cornwallis to Annapolis during the Summer of 1782.³

Setting out with his family and "a cart, with two yoke of oxen containing all his worldly goods ... guarded by a couple of sprightly young fellows and a vehicle for the reception of Mrs. Bailey and her children, drawn by two horses" he set out on his travels at seven o'clock on one fine day in July, 1782 accompanied "with near thirty people, of both sexes, on horseback" who attended them with cheerful solemnity for some fourteen miles which took about four hours to cover when they arrived at Marshall's Tavern "and with much difficulty secured an early dinner for our large company." At one o'clock they set out again and having bid farewell to those who were accompanying them began their journey alone. Mrs. Bailey was in a waggon "over which

¹ N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. Sept. 8th. 1772

² Ibid. June 27th. 1786

³ The Frontier Missionary. Bartlett. pp. 184-190

was stretched a covering of canvas as a defence both from the vivid rays of the sun and the rain of heaven" and he was on horseback and soon they found themselves "in a wilderness of vast extent, without a single human habitation for the space of eleven miles, the roads extremely rough, sheltered with tall forests, encumbered with rocks and deformed with deep slows; and, to render the scene still more disconsolate and dismal, the winds howled among the trees, thick volumes of clouds rolled from the western hemisphere and the rumble of thunder announced the horrors of an approaching tempest. We had still in company six persons ... two of them pushed forward .. and reached a public house before the rain." The approaching storm made the whole party hurry forward to the tavern of one Mr. Potter where they all arrived "thoroughly wet to the skin and were crowded, eight in number besides the family, into a room about sixteen feet square, which proved a miserable shelter against the most impetuous rain" he had ever known. "The house leaked so intolerably that he was wet to the skin at the tea table; we however placed bear skins in such a manner as to preserve a good feather bed from the water, into which we tumbled about midnight, but the incredible swarms of mosquitoes and sand flies and the intolerable heat, both of the weather and a large fire," prevented them from sleeping. The next morning they arose before dawn and during their breakfast were further tormented by flies "the weather was remarkably close and muggy, the heavens overspread with heavy clouds, the mountains and rivers covered with stagnant fogs and all the surrounding scenes of nature presaged tempest and thunder. Having prepared our cattle and horses, about five we began to move forward." Soon "the western hemi-

sphere presented an awful front of blackness and solemn peals of thunder rolled along the gloomy arch; in a few moments the north west wind began to muster his forces and impelled the enormous shower to approach with frightful rapidity. Both earth and sky were instantly involved in clouds and darkness, interrupted with flashes of lightning." They continued like this until early in the afternoon through a succession of thunder showers: one of the party, "on this occasion was an object both of laughter and compassion, her hat hanging over each ear, the water streaming from her disheveled hair, and her clothes clinging to her lean lanky carcass, exhibited a picture dismally romantic, and, if I may be allowed to assume the vulgar dialect, she resembled a drowned rat." They finally reached Annapolis late in the afternoon, worn out and exhausted.

In the years following the Rev. Jacob Bailey travelled in and around the district of Annapolis attending to his duties. Once a month he had to ride to Granville, about fourteen miles from Annapolis: "to effect this I ride about twelve miles on Saturday, the next day proceed about two miles by water, and frequently have to climb the banks of the river up to my knees in mud. Then, after preaching two sermons, catechizing the children and baptizing a number of children, I return on Sunday evening by the same route." In the Autumn of 1785 he has left another account of the difficulties encountered in travelling through the district and wrote: "I will inform you that I was obliged this day to ride twelve miles through mire, near a foot deep, to marry a couple. But when I arrived at the destined spot, behold, there was no boat to cross the river. After holding a conversation a few minutes from the opposite banks, be-

hold Hymen grew angry, the lovers were grievously disappointed and your humble servant was under the necessity of returning home without his fee through the same muddy road. Tomorrow I must travel the same road to bury a Judge who fell a sacrifice to all powerful rum, which in this Country like Death, levels all distinctions."

A few years later, when writing to a colleague in London, he gave a vivid picture of the country and the difficulties that lay before a traveller while at the same time he gently rebuked his friend for venturing to criticize his appearance or indeed the appearance of any ministers of the gospel in out of the way places, it being ridiculous that a missionary, "on duty in remote corners, should appear as sleek and handsome as a London deacon fresh from a barber's shop" and continued:

"If you reflect that we are liable to be called upon a sudden emergency in all weathers to distant excursions where our progress must be continued, partly on foot, partly on horseback, by land and by water, through deep morasses, muddy roads and unbroken forests you cannot wonder that we sometimes exhibit a tragic-comic appearance.

Several times in the year past I have been exposed in this manner, amidst violent storms of rain, mire to my horse's belly, wet to my skin and my clothes rent in climbing over windfalls; and in this pickle to perform the service I went upon and then to return in the same shattered condition.

Declaring that for a clergyman to put off the strict attention to his duties "till fine weather, as other gentlemen may do, would still be more criminal," he continued:

"after a severe frosty night we set forward .. for a wedding at Clement's, about fourteen miles below Annapolis. In the second mile we crossed Allan's River, a rapid, rocky stream where we were finely bespattered. Our progress for several miles lay though horrid broken roads, so encumbered with rocks, holes and gullies, roots of trees and windfalls and sloughs, that the passage was extremely difficult and dangerous. We were frequently obliged to dismount and lead our horses, wallowing knee deep through the

mire. The last six miles conducted us over hanging precipices, woody promontories and three stony beaches, full of honey pots. We crossed Moose River at a critical moment as the tide was running in with rapidity. A little before sunset we arrived at Mr. Jones's, a log house with two small apartments where I united matrimony Sheep, Spur and Alicia Van Voorhies, the bride very pretty.

The house being crowded with people .. the bride's grandfather invited me to sleep at his house. A little before dark we set forward and having walked above a mile we came to a river where after wading into the water over our knees we were under the necessity of returning in a a dismal, dark, and cloudy evening along the ragged banks of a rocky beach, every moment in danger of breaking our legs and of having our eyes scratched out against the branches of trees which had fallen over the bank. We at length recovered the house, where musick and dancing continued till after sunrising. About nine we began to return towards Annapolis but we had no sooner croosed Moose River than a cold, disagreeable storm of wind and rain commenced, which quickly rendered these new roads intolerable. Mrs. Spur was thrown from her horse but her husband, atching her in his arms, prevented her from receiving any harm.

She was, however, so wet and fatigued that we were obliged to leave her behind. By twelve we were completely soaked to our skins and, by the plunging of our horses, were covered with mud from the soles of our shoes to the crown of our hats. Before dark I reached my habitation in woe-ful plight.

Memorandum. Received half a dollar fee, as a reward for my journey, expense, trouble, wear and tear and, in consequence of this soaking, I was afflicted with the rheumatism through the winter, though I never omitted duty."

We can only wonder at the hardships of these early settlers and the privations that they had to endure in the days when roads were being opened up and attempts being made to link together the various settlements.

One of the most disagreeable and grave obstacles to land communication was the problem of bridging the many rivers and streams that cut across the lines of communication. On the road from Halifax to Yarmouth this was especially difficult on account of the many rivers that could not be avoided. One of the first large rivers to be attempted was the Avon. Although bridges had

been built in the year 1763 they had, apparently been washed away and in 1781 the problem of building new ones was raised. In a petition from the inhabitants of Falmouth it was shown that "during the Winter Season the fording over the River Avon, between Windsor and Falmouth, being very difficult, is often attended with loss of property and danger and loss of life and praying, therefore, that a bridge or bridges be erected at, or near, the Forks of said River where passengers, cattle and the Produce of the County might pass with safety at all times which would be of great utility, not only to the inhabitants of the County but to those of Halifax by reducing the price of provisions, hay, oats, etc."¹

In the Winter of the next year, 1782, an observer took a trip into the country and found that the districts around the Minas Basin, in general, abounded "with plenty of grain, neat cattle, Poultry, etc.," which was brought to the Halifax market daily but he went on to observe that "the dangerous and difficult crossing of Windsor River in the Winter Season by which the inhabitants of Falmouth, Horton, Cornwallis and the County of Annapolis are in great measure prevented from coming to Town on account of the hazard of crossing said River" was a serious detriment to the farmers and deprived Halifax consumers of many necessary articles.²

It was about this time also that the impressment of men from the coastal settlements was deplored as it interrupted the supplies of "provisions, fuel and other necessaryies of life"³ the inhabitants of Lunenburg, Liverpool and Chester had formerly

¹ Journals of Assembly. June 22nd. 1782

² N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. March 26th. 1782

³ Ibid. Jan. 23rd. 1781

supplied the people of Halifax with and it was therefore necessary that the resources of the agricultural district around the Minas Basin should be kept open for the garrison at Halifax.

Although urgent, the matter was dropped and during the years 1783 and 1784 nothing was attempted except the survey of a new road from the Cornwallis River to the Windsor River.¹ In the year 1787, however, a committee was appointed to enquire into the Windsor bridge project² and although in the Autumn of 1789 Governor Parr made a journey to Windsor to view the site proposed for the new bridge³ it was not until the Spring of 1795 that the task was undertaken. In that year it was decided to raise £1900 by lottery, out of which £500 was to be applied to the road beyond Sackville to Windsor and £600 for a bridge over the "the Piziquid or Avon, near the Forks."⁴ The bridge was built by Nicolas Mosher for the sum of £837.15.5 which although in excess of the original estimate seems to have been considered reasonable by the commissioners to enquire into its expence and who considered the builder's claim for the loss he incurred in its construction, the Assembly awarding him £117 compensation in 1801.⁵

The bridge seems to have been completed in the year 1800 but in order to facilitate the approach a new road was necessary and £250 was appropriated for that purpose in 1799 together with £600 for making and repairing a road from the new bridge to Bishop's Bridge, at Horton, while in order to maintain the old

¹ Journals of Assembly. Index. 1783-1784

² Ibid. May 7th. 1787

³ P.A.N.S. Journal: Bishop Charles Inglis. Oct. 2nd. 1789

⁴ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 11th. March 27th. 1795. Memo.

⁵ Assembly Papers. Report of William Salter and James Morris June 6th. 1801

road from the Fording Place and Horton, another £100 was granted by the Assembly.

Although the bridge was a great aid to travellers and the transportation of commodities, it interfered with the export of gypsum at the head of the river. In 1801, a petition was received by the Assembly from one George Lyon, showing that:

"your Memorialist is possessed of a Farm situate in the fork of the River Avon, above the New Bridge erected across the said River and bounding principally upon the Western Branch of said River. That the Banks of Your Memorialist's land upon the River in many places consists of Plaister of Paris Rock, or Gypsum, and of a quality Equal to any that this province produces. That the Summer before the Bridge was Erected many Ton of it were shipped to the Great Benefit of Yr. Memorialist and One Hundred Ton more raised for sale. That your Memorialist could, before the Bridge was Erected, ship from his door all the produce of his Farm in Vessels of Fifty Ton burthern. That the bridge, being erected where it is, your Memorialist is precluded from the benefit of Navigation for the distance of Two miles and particularly of that Valuable Article of Exports, the Plaister of Paris which before the bridge was erected could be Thrown from the Bank, where it Grew, into the Vessels which should carry it to Foreign Markets and that he can only send his Articles to Market now in Lighters and at a very heavy Expence."

His plea, however, was not considered. The bridge stood until 1804 when a new pier and other improvements were necessary and with further alterations remained in use until 1816, when a new bridge was proposed, this time at the narrows.

Between the upper reaches of the Cornwallis River and the head of the tide on the Annapolis River, settlement was scattered and the road a somewhat indeterminate trail. In 1786 one Noah Bowen had done some work on this section of the road³ while in 1791 Ben Belcher was paid £20 for opening the Road from Cornwallis to Aylesford. The road, however, remained in a wild and difficult state and wase passable only at certain seasons

¹ Assembly Papers. Petition of George Lyon. 1801

² Ibid. Petition of Nathaniel Thomas & Others. Feb. 19th. 1816

³

of the year. By 1788 the road from Halifax through to Horton was not safely "passable for four wheel carriages and scarcely so for those of two wheels" while beyond it was necessary to travel by horseback.¹ In the Summer of the same year the road from Sackville towards Windsor was described as being very indifferent, owing to the utter neglect of it although it was "capable of being made very good." The road beyond Windsor towards Horton "was excessively bad owing to the utter neglect of it" while the road over Horton Mountain was "very bad, in many places steep; the mountain, about eight miles, is an uncultivated forest ... we heard a bear growl in one of the thickets." Such statements, although brief, give us some idea of the condition of the roads through the Annapolis Valley at this time.²

From Annapolis to Digby there was no road before 1795. In 1784 one Caleb Jones instituted a schooner service between Annapolis and Digby, charging \$3.00 a passage, the undertaking "being the first ever set on foot at this place (Annapolis.)"³ It was not however until the Spring of the year 1799 that the project of opening up the route was undertaken. Replying to the Assembly in June of ^{that} year Governor Wentworth advised them of "the public benefit that would result from a grant of aid toward completing the Post Road from Halifax over the bridge now building across the Windsor River through Horton to Annapolis or Digby."⁴ In July, in order to further the scheme, the Assembly appropriated £1456 for repairs on the Halifax to Windsor Road, together with £700 for the road from the new Windsor bridge to Horton, £50 for

¹ Bishop Charles Inglis. Memoirs. April 12th. 1788. July 16th. /88
² N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. May 25th. 1784
³ P.A.N.S. Vol. 298. Doc. #157. June 11th. 1799

the road "from Webster's House, on Annapolis Road, to Western boundary of King's," £50 "for the road from the Township of Aylesford to Hick's Ferry, in Annapolis," and £700 "for building a bridge over Allan's Creek and completing the Road from thence to Digby, over Bear River Bridge." In the next year further sums were voted, £100 being granted to repair the road from "Curry's, on the Cornwallis Road, to Aylesford;" £50 to repair the road "from Aylesford Line towards Annapolis and for Bridges" and £200 "towards completing the road from Mr. Isaac Longley's to the Dwelling House of Mr. Jonathan Morse, in the Eastern district of Annapolis and building a bridge over the Annapolis River, near Dodge's Tavern." In the year 1801 further grants were made, £200 being appropriated "to complete the road from the New Bridge at Dodge's on the Annapolis River to Longley's on said River" and £300 for "repairing the Road from the Bridge over Allan's Creek, at Annapolis, to Craig's Mill on the Road to Digby." These grants did much to facilitate communication between Windsor, Annapolis, and Digby, bridging the principal rivers and mapping out a course upon which further work could be carried on during the succeeding years.¹

Beyond Digby to Yarmouth roads had not been opened until the year 1786 when £200 was granted to open a road from the "Township of Digby to the River Sississibou"² while in the next year a petition was received from John Taylor and Others for money to open a road "from the River Sississibou to Cape Forchue."³ In the year 1788 the journey from Digby to the head of St.

¹ Acts of Assembly. Cap, 18th. July 16th. 1801

² Assembly Journals. June 16th. 1786.

³ Ibid. May 7th. 1787

Mary's Bay was a difficult undertaking over "very indifferent roads" that became "still worse afterwards along the shore and in the woods where the road is newly cut and a very heavy rain came which, with the worst road I ever travelled, made the jaunt disagreeable and dangerous." In the Autumn of this same year the road to Sississibou was described as the worst road in the province and for many years afterwards it remained in this state with travel usually being done by sea from Digby down the coast towards Yarmouth.

In the Spring of 1790 it was shown that although the townships of Digby, Clement and Clare had become extremely populous "the roads from these Townships to Annapolis are extremely bad and, at most Seasons of the year, impassable" but it was not until 1796 that further work was done on this section of the road beyond Digby and £100 allotted for "making a Road from Bear River, in the Township of Clements, to Gilbert's Mill in the Township of Digby" while in the next year a petition was received from the people of Clare showing that they had opened a road "from Sississibou River to Beaver River, Being the distance of 35 Miles" and, as they had "with pleasure observed the Liberality of the Legislature in granting money for roads in different parts of the province," they were also led to hope that they would receive remuneration for their efforts.

In 1800 further appropriations were made of £200 for the road from Sississibou to Digby and £160 "for Erecting Bridges on the Main road leading thro' the Township of Clare" while in the year 1801, £200 was granted "for Opening and improving

a Road from the West side of Sississibour River to Metegan River" and £200 "for making a Road from Metegan River to Saunders Mill, in Yarmouth."

The overland route from Halifax to Yarmouth continued to be for many years impassable for its whole length. The older portion of it however, the distance from Halifax to Annapolis, was as we have seen in reasonable repair and in 1792 was passable for a chaise with two horses. Between Halifax and Windsor, however, carriages were used at an earlier date. In 1783 it was advertised that:

"as there is and will be many strangers and others travelling from the metropolis to the Interior parts of the country and at present labour under many disadvantages on account of Horses and Carriages to transport themselves and luggage. It is proposed by a person at Windsor to keep a stage waggon to go once a week from Windsor to Halifax from the first of May to the last of November provided the roads are kept in repair and fitt for such a carriage to go, this waggon will carry Passengers and small baggage at a stipulated price to be fixed on. For the Winter season a Slay will answer for the same purpose."

In June, 1784, Samuel Rudolph, began his stage service from Halifax to Windsor every Monday morning "if fair weather" and carried "every kind of Goods, baggage, etc., at 10/ per gross hundredweight and 2d. per lb. for small packages."

Such a service was however, impossible until the road was levelled and improved, which was undertaken in 1799 and the years following by changing the route over Ardoise Hill, and by going around Tanner's Hill near Windsor.² These improvements did much to facilitate travel by wheeled vehicles and in 1815 a regular stage coach service was begun by Isiah Smith with two coaches and twelve horses supplied for the purpose. The service was possible, however, only as far as Windsor and not un-

till 1829 was it extended through to Kentville and Annapolis.

Being the oldest road in the province it has also been the road upon which great sums of money have been spent over a long period of time and even as early as 1826 an observer remarked that "it cost as much as would pave it all over with dollars" and after one hundred and fifty years of continual maintenance this might almost literally be the case.

The Main Trunk Roads of Nova Scotia

2. The Old Cobequid Road

The road from Halifax to Truro was ^{an} ancient trail, being part of the old overland route from Nova Scotia to Canada.

During the Summer of 1760 an application was made by "Committees of the Townships of Truro and Onslow, at Cobiquid, proposing to open a communication with the town by cutting Roads between the several Lakes that lie between Fort Sackville and those townships," providing that ~~that~~ the government would give them some assistance. The request was considered and agreed to, provisions being supplied however only for the time the people were actually at work upon the road.¹

In the Winter of the next year, 1761, in reviewing the progress of the new settlements at Cobiquid, the Council were of the opinion that "it would be of great advantage to those Settlements to have a Road cut between Halifax and the River Chebenacadie" while, in April, the Committee appointed to confer with Charles Morris on opening a road from Fort Sackville to the River Chebenacadie declared that "it would be proper to open said Road as soon as possible."²³

During the Summer of this year some anxiety was caused

¹ Council Minutes. Aug. 5th. 1760

² Ibid. Feb. 16th. 1761

³ Ibid. April 1st. 1761

by the unruly and defiant attitude of those Acadians who had settled around the Bay of Chaleur and who threatened to plunder the new settlements around Cobequid Bay. With no means of transporting troops and supplies to defend the settlers, except by a long voyage around the coast and up the Bay of Fundy, the threat was a serious one and plans were made for the immediate opening of a road "between Halifax and the Townships of Onslow, Truro and from thence, to Fort Cumberland, as the most effectual means for the security of these Settlements ... and, as a number of Troops will be wanted to build Lodgements and open the Roads, it was advised that application be made to Colonel Forster, the Commanding Officer for the Troops in this Province, for a detachment of about Twenty Five effective men for that purpose."¹

By the Summer of 1762 the road had been made passable for soldiers and Captain MacKenzie made an overland march "from Fort Cumberland to Halifax with the Troops" in August of that year thus, in a sense, opening the road.²

No further work, however, seems to have been put on this road for several years. In 1766 Michael Francklyn advised that a main road be carried from Halifax by way of Cobequid, thence to branch off to Cumberland, but it was impossible through lack of funds to carry the project into effect.³

In the year 1778, although £250 was granted by the Assembly to build bridges over the River Stewiacke "and other small Rivers on the road leading to Truro, in the County of Halifax,"⁴ the en-

¹ Council Minutes. Aug. 18th. 1761

² Ibid. Aug. 19th. 1762

³ P.A.N.S. Vol. 37 Doc. #54

⁴ Assembly Journals. June 15th. 1778

actment regulating carriers and waggons employed on the roads, which was passed in the next year, extended only "to the Bridge over the River Chebenacadie," the road beyond presumably being impassable for wheeled carriages.

In 1784 John Archibald was paid £125 for "making and repairing the Road leading from Halifax to Truro"¹ and, in the next year, the Assembly granted £500 for the road "from the Windsor Road to the bounds of Truro Township."

During the year 1790 a petition was received from the Freeholders of Colchester showing that they suffered great inconvenience "from the bad state of the main Road leading from that district to the town of Halifax"² and asking for aid but not until 1794 was a grant of money made and £100 allotted for the road from McNabb's Bridge to Gay's River³ while, in the next year, £500 was set aside for this same section of the road.⁴ In 1796 still another sum of £250 was given for the road from McNabb's bridge to Gay's River.

Despite the sums given for its repair there were few settlers along this road and the money spent upon it was soon lost through neglect. In the year 1784 the Rev. James MacGregor⁵ in his first journey to Pictou described the road as a path through the wilderness without sign of a habitation for miles and for long distances nothing more than a blazed trail while twelve years later, when he came to Halifax to claim his bride, the wedding party was only able to accompany

¹ Roads & Bridges: Portfolio.

² Assembly Journals. Dec. 23rd. 1785. March 11th. 1790

³ Ibid. July 8th. 1794

⁴ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 10. April 9th. 1795

⁵ Life of James MacGregor. Patterson. pp. 89.91-95

the happy bride and groom as far as Sackville after the ceremony as beyond that the road was unfit for carriages and it was necessary for the bride to climb up behind her husband and continue the rest of the journey to Pictou on horseback.

In the large road appropriations for 1799 £500 was voted for the road from "the Windsor Road to Gay's River" and £400 for the road "from Gay's River to Truro and the bridge over the River Sewack." the work being done under the direction of Thomas Pearson, John Archibald and John Dixon although only £347.15 seems to have been laid out under contract. During the next two years, 1800 and 1801, the large sum of £1600 was spent to repair "the Road from the Windsor Road to Shubenacadie Bridge and from thence to Hall's" and "to repair the Post Road from Hall's to Truro."¹

With further sums voted during the ensuing years this road was thereby brought into a state of reasonable repair although it was difficult, on account of the lack of statute labour on this road, to keep it in repair, settlements being few and far between.

The course of this road was very similiar to the main road used today, although it branched off from the Windsor Road near Upper Sackville through to, about, Waverley then on to Stewiack. At Stewiack there were two branches, one following the main road used today through Brookfield to Truro, the other following up the Shubenacadie River, connecting with a ferry at Black Rock and then continuing on through Old Barns to Truro.³

¹ Acts of Assembly Cap. 9. 1796. Cap. 12. 1799
² A.P. Report on Road Expenditures. April 3rd. 1800
³ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 17th. 1800. Cap. 18. 1801

A local road used today from Green Oaks, near old Fort Ellis, through to Brookfield was opened in 1816, it being a shorter route for travellers coming through from Hants County to Colchester.

Although, in 1813, the old Cobequid Road was considered as one of the two Great Roads, a stage coach service was not established with Halifax until July, 1816, by Ezra Witter of Truro, the road having been brought to a reasonable state of repair by that date.

3. The Cumberland Post Road

The old Cumberland Road was a continuation of the Cobequid Road overland from Truro to Amherst.

In August, 1761, the project was first undertaken of making a blazed trail from Fort Cumberland¹ through the townships of Onslow and Truro and on to Halifax in order that troops might be moved more readily for the protection of the new settlements around the head of Cobequid Bay, the trail being opened by the Summer of 1762.²

In 1766 Michael Francklyn had suggested that a main road "be carried from Cobequid to Cumberland, thence to the head of Piticoudiack River and so on to ... the River St. John." It was impossible, however, to carry the scheme into effect and not until 1774 was the opening up of this road undertaken.

In the Autumn of that year a proposal was received by the Provincial Secretary showing that "with the Labour of Sixty Acadians for six days" a good road could be made from Cumberland to Cobequid if provisions were supplied to them out of the license money.³ The suggestion had been made by James Low and Samuel Wethered and they were informed that^{the} Governor readily approved of the idea "and Depends on the attention and diligence of the Commissioners to see it carried into execution and that the indulgence of an allowance" should "be well and Duly repaid by the six Days Labour being well performed and applied for that

¹ Council Minutes. Aug. 18th. 1761

² Ibid. Aug. 19th. 1762

³ Inland Letter Book. Vol. 136. Dec. 23rd. 1774. p. 182

end proposed."

With the outbreak of the Revolution it became extremely important that land communication be maintained between Fort Cumberland and Halifax, the presence of privateering vessels around the Bay of Fundy rendering travel by sea precarious while the danger of disloyalty amongst the inhabitants through Cumberland County and Colchester was a serious menace to the Government.

By January 1776 it had become necessary to hire "from time to time Trusty persons" to act as couriers between St. John's, Cumberland and Halifax while in the same year a somewhat curt note was sent to the Cumberland Road Commissioners asking that a report be sent to Halifax "of what Money is in your hands for the Roads ... also what has been done on the Road leading from Cumberland to the District of Cobequid also what Impediments have been in your way to do what otherwise might have been done." 2

No further work appears to have been done on this road until 1784 when Thomas Dixon was paid the sum of £13 "for cutting and clearing the Road from Amherst to Londonderry," showing that at that date it could have been little more than an overland trail.

Although this road was opened at an early date it does not seem to have been used regularly except in cases of necessity, travellers usually preferring the route from Cumberland down to Partridge Island and then across the Minas Basin by ferry, this being the shortest and easiest way as the road from Horton to Halifax was in fairly good condition. In the Winter of 1769

¹ Inland Letter Book. Vol. 136. Jan. 20th. 1776

² Ibid. Jan. 22nd. 1776

we have the story of two travellers who were lost along the course of the Shediack River but they were finally taken by their Indian guide three leagues up the river where they were informed they would find a road that would "in two days march, bring them within a few miles of Cumberland were there were some inhabitants upon which they landed and sent out their Indian pilot in search of a road who returned in a short time and informed them that he had found one but that it would be very difficult not only to travel on but to keep on account of it was so overgrown with brush." Finally, after being lost for several days in the woods, they found their way to Cumberland and then overland to Cartridge Island and took the ferry across the Basin. Couriers and others who had business in Cumberland also seem to have taken this route whenever possible. However, the record breaking trip of Lt. Tinling of the 57th. Regiment who delivered his dispatches at Quebec and returned to Halifax in fifty three days may have been over this route as the ice in Minas Basin would, in the early Spring, render the trip precarious. Governor Parr, in writing to the Secretary of State in the Autumn of that year,¹ declared that "such an expeditious journey is scarce known to be effected by an European at that time of the year when the ice is in such a rotten state that a man is in danger of his life almost every step he takes; the distance there and back ... is about 1500 miles, the greater part to lie in woods without any shelter, to carry his provisions etc., upon his back." His bill "upon the Road, including a guide amounting to £46.7 which, together with a guinea per day for

¹ N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. Jan. 3rd. 1769

² P.A.N.S. Vol. 48. Doc. #33. Sept. 11th. 1790

the great and uncommon fatigue he must have experienced at that Season" being "really as little as a gentleman can be allowed."

In 1795 £200 was allotted to the road from Londonderry to the River Napan¹ while, in the year 1799, £300 was appropriated for making and repairing the road from William Vance's house, in Londonderry, to the Southern boundary of Cumberland County² and £500 "from thence to Alphen Morse's house, in the Township of Amherst," the work to be done by contract under the supervision of the Road Commissioners.²

The problems of these road commissioners were sometimes difficult, especially if they lived at a distance from Halifax. In 1799, James Fulton, one of the commissioners appointed to expend a sum of money on the Cumberland road was defrauded of a sum of money by being forced to send an agent to Halifax in order to collect the road grant, the agent absconding and leaving the Province "taking the Money with him."³ Another road contractor, Jonathan Palmer, who had come as a Loyalist to the Province and settled along "the Great Road leading from Londonderry to Cumberland" also had an unfortunate experience:

"being Earnestly desirous that the Road should be made and repaired, he contracted, at a Very low rate, for a lot which lay 8 or 9 miles distance from his dwelling so that he was under the Necessity of Carrying provisions and Blankets to the place where he was at Work and ~~in the place where he was at Work and~~ to Erect a Camp to lodge in at Night. But unfortunately while he was at Work on the Road at some distance and out of sight of his Camp, two travellers who were passing the Road Plundered his Camp and, to Cover their Villany, set fire to it and Burned Every article they could not carry away and were gone out of Reach before it was discovered, so that it was out of his power to detect them."

As compensation he was allowed the sum of £10 by the Assembly

¹ Assembly Journals. March 24th. 1795

² Acts of Assembly. Cap. 12. July 31st. 1799

³ Assembly Papers. Petition of James Fulton. July 2nd. 1799

but the Council disagreed and refused to allow it, fearing that it might create a precedent.¹

In 1800 further sums were granted for this road, £25 for building a bridge over Great Village River in Londonderry "on the Great Road to Cumberland;" £300 "to repair the said Road from the North Bounds of Londonderry to the River Philip Bridge;" and £400 "from the said Bridge to the River Napan, in the Township of Amherst," while, in the next year, sums of £250 and £500 respectively were paid for the repair and improvement of this section of the road.² In the year 1802, £90, plus the balance remaining from the year before, was paid for improving the road from Vance's in Londonderry to the South Bounds of Cumberland and £100 for completing the road from the North Bounds of Cumberland to the River so that the road may be said, with this expenditure, to have been opened up.³

This road extended from Truro to Londonderry and then more or less, straight overland in a north westerly direction, crossing the River Philip probably near Oxford. The main road used today, however, goes via Wentworth Corner, Oxford, Mansfield and then on to Amherst.

Today no trace seems to exist of the old Cumberland Post Road unless it be that part of the local road still in use from Belmont, on the Chigamois River, through East Mines to Acadia Mines.

¹Assembly Papers. Petition of Jonathan Palmer. June 18th. 1803

²Acts of Assembly. Cap. 17. May 3rd. 1800

³Acts of Assembly. Cap. 9. April 15th. 1802.

4. The Road from Onslow to Tatamagouche.

The road from Truro through Onslow to Tatamagouche and the North Shore was another ancient overland trail.

In 1766 the Lt. Governor communicated with General Gage asking him that orders might be given to the officer commanding on St. John's Island "to deliver up the Cattle which had formerly belonged to the Acadians who lived there" as he intended "to apply the value of them towards making and repairing roads from Halifax to Tatamagouche" which was at least an auspicious beginning for the opening up of a district that has long since been known for the excellence of its dairy products.¹

In the Spring of 1768 the need of a road from Halifax to Tatamagouche was represented to the Council which was shown could be done most effectively by posting a detachment of troops there to protect the district and the undertaking, application being made to Colonel Carr for a sufficient number of men.² Work was started during the Summer and in the Autumn of that year Michael Francklyn in writing to Ensign Ness at Tatamagouche said:

"I approve much of your directing the Acadians to Cut the Road, for the Present, but half the Intended width as you find it cannot otherwise be compleated this Fall as also it being carried along the flowing of the Tide in the Rivers that no obstruction might be given to Travellers."³

The undertaking, however, was dropped and Prince Edward Island

¹ Council Minutes. September 23rd. 1766

² Ibid. May. 17th. 1768

³ Inland Letter Book. Vol. 136. Sept. 9th. 1768

created a separate colony and not until the year 1786, when £100 was voted for the repair of the road from Onslow to Tatamagouche, does this road seem to have received any attention. In 1797 it was shown that the road from Onslow to Tatamagouche, a distance of 22 miles, was in very bad repair with the bridges "rotten or broken down which renders it almost impassable either by horses or cattle, of which there were Drove yearly to market from Forty to Fifty head ... likewise a quantity of Grain."¹

The petition was dismissed although in the years 1800 and 1801 £300 was granted by the Assembly for this road.²

In 1806 the task of further settling this district was made and the need for roads became greater to open up and connect the new settlements, £75 being voted to build a Bridge over the North River in Onslow and improve and repair the road from Onslow to Tatamagouche while £100 was granted two years later.³

In 1811 it was shown that, notwithstanding the exertions of the people within the Upper Settlements of Onslow along the North River, the road "was yet in a very bad state of repair" as the inhabitants were incapable of laying out more than their statute labour upon it. The suggestion was also made that a new road be cut out from the upper reaches of the North River to open up an easier communication for the settlers around the River John and £20 was granted by the Assembly for this purpose. This new road along the North River to connect the River John Settlements seems to be the main road used today between Onslow and Earltown, the older route striking straight overland to Tatamagouche and used today only as a County Road.

¹ Assembly Papers. Petition of Wellwood Waugh & Others. July 6th.

² Acts. of Assembly. Cap. 17. 1800: Cap. 18. 1801

³ Ibid. Cap. 1. 1807: Cap. 1. 1809

In the year 1812 the need arose to alter the road¹ from North River to Truro "as the old Road is frequently overflowed with water which renders it impassable for many days together"² and a sum of money was voted for this purpose although five years later it was shown that this new road was still incomplete and that further sums were necessary for its improvement.³ It was several years, however, before the increase in travelling made further work on this road imperative.

¹Assembly Papers. Petition of Thomas Lynds. Feb. 18th. 1812.

²Ibid. Petition of John Dickson. March 1st. 1817.

³Report committee on Road Expenditures. 1820.

5. The Road from Truro to Pictou.

From Truro three roads branched off, the Shore and Overland roads to Amherst, the road through Onslow to Tatamagouche and the road to Pictou.

The road to Pictou was not opened up until the arrival of of the Scottish settlers in the brig Hope in June of the year 1767. Hearing of their arrival five or six young men set out from Truro overland through the woods to meet the settlers as they arrived in Pictou harbour. Two these men, Thomas Troop and Ephraim Howard in going over the range of hills along the Western border of Pictou County named two of the hills over which they passed after themselves, names which have remained until today, Mount Thom and Mount Ephraim. The course of this road led from the head of Pictou Harbour through Roger's Settlement over Mount Thom and down to Salmon River, which it crossed at Kemptown, continuing on along on the North side of the river over the upland until it came within four miles from Truro when it struck out across the intervale. This road, or path, seems to have been cut out by Thomas Archibald whose home was the last habitation on the Truro side before crossing Mt. Thom.

In the Spring of the next year, 1768, the people of Pictou had to made the journey overland to Truro in order to secure supplies, the journey taking three days to go and three days to return.

About the year 1775 some of these settlers decided to leave

Pictou and emigrate to Truro "and under went great hardships. They then had to travel through the woods without any roads and carry their stuff and their children on their backs. This journey occupied the whole of a week although they had the assistance of several men."

No doubt some work was put on this road by the settlers in order to keep communication open but not until 1785 was a grant of money made by the General Assembly and £200 allotted "for repairing the Road from Truro to Pictou" while two years later, although the petition of John Harris and others asking for £20 for extra work done on this road was dismissed, the Assembly granted a further sum of £80 for its repair.² In 1790 a petition was received from those who have settled themselves upon the extremities of the County of Halifax" showing that "the principal settlements now forming in the remote part of Halifax are Pictou and Merigomish Harbour in which are settled upwards of 1200 inhabitants who, from the want of Roads, find their communication with Halifax at all times difficult, they being near 90 miles distant from it."³

Two years later their plea engaged the attention of Governor Wentworth. With ambition worthy of the undertaking he had written in September, 1792, that he was leaving for Pictou, "a populous and extremely productive district of this province divided from, and rendered useless, to the Capital by want of a direct road which I intend to make comfortably passable before I sleep again under a roof. It is about 72 miles, about 40 of which are through an untouched wilderness," containing good

¹ History of Pictou County. Patterson. pp. 56, 61-62

² Assembly Journals. Dec. 23rd. 1785. Dec. 6th. 1787

³ Ibid. April 1st. 1790

timber. The produce of the district, he continued, was sold chiefly to Americans "who swarm that coast to fish and smuggle all sorts of spirits and manufacturers to the settlers."¹ He and his party sailed for Pictou on the Fourteenth of September, 1792, arriving there on the Sixteenth and began immediately, with 500 men to open the road from that end, returning to Halifax on the Twenty Second with the task completed. He wrote to the Board of Trade that he had "in person, caused a direct road to be cut, made and bridged from Pictou to Halifax whereby the produce and commerce of both can be reciprocated in (two) or three days and also with all the Harbours and Rivers from Halifax quite around to Pictou."² On Christmas Day, 1792, at a very splendid ball given by Governor and Lady Wentworth there was included amongst the confections an "ingenious outline" of this road to delight the guests.³

It is improbable, however, that this road was ever used by carriages and seems to have disappeared despite the fact of its auspicious opening. Its course seems to have been through Musquodoboit and then up the West River of Pictou and years later it was shown that:

"about 21 years ago, last Harvest, His Excellency the late Governor Wentworth came personally to the Settlement in order to open a Communication between said Pictou and Musquodoboit and from thence to Halifax and that His Excellency might obtain his intention your Petitioners, with many others, went along with him voluntarily and Gratis until such time as said road joined said Musquodoboit Road; said Road has been occupied hitherto but the late Storms have unspeakably blocked up said Road so that Communication is stopped also, moreover, His Excellency erected two bridges on said Road, one on a branch of the West River and another upon a branch of Saint Mary's River with many smaller ones which is all in ruins."

¹P.A.N.S. Vol. 48. Doc. #81. Sept. 14th. 1792

³N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. Oct. 25th. /92: Dec. 25th. /92

²P.A.N.S. Vol. 48. #83. Oct. 25th. 1792.

and money was asked for its repair.¹ Apparently it was a travelled route and in the Nova Scotian Almanac the Inns along the road together with the number of miles between them is given yearly from 1783 onwards.

Although a shorter route than the road used today between Halifax and Pictou the road via Truro continued to be the most travelled, the Governor's Road through Musquodoboit falling into disrepair.

In the year 1797 it shown that the inhabitants of Pictou needed money for "that part of the Public Road leading to Halifax which lies between Pictou and Truro" as the people laboured "under very great inconveniences in communicating by land with the Capital ... from the want of good Roads"² and two years later the sum of £500 was granted for this purpose while, in the year 1800, £400 was allotted for opening and completing that part of the road "from John Henley's, on Salmon River, to Truro being nine miles - being part of the Main road leading from Pictou to Truro."³ Six years later, however, although £195 was spent on the road during 1805, the amount was "quite insufficient to complete the repairs of the Said Road" in order to render it passable and further sums were necessary for its improvement.⁴

By the year 1816, however, the road was so far improved as to allow a weekly stage coach to go from Halifax to Pictou, the Assembly granting a subsidy of £100 for this purpose. The mail, however, had been delivered regularly on foot from the year

¹ Assembly Papers. Petition. Feb. 14th. 1814

² Ibid. Petition. June 16th. 1797.

³ Acts of Assembly. Cp. 12. 1799: Cap. 17. 1800

⁴ Assembly Papers. Petition Ezra Witter. Feb. 18th. 1817

1801 although as early as 1790 a mail closed at certain seasons of the year "for Truro, Pictou and the Island St. John."¹

From 1814 this mail route was in charge of Ezra Witter from Halifax to Truro and from Truro to Pictou in charge of Jacob Lynds.² With the establishment of a stage coach in 1816 regular services were possible, the journey taking two or two and one half days from Halifax to Pictou. In 1828 the Eastern Stage Coach Company was formed which with the levelling of this route, especially the circumventing of Mount Thom, made travelling over this route much easier and more frequent.³

¹ Life of James MacGregor. Patterson. p. 300

² N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. Jan. 19th. 1790

³ History of Pictou County. Patterson. p. 390

The Main Trunk Roads of Nova Scotia

6. The Shore Road from Truro to Amherst, via Parrsboro

Although the shore route was not opened up until the last part of the Eighteenth Century a very early road, or path, existed from Partridge Island, near Parrsboro, to the River Herbert and so on to Amherst.

No improvements, however, seem to have been made on this road for many years. In the year 1781, £50 was suggested for the repair of this road and, although not granted, it was stated that "the Partridge Island Road must Continue as a communication to a number of Loyalists and Old Inhabitants settled there and for the inhabitants of King's County and Hants" who shipped a quantity of their produce across the Minas Basin by ferry.¹

This ferry was an important link between the settlements around Minas Basin and Cumberland. In 1776 a grant of 2000 acres had been given on Partridge Island on condition that the proprietors "give due and constant attendance for Fifteen years to the Ferry established between said Island and Windsor and that they keep a sufficient hut and two men."² This ferry, which was in use at least as early as 1769, seems to have been operated in a fairly regular manner from 1779³ until 1782 when a petition was received from one Abijah Scott who declared that:

¹ P.A.N.S. Roads & Bridges. July 4th. 1781

² Minutes of Executive Council. July. 17th. 1776

³ N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. Jan. 3rd. 1769

"your Memorialist was deemed a fitt person to attend the Ferry from Windsor unto Partridge Island ... and as to the faithful Execution of the Transportating His Majesty's Troops and the proper performances of which he humbly refers to all and every of the Royal Army which he had the honour to carry f om time to time for three years past. Your Memōralist is totally debarred from further discharging his duty, being continually Harras'd and pillaged by the Enemy, his every means of Supporting himself and Family being forced away by the Rebels to the amount of more than £100, exclusive of being driven from his house, Lands, Improvements and Utencils left behind all turned into waste, as also Ferry Boats rendered useless that cost £150."¹

Although all that he requested was that he "be enabled to purchase a Suit of Sails to fitt out his Boat to follow his former Occupation" and "to return to the Important duty of Sustaining a passage so Requisite to be Kep up," the House replied that they could not provide any relief "as it would establish a bad precedent."²

In the Spring of the year 1780 it was shown that the "road from Partridge Island to the River Hebere is almost impassable on account of several obstructions from fallen trees and the want of many repairs" and £50 was granted, "provided that the inhabitants will add their own work to it to the same value."³

In the Summer of 1789 Bishop Charles Inglis in the course of Parochial Visitation travelled over this road to Cumberland which he described as "extremely bad and dangerous." He and his guide took 10 hours to travel the distance of 36 miles and at one place the Bishop had a narrow escape through his horse falling on him while in another place his horse and port manteau fell into a brook and his "linen and robes were wetted." They at last reached Barron's and crossed by ferry to Amherst and

¹ P.A.N.S. Vol. 298. Doc. #95. March 25th. 1782

² Ibid. Doc. #98. June 29th. 1782

³ Inland Letter Book. June 21st. 1780.

Westmoreland.

In the year 1792 a petition was received from the inhabitants of Cumberland County showing that they suffered "great inconvenience from the Badness of the Road" and asking for £100 to open a road from Amherst, along the East side of the River Macan, to the Halfway River "on the road leading to Partridge Island and to build a bridge across the River Napan" but the petition was dismissed, "it being inconsistent with the present situation of the Province to grant any money for Roads." In the next year the bridge was built.¹

In 1795, however, £100 was granted "for repairing the New Road between Halfway River, in the Township of Parrsborough, and the New Bridge, erected over the River Napan" while, four year later, a further sum of £200 was allowed for the road and bridges from "Partridge Island to the bridge of the River Napan in the Township of Amherst."³ In the year 1800 also, a sum of £100 was voted to make and repair the road "from Londonderry Line to Parrsborough Road."⁴

Along the shore the road was not complete. In 1790 a petition had been received showing that the inhabitants of Five Islands suffered "Great inconvenience in not having a Publick Road laid out from the Settlement ... to the settlements at the head of Cobequid Bay and, in June the petition was granted."⁵

In 1793 a road was cut "from West Bay to Black Rock and Cape Sharp" while two years later, in a petition from the people

¹Assembly Journals. June 13th. 1792; June 19th. 1792

²Acts of Assembly. Cap. 10. April 9th. 1795.

³Ibid. Cap. 12. July 31st. 1799

⁴Ibid. Cap. 17. May 3rd. 1800

⁵Chipman Mss. Doc. #5. 1790

of Parrsborough, it was shown that they were in great need of a road from "the head of Diligent River to Advocate Harbour."

In the year 1800 the road was extended from Partridge Island to Cape Doree, £50 being granted to make the road to that district,² while in the same year proposals were received from the people of Parrsbrough that roads should be laid out and to continue the road from Diligent River to Advocate Harbour; to lay out a road from Oconomy through Five Islands towards Partridge Island; to lay out a road from the Swan Creek to the head of Partridge Island River and from Partridge Island to Francklyn Manor.³ In the road allotments of 1801, however, only £25 was granted "for making a road from the head of Partridge Island to Swan Creek, in Parrsborough" and £100 "for making a road from Oconomy Road to the bridge over Portepeck River."

In the agreements made out by the road commissioners the road contractors were instructed to "cutt Down all the trees and Brush ... and to Clear out all the tress and Rubbish twelve feet wide and the Stumps to be cut close to the Ground," a provision that was not always carried out and in the following year some discussion was raised by the manner in which the Parrsborough Road had been laid out.

In 1803 a petition was received from Parrsbrough showing that they desired "to have our main Road leading from Partridge Island to Cumberland, as far as the Boar's Back," properly cut out and improved but in this year only £25 was voted for roads through this district.⁴

¹ Chipman Mss. Doc. #15. 1794: doc. #16. 1796

² Acts of Assembly. Cap. 17. 1800

³ Chipman Mss. Doc. #9. 1801

⁴ Ibid. Doc. #15. 1802. Doc. #4. 1803

Acts of Assembly. Cap. 5. July 27th. 1803

The opening up and improvement of roads through the County of Cumberland had its effect on the prosperity of Parrsborough. Heretofore the main route taken to Cumberland had been from Halifax to Windsor and then across the Minas Basin by ferry, the journey over the Cobequid Road and the Cumberland Post Road being difficult and dangerous in its unimproved condition for travellers going to Westmoreland. By the year 1803 however, this had been changed and the roads improved, so much so that one Thomas Moore of Parrsborough, who formerly had been able to make a living, was forced to make an application for a free license on the grounds that:

"he hath been in the Way of Entertaining Travellers for this number of Years and, for a number of Years, I, the said Moore, have Paid a Loisence and I wish still to convene the Publick as Much as ever but there is not travel Enough to Afford Paying a Loisence."¹

In the same year, also, we have perhaps the first instance of land communication interfering with the coasting trade and causing loss to shipowners and in June, 1803, it was shown that:²

"in the original Agreement between the first Settlers at Partridge Island and Government, the persons Keeping the Ferry were allowed Four rations of Provisions, besides other Priviledges, but, soon after the conclusion of the last American War, the provisions were stopped, finding that the Packet had a sufficient Encouragement by the Great Number of Cattle sent to Halifax from Cumberland and West Morland but within three years last past the Road hath been so much improved between Cumberland and Halifax, by way of Cobequid, that about one half the Cattle is now drove Aroound on which account the owners of said Packet are obliged to put the vessel in other Employ to support the same, Contrary to their real desire and to the Great detriment of the People in the Counties of Hants and King's and all other in the Westward parts of the province wishing to communicate with Cumberland and New Brunswick and, more especially so, to the inhabitants of Parrsboro' and the Southwest part of the County of Cumberland, owing to the Great distance and the unimproved State of the Roads around Cobequid Bay."

¹ Chipman Mss. Doc. #25. 1803

² Assembly Papers. Petition of James Ratchford & James Noble Shannon. June 28th. 1803

The petition was considered and, in July, it was resolved that £50 be paid to the petitioners for:

"the encouragement of a Packet to run between Windsor and Partridge Island on condition that the said Packet properly prepared for the accomodation of Passengers and the reception of cattle ... shall sail from Parrsborough wind and Weather permitting, the first high water after Eight O'Clock in the forenoon from the First of April to the Twenty Fifth day of December and, from Windsor, the first highwater after Eight O'Clock in the morning, every Wednesday during the same period.

That the Rates of Ferriage be as follows:

For Each person	five shillings
For one horse	seven shillings
For Neat Cattle	Each Head five shillings
Other Stock at the same rate as during last year."	

This provincial subsidy of £50 was paid annually until 1809.²

During 1803 and 1804 the road was further improved and completed from Partridge Island towards Five Islands and Economy and £25 granted "for a Road from the West Bounds of Londonderry to Oeconomy settlement" so that it may be said that the shore road was, in some measure, opened up.

Further grants continued to be made for its repair but it would seem that the most travelled routes were either along the Cumberland Post Road or from Amherst down to Partridge Island and then across the Minas Basin by Ferry, the shore road around the bay to Cobequid being used infrequently.

The people of Parrsborough were, however, somewhat unfortunately situated, being off the two most most frequented routes and yet being forced to go to Horton for their most trifling legal and local affairs. The dangers and discomforts of this journey were described several years later when it was declared

¹ Assembly Papers. Assembly Vote. Agreed to July 22nd. 1803
² Acts of Assembly. Capl. 1808; Cap. 1. 1809. Cap. 5. 1803

"this mode of travelling is expensive and unpleasant and the sudden gusts of wind which endanger the navigation of the Bay of Mines render the passage on some occasions very hazardous. Nor are these voyages infrequent ... but these difficulties are experienced ... in a still greater degree in Winter Seasons, during which the ice entirely obstructs all intercourse by water and leaves us no way of getting to the other parts of the County of King's except by travelling through that of Halifax, a distance of nearly 200 miles."¹

In 1819, in order to facilitate communication between Halifax and Cumberland, a new road was proposed which should be connected by a ferry from Noel with either Bass River or Economy.² It was shown that considerable advancement had been made "a new Road being partly Cut from the River Philip towards Bass River in the Lower part of Londonderry" which shortened the distance by 16 miles and, by water from Bass River or Economy to Noel, by at least "36 or 37 miles instead of going, as at present, by Partridge Island and Windsor." This ferry, however, never seems to have been regularly operated.

The project for this new road, though a reasonable one from the point of view of cutting off distances, was not successful although the local road from Farmington to Oxford, along the River Philip, may remain as a remnant of the Cumberland County section of this proposed new road.

¹ Assembly Papers. Petition from the Inhabitants of the North Eastern Section of King's County. 1819

² Ibid. Petition of David MacLaughlin. Feb. 24th. 1819

7. The North Shore Road from Amherst to Pictou

In the Spring of the year 1786, although "the vast improvements which His Majesty's Loyal Subjects, emigrants from the United States," had lately made at Remsheg were remarked upon the need for a road from Remsheg to Amherst was declared to be pressing, especially since the loss of two settlers had occurred in attempting to pass overland to Amherst from that place.¹

Nothing further appears to have been done to open up communication by land with these isolated settlements. In the year 1800, however, £100 was voted for making a road from Remsheg to meet the Cumberland Road at the River Philip although no work appears to have been done in that year, it being reported that there were "no contracts entered into or money drawn."²

In 1801, £100 was again voted for opening a road from the "head of Remsheg Harbour to the Cumberland Road, by River Philip" thereby connecting the shore settlement with Amherst and Truro by the Cumberland Post road, together with £50 for opening a road from River John to meet the Main Road from Pictou to Halifax, thereby, in some measure, opening up this shore although further grants were necessary to make these roads passable.³

In 1802 the proposal that another road be made to connect Remsheg with the Wentworth Settlement and then to continue to

¹Assembly Papers. Petition June 14th. 1786

²Ibid. Report Commissioners of Road Expenditures. 1801

³Acts. of Assembly. Cap. 14. 1801

meet the Cumberland Road and it was shown that the people of these Settlements were under great disadvantage:

"for the want of a road ... from Colchester and beg leave to Represent to your Honours that from the Upper Part of Wentworth, and to continue up on the West Side of the South Branch of Remsheg River to its Head, to where there is a good place for Crossing the Mountain and so Down to Folly River to the Main Road. All the way good Lands for settlers which will be of great advantage to this County,"¹

and £30 was voted for its construction. This road seems to have followed along the West Branch of the Wallace River however, to meet the Cumberland Road at, or near, Collingswood Corner.

In the year 1805 another road was opened up from the Remsheg River "to the lake Leading to Londonderry, by Folly River," the sum of £20 being voted for that purpose while in the next year a grant of £80 was made for a bridge over the Folly River. This overland road apparently being the main road used today from Wentworth Centre to Great Village.

During the year 1805 further progress was also made in making roads ~~Along~~ the Shore, money being voted to open a road from River John to Pictou and £15 "to aid the inhabitants of Cumberland in opening a road from the Upper part of the Township of Amherst to the Culph of St. Laurens," the inhabitants subscribing an equal sum while in 1807 another £40 was granted for this road and to build a bridge "over the River Sheneinicus."²

In 1809 the road from the head of the Tide, in Remsheg Harbour to Pugwash was further improved, thereby facilitating communication with this section of the North Shore while two years later allotments were made "to aid the inhabitants of Tignish and Goos Rivers, on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to open

¹ Assembly Papers. Petition. March. 11th. 1802

² Acts. of Assembly. Cap, 1. 1805: Cap. 1. 1806

and improve a road from the North side of Pugwash Harbour to River Philip. By 1812, however, it was shown that there was no communication between Fox Harbour and Pugwash, except by boats, which was "always troublesome and often impracticable" although the inhabitants had begun to open a road to lead into that of Pugwash, thence to the Cumberland road but it still needed further assistance and repair.

In this same year a new road was proposed "from the Bridge over the Napan River ... so as to Fall into the road leading from Amherst to Cobequid as great Numbers of people have occasion to Travel from Macan, Napan and the River Hebert to the River Philip Cobequid and Remsheg" and the distance would thereby be shortened. Although money was granted to open this road, a distance of 16 miles, in 1816 it was shown that parts of it were impassable and that the need for bridges was great. This road, it would seem, cut the Cumberland Road at or near Salt Springs, meeting the road from Remsheg to the River Philip that had been opened in 1801.

This road, however, although money had been granted for its construction in 1820, never seems to have been made passable and in 1820 it was shown that ever since the first settlement of Pugwash the people had suffered from the want of a road to the River Philip, it being a road

"much wanted as well for the convenience of the Inhabitants settled there as for the Publick at large - much business is done there in shipping of Timber in the Spring, Summer and in the Fall very many persons resort there to catch Fish for their family consumption and for sale. Hitherto for want of a passable communication by land, those who were obliged to go to and From Pugwash to River Philip were driven to the necessity of passing up and down on the River Phillip, so called, which is dangerous ... and many lives have been lost."

In the same year a grant of money was made by the Assembly for this purpose.

In 1820, also, further roadbuilding was carried on around Pugwash and the shore, it being shown that

" a road is Opening from the settlement on Fox Harbour Bay towards John Turrels and that a road is also opening from the Town Plot, at Remsheg, towards John Turrels, also a road from the Scotch Settlement on the Gulf Shore, between Fox Harbour and Pugwash, towards said John Turrels, all of which roads are intended to join the main road leading to Amherst."

It was shown that a bridge was still necessary over the Remsheg River and further sums were necessary to complete the roads.

Although communication had been established between Tata-magouche and River John in 1801 "no Road passable for either Carts or Sleds" shd been made by 1821 between Pictou and River John beyond the West Branch of that River. In 1821, however, an allotment was made to complete this road, thereby, in some measure at least, opening up communication along the North Shore.

¹Assembly Papers. Petition of George Oxley & Others.
Feb. 29th. 1820

8. The Road from Pictou to Canso.

Although an attempt was made to open a road in the year 1786 "from Country Harbour, in the County of Sydney, towards Pictou by way of Manchester and Antigonishe," it is uncertain what course this road followed and how far the grant of £200 was successful that had been voted by the Assembly for that purpose.¹

In the years that followed no further road building appears to have been undertaken. In 1800 it was proposed that £600 be granted "for Opening a Road from Milford Haven, in the County of Sydney, to Antigonishe to the Settlement on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, near the Cove called Malignant Cove" and that a road be opened from Montague River to Antigonishe, thence to Malignant Cove.² Not, however, until the next year was the task undertaken although only £300 was voted "for Opening a Road from the head of Milford Haven, in the County of Sydney, to the West River in Antigonish, near the Indian Gardens."

In this same year, 1801, the task of opening land communication between Pictou and Antigonishe, via Malignant Cove was also pushed forward, £150 being voted "for building a Bridge over the West River of Pictou ... and improving the Main Road through the district;" £50 "for improving the Road from the East River in Pictou to the West River in Marygomishe;" £100

¹ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 8. 1786

² Assembly Papers. Report of Commission on Road Expenditures. 1800

"for opening and making a road from the West River in Marygomish to the East Side of the East River in Marygomish, including the bridges" and £100 "for opening and making a Road from the East side of Marygomish River to Malignant Cove."

In the year 1802 several road allotments for the County of Sydney were proposed but not agreed to: £90 was, however, allotted for bridges over the Rivers at Clam and Goose Harbour and King Creek, "on the Road leading from Milford Haven to the Gut of Canso," around Chedabucto Bay; £45 to build a bridge over Salmon River, at the head of Chedabucto Bay, on this same road; £11 to finish the bridge over French River at Marygomish and £38 to repair the road from the East River at Marygomish to Malignant Cove.

In the next year £100 was granted for the repair of the road from "the Head of Milford Haven to the Indian Gardens, on the West Branch of Antigonishe River, and building a bridge over this River" and £50 for "Opening a Road from Indian Gardens at Antigonishe, to Malignant Cove."

In 1804 further grants were made, £50 being voted to "aid the Inhabitants to build Bridges over the East, North and West Rivers of Milford Haven, on the road leading from Guysboro' to Angigonishe;" £30 "for repairing the Road from the East River of Pictou to the French River in Marygomish;" £25 "to aid the inhabitants to build a Bridge over the East River of Marigomish and £30 "to aid the Inhabitants in rebuilding the Bridge over the French River in Marygomish."

The course of this road was, approximately from maps of the period, along the main highways used today from Pictou to

Sutherland River, then along the Coast to Malignant Cove, then overland to Antigonish while from Antigonish the most travelled route was overland through Roman Valley and along the Guysborough River to Boylston and then around Chedabucto Bay to Canso.

From Boylston two other roads branched off, one going around Chedabucto Bay to Cape Argos while another extended from Manchester, not far from Boylston, to Tracadie, a distance of fifteen miles. A road from Milford Haven, by way of Tracadie, to Little River was opened in 1808 although for many years these roads remained little better than woodland paths.¹

In the year 1811 the task of opening up an overland road from Marigomish to Antigonish was undertaken, the route being explored by Nathan Brown who received the sum of \$6 for his services; it was many years however, before the overland route through the Marshy Hope Valley was opened up sufficiently for carriages and previous to the year 1851 "travellers in that direction had only the choice of a long road around the Gulf Shore or a road ten miles shorter but scarcely fit for carriages over the Antigonish Mountains."³

¹ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 1. 1808
² Ibid. Cap. 1. 1809
³ Assembly Papers. Petition of Nathan Brown. Rec'd Feb. 18th./11
 History of Pictou County. Patterson. p. 392

9. The Road from Halifax to Musquodoboit

The road to Musquodoboit was paved with a long series of petitions that show very clearly the difficulties that the settlers of this rich agricultural district encountered by being entirely dependant on communication by land with the capital at Halifax for their existence.

The first road to be cut to this settlement from Dartmouth was the trail opened up by Governor Wentworth in the Fall of 1792 and although £200 was proposed for this road three years later it seems to have been of but little use in its repair and in 1798, in a long address to the Assembly, it was shown that:

"there are valuable Tracts of Land in the interior parts of this Province and, likewise, many promising settlements buried in obscurity, the Industrious Inhabitants of which are labouring under many unavoidable hardships and struggling with difficulties peculiar to the settlers of New Countries namely, the arduous Task of raising a subsistence in the midst of a forest and destitute of the valuable blessings of Society.

A principal cause of these difficultys is the want of roads and free Communication to the market, which damps the spirit of Industry and retards the progress of Agriculture. Nor is this all the Evils resulting from a want of roads. A valuable and Industrious part of the community is secluded from the world, the produce of their Industry is not felt by the General body of Public who are deprived of the mutual advantages resulting from a Reciprocal intercourse with them.

That this is the case in a great measure with the settlers of Musquodoboit is well known. And, Notwithstanding the Governor's vigorous exertions to facilitate their passage by way of Dartmouth to Halifax together with the the Utmost efforts of the Inhabitants, so tedious and and expensive is the business of making Roads and bridges

through woods and Rivers, that much remains to be done for which reason they are under the necessity of solliciting the aid and the assistance of the Public who, doubtless in the end, will share with them the advantages arising from such communications and although it will considerably augment the distance, the prospect of having the former Road (Governor Wentworth's Road) made passable appears at such a distance and absolute necessity of having one opened" they desired that this road be taken into the road "leading from Halifax to Tunso, near George Campbell's."

In the road appropriations for the year 1799 no allotment was made and although, in 1800, £200 had been proposed to "Open the Road from George Campbell's to Musquodoboit," not until 1801 was £100 voted to cut the nine miles of unopened road and to improve the twelve miles that needed much repair.

In June, 1801, another petition was received from the Freeholders and residents of Musquodoboit and vicinity, revealing their problems and showing that:

"your Petitioners, from the commencement of their settlement have laboured under many disadvantages and inconveniences, owing to their not having a regular road from their Settlement to the Metropolis; and such have been their situation times innumerable, that they could not get their produce to Market and, consequently, thereby deprived of the means of procuring the common necessaries or comforts of life.

That your Petitioners, impressed with a due sense of the Wisdom and goodness of the Legislative, in enacting such salutary laws as will add to the happiness of their constituents ... these impressions are sufficient motives to induce your Petitioners to lay their situation under your Honor's consideration.

That your Petitioners beg leave to acquaint your Honor's that the utility of a Road being opened thro' their settlement and carried on most conveniently towards the Metropolis has been considered by His Excellency, Sir John Wentworth, and other respectable characters, to be essentially necessary for the prosperity of the settlement.

But that a plan of making a road to the Southward and Eastward of the old road, or track, could be of no benefit to the settlers as being entirely out of their way and also should it be adopted to carry it on to communicate with the Cobequid Road it would be equally inconvenient and useless

1 Assembly Papers. Petition May 28th. 1798
 2 Assembly Papers. Report Road Committee 1800
 3 Acts Assembly. Cap. 17. May 3rd. 1800

for this very obvious reason, that by travelling it going to, or returning from, Market their journey by this route would be lengthened upwards of Forty Miles and consequently would not be frequented but regarded as a grievance and unnecessary Expense on the Public."

They proposed, therefore, that a new road be cut out and explored from their settlement to Salmon River Bridge, being convinced that this was the "most convenient and practicable way of carrying a road thro' from their settlement towards Halifax" and, in the allotment made for the 'Guysborough Road' in this year, £300 was granted "for Opening a Road from the place where the Guysborough Road will strike the Musquodoboit River to the Salmon River, in Preston."

The amount, however, did not go far and in the next year another petition was received showing that although £300 had been voted in the previous year, ten miles still remained to be finished between Big Salmon River, in Preston, to Musquodoboit and a contract offered by the settlers to complete this, the most difficult portion of the road for £280. The petition was not considered although £100 was voted to complete the old road leading "Musquodoboit, from George Campbell's on the Cobequid Road."

In the year 1803 the Assembly granted £50 "for a Road from Henry's, in Musquodoboit, to the Main Road leading from Truro to Halifax;" £50 "for a Road from the Narrows at Porter's Lake to Musquodoboit;" £100 "for a Road from Salmon River, in Preston, to the narrows at Porter's Lake" and £50 "for the Road from Salmon River Bridge in Preston to Dartmouth."

¹ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 18. July 16th. 1801

² Assembly Papers. Petition. March. 5th. 1802

³ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 9. April 15th. 1802

⁴ Ibid. Cap. 5. July 27th. 1803

These grants, opening up as they did in practically every instance new roads, did much to facilitate communication between Musquodoboit while, at the same time, the communication with Guysborough was also being opened up.²

Though these small sums had been granted the amount was insufficient to supply the district of Musquodoboit with adequate roads and in 1807 it was shown that:

"the inhabitants labour under a great disadvantage for the want of a road of communication from the lake, on the lower end of this River, to the Harbour; the different rapids of the River from said lake to where the Tide comes, render it impracticable for boats to pass or repass but, if there was a good road, great quantities of cordwood would be brought to market, likewise Excellent Timber of the best quality can be had for ship Building, every conveniency is prepared at the Head of the Tide for that purpose, any vessel not Exceeding 250 Tons can be brought out of the Harbour with safety. All kinds of Lumber that the province produces can be had on the River in great plenty. The rapids on this part of the River has hitherto been the only obstruction and this short carrying place."

Having put forward their plea they asked that a grant of money be made to construct a road from the head of the tide to the settlement of Musquodoboit.¹

Three years later, however, it was further shown that the the settlers had:

"for many Years laboured under allmost Insurmountable difficulties in gaining a maintenance for their Families in the Wilds of Musquodoboit. The want of good Roads has very much increased these difficulties for, although their Farms will, for the most part, produce the Necessaries of Life, yet there are many articles which they do not yield which are of such importance that Agriculture cannot be carried on without them to any considerable Advantage either to the Individual or to the Community. The Opening and Improvement of Roads in this, and adjacent settlements, has greatly lessened the hardships ... but they still

¹ Assembly Papers. Petition. Jan. 3rd. 1807

² N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. Sept. 10th. 1801

labour under many inconveniences, one of which is that the Road from Halifax to Manchester runs across the River of Musquodoboit as also does most of the Travelling" and, there is no bridge across the River, "communication is at some seasons of the year, impossible."

Nothing was done, however, and four years later it was declared that although the inhabitants had contributed half the amount they still laboured under great obstacles from the want of a bridge over the Musquodoboit River "which is the only communication with the Road leading to market as it is not fordable a considerable part of the year on account of Freshetts and Ice."¹

In the year 1820 it was declared that, despite former grants of money, "the Road through this Settlement (Middle Musquodobot) notwithstanding there still remains a considerable distance that is not passable for wheel carriages" and further sums were asked for in order to help the agricultural interests of the community by facilitating their communication with the market at Halifax while, four years later, it was shown that the roads through this district were still in a very bad condition, a condition that had not not been improved by the diminuation of the Statute labour under the provisions of the Road Act of 1816.³

Although it may said that communication was established between Musquodoboit as early as 1792, the problem was one of repair and improvement which was, in turn, a problem that the people in this scattered community could not cope with and many years were to elapse before their roads were fully opened up.

¹ Assembly Papers. Petition. Feb. 23rd. 1815

² Ibid. Petition. Feb. 25th. 1820

³ Ibid. Petition. Adams Archibald & Others. March 24th. 1824
{ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 24. March 22nd. 1816

10. The Guysborough Road

In the Spring of the year 1800 Governor Wentworth had recommended that a road be made for "the accomodation of the Eastern Settlements of this Province" and it was resolved that the sum of £100 be applied "towards exploring the best course for a road from the head of Milford Haven towards the Capital." Despite the resolution, however, and the fact that "the decayed and ruined state of the Fisheries of the Province and the Total want of Roads of communication between the Settlements on the Shore" were seriously considered by the House, the resolution was not agreed to.¹

In the next year the project was undertaken of making a direct road overland through the wildest and most difficult part of the province to Guysborough and £500 voted "for Opening a Road from Guysborough in the most direct course to the River Musquodoboit, so as to form a communication with the Capital" and £300 "for Opening a Road from the place where the Guysborough Road will strike the Musquodoboit River to the Salmon River in Preston."²

Work was undertaken on the road in 1802 and in the next year £10 was granted to Alexander Henry "for his Services and Expenses in exploring the Road from Musquodoboit to Manchester."

Further sums were also voted in 1803 for the construction

¹ Assembly Journals. May 1st. 1800

² Ibid. May. 2nd. 1800

³ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 18. July 16th. 1801

of the Guysborough and the roads connecting with it, £50 being allotted for "a Road from Henry's, in Musquodoboit, to the Main Road leading from Tnuvo to Halifax;" £50 "for a Road from the narrows at Porter's Lake to Musquodoboit;" £50 "for a Road from Stormont to the Upper Settlements of Country Harbour and to open a Road of about five miles from thence to join the Musquodoboit Road leading from Guysborough to Halifax;" £280 "for improving the Road from the East Branch of St. Mary's River to Musquodoboit near Henry's, and building bridges over the East and West Branch of St. Mary's River and £40 for clearing the Falls of said River" and £200 "for improving the Road from Guysborough to the East Branch of St. Mary's River and making Bridges over Salmon River and Country Harbour."¹

During the next few years work was continued on the road, £200 being voted towards "completing the new Road and Causeways from St. Mary's River to Musquodoboit" and £150 "towards completing the Main Road from Guysborough to the East River of St. Mary's" in the year 1804² while, with the opening up of a road from Gays River to Musquodoboit in 1807 and a further grant of £300 "for the road from Gays River through the settlements on Musquodoboit River to East River of St. Mary's," it may be said that certain progress had been made.³

In 1810 this road could, however, have been but little more than a trail and it was impossible for the Grand Jury "to conform to the letter of the Law, by viewing the work done" from the

¹ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 5. July 27th. 1803

² Ibid. Cap. 1. Jan. 17th. 1805

³ Ibid. Cap. 1. Jan. 23rd. 1807

local situation of the road but, from the information they had received it appeared that Alexander Henry, who had been appointed as a commissioner for this road, had expended the money voted judiciously within the County of Halifax.

The maintenance and repair of this road was also a problem and in the terrific gales which swept this portion of the province in the years 1811 and 1813 serious damage was done, the road being "completely choaked up and Obstructed" and all communication between "Guysborough and Salmon River on that road" rendered impracticable.

Several years later it was shown that while the road from Guysborough to Halifax, by way of St. Mary's and Musquedoboit was of great use to these settlements, "being the only direct Road towards Halifax and to both a most necessary and direct communication with each other and with the more Eastern parts of the province" as by this route the distance to Halifax from Guysborough was forty miles shorter than by going via Antigonishe yet "a great part of the Road, particularly from St. Mary's to Musquedoboit, is yet in a very indifferent state of repair and, the bridges over the East Branch of St. Mary's having been carried away last Winter, is a very serious obstruction to Travellers and a great inconvenience to the neighboring settlements."

Settlement did not follow along this road, despite aid and subsidies from the Government, and without settlement the road could not be maintained.

Today only portions of this road remain, through settled districts as local or county roads from, probably Elderbank to

Dean, in Halifax County, and from Middle Caledonia, through Melrose, to Country Harbour Cross Roads, to Ogden and on to meet the main road from Monastery to Canso.

The Road from Caledonia To Pictou

In the year 1811 the sum of £50 was voted to open a road from the head of the East River in Pictou to the West Branch of St. Mary's River, a road that exists today as a County Road.

duplex

11. The Eastern Shore Road.

Although a continuous road was not established between Dartmouth and Sherbrooke, in Guysborough, for many years, with the opening up of the hamlets along this shore roads became necessary for the convenience of the early settlers and a series of roads, or paths, were opened up that either followed along shore to Dartmouth, where communication had been maintained by a ferry established in the year 1752 with Halifax, or struck inland to meet other roads leading to Halifax. While most of these roads exist today only as local or county highways parts of them no doubt follow the course of the main trunk highway used today in passing along the South Eastern Shore.

The Road from Dartmouth to Musquodoboit Harbour

The first part of this road to be opened was that leading to Cole Harbour. In 1765 Benjamin Green Jr. and others obtained 3000 acres of land at Lawrencetown on condition that they "open a Road of 4 Rodds wide from Cole Harbour to Dartmouth" which presumably was done although soon after the settlement was broken up by the withdrawal of military protection.

Prior to the year 1800 the path seems to have been extended from the head of Cole Harbour and in 1800 the sum of £50 was voted for its repair while, in 1802, a further sum was granted.

¹ Council Minutes. Ja. 30th. 1765
² Acts of Assembly. Cap. 17. 1800
³ Ibid. Cap. 9. 1802

In 1803 another allotment of £50 was proposed for the road from the Mouth of Musquodoboit River, by way of Chizencook, to the Narrows at Porter's Lake while in the next year £25 was proposed "to improve the Road from the forked River to the Settlements at Lawrence town."¹

In 1807, £30 was voted for the road from Chezencook to Preston and, in 1809, £100 was allotted for the road from the Lower Part of Musquodoboit, by Porter's Lake, to Salmon River in Preston thus opening up in some measure the shore route from Musquodoboit Harbour to Dartmouth²

The road from Chezencook to Musquodoboit Harbour and then inland up the River to Gibraltar, Elderbank and the Musquodoboit Settlement was a useful communication. In 1803 the need for a road from the lake to head of the tide had been shown and money granted for that purpose but ten years later it was declared that "a Share and an ample Share of the publick money" was necessary for this road as it was encumbered with rocks and stumps and, "being a very publick and usefull Road to go to the Eastward" further work was necessary to make it passable.³

The people of Musquodoboit, with poor roads frequently so impassable that they could not send their produce to market, laboured under a serious handicap and, in an effort to secure a passage to the sea for the transportation of their heavy commodities which was impossible of being done by land, they declared two years later that if the road from the lake to Musquodoboit

¹ Acts. Of Assembly. Cap 5. 1803. Cap. 1. 1805.

² Ibid. Cap. 1807. Cap 1. 1809.

³ Assembly Papers. Petition. Feb. 17th. 1813

Harbour were completed and money granted "to blow up the Rocks in the falls so as to procure a passage for boats and rafts of timber of a Considerable size ... the produce of an Extensive Country might with ease be got to Market."

Little or nothing seems to have been done in the way of improvement and in 1816 it was declared that:

"the road from Chezencook, leading to Gibraltar on the Musquodoboit River, which was opened about 8 years ago in the Fall is now impassable" and that aid was necessary to complete the Road from thence "to join the St. Mary's Road to Manchester which your memorialists humbly presume will be found to be the obly road that the legislature could be pleased to establish for this and Eastern part of the Province.

That the Road from the Lake to the Salt water is impassable in the Summer Pason and consequently prevents our sending any kind of Produce to market which to the Settlement in general proves materially injurious" but that if a grant were made they were "of the opinion that they would thereby be enabled to make it passable for sledges and carts so that, instead of carrying on their shoulders through a very bad Road, they would be enabled to draw their produce to the Harbour by Oxen."

Although an appropriation was made by the Assembly it was stated in the next year that while the improvement thus made had proved to be beneficial, a bridge was still needed while from Gibraltar to the St. Mary's Road, a distance of 13 miles, was "very bad road indeed."

In the year 1819 a new road was proposed from Dartmouth to Lawrencetown which would considerably shorten the old road and also provide the settlers of that district and Lower Chezencook "with a cart road to convey the produce of their Farms to market," the lack of which had caused them great discouragement as their soil was especially good for early vegetables which would enable them to supply the Halifax Market.³

¹ Assembly Papers. Petition. Feb. 14th. 1816

² Ibid. Petition. Miles McInnes. 1817

³ Ibid. Petition. Feb. 9th. 1819

The Road from Sheet Harbour to Musquedoboit

Although no shore road existed between Musquedoboit Harbour and Sheet Harbour until 1851 a road was first cut in the year 1786 twelve feet wide from Sheet Harbour to Musquedoboit whereby the settlers of Pope's Harbour, Sheet Harbour and Beaver Harbour could pass inland to Musquedoboit and so on to Halifax.¹

In 1797 a petition had been received from the inhabitants of Sheet Harbour, interesting in that it shows not only the necessity of land communication but also the decline of the shore fisheries. The petitioners declared that they had formed their settlement in the year 1783 and:

"From that time they struggled hard to make a living. They at first unfortunately got connected in the fishery and building vessels and neglected their farms - for some years past they have found out their error and, ever since, have stuck solely to farming - but, when they gave up the the fishing they also gave up their Vessels and have not, at this time, one Vessel belonging to the harbour - consequently they have no communication with Halifax and their only recourse must be thro(the Woods. They, by private subscription some years ago, cut a goot path to Musquadoit (about Thirty Miles) and have been improving it every year since by Statute labour yet they find it inadequate to Carriage, to March their Militia or, in case of necessity, to retreat themselves to the Capital and, as they have never troubled or received one Shilling from Government or this Honourable House, they at this alarming crisis," petition the Assembly for aid.

Despite their plea, however, the petition was deferred.²

Although £25 was granted in 1807 for the road from Sheet Harbour to Musquodoboit, the settlements to the Eastward along the shore had no communication with Halifax except by sea. The

¹ Assembly Papers. Petition. June 13th. 1803

² Ibid. Petion. June 4th. 1797.

settlement that had formed about the head of St. Mary's River from the encouragement given by the Assembly in 1803, "in one of the most interior parts of the province," was without communication with the Guysborough Road while in a petition from the inhabitants of the sea coast from Beaver Harbour to Mary Joseph, received in the year 1810, it was shown that they had:

"no open Road to the Capital at present whereby they can Travel or bring their Cattle to market, at present only by water which is both precarious and uncertain. From the Centre of our Settlement to the road leading from Sheet Harbour to the Main Road to Halifax, by Musquodoboit, where said Road commences and, from the Scattered situation of our settlements, we are unable by the Stature Labour to make a practicable road for many years without some aid from Government."²

This Road from Sheet Harbour inland to Musquodoboit was the only means of communication with Halifax possessed by the Shore inhabitants of this district except by sea and, in 1819, it was shown that although the road had been opened nearly 25 years and had been used in times past by the people:

"for Travelling with Horses and taking Cattle from Sheet Harbour to Market. But, since the gales of 1811 and 1813 the woods are so much Blown down that it is difficult for a foot traveller to pass in Safety. Many crews of Shipwrecked vessels, which frequently happen on this coast in the Winter Season, have found their Way by means of this Open communication to Musquedobott and from thence to Halifax. But, since the above mentioned time, they have to hire guides to conduct them through the woods a distance of 25 miles,"³

which was not only inconvenient but a serious obstacle to the growth of these shore settlements.

Although, by the year 1820, the Sheet Harbour Road had been extended through Musquodoboit to Upper Sewack and then on to meet the Cobiquid Road it was still in very bad repair and further sums were necessary for its improvement.

¹ Assembly papers. Petitions: Dec. 5th. /09: Feb. 17th. /19;
³ January 20th. 1811.

The Road from St. Mary's to Antigonishe

In 1808 the need of a road from Stopper Point, on St. Mary's River, to join the Guysborough Road at the bridge over St. Mary's River was shown while in the next year the difficulties that faced the settlers on the upper reaches of St. Mary's River from the want of a road to the head of the tide so that they could ship their produce to market was revealed and £100 voted by the Assembly to open a road from the Lake, near Melrose, to the head of the tide, near Sherbrooke.

In the year 1807 the task of making a direct road from the bridge at the East Branch of St. Mary's River, on the Guysborough Road, overland to Antigonishe was undertaken and £40 granted by the Assembly to open this road while two years later another allotment of £300 was granted for the same purpose.

The amount granted to make this road, the main highway used today from Melrose to Antigonishe was, however, insufficient and in 1815, in a long address that adequately describes this road, it was shown that:

"the great distance by land from every part of the County of Sydney to Halifax and the Navigation from the greater part of it being generally shut up for five months in the Winter, prevents the Inhabitants either from supplying the markets with any part of their produce during that Season or of receiving any necessary supply of Merchandize in return.

That a good Road from Dorchester to the Tidewater at Saint Mary's River would be of the greatest utility to this part of the Province by opening a ready communication across the country to where the navigation is practicable at any Season of the year and affording the Inhabitants of the Extensive and rapidly increasing settlements on the different branches of the Antigonishe River and its

vicinitys, an opportunity of sending their produce to market in Winter or at any Season of the year and of receiving their necessary supplies of merchandize in return.

That the said communication would enable the inhabitants to drive their stall fed cattle in the Winter Season or early in Spring across and, the run by water being so short, to send them either alive or Slaughtered and in quarters or otherwise and also pork, poultry, etc., to the great and mutual benefit of these settlements and the Halifax Markets.

That the new Road from St. Mary's River to Antigonishe is generally as good a tract for a Road as any of the Province and the distance from the Indian Gardens to the Upper Bridge on the East Branch of St. Mary's is about 25 miles and from that to the head of the Tide on St. Mary's is 12 miles ... 20 miles of the distance are already levelled and Seven miles of the remainder the road is on the edge of the Lakes which will afford at present a good Winter Road. If the remaining Ten miles was made passable for sled carriages, a good communication would be opened up for conveying produce, etc., across in Winter.

That, in addition to the land carriage, the Lakes and Waters of St. Mary's River afford a good water communication in Summer for light Boats and Canoes for upwards of 24 miles, the Road being for the greater part of that distance close to the Water.

That your petitioners conceive the communication by St. Mary's River to Halifax, for a Winter conveyance, to be much preferable to any other and, at the same time that it opens a good opportunity for the Inhabitants of Antigonishe River Settlements to send their produce to Market in Winter, it, it also furnishes the Inhabitants on Saint Mary's River with a direct communication to Dorchester and and there with the Main Road leading from Manchester through Dorchester, Merigomish, Pictou and Truro to Halifax and would be the means of making Dorchester Village the most convenient centre to the whole County of Sydney."

Although, as it was shown, the village of Dorchester might become a business centre, the settlement at Sherbrooke was also very situated for shipping and as a port for this entire North Eastern section of the province. Although connected by roads with Pictou

and Truro, the settlements around Antigonishe were faced with either the task of sending their produce by very bad roads overland via. Pictou to Halifax or of shipping them around the coast, also an uncertain undertaking, especially during the Winter months of the year and, by the year 1811, it was said of Sherbrooke that it was the only village of the district where mercantile business was done " and merchandize exchanged for Timber, Sawed Lumber and other produce and, as the distance from Halifax or any other market for produce causes all communication in that way to be carried on by Sea" the need for good roads of communication with the other settlements was essential.'

From Melrose another road which exists today as a County Road extended overland to New Glasgow passing through Aspen, Newtown, Eden Lake and on to the East Branch of Pictou River. This road was opened up in the year 1807 and £60 granted as an aid "in making a road from, or near, the Settlements on the East Branch of St. Mary's River to the East Branch of Pictou River" the petitioners for the road agreeing "to make the same fairly practicable by their own exertions." In the year 1809 a further grant of £50 was given for this road.'

' Assembly Papers. Petition. March 4th. 1811.
 ' Acts of Assembly. Cap. 1. 1808. Cap. 1. 1809

The Road from Country Harbour to Antigonishe

Another road that existed from the South Eastern Shore through the peninsula was the road from Country Harbour.

In 1786 it was shown that the inhabitants of the County laboured under great difficulties from the want of "Publick High Roads within the County of Sydney communicating with the County Town and being mostly poor labouring men" they could not make them entirely at their own expense.¹ Although £250 was at first considered only £200 was granted to open a road "between the Town of Manchester and Country Harbour," a distance of about 24 miles, "and between said town and Antigonishe," a distance of about 36 miles.²

Although later a direct road was made between Manchester and Antigonishe (1801) it would seem that communication between this section of the Shore was via Country Harbour overland to Antigonishe although when the road from St. Mary's was opened up overland in 1806 that route apparently became the most travelled one and in 1817 it was shown that there was "no road of any description leading from the Seaboard into the country, and extent of upwards of fifty miles from Sheet Harbour to Country Harbour" except that leading from St. Mary's River.³

¹ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 8. July 11th. 1786

² Assembly Journals. June 19th. 1786

³ Assembly Papers. Petition of David Archibald. Feb. 13th. 1817

12. The Road from Halifax to Yarmouth, via the South Shore

The road along the South Western shore of Nova Scotia from Halifax to Yarmouth was first seriously undertaken in the year 1785 when an allotment was made by the Assembly "for the purpose of Opening up Roads from Halifax to Shelburne and from thence to Yarmouth." Heretofore the coastal settlements, though scattered, had easy access to one another and the capital at Halifax by sea but, with the coming of the Loyalists and the phenomenal growth of the town of Shelburne, communication by land became essential.

A road from Halifax to Lunenburg had been suggested many years before and during the Summer of the year 1758 presumably some £50 worth of labour was expended in an attempt to blaze a path from Chester to Halifax but in the years following no further attempt was made and, from the diary of Simeon Perkins it is apparent that all communication between Liverpool and Halifax and Liverpool and Yarmouth continued to be by sea.

In 1769 one William Spry had asked for a grant of 1000 acres of land at the head of the North West Arm as he had made "a Road back at Some expence" and fifteen years later a petition was received from the inhabitants of Spryfield showing that they had "opened a Road from the North West Arm to the foot of the Long Lake ... so that carriages now go from Spryfield to that

¹ Assembly Journals. Dec. 23rd. 1785

² Council Minutes. Dec. 16th. 1769: Jan. 30th. 1771

place" and desiring that the road should be extended to Prospect.¹

In the next year the South Shore route was definitely undertaken and £500 granted by the Assembly for "Opening and Making a Road from Halifax to Lunenburg," £250 "for Opening and Making a Road from Lunenburg to Liverpool," £500 "for Opening and Making a Road from Liverpool to Shelburne" and £250 "for Opening and Making a Road from Shelburne to Yarmouth." In the same year also there was paid the sum of £26 "for opening a Road to the St. Margaret's Bay."²

The sums granted, though comparatively large, could have been little more than sufficient to blaze a trail over the proposed route while no provision seems to have been made for bridges. In the next year a further sum of £200 was granted "for Opening a Road from the Town of Barrington to the Town of Shelburne" while in the next year, 1787, £350 was allotted for the road from Liverpool to Shelburne.³

The projected new roads seems to have aroused little or no interest to the settlers along the shore and even a certain antipathy is to be observed amongst the inhabitants of the older settled districts, such as Liverpool, in being forced to leave their maritime interests to help create land communications and in November, 1787, Simeon Perkins tells of the following episode:

¹ P.A.N.S. Vol. 301. Doc. #53. Nov. 11th. 1784
² Acts of Assembly. Cap. 8. July 11th. 1786.
 N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. April 5th. 1784. Contract offered for road from the North West Arm to Spryfield "and to complete that already begun from Spryfield to Harrietsfield."
 Warrant to Daneil Mail. Sept. 1st. 1785
³ Assembly Journals. July 8th. 1786: Dec. 6th. 1787

"this evening Lodowick Smith and Ephraim Hunt Called on me and Acquainted me that one Matthew Wallace, a Shoemaker that works with James Park at Port Metway, this day made violent resistance against Mr. Hunt when he attempted to take him by a Capias for his fine on the Highways by standing with a shoe Knife in his hand and that he threatened to Cut Lodowick's head off with the Knife and had threatened him, as he uderstands, several times, he therefore made oath that he is fear that the Sd. Matthew wallace will take his life or do him some Bodily Harm or burn his House on which I issued a warrant to Apprehend him."¹

During the next decade little seems to have been done to improve the South Shore route and even in the large road appropriations for 1799 and 1800 but a small amount was granted for this road.² In the year 1790 Bishop Charles Inglis made a journey to Shelburne from Halifax, by water, remarking that "it appears that Barrington is 22 miles from Shelburne but no road for a horse; from Barrington to Argyle 22 miles but no road; from Argyle to Yarmouth is 10 miles and a tolerable horse road."³ Travelling by land, however, appears to have been infrequent, especially in this part of the province where shipping was so numerous.

In the year 1801, however, further grants were made, £50 being allotted for the road "from the Nine Mile River to St. Margaret's Bay, by Hammond Plains;" £50 "for the road from the head of the North West Arm to St. Margaret's Bay;" £20 "for the road from Liverpool to the bounds of Shelburne;" £200 "foreOpening and repairing the Road from Liverpool to the bounds of Lunenburg Count;" £50 "for the road from LaHave River to Petit River;" £75 "for the road from LaHave River to Lunenburg;" £200 "to continue the main Road of Lunenburg to the New Road from Liverpool to Nictaux;" £150 for the road from Shelburne to the bounds of

¹ Diary of Simeon Perkins. Vol. 3. March 3rd. 1787

² Acts of Assembly. Cap. 18. July 16th. 1801

³ Journal Hishop Charles Inglis. July 28th. 1790

Queen's County" and £100 "for Opening a Road from the the head of Pubnico River to the Shelburne Road in the Township of Barrington."

In the year 1802 other grants were made for repairs to the road and erecting necessary bridges which included £100 "for Compleating the Road from Shelburne to the Boundary of Queens County;" £75 "to Cut the remaining part of the Road from Liverpool towards Shelburne and making bridges on said Road;" £70 for erecting a bridge at Port Metway "and Opening road from said bridge to bounds of Lunenburg County" and £50 "to continue the road from Bounds of Queens County to the Town Plot of Petit Riviere."

In this same year it was reported that the road between Shelburne and Yarmouth was in sufficient repair "so that a person may travel the whole way on Horseback with Comfort and Ease" but that a further sum was necessary "to finish cutting the ditches, covering the Poles over the Swamps, etc., and to make the Road and Bridges really good and permanent."

From Chester to Lunenburg the roadway was in poor repair and the unfortunate inhabitants were faced with the alternative of either sailing fifteen miles by sea or going thirty miles by land over a "Road in many places very bad which induces people often to risk their lives on the Water in Stormy Weather rather than travel so far on So bad Roads."² It was stated also that the roads in Queen's County were "in a very rough state and the inhabitants of the different settlements ... put to much inconvenience for want of better Roads and Bridges."³

¹ Assembly Papers. Report of Road Commissioners. March 1st. 1802

² Ibid. Memorial of Thomas Thompson & Others. June 15th. 1802

³ Ibid. Petition from Queen's County 1803

In the following years further sums were appropriated for the repair and improvement of this road but not until 1809 was the task undertaken of opening up a road along the shore from Chester to Halifax.

In the year 1766 Michael Franckly had written to Lunenburg that "the People of Chester have and will Compleat their Road to Falmouth, by which means you will have immediately a communication by land with Halifax, altho' a little round about. In future we will think of continuing it from Chester to Halifax." Not however until January 1809 was the project carried through and £200 granted "to Open a Road from Chester to the Head of St. Margaret's Bay and thence to repair the Road from the head of said Bay to Hammond Plains, for the purpose of opening a direct communication from the Capital by Land to the County of Lunenburg." Little, however, could have been done in this year as there remained a balance of £180 from this amount at the Thirty First of October, 1809.²

Three years later a petition was received from the inhabitants settled along the Hammond Plains road which was to lead into the new Halifax to Chester road showing that:

"when the settlement was originally formed the lands were chiefly cleared at the expence of proprietors who were themselves absentees and shortly after let their Farms to Tennants; that the settlement, in consequence, has until of late years gone much to decay. That the said original proprietors have in General Sold their Sd. Farms to your petitioners who are farmers by occupation and the settlement is, in consequence, greatly improving ... but the road leading through the settlement, and last year (1811) continued at the expence of the General Assembly to Saint Margaret's Bay, has been suffered to go to such disrepair and the principal bridge is in such decay as to be almost impassable."³

Although the road may be said to have been opened from Halifax to Chester it would seem that the usual route continued to be via Windsor and then overland to Halifax until a later date.

- ¹ Council Minutes. Ja. 14th. 1809
- ² Assembly Papers. Report on Road Expenditures. 1809
- ³ Petition of Robert Thompson. Feb. 20th. 1812.

The Road from Windsor to Chester

The problem of avoiding the long and dangerous voyage around the Bay of Fundy and Cape Sable to Halifax was a serious one and in an attempt to overcome it a road was projected across the peninsula from Chester to Windsor in the year 1766.

Although work was begun in that year from Chester inland it was many years before the road was made passable.¹

In 1781 Christopher Jessen was paid £16.19.6 for Opening the Chester Road² while in the same year the Council that a further sum of £100 to complete the opening of this road.³ In the In the Spring of the year 1784 it was advised that the revenue arising from the road tax be laid out "in Opening and Repairing the Road leading from Chester to Windsor" while in the next year another grant of £200 was made "for Opening and repairing the road from Houghton's Mill in Chester to the Forks of Windsor River" which, together with a grant of £75 made in 1787⁴ and £250 made in the year 1801 should have brought this overland trail into some condition of repair.⁵

It was a road, however, that passed through a wild and difficult part of the province and although it was the only passable land communication between the settlements along the shore to the southward of Chester and Halifax it remained in a very poor condition.

¹Inland Letter Book. Vol. 136. Sept. 9th. 1766

²Assembly Journals. June 15th. 1781; July 4th. 1781

³Inland Letter Book. June 31st. 1784

⁴Assembly Journals. Dec. 26th. 1785. Dec. 6th. 1787

⁵Acts of Assembly. Cap. 18 July 16th. 1801

In the early Spring of the year 1795 Mr. Lloyd, the missionary for Chester and the district round about set out for Windsor with two guides who "went with him as far as a horse ... was able to travel and when they had proceeded about 9 miles they were obliged to part." Later in the day an alarm was given and a search party sent out which searched all night with candles to show them the way, finally finding the frozen body at sunrise, fifteen miles from Chester. We can get some idea of the badness of the roads from this melancholy accident for although the people of Chester had tried to prevent him from taking the journey, "describing the length as well as the extreme badness of the Roads," he persisted in his attempt to make the overland journey to Windsor with fatal results.¹

One of the first homesteads opened up along this road was that of Robert King who, in the year 1807, received a grant of £30 from the fund created for the purpose of encouraging settlers along the new roads, and who opened an Inn "suitable for such Travellers as who might pass that way," including the Justices who had to take this road in their circuit to Lunenburg twice a year.²

The road, though of great public utility, was still in a very rough state at that time. Further small sums of money were granted for its repair and although, in the year 1809, an attempt was made to complete the South Shore road between Chester and Halifax the overland route was still a convenient means of communication.³

In 1812 a plea for the continuation and improvement of

¹ *vs. Sozette + heavily Colnicks March 10th 1795*

² Assembly Papers. Petition. Nov. 18th. 1806.

³ Ibid. Road Allotments agreed to Ja. 14th. 1809

this road was made and it was shown that:

"the Inhabitants of Chester, Chester Road, Windsor and Falmouth request of the Countys of Lunenburg and Hants .. to represent that ... since the opening of the road from Chester to Windsor the inhabitants of Chester and Lunenburg have raised more cattle than formerly which they can dispose of to the farmers in Windsor, Falmouth and Horton, who have abundance of after grass, Hay and other provender to feed and fatten them for contract beef for the Army and Navy and for the Halifax market. That were that Road made passable for Carts, fish could be sent from Chester and Lunenburg to the Interior Country, to the benefit and accomodation of the settlers and consumers of that article. That shipments of horses, fish, butter and lumber for the West India market could be made at Chester and Lunenburg, from whence ships could proceed by quicker passages and without the delay and risque that is usual for vessels to experience in coming down the Bay of Fundy. That some settlements are prosperously making on that road and, were it all the way as passable as it is near Chester, many more such like settlemets might be expected.

That the whole Distance from about ten miles out of Chester to William Long's, near Windsor, is only nineteen miles, and, if that was compleated so as to admit of carts to pass, there would be an additional public advantage of an intercourse and traffic in stock, fish and other article with the County of Hants and King's, in exchange for bread and corn and also that of clearing the whole Road from Chester to Windsor, peopled with useful Inhabitants accustomed to the hard labour of clearing and improving wood lands - distant from Rich productive Marshes - and to hew timber and make stave, shingles and Clapboards for sale.

An estimate was given of the cost to make this road passable for carts, the first four miles from William Long's, out of Chester, being estimated at £10 a mile, the next eight miles at £20 a mile and the next seven miles, to the Chester Line, at £25 a mile.¹

Although further sums of money were granted for its repair and so much hard labour expended on the road² that the men who were working under the Contractar, John Hutchinson in the year 1816 "generally wrought from Fourteen to Sixteen hours a day and sometimes more and some of them left him as they could not stand

¹ Assembly Papers. Petitions. Feb. 7th. 1816. Feb. 10th. 1816

² Ibid. Memorial. Jan. 14th. 1812.

the labour in the manner that he wrought himself" yet the road still remained in poor condition and in 1820 was "in such a State as calls Loudly for Repair" and it was claimed that £300 was necessary to make it passable.'

With the opening of the road along the shore between Chester and Halifax and the necessity of making the long and circuitous journey via Windsor to Halifax being removed the importance of the road diminished, travellers and produce being transported by a regular express service along the more improved road between Halifax and Windsor.

This road still remains, however, today as a main highway between Windsor and Chester.

The Road from Shelburne to Annapolis.

Soon after the formation of the Loyalis town of Shelburne the project was undertaken of making a direct overland route to Annapolis, there being no roads opened up around the Western Shore towards Yarmouth at that date. Although it has been stated on one authority that "in 1787 a new road to connect the old Capital was commenced" it would seem that the road was at least begun in the Spring of 1785, under the enthusiastic guidance of Edward Winslow.² The actual work seems to have been in charge of a Captain Pell who had completed the line for the road by the end of June and started out on the Fourth of July with 20 men "effectually to cut and accomplish said Road." In October it was reported that

"The Enterprise and Exertions of the inhabitants of Shelburne exhibits the strongest proofs that perseverance and industry when judiciously applied will rise superior to every difficulty and discouragement and perhaps in no part of America is there an instance of cutting a road through an almost impassable forest nearly the distance of 80 miles in as short a time and at so small a cost as Captain Pell and his party have effected the Road to Annapolis and rendered it passable for Cattle."

It was stated that another £100 was needed and that the Governor in order to arouse interest had permitted that "each person shall receive upon that Road 50 acres of land for every 20/ he may subscribe to be drawn for by auction" while in December the sum of £200 was offered in premiums to those "settling on the road"³

¹ History of Annapolis County. Savary. p. 170

² Winslow Papers. Nov. 29th. 1783 X

³ Assembly Journals Dec 26th. 1785

{ N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. July 5th. /85;

{ Ibid. Oct. 25th. 1785

lately cut from Shelburne to Annapolis" while in the next year a further sum of £500 was allotted by the "assembly "for compleat- the road lately Opened between Annapolis Royal and Shelburne,"¹ together with a further grant of £75 in 1787 for the same purpose.

The road, however, could have been little more than a blazed trail and in 1790 it was still unfinished, it being shown in that year by the Magistrates of Shelburne that further sums were necessary to complete the road "lately Opened to Annapolis Royal."²

Settlement did not follow along the trail and with the decline of Shelburne the road seems to have disappeared. In Cabotia, a series of maps published in 1814, a dotted line shows an old path between Shelburne and Annapolis, called Pell's Road, but at that date an impassable tract covered with the growth of young trees and today no trace of this road exists.³

¹ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 8. July 11th. 1786

² Assembly Journals. March 9th. 1790

³ Winslow Papers. p. 247. Footnote.

The Road from Liverpool to Nictaux

A plan to open an overland route from Liverpool to Nictaux and then up the Annapolis Valley to Cornwallis was made in the Autumn of 1796, it being proposed that £110 be raised in Liverpool and £110 in Cornwallis, making £220 which was supposed to be sufficient to clear a path through the woods.¹

Nothing further was done however, until the Spring of 1798 when one Nathaniel Parker went through the woods to Liverpool in an attempt to raise support for the undertaking but the principal inhabitants of that town were engaged at Court and "he went away without anything being said on the business."² However, £100 seems to have been collected by "some gentlemen of Nictaux" and work begun, from the Annapolis side,³ while in the next year the assembly granted £250 "for further opening the Road between Nictaux and Liverpool" and in 1800 £150 "for making bridges and Causeways on the road from Nictaux to Liverpool."⁴

Further grants continued to be made for its repair although some commotion was raised in the year 1806 by Foster Woodbury, the road commissioner, spending more money than was warranted, "giving extravagant wages and having made many improper charges" while by 1814 it was apparent that those in charge of the road allotments had taken further liberty in its construction, laying the road through barrens, naturally the easiest course, and it was declared that "the money so laid out on the barrens is lost

D Diary of Simeon Perkins. Dec. 7th. 1796; p. 1327. Vol. 5

E Ibid. March 14th. 1798. p. 1413. Vol. 5.

A Assembly Papers. Petition Nathaniel Parker. Nov. 22nd. 1809

A Acts of Assembly . Cap. 12. 1799. Ca. 17. 1800

to the public" and that further sums were necessary and that more money should be granted in order to alter the road and take it through the best land fit for cultivation and settlement.¹

The settlers who had taken up their homes through this district were somewhat unfortunately situated, being placed the two counties of Annapolis and Queen's and in a petition from "Brookfield in the Wilderness of Nova Scotia" received by the Assembly during the year 1813, it was shown that these settlers had:

"for a number of years Suffered greatly for want of of Roads and benefit of Fishery, with many other Public Privilèges, Patiently waiting, hoping the Queen's County would have afforded us some assistance but being wearied with applications for Respite from those sufferings, are not able to determine whether we are Neglected through Ignorance or Gain for repeated addresses have been made to that Court but no Reddress and, from their former Conduct towards us, Plainly declare the Concern and Public Spirit they profess to Ward this Infant Settlement. For the damage we sustain for want of the Privilege of our Fishery, One hundred pounds at least yearly; the want of roads not ascertained, the loss of Bounty's for grain the useless manner in which Monies have been expended, all of which arises from our present Situation and will continue so until we are placed in some other situation.

The country's growth cannot be expected to be of any use to our government unless these difficulties are removed, for Queen's County does not afford men capable in Husbandry to increase the County, as their Talents chiefly lie in and consist of a Mercantile Nature, the gain not being so considerable, Agriculture is not Improved by them, therefore your petitioners remoteness is the cause of thier neglect."²

Further sums were voted for this road and settlement followed along its course. Although the road does not exist today as it was originally laid out, parts of it have been taken into the main road used today between Liverpool and Annapolis.

¹ Assembly Papers. Petition of James Eager. Feb. 22nd. 1814

² Ibid. Memorial. Feb. 23rd. 1813

The Road from Lunenburg to Nictaux

Although the project of opening roads of communication across the peninsula was ~~desirable~~ from the point of escaping the dangerous voyage around the shore, the desire for land was also a motive. With settlements fringing the coast, the many acres lying within the interior of the province were uselessly unopened up by roads for the convenience of new settlers. In 1773 one Elias Wheelock had spent 25 days exploring the wilderness lands between Annapolis County and the Counties of Halifax and Lunenburg, "assisted by four men," apparently on a speculative journey of discovery and at his own expence¹ but not until 1801 was the task of opening a road from Lunenburg to Annapolis undertaken and in that year £230 voted to continue a road from Lunenburg to join the blazed trail from Liverpool to Nictaux,²

In the Autumn of that year Elias Wheelock, accompanied by an assistant, set out for Lunenburg to enter into a contract with Mr. Peter Zwicker, who had been appointed a commissioner to expend the money allotted by the Assembly. Mr. Zwicker, however "through a great mistake, expended £50 on about one mile and forty rods distance ... and that not on the above road, which was intended by the Legislature, which was to cut the Road open and ... Mr. Zwicker was turned out of office."³

¹ Assembly Papers. Petition of Elias Wheelock. Dec. 28th. 1805

² Acts of Assembly. Cap. 18. July 16th. 1801

³ Assembly Papers. Letter of Elias Wheelock to Edward James. November 8th. 1806

Two other commissioners were appointed and in the year 1804 another attempt was made, Elias Wheelock accompanied by an Indian guide going through the woods to Lunenburg to look out the road along the East side of the Lehave River and in the Spring of 1805 work was begun to cut open the road, 49 miles of it being finished in that year although the road was incomplete.

In the year 1806, in the course of a long and adequately descriptive petition it was shown that:

"the Road leading from Annapolis to Lunenburg is now cut open, that is to say, the Timber cut down and cleared off 16½ feet wide, the land capable of accomodating many valuable settlers, provided proper measures are adopted to encourage and facilitate the settlement of this important Road

That in order to secure the labour thus happily begun, and to prevent its being lost to the Public, immediate measures should be taken to induce industrious & useful Farmers to set down on the same whom, by their statute labour, as well as by the interest they must necessarily take in effecting the object of Government, would by the means, by some assistance, in a few years to render this a public road of easy communication and be a means of settling all the wilderness lands between Annapolis and Lunenburg ... and thereby facilitate the settlement of land capable of yeelding all sorts of Grain which hitherto has remained a pathless Wilderness from the Creation of the World.

We further beg leave to suggest unless speedy measures are taken to form the settlement of this Road that the labour already bestowed in cutting it out will be completely lost to the Public, as the young growth of wood will soon spring up and cover it from end to the other, thicker than when in its original state...

"Without some assistance it will be impossible for the new settlers to Transport materials to erect Mills and their other materials and necessaries, when such an extent of Road is to be passed over in its rude and natural state except the Timber cut and cleared off as aforesaid."

From this it is apparent that the road was, at this date, in

a very rough condition and a great deal of work still necessary to make it passable.¹

In the following years further sums were granted by the Assembly and settlement followed along this road which continued up the LaHave River and through Fertile land.

Today the road exists as a main highway between Lunenburg and Middletown.

¹ Assembly Papers. Petition of James Hager. Nov. 29th. 1806

The Overland Route from Halifax to Annapolis, through the Dalhousie Settlement.

The project of opening a direct road across the country to connect the town of Halifax with Annapolis, thereby avoiding the long journey via Windsor and the Annapolis Valley, seems to have been first undertaken about the year 1786 and it was shown that:

"that part of the said Province between the Falls of Nictaux in ... Annapolis and Birch Cove, in the Township of Halifax was explored ,,, and the land was found capable of settlement. When a grant passed the Great Seal of the province to your petitioners and several other persons, some of whom are dead and others of them removed from the said province, for a part of the said land so explored commencing at the East Boundary of the said Boundary of the township of Annapolis extending Eastward to the East Boundary of the Township of Chester at which time it was in contemplation to cut a road (which was actually laid out) through the said tract of land so granted and to extend the same to Birch Cove but the same was not carried into effect."

The petitioners therefore asked for further aid to open the road so laid out to Hammond Plain and the road leading into Halifax,

"which would not only enable them to settle the said land ... but would be highly advantageous to the Public at large as it would render the communication between the town of Halifax and of Annapolis much easier than the present road, the distance between the Falls at Nictaux and the present road through Hammon Plain being only about fifty miles,"

the petitioners being willing to open up further that part of the road passing over their grants if the Assembly would help them in making a road over the ungranted lots.

Nothing further, however, was attempted until 1814 when a petition was received by the Assembly praying that:

"a road might be explored and laid out through the interior of this province, in as near a direction as may be, from Halifax to Annapolis Royal, and that lands might be granted ... on said road provided that the Province would afford the necessary aid towards exploring, surveying and opening said Roads."

It was shown that lands would be useless without roads of communication leading through them and in the next year a resolution was made showing that:

"the Opening of a Road thro' the interior of the Province from Halifax to the town of Annapolis, in the nearest practicable route and thro' the greatest extent of ungranted Land which the nature of this Country will admit of, would be Beneficial and condusive to the encouraging the Settlement of this province."

Meanwhile work had gone ahead in exploring the course of the road, the surveyor, Charles Morris, together with a deputy and assistants beginning in June 1814 and continuing until January, 1815, in surveying the route at a cost of £133.10.

Along the course of the road thus laid out there were arranged lots along either side, staked and numbered and on the Twelfth day of July, 1817, a number of disbanded soldiers of the Fencible corps, having previously by lottery each drawn a number, proceeded to the vast forest guided only by the surveyor's line for the purpose of taking possession of the farms thus allotted to them and which they were henceforward to occupy and to cultivate. Each one, as he found the stake bearing the number of the lot, stepped out of the Indian file procession in which they travelled to survey his future homestead and select a site for a shanty.

The scene, described by one of them years afterwards when

he returned to survey the scene has been given as follows:

"Our number had been diminished by eighty four when I stopped aside at the post indicating my number and my comrades passed on leaving me to view my new possession in solitude and at leisure. I went at once to work to clear a space, a work which I succeeded in accomplishing and some time afterward constructed a log shanty, not very remarkable for the beauty of its proportions as for the thoroughness of its carpentry. I was not then married and as none of the settlers had commenced to build on the neighbouring lots I began to be very lonely as the Winter drew on, which from the isolated position I occupied is not a matter for surprise and the pressing desire for companionship so constant made me ... so supremely miserable that when the Spring came I sought employment in the Valley, found it and never again saw my Dalhousie farm till today ... the dead and decaying trees which I see, as far as my eye can reach, were certainly not then here but in their place was a green and vigorous forest which seemed interminable..."

During the year 1818 further progress was made and some settlers had taken up land along this new road and had "Commenced, Cleared and Improved their land" and were preparing to make their settlements the following year. Although the road from Hammond Plains had at last been made passable for Carriages the remainder of this road was in so rough a state that the settlers were obliged to carry their provisions on their backs "with great Labour and Fatigue and at a great distance" so that it was almost impossible to transport any supplies to their settlement.

The road never seems to have been cut out completely except that portion of it leading from the Dalhousie Settlement through to Annapolis although in 1820 this was only a marked trail and several of the settlers had lost their way in attempting to pass over it through to Annapolis from the new military settlements opening up, "having been exposed to the inclemency of the weather for whole nights" in the course of their journey.

1 } Assembly Papers. Resolution. March 4th. 1815.

2 } Ibid. Road Expenditures. March. 31st. 1815.

3 } Ibid. Petition of George P. Brehm. Feb. 27th. 1819

In the Spring of the year 1825 the Administrator of the Government, Mr. Wallace, was petitioned by a large number of settlers for an alteration of the road leading from Annapolis to their settlement. The change asked for was designed to avoid as much as possible the hills over which the old road had been constructed and to lessen the distance between their homes and the town of Annapolis where they exchanged the products of their labour for the commodities required for consumption in their households.

Like the Guysborough Road to the Eastward, however, the road was not economically desirable, the lands through which it passed being, for the most part poor and yielding little and settlement did not follow along its course. Only very small portions of this road exist today as parts of local roads through Annapolis County.

Chapter 5.

Roads and Settlement

The future and the eventual improvement of the main highways of Nova Scotia were, as we have seen, ultimately dependant upon settlement along their course and although the early English Governors had hoped that, with the opening up of main roads through the province, settlement would take place, their plans were never fully carried into effect and with the sudden arrival of many thousands of exiled Loyalists after the American Revolution the problem of settlement rather than that of roads became the main issue of the Government.

Fifteen years later, however, with the opening of roads from settlement to settlement, the task of inducing settlers to emigrate to the more remote districts through which these roads passed was undertaken. In 1800 the committee appointed to confer on the subject of Roads and Bridges recommended the benefit that would result by encouraging industrious families to settle on the lands being thus opened up "for the Convenience of Travellers and as an encouragement to the general settlement of those Lands." By their statute labour also they could help to keep the roads clear after storms and in Winter.¹

In the Spring of this year, 1800, one David Hamilton who wished to settle² "at or near the New Bridge at Half Way River

¹ Assembly Papers. Report of Road Commissioners. 1800

² Ibid. Petition of David Hamilton. April 22nd. 1800

and Horton in order to accomodate Travellers and Enable him to bring up a numerous Family," was paid the sum of £25 provided that he, or any other settlers, would take up lands and obtain a titile in fee simple in order to establish a permanent settlement along the new road through Mount Denson, between Windsor and Gaspereau.

Despite the grant of money, the said David Hamilton did not settle on the road "as he could not obtain land whereon to settle" but, in the next year, one Oliver Lyman "taking encouragement from what he understood to be the Source of the Legislation" took up lands along this road and received a grant from the Government.

In the year 1801 a fund of £1000 was provided "for the purpose of settling such distressed Families as may come to the Province or others who may offer to settle on the main Road from the Bridge over the River Shubenaccadie to Pictou; on the main road from Londonderry to Amherst; on the main Road from Liverpool to Nictaux; on the main Road from Annapolis to Shelburne, by way of Yarmouth; on the main Road from Chester to Windsor; on the main road from Onslow to Tatamagouche; on the main road to be laid out from Lunenburg to the Nictaux Road and on the Main Road that is to be laid out from Guysborough to the River Musquadoiboit," commissioners being appointed to enquire into the cases of all claimants for the bounty.

There were few families, however, willing to take up homesteads in such isolated parts of the Country. Although in the year 1803, £275 was paid out of this fund, at the rate of £25 to each family, only two had settled on the road from Chester

to Windsor, two on the road from Lunenburg to Nictaux, one on the road from Onslow to Tatamagouche and four on the Great Road from Musquedoboit to Guysborough, the money being paid out only if the families who had made application for the grant actually settled and gave sufficient security to remain there for five years "and to keep such accomodation for Travellers as their circumstances will admit of."

Despite the bounty of the government the scheme does not seem to have been successful. In 1807 it was necessary that the amount of the grant to prospective settlers be raised to £30 for anyone settling "at the West Branch of St. Mary's on the main Road from Gussyborough to Musquodoboit" and "half way on the Road leading from the East Branch of St. Mary's River to Gussyborough," providing that they took up residence for six years, cleared five acres of land and built "a house not less than twenty two feet long and sixteen feet wide" and be prepared for the accomodation of travellers, a very real need on these roads that passed through wide distances of uninhabited territory.²

A typical case of one of these settlers was that of a Joseph Langley who had settled on the West Branch of St. Mary's.³ He first lost "Eleven head of Neat Cattle and a horse" and then received a further sum of £20 in 1813. Settled on the Gussyborough road, "passable only with the utmost difficulty" and far removed from any other habitation, his trouble was further aggravated by the plague of mice which destroyed the crops in

¹ Assembly Papers. Road accounts. July 7th. 1803

² Cap. 1. 1807. Acts of Assembly

³ Assembly Papers. Petition of Joseph Langley. Feb. 22nd. 1813

this section of the province in 1814. Finally, 1816, another grant of £20 was made for his assistance. From other settlers who had been lured to the more remote districts of the province by the bait of money grants, similiar tales of woe were received and, of money were refused, the settlement usually soon broke up.

These attempts to form settlements in barren wastelands were impracticable as agricultural enterprise was impossible generally from the nature of the soil while the few travellers along these roads made dependance on the proceeds of a tavern an uncertain venture. Often the type of settler was undesirable for the situation where they were sent, being often disbanded army men without the training or interest to eke out a meagre existence in a wilderness district. Very often the supplies or grants made to them did not last them through their first year, and idleness, drunkenness and waste often followed with the settlers eventually drifting away to other parts or out of the province altogether.

Chapter 6.

Wages and Labour

The task of securing labourers for roadbuilding in a country where the population was both scattered and sparse was a serious one, the settlers being more than occupied with their lands and having little interest and less inclination work upon the roads unless adequately rewarded.

In the early days following the founding of Halifax either the Royal troops or the old Acadian settlers were the only working men available at the usual wage of 1/ a day with rum and provisions supplied by the Government. Indians, however, never seem to have been employed for this purpose.

Even this amount for wages was considered too great and in 1767, Governor Campbell writing to General Gage declared that considering the nature of the work he hoped that it could be "reduced hereafter."

Attempts to maintain the roads after they were opened by paid labourers was provided for by the Laws governing the Statute labour of the inhabitants, laws enacted in the year 1761 and continued thereafter with amendments. Statute labour, however, was very often extended and translated into lump sums of money voluntarily given by the inhabitants as their contribution towards road building and repair when petitioning the Assembly for further aid in the form of cash allotments for the repair of roads within their district, these contributions being com-

puted at the current rate of wages being paid at the time.

With the outbreak of the American Revolution the problem of labour became so serious that it was necessary for the Assembly to enact stringent regulations controlling and fixing the price of labour and the wages that they should be offered.

By the year 1783 the average wage paid to road labourers had increased considerably and the following bill¹ of Israel Andrews, who was the chief road contractor on the Halifax to Windsor Road between the year 1774 and 1784, is illustrative:

Israel Andrews	42 days at 10/
Segt. McCurdy	28 days at 4/
10 men of the 54th. Regiment.	28 days at 2/6 each man
Segt. Stewart of the 70th. and 82nd. Regiment belonging to Sackville.	8 days at 4/
10 men of the 70th. and 82nd. Regiment,	8 days each man 2/6
36 days work of a team and 2 horses	at 15/ a day
34 gallons of rum	at 8/
12 gallons of rum delivered the People on the Road to Encourage them to work there	6 days.
2 barrels of Beef	50/
1 barrel of pork	at £3.10
15 bushels of potatoes	at 3/
28 lbs. Brown Sugar	... 16/8
10 lbs. Chocolate	at 1/6
10 lbs. Coffee	at 1/6
Horse hire and expences to go to Sackville	£2.10
"To Expences for the Men and mySelf at the Taverns on the Road for Lodging and Trouble of Cooking	£5.10."

The procedure followed in road construction at this time was for the Assembly to make an allotment of a certain section of the road and then for the road commissioners to auction off the contract to the lowest bidder who in turn guaranteed to undertake the work, receiving his money by a warrant drawn on the Treasury when the road was completed to the satisfaction of the commissioners for the district. The arrangement was an elastic one

¹Assembly Papers. Bill of Israel Andrews & Petition. Nov. 4th. 1784

and the contractor was either forced to carry on the work on his own credit or to draw the money from the Treasury when small parts of the road had been completed, thus holding up the work indefinitely which often caused road allotments made in one year to remain unclaimed for several years after.

In the year 1801 an attempt was made to regulate the expenditure of road allotments, the commissioners being forbidden to take over any work from a road contractor "until such Road or Roads shall have been examined and certified ... to be then in the state and condition that they were contracted for to be made."

By 1802 the wages paid to road labourers had jumped to 5/6 a day and a gill of rum to each man daily, the rum if not the money always being well and truly accounted for.'

The arrangement followed remained haphazard, however, and the plea of one Patrick FitzMaurice is typical of the vague manner in which road work was carried on and supervised, he having contracted for some work on the Windsor Road "and having, as he thought, Completed his Contract, Refrained from Doing any More work till the Comissioners would inspect and measure. Soon after they came But, having no Chain to measure Said work .. Apprehended he had not finished the Said half mile and that he had better go on and they would Call that day week" whereupon he continued but having no sense of distance and apparently careless he made thrity one rods more over and above the distance that he had contracted for and was refused compensation by the Commissioner.

¹ Assembly Papers. Report of Road Commissioners. 1802

² Ibid. Petition June 13th. 1803

It is apparent that if such confusion could arise on a half mile stretch of road on the main and most travelled highway of the province conditions were much worse in the more remote sections and, in 1805, with roadbuilding becoming more extensive and the road allotments larger, it was imperative that a more systematic policy be followed and in the Autumn of that year an Act was passed empowering the Governor and Council "to appoint fit and proper persons being resident freeholders .. to act as commissioners for directing and superintending the expenditures of all such sums of money" as might be granted thereafter for road work, the commissioners to be removed at will at any time. Before being appointed they were to give a bond to the satisfaction of three justices of the peace "in double the amount of the sum to be expended under their direction" and as compensation for their trouble they were to receive 5% of the total sum expended under their supervision. When satisfactory security had been given the commissioners were entitled to receive a warrant for the whole sum from the Treasury if the work was being done by contract but, if being done by day labour, one third of the amount was to be retained until the work was completed.¹

In the next year, however, further improprieties were discovered by the committee on road expenditures, some of the commissioners allowing the contractors improper charges, giving wages of 6/ a day with liberal quantities of food and having been too free with the use of rum and in the next year it was necessary to make an amendment to the Act of 1805 forbidding to

¹Acts of Assembly Cap. 11. 1805

²Ibid. Cap. 2. 1807

the contractor to receive more than two thirds of the road allotment until the whole had been certified by three justices of the peace.

There were still loopholes in the system and in 1809 further amendments were made, details of the contracts to be entered into being made and, if piece work was being carried on, there were not to be more than 25 labourers employed under any one commissioner for a days work, a wise precaution, and the men so employed were to be paid weekly and in cash.¹

In the year 1812 further amendments were necessary, no commissioner being allowed to charge anything over and above his 5% commission unless he was supervising ten men daily when he was permitted to receive 5/- a day while the price of labour was also fixed at 5/ a day, no labourer, however, being entitled to his wage unless "he shall have diligently laboured at ten hours each day."

In the next year, in an effort to improve the Great Roads of the province, supervisors were appointed to have full control over the repair, management and expenditure of the road money for their districts.² Although a surveyor general for roads had been appointed in 1778 at a yearly salary of £150³ by the year 1813 the problem of adequately supervising and travelling over the roads of the province had become too great and two more were appointed, one for the road "that leads from Sackville Bridge to the Half Way River; between Falmouth and Horton and one for the road which led "from the Windsor Road to MacKee

¹ Acts of Assembly. Cap. 9. 1809

² Ibid. Cap. 5. March 8th. 1813

³ Journals of Assembly June 20th. 1778

Mill, at the Town of Truro." The supervisors were to hold office for three years, unless removed, and to give security and to be accountable for "the sole ordering of the repairs and alterations necessary for completing the said Roads and keeping them at all times ... in the best practicable state for the passage of Men, Horses, Cattle, Teams and Carriages." They were also to purchase all tools and implements and to supervise and direct all statute labour "liable by Law on the said Roads," being empowered when necessary to enter upon unimproved lands to secure necessary gravel and logs for road building if the owners would not come to a reasonable agreement with them, the damages to be appraised by three indifferent freeholders while the supervisors were protected from a charge of trespass by the legislation implied within the Act. Instead of receiving a 5% commission these supervisors were to be paid at the rate of 15/6 a day while they were actually employed in superintending labour, to be paid out to them from time to time but the total amount was not to exceed £100 yearly.

The work, however, of overseeing such a length of road seems to have been too great and in the next year two supervisors were appointed for each of the two Great Roads, none of whom were to employ more than 30 labourers in any one day.

Despite such precautions there was still room for making more than both ends meet and in 1814 charges were brought against one of the supervisors of the Windsor Road whom, it was claimed, had employed "Black men as labourers ... at a monthly wage of \$9.00" and charged the government the sum of "5/ per

day" by which means a handsome profit had accrued to him while it was naturally to his own interest to prolong the undertaking and make no attempt to speed the work and put the public highways into a passable condition.

In the next year also, 1815, it was revealed that all the road supervisors on the Great Roads but one had allowed for extra hours by which means the average wage paid to labourers had mounted to 6/6 per day and that all of them had made charges for liquour and extra wages to overseers and others working under them.

In 1817 further legislation was enacted regarding labour and the proper expenditure of road money and after that date no commissioner was to be allowed more than £500 a year to spend in the district under his charge while the system of piece work by day labourers, rather than contract work, was to be adopted, contract work being specified only for bridges or in opening up new roads.

The wages to be paid were fixed at 6/ a day, for a ten hour day, while a team and a driver with two horses or with four oxen was to be paid at the rate of 12/6 daily or, with one horse or two oxen, at the rate of 9/ daily and that there was to be "no further or other ¹ allowances for extra labour beyond the said ten hours" for any workman whatsoever, the violation of this being attendant with serious consequences.

Although no organized system of insurance was yet thought of at that time nevertheless in certain cases the Government allowed compensation for workmen while they were employed in

road building, depending on the injuries and the circumstances of the case.

With the increased sums being allotted for the roads within the province, the sum of \$11,000 alone being granted for the two Great Roads during the years 1817, 1818 and 1819, the problem of securing willing labourers was no longer difficult, rather, it had become a welcome opportunity for every settler along the way to earn some extra money when all other interests failed.

- { Acts of Assembly. Cap. 10. Feb. 21st. 1814
- { Cap. 24. March 22nd. 1816
- { Acts of Assembly. March 29th. Cap. 13 1817
- { Ibid. Cap. 16 March 26th. 1818
- { Assembly Papers. Petition of Moses Elman. Rec'd. Feb. 24th. 1818
- { Ibid. Petition of Donald MacKay. Rec'd Feb. 24th. 1818

Chapter 7.

Couriers and Coaches

The problem of establishing a post office for the delivery of letters and dispatches was a matter of great importance but although a post office was opened at Halifax in the year 1752 a regular mail service was often impossible and their delivery uncertain. In the early days following the founding of Halifax couriers were employed to run dispatches and by the year 1765 it was declared that the regular delivery of letters was "a matter of consequence to all but, more especially, of the utmost importance to a commercial people."

The first regular and public postal system seems to have been instituted between Halifax and Annapolis about 1776, one James Tattersal being employed "as courier for the carrying of parcels etc., from the Town of Halifax to Annapolis" having been induced to embark on the undertaking by some gentlemen and merchants of Halifax and Annapolis "as also from the gentlemen and merchants at Windsor, Horton, Falmouth and Cornwallis that they would give it every countenance and support in their power as the want of such a stated courier had subjected the inhabitants of this Province to great inconvenience and expence."

Seven years later another stage service was planned between Windsor and Halifax by Samuel Rudolph, the proprietor of

¹ Journals of Assembly. May 28th., May 29th., 1765

² P.A.N.S. Vol. 301. Doc. #20 June 19th. 1777

the tavern, the Horse and Groom, on the Halifax Road not far from Halifax.¹ He proposed to keep a waggon for this purpose "provided the Roads are kept fit for such a carriage² while during the Winter months a sleigh was to be used." This service seems to have been begun in the Spring of the year 1784, every kind of goods and baggage being carried at 10/ per hundredweight and 2d. a pound for small packages.³

During the Spring of 1786 a regular mail service was instituted between Halifax and New Brunswick via the Annapolis Valley, the mail being carried across the Bay of Fundy from Digby to St. John. Letters were accepted at the Halifax Post Office addressed to those who resided off the main highway to be left at the nearest houses along the Road where they could be called for, this arrangement being followed "until such time as Post Offices are established at Windsor and Horton which will be done shortly."⁴ Two years later this service was extended to the Canadas. Heretofore the mails had been uncertain and irregular but from the Sixth of May 1788 the mail was closed every Saturday⁵ and the service seems to have been satisfactory except for a highway robbery that took place within a week after it had been begun,⁶ one John O'Neal, an Irishman, attempting to hold up the post by knocking down the Postman on the Halifax Road; in the next year this same character ran away with a negro woman slave, the property of Abel Mechener of Halifax.⁷

Late in August, 1792, the time for the mails closing for Digby and the Canadas was changed to 4 o'clock in order that the postman could reach his first stop before nightfall.⁸ The postman at this time between Halifax and Annapolis was one Robinson

N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. ¹April 18th. 1786: ²None 4th. /83
 Ibid. ³June 15th. 1784: ⁴May 28th. 1786 : ⁵May 6th. /88: ⁶May 13th./88
 Ibid. ⁷June 30th. 1789: ⁸August. 21st. 1792

who seems to have carried the mails regularly for some years,¹ the cost of a single letter to Windsor being 4d., to Horton or Parrsborough, 6d., to Cumberland, 8d., and to Annapolis, Digby or to Saint John, 8d.²

During these early years the postmaster found that, included in his duties, was the task of attempting to instil properly into the minds of the public an appreciation of the postal service. Letters were usually taken to the post office and held there until the person receiving or expecting to receive the letter called and paid for the carrying charges but curiosity, seemingly a prevalent vice, caused many to go to the post office and there under various pretexts, surreptitiously peruse the correspondence of others. Repeatedly the post master was forced to remind the people "of their mistaken notions of a Post Office"³ and to threaten to punish offenders who made attempts to read the letters of others⁴ and finally so prevalent had the abuse become that the post master refused to accept "notes open at one end."⁵ If letters remained unclaimed for some length of time the list of unclaimed letters was published in the daily newspapers. Couriers and others carrying mails were also exempt from paying ferry charges, a privilege that some of them resented, which caused the post master to rebuke their pretended claims that as ferrymen they could charge postmen the usual charges.⁶

In July, 1801, another stage service was begun between Halifax and Windsor by Rufus Fairbanks, leaving every Tuesday

¹ Journal, Bishop Charles Inglis. Sept 6th. 1792

² P.A.N.S. Nova Scotia Almanac 1793

³ N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. July 8th. 1783

⁴ Ibid. Jan. 17th. 1786

⁵ Royal Gazette June 1st. 1790

⁶ N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. Aug. 1st. 1797

and returning to Halifax on Thursday. The coach left at six o'clock in the morning from the store of Prescott & Lawton on Fairbank's Wharf arriving at Mitchell's Tavern for breakfast at nine and dinner at Morris's Tavern at two. A passenger travelling inside the coach with 16 pounds of baggage was charged \$5.00 for the trip and an outside passenger \$3.00.¹

By the year 1789 a mail service was in operation between Halifax and Prince Edward Island via Truro and Pictou.² The road at this time was only possible for an experienced horseman and about the year 1805 the road was described "as being impossible for wheel carriages and almost too bad for a horse. Stewart used to trudge on foot to and from the Capital, generally carrying the whole mail in his waistcoat pocket and there being but poor accomodation on the road a small wallet of oatmeal wal always slung over his shoulder whích, when moistened by someoof the numerous streams that he had to pass, served to sustain both the frame and spirit of the hardy postman." In his later years this same Stewart lived on Mount Thom and watched the regular coach and mail service go by his ^{LITTLE} ~~datt~~ farm house heavily laden with mail and luggage for the prosperous town of Pictou.³

In the year 1815, the Halifax to Windsor road having been greatly improved at great expence, a regular coach service was established between Halifax and Windsor, two coaches and twelve horses besides sleighs for Winter use being provided by one Isiah Smith, the fare being \$6.00 and the coaches accomodating 6 passengers.⁴

¹ N.S. Royal Gazette July 9th. 1801

² N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle Dec. 8th. 1789: Jan 19th. 1790

³ P.A.N.S. "Occassional." June 15th. 1896. Clippings.

⁴ Assembly Papers. Petition: rec'd March 12th. 1816

During the years 1814 and 1815 £1100 was granted by the General Assembly for postal services¹ while in 1816 a further subsidy of £100 was granted by the Assembly to couriers maintaining public service between Halifax and Annapolis and Halifax and Pictou stipulating, however, that a closed carriage that could accommodate passengers must be provided by those who wished to embark on such an undertaking.

Between 1814 and 1817 one Ezra Witter was the postman between Halifax and Pictou and "employed in carrying the mail to the Eastern Parts of the Province and accommodating Travellers who were passing and repassing from the Capital to that part of the Country with Horses, Chaises and Other modes of Conveyance." When, however, he heard that in the year 1816 the courier for the Western route down the Annapolis Valley had received £100 because the mail carrier, Isiah Smith, used a closed carriage he, Ezra Witter, "

"in Consequence of the Encouragement held out immediately procured to be built a comfortable Closed four Wheeled Carriage and purchased Horses for the same and commenced using said Carriage from July to December when the Roads being covered with Snow he used a sleigh for this Purpose and has continued the same and now has a comfortable Close sleigh and a sufficient number of Horses constantly employed in transporting the Mail and conveying Passengers between Halifax and Pictou weekly, being a Distance of upwards one Hundred Miles which Distance he also travelled in his wheeled carriage during all the Period aforesaid, thereby adding much much to the comfort to Travellers of that Road."²

Another man was "Employ'd in riding Post from Truro to Sackville" between 1814 and 1815, one Moses Elman³, "at a very low rate of wages and in performance of Said Duty Sustained Great hardship from the badness of the roads and the Inclemency of the

¹ P.A.N.S. "Occasional" Clippings. June 15th. 1896

² Assembly Papers. Petition. Rec'd Feb. 18th. 1817. £75 granted

³ Ibid. Petition Rec'd Feb. 24th. 1818.

Weather: also, lost an Horse of the value of thirty Pounds and also had his leg Broak at the Distance of thirty miles from his house by an Horse falling with him on the Road." In consideration of this he petitioned the Assembly for aid,

From Digby to Yarmouth a postal service appears to have been begun in the year 1813 by land, the postman being Jesse Wyman. He covered 150 miles weekly in performing his duties and although he was allowed £70 by the province it was not sufficient with the postage he received to give him even a moderate wage after he had paid his expenses on the Road.'

In 1819 two men, John Todd and Dummer Bean, established a stage coach service between Halifax and Windsor, not only having a commodious carriage but also a "sleigh for the Winter, built upon a new construction with two pair of Runners which they find to be very safe and convenient as it will turn in a small circle and not liable to overset and will accomodate Eight passengers." This coach left Windsor on Tuesday morning and reached Halifax in the evening of the same day and returned to Windsor on Thrusday of the same week.² Two years later, however, the owners were compelled to seek further aid from the Assembly, which was not granted, maintaining that amongst other things they had suffered greatly from the difficulties they had encountered from the bad state of the roads down the Annapolis Valley.³

Even at this early date ~~tran~~ competition amongst transportation companies seems to have been an element and in 1819 William

¹ Assembly Papers. Petition Rec'd. Feb. 24th. 1819

² Ibid. Petition. Rec'd Feb. 20th. 1819: dismissed March 17th.

³ Ibid. Petition. Rec'd Feb. 15th. 1820.

Davis and Thomas Hamilton, who had been contractors for carrying the mails from Halifax to Digby for several years, declared that the small sum received for their labours barely paid the heavy expences of travelling while the small profit that they made did not allow them to invest in a conveyance for passengers "to enable them to provide proper carriages for the accomodation of the frequent travellers which the increasing prosperity of the Province has, of late years, greatly multiplied" but that the "uncertainty of their occurence" did not warrant sufficient encouragement for the Establishment of a regular service, unless subsidized, in addition to the fees they received from travellers. It was shown, however, that "the establishment of a regular mail coach from Halifax to Annapolis would not only greatly convenience the Public but tend to promote the interests of the Country by the facility such a communication would offer to Commercial and other members of the Community of a certain, safe and commodious mode of travelling to and from the Metropolis, through the most populous parts of the province and on the most frequented route to New Brunswick and the Canadas, the want of which has been experienced and regretted." Despite their plea, however, their petition was dismissed.

A regular coach service was impossible at all seasons of the year until the roads had been leveled and improved. Not until 1829 was a stage coach service continued on from Kentville to Annapolis.² In 1828, with the formation of the Eastern Stage Coach company a more efficient system was begun between Halifax and Pictou which continued for many years.³

¹ Assembly Papers. Petition Rec'd Feb. 17th. 1819; dismissed March 17th.

² History of King's County. Eaton. p. 321

³ History of Pictou County. Patterson. p. 390

Chapter 8.

Taverns and Travel

Taverns were numerous in the province of Nova Scotia from an early date but, if we can believe the complaints of travellers they were ~~also~~ poor and generally capable of supplying only the barest necessities to weary strangers who were forced to seek their shelter.

During the years preceding the American Revolution when travel by land was both infrequent and uncertain, taverns were found only in settled communities, often widows in straightened circumstances opening their homes for such a purpose; generally little or no preparation was made for travellers at these inns; they being forced to accept whatever food and lodging they could secure and in the poor and struggling outports where little beyond the barest necessities were enjoyed by any of the people accomodation and service was often primitive.

The first inns were naturally found along the early roads that were made passable for travellers such as the roads from Halifax to Windsor and Halifax to Truro and as early as 1764 we have records of families securing grants of land along the Windsor Road upon the understanding that they would keep houses of entertainment for the convenience of travellers.

Minutes of the Council: April 9th. May 30th. 1764

Outside of Halifax, however, in the years preceding the Revolution there were few travellers, an inland journey being something of an adventure with those who, through chance or necessity, were forced to make an overland trip, often being compelled to undergo and suffer many difficulties, following trails sometimes overgrown and trusting to a night's lodging at any scattered homestead they might encounter with sometimes unfortunate results if perchance the settler turned out to be unscrupulous and dishonest, not an unlikely combination in the more remote districts.

Infrequent travellers thus made innkeeping merely an uncertain means for families who lived along the more travelled routes to earn some extra money for themselves from casual wayfarers and many of their names have been forgotten. In the little village of Liverpool we know of some of these early taverns, of one kept by Mrs. Dean where Governor Campbell and his party dined one Summer's day in the year 1770 after a good fishing trip.¹ Ford's was another tavern where the good people of Liverpool sometimes gathered while it was also here that some of the members of the captured ship Duc de Choiseil, siezed by H.M. Blonde off Liverpool in the Spring of 1778, were quartered.³ The worthy woman it would seem did not trust these Frenchmen and hid all their clothes, refusing to give them up when they demanded them, despite the plea that "they were determined to Dye or have them." Finally they took them from her and although

¹ Diary of Simeon Perkins. July 30th. 1770

² Diary of Simeon Perkins. Oct. 15th. 1773

³ Ibid. April 24th. 1778

she appealed to the Magistrate, she could secure no redress. At another Inn kept by one Mrs. Snow the people of Liverpool met in the Autumn of 1779 to draw up plans for fitting out a privateering vessel to send against the Rebel Americans who were ruining their trade.¹

These early inns throughout the province were usually at convenient places such as bridges and ferries. Every tavern keeper was also a licensed vendor of liquours of all sorts and if their numbers were any index of their need the rigours of travelling indeed must have been great. It was also customary at this time for tavern keepers in remote districts to be given free licenses to enable them to carry on their business but, due to certain irregularities that were discovered in 1789 amongst the innkeepers along the Halifax to Windsor road, this concession was discontinued.²

Halifax being the centre of naval, military, social and commercial life had many taverns even from an early date, the Mermaid and the Rose and Crown dating from 1753 while the Pontac, famous for half a century, was also known from 1754.³ These taverns being meeting places where members of the new community could gather and discuss the problems of trade and government that faced them, no doubt played an important part in the social life of the town; auctions were held in their tap rooms, theatrical performances and banquets were held in their public rooms while the members of the Halifax Assembly and Masons and various

¹ Diary of Simeon Perkins. Oct. 5th. 1779; also, N.S. Gazette and Weekly Chronicle June 29th. 1784.

² Chipman Mss. Doc. #13 1796. Memo.

³ P.A.N.S. "Occasional" Clippings June 16th. 1917; (From the Halifax Gazette May 5th. 1753; June 1753)

other organizations met for their usual meetings under their hospitable roof.¹

In the years following the Revolution with the sudden increase of the population of Nova Scotia and the opening up of new districts travel by land, it did not become more extensive at least became more frequent, itinerant peddlers, preachers and adventurers moving through the country while, with the opening up of the new roads in the year 1785 and after, the problem of maintaining taverns became a less uncertain and more lucrative enterprise.

By the year 1793 there were on the road from Halifax to Annapolis, a distance of 133 miles, 33 "houses of entertainment" along the way, amongst the oldest being Pence's Farm, Mitchell's, Marshall's Tavern, Montague House, Hick's Tavern at Hick's Ferry and Dodge's Tavern at Annapolis. Also included amongst them was Clermont, the Bishop's Seat at Aylesford although presumably here one received only spiritual refreshment.²

Between Halifax and Truro the oldest and best known inn was at MacNab's Bridge which although sold in 1783 continued to be a stopping place for travellers. Others, such as Freeman's Inn at Cumperland Point, Sinclair's at Annapolis, Hall's at Windsor, Ulchie's Tavern at Lunenburg, MacAlpine's Tavern at Liverpool³ and the Merchant's Coffee House at Shelburne⁴ being hostelries that date from the closing years of the Revolution.

¹ N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. Oct. 3rd. 1769: Nov. 10th. 1772
June 16th. 1781: Nov. 6th. 1781: Nov. 27th. 1781: March 12th.
1782: December 3rd. 1782.

² N.S. Almanac. 1793.

³ N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. March 25th. 1783: Jan. 21st. /83
Jan. 27th. 1784: March 9th. /84: Oct. 31st. /86; April 7th. /95

⁴ Port Roseway Gazeteer June 9th. 1785. (Legislative Library)

By the year 1797 there were four other main routes opened up that were more less frequently travelled, that from Halifax to Pictou, via Musquodoboit and "along the first branch of the West Branch of the East River of Pictou," a distance of $93\frac{1}{4}$ miles with eleven inns; that from Halifax to Pictou, via Truro, a distance of 100 miles with 8 inns; that from Halifax to Cumberland, via the Parrsborough Ferry and up the River Macan, a distance of 122 miles with 7 inns and from Parrsborough to Cumberland, via the River Hebert, a distance of 111 miles with 5 inns along the way.¹

Despite the increased profits from more frequent travellers the country inn keepers remained backward in catering to the public. In the year 1783 the rates, accomodation and general management of public houses were regulated by law but service at these country inns remained poor and haphazard.² In 1792 one traveller took upon himself to advise tavern keepsrs on how to help themselves and all passing strangers by more attention to their duties but despite his good advice³ it does not seem to have improved matters and rich and poor alike had to endure the discomforts of travelling, even the Bishop of Nova Scotia being often forced "to sl~~ee~~ep on the floor to avoid bugs" in his travels.⁴ The regulations governing public houses did, however, prevent profiteering by fixing minimum charges and travellers not being compelled to pay more than the sum allowed by law while tavern keepers were further bound to quarter troops at any

Nova Scotian Almanac for 1797

N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. Dec. 23rd. 1783

Ibid. Feb. 21st. 1792

Journals; Bishop Charles Inglis. Sept. 30th. 1788; Sept. 8th. 1792.

time or when necessary, sending in their bills to the Government at Halifax for payment.¹ Allegedly this caused some hardship and in the year 1805 Benjamin Hicks, the Widow Dodge and the Widow Leonard, "Innkeepers at Annapolis and Wilmot," declared that they had catered to nearly 2000 troops and found themselves in debt to the extent of £37.10 from the business due to the fact that they could not give meals at the rate of 6d. for breakfast and 9d. for dinner due to the rising cost of provisions.² In the next year the amount allowed for meals was raised, 1/ being given for a dinner, breakfast or supper "to consist of good bread, meat and vegetables."³

In the town of Halifax prices remained fairly moderate, dinner at the Horse and Groom⁴ costing 1/6 with Supper or Breakfast costing 1/ while at the Golden Ball the charges were "plain dinners for 1/6 to 2/; breakfasts 1/; tea in the evening 9d; supper 1-; Maderia 4/ per bottle; Port 2/6; Sherry 2/6; Punch at same Equivelent. Good draught Porter 6d. per quart; lodging 9d. a night. Beef soup or mutton broth every day at 12 o'clock until the weather grows warm."⁵

In the year 1804 the road from Annapolis to Yarmouth, a distance of 93 miles with 9 inns along the way, and the road from Yarmouth to Shelburne, a distance of 54 miles with 11 inns, was sufficiently opened to be given as a direction to travellers in the Nova Scotian Almanac while two years later Governor and Lady Wentworth made a tour down the Annapolis, being gratified at the improvements that he saw on every side "and the general

¹ N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle Jan. 28th. 1794

² A.P. Petition Rec'd Dec. 4th. 1805: Petition from Innkeepers #811 N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle ³ Jan. 8th. 1806: "April 18th. /86

⁵ Ibid. September 22nd. 1789.

⁶ N.S. Almanac for the year 1804.

goodness of the Roads and Bridges which are so far advanced that His Excellency and Lady Wentworth went in their post chaise as far as Annapolis: and from Digby to Sississibour in a chaise being the first that has been drove to that beautiful settlement."

Until the roads were improved there could be little or no travelling except by single horseman at certain seasons of the year. The expense was also an hindrance to inland communication and it was shown as early as 1788 that the expense of moving and travelling in Nova Scotia, which "must be done by water and on the ocean; it cost .. as much to bring some furniture by water to this place from Annapolis as it did to bring furniture from London to this place (Halifax) ... Windsor is but 45 miles from here yet were I to move my books, furniture and servants there they must encompass one half of the peninsula and would cost £200 sterling. Such is the condition of this province at present, destitute of land conveyance and of roads except one from this place to Annapolis through Windsor and Horton which is not safely passable for four wheel carriages and scarcely so for those of two wheels. All the settlements except those along this road are on the edge of the water."

Others have written of the dreadful condition that the roads of Nova Scotia were in during the closing years of the 18th. Century and the early years of the 19th. and of the difficulties of travelling through the Province, when there was only one road worthy of the name "that from Halifax to Windsor and Annapolis ... the people of the best settlements found their way to this road or to none another by a blaze, that is, a mark made

¹ N.S. Gazette & Weekly Chronicle. Sept. 30th. 1806

² Memoirs, Charles Inglis. April 12th. 1788

on the trunk of a tree here and there on the proper course for the purpose of directing travellers, a substitute for a path but in the younger settlements travellers had to provide pocket compasses and guessing their course find their way through the forest.. In going by the compass the traveller sometimes widely mistook his course and missed entirely the intended settlement and came in upon another or missed all the settlements and travelled on till he lost all hopes of ever seeing a house; in which case he often believed the compass itself went wrong and discrediting it would wander he knew not where. Sometimes the compass confounded the traveller desperately for the needle would obstinately refuse to traverse so that he would not know east from west or north from south.

Travelling by a blaze was little better and there was the danger of losing the blaze and the impossibility of finding it again: of striking out a straightforward course independent of the blaze and yet coming by and by on their own trail; of snow driven against the trees so as to hide the blaze and causing frequent stops to dig it away in order to discover it; of travellers being benighted by such stops and lodging in the forest where they had to kindle log fires on the top of the snow four or six feet deep." There were tales also "of great dangers and hairbreath escapes from drowning in crossing brooks or rivers in times of thaw or when they were swollen with unexpected rains for in those days no journey was undertaken immediately after a heavy rain, travellers waiting often for two or three days nearly fasting until the subsiding of the river rendered the river passable." There were tales of "horses swagging nearly to their ears and of the great difficulty of extricating them-

selves and their riders. There were few taverns but every man who had a hut was hospitable."

In the quiet country taverns or the busy city coffee houses men gathered to discuss the topics of their day, the growth of trade, the local gossip or some strange tale of a foreign land brought back by those who sailed the ships of Nova Scotia over the seven seas. Their interests were wide and varied as befitted a maritime people yet the charm, culture and intelligence of many of its citizens served only to reveal the difference in outlook and circumstances of many others, narrow, bigoted and self-centered men who thought only of their own interests and the future of their small settlements. Villages still lay far apart and in the early days of the 19th Century Nova Scotia was little more than a province of scattered districts that looked out upon the sea yet, with the slowly improving highroads, the people of these scattered communities were at last enabled to look inwards upon themselves and by travel do much to relieve old prejudices and opposition. The change was slow and almost imperceptible perhaps but it was the means of at last making the people of Nova Scotia more conscious of their own land and through it more ambitious for its future.

Bibliographical Note.

The material for this thesis has been gathered with few exceptions from sources in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia (P.A.N.S.) Governor's Correspondence, Whitehall Dispatches, Correspondence of the Secretary of State, Minutes of the Executive and Legislative Councils, Journals of the Assembly, Acts of the Legislature, Inland Letter Books, Township Records, Special manuscript collections such as Deschamps Mss., Chipman Mss., Eaton Mss., copies of the Brown Mss., the Diary of Simeon Perkins, the Journals of Bishop Charles Inglis and Records of the S.P.G. in Nova Scotia, Assembly Papers and Miscellaneous Documents.

Printed and documentary material and special articles were found in the Nova Scotia Historical Collections, the Canadian Archives Reports and the American Magazine. Also Newspapers from 1769 to 1800 in the Stewart Collection, Dalhousie University, and newspapers from 1800 to 1811 in the Legislative Library of the Province House. Also Winslow Papers and all county Histories written to date, Statutes of the Province of Nova Scotia, a variety of monographs on special subjects on the history of Nova Scotia and many general articles on Nova Scotia have been consulted.

Specific references have been made in the foot notes to all quotations and statements requiring authority..

