

JOSEPH SCOTT AND THE SCOTT MANOR HOUSE

RESEARCH PAPERS PREPARED FOR HALIFAX REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY

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January 2002

**JOSEPH SCOTT
AND
THE SCOTT MANOR HOUSE
CONTENTS**

PART I

JOSEPH SCOTT (1724/25–1800): BUILDER OF THE SCOTT MANOR HOUSE

PART II

OWNERSHIP HISTORY: SCOTT MANOR HOUSE

PART III

*ARCHITECTURAL ASSESSMENT: SCOTT MANOR HOUSE WITH FOUR
PAGES OF VIEWS AND ELEVATIONS*

PART IV

*SUMMARY OF EXTANT KNOWLEDGE: JOSEPH SCOTT & THE MANOR
HOUSE*

PART V

HISTORY OF FORT SACKVILLE

PART VI

MAPS 1—9

PART I

JOSEPH SCOTT (1724/25–1800)

BUILDER OF THE MANOR HOUSE

CONFLICTING BIOGRAPHIES

Sorting out biographical information on Joseph Scott has proven to be a challenging venture. Agreement is non-existent on even basic biographical detail among those who have written on Scott. While making a survey of a piece of land at Bedford around 1953, George Bates became intrigued by the history of Fort Sackville and the Ternan homestead (Scott Manor House). As his research progressed, a “deep feeling of regret was felt for some of legends were found to be nothing more than just that”. On the other hand, Bates discovered there were several instances where the historical records gave “some of these legends a solid foundation in fact”. Perhaps because he was professionally a surveyor with a fascination for local history, in his typewritten account of the “The Mansion House and Fort Sackville”, Bates focused on these aspects and only on Joseph Scott to the extent that this individual entered into the histories of Fort Sackville and what today is referred to as the Scott Manor House.¹

Nonetheless, what information Bates provided on Joseph Scott has proved to be accurate and later research has relied upon his work. *A Directory of Members of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia 1758-1958*, published in 1958, followed Bates in listing such details about Scott as his arrival on the *London* with Governor Edward Cornwallis’s settlers and that he became a mill owner in Sackville.² It, however, had Scott as being born in England (he was Irish) and in marrying Margaret Ramsay Cottnam in 1763, but with no reference to his first marriage to a Mary Morris

¹ George Bates, “The Mansion House and Fort Sackville, Bedford, Nova Scotia”, MG100, vol. 109, no. 37A (hereafter Bates), Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management (hereafter, NSARM).

² *A Directory of the Members of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia* with an introduction by C. Bruce Fergusson (Halifax, N.S.: The Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1958), pp. 311-12.

in 1750. When L.R. Fischer came to write his article on Scott for the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, he focused on Scott's business and public life as

... a member of the interesting breed of men who combined public service with private gain so successfully in 18th-century Nova Scotia. Never an outstanding leader, he nonetheless was typical of the merchant-politician élite which dominated Halifax in the pre-loyalist era.³

Fischer, however, was unaware of the chancery court cases involving Scott's partnership with John Day and over the Manor House property. On the latter, curiously, Fischer made no mention of the house. At the time Fischer was undertaking his research there was a belief that William Sabatier had constructed the house after he came into possession of the property on Scott's death.⁴ Fischer may have believed that Scott had not built the Manor House. In his biography of Sabatier, David Sutherland attributed construction to Sabatier.⁵ Although Elsie Tolson did not publish her *The Captain, the Colonel and me (Bedford, N.S., since 1503)* until 1979, C.B. Fergusson was aware of her on-going research for when he came to write an article on Sabatier he had Scott as responsible for the house.⁶

Although Elsie Tolson consulted numerous secondary sources, she apparently

³ L.R. Fischer, "Joseph Scott", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (hereafter *DCB*), vol. IV, pp. 704-05.

⁴ Origin of the belief probably began with Harry Piers, who in *Report of Provincial Museum*, 1929, p. 33, attributed the house to Sabatier. This attribution gained credence when C.B. Fergusson as Provincial Archivist, submitted the house for commemoration to the provincial Historic Sites Advisory Council. Fergusson to W.R. Bird, 12 January 1956, MG1, vol. 1845, F5/one, NSARM. This resulted in a letter sent to the Tolsons by the deputy minister of Public Works proposing that a plaque be placed on the Manor House and attributing it to Sabatier. Elsie Tolson, *The Captain, the Colonel and me (Bedford, N.S., since 1503)*, (Sackville, New Brunswick: The Tribune Press Ltd, 1979), p. 44, (hereafter Tolson).

⁵ D.A. Sutherland, "William Sabatier", *DCB*, vol. VI, pp. 676-67. Sutherland says after Sabatier acquired Joseph Scott's estate "he built a impressive summer residence out of Norwegian oak and took up farming...".

⁶ C.B. Fergusson, "William Sabatier—Public Spirited Citizen or Meddling Busybody", *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 5, no. 3 (September, 1975), pp. 210-11. Fergusson says "Notwithstanding statements that the building [Manor House] was built by William Sabatier, the history begins not with Sabatier but with Colonel Joseph Scott". Fergusson provides a brief biographical sketch of Scott and the evidence for his building of the Manor House.

did not use either Fischer's biography of Joseph Scott or that of Captain John Gorham by John David Krugler in Volume III of the *DCB*, published in 1974. Much of her biographical detail on Joseph Scott seems to have come from Bates and from Lieutenant Commander Desmond Scott, Royal Navy, a descendant of John Scott, eldest brother of Joseph. Desmond Scott's research on Joseph's family as being Irish should have ended any doubt on his origins, but in 1994 Elizabeth Pacey believed that Joseph and his brother George had come from Massachusetts to Nova Scotia as career soldiers in the Massachusetts 67th Regiment.⁷ In providing few references, may be the reason that later researchers have used Elsie Tolson's research very cautiously. For example, the revised biographical directory of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia 1958-1983, published in 1983, does not refer to Tolson's book as a source; instead, it relies chiefly on Fischer's *DCB* article.⁸

At a date unknown, but after 1979, L.S. Loomer of Windsor prepared a typescript manuscript on "The Anglican Scotts" of the Windsor-Newport area in which George and Joseph Scott figured prominently.⁹ The problems with Loomer's version of events concerning the Scott brothers are noted in more detail in the text proper, suffice to say for this introductory section, Loomer seems not to have been aware of or ignored Bates, Fischer, Tolson, and C.P. Stacy's *DCB* entry on George Scott. Consequently, for example, after the fall of Quebec in 1760, he has Major George Scott residing at the Scott estate, Newport and dying there. In fact, George Scott may never have resided in Newport and in 1764 became lieutenant governor of Dominica. Three years later he died in a duel there. When Margaret Coleman researched and wrote the agenda paper on the Manor House for Historic Sites and

⁷ Elizabeth Pacey and Alvin Comiter, *Landmarks: Historic Buildings of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1994), p. 20. Her reference to the Massachusetts 67th Regiment is presumably to Shirley's Regiment and which is discussed later, though this regiment was never so called.

⁸ *The Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia 1958-1983: a biographical directory*, edited and revised by Shirely B. Elliot (Province of Nova Scotia, 1984), p. 196.

⁹ L.S. Loomer, "The Anglican Scotts", MG1, vol. 2384, no. 4, pp. 6-10, NSARM.

Monuments Board in 1988, she used mainly Bates and Fischer with some references to Tolson.¹⁰

In short, there is no biography of Joseph Scott or a history of the Manor House that provides a full and accurate story based on the extant documentation. For example, none of the authors referred to above used the Nova Scotia chancery court records or the papers of J.W.F. DesBarres in which can be found the only correspondence by Scott. What follows is an attempt to undertake this task with the *caveat* that some key evidence is lacking and a degree of reasonable deduction is employed to provide a more complete story.

THE IRISH CONNECTION

Among those who went to Ireland with King William III (William of Orange had married Anne, daughter of the deposed James II) and would fight in the Battle of the Boyne on 1 July 1690 was Jeremiah Scott. Afterwards he purchased lands at Ballingarry, County Tipperary. A son John, father of Joseph, inherited the family lands. The Scotts of Ballingarry could count themselves among the land gentry, the backbone of the protestant ascendancy, which then governed Ireland. County Tipperary especially suffered greatly during the 18th century from the endemic poverty prevailing in southern Ireland and the famines of 1727-30 and 1740-41. Landed gentry like the Scotts saw their sons leave in ever increasing numbers, as in the words of Dean Jonathan Swift, they “are utterly destitute of all means to make provision for their younger sons, either in the church, the law, the revenue, or, of late, in the army...”¹¹

All five sons of John Scott—John, George, Joseph, Henry and Michael—would cross the Atlantic to seek their fortunes. The eldest, John, would become a Jamaican plantation owner, while the youngest Michael went to live in

¹⁰ Margaret Coleman, Architectural History Branch, Agenda Paper: The Manor House, Bedford, Nova Scotia (hereafter Coleman), Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (unpublished, Parks Canada. 1988).

¹¹ As quoted in J.C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923* (London: Faber and Faber, reprint, 1985), p. 167.

Granada. Of Joseph's two other brothers, George and Henry, the former first enters our story as an officer of the 40th Regiment of Foot.¹² Since its formation in 1717, this regiment had served in Nova Scotia, headquartered at Annapolis Royal.¹³ Just when George Scott first joined the 40th in Nova Scotia is unknown, but he had been a captain in the army, as distinct from his regiment, since 1746.¹⁴ He likely served in the 1745 siege of Louisbourg by New England forces as he obtained the appointment of barrack master for the captured fortress.¹⁵ While serving at Louisbourg, or perhaps earlier in Boston, George Scott came to the notice of Massachusetts Governor William Shirley, who more than anyone else had been responsible for organizing the Louisbourg expedition. In 1755 Shirley would write Governor Charles Lawrence in Halifax, when informing him that Scott was to be given command of one of the two regiments of provincials to be used in the planned attack on Fort Beauséjour, that:

The next command, as Lieutenant Colonel of the other regiment, I shall give to Capt. Scott of whose capableness in the service I have a good opinion. *I have*

¹² See C.P. Stacey, "George Scott", *DCB*, vol. III, p. 589. James Wolfe, then acting lieutenant colonel of the 20th Foot, intervened in 1750 on behalf of a Lieutenant Scott. Beckles Wilson in "Wolfe's Men and Nova Scotia", Nova Scotia Historical Society, *Collections*, vol. XVIII, pp. 7-8, believed that it was George Scott and that he was "induced" to come Nova Scotia. George Scott, however, was already in Nova Scotia and in 1750 obtained a commission as a Captain-Lieutenant. Larry Loomer, in typescript manuscript on "The Anglican Scotts", MG1, vol. 2384, no. 4, p. 6, NSARM, uses Beckles Wilson's note on Wolfe's letter urging promotion for a Lieutenant Scott to state that the Scott in question was Joseph. Loomer also has Joseph and Wolfe as schoolfellows together at Greenwich, near London, which was certainly untrue. He apparently did not know the Scotts were Irish. See also C.P. Stacey, "George Scott", p. 589, which notes that Beckles Wilson was in error on the Scott identity.

¹³ For mentions of George Scott and also Samuel and George Cottnam, see Harry Piers, "The Fortieth Regiment, Raised at Annapolis Royal in 1717...", Nova Scotia Historical Society, *Collections*, vol. 21, pp. 115-83 and Captain R.H. Raymond Smythies, *Historical Records of the 40th (2nd Somersetshire) Regiment...* (1894).

¹⁴ *Ibid.* In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1747, p. 43 is a report of Captain George Scott surviving an Indian ambush at St. John's, Newfoundland. Loomer incorrectly places the ambush in Cape Breton, see "The Anglican Scots", p. 6.

¹⁵ For George Scott's appointment as barrack master, see payments to him for this service, Fortress Louisbourg, Manuscript Series #138, found in Audit Office 01, bundle 1877 (roll 161) & bundle 1878 (roll 163), Public Record Office, London. I am grateful to Sandy Balcom of the Fortress Louisbourg staff for providing these references and others relating to the Scott brothers and Louisbourg.

Joseph Scott—Builder of the Manor House

besides a kindness for him, and it will give me greater pleasure to give him a step (my italics), as I understand, he is happy in the confidence and good opinion of yourself and Colonel Moncton [sic].¹⁶

As a reward for his service in raising forces for the 1745 capture of Fortress Louisbourg by New Englanders, Shirley had received a commission to raise a royal regiment (one on the regular British army establishment), which gave him £1000 a year and the patronage associated with its supply and commissioning of officers. Shirley's Regiment provided part of the garrison for Louisbourg after the fortress' capture in 1745. Shirley added to George Scott's duties by making him quartermaster of his regiment, though the position was nominally held by a civilian. On 2 September 1748 George Scott gave his quartermaster appointment to his brother Joseph, or in 18th century language, Joseph Scott was appointed "in the room of his brother Captain Scott", meaning in place of his brother.¹⁷ There is no reason, however, to believe that Joseph was physically present at Louisbourg. Again with in "the room of" we dealing with an 18th convention that should not be read literally; in fact, it was common for the party receiving the appointment not to be present. Meanwhile, however, and clearly unknown to George Scott and the regiment at Louisbourg, the British government had decided that Shirley's Regiment would be among those reduced. When a regiment was reduced the officers went on half pay. Whether Joseph Scott

¹⁶ Shirley to Lawrence, 6 January 1755, Akins, *Selections from the Public Documents of Province of Nova Scotia* (1869), (hereafter Akins, *Selections*), p. 396. Scott's rank as captain came from a king's commission for regiments on the British army establishment. For provincial regiments, commissions, in Scott's case lieutenant colonel, were in the gift of governors. Shirley was renowned for dispensing of military commissions as a form of patronage. Robert Monckton was the son of the Viscount of Galway and had connections to the Duke of Newcastle (prime minister 1754-56 & 1757-62), William Shirley's great patron. George Scott would serve as godfather to one Monckton's daughters (he never married, but raised at his own one son and three daughters). I am grateful to Dr. Terrence Punch, letter of 18 October 2001, for pointing the possible Monckton-Scott Irish connection.

¹⁷ On 2 September 1748 at Louisbourg Joseph Scott was appointed quartermaster "in the room of his brother Captain Scott", Manuscript Report Series #137, London: State Papers 41, Ottawa, National Historic Sites Service, 1965.

Joseph Scott—Builder of the Manor House

as a civilian quartermaster did so is unknown.¹⁸ In need of new employment Joseph Scott, most likely on encouragement of his older brother George, determined now to seek his fortune in the new town of Halifax He arrived with Cornwallis's fleet on the *London* with one male servant.¹⁹ He did not, however, receive one of the original Halifax town lots, though his brother George did so.²⁰

JOSEPH SCOTT—MERCHANT AND CIVIC OFFICIAL

Joseph Scott next appears in the extant documentation as marrying a Mary Morris on 30 December 1750.²¹ A son, Joseph, was born on 31 October 1751.²² In the town's census of 1752 Joseph is listed as head of a family consisting of himself, his wife and son and another male, living "within the pickets".²³ The other male was quite possibly his nineteen-year old brother Henry.

Joseph must have been able to draw on a substantial line of credit for by the

¹⁸ Joseph Scott appears on the *List of General and Field-Officers* (commonly Army List) ..1759, p. 163 as quartermaster for Governor Shirley's Foot, one of the regiments reduced in 1748 at the peace. Interestingly, no one who has written on Joseph Scott ever seems to have gone to the Army Lists, a natural source to determine if he was ever an army officer, which he never was.

¹⁹ Passenger List, Ship *London*, RG1, vol. 523, NSARM and printed in Thomas Beamish Akins, *Selections*, p. 550. Most of the confusion around Joseph's supposed military service and circumstances surrounding his arrival in Halifax derived from the *London's* manifest on which was written next to Joseph's name "Quartermaster Shirley's Regiment". Elizabeth Pacey in *Landmarks: Historic Buildings of Nova Scotia*, p. 20, erroneously has Joseph first as an army officer and secondly a member of Cornwallis's staff. Tolson, p. 45, has Joseph at age 25 arriving in Halifax, though she gives no reference, it would seem to be generally correct. As he would die in 1800, if born in 1724-25, this would make him 75 years old at his death.

²⁰ George Bates notes this curious fact as well. Bates, p. 16. Capt George Scott received Lot C, 18 in the South Suburbs, RG1, Allotment Book, p. 62, NSARM.

²¹ Jean Holder, *Baptism, Marriages & Burials, 1749-1768*, St. Paul's Church (Halifax, Genealogical Association of Nova Scotia, No. 7) and (hereafter Holder), no. 642. Tolson, p. 45 and others have suggested she was the daughter of Charles Morris, the surveyor general. Morris did have a daughter Mary (1742-1766), but she married a Thomas Balch Leggett II and lived in Massachusetts. See Ethel Crathorne, "The Morris Family—Surveyors General", *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 2 (June 1976), p. 210.

²² Holder, no. 984.

²³ Thomas Beamish Akins, *History of Halifax City*, Nova Scotia Historical Society, *Collections*, vol. VIII, p. 257 (hereafter Akins, *Halifax*).

Joseph Scott–Builder of the Manor House

spring of 1752, if not earlier, he was operating a store on the waterfront selling a wide variety of goods.²⁴ In October of that year he advertised for sale “A large commodious double house, exceedingly well-fitted for business near south gate. Enquire Joseph Scott, living in said house”.²⁵ Merchants generally used the ground floor of their premisses for business and the upper storey for their accommodation and this would seem to have been Joseph’s case. Where Joseph moved to is unknown, but it was probably within Collier’s Division.

Joseph certainly had good connections and had made something of mark for himself for in 1752 the Governor’s Council appointed him a justice of the peace and more significantly a judge of the inferior court of common pleas.²⁶ The appointment of justice of the peace was a much desired office for the respectability it bestowed on its holder, for the patronage that went with appointment for all minor offices in the town, and for the fees. Justices could also be appointed to the inferior court of common pleas, which tried civil actions, mostly for the recovery of debts. Its members were entitled to higher fees; in prestige it ranked above membership on sessions bench with the justices of the peace. Two years later Joseph became a surveyor of lumber, a town official responsible for enforcing standards on the quality and quantity of lumber being sold on the Halifax market.²⁷ In 1762, he received a commission as Surveyor of the Pisiquid Road for “ordering & directing everything for the purpose of a carriage road” from Fort Sackville to Fort Vieux Logis at Windsor.²⁸

MILITIA COMMISSIONS

²⁴ *Halifax Gazette*, 13 April and 16 September 1752. Tolson, p. 46 reprints the advertisements, though she has the incorrect date of 29 August for the lumber advertisement.

²⁵ *Halifax Gazette*, 7 October 1752.

²⁶ Akins, *Halifax*, pp. 32 and 34.

²⁷ Akins, *Halifax*, p. 44. Joseph Marshall was also appointed and others as surveyors of cordwood. Tolson, p. 46, mistakenly confuses this local appointment with the marking of mast timber for the Royal Navy by the surveyor general of king’s woods.

²⁸ Commission Book, 27 September 1762, RG1, vol. 164, p.199, NSARM.

In early Halifax, with war or threat of war always an ever present reality, militia service became an important civic duty.²⁹ In November 1750 Joseph Scott received a commission as a lieutenant in the militia company organized for Dartmouth's defence.³⁰ Three years later he became a captain, as a resident of Collier's Division, in the Second Battalion, Halifax Militia.³¹ In 1762 the French invaded Newfoundland and captured St. John's. When the news reached Halifax, councils of war were called and the Halifax militia were required to exercise at arms daily. Richard Bulkeley, provincial secretary and former army officer, seems to have conceived the idea of creating a company of cadets and volunteers. Service in the militia was compulsory, but Bulkeley's company would have consisted entirely of volunteers, which presumably would train regularly and could be called up quickly. In this period, cadets were young gentlemen who voluntarily entered the army without a commission to learn the profession of arms. Bulkeley became lieutenant colonel and Joseph Scott major, at least on paper, of this company.³² Two years later Joseph Scott became lieutenant colonel of the Volunteers.³³ Other than these appointments in the commission book, no other reference has been found, so the Volunteers may have been still born. Another idea of Bulkeley was that of raising during the American Rebellion a Troop of Horse and of which Joseph Scott became lieutenant colonel.³⁴

²⁹ For the organization of the militia in early Halifax, see Joseph Plimsoll Edwards, "The Militia of Nova Scotia, 1749-1867, Nova Scotia Historical Society, *Collections*, vol. XVII, pp. 65-77.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 68 and Commission Book, 7 November 1750, RG1, vol. 164, p. 45, NSARM.

³¹ *Halifax Gazette*, 7 July 1753.

³² Commission Book, 12 June 1762, RG1, vol. 164, p. 171, NSARM.

³³ Commission Book, 1 March 1764, RG1, vol. 164, p. 270, NSARM. Both Bulkeley and Scott came from landed gentry families of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy and they seem to have had a close association over the years of which these militia commissions are representative.

³⁴ Commission Book, 22 May 1782, RG1, vol. 169, p. 24, NSARM. Tolson, p. 62 holds that a troop was raised in "secret" and its members consisted of the likes of Richard John Uniacke, Peter Shey and Richard Bulkeley. However, the entry in the commission book lists the officers including Joseph Scott, Esq., as colonel and his son Joseph Jnr. as a lieutenant. None of Tolson's reputed members are listed among the officers.

It would have been an entirely voluntary body with members providing their own horses; in short, a gentleman's activity. The commission book entry has a troop of horse "to be raised" for the County of Halifax. Other than this entry, no reference to this troop has ever been found, which strongly suggests the troop was never raised.

THE SCOTT—TONGE—COTTNAM—DAY FAMILY CONNECTION

As noted above William Shirley gave the command of one of the two provincial regiments to George Scott for the attack on Fort Beauséjour. Also taking part in the siege was Winckworth Tonge, who served as assistant engineer. Later they would serve together again during the Louisbourg and Quebec sieges. They became related by marriage into the Cottnam families as would Joseph Scott. Samuel and George Cottnam, from Belfast, Ireland, were officers in the 40th Regiment. Samuel had been commissioned ensign in 1733, though he had been in Nova Scotia by 1731.³⁵ Around 1742 Samuel married Deborah, daughter of Edward How, also an officer in the 40th Regiment. They had two daughters, one of whom, Martha Grace (b. 1744), married Winckworth Tonge.³⁶ George Cottnam appears in Nova Scotia as an officer of the 40th Regiment in 1741-42.³⁷ He married, though other than his wife's name was Ann, nothing is known of her. In his will George leaves to his daughters Margaret Ramsay and Henrietta Maria, £20 each.³⁸ He also makes reference to having other

³⁵ For Samuel Cottnam and his family I am indebted to Lois Yorke for kindly providing me with her extensive research. For Samuel's commission as ensign see Tredegar Park Muniments, [Gould Family papers], Records of the 40th Regiment, Manuscript 257, Ledger Book, 1732-34, p. 46 commission fees, 28 November 1733.

³⁶ Lois K. Kernaghan, Deborah (Cottnam) How, *DCB*, vol. V, p. 430. The other daughter, Grizelda, remained unmarried.

³⁷ Tredegar Park Muniments, (Gould Family papers), Records of the 40th Regiment, Manuscript 258, Ledger Book, 1734-43, p. 64.

³⁸ RG48, Court of Probate, Halifax County, Estate Papers, C-152, NSARM. Tolson, pp. 56-57, incorrectly believed Martha Grace, Margaret Ramsay and Henrietta Maria were all daughters of Samuel Cottnam; hence references to the three Cottnam sisters. Only Martha Grace, however, was Samuel's daughter, while Margaret Ramsay and Henrietta Maria were George's, as his will makes clear. Moreover, George refers to Margaret as Margaret and not as Margaretta as Tolson does. The suffix seems to have been a later affectation in the belief all Cottnam daughters' names ended in "a", which is incorrect, as George Cottman also had daughters named Charlotte and Hannah. George

children. One of those unmentioned children may have been a daughter Mary who married George Scott.³⁹ Of George Cottnam's known daughters Margaret would marry Joseph Scott and Henrietta Maria, John Day, with both marriages taking place in 1763.

No record has been found of Joseph Scott being present at Beauséjour in a quartermaster capacity, but it is highly likely that his brother George ensured he obtained provisioning contracts.⁴⁰ War contracts had brought numbers of New Englanders to Halifax and they would lead the agitation for a legislative assembly, which they knew they could control, over the bitter opposition of Governor Charles Lawrence. Joseph Scott allied himself with these merchants.⁴¹ Eventually, the Board of Trade ordered Lawrence to convene an assembly, which first met in 1758. As part

Cottnam died in 1779 and not 1780 as generally assumed.

³⁹ Esther Clark Wright, *Planters and Pioneers: Nova Scotia, 1749-1775*, revised edition (privately printed), pp. 273 and 298. See also Gwendolyn Vaughan Shand, *Historic Hants* (published by the author, 1979) who notes that George Scott married Mary Cottnam, and incorrectly said she was the third of the Cottnam sisters, p. 15. After the death of Mary, George Scott remarried, though other than she was called Abigail, there is no information on her. She likely came from Boston where Scott owned property. Cottnam family information has become so confused that it is quite possible that there was no marriage between a Mary Cottnam and George Scott. For Mary to be George Cottnam's daughter, George Scott would have had to marry almost immediately on his arrival in Nova Scotia in 1742 and Mary to have been a very young at the time of her marriage, say around 1760. Moreover, as at George Scott's death in 1767 he had a wife called Abigail, Mary must have died shortly after the reputed marriage to George Scott.

⁴⁰ L.S. Loomer in his "The Anglican Scotts" has Joseph Scott a captain in his brother's regiment at the Beauséjour siege and being present at Louisbourg. He cites references in Colonel John Winslow's Journal (printed in the *Collections*, Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. IV, pp. 126ff), which, however, makes reference only to George; moreover, the captains' names for Colonel George Scott's battalion are given in Winslow's Journal (see pages 138 & 142) and Joseph Scott is not among them. For Joseph Scott's military presence at Louisbourg, Loomer quotes from J.S. McLennan, *Louisbourg: from its foundation to its fall* (1957), p. 239: "A Body of Rangers... all under the command of Captain Scott of the 70th Regiment, who has been accustomed to that service". No 70th Regiment was at Louisbourg and this is obviously a misprint for the 40th, George Scott's regiment. In the Army List for 1759 there is only one other Scott, a Grant Scott of the 8th Regiment. The reference to Captain Scott as commander of light troops and rangers is unquestionably to George and not as Loomer would believe to Joseph. Moreover, no Joseph Scott can be found in the databases of those serving at the fortress maintained by Parks Canada's historical researchers at Louisbourg. I am grateful for the assistance of Sandy Balcom of the fortress staff in determining that the reference was definitely to George Scott.

⁴¹ L.R. Fischer, "Joseph Scott", *DCB*, vol. IV, p. 704.

of the plan to attract New Englanders to settle in Nova Scotia, Governor Charles Lawrence and his council established counties and issued writs for a second election to be held during August 1759. Tonge was elected in Cumberland County. Joseph Scott and Charles Procter offered for the two Kings County (then included Hants County) seats. Procter was a former officer in Shirley's Regiment and so it may have been very much a joint decision to run for Kings County. They were probably elected without opposition, there then being only a few dozen electors in the whole county. In this election, as in the first held in 1758, Halifax merchants and officials dominated. But in the 1761 election, and after thousands of New England Planters had settled, this proved less true; Scott seems not to have re-offered for Kings County or tried for a Halifax seat.

Probably through the influence of his brother George, in 1761 Joseph became Garrison paymaster.⁴² Although Quebec had fallen, peace with France was by no means a certainty. In Halifax there was still much military activity in constructing fortifications. Because of increased need for timber, the Army established a Lumber Yard on the Halifax waterfront. Whether fortuitously or presciently Joseph Scott in 1759 had obtained a grant of land in the Sackville area on which there was timber suitable for military use.⁴³ On his lands and that of others at Sackville, Nine Mile River and at Birch Cove timber was cut and brought to Halifax for constructing fortifications on Citadel Hill and other sites.⁴⁴ Although its exact nature is unclear, a receipt has survived that Joseph gave a William Jeffray concerning the sale of ships, another aspect of his mercantile activities in this period.⁴⁵

⁴² Harry Piers, *The Evolution of the Halifax Fortress 1749-1928* (Halifax: The Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1947), p. 108.

⁴³ RG20, Crown Grants, Old Bk. 2/145 & 149, NSARM.

⁴⁴ Harry Piers, *The Evolution of the Halifax Fortress 1749-1928*, p. 10.

⁴⁵ Archival sources concerning Louisbourg and Cape Breton in the Public Record Office, Manuscript Report Series #139, vol. 02, London: War Office, Ottawa, National Historic Sites Service, 1964.

With peace in 1763 military expenditures were severely reduced, causing much distress among merchants who had waxed rich from military contracts. Joseph Scott lost the office of paymaster, but he had apparently amassed sufficient means to erect sawmills on his Sackville lands, which had been built “at a very considerable expense”.⁴⁶ In 1765 he obtained a further grant of 7,000 acres to supply his mills.⁴⁷ In turning to production of sawn lumber, Joseph Scott likely survived the economic downturn better than most of his merchant friends.

In 1763 Joseph Scott remarried, his first wife Mary having died at a date unknown, but it could have been at the birth of their second child Susanna in 1754.⁴⁸ His second wife, as discussed above, was Margaret Ramsay Cottnam. In the same year John Day married Margaret’s sister, Henrietta Maria, thus Joseph and John Day became brothers-in-law.⁴⁹ In these years Day had been engaged in different pursuits including being a naval surgeon and a merchant in Halifax from 1762 to 1765 in partnership with a Edward Vause.⁵⁰ In 1766 he would move to his family estate, Mantua, in Newport Township, but three years later he left the province and resided in Philadelphia, returning at the onset of the American Rebellion once again to enter

⁴⁶ RG20, Crown Grants, Old Bk. 6/574, NSARM. See notation on grant relating to expense. As late as 1759 there were still no sawmills in the Halifax area with sawn lumber having to be imported from Lunenburg and other American colonies. See A Report on the Condition of the Fortifications and buildings at Halifax in Nova Scotia and its outposts by order of the Honourable Board of Ordnance, 23 May 1758, signed Pat: Mackellar, Sub Director & Major and dated 12 April 1759, MG12, WO55, vol. 1820, part 1, p. 18, microfilm 134, NSARM.

⁴⁷ RG20, Crown Grants, Old Bk. 6/574, NSARM.

⁴⁸ For Susanna’s birth see Holder, no. 1842. St. Paul’s records for this early period are incomplete, which would explain why no record of her mother’s death has been found.

⁴⁹ Although it would not be registered until 10 April 1776, on his marriage to Henrietta, daughter of George Cottnam, John Day sold for 5 shillings two shares of land (600 acres) in a 1760 grant to George Scott, Winckworth Tonge and others on the St. Croix River to be held in trust for Day or in the event of his death for his wife. RG47, Registry of Deeds, Halifax County, microfilm (hereafter RG47, Registry of Deeds), Bk. 14/243, NSARM.

⁵⁰ For John Day, see Wendy Thorpe “John Day”, *DCB*, vol. IV, p. 199. Although in his entry on Joseph Scott, Fischer says Scott and Day established a partnership in the late 1760s, Thorpe makes no mention of it and I found no evidence of such a partnership mentioned in the *Halifax Gazette*.

into mercantile activities.

FATEFUL CO-PARTNERSHIP

In the autumn of 1773 John Day decided to make a voyage to England. Joseph Scott had business he wished transacted in London and appointed Day his lawful attorney so he could act on Joseph's behalf.⁵¹ While in London, Day entered into an arrangement with a London merchant who had an agreement with the treasury to provide supplies to the British forces in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Day agreed to furnish these provisions and the merchant advanced him £3000 sterling in return for mortgage on both Days' and Joseph's lands to serve as a performance bond of £5000. On his return Day got Joseph to enter into a formal co-partnership. Joseph Scott claimed at the time of entering into the co-partnership that he and Day agreed that Joseph should continue to live "at Rockville, otherwise called Fort Sackville, where he then dealt and should superintend and conduct the business of a Grist Mill".⁵² Furthermore, they agreed that Day should be the "active" partner. During the summer and autumn of 1775 Day travelled around the province to collect provisions upon the credit of the Day-Scott partnership for the British troops occupying Boston. In November, while entering Boston harbour, Day's vessel, the *Jupiter*, apparently was struck by lightning, caught fire, sank and Day drown.

In the death of John Day, Nova Scotians of his time lost the most prominent critic of the oligarchy then governing the province. He has been most likely the author of the pamphlet *An Essay on the Present State of the Province of Nova Scotia*, in which he attacked the "Junto of cunning and wicked Men, whose Views extend no further than their own private Emolument, and who further the Distresses of the

⁵¹ Answer of Joseph Scott, Complaint of John Day, son of the deceased John Day against Joseph Scott, RG 36, Chancery Court Case, cause 78, 1 May 1787. Day accused Joseph of receiving large sums from different persons and refusing to allow Day access to the co-partnership's accounts. Scott claimed that the deceased Day had left the accounts in disarray.

⁵² *Ibid.*

Community in order to promote a slavish Dependence of themselves”.⁵³ On his appointment as governor in 1773 Francis Legge attempted to end the prevailing and pervasive corruption of the oligarchy of Halifax officials and merchants and in this he had Day’s support. But this junto of officials and merchants were to out-manoeuvre Legge, by claiming his actions were driving Nova Scotians to rebellion. They made their case in a petition to the Secretary of State, the Earl of Dartmouth in January 1776. Among the nineteen signatories was Joseph Scott as first justice of the court of common pleas, which in the local governing of the town was among the most important of officials.⁵⁴ John Day, however, rallied the “friends of government” in the House of Assembly to support Legge, though it proved of no avail as Dartmouth recalled him.

Whether because of his signing the petition or some other reason, Scott no longer remained a justice of the peace and *custos rotulorum* (principal justice of the peace), nor first judge of the inferior court of common pleas. Problems with him holding these offices for over twenty years, virtual sinecures, likely dated to earlier in the decade. In 1772, questions were apparently raised about Joseph Scott’s commissions for Richard Bulkeley, as provincial secretary, researched the authority for them back to 1752.⁵⁵ Scott had certainly lost these lucrative offices by 1778 and they had gone to others probably earlier in the decade.⁵⁶

The loss, however, of these offices could not have come at a worse time for

⁵³ See Brian Cuthbertson, *Johnny Bluenose at the Polls: Epic Nova Scotian Election Battles 1758-1848* (Halifax: Formac Publishing, 1994), pp. 31-32.

⁵⁴ The Petition of the Principal Gentlemen and Inhabitants of Your Majesty’s faithful and loyal Province of Nova Scotia, 2 January 1776, Dartmouth Papers, 2905-12, microfilm, NSARM.

⁵⁵ Bulkeley wrote in the Commission Book that “it appears in this office, that Joseph Scott was appointed” on 2 March 1752 a justice of the peace, *custos rotulorum* and first justice of the inferior court of common pleas. RG1, Commission Book, vol. 170, 21 March 1772, p. 102, NSARM.

⁵⁶ 1778 *Almanac* by Metonicus (A. Henry, printer) lists the justices and judges and Joseph Scott is not among them. Just when, however, he actually lost these offices has not been determined. Fischer in his *DCB* entry says that Scott was *custos rotulorum* in 1784, but no record of this has been found. Moreover, the 1782 *Almanac* by Metonicus does not have Scott among the justices and judges.

Joseph Scott—Builder of the Manor House

Joseph Scott. As John Day's surviving co-partner, Joseph now had to stand good for debts that Day had accumulated, including those owed to the London merchant. In November 1776 Joseph Scott took passage to London and "through the interests of his friends, and by his own repeated applications to Government he obtained His Majesty's warrants" for £4000.⁵⁷ But the debts at the minimum amounted to £5000 and Joseph had had to support himself in London for four years. Scott provided a set of accounts, which showed the amount received had come to £22,232 and the amount paid out £27,515. During this time the accounts also show that Joseph continued to pay the rent for his former co-partner's widow and of course his sister-in-law. The firm Day and Scott continued in existence.⁵⁸ It is possible that John, the son of the deceased John Day, was involved in the business for Day did not go to chancery court until 1787, with his accusations that Scott was withholding money and refusing to allow Day to see the books. It must have been a most painful business for Joseph, his wife Margaret and her sister Henrietta.

GOVERNOR DESBARRES

At some point Scott had developed a close friendship with J.F.W. DesBarres. One of the more extraordinary figures in this period of Nova Scotian history, DesBarres, of Swiss extraction, had served as assistant military engineer at the siege of Louisbourg in 1758.⁵⁹ After next serving at Quebec in the same capacity, DesBarres worked on Halifax's defences. Beginning in 1764 he undertook the task of charting the waters around Nova Scotia, culminating in his monumental *Atlantic Neptune*. During the winter months DesBarres resided at Castle Frederick near

⁵⁷ Answer of Joseph Scott, Complaint of John Day, son of the deceased John Day against Joseph Scott, RG 36, Chancery Court Case, cause 78, 1 May 1787, NSARM.

⁵⁸ In his will (see above) George Cottnam notes the firm Day and Scott was then, 1778, transacting business for him.

⁵⁹ For DesBarres see G.N.D. Evans, *Uncommon Obdurate: The Several Public Careers of J.F.W. DesBarres* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969) and Robert Morgan's entry on DesBarres, vol. VI, *DCB*, pp. 192-97. I grateful to Lois Yorke for directing me to the DesBarres papers as a source for Joseph Scott.

Joseph Scott—Builder of the Manor House

Windsor, where he had liaison with Mary Cannon and they would have six children. As George Scott would have known DesBarres from Louisbourg and Quebec, it is probable through this connection that Joseph came to know him. DesBarres spent much of the time during the American Rebellion in London and returned to Nova Scotia in 1785 as governor of Cape Breton on its separation from Nova Scotia. While in London, DesBarres had entered into a liaison with a Martha Williams and they would have eleven children.

Joseph Scott's correspondence with DesBarres, chiefly in 1785-86 & 1792, provides the only surviving documentation written by Scott and offers a personal insight not possible to be gained from the official record. On his arrival as governor, DesBarres laid out Sydney as the capital for the Island colony. In June of 1785 Joseph Scott offered to send to Sydney his two sons with horses and drivers to haul timber for new town.⁶⁰ If they were permitted to be settlers, he hoped DesBarres would give them lands. If not, they might accept an invitation from Joseph's eldest brother, John, a wealthy Jamaican planter.⁶¹ DesBarres seems not to have taken up the offer of the horses and drivers, but he did invite Scott to move his family to Cape Breton. A year later Joseph sent Joe to Cape Breton to take up lands for the family. As Joseph wrote DesBarres:

The continual attacks made upon me and my property by usurpers tyrants in power & sufficient to impede me from what I most desire from a confidence I hold and have held for many years. I am unhappily debar'd [debarred] from embracing the advantages held out to he [DesBarres] who has engaged my highest esteem. Was it within the compass of any possibility I should have taken sanctuary under your wing long before now. I don't think it would be using you civilly to introduce a tail [tale] of my sufferings they being so atrocious would give us mutual pain then let

⁶⁰ Joseph Scott to Richard Gibbons (attorney general of Cape Breton), 6 June 1785, DesBarres Papers, vol. 4-5, pp. 799-800, reel 2, NSARM. One son was Joseph (called Joe by his father), who was then 34 years of age, while the other was likely George, born 1766. Michael, the only son mentioned in Joseph's will, was 9 years old in 1785.

⁶¹ For John Scott, see Tolson, pp. 68-69. In Joseph's letter he only mentions an invitation from Jamaica. I assume it had to come from John Scott.

Joseph Scott–Builder of the Manor House

me endeavour at some degree of comfort with the hope shortly there will be an end to so violent persecutions that I may soon enjoy the liberty of sit[t]ing about to pass away the remainder of my days under the protection of the man who is most dear to me.⁶²

By the time Joe returned from Cape Breton in August, his father was having difficulty in winding up his affairs. As Joseph now wrote DesBarres:

If the school of affliction would be of any service to a man at my time of life, I have been kept to it still... How pleasing would it make my days and could I quit the vicinity of people who flock like sheep and desire to bite like wolves in the night [presumably his creditors]. Could I move to you two thirds of my property or less[,] the change would compleat my choicest wish permanent while I have memory.⁶³

MORTGAGING AND RECOVERY OF FORT SACKVILLE ESTATE

During 1786 Scott's financial situation seems to have deteriorated to the point that in December he borrowed from Richard John Uniacke £518 and mortgaged his Sackville property.⁶⁴ In the spring of 1787 he also advertised his house and property for rent.⁶⁵ When he failed to repay the mortgage with the interest owing, Uniacke took Scott to chancery court in January 1792 to gain possession of the property.⁶⁶ In the following December Scott advertised for sale "that very valuable Tract of land known by the name of FORT SACKVILLE, containing upwards of SEVEN THOUSAND ACRES..."⁶⁷ The property did not sell and Uniacke proceeded at chancery to have Scott's title forfeited and the property put up for sale at public auction. At the public sale on 24 June 1793 Uniacke purchased the property for £39

⁶² Scott to DesBarres, 23 June 1786, DesBarres Papers, vol. 4-5, pp. 950-51, reel 2, NSARM.

⁶³ Joseph Scott to DesBarres, 30 August 1786, vol. 4-5, pp. 982-83, reel 2, NSARM.

⁶⁴ RG47, Registry of Deeds, Bk. 24/57, NSARM.

⁶⁵ *Nova Scotia Gazette*, 8 May 1787.

⁶⁶ Complaint of Richard John Uniacke, RG 36, Chancery Court, cause 107, doc. 2, NSARM.

⁶⁷ *Royal Gazette*, 4 December 1792, and successive issues until 21 May 1793.

and on 14 August received the deed.⁶⁸ There was almost certainly an understanding reached between Uniacke and Scott for Scott seems to have continued to reside on the property and in 1796 he paid Uniacke £710 in principal and partial interest on the mortgage. A year after Scott paid off the remaining interest and regained title to his property.⁶⁹

DEATH AND BURIAL OF JOSEPH SCOTT

In the 1792 Poll Tax return, Scott is described as a farmer living on the Halifax road.⁷⁰ His youngest son Michael, age 15 years, he had sent to London to improve his French by living with a Mr. Audin.⁷¹ After his removal as governor of Cape Breton in 1787, DesBarres had gone to London to defend his conduct. Scott asked DesBarres to examine Michael for his proficiency in French as his father had become unhappy with his son.⁷² He also told DesBarres that Margaret Scott had gone to Castle Frederick where Mary Cannon and her children resided. There she had found DesBarres' daughter Amelia in a low state of health and had brought her to live at Fort Sackville.⁷³ By the spring of 1792 Amelia was much restored in health. When a problem developed over a son of DesBarres by Martha Williams, James Lutterell, Scott dealt with it.⁷⁴ In turn, he asked DesBarres to view some business papers in the

⁶⁸ Complaint of Richard John Uniacke, Chancery Court, RG36, cause 107, doc. 5, NSARM. At the hearing no one appeared on behalf of Scott.

⁶⁹ RG47, Registry of Deeds, Bk. 33/95, NSARM.

⁷⁰ Halifax Assessment Poll Tax, 1792, Sackville, no. 47, p. 24, RG1, vol. 444, NSARM.

⁷¹ Joseph Scott to Governor DesBarres, Fort Sackville, 20 May 1792, DesBarres Papers, vol. 18, pp. 3388-94, microfilm, NSARM.

⁷² Joseph Scott to DesBarres, 10 October 1791, DesBarres Papers, vol. 18, pp. 3381-82, reel 4, NSARM.

⁷³ *Ibid.* Amelia's illness may have been related to her mother having taken up with an Irish labourer. In 1799, Amelia and two of her sisters would leave Castle Frederick and lease a small farm at Horton where they lived for many years. See Lois (Yorke) Kernaghan, "A Man and His Mistress: J.F.W. DesBarres", *Acadiensis*, vol. XI, no. 1 (Autumn 1981), p. 33.

⁷⁴ Joseph Scott to DesBarres, 20 May 1792, DesBarres Papers, vol. 18, p. 3388, reel 4, NSARM.

hands of Samuel Rogers in London involving £300, so Scott apparently continued engaging in mercantile activities. Rogers also acted a parental agent for Michael. Whatever the former difficulties with Michael, Scott could now write of his son:

How happy should I be could I anyway but in words convince [?] the warm high esteem I ever shall bear him [Michael], what is it that I do not owe the man of good sense who advised, cheered & comforted me in all my adverse difficulties? pray see if you can find out in conversation does this country afford anything that he could accept of to please him I shall long to know.⁷⁵

Joseph Scott made his will in April of 1800, attached a codicil on 22 September and died on 29 September.⁷⁶ He was buried near his house “in ground which is now included in All Saints Anglican Cemetery.”⁷⁷ Near his grave was said to be an Indian graveyard.⁷⁸

PART II

OWNERSHIP HISTORY

SCOTT MANOR HOUSE

⁷⁵ Joseph Scott to Governor DesBarres, Fort Sackville, 20 May 1792, DesBarres Papers, vol. 18, p. 3390, NSARM.

⁷⁶ *Royal Gazette*, 30 September 1800. For his will, see RG48, Court of Probate, Halifax County, Estate Papers, S-25, NSARM. Of his sons Scott only mentions “my beloved son Michael”, which suggests that his other sons had died. As well as Joseph Jnr., George and Michael, others sons may have been named William and Henry. Michael would make his will when a captain in the 61st Regiment aboard the *New Diligence* and die shortly afterwards, naming his mother as legatee. His will is with Joseph Scott’s estate papers. Either a relation or his father must have found the means to purchase Michael’s commission in the 61st Regiment.

⁷⁷ As to the location of Scott’s grave it appears on A.F. Church’s map (1865) for Halifax County with an insert for Bedford (see Map 6). See also R.V. Harris’ description of the burial site, which he visited around 1908. R.V. Harris, “In and Around Halifax”, *Acadiensis*, vol. 8 (1908), p. 23. Recently, Norman Fenety located the grave site marked by a “plain vertical rock”. Norman E. Fenety, “The History and the Story of All Saints Anglican Church Cemetery” (copies at the Manor House and the Archives of the Diocese of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island), pp. 21-22.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22. Harris wrote that near Scott’s grave site was “said to be an Indian graveyard”, but noted “I have never identified the situation”.

SACKVILLE LAND GRANTS

In 1759 Joseph Scott received grants totaling 850 acres in the area of Fort Sackville on which he erected sawmills.⁷⁹ Then, six years later in 1765, he made representations that:

encouragement being given for the importation [exportation] of lumber to Europe from America and that he has built saw mills at a very considerable expence, also intreating that a sufficient quantity of land might be granted him for supplying his mills and providing towards an export from the Harbour, on the lands lying on the eastern side of the Land leading from Fort Sackville which are mostly rough and unfit for cultivation.⁸⁰

Scott received a further grant of 7,000 acres to supply his saw mills. On the death of his brother George in a duel when Governor of Dominica, Joseph inherited all George's lands in Nova Scotia, including those on the west side of the Sackville River. Finally, also in 1767, he obtained a 16 acre grant adjoining his Fort Sackville property along its eastern boundary and extending down to the shore of Bedford Basin on which he would erect the Manor House (see Maps 1 & 2).⁸¹

DATING THE MANOR HOUSE

When John Robinson and Thomas Rispin, two Yorkshire farmers travelling through the province to determine prospects for immigrating, reached Fort Sackville, they found a "corn and a sawmill".⁸² They noted that during the last war a fort was

⁷⁹ RG20, Crown Land Grants, Old Bk. 2/145 & 149. At the same time George Scott received 400 acres adjoining Joseph's grants, Old Bk. 2/148. For location of grants see Crown Grants Map attached as Map 1.

⁸⁰ RG20, Crown Land Grants, Old Bk. 6/574 (see Map 1).

⁸¹ RG20, Crown Land Grants, Old Bk. 6/725 (see Maps 1 & 2). Elizabeth Pacey, however, in *Landmarks: Historic Buildings of Nova Scotia*, p. 21 claims that George Scott's legacy to his brother Joseph "was a generous 16 acres of land at the head of Bedford Basin. On this land Joseph and Margaret Scott built their manor house..."

⁸² John Robinson and Thomas Rispin, *Journey Through Nova Scotia* (New York, 1774), pp. 4-5. In 1981, Mount Allison University published a reproduction of the *Journey*...

kept there and they thought of lodging the night, but judged “their entertainment so indifferent” that they resolved to continue their journey.⁸³ As discussed in the History of Fort Sackville, at this time the fort was not garrisoned, and since 1770 Joseph Scott had been permitted to use and occupy it. It would seem that he was using the buildings as an inn. Although the road from Halifax ran within yards of the front of Fort Sackville and of the Manor House site, Robinson and Rispin make no mention of a house or an associated farm (see Maps 2 & 8). In the Architectural Assessment, it is suggested that the Manor House may have been constructed in stages. Although speculative, when Robinson and Rispin visited, on the Manor House site may have been the cook house for the barracks and which later became incorporated as the kitchen for the Manor House. Or, whatever was on the site, Robinson and Rispin associated it with the fort.

Our first clear reference to the Manor House comes from the Reverend Jacob Bailey, a loyalist, on his way to Cornwallis Township during the summer of 1779, who remarked on Sackville being a very pretty village consisting of:

several elegant buildings, a fort with a quantity of land under improvement from a large habitation [Manor House] standing on an eminence you have a beautiful prospect over the Bason down to the Navy yard...⁸⁴

A date of construction for the Manor House thus falls between the 1767 grant and Jacob Bailey’s comment of 1779. As part of the 1773 co-partnership agreement with John Day, Joseph Scott was to continue to reside at “at Rockville, otherwise called Fort Sackville where he then dwelt and should superintend and conduct the business of a Grist Mill”.⁸⁵ Three years later, if Scott’s statement to the chancery

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Journal of the Reverend Jacob Bailey, 13-16 August 1779, Jacob Bailey Papers, vol. 95, (microfilm, 14,899), NSARM. Also quoted without reference in C.B. Fergusson, “William Sabatier: Public Spirited Citizen or Meddling Busybody”, *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 5, no. 3 (September, 1975), p. 210, but is not in Tolson.

⁸⁵ Whether the Scotts dwelt in buildings of the fort or in a log cabin a few yards from where the Manor House would be built is unknown. For the log cabin possibility, see Tolson, p. 47. She reproduces a photograph of the cabin, dated 1931.

Ownership History: Scott Manor House

court is to be believed and there is no reason to doubt it, Joseph had gone to London where he would remain until 1780. It is likely that he would have commenced construction of the Manor House before his departure in 1776. That construction had reached a stage by 1779 when the building was definitely noticeable from the road, can be confirmed from Jacob Bailey's report. Another traveller in 1783 on his way from Windsor to Halifax provides further confirmation when he commented:

Lands from the last stop are worse than any I have seen and the nearer you approach this Tavern [at Sackville] they are worse being all stony and but little ground to be seen till you come to Scotts where there is a Grist Mill & a Saw Mill & a streak of land very good and a good Mansion House—⁸⁶

In an 1872 issue of the *Bedford Mirror* an item on "The Old Manor House" noted that: "Fully a century has passed away, since its foundations were laid..."⁸⁷ Tolson suggested a date of 1772⁸⁸ for construction, but it would seem a somewhat later date is likely and that it was built in stages with completion by around 1783. With all his financial difficulties how Scott raised the funds to construct the Manor House remains unknown.

TURNPIKE GATE AND LANDING PLACE INCIDENTS

In 1782 the Legislative Assembly passed an act to establish a turnpike toll gate and keeper's house at the bridge over the Sackville River.⁸⁹ Tolls were to be charged on carriages, horses, mares, cattle and other such farm animals. There was a £20 fine for not paying the toll. To reach the bridge from the Windsor Road and continue along Bedford Basin on the road leading into Halifax, travellers had to cross through Joseph Scott's land (see Maps 2 & 8). Settlers had been creating farms along the

⁸⁶ As quoted in C.B. Fergusson, "William Sabatier: Public Spirited Citizen or Meddling Busybody", p. 211 and Tolson, p. 82 who may have copied it from Fergusson. Neither gives the name of the traveller nor a reference.

⁸⁷ *Bedford Mirror*, 3 August 1872.

⁸⁸ Tolson, p. 52.

⁸⁹ Chapter XI, An Act to provide a fund towards keeping roads in constant repair..., passed in the Assembly on 2 July 1782 and in the Legislative Council on same date. RG5, Series S, vol. 6, NSARM. Tolson, p. 59 gives an incorrect date of 1762 for the act.

Halifax to Windsor road. As well, farmers from the agricultural townships drove their cattle and carted produce along the road to the Halifax market. Among these groups of farmers there was likely much opposition to paying tolls. What exactly precipitated the toll gate incident remains unknown, but “some evil-minded persons assembled together on horseback about 11 o’clock at night at the turnpike gate at Sackville, the 19th inst., [Saturday, 19 October 1782] and cut the gate to pieces”. A notice of the gate’s destruction placed in the *Gazette* by Hants County sessions was somewhat more graphic: “eight evil minded persons did on Saturday 19th surround the house of the gate keeper with guns and bayonets” and destroyed the gate.⁹⁰ A reward of £20 was advertised in the *Gazette*, but the culprits were never found.

In what may have been a related incident involved conflict over the nearby landing place for vessels up to fifteen tons. In 1784 John George Pyke, a justice of the peace and Assembly member for Halifax County, purchased at public auction five acres of land at Fort Sackville. There was, however, no suitable place to erect a house, so Pyke applied for a licence of occupation for a small bit of land at the landing place and began erecting a dwelling house and stable. According to Pyke, on 21 June 1784 Joseph Scott, while armed, assembled a riotous mob and at the head of them did “violently assault” those erecting the buildings. The mob led by Scott destroyed the buildings and drove off the tenant that Pyke had placed there.⁹¹ Apparently, a jury found Scott guilty and the tenant returned, only to be ejected again by Scott.⁹² Meanwhile, on 25 February 1785, Pyke received a grant for a house lot near the Fort Sackville bridge.⁹³

Pyke took his case to chancery court where he accused Joseph Scott of being

⁹⁰ Notice by the Trustees published in the *Nova-Scotia Gazette*, 29 October 1782 and Notice by Hants County sessions, *Nova-Scotia Gazette*, 26 November 1782. See also Beamish Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1865-67), vol. 3, p. 9.

⁹¹ Complaint of John George Pyke, RG36, Chancery Court, cause 69, NSARM.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Grant of house lot to John George Pyke, 25 February 1785, RG20, Crown Land Grants, Bk. 16, p. 3.

an “Arbitrary and Turbulent man... oppressing poor people who live in his Neighbourhood”. Pyke claimed that he had been in great measure induced to purchase the land for the relief of the local inhabitants who “had no landing place whereby they could communicate with the Bason unless through the lands of Joseph Scott”. The inhabitants were “much injured & oppressed” by Scott preventing their access to the landing place. Scott had a “vindictive disposition”.⁹⁴ That there had been a serious falling out between Pyke and Scott was likely because Pyke had originally purchased the supplies for erecting his buildings from Scott. Scott refused to answer the charges, claiming that they contained “scandalous, defamatory and impertinent, and other things”.⁹⁵

Pyke may have been exaggerating and omitting some evidence, but Joseph Scott’s violent behaviour in the landing place incident strongly suggests that he had led the armed horsemen in the toll gate’s destruction. It seems that local people were violently opposed to paying tolls and equally upset with Scott by being prevented from using the nearby landing place. Although it must have been commonly known who had been involved, no one would come forward to claim rewards. In fact, after the turnpike gate was reconstructed, it was once more demolished on 4 August 1785.⁹⁶ What seems to have finally resolved the issue of the toll gate was once more putting the position of toll gate keeper out to tender in 1786, but farmers “settled and settling on the Windsor Road” were to be “exempt from paying tole”.⁹⁷

FORT SACKVILLE IN 1800

⁹⁴ Complaint of John George Pyke, RG36, Chancery Court, cause 69.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* The outcome of the case is unknown.

⁹⁶ Beamish Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1865-67), vol. 3, p. 43.

⁹⁷ See Chapter VI, An Act for continuing and amending an act to raise a sum of money towards..., passed 1 July 1786, RG5, Series S, vol. 7. Nothing in the 1786 amendment provided for exemptions. The trustees took it upon themselves to make the exemption for local farmers. *Nova-Scotia Gazette*, 10 January 1786. See also *The Statutes at Large passed in the several General Assemblies held in His Majesty’s Province of Nova Scotia...* by Richard John Uniacke (1805), pp. 229 and 247 for summaries of the 1782 and 1786 acts.

By the beginning of the 1790s, though there would be no stage coaches on the Windsor road for another decade and a half,⁹⁸ the road was generally passable for carts and private coaches in the summer months and in winter for sleighs. With the establishment of King's College at Windsor and the town becoming the summer residence for many Halifax notables, traffic increased on the road and improvements followed. Among these was the construction in 1793 of a new bridge up river from the Old Bridge and off Scott's lands (see Map 2).⁹⁹ Lands along the Windsor Road remained sparsely settled with only ten farms in the vicinity of Fort Sackville.¹⁰⁰ By the end of decade, however, there was enough settlement along the Windsor Road for the government to create in 1804 Sackville Township, extending from the head of Bedford Basin to the Hants County line.

ERECTION OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, SACKVILLE

In 1806 Bishop Charles Inglis informed the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts that:

there is a settlement called Sackville, 15 miles from Halifax, on the public road leading to Windsor, lately made a parish [1804] in which a small church is built, and, Glebe laid out; and that the Churchwardens and Vestry have agreed to rent a cultivated farm with a house upon it [near Fort Sackville, see Map 3], for the residence of a Minister, until the Glebe can be improved and a Parsonage House erected.¹⁰¹

During the 1790s, Bishop Inglis on his travels had regularly stopped along the

⁹⁸ For stage coaches on the Windsor Road, see Brian Cuthbertson, *Fultz Corner: An Historical Survey* (prepared for Halifax Regional Municipality, 14 October 1998), p. 2.

⁹⁹ Tolson, p. 94. Another source says 1790. See A record of a commemorative event 1984, MG100, vol. 81, no. 2, NSARM. Tolson, however, would seem to be correct.

¹⁰⁰ Halifax Assessment Poll Tax, Sackville, 1792, no. 47, p. 24, RG1, vol. 444, NSARM.

¹⁰¹ *Annual Report*, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1807, p. 32. This first church burnt in 1828 and the present St. John's the Evangelist was erected a year later and consecrated in 1830.

Windsor Road to baptise the children of settlers.¹⁰² As early as 1791 Inglis had called on the Society to provide a school master for the inhabitants as there was neither a church nor a school, but nothing came of his request. Then, in 1796, with the settlement of the Maroons at Preston, the Reverend Benjamin Gray was appointed King's Chaplain to them.¹⁰³ A year later a further Maroon settlement was made, called Boydville Farm (Middle Sackville). Benjamin Gray began ministering to these Maroons and to a neighbouring English congregation in the Sackville area. After the Maroons' departure for Sierra Leone in 1800, Gray continued as missionary to the few English families at Preston. Once the Sackville settlers had erected a church, probably around 1805, as mentioned in Bishop Charles Inglis' letter, the Society gave approval for Gray to become missionary at Sackville.¹⁰⁴

THE MANOR HOUSE AT JOSEPH SCOTT'S DEATH IN 1800

Joseph Scott's financial difficulties, arising from his co-partnership with John Day, had caused him to put the Manor House with its stables, out buildings and garden up for rent in 1787.¹⁰⁵ Whether the property rented or not, Scott remained living at Fort Sackville for he appears in the 1792 poll tax return as a farmer living on the Halifax road.¹⁰⁶ How extensive Scott's improvements had become can be gauged

¹⁰² See address entitled: Bicentennial Address—Parish of Sackville November 18, 1990, author unknown, MG5, Sackville Parish, St. John's Church, Diocesan Archives of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

¹⁰³ For the Jamaican Maroons in Nova Scotia, see Lennox O'Riley Picart, "The Trelawney Maroons and Sir John Wentworth: The Struggle to Maintain their Culture 1796-1800", *Collections*, Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. 44, pp. 165-88.

¹⁰⁴ Bicentennial Address—Parish of Sackville November 18, 1990. Tolson, p. 74 believed on Gray's ordination by Inglis in 1796 that he was instituted into St. John's, Sackville, and therefore the church dated at least from that year if not earlier. Gray, however, was instituted into St. John's, Preston, a church Inglis had consecrated in 1791. In 1811 the Sackville church received financial assistance for its completion. St. John's, Sackville was not consecrated until a year before it burned. Because the land on which both churches were built was obtained in 1790 and there were worshipping Anglicans receiving the sacraments at Sackville, though no church, St. John's uses that date for its founding as a congregation; hence the Bicentennial Address, November 18, 1990.

¹⁰⁵ *Nova Scotia Gazette*, 8 May 1787.

¹⁰⁶ Halifax Assessment Poll Tax, Sackville, 1792, no. 47, p. 24, RG1, vol. 444, NSARM.

from the advertisement he put in the *Gazette* week after week in late 1792 and during the winter and spring of 1793 in an unsuccessful attempt to sell his property:

That very valuable Tract of Land known by the name of FORT SACKVILLE, containing of upwards of SEVEN THOUSAND ACRES. It is pleasantly and advantageously situated about Ten Miles from Halifax, at the Head of Bedford Bason, and on the main road Roads leading to Windsor and Cobiquid [Truro]. Its communication with Halifax by both land and water is extremely convenient, as Boats of Fifteen Tons and upwards may come up to the landing place, and Ships of any burthen within a quarter of a Mile of it. There are on the Premises two large and excellent Dwelling Houses, with Barns, Stables and out Houses—The improved lands offer Hay sufficient to winter Forty five Head of Cattle: the unimproved land is chiefly covered with Pine and Spruce fit for Masts and Spars: and with Birch, Beech, Maple and other Wood for Fuel. The Pasture Land is extensive, and full sufficient for one Hundred Head of Cattle, and is remarkable for fattening and improving the Breed of Neat Cattle—Exclusive of which there is a small part of the said Tract of Land under the annual rent of Twenty-six Pounds.

A large stream of water [Sackville River] upon which a Grist Mill and Saw Mill were formerly erected, runs through the greater Part of the Premises, and falls into Bedford Bason.¹⁰⁷

Both the grist and sawmills had ceased operation and Scott put up for sale also a pair of French burr mill stones and running gear for a saw mill.¹⁰⁸ Tolson says the grist mill was built well before 1783.¹⁰⁹ In 1782 the *Nova-Scotia Gazette* carried advertisements for the sale of English flour ground at Fort Sackville.¹¹⁰ A second grist mill was not be built until 1836 when William Piers constructed it in Pier's Cove (Millview).¹¹¹ Over the years Scott's capital investment in the Fort Sackville property must have been substantial, but its upkeep unsustainable when faced by the debts arising from his co-partnership with John Day.

The Fort Sackville property description mentioned two dwelling houses, one of which was obviously the Manor House. The second may have been what became

¹⁰⁷ *Royal Gazette*, 4 December 1792.

¹⁰⁸ The sawmills and grist mill had been “borne away, bodily, by a sudden and furious flood of the Sackville River. It is said, that the saw mill was kept well employed, but the grist mill, had no complete sinecure that he [it?], finally, died of ennuï”, *Bedford Mirror*, 3 August 1872.

¹⁰⁹ Tolson, p. 82.

¹¹⁰ For example, see *Nova-Scotia Gazette*, 29 October 1782.

¹¹¹ Tolson, p. 82.

known at Ten Mile House.¹¹² In 1798 there appeared an advertisement in the *Weekly Chronicle* in which John Maddock (Maddox), late of Aylesford, announced the opening of a HOUSE OF ENTERTAINMENT in the house “lately occupied by Colonel Scott, at Sackville”.¹¹³ In a codicil to his will Scott notes that the houses at Sackville are much in need of repair and gives to his wife all buildings “in the possession of John Maddox” and associated land. Margaret was to use this property, presumably from rents, to undertake necessary repairs to it and the Manor House.¹¹⁴

DISPOSAL OF THE FORT SACKVILLE PROPERTY

There was an immediate problem with Joseph’s will as he had not changed it before death to reflect the fact that apparently Foster Hutchinson and William Sabatier were entitled to the Sackville lands. This was not disputed by Margaret Scott and her son Michael. A most likely explanation is that to deal with the loss of the Sackville property by public auction to Richard John Uniacke, Hutchinson and Sabatier had stepped forward and provided the funds for Scott to recover his property. In return, Scott had mortgaged the Sackville lands to them, but it was unregistered. Foster

¹¹² Its date of construction also remains open to question. It is possible that the Scotts lived in the house and had rented out the Manor House to Samuel Mercer. The author of the Manor House history in the *Bedford Mirror*, 3 August 1872 wrote: Scott’s successor in the house was “Messer [Mercer], who dwelt in the mansion for several years. He tried farming, made a mess of it and, afterwards departed for lands unknown”. E.G.L. Wetmore traced the Ten Mile House only back to 1848. “Old Landmark Being Shifted”, *Chronicle Herald*, 28 August 1958. In *Founded Upon a Rock: Historic Buildings in Halifax and Vicinity Standing in 1967* (Halifax: Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, 1967, p. 114, has Joseph Scott building it in 1790. In 1802 Margaret Scott conveyed the property to John Lawlor, who apparently continued to use the house as an inn. RG47, Registry of Deeds, Bk. 35/591, NSARM. Tolson, p. 96 was also uncertain about this second dwelling on the Fort Sackville property. On p. 116, Tolson says “John Lawlor who kept an inn, either the Ten Mile House, of perhaps in the second house on the property”. She may well be right in concluding that Ten Mile House and the second dwelling were two different structures.

¹¹³ *Weekly Chronicle*, 23 June 1798, copy in CO217/69, pp. 159-60. Fergusson in his *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly* article on Sabatier quotes from the paper, p. 211 and Tolson, p. 96 copies it from Fergusson. If Scott had previously lived in the Inn, by 1798 it is clear he no longer did so. Maddox’s reference in the advertisement to Colonel Scott is the only such reference to him being called a colonel found in a public document during his life. Otherwise he was Joseph Scott, Esquire or just Joseph Scott.

¹¹⁴ Tolson, p. 96 misquotes the codicil and in doing so limits the need for repairs to the inn, when Scott states his “tenements at Sackville”, which would have included all dwellings and buildings.

Hutchinson was an official of the chancery court and likely had drafted the what legal documents may have been signed. After the will was probated, Hutchinson seems to have concluded the only way to deal with the problem was an act of the assembly.

Such a bill was passed by assembly in 1803 with the title: “An Act for confirming and establishing an agreement for the sale of lands... called Sackville in the last will of Joseph Scott Esquire, discharged certain Interests which may arise from the said will”.¹¹⁵ The bill noted that the estate was in much need of repair and in an uncultivated state. Neither Margaret Scott nor her son Michael had the ability nor the desire to cultivate and wanted to sell. Margaret had already leased the estate to Hutchinson and Sabatier for £100 a year.¹¹⁶ Now Hutchinson and Sabatier wanted to purchase it for £1250, but stated that they would not pay without the benefit of an act to ensure clear title. Although the bill passed the assembly, it was rejected in council for reasons unknown.¹¹⁷

WILLIAM SABATIER

William Sabatier was married to Foster Hutchinson’s sister. In what was presumably a private transaction with him, Sabatier took over the lease on the Fort Sackville property. Of Huguenot stock, Sabatier had come to Nova Scotia as a Maryland loyalist.¹¹⁸ He had considerable income from British investments and good family connections, which allowed him to engage in numerous business and public ventures, including playing a formative role in the Halifax Committee of Trade organized in 1804. Much of what we know of Sabatier’s ventures, and of succeeding owners at Fort Sackville in the 19th century, comes, indirectly, from successive issues

¹¹⁵ RG5, Series U, vol. 3, NSARM.

¹¹⁶ RG47, Registry of Deeds, Bk 35/591, NSARM. Before his death Joseph Scott had leased out substantial acreages and these are recorded in the lease given Sabatier.

¹¹⁷ RG5, Series U, vol. 3 and marked rejected in council, 9 July 1803, NSARM.

¹¹⁸ For Sabatier see David Sutherland, “William Sabatier”, *DCB*, vol. VI, pp. 676-77 and C.B. Fergusson, “William Sabatier”, pp. 204-30.

of the *Bedford Mirror* in 1872.¹¹⁹ Among the first improvements Sabatier made to the property was to replace the wooden bridge over the Sackville River with a stone bridge. In what apparently proved to be vain ventures, Sabatier tried dairy farming, planting of orchards and the growing of grain.¹²⁰ Among his public-spirited endeavours was his survey of a portion of the Halifax-Windsor road in the spring of 1812. An assembly grant of £8 allowed him to make the “Long Bridge” safe for the passage of any loads or number of cattle. He pointed out that the high level of expenditures over the years had not been well spent because a single road commissioner has not been appointed to supervise expenditures.¹²¹

“THE MOST DESIRABLE ESTATE IN THIS COLONY”

The Sabatiers apparently wished to remove to Halifax town for they put up for sale what was called the Mansion House in May 1812. In the advertisement carried in the *Royal Gazette*, we have a detailed description of the Manor House property when it could truly be called an estate and the finest in Nova Scotia:

THE SACKVILLE ESTATE

To be sold at private sale

The principal part of that valuable Estate, situated immediately at the head of Beford Bason, extending on each side the Sackville River as far as to the mouth of the Cobequid Road—thence on the said Road above four miles to the Subenacadie Lakes and containing in the whole, between seven and eight thousand Acres.

There are about 130 acres of meadow lands on each side of the Sackville River, and a body of excellent upland adjoining the meadow, of which are cleared not less than 150 acres in the proportion of half meadow and half arable. The rest is covered with a mixture of hard and soft wood. About 200 acres of these lands may be irrigated, principally by means of the River, which flows, even, in the driest season, and partly by neighbouring brooks. The soil is loamy, more inclined

¹¹⁹ Only a single issue of the *Bedford Mirror*, that of 3 August 1872, is extant. When, however, George Mullane, who wrote using the pseudonym Occasional in the *Acadian Recorder*, published an article on the Manor House, he had available successive issues of the *Mirror*. Most of the information on ownership of the Manor House used by Tolson and Fergusson in his Sabatier article comes from Mullane’s piece in the *Acadian Recorder* of 8 September 1917, though neither acknowledged the fact. The unknown author of the *Mirror* history of the Manor House had a caustic wit and this should be kept in mind when assessing the story as presented.

¹²⁰ *Acadian Recorder*, 8 September 1917 and also Tolson, pp. 98-101 and Fergusson, “William Sabatier”, p. 223.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 223-24.

to sand than clay, and easily worked. The fences are about half new and durable. For repairing and renewing the rest, there are nearly 1800 hemlock logs cut and peeled during last summer, and an abundance of other wood may be at a convenient distance.

Among the Lakes, and near the Cobequid Road, there is an excellent site for a saw-mill, with a fall of water of eight feet—a Lake above it may, by a short dam, be raised eight or ten feet more, and thereby furnish a constant supply of water during the driest summer. It is near a very fine timber country of both hard and soft wood; of the latter of which there are on the Estate about 600 spruce spars from 12 to 26 inches in the rounds.

On the eastern side of the Bason may be formed an extensive Brick Yard, to be carried on, either in the usual manner, or by water works, according to the modern improvements—The clay is of an excellent quality, and extends to the water's edge, the wharf is about finished, and will have about 10 feet of water at ebb tide—The Sackville River will furnish water for the Brick-works, and also a Grist or other mill which may be conveniently situated near the same place, and driven by the same stream. Wood and sand for the Brick-works may be procured within a short distance on the Estate.

Along the shore of the Cove are two retired spots in view of the high road and of the Bason; both pleasantly situated for Gentlemen's Country seats—The soil is of a superior quality, abundance of hard and soft wood is on the spot, and sea-weed can be easily brought from the neighbouring Bason.

The Mansion House is in good repair, having been completely new silled and shingled [likely refers to the roof only]. It has an excellent Cellar under the whole, 62 x 24 feet in the clear. The Barn, which is 56 by 32 feet, wants repair, for which dimension timber is already provided on the spot.

Near the road-side is a small Dwelling-house with a Blacksmith's shop and four acres of land attached it. There are also other new and commodious Buildings necessary for a Farm and a quantity of diminsioned timber and other materials for buildings and fences.

These premises lying along the main road, having the benefit of land and water carriage, and being within ten miles of Halifax—affording also various convenient situations for the Farmer the Miller, the Brick Maker, the Tanner and the Blacksmith, may be considered all together as the most desirable Estate in this Colony.

There is left of the last year's crop a stack of about 20 or 30 tons of meadow hay, with which, is also a variety of Tools and Farming utensils, a purchaser may be accommodated.

Should this Estate not be sold *entire* in the course of three months—it will be laid off in lots and offered for sale in parcels.

Wm. Sabatier

Sackville, May 1, 1812 ¹²²

If not before, in 1814, when Sabatier became sheriff of Halifax, the Sabatiers

¹²² *Royal Gazette*, 1 May 1812. A year later Richard John Uniacke began construction of Mount Uniacke and the development of an estate similar to that of the Manor House by Scott and Sabatier. Uniacke's, of course, has survived in its natural setting. Sabatier's use of Mansion House was no doubt a deliberate attempt to promote its sale, but it had been used by the 1783 traveller (see above).

moved to Halifax and then in 1819 to England. He engaged Charles Rufus Fairbanks as his attorney to undertake the sale on the Manor House.¹²³ In the early 1820s, an advertisement appeared in all the Halifax newspapers offering at public auction what was then called the “Sackville Estate”, a tract of land containing 8,000 acres, with a very large proportion covered with excellent timber. The Mansion House was stated to be in good repair. The estate had been divided into ten large lots to be sold together or in lots.¹²⁴

FAMILY NAMED HAVERSTOCK

According to author of the Manor House history in the *Bedford Mirror*, a family named Haverstock were the next inhabitants:

They cultivated the land to some extent, but their best paying crops were lumber. Not making enough money, they became enthusiastic in the search for treasures on land fronting the Basin between Rockville and Parker’s Brook.¹²⁵

LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILLIAM BERESFORD AND HIS WIFE MARY PURCHASE THE MANOR HOUSE

In an attempt to dispose of the property, it was apparently advertised in England. A Colonel William Beresford from Chilwell Hall in Nottinghamshire purchased the property in 1830.¹²⁶ Our author in the *Bedford Mirror* commented on Beresford:

He was a tall, fine-looking gentleman of dignified bearing, and so skilful a farmer that after a few experiments he resolved to seek his fortune elsewhere.¹²⁷

The Beresfords seem to have made no impression on the community. After

¹²³ Fergusson, “William Sabatier”, p. 228.

¹²⁴ George Mullane, *Footprints Around and About Bedford Basin* (reprinted from the *Acadian Recorder*, nd.), p. 30. On the same page Mullane has Joseph Scott as commander of Fort Sackville, confusing him with his brother George.

¹²⁵ *Acadian Recorder*, 8 September 1917.

¹²⁶ RG47, Registry of Deeds, Bk. 53/291, NSARM. John Lawlor was the seller of the property. He seems to have obtained it from Margaret Scott.

¹²⁷ *Acadian Recorder*, 8 September 1917.

seven years they turned over the Manor House property in 1837 to George Lister in exchange for some property in England (see Map 4).¹²⁸

GEORGE LISTER—COUNTRY SQUIRE

A bachelor living in Camden Town, London, at the time (in 1856 he would marry), George Lister arrived at the Mansion House intent it seems on establishing himself as an English country squire. Our *Bedford Mirror* historian commented on Lister:

He was a gentleman of the most unassuming manners, yet of good family, and collegiate attainments, remarkable for his high sense of justice, simplicity, purity of life, and private charities.¹²⁹

BEDFORD, THE MANOR HOUSE AND THE RAILWAY

The coming of the Nova Scotia Railway to Fort Sackville became the most significant development in the community's existence during the 19th century. In 1854 a line was constructed from Richmond Station in Halifax to Bedford, and a station, at least in part, completed by 1855. With the railway came the naming in April 1856 of "that part of the parish of Sackville in vicinity of the Railway Station situate at the head of the Basin" as Bedford.¹³⁰ A post office followed in the same year. With now such easy access from Halifax, hotels flourished.

Within Sackville Township, the Bedford community, though still very rural, had by mid-century a more diversified economy than communities further along the Windsor Road. In 1846 George Eastwood erected one of the first woollen mills in Nova Scotia. Ten years later with investment by William Tolson, the firm had become called the Tolson and Eastwood Woollen Manufactory. Located as it was on Bedford Bason, shipbuilding developed with three yards working by mid-century. A vessel of

¹²⁸ RG47, Registry of Deeds, Bk. 64/515, NSARM. Mullane in *Footprints Around and About Bedford*, states that George Lister owned the "Sackville Estate" at the time of exchange, p. 31, but deeds are clear that Beresford was the owner and Lister obtained from him the property.

¹²⁹ *Acadian Recorder*, 8 September 1917.

¹³⁰ *Place-Names and Places of Nova Scotia* (Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing, 1974), Bedford, p. 50.

note built in the yards of Terrence Cochrane was the *Circassia* of “unsurpassed quality”.¹³¹ On her maiden voyage as a mail carrier she made the run from Halifax to Liverpool, England in the fast time of seventeen days.

In his Sackville Estate George Lister owned lands on both sides of the railway as it crossed the Sackville River and ran on towards the Bedford Railway Station. His property was by far the most valuable in the community with an estimated value of £1500.¹³² Other than grow eight tons of hay for his four cows and a couple of bushels of potatoes, Lister did no farming. In 1854 he took advantage of the land speculation fever surrounding the railway. In the words of George Mullane:

Once the road was fairly under construction, Mr. Lister cut up that portion of the estate immediately at the head of the Basin, and on its western side, into good sized lots [see Map 5], and offered them for competition to the speculative inhabitants of that day who brought themselves to believe that snug fortunes were but loosely hidden in the land through which the iron horse snorted.

At a later day, lots to the east of the Sackville River [see Map 5] were disposed of to the extent of between forty and fifty acres, realizing about \$5,000 [£1175 in fact]. At this time it was predicted that Sackville would soon take the lead of all other towns in the vicinity of our Atlantic Coast.¹³³

In the second sale by public auction of lots in July 1856 on the eastern side was the Mansion House (Lot 17 on Map 5). For a sum of £448 Peter Ross, Halifax merchant, bought four lots including the Mansion House and surrounding lands for a total 6.35 acres.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Tolson, pp. 131-32.

¹³² Nova Scotia, 1851 Census, Polling District No. 17, RG1, vol. 451. Total estimated valuation for properties in the district was £24,920.

¹³³ George Mullane, *Footprints Around and About Bedford Basin*, p. 30. See also Tolson, who has a detailed and excellent account of the total 59 lots sold on the western and eastern side of the railway with accompanying map (Map 5), pp. 136-140.

¹³⁴ RG47, Registry of Deeds, Bk. 115/101 and see Bates, p. 24. At this point Lister married and built for himself and his wife a new house in Bedford. They were childless and the bulk of the original Joseph Scott property went to Mrs. Lister’s maiden sister, Mary Brockwell, who in turn left her inheritance to such charitable ventures as for the establishment of a home for orphan girls, which became the St. Paul’s Home of Girls. Bates, p. 24. Tolson, pp. 146-49 has a biographical sketch of

“WILLOW PARK SUMMER HOTEL”

Peter Ross held the Mansion House until 1865 when he sold it to Patrick Goulding.¹³⁵ Bates says that Goulding leased it to J. Unwin who opened in it the Willow Park Hotel (see A.F. Church’s 1865 inset Map of Bedford, Map 6), though the *Bedford Mirror* historian has Golden (sic) as operating it and commenting:

Mr. Patrick Golden in whose regime sumptuous entertainments, picnics and tea meetings were the order of the day. He was ever ready to entertain the weary traveller; whether he was man or a horse.¹³⁶

Sabatier had apparently planted twenty-five willow trees at the Mansion House. According to Tolson, it was said that the trees measured eight feet in circumference.

A grandson of Dr. John Ternan (see below) wrote her:

Grandmother’s mail used to come addressed to the Willows. I knew that the place had been an inn. Calling it the Willows makes good sense... some of willows rotted out inside, but were still growing, would hide a dump cart.¹³⁷

THE TERNAN ERA

Five years after Goulding purchased the Mansion House, he sold it to Dr. John Ternan, Fleet Surgeon, Royal Navy. Tolson in an *Atlantic Advocate* article described how the Ternan family:

lived graciously, “selected” young people, connected to the Royal Navy, played tennis on the lawn, and the villagers did not trespass. Once or twice a year the large back field was the scene of a large Church fair; and there were Christmas parties for the village children.¹³⁸

When Canada’s first warship, the *Charybdis*, a gift of Great Britain in 1880, had to be scrapped in 1883, John Ternan obtained some of the wood and from it he

Mary Ann Brockwell and her good works.

¹³⁵ Bates , p. 25 and RG47, Registry of Deeds, Bk. 167/566.

¹³⁶ *Acadian Recorder*, 8 September 1917.

¹³⁷ Tolson, p. 129.

¹³⁸ Elsie Tolson, “Fort Sackville House”, *The Atlantic Advocate*, vol. 63, no. 1 (September 1972), p. 39.

had gates made for the entrance to the Mansion House.¹³⁹ The family added to the property in 1906 with the purchase of lands on which had stood the old Fort Sackville.¹⁴⁰

BEDFORD AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

According to the 1901 Census there were 147 families living in Bedford, which continued to be predominantly rural in character. A map of 1907 (Map 7 of Bedford and Sackville) shows the village spread out along both sides of the railway and much as it had been at the time A.F. Church had drawn his map (Map 6). The area around Fort Sackville and the Manor House remained little built up, but note the Bedford Rifle Range and the Fish Hatchery. The former dated from 1866 and annual provincial rifle meets were held here. In the case of the Fish Hatchery it was in existence from around 1873 when hundreds of salmon returned annually to spawn.¹⁴¹

Change was, however, taking place in Bedford with the coming of electricity and the telephone shortly after 1900.¹⁴² In 1904 the double tracking of the Intercolonial Railway required the construction of a new bridge across the Sackville River. Of the new buildings erected, the Florence Hotel was the most imposing with its 56 bedrooms, parlours, salons and dining room. Socially, the Bedford Tennis Club with its Saturday night dances acted as the community centre. Most religious denominations had erected churches. In the case of the Anglicans, in 1905 the congregation built a new All Saints church. Members of the family were to occupy the Manor House until 1948, longer than any other owner. Near the end of the period, only three elderly daughters of John Ternan lived in it and then only in the summer.

ELSIE AND RICHARD TOLSON SAVE SCOTT'S MANOR HOUSE

After a long series of negotiations Elsie and Richard Tolson purchased the old

¹³⁹ Tolson, pp. 152-53.

¹⁴⁰ RG47, Registry of Deeds, Bk. 385/59.

¹⁴¹ According to Tolson, the hatchery remained in operation until 1961 and was used to stock other rivers and lakes with salmon and trout. Tolson, pp. 190-91.

¹⁴² Tolson, pp. 183 and 206. What follows largely comes from Tolson.

Manor House from John Atwood. The house was in such a sad state of repair that the Tolsons had to devote two years to its restoration before moving in with their children in November 1949.¹⁴³ Over the next forty years Elsie Tolson and her family would devote themselves to restoring and ensuring the preservation of Scott Manor House as heritage property.

PART III

ARCHITECTURAL ASSESSMENT

SCOTT MANOR HOUSE

On Nov.12/01, the following observations were made based on a cursory assessment of the Scott Manor House property:

1. The question of what the building's construction sequence may have been has figured in all previous studies. The main floor northeast extension, which is attached to the original north (kitchen) wing, is believed to have been constructed in 1840. This part of the building was removed in 1991 and rebuilt in 2000/01. The washroom addition to the east side adjacent to the stair (2 storeys) is stated to be of 1866 in some accounts, but of 1898 in at least one other. It seems likely that it was built to house indoor plumbing, and as such is more likely to be of the later date.

The balance of the building may be of a single construction phase, at least as judged by the foundation, which certainly appears to have been built all of a piece, (excluding the above noted additions). This foundation may well be from round 1770, though its characteristics do not categorically place it at that date. (Dry stone foundations of this type certainly were built well into the nineteenth century.)

¹⁴³ Margaret Coleman, "The Manor House", pp. 402-03.

There are, however, various contradictory features that may tend to call the single-phase interpretation into question.

Main level sub floor and finish floors are known to be of 1949 vintage.

Supporting joists (viewed from below in the cellar) are band sawn 2'x10's of spruce material and are of much earlier vintage, but certainly not of the eighteenth century. Beams, which support the floor joists appear to be hand hewn, and as such are presumably of earlier vintage than the joists, and are perhaps original. (Incidentally, all visible framing members appear to be of softwood, not the oak that is referred to in many of the historical accounts).

Comment by Brian Cuthbertson on the Norwegian oak story, which appears in nearly every account about the Manor House. It seems to derive from R.V. Harris' article, dating from 1908, which stated that "the frame work of this manor house is built of Norwegian Oak, brought to this country nearly one hundred years ago, and is still in a splendid state preservation."¹⁴⁴ There are 96 species of oak and none are or were in the past called Norwegian. In the 18th century large quantities of red and white oak, called "northern oak", were exported from Virginia.¹⁴⁵ A reasonable explanation would be that with the telling of the story "northern" became corrupted into the more romantic "Norwegian". In the early years after the founding of Halifax, it was the practice to import already cut heavy framing, which could readily be put together for erection. For Scott to have imported northern oak heavy timber framing from Virginia would not have been surprising.

Daniel Norris has observed that certain characteristics of the building suggest that it is unlikely that it is the result of a specific and master planned manor house project, but rather that it was completed in stages corresponding to evolving functional requirements.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ R.V. Harris, "In and Around Halifax", *Acadiensis*, vol. 8 (1908), p. 22.

¹⁴⁵ For this information on species and Virginia I am grateful to Alex Wilson of the Nova Scotia Museum of Natural History. As Coleman, p. 401, notes, red oak is native to Nova Scotia and it is quite possible that oak apparently in the surviving ceiling beams of the house is Nova Scotian.

¹⁴⁶ Daniel E. Norris, "Eighteenth Century Gambrel Roofed Houses in Nova Scotia: The Scott Manor House as a Case Study", presented at the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, Annual Conference, Calgary, Alberta, May 1997.

The unequal sized wings and flue systems at each end as well as the location of the original kitchen in one wing are first clues, while the existence of exterior shingles (visible from the cellar) on one of the interior walls suggests that the building was originally of a different configuration, or that a building was moved from another site to be incorporated into the Manor House being built on a new dry stone foundation. The shingles may on the other hand be on a wall, which was made weather tight for a winter during the construction process.

One is tempted to consider the possibility that the original kitchen was at first a cook house for the Fort Sackville barracks which are a stone's throw away. Any of these speculative prospects must remain such until a more exhaustive analysis is undertaken.

2. It seems possible that what is now the front entrance may originally have been a garden door; the rear hall (which now has coat rods), and from which the stair to the second floor mounts, may be the original front hall. It is quite likely that the original road passed to the east of the building (see Maps 2 & 8). It is not possible from a visual assessment of what is now the building interior to determine what the original room layout may have been, if different from the current layout, or what pattern of use may have characterized the dwelling in its early days. That said, there is no reason to believe that the room layout has been significantly altered.
3. The fragment of cladding exposed within the 1898 addition suggests that the original cladding was pine clapboard, and this would seem likely based on experience with other early Nova Scotia houses. (reference to new shingles in Sabatier's 1812 advertisement reproduced in *Ownership History: Scott Manor House*, p. 13, may refer to the roof).
4. The "front" veranda is probably pre-Victorian based on its characteristics, but not original.

5. Window proportions seem generally believable as original, with obvious (1949) exceptions. The replacement muntin sashes, which have been installed throughout the building are generally appropriate and may well reflect the original glass sizes that would have originally been available.
6. The incremental development of the building is in itself an interesting two-century chronicle of habitation on the site, and probably reflects the varying fortunes of its various owners.
7. The general physical condition of the house is good, and ongoing maintenance of the exterior of the building will keep it so.
8. The featured “viewing glass” fragment of cladding within the 1898 addition suggests that the original cladding was pine clapboard, and this would seem likely based on experience with other early Nova Scotia houses (as noted above reference to new shingles in the early period may refer to the roof.)
9. Previous accounts of the building regarding the reduced period detail, which has resulted from renovations in past years, are certainly accurate, however the fundamental characteristics of this building in terms of construction system, scale, and proportion are of great value in exemplifying the forthright, powerful architecture of the period. Window proportions seem generally believable as original, with obvious (1949) exceptions. The replacement muntin sashes, which have been installed throughout the building are generally appropriate, and may well reflect the original glass sizes (very small panes) which would have originally been used.
10. In this assessment the architectural antecedents for the gambrel roof design of the Manor House has not been discussed because the subject has been well covered in Daniel E. Norris’s paper “Eighteenth Century Gambrel Roofed Houses in Nova Scotia: The Scott Manor House as a Case Study”. Margaret Coleman in her Agenda Paper, 1988-19, for the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, entitled “The Manor House, Bedford, Nova Scotia”, also discusses the gambrel roof tradition in the section, Architectural Report.

PART IV
SUMMARY OF EXTANT KNOWLEDGE

JOSEPH SCOTT & THE MANOR HOUSE

1. Joseph Scott was born, 1724-25, into a County Tipperary Anglo-Irish family with lands at Ballingarry. He and all his brothers would leave Ireland to seek their fortunes across the Atlantic.
2. Joseph's brother George during the 1740s served as an officer in the 40th Regiment, stationed in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. He developed close ties with Massachusetts Governor William Shirley and Colonel Robert Monckton acted as a patron.
3. While George Scott was serving at Louisbourg, he obtained for Joseph the civilian position of quartermaster in Shirley's Regiment, dated 2 September 1748. At the time Joseph was either in Ireland or London and did not come out to Louisbourg to take over his duties.
4. Joseph came out with Cornwallis' fleet in June 1749 for the founding of Halifax.
5. Joseph quickly established himself as a merchant and civic official, becoming a justice of the peace and *custos rotulorum* (principal justice of the peace) and first judge of the inferior court of common pleas. He married a Mary Morris and had at least two children before she died sometime before 1763.
6. Through his brother George as lieutenant colonel of a provincial regiment raised for the capture of Beauséjour, Joseph likely received military provisioning contracts, the office of paymaster of the Halifax Garrison, 1761-62, and contracts to provide timber for the town's fortifications.
7. Beginning in 1759 Joseph received land grants in the Fort Sackville area totaling 7000 acres and he erected sawmills on the Sackville River.
8. In 1763 he married Margaret Ramsay Cottnam and through this marriage and by reason of his brother George possibly marrying Mary Cottnam, Joseph became allied with the Cottnam, Tonge and Day families.
9. By 1770, at least, Joseph and Margaret were permanently resident at Fort Sackville, perhaps in the then unoccupied barracks or another nearby building.

From there he operated a grist mill and sawmills. He may also have run an inn.

10. During the years from 1773-74 to 1783, Joseph Scott erected what became called the Manor House, and which may have been, however, built in stages.
11. A fateful partnership with John Day led to severe financial difficulties for Joseph Scott. He was forced to mortgage the Fort Sackville Estate.
12. Some time between 1772 and 1778 Joseph lost the offices of justice of the peace, *custos rotulorum* and first judge of the inferior court of common pleas. He withdrew entirely from any civic activity.
13. During the 1790s he lost title to the Fort Sackville Estate, but was able to recover it before his death in 1800.
14. At his death the Manor House and other buildings were in a state of disrepair and the lands uncultivated.
15. Joseph Scott lies buried in a grave, marked by a vertical rock, within All Saints Anglican Cemetery, and possibly near a reputed Indian burial ground.
16. By his two wives, Joseph Scott had at least five children and probably more. None seem to have been living (further research may prove otherwise) by Joseph's death in 1800, with the exception his youngest son, Michael, who would die in 1806.
17. Joseph Scott held military commissions in the Halifax Militia. Through the influence of Richard Bulkeley, provincial secretary, Joseph became lieutenant colonel of two volunteer units, which, other than entries in Bulkeley's commission books, there is no evidence of that they existed. During his lifetime the single reference in a public document to Joseph Scott being called colonel is in the *Weekly Chronicle*, 23 June 1798, in John Maddox's advertisement that he has

opened a inn in the house formerly occupied by Colonel Joseph Scott. In the 1872 *Bedford Mirror* reference, Joseph is confused with his brother Lieutenant Colonel George Scott. As a justice of the peace, Scott used esquire after his name, so he was referred to as Joseph Scott, Esq. or simply as Mr. Joseph Scott.

PART V

HISTORY OF FORT SACKVILLE¹⁴⁷

MI'KMAQ AND ACADIANS

During the long struggle for North American empire, both the French and the English were well aware of the magnificent natural harbour, called by the Mi'kmaq “Chebookt”, meaning “chief harbour” or “great long harbour”. Before the loss of mainland Nova Scotia to Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the French had considered fortifying Chebucto. In the following decades, both Mi'kmaq and Acadians frequently used the portage-and-stream route from Cobequid via the Shubenacadie

¹⁴⁷ The chief secondary sources for Fort Sackville's history are Bates and D. Lee, Staff Historian, Parks Canada, Agenda Paper, Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Fort Sackville, 1988-18 (hereafter Lee).

and Sackville Rivers and also the one from Pisiquid as they went back and forth to Fortress Louisbourg.¹⁴⁸ Other than the harbour served as an occasional fishing station, there was no continuous Acadian settlement. Acadians did cut a rough road or trail (Pisiquid Road) from Minas to head of Bedford Basin over which they could drive their cattle for shipment to Louisbourg. In 1746 they would bring provisions to the ill-fated French expedition at its rendezvous in Bedford Basin. Under the command of the Duc d'Anville, the fleet had been sent from France to recapture Fortress Louisbourg and Annapolis Royal, but storms and disease destroyed most of it and the remnants returned to France.

During 1746 and 1747 the British sought to establish greater military control over mainland Nova Scotia by strengthening Annapolis Royal and having Captain John Gorham and his much feared Indian rangers (mostly full blood Mohawks) erect wooden blockhouses at Cobequid and Chignecto. A scion of an old and leading colonial Massachusetts family, Gorham had first arrived at Annapolis Royal in 1741 as a military officer and had fought at Louisbourg in the successful 1745 siege.¹⁴⁹

FOUNDING OF HALIFAX AND BUILDING FORT SACKVILLE

After the founding of Halifax in June 1749, Governor Edward Cornwallis appointed Gorham to his council. In September, to give early warning of attack, Cornwallis ordered Gorham and his rangers to establish a post at the head of Bedford Basin. They used an armed sloop to carry building materials and supplies. Gorham sited the outpost strategically on a small hill, about 100 feet above sea level, and directly overlooking where the Sackville River flowed into Bedford Basin, while also commanding the old Acadian road to Pisiquid. Named Fort Sackville, in honour of Lionel Sackville, 1st Duke of Dorset and lord president of (privy) council, Gorham and his rangers were to erect barracks and remain the winter.

¹⁴⁸ Andrew Hill Clark, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 225.

¹⁴⁹ For Gorham, see John David Krugler, "John Gorham", *DCB*, vol. III, pp. 260-61 and more particularly for Fort Sackville, see George T. Bates, "John Gorham 1709-1751: An Outline of his activities in Nova Scotia 1744-1751", *Nova Scotia Historical Society, Collections*, vol. 30, pp. 27-77.

By the middle of October, Cornwallis could report the post at the head of the Basin and another at Minas (Fort Vieux Logis) had been made secure. An early report of Fort Sackville's appearance comes from the diary of John Thomas, a surgeon with New Englanders at the successful Fort Beauséjour siege, on a march in December 1755 from Pisiquid to Halifax, in which he recorded:

[we] come to a Small Fort Situated att the Hed of a Fine Large Bason Called Hallefax Bason[,] the Fort is Called Fort Sacvile [and] it Contains Near an Acre of Ground[,] it is built with Pickquits [and] it is 4 Squared But one Canon & a few Swivel Guns[,] No Blockhouse & In my opinion may be Easely Taken [.] it is Generally Garossioned with one Capt one Sublatern & 50 men...¹⁵⁰

Another mention comes from the anonymous author of "Remarks relative to the Return of the Forces in Nova Scotia", written in 1755 to give an idea of British forces in Nova Scotia. He described Fort Sackville as:

a post at the Head of Chebucto Bay of Bason, about 12 miles by water and 15 miles by land from Halifax. It is by this Fort that the Route lyes to the interiour parts of the Province and from which Halifax may be alarmed in case of any sudden attempt of the French or Indians upon us by land.¹⁵¹

Cornwallis also hired Acadians to clear the road from Minas. By mid-December 1749 they had reached Fort Sackville. As Indian attacks intensified, Gorham and his rangers used this road to march to Minas in support of troops posted there and to recover prisoners taken by the Mi'kmaq. At an ambush on the St. Croix River Gorham would be wounded.¹⁵² Various companies of rangers continued to use Fort

¹⁵⁰ "Diary of John Thomas", Nova Scotia Historical Society, *Collections*, vol. 1, p. 138.

¹⁵¹ Akins, *Selections*, p. 402.

¹⁵² See Bates, "John Gorham", pp. 56-58. From 1744 through to 1760 the British and Mi'kmaq were at war. Historians call it the Anglo-Micmac War. See Stephen Patterson, 1744-1763: Colonial Wars and Aboriginal Peoples in *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History*, eds. Phillip A. Buckner and John G. Reid (Acadiensis Press, 1994), pp. 125-55.

Sackville, though it is unclear if there was a continuous garrison. In 1752, for example, about 60 rangers were stationed at Fort Sackville.¹⁵³

During the Seven Years War, which began as far as Nova Scotia was concerned with the British capture of Fort Beauséjour in 1755, occasional references to Fort Sackville appear. Indians were frequently reported around the fort and at Lunenburg.¹⁵⁴ The chief importance now of Fort Sackville lay in its role for securing communications with the interior of the province and especially with the garrisons at Minas and Annapolis Royal. In a report to the War Office in 1759, Major Mackellar of the Royal Engineers described Fort Sackville as:

a small stockaded Fort of about 60 yards outward. Polygon [in fact, square-shaped] with four bastions badly constructed, it stands upon the entrance of a small River at the head of Bedford Bason, it mounts one 6 pounder, two ½ pounders and two small wall pieces. The Stockade are almost rotten and I think cannot stand above a year or two. The ground is seen from a hill upon the Opposite side of the River at about 250 or 300 yards distance.

There are three houses within it all of Timber, one a Barrack for about 50 men with some room for provisions and a Guard Room, all under the same roof, another has apartments for three officers. These two want but a few Repairs. The third has been a dwelling House, but is now Ruinous and used as a Wood House. There is likewise a small blockhouse for the Garrison to Retire in case of the Stockades being forced. This has lately been built and not quite finished.

The use of this post is to cover the Road to Minas which passes a little way of it....¹⁵⁵

From this report it would seem that a blockhouse had been erected. In 1754 a figure of £90 was put in the estimates at Fort Sackville and this may have been for the building of a blockhouse.¹⁵⁶ As well, road building to secure communications continued with the cutting of roads from Truro and Onslow Townships through to the

¹⁵³ Bates, p. 13. He gives as his source "Memoires sur le Canada depuis 1749 jusq á 1760" (page 31).

¹⁵⁴ Beamish Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, vol. II, p. 366

¹⁵⁵ A Report on the Condition of the Fortifications and buildings at Halifax in Nova Scotia and its outposts by order of the Honourable Board of Ordnance, 23 May 1758, signed Pat: Mackellar, Sub Director & Major and dated 12 April 1759, MG12, WO55, vol. 1820, part 1, pp. 8-9, microfilm 134, NSARM. Mackellar was critical of the fort's situation because a great part of the garrison could be picked off by musketry from the opposite hill. He recommended a good block house to replace the present structure be constructed, but this was never done, p. 15.

¹⁵⁶ Akins, *Selections*, p. 691.

Fort Sackville.¹⁵⁷ In 1760 “all the troops which could be spared from Duty” in the Halifax garrison were set to work building bridges and filling in swamps along the road.¹⁵⁸ Acadian prisoners in 1761 were employed in improving the road from Halifax to the fort.¹⁵⁹ During this period militia seemed to have been used at times to garrison Fort Sackville as in 1762 “100 Militia of Kings County, at Sackville” were given leave by the governor in council to return “to guard their settlements against Indians”.¹⁶⁰ But after years of vicious warfare, peace with the Mi’kmaq was at hand.

FEASTING THE MICMAC

In the *Bedford Mirror* of 3 August 1872, in a story on the Manor House, the following appeared:

Here its founder, Colonel Scott, feasted some forty of the Micmac tribe for days upon the lawn. The hatchet had been recently buried. Jean Baptiste, Major the local chief, and his son appeared resplendent in the golden Belts and laced caps, presented to them, formerly by Governor Hopson, with the wish that “Sun and the Moon shall never see an end of our friendship”. Songs, dances, and wild legends enlivened the entertainer: a personage of commanding figure and pleasing aspect—a fine tableau of the highly civilized man fraternizing with the untutored sons of the forest!

Tolson calls this story “Indian Pow-Wow on the Lawn at Bedford”. She believes that Joseph Scott was then living in a log house on his Fort Sackville property and the treaty signing took place in 1759 when Charles Lawrence was governor. She extolls Scott as a friend of the Indians.¹⁶¹ It is difficult to make sense of this Pow-Wow story and provide much historical basis for it.

In the 1750s, however, Jean Baptiste Cope, also sometimes called Major Cope, was chief of a Mi’kmaq tribe of Shubenacadie and along with some of his family

¹⁵⁷ Beamish Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, vol. II, p. 390.

¹⁵⁸ Lee, p. 2 as found in MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 64, p. 266, National Archives and not available on microfilm at NSARM.

¹⁵⁹ Beamish Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, vol. II, p. 407 (in council 21 Sep 1761).

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

¹⁶¹ Tolson, p. 49

involved in the Anglo-Micmac war of 1749-53.¹⁶² Cope came to Halifax in September 1752 to open negotiations with Governor Peregrine Hopson with the result of a treaty signing in the following November. This would explain the story's reference to "golden Belts and laced caps" as presents from Hopson. Hopson's treaty with Cope proved, however, still born and war with the Mi'kmaq continued until the fall of Quebec. Treaties with various tribes and chiefs were signed at Halifax in 1760 and 1761 with the major ceremony taking place on 25 June 1761 at the governor's farm on the outskirts of Halifax. At this ceremony the Chief of the Cape Breton Micmac spoke the words quoted in the *Mirror* story— "As long as the Sun and Moon shall endure" the Indians would hold the treaty inviolable.¹⁶³

Jean Baptiste Cope is not among the surviving names of chiefs who signed treaties. For this reason it has been assumed he died at the Miramichi, where the last record of him occurs.¹⁶⁴ The *Bedford Mirror* story suggests, however, that Cope did not die at the Miramichi but was present for the ceremony at the governor's farm. If the *Mirror* story can be relied upon, sometime afterwards there was the gathering of local Indians at Fort Sackville as described in the story. By this time Colonel George Scott would have returned from the capture of Quebec. He had been fighting against and negotiating with the Mi'kmaq and Malecites since his arrival in Nova Scotia in the 1740s.¹⁶⁵ Holding such an event as described in the *Mirror* would have been natural

¹⁶² Micheline D. Johnson, "Jean Baptiste Cope", *DCB*, vol. III, p. 137.

¹⁶³ Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher, acting governor, to the Lords of Trade, 9 April 1761, CO217/18, 25 June 1761, "Ceremonials at concluding a peace...", ff. 277-84.

¹⁶⁴ Micheline D. Johnson, "Jean Baptiste Cope", *DCB*, vol. III, p. 137.

¹⁶⁵ George Scott with other officers of the 40th Regiment were much involved in actions against Indians and in negotiations with them. For reference to Scott's involvement see Ronald Rompkey, ed., *Expeditions of Honour: The Journal of John Salusbury in Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1749-53* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1982), pp. 60, 62, 66-67, 70, 73, 89 & 90. Scott was a noteworthy commander of light troops and rangers. In his will he left "To my very honest, lazy friend Alexander Winniatt, Esq., 100 pounds, with my Fusee [musket], and Scalping Axe". Tolson, p. 65. In 1755, the Indians of the St. John River requested that George Scott be sent to them as a hostage because they knew him. Governor Charles Lawrence refused the request, see the "Journal of John Winslow", Nova Scotia Historical Society, *Collections*, vol. IV, p. 222.

for him to stage. As far as is known Joseph Scott never had any dealings with Indians and the colonel referred to in the story was almost certainly his brother George. The incorrect attribution to Joseph as the colonel in the story may explain in part how Joseph in the later historical record becomes called a colonel.

JOSEPH SCOTT AND FORT SACKVILLE

During the peace from the end of the Seven Years War in 1763 to the American Rebellion in the next decade, the extent Fort Sackville was garrisoned remains uncertain. At times, it was definitely not occupied for in March 1770 Richard Bulkeley as provincial secretary wrote Joseph Scott that it was necessary that the fort and barracks at Sackville should be put under the care of proper persons. The governor desired that Scott take on care of the fort and use “the best methods either by occupation or otherwise” to preserve it against receiving any injury from “mischievous persons”.¹⁶⁶ Scott apparently decided to use the fort for in December Governor William Campbell granted him such permission while using for justification: “in consideration of sundry damages done to the millwork of the said Joseph Scott by troops on command at various times”.¹⁶⁷ When the Yorkshire farmers, John Robinson and Thomas Rispin, travelling in 1774 through the province to determine the prospects for immigrating, reached Fort Sackville, they noted: “A fort was kept here during the late war” and made no mention of any garrison.¹⁶⁸ As discussed in the History of the Manor House, Scott may have used the fort’s buildings as an inn.

DURING THE AMERICAN WAR

Until the forced withdrawal to Halifax from Boston of the British troops besieged there in the spring of 1776, little had been done for the defence of Nova Scotia. With the arrival of troops, Fort Edward at Windsor and Fort Cumberland (formerly

¹⁶⁶ RG1, Orderly Book, vol. 170, 6 March 1770.

¹⁶⁷ RG20, Crown Land Grants, Old Bk. 8/175.

¹⁶⁸ John Robinson and Thomas Rispin, *Journey Through Nova Scotia* (New York, 1774), pp. 4-5

Beauséjour) were re-occupied and put into a state of defence. Although there was a proposal to build defensive works at Fort Sackville, the officer commanding at Halifax reported that the fort was surrounded by hills and nothing could be done except at vast expense. He decided to garrison it with a sergeant and twelve men.¹⁶⁹ When the Reverend Jacob Bailey travelled from Halifax to Cornwallis Township in August 1779, the commanding officer of the guard at the bridge required him to produce a pass.¹⁷⁰ By 1783 and the end of the war, however, Fort Sackville had ceased to have any role in the defences for Halifax.

PRINCE EDWARD AND A NEW BARRACKS

After war began with revolutionary France in 1792, as commander of the British forces in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, Edward, Duke of Kent, and fourth son of George III, spent vast sums on improving Halifax defences. Although minor in the scale of new defence works, Fort Sackville got a new barracks to replace those constructed in 1749. These new barracks held accommodation for one officer and 35 men.¹⁷¹ Of all his defensive measures, Edward's visual telegraph system has aroused the most interest. Initially, it served for communication between outer forts and stations and the earthen works and blockhouse Edward erected on citadel hill. Later he had his visual telegraph extended to Annapolis Royal. Elsie Tolson states a signal mast as part of the telegraph system was erected at Fort Sackville, but no source has been found for her statement.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Lee, p. 4, as found in MG11, NSA, vol. 96, p. 143, National Archives and not available on microfilm at NSARM..

¹⁷⁰ Journal of the Reverend Jacob Bailey, 13-16 August 1779, Jacob Bailey Papers, vol. 95, microfilm, 14,899, NSARM.

¹⁷¹ Harry Piers, *The Evolution of the Halifax Fortress 1749-1928*, p. 99 reproduces a report on barracks at Halifax and Annapolis Royal, dated 1835.

¹⁷² Tolson, p. 88. For example, there is no mention of a station at Fort Sackville in James H. Morrison, *Wave to Whispers: British Military Communications in Halifax and the Empire, 1780-1880* (Parks Canada, 1982). Lee in the Fort Sackville Agenda Paper makes no reference to Fort Sackville as signal post. It may, however, be a reasonable assumption that it was part of the telegraph system, considering its location.

DESERTER OUTPOST

Throughout the 19th century there was British garrison in Halifax. In North America desertion remained a serious problem for most of the century with the United States so temptingly close. In an attempt to detect deserters from the Halifax garrison, military authorities stationed a detachment at Fort Sackville with the sole task of apprehending deserters. Sometime before 1827 a guard house was erected to observe closely the bridge crossing the Sackville River (see Maps 8 & 9).¹⁷³ Either in 1883 or 1890 this building burned.

DESTRUCTION OF BARRACKS AND SALE OF PROPERTY

When the new barracks were completed, it is likely at the same time that the blockhouse was dismantled (the blockhouse at Annapolis Royal survived to 1882 when it was sold for firewood). In an 1875 photograph the barracks appears as one-and-a-half storey structure covered with shingles. In 1912 the barracks was apparently set alight by sparks from a nearby fire and was completely destroyed. By then Gerald Ternan had purchased the Fort Sackville site.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Lee, p. 392, discusses the use of Fort Sackville as a “deserter outpost”.

¹⁷⁴ RG47, Registry of Deeds, Bk. 385/159-62. The sale is dated 19 April 1906.

