Travelling the Road from Halifax to Windsor: Origins & Evolution of a Landscape, from

Prehistory to the mid-19th Century.

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Abstract

This thesis charts the beginning of the road as a drove road, its iteration as military infrastructure, the development of a service industry following its settlement and the expansion of coaching in the province, and finally the results of the decision to link Halifax and Windsor with a railway. Throughout these different periods this thesis describes what it was like to travel upon the road, how the cultural landscape of the road changed, and the changing of the road's state between liminal and substantiated.

This thesis utilizes methods from the disciplines of archaeology, geography and history to critically analyze primary and secondary historical sources, to describe the evolution of the road from Halifax to Windsor.

This thesis gains insights into cultural, economic and political changes affecting the province of Nova Scotia broadly, and finds material manifestations of the decisions made by several important historical figures.

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associated with Dr. Fowler and his sage advice and guidance. Thanks Jonathan, I really

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INTRODUCTION - THE IMPORTANCE OF ROADS

Nova Scotia is one of four Atlantic Provinces in Canada; it was one of the earliest territories in North America to be reached by Europeans and has seen many different peoples live upon its shores. Within Nova Scotia there is a road that connects two important communities, one the agricultural heartland of the province, the other the center of administration, the capital. This road is the highway between Windsor and Halifax, and its history extends hundreds of years into the past. Today commuters may travel between Windsor and Halifax by automobile for work or pleasure. In the past this road has seen a host of travellers, such as the Mi'kmaq, Acadians, British, and notable public figures, Joseph Howe, Lady Sherbrooke and Lord Dalhousie. The road spans much of the province's history and the physical landscape of the road has evolved from a simple cattle track into a 100-series highway.

This thesis charts the evolution of this road as an ever-evolving place throughout much of its history. The Oxford English Dictionary defines a road as a "path of way".[1] The origin of the word road in reference to a path of way begins with the development of road as meaning "action of riding". In the etymology of the word road, roads and horseback riding are intrinsically linked in the English language; the word only begins to reference a path of way when riding on paths becomes common. Roads are more than just places to ride horses, however. Hilaire Belloc in 1911 describes roads as primal and

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[1] "road, n.". OED Online. June 2016. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.library.smu.ca:2048/view/Entry/166506?rskey=hS3Zbd&result=1 (accessed June 29, 2016).

interconnected to our humanity, similar to our need for fire, or refuge, Belloc describes

roads as a human need that we take for granted. Roads are, to Belloc:

> […] the most imperative and the first of our necessities. It is older than building
> and than wells; before we were quite men we know it, for the animals still have it
> to-day; they seek their food and their drinking-places, and, as I believe, their
> assemblies, by known tracks which they have made.[2]

Roads are important because they represent a way between two places we want to be. In

this way they encompass the aspect of liminal space. Liminality as a concept was first

explored by Arnold van Gennep. He coined the term in 1906 after publishing *Rites de

Passage*.[3] Van Gennep explored the rituals surrounding rites of passage, describing each

ritual as having a three-fold sequential structure. These three stages were described as

preliminal rites, liminal rites, and postliminal rites.[4] The middle stage is characterized by

passing through a threshold that marks a boundary between two phases. The term

'liminality' was created by van Gennep to define this journey. Liminality can also

concern spatial dimensions, such as borders, frontiers, airports, and even crossroads.[5]

Roads are by their nature a liminal space because they exist between a beginning and end.

If travelling is a ritual they are the middle stage, stuck in the ambiguity and disorientation

of being between two places, where you were and where you want to be.

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[2] Hilaire Belloc, *The Old Road.* (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1911), 4-5.
[3] Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960).
[4] Ibid, 21.
[5] B. Thomassen, *The Uses and Meanings of Liminality*. (International Political Anthropology, 2009), 2(1): 16.

Roads can at times be both a liminal space and yet also a space in which one comes to construct an identity, a space with substance: a place. The difference between space and place is understood through the definition of the geographic concept of space as a supplement to substantially conceived objects. Mazúr and Urbánek argue that this is akin to a synonym for emptiness.[6] Place is created when humans give meaning to a part of space.[7] Illouz goes as far to argue that travel, especially romantic travelling, that is travelling for pleasure, enacts the three stages that characterize liminality as proposed by van Gennep: separation, marginalization, and reaggreation.[8] The act of travelling for pleasure, rather than utility, can help form the meaning that transforms a space into a place. As well, for someone who lived upon the road from Halifax to Windsor, the road was not a liminal space through which they passed but a place, a home. To them the road may not have been a means to an end but simply an end.

Roads may also pass through many different stages of being, from liminal space, to substantiated place, to liminal space again. Roads also have different meanings for different types of peoples. A road both as an object and concept is at times liminal, a place for cattle to be driven or troops to be marched, but also substantial, a place where a farmer comes back from the market with a full purse, or a place where a hard-working coachman stops over to enjoy lunch. It is hard to describe the road in any one way, to pin it down with an exact description that gives a general understanding of the road through time to each person that travelled it. This thesis does not attempt to do that, rather it tracks

[6] E. Mazúr & J Urbánek *Space in Geography*. (GeoJournal 1983), 7(2): 139-143.
[7] Yi-Fu Tuan "Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective" in *Philosophy in Geography*, eds. S. Gale, Gunnar Olsson. (1979), 387-427.
[8] Eva Illouz *Consuming the Romantic Utopia: Love and Cultural Contradictions*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 143.

the development of the road through its various stages, and the forces, whether political or economic, that shape it.

The shape that the road takes through time inevitably concerns its setting. Generally when one thinks of the setting of a road one thinks of a landscape. Perhaps in one's vision there is a river following over the saddle between two snow-capped mountains, into a green valley. Perhaps if one were to imagine further one may envision a small dirt road that follows the river, leading to a cabin at the base of the valley. This cabin, modern with aluminium siding and a silver dish that points off into the sky, is ringed by walls built of rounded stone, retrieved from the bed of the river. Looking further one may notice a small depression in the long yellow-green grass behind the house, perhaps only four metres across from, which upon both sides juts large slabs of cut rock. It does not seem as if this modern cabin is the only habitation to have been located in this valley. Who lived here before? Do their descendants live in the cabin? How did they identify with their environment? Can we learn something of them through its analysis? Why did they build a wall? When one begins to think this way about the landscape, one begins to delve into landscape theory.

The term 'cultural landscape' was first used by the geographer Otto Schulter in 1908, who distinguished it from the 'original landscape'.[9] For Schulter, the original landscape was a landscape that existed prior to human interference, and the cultural landscape was a landscape created by human culture. From these rather simple ideas rose

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[9] P.E. James and G. Martin *All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical Ideas.* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1981), 177.

a field which has come to straddle multiple disciplines as a truly interdisciplinary framework.

W. G. Hoskins popularized the concept of cultural landscape among archaeologists and historians with *The Making of the English Landscape* (1971), first published in 1955. Hoskins described the landscape of England beginning in prehistory, moving through Roman colonization, through the Dark and Middle ages, into the Renaissance period, and all the way up towards the present. He describes the landscape as taking on distinctive characteristics of the men and women who lived within it throughout its evolution.[10] He emphasizes the fact that the landscapes in England have been shaped over time by various cultures, whether they be prehistoric, Roman, or Anglo-Saxon, and that by viewing these landscapes and analyzing them, one can learn something about the cultures that changed them from their natural form.[11] Following Hoskins' injection of landscape theory into the fields of archaeology and history, scholars began to adapt the theory to fit their own research.

Modern scholars of landscape often describe it as "[…] a palimpsest on to which each generation inscribes its own impressions and removes some of the marks of earlier generations."[12] Scholars who ascribe to the theoretical concept of landscape, and in particular perhaps landscape archaeologists, view landscape as a type of vellum which has been written on, over and over again, by succeeding generations. If one looks beyond the present text on the parchment, one may be able to learn something about the past

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[10] W. G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape.* (London: Pelican Books, 1971), 19.
[11] Ibid., 20.
[12] Michael Aston and Trevor Rowley, *Landscape Archaeology: An Introduction to Fieldwork Techniques on Post-Roman Landscapes.* (London: David & Charles Limited, 1974), 14.

authors, as one views their faded text. For much of its history, landscape archaeology in particular has been almost entirely an empirical pursuit.[13]

Subjective interpretations of landscape rise out of the post-processual theoretical framework popularized by archaeologists such as Ian Hodder, Daniel Miller, and Christopher Tilley in the 1980s.[14] A reaction to processualism in archaeology in the 1970s, post-processualists argue that rather than focusing strictly upon data to analyze cultures one must take into account as well other human factors, such as gender, identity or class. This theoretical framework, contrasted with processualism, focuses upon interpretation of data through a framework rather than data itself. Rather than simply measuring the landscape, landscape archaeology in the wake of post-processualism argues for the interpretation of it as well.

Keller defines a cultural landscape as having two parts. First, there is the physical landscape. This is what is all around us: a forest, a river, a road, a house. Applied onto this is a cognitive, or mental, landscape. This is "[…] something that a group or body of people have in common, and which they do not share to the same extent with other people."[15] Keller describes the mental landscape as often residing in place names, and gives an example of three different place names applied to a single location via three different cultures in Finland.[15] These three different place names signify three different

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[13] Julian Thomas, "Archaeologies of Place and Landscape," in *Archaeological Theory Today*, Ed., Ian Hodder (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2001), 165.

[14] See Hodder's *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology* (1982) or *Archaeological Theory Today* (2001), Miller & Tilley's *Ideology, Power and Prehistory* (1984) or Trigger's *A History of Archaeological Thought* (2006)

[15] Christian Keller "The Theoretical Aspects of Landscape Study" in Decoding the Landscape, Ed. Timothy Collins (Galway: Centre for Landscape Studies, 1994), 90.

types of mental landscapes. When one applies the mental landscape of a group or

individual to the physical landscape, a cultural landscape is created. As a mathematical

equation this theory would look like this:

mental landscape + physical landscape = cultural landscape. [15]

This means simply that multiple cultural landscapes can be present on the same physical

landscape.

The difficult part of landscape studies is extracting the mental landscape of a

culture from a physical landscape. Often it is necessary to deal with material culture when

attempting this, and notably landscape archaeologists have several methods that attempt

to extract as much of the mental landscape as possible. These methods include map

analysis, field survey, and material culture analysis. As Keller puts it, "By studying

material culture […] the archaeologist believes that he can reconstruct parts of the non-

material culture, such as social organization, economic strategies, and, with luck,

religious practice."[16] For landscape theorists, the actual landscape becomes a piece of

material culture. Natural features such as rivers, mountains, bogs, lakes, and so forth, can

carry symbolic meaning, and as a part of the physical landscape, be overlaid with

attributes via the mental landscape.[17] Does the cabin in our image symbolize safety,

comfort, home? From the perspective of those who live in it, perhaps a settler colonial

perspective, it might. From the perspective of those whose ancestors lived for thousands

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[16] Ibid., 91.
[17] Ibid., 92.

of years in the valley before being colonized the valley with its river itself may symbolize

safety, comfort, and home, and the cabin may communicate violence and expropriation.

The landscape of our road will be reconstructed mainly through maps with the

addition of primary sources such as journals. When analyzing maps it is important to be

critical of them as a primary document. Mapping, as Cosgrove puts it, is an effort to take

the measure of a world.[18] Sometimes this measure of the world is done through a specific

lens, and this is why maps should be regarded as "a hinge around which pivot whole

systems of meaning, both prior and subsequent to its technical and mechanical

production."[19] Maps are thematic, consciously selecting and highlighting specific

phenomena, consciously removing or ignoring others, and at times rendering some

choices about content irrelevant due to scale and frame.[20] Maps tend to be portrayed as

objective arbiters of ground conditions, literally analogies of what it is like to travel

through a certain area, whether it is upon a road or through a city. This is misleading due

to the fact that maps are not analogies but are rather abstractions.[21] The abstractions

inherent within maps are the result of selection, omission, isolation, distance and

codification.[21] A map maker chooses to represent what he or she wants to while creating a

map. Often ideologies are represented within maps, and specific powers may attempt to

create or claim territory through the use of mapping. For much of the history of mapping

the ideologies represented were controlled by powerful forces, such as states.[22] Maps

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[18] Denis Cosgrove *Mappings* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1999), 1.
[19] Ibid., 9.
[20] Ibid., 11.
[21] James Corner "The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention." in Mappings, Ed. Denis Cosgrove (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1999) 215.
[22] Ibid., 12.

precede a space becoming a territory, as territory only becomes territory when bound and
made visible, which is one of the primary functions of maps.[23]

> The still widely held assumption that maps are mute, utilitarian tools, of secondary
> significance to the *milieau* they represent, and lacking in power, agency or effects
> beyond simple, objective description, is to grossly misconstrue their capacity for
> shaping reality. Both maps and territories are 'thoroughly mediated products' and
> the nature of their exchange is far from neutral or uncomplicated. [24]

Lennox applies these ideas to the study of Northeastern North America by describing the
agency of early explorers in making maps that modelled regions based upon what type of
impression they wanted their charts to make.[25] Lennox uses the example of John Smith,
whose map of New England replaced Native place names with English ones in an attempt
to emphasize England's territorial sovereignty. Lennox essentially argues that maps were
tools used by British, French and Aboriginal groups to address their desires, often used as
evidence in imperial negotiations, where through a combination of ideas and literal
images they expressed claims of territorial sovereignty.[26]

With this in mind it is appropriate to analyze what maps describe not as neutral
observers of physical landscapes but rather projections of a mediated mental landscape. In
the discussion that follows maps help to anchor our investigation into the evolution of the
road by providing a physical representation of what the road not only looked like as a
route at a certain period of time but also how human interacted with the road as well.

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[23]Ibid., 222.

[24] Ibid., 223.

[25] Jeffers Lennox *L'Acadie trouvée mapping, geographic knowledge, and imagining northeastern North
America, 1710-1763* (Halifax: Dalhousie Ph.D Dissertation, 2010) 7.

[26] Ibid., 462-463.

Although these maps are useful tools, it is also important to gauge how useful they are given when and by whom they were created.

The first chapter concerns the origins of the highway and whether or not it is a Mi'kmaq creation as generally thought or an Acadian creation. I employ landscape theory to describe not only the first physical landscape of the road but also to interpret this corridor as a cultural landscape, and as a type of space associated with the historic period and particularly the 18th century.

The second chapter begins with the founding of Halifax in 1749. This chapter details the transformation of the road into a piece of militarized infrastructure used by the British in an attempt to subjugate the perceived unruly populace of Acadians in Pisiquid. This chapter is anchored by the analysis of maps from 1755 and uses landscape theory to chart the changes along the physical and cultural landscape in direct response to decisions made by those in charge of the British government in Halifax. These decisions have the unintended outcome of transforming a previously safe liminal space into a more substantiated, dangerous space with the construction of forts both in Pisiquid and upon the outskirts of Halifax.

The third chapter details the transformation of the road into civilian infrastructure following the Deportation of the Acadians, as well as the creation of a service industry along the roadway with the development of coaching inns along the road between Halifax and Windsor. This chapter is anchored in the analysis of Woolford's survey of the route

in 1817-1818. The development of an economy along the road is described as it transforms from a liminal space into a substantiated residential place.

The fourth and final chapter deals with the destruction of the coaching and service industries along the road in the 19th century with the introduction of the railway from Halifax to Windsor, as a rural service economy is overshadowed by technological marvels that allow transportation between two large urban centres without stopovers. Landscape theory in this chapter, and with an analysis of A. F. Church's map from the late 1860s, are utilized to describe the demise of the service economy and the transformation of the road once again into a liminal space.

As Keller notes, "[…] a landscape must be regarded as a continuous process […] a landscape thus lives through a series of historical stages, or through the flow of history if you like."[27] As it evolved from footpath to drove way, to a piece of military infrastructure, to a domestic road, the route from Halifax to Windsor offers a compelling vantage point from which to observe the "flow of history". By investigating it more closely, we gain insights into cultural, economic, and political changes affecting the province of Nova Scotia more broadly, and find material manifestations of the decisions made by such historical figures as Edward Cornwallis, Charles Lawrence, and Joseph Howe.

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[27] Keller "The Theoretical Aspects of Landscape Study", 95.

CHAPTER 1 – PREHISTORY AND THE PISIQUID ROAD

The important literature surrounding the highway suggests that the road has some sort of connection with Mi'kmaq travel routes.[28] This section of the chapter deals with clarifying this through a comparison of traditional Mi'kmaq culture and travel ways, with primary source descriptions of the first roadway, and a survey of known archaeological sites near the road. An alternative theory that the Acadians were the founders of the road is also explored. The second part of this chapter describes the early cultural landscape of the road, and defines it as a liminal space within the landscape. This early description of the road and the first incarnation of it as a cultural landscape and actualized space provides a basis to compare its evolution as a liminal space. It also tracks the evolution of the cultural landscape along the road following the founding of Halifax, the militarization of the road, the Deportation of the Acadians and influx of British subjects into the former Pisiquid region.

The Physical Landscape of the Road

The forests of the province three hundred years ago were much different than what residents or visitors are familiar with today. The Acadian forest made up a large part of the physical landscape in the Maritime region. The Acadian forest was a diverse range of late-successional (mature) species, such as sugar maples, red spruce, eastern hemlock, beech, cedar, and yellow birch.[29] The protohistoric Mi'kmaq would have travelled

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[28] Joan Dawson *Nova Scotia's Lost Highways: The Early Roads that Shaped the Province*. (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2009), 3.
[29] J. Loo and N. Ives "The Acadian Forest: Historical Condition and Human Impacts." in The Forestry Chronicle 79(3) (2003), 462.

through a landscape filled with towering maples, large hemlocks, and stands of beech.
The Acadian forest would eventually recede due to harvesting and land clearance by
Europeans and human-influenced, destructive forest fires.[30] Its replacement would be a
series of early successional forests made up of mostly firs, spruces, pines and the
occasional birch and maple.[31] Most importantly, this original Acadian forest would have
provided "a canopy of darkness"[32] whereas the modern Nova Scotian forest is one with
much more light, made up primarily of comparatively young growth.

Alongside this "canopy of darkness", the other notable environment that the road
would have passed adjacent to or through is that of a wetland environment. Wetland
environments include marshes, swamps, fens and bogs. These types of environments are
characterized by land that

> either periodically or permanently has a water table at, near or above the land's
> surface or that is saturated with water, and sustains aquatic processes as indicated
> by the presence of poorly drained soils, hydrophytic vegetation and biological
> activities adapted to wet conditions.[33]

Bogs are characterized by a peat surface, which is raised or level with the
surrounding terrain, but which is also unaffected by surface runoff or ground water.[34]

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[30] Ibid., 472.

[31] Nova Scotia Department of Natural Resources "Part 1: Vegetation Types."
http://novascotia.ca/natr/forestry/veg-types/ih/pdf/ih6.pdf (accessed 9 November 2014).

[32] Aaron Beswick "Nova Scotia forests once formed a canopy of darkness." The Chronicle Herald,
http://thechronicleherald.ca/novascotia/126623-nova-scotia-forests-once-formed-a-canopy-of-darkness
(accessed 29 November, 2014).

[33] Supreme Court of Nova Scotia *Environment Act (amended)*. (Nova Scotia: 1st session, 60th General
Assembly, 2006).

[34] Government of Nova Scotia "Wetlands of Nova Scotia." http://www.novascotia.ca/nse/wetland/
(accessed 6 February 2015).

Bogs can have trees within them, normally black spruce or tamarack, or can be treeless. Bogs also normally have large numbers of shrubs, like "[…] leatherleaf, huckleberry, lambkill and Labrador tea."[34]

Marshes are described as a shallow-water wetland with fluctuating water levels either daily, seasonally or annually.[34] Marshes can come in several different varieties, including deep marshes, shallow marshes and salt marshes.

Finally the road at certain points encounters swampy wetlands; these are wetlands which are seasonally or permanently flooded with up to 30cm of water. These types of wetlands are normally dominated by trees and shrubs and occur often around dry portions of floodplains and adjacent to rivers and streams.[34] Wooded swamps are one of Nova Scotia's most common forested wetlands.

In answer to the question "What would the physical landscape of the first incarnation of the road have looked like?", one would imagine that the original road would have been encompassed by a towering Acadian forest of towering maples, spruce, hemlock, beech and birch. This would have been a road cloaked in a canopy of darkness. At times this road would also encounter difficult terrain made up of various types of wetland environments, whether they are marshes, bogs, or swampy wetlands.

The Mi'kmaq and Mi'kma'ki

The Mi'kmaq would have been accustomed to these environments prior to contact with Europeans. The pre-contact Mi'kmaq would have also been present in Nova Scotia for thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans. The first peoples in the region

were the Palaeo-Indians, who arrived roughly 11,000 years ago, following large game

into the region, and who left evidence of their arrival at archaeological sites like Debert

Park, just outside of Truro.[35] The region we know as Nova Scotia was from this period

onward most likely continually occupied by several different archaeological 'traditions'

or 'periods', based upon material cultural evidence in the form of different lithic

technologies. For example, the Maritime Archaic tradition's lithic technologies are made

up largely of tools used to extract resources from the sea, such as barbed and toggle

harpoons.[36] As Tuck notes, three major hypothesis are apparent when one views the

material culture record within Nova Scotia: One can argue that these cultures migrated

and replaced one another over the 5,000 year period, as well as that the technological

changes represent a changing situation within the environment facilitated by rapid

cultural change due to the exploitation of a new, or diversified, set of resources, and

finally that a principle culture arrived within the last 5,000 years that evolved into the pre-

contact Mi'kmaq.[37]

The protohistoric Mi'kmaq culture that eventually developed occupied a large part

of the Maritime Region of Atlantic Canada, residing within the provinces of modern day

Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and most of New Brunswick.[38] The Mi'kmaq in Nova

Scotia relied upon riverine, coastal and intertidal areas to reside.[39] The Mi'kmaq "were

principally a fishing people who lived along or near the coastline for six to nine months of

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[35] Stephen A. Davis *Micmac*. (Halifax: Nimbus, 1997), 6.
[36] James A. Tuck *Maritime Provinces Prehistory*. (Ottawa: Archaeological Survey of Canada, 1984), 28.
[37] Tuck *Maritime Provinces Prehistory,* 36-41.
[38] Davis, *Micmac*, 23.
[39] Roger Lewis *Pre-contact fish weirs: A case study from Southwestern Nova Scotia.* (Newfoundland: Unpublished Master's Thesis, Memorial University, 2006), 10.

the year."[40] The coastal, riverine and intertidal areas provided a "diversified, seasonally

available resource base."[41] The dependence of the Mi'kmaq upon these environmental

habitats for a diversified diet throughout much of the year meant that they formed a close

connection to the waterways throughout the province. This would evolve into a reciprocal

relationship between the pre-contact Mi'kmaq populations throughout the province and

their environment, reflected as Lewis notes in land and resource use, settlement and

subsistence and procurement strategies along the various rivers of Nova Scotia. This

reflection is especially noteworthy in Lewis' weir research in the southwestern part of the

province, in which he finds that there is a "direct correlation between terrestrial sites and

the high density of fish weir sites."[41] People were living where they were working, close

to the rivers and ocean.

The rivers of the province, for the pre-contact Mi'kmaq, offered not only an easy

system of travel through a heavily forested landscape but also a predictable, diverse,

accessible, reliable source of resources. In a literal and figurative sense for the Mi'kmaq

the waterways of the province were home, and the Mi'kmaq groups that would have

resided on certain rivers had in-depth knowledge of them. To maximize those resources

the Mi'kmaq needed a convenient way to move throughout the landscape and over their

riverine systems in order to make the most of their weirs and the unique fish runs. They

needed a type of technology which was specifically designed to be reliable, light, quick

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[40] William C. Wicken *Encounters with Tall Sails and Tall Tales: Mi'kmaq Society, 1500-1760.* (Montreal: McGill University, 1994a), 87.
[41] Lewis *Pre-contact fish weirs*, 55.

and easily repaired in order to achieve a high level of mobility through various resource hubs.

The birch-bark canoe proved to be the key that allowed them to unlock an excellent transportation system. The environment that the pre-contact Mi'kmaq occupied was heavily covered with mature forest. Combined with the generally hilly terrain, the best way to travel overland would have been by way of water. For the Mi'kmaq the birch-bark canoe was the most technologically advanced transportation method at their disposal. The canoe could carry heavy loads, but was also light enough to be carried by one or two people over short distances, through heavy forest, to another river route.[42] The Mi'kmaq created four different types of canoes, the hunting canoe, the large-river canoe, the ocean-going canoe and the war canoe.[43] These canoes ranged in length from nine to twenty-four feet.[43] A family with canoes could travel quickly and easily into the interior of the province using connected lakes, rivers and streams and a series of short portage routes, as we today would use roads and interchanges.

The canoe as created by the Mi'kmaq begins life as large sheets of birch bark which are removed whole from a tree. Sometimes an entire canoe can be made from one single piece of bark.[44] The traditional hunting canoe had high ends and sides which curved upwards towards the centre, in order to keep water out of the craft and swamping it while out on rough seas.[43]

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[42] Ruth Holmes Whitehead and Harold McGee *The Mi'kmaq: How their ancestors lived five hundred years ago.* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2005), 39.

[43] Ruth Holmes Whitehead *Micmac Material Culture from 1600 AD to the Present*. (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1980), 31.

[44] Wilson D. Wallis and Ruth S. Wallis *Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada.* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 42.

Because the hunting canoe was light, mobile, could carry heavy loads, and was easily repaired, it became the premier method of transportation available to the Mi'kmaq, allowing their people to achieve high mobility on not only riverine systems but also on the sea. The canoe allowed the Mi'kmaq to become intimately acquainted with the waterways of their landscape, so much so that they impressed British engineers and surveyors with the accuracy of maps they produced in the late and early 18th and 19th centuries.[45] In particular this allowed the Mi'kmaq to maximize their potential for gathering from a riverine system, and also allowed them to make use of inland resources during periods in which their main food source, the rivers, were barren. At these times the Mi'kmaq would travel inland, away from the head of tide on a river toward game, in particular moose, caribou, bear, otter, muskrat and beaver during the fall and winter.[46]

The fact that the Mi'kmaq were able to devote large amounts of time to craft making, such as baskets and quill work, suggests that they had large amounts of time in which to hone their craft. This in turn suggests that they were not actively struggling for survival throughout the year, but rather living comfortably. In 1740 Abbé Maillard interviewed the Mi'kmaq Shaman-Chief L'kimu on life before European contact, and he described the success with which they obtained food,

> We killed only enough animals and birds to sustain us for one day, and then, the next day, we set out again. But never think that our hunting was an arduous as it is today. All we needed to do in those times was to leave our wigwams, sometimes with our arrows and spears, and sometimes without, and at a very short distance from our village we would find all we needed. If at any time we did not wish to

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[45] Wicken *Encounters with Tall Sails*, 86.
[46] James A. Tuck *Maritime Provinces Prehistory*, 73.

eat meat we would go to the lakes or rivers nearest to our village, or to the nearest sea-shore, and there we would catch all sorts of fish to eat.[47]

The Mi'kmaq were generally an extremely successful people who, having lived and developed their culture in the region for thousands of years, were able to successfully reap the potential of the land using a variety of strategies and methods, while using the waterways of the region and the technologies developed especially for those waterways to get around. The question is: just how many of these waterways existed within Nova Scotia, how populated were they, and for how long had they been used?

There are forty-six primary watersheds in mainland Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. Roger Lewis argues that the boundaries of the seven ancient Mi'kmaw districts throughout New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island conformed to these same watersheds, noting that the "[…] rivers streams and lakes provided a valuable resource base as well as [acting] as the main transportation route for social, economic and political interactions among the Mi'kmaq."[48]

These rivers, according to Lewis, were settled by the Mi'kmaq and formed a territory of "approximately 50 km radius around settlement areas" through which "critical land use" allowed the Mi'kmaq to live comfortably.[49] In a sense, according to Lewis, these 46 watersheds with their principal rivers, lakes and secondary streams formed natural boundaries for different groups of Mi'kmaq within their landscape, separating for

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[47] Ruth Holmes Whitehead *The Old Man Told Us: Excerpts from Micmac History 1500-1950.* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1991), 10.
[48] Trudy Sable and Bernie Francis *The Language of this Land, Mi'kma'ki.* (Sydney, Nova Scotia: Cape Breton University, 2012), 20-21.
[49] Ibid., 22.

example the Kespukwitk of Southwestern Nova Scotia from the Sipekne'katik of central

Nova Scotia. Not only did the watersheds and the ecosystems that went with them

represent a valuable source of income in the vein of animal migrations and fish runs along

their route, but they also represented physical boundaries in the landscape with which

people could identify themselves and others. Wicken argues that the Mi'kmaq

"occupation of defined territories throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

indicates a degree of social cohesion despite the spread of disease, the fur trade, European

settlement and conflict."[50] The evidence for the settlement of these watersheds within the

province can be seen in both the archaeological record and through oral histories and

traditional Mi'kmaq place names.

An example of the land use and occupancy of a particular riverine system, the

Shubenacadie, can be analyzed using an archaeological survey carried out by Brian

Preston. This survey stretches over a period of time from the Archaic and Ceramic eras

into the protohistoric periods within the history of the province over ten thousand years of

land use and occupancy.[51]

Forty-nine sites were identified along the Shubenacadie system in a single season

of archaeological survey and research during 1970. From Halifax to Grand Lake, six sites

were noted, at Grand Lake, seven sites were noted, from Grand Lake to Stewiacke River

twenty-eight sites were noted and over the Stewiacke River eight sites were located.[52] The

conclusion of the survey was that although many of the sites identified were heavily

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[50] Wicken *Encounters with Tall Sails*, 91.
[51] Brian Preston *An Archaeological Survey of the Shubenacadie River System.* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1970), 35.
[52] Ibid., 4-34.

disturbed or destroyed by the development of the Shubenacadie Canal and other modern infrastructure, the river system has been occupied and used for a very long period of time, stretching back to 5,000BP (uncalibrated radio carbon dates).[53] According to Preston, the distribution of the sites along the river system indicates "a series of fishing stations at localities favourable to that pursuit [as well as] a migration route from the Atlantic coast to the Shubenacadie-Stewiacke confluence and then up the Stewiacke into the interior of the Province."[54] The sites correspond to Lewis's research in southwestern Nova Scotia, of settlements and occupancy being linked closely to "fishing stations", or weirs. The author also suggests that the system was a major part of the transportation network of the province, connecting the Atlantic seaboard with the Cobequid Bay.

Archaeological surveys of river systems have been undertaken elsewhere in Nova Scotia. In *A River Runs Through It*, Benjamin Pentz, building upon previous, limited surveys of the southern half of the Mersey and limited archaeological work on the Allains River, discovered a "continuous line of pre-Contact sites" which extended through the interior of southwestern Nova Scotia and eventually linked the Bay of Fundy and Atlantic coast.[55]

These sites ranged from the Archaic period (5,000BP) through to historic contact, and Pentzs' discovery of Bay of Fundy lithics throughout the route confirmed the fact that this southwestern watershed was a major transportation network during the Middle-Late Ceramic Period (2,000-450BP).[55] Surveys such as these of Pentz, Lewis, and Prestons

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[53] Ibid., 34.
[54] Ibid., 36.
[55] Benjamin C. Pentz *A River Runs Through It: An Archaeological Survey of the Upper Mersey River and Allains River in Southwestern Nova Scotia.* (Newfoundland: Memorial University, 2008), ii.

serve to provide archaeological evidence of occupancy of riverine systems in the form of resource gathering and settlement as well as use as transportation corridors in specific parts of the province which can be applied generally to other, less well documented riverine systems in Nova Scotia.

Another source of evidence for the use of the waterways of the province by the Mi'kmaq as transportation networks and settlement is in the form of folklore and oral history. Canoes are a commonly mentioned element in stories that require travel. For example in the story of *Ketpusye'genau* when Ketpusye'genau wants to travel a long distance he makes a canoe, and travels down a brook, passing waterfalls, until the water ends.[56]

Similarly in *The Serpent Horn* when a girl is kidnapped by Toothfish, the storyteller notes that Toothfish lives a long way away, but is travelling past in a canoe.[57] When the brothers of the girl search for her they do so by first constructing "seven canoes, fast canoes" which they use to travel over the sea to the far away island on which Toothfish is keeping the aforementioned girl.[56]

Again, in *The Boy Who Played the Flute*, in order to travel long distances, specifically to an island in this case, Marten and his people use canoes.[58] In *Ugluchopt : Thunder-Birds* the role of the canoe is especially prevalent. When men from a Mi'kmaw community want to visit a powerful old man named Ugluchopt they must, in a large canoe fourteen feet long, paddle for seven weeks, and then when the water runs out, that

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[56] Elsie Worthington Parsons *Micmac Folklore*. (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2010), 57.
[57] Ibid., 61.
[58] Ibid., 63.

is, when they reached shore, they must walk.[59] To the men in the story, the canoe is the

preferred method of travel. The only thing faster than a canoe in the story are the thunder

birds, large beings which pick up and fly the company of men back to their large canoe,

albeit less one greedy soul.[60]

In terms of the present evidence for precontact archaeological sites along the

current route of the road, which generally follows the historic route of the road, a survey

of the Maritime Archaeological Resource Inventory (MARI) reveals that there are two

registered precontact sites. The first of these two sites is located along the St. Croix River,

and was first identified by John Erskine in 1966. In 1989, 1990 and 1996 Mike Deal re-

identified, surveyed and tested the site, identifying artefacts there from both the Ceramic

and Archaic period. This site lies directly along the original river bank of the St. Croix,

and provides evidence of the residence and land use of the St. Croix River system

extending thousands of years into the past.

The second of the sites identified in the Maritime Archaeological Resource

Inventory is located on the other end of the road, within the Bedford Barrens, around the

Sandy, McCabe and Webber lakes. This site is interesting because it is a petroglyph site.

The site overlooks the Bedford Basin and Halifax Harbour, and the carving is situated on

a quartzite ridge about 600 meters from the head of the Sackville River.

The carvings are of an eight-pointed star within a circle and an anthromorphic

figure which is connected to what has been interpreted as a symbol meant to represent a

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[59] Ibid., 69.
[60] Parsons *Micmac Folklore*, 70.

vulva.[61] The dating of the petroglyphs at the Bedford Barrens site are questionable. In the

MARI, under the heading "site type", the site is labelled as historic, which has been

crossed out and replaced with prehistoric. In the literature as well the site is debated as

pre- or post-contact, with Ruth Whitehead arguing that the site is pre-contact and others

arguing the site is post-contact due to the fact the imagery associated with the petroglyphs

are related to historic contexts, such as the anthromorphized figure which seems to be

wearing clothing which Mi'kmaq men wore in the 18th and 19th centuries. Whether or not

it is pre- or post-contact this petroglyph represents the Mi'kmaq in the landscape close to

not only the route of the road but also the Sackville River. The St. Croix and Bedford

Barrens petroglyph sites represent a Mi'kmaq presence along portions of the road which

are related either directly or indirectly to watercourses. Although the Barrens petroglyph

is not nearby the Sackville River, it does overlook the basin and harbour. The St. Croix

site does lay adjacent to the river and Milner argues that it represents a place of

residence.[62]

The conclusion that one draws from the historic, archaeological and oral records is

that rivers, lakes and streams were important to the Mi'kmaq for a number of reasons.

Not only were they resource hubs in terms of animal migrations and fish runs, but as well

they served as natural geopolitical barriers as well as natural highways throughout the

landscape. This allowed the Mi'kmaw to become a highly mobile population throughout

Nova Scotia, and the Maritimes, due in large part to their use of birch bark canoes. There

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[61] Edward J. Lenik *Picture Rocks: American Indian Rock Art in the Northeast Woodlands.* (Barcelona: University Press of New England, 2002), 29.
[62] Cameron Milner *Site Structure and Integrity at St. Croix: Functional Variability across Space and Time.* (Newfoundland: Unpublished Masters Thesis, Memorial University, 2014)

is no current archaeological evidence that the road functioned as a portage route in a

precontact period. Rather it is likely that the Mi'kmaq continued to use their riverine

transportation systems.

If the Mi'kmaq were so highly adapted to a transportation system and also cultural

tradition that relied upon access to a riverine, coastal ecosystem, why then would they

construct an overland route through the interior of the province? The answer is that they

did not. Rather, they used their own transportation systems to get to harbours such as

Chebuctou from the Minas Basin.

Dawson identifies two portage routes which outline traditional Mi'kmaq routes

into Chebuctou harbour. The first of these is the route through the Shubenacadie River.

This route begins in the Minas Basin, following the Shubenacadie River to its source at

Shubenacadie Lake, before a short portage to connect a traveller to the system of lakes

where eventually Dartmouth would be founded across from Halifax.[63] Following this

chain of lakes would deposit one in Chebuctou Harbour. The second route begins at the

St. Croix River. Following the river would lead one into the Panuke Lake, through which

one could through a series of portages follow watercourses and lakes along the shore from

Mahone and Margaret's Bay to the bay of Chebuctou.[64]

The route the roadway tracked throughout the interior of the province is a result of

the agency of the first road builders. Rather than following traditional Mi'kmaq routes

from Windsor and to Halifax through the St. Croix-Panuke Lake system or the

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[63] Joan Dawson *The Mapmaker's Eye.* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing and The Nova Scotia Museum, 1988), 135.
[64] Ibid., 136-138.

Shubenacadie portage route they instead chose to cut cross-country from Pisiquid before meeting up with the Sackville River headwaters around Mount Uniacke, and then following that towards Chebuctou.

Rather than the Mi'kmaq constructing an overland portage route from the Minas Basin to Chebuctou harbour, the next most likely candidate are the Acadians, the first Europeans to permanently settle the province. To understand why the Acadians would build a road through the interior of the province one has to first understand, briefly, the history of the Acadians along the Minas Basin in Nova Scotia.

Acadians in Nova Scotia

The period of Acadian history that we are concerned with begins in the 1630s, with a stable Port Royal, a colony that began, along with LaHave, as a tiny outposts focusing primarily upon the fur trade and fishing into ones that were permanent, self-sufficient and a foothold for the French in Acadia. During this period Port Royal desperately needed colonists, and so in the early part of that decade Isaac de Razilly a man of influence and who had the ear of Cardinal Richelieu, took over operations in Acadia and began sending settlers to the colony's various villages, including LaHave and Port Royal, which began to thrive.[65] The efforts by de Razilly to colonize the colony of Acadia during the early-to mid-1630s produced population growth. It was also during this time that relations with the Mi'kmaq deepened further, as the mainly male settlers that de Razilly brought to Acadia relied upon Mi'kmaq females rather than French to create

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[65] N. E. S. Griffiths *From migrant to Acadian: a North American border people, 1604-1755.* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 18.

families.[66] During this boom, however, d'Aulnay and La Tour, one-time overseers of the colony under de Razilly, but now powerful men in their own right, began to feud.[67] Following de Razilly's death this feud bloomed into a series of armed struggles, with battles taking place and men and women dying on both sides, which would only end with the death of d'Aulnay due to drowning in 1650, and La Tour obtaining the rights as governor of the colony through marriage with d'Aulnay's wife in 1653.[68] Throughout this period of feuding and population growth, the Acadian culture began to develop. Griffiths notes that during this first period of colonization family relationships and kinship lines proved to be integral aspects of daily life in the colony, as entire families were transplanted from France to the colony.[69] These familial links were strengthened through marriage of the daughters of newly arrived settlers with the men who had been there beforehand.[69] In short, a community based around the family, and kin ties, was already developing at this early stage.[70]

These kin ties would prove evident as the population of Port Royal grew larger, and peripheral communities began to develop along the Minas Basin so often that Governor François-Marie Perrot complained between 1684 and 1687 that Acadians villages were too strung out, and that too many young people were leaving Port Royal to

[66] Ibid., 52.
[67] Ibid., 53-54.
[68] Ibid., 63.
[69] Ibid., 14.
[70] See also Jacques Vanderlinden, "Alliances entre familles pendant la périod française." *Société Historique Acadienne,* 27, 2-3 (1996), 125-48 and Katie K MacLeod "Emergence and Progression of Acadian Ethnic and Political Identities: Alliance and Land-Based Inter-Peoples Relations in Early Acadia to Today." *Totem: The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology*, 23, 1(7) (2015), 53-69.

live independently in their own communities.[71] The growth of these communities was brought about by the way in which Acadians developed their agriculture, and the ease with which vast tracts of land could be developed for planting using a dyking system to drain the local salt marshes. This rich farm land environment created by the Acadians would eventually prove to be home to their most populous settlements, especially so along the Minas Basin, in which communities like Grand-Pré and Pisiquid, would develop around the end of the 17th century, and into the 18th century.

During this time of expansion in Acadia, the colonists developed friendly relations with the Mi'kmaq, trading with them, mingling, and as Griffiths argues, marrying and living with the Mi'kmaq.[72] As well as trading with the Mi'kmaq, the Acadians also traded with the New Englanders.[73] The Acadians and New Englanders held a tenuous relationship. Not only did they trade between themselves, but the New Englanders would often raid the inhabitants of Acadia. Plank argues that this relationship can be understood through the relation the leaders of the English communities within Massachussetts had with their religion, and how it shaped their life.[74] The leaders in New England saw themselves as occupying God-given land, such as Israel did in Biblical times. To them Acadia was their Babylon, and they saw warnings against conquest but not raiding within their Scripture, for "On the rare occasions when the Israelite's leaders tried to expand

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[71] Ibid., 16.

[72] N. E. S. Griffiths "Mating and Marriage in Early Acadia" *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, 35 (1992b) 110-111)

[73] Geoffrey Plank *An Unsettled Conquest: The British campaign Against the Peoples of Acadia.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 10.

[74] Geoffrey Plank *The Culture of Conquest: The British and Nova Scotia, 1690-1759.* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1994a), 25-56.

beyond the territory God granted them, disaster followed."[75] Religion, combined with the

fact that the New Englanders plied a profitable trade with the Acadians, resulted in

caution for conquest in the leadership of Massachussetts. New Englanders had no trouble

finding men to create raiding parties to attack New France, but none of the men who

joined the raids wanted to stay there.[76] This type of raiding would prove common not only

for those who lived at Port Royal, but for Acadians around the region. This all came to a

head in 1710, when during the War of Spanish Succession Port Royal was seized by the

British for the final time, and renamed Annapolis Royal, an act of re-branding by the

British with the intent to claim ownership not only over the town but also the province.[77]

Three years later the Treaty of Utrecht would end the war, with Acadia ceded to the

British.[78]

An interior road would have been a valuable resource to the Acadians in Pisiquid.

This is because the progenitors of the road, the independent Acadians, when cutting the

first trail, did so to bring livestock and goods from Pisiquid to Chebuctou harbour in order

to trade them to merchants supplying goods to Louisburg.[79]

Moore describes the numbers of ships from different ports arriving and trading at

Louisburg. Included in the list of these ports is that of Chebuctou harbour. For the years

which Moore has records (1737, 1740, 1742, 1743) he documents just one ship arriving

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[75] Ibid., 25.
[76] Ibid., 26.
[77] John G. Reid et al. *The 'Conquest' Of Acadia, 1710: Imperial, Colonial and Aboriginal Constructions.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 11.
[78] Plank, *The Culture of Conquest*, 74-76.
[79] Jonathan Fowler *Notes on the Early History of the Pisiquid Road*. (Unpublished Manuscript, 2000), 1.

from Chebuctou harbour in 1740.[80] Although he prefaces this part of the preliminary

report by noting that his records are incomplete and his charts represent only a sketch of

the imports within Louisburg, suggesting that perhaps more unrecorded ships arrived in

the port from Chebuctou harbour. Regardless, this lone ship does represent a piece of

evidence active trade from the harbour of Chebuctou, and in turn represents also the

existence of the Acadian road to Chebuctou and as well its use. Clark's map from 1968

provides an amalgamation of known Acadian trade routes and roads within the province

in the 18th century.[80] On Clark's map as well is the road from Pisiquid to Chebuctou

harbour.

Other evidence for the existence of the road and its use and creation by Acadians

comes from Cornwallis, founder of Halifax. Upon founding Halifax, Cornwallis notes in

a report to his superiors on the general layout of the settlement that there were "a few

French families on each side of the Bay", and upon meeting the French families at the

head of the Bay that the French "have made a path for driving their Cattle over here."[81]

Later Cornwallis, regarding his plan for the pacification of the province, notes that again

there is a road leading to the Minas basin, and that it begins at the head of the Bay

(Bedford Basin), that it runs in a direct line for 30 miles, and that he plans to clear it using

soldiers and Acadians.[82] This primary source account from Cornwallis of the existence

and use of the road by Acadians upon the founding of Halifax makes sense when one

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[80] Christopher Moore *Commodity Imports of Louisbourg*. (Louisbourg, Nova Scotia: Fortress of
Louisbourg, 1975), 30. For more information about early Acadian transportation networks see: Andrew Hill
Clark *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press,
1968) 250-261.
[81] Thomas B. Akins *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia*. (Halifax: House
of Assembly), 561.
[82] Ibid., 564.

considers that trade with the French was at least officially discouraged and most likely an illegal action following the capture of Port Royal in 1710. The Acadians needed a way to run their contraband goods (livestock) past the significant British presence at Annapolis Royal without being noticed. Because Acadian live stock would not fit on canoes, the safest transport route would have been through the interior of the province, to a large, convenient harbour. This route connected Pisiquid to Chebuctou.

Jean-Louis LeLoutre, a Catholic priest and missionary, as well as prominent figure in the eighteenth-century struggle for power in Acadia, also describes the Acadians using a road to transport goods such as cattle to Louisburg along this same route in 1748.[83] The Acadians needed a path that could be trod by hoof, and chose a long overland route rather than one that followed interconnected rivers. Although the route did cross at traditional Mi'kmaq travel routes (great places for watering cattle) it did not follow them until arriving at the headwaters of the Sackville River, following it to the basin. In other words, the roadway was an Acadian invention that, for a portion of its route, followed ancient Mi'kmaw trails in the form of the Sackville River.

Dawson objectively proves this by publishing a map dating to 1738 which details a "drove road", that is, a road used to transport cattle, extending from Chebuctou Harbour into Pisiquid, again with the purpose of sending cattle to Cape Breton Island.[84]

The Landscape of the First Road

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[83] J. C. Webster *The Career of Abbe Le Loutre in Nova Scotia, with a Translation of His Autobiography*. (Sediac, New Brunswick: Privately Published, 1933), 36.
[84] Dawson, *The Mapmaker's Eye*, 134-135.

What did the cultural landscape look like? If we accept that the road and its origin to Acadian sales of livestock, notably cattle, to Cape Breton Island and need an overland route to get their livestock to market, one must assume that the road's creation dates around the time that A) Pisiquid was settled and B) Louisbourg was constructed as well. Knowing that Louisbourg was created after Pisiquid this gives us a rough estimation of the origin for the road around the early 18th century, sometime between when LeLoutre makes his observation in 1748 and the settlement of the fortress of Louisbourg around 1720. This overland road route would have most likely begun in the interior of Pisiquid and run toward the St. Croix River. It would have passed through the previously mentioned "Acadian forest", as well as crossing through swampy areas within the interior, mostly in the vicinity of riverine and lake systems.

In terms of a cultural landscape, this early road would have seen use and occupancy entirely by Acadians and Mi'kmaq. Beginning in Pisiquid, an Acadian settlement, it would have crossed within the vicinity of several Acadian villages, especially that of the Five Houses, near to where it crossed the St. Croix River. At this same crossing along the St. Croix the road would have undoubtedly encountered a Mi'kmaq presence, as the St. Croix was not only resided upon in prehistory but the river would have also been used, as previously mentioned, as a transportation network throughout the province. From here to the headwaters of the Sackville River around Mt. Uniacke the road would have passed a mostly uninhabited interior of the province, crossing watercourses and swampy areas on its way to the headwaters.

Following the watercourses and swampy areas the road would have approached another important transportation network, that being the harbour of Chebuctou. It is not unimaginable that the road, having been created by the Acadians, would have been used by the Mi'kmaq as a portage route from the St. Croix to this headwater following its creation. Roger Lewis agrees with this suggestion, noting that

> […] roadways would have ran [sic] either parallel to or intersected traditional Mi'kmaq travel routes (Sackville River, St. Croix River, etc.) at various points. Those waterways and old trails would have represented 'rapid transit' of the day. If you could move between any two points via the shortest route within 24 hours constituted rapid transit.[85]

So it is reasonable to assume that the Acadians would not have been the only traffic upon the early road, as it would have represented a form of rapid transit, that is, a portage route, to the Mi'kmaq travelling along the interior.

Along the Sackville River there would have undoubtedly been a Mi'kmaq presence, as this would have been one of the principal watercourses that flowed into the Chebuctou harbour and thus would have been a resource node to the Mi'kmaq. Into Chebuctou Harbour the road would have most likely travelled around the Bedford basin onto what is now the Dartmouth side, towards the traditional Mi'kmaq settlement of Turtle Grove. A map from 1883 but with information, from a previous map from 1783, shows "Old French roads" leading this way around the basin. It is interesting to note that this map also shows the same "Old French roads" also continue along towards Halifax. Either the roads went along both sides of the basin, which is very possible, or these roads

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[85] Roger Lewis *Private E-mail Correspondence on the Topic of the Prehistory of the Highway from Pisiquid to Chebuctou Harbour.* (Unpublished E-mail Correspondence), 2014.

are in actuality the first British-made roads into Halifax. Unfortunately there is no evidence for either of these theories.

The types of goods shipped along this road would have been agrarian in nature. During the year 1740, the only year in which there are records of a ship from Chebuctou harbour entering the harbour of Louisbourg, the commodities traded from Acadia consisted of mostly foodstuff, goods produced from the land such as hardwood, and livestock. An exhaustive list includes eels, butter, salted beef and pork, herring, mackerel, cod, cod oil, bread, peas, salmon, maple, oats, wheat, flour and rice in terms of foodstuffs. The goods which were produced in Acadia included hardwood, feathers, mast circles, buckets, axes and furs. In terms of livestock, 155 cattle, 10 pigs, 60 sheep, 246 chicken and turkeys were exported to Louisburg.[86]Although these products and livestock represent the entire amount received in Louisburg from Acadia during 1740, some of these goods and animals would likely have travelled to Louisburg from Chebuctou harbour.

The road itself would have been a stubborn, rough-shod thing, simple enough to transport hoofed animals. What is most interesting is how this cultural landscape suddenly shifts and changes in response to British settlement and eventual occupation precisely along this early roadway.

Conclusion

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[86] Moore, *Commodity Imports of Louisbourg,* 45-95.

The prehistory of the road does not exist, most likely because it was created by the Acadians. The first road would have travelled through a mature forested landscape, passing such wetlands as swamps, bogs and marshes, as well between and over several waterways, including the St. Croix system and the Sackville River system.

Much of the activity and residence along the road would have been confined to the areas of Pisiquid outside of trading and travelling by the Acadians to Louisbourg or portaging by the Mi'kmaq. The interior of the province at this point would not have been settled by Europeans and would not have been resided upon full-time by the Mi'kmaq. Although most of the settlement upon the road consisted of at either end, Pisiquid and Chebuctou, there would have been elements of cultural landscape not only in these areas of settlement but also along the vacant areas of the road between as well. The absence of settlement does not necessarily mean the absence of meaning, and the same can be safely assumed for the road as well. Perhaps for the Acadians that used it often there was a favored place to camp along the road while travelling, or a particular marshy spot that was tricky to cross and thus memorable.

However, as a place the road in this period can be defined as liminal. Not only was no-one residing upon it, it was created and primarily utilized to smuggle livestock to Louisburg. The road at this point existed entirely as a means of travelling from Point A to Point B and back again. However, the road was an Acadian construction, and although primarily a drove road it represented Acadian infrastructure spanning one coast of Nova Scotia to the other. In this sense those who created it and travelled upon it, subverting British rule, may have felt a unique sense of independence while constructing and

utilizing it. Although it was a liminal space, therefore, it was also a liminal space that was uniquely Acadian. The second chapter will see this unique French liminal space change as the road is reconfigured by the British into a military resource and eventually a domestic road, used to travel from the newly-founded Windsor, and its outlying villages, to the capital of the province.

Chapter 2 – The Founding of Halifax and the Militarization of the Road

The decade from 1749 to 1760 may be the most important decade that the province of Nova Scotia has seen in its history. Beginning in 1749 the British settled Halifax on the Atlantic Coast as a stronghold from which they would establish their dominance over the mainland of the peninsula, and perhaps more importantly, over the adjacent marine environment. Six years later the founder of Halifax, Cornwallis, would be gone, replaced by a new acting Governor, Charles Lawrence. Gone with him would be the French inhabitants of the province also, the Acadians, their Deportation beginning in 1755. Beginning in the year 1760 an influx of British Planters, the majority coming from New England, arrived in the province as government officials in Halifax attempted to repair the damage done to their colony by replacing the French inhabitants of their agricultural heartland with British ones. From this turbulent time period of militarization and conflict comes two maps which detail the length and breadth of the road. Through a careful and detailed analysis of these two maps light can be shed on the decisions of British officials such as Cornwallis and Lawrence, and the effects they had upon not only the province but also the landscape of the road.

Maps of the Road - 1755

The first map to be analyzed is dated 1755.[87] This map was created through several different surveys by Charles Morris, as identified in the title. Morris conducted a series of surveys beginning in 1748 and by the order of Charles Lawrence created this

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[87] See figure 2 for the first map, figure 3 for the second.

map in 1755. Its purpose is not only to display the principal French villages in the province but also key military infrastructure. The map is scaled at ten leagues, and provides six points of reference in regards to latitude and longitude, seemingly the most important being Halifax, as it is emboldened with broad strokes. Morris would go on to help found Halifax and lay out the town with John Brewse as one of the first settlers, and eventually become the Chief Surveyor for Nova Scotia.[88] If one looks closely at the portion of the map displaying the road from Halifax to Pisiquid one may note several revealing bits of information.

The first of these is that although the road is shown as bridging the French community of Pisiquid and the British community of Halifax, it does so in a fairly linear manner. The map shows no difference in elevation along the roadway; in fact the road is not shown bending at all. The only topographic features represented on the route from Halifax to Pisiquid are rivers. From the Halifax side the first of these is the Sackville River, although not named as such on the map. This is displayed as a rather squiggly line which ends about one fifth of the way along the road. The second river is the St. Croix, a larger river which flows out of the Minas Basin and Bay of Fundy. Because there are several, although minor, water courses between the Sackville River and St. Croix, as well as lakes, it is evident that the intention of the cartographer was not to inform the government in Halifax of the topography of the area between Halifax and Pisiquid. Rather, more detail has been put in describing the villages in Pisiquid than the

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[88] Phyllis R. Blakeley "Morris, Charles (1711-81)" Dictionary of Canadian Biography. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/morris_charles_1711_81_4E.html (accessed 4 June 2016).

topography. Although not all the villages are named, the author does show several villages lying beside or between watercourses in the area of Pisiquid.

Interestingly enough the forts at either end of the road as well are noted and also named – Fort Sackville and Fort Edward. The author of the map was interested not only in the French possessions at Pisiquid and along the road but also the British military infrastructure. When it is taken into account that both the French and British are represented upon this map in the region of Pisiquid one glaring omission is obvious: that of the Mi'kmaq, who would have not only had a presence within Pisiquid as they were closely allied with the French and also intermingled with them, but they also extensively used the St. Croix waterway for travel purposes.

There are three possible reasons for the omission of the Mi'kmaw. The first is the fact that the mapmaker did not care enough to include them, that the map was not created to be specifically concerned the Mi'kmaq, considering at the time of this map's creation Charles Lawrence, the governor of the province, was planning the Deportation of the Acadians, not the Mi'kmaq. The second possible reason is that the mapmaker either did not know where the Mi'kmaq resided at any point in time within Pisiquid or did not know that they resided there at all. The third possible reason is that the mapmaker did not want to represent the Mi'kmaq because to do so would acknowledge the fact that they exist within the landscape and give them precedence and power within the bureaucracy of British governance. Although the Mi'kmaq were a serious problem for the British, conducting raids and threatening communities within the province, this map seems to disregard their presence completely.

These three reasons for the omission of the Mi'kmaq are not mutually exclusive and could indeed all be correct. This map reveals the planning that went into the Deportation of the Acadians, whether it was the surveying of the populations within Pisiquid or perhaps orders that Charles Lawrence gave to construct this map in preparation for an Deportation. To expel a population requires you to know whom you are expelling, and not only does this map represent that – knowledge of the Acadians – as well it represents the ability to expel the Acadians and the preparation that went into expelling them. This map also reveals that the British did not have the ability to expel the Mi'kmaq as they did not know exactly where they were located at any given time, although this may be considered a moot point as the British did not have the power to do so regardless of the location of the Mi'kmaq.

The second map from this time period is titled simply, the Surveyed parts of Nova Scotia.[87] This map was created by one "Captain Lewis", most likely Captain Thomas Lewis, an officer who was active in the province at the head of a group of rangers and a man who would later play a hands-on role in the Deportation of the Acadians, destroying homes in the Cobequid parts of the province in 1755.[89] Although dated 1756 this is also a relic of Deportation era preparation. Similar to the last, this map emphasizes the Acadian villages within the Minas region, especially Pisiquid. In terms of the parts of the map concerning the road from Halifax to Pisiquid, this map provides much more detail in terms of the locations of villages within Pisiquid. This map not only shows more villages within the community but also names more as well, including a village named simply

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[89] Frank H. Patterson "Old Cobequid and its Destruction." in Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society 33, (1934), 69.

"The Five Houses", suggesting that this village is different than the others named specifically for families. This map also represents Fort Edward, although it is not named, and the road to Halifax exhibits more detail than the last map, showing where the road crosses the St. Croix River not only in relation to the river itself and a smaller watercourse which branches from the river, but also an Acadian village which lies adjacent to the river crossing and road. Also noted along the length of the road are lakes, displayed as small circular blobs. No elevation is represented within the map, and again for much of the interior of the province the road is fairly superficially represented, perhaps because he did not travel throughout it.

This is likely because the map is concerned not with detailing the road but where the road goes: Pisiquid. Again, this map is a relic of the Acadian Deportation and not only details the planning that went into the Deportation but also that some Acadians were self-expelling. The Five Houses, for example, does not have a family name, suggesting that by the time this map was completed there was no family residing there for which the map maker to attribute the village a name. Rather, it was abandoned.

Together these two maps represent not only a detailed, articulated planning phase for the Deportation of the Acadians, but also the ability for the British for the first time to survey the residents of their colony – that of the French inhabitants. These two maps were selected for the fact that they show not only the road and the landscape it travelled between, but also for what they do not show. These two maps paint a picture of an insecure British government attempting to keep track of a French populace on the eve of their decision to deport them. These two maps also were created at a time in which the amount

of power for British authorities within peninsular Nova Scotia was unprecedented. In a sense these maps mark a change in the balance within the province, following the founding of Halifax and the militarization of the landscape between the two communities of Pisiquid and Halifax. These are not connections I am alone in making, Faragher as well notes that there is a connection between cartography and plans for deportation within Nova Scotia. [90]

Scotland's Influence on the Pisiquid Road: The Founding of Halifax 1749

To understand the evolution of the Pisiquid road from a drove road to a military roadway one must begin with the settling of Halifax and the leadership Edward Cornwallis. Cornwallis arrived in Chebuctou harbour on the 21st of July, 1749 as the new governor of Nova Scotia. He immediately set about founding Halifax, bringing with him colonists from Great Britain, and two regiments from the British garrison at Louisburg. When he arrived Cornwallis determined that there was both a French presence on both sides of the harbour, as well as a Mi'kmaq.[91] Over the next two months he met with deputies from the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia as well as the chiefs of the Mi'kmaq. The initial meetings went well, with the Acadians promising to be loyal to the crown, and the Mi'kmaw signing treaties of peace. This initial peace did not last however, as the Acadians refused to sign oaths of allegiance and the Mi'kmaq began attacking British settlers and ranger patrols. Cornwallis quickly recognized that his new capital was in a tenuous position within the province, being both logistically and strategically surrounded

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[90] John Faragher *A Great and Noble Scheme.* (New York: Norton, 2005), 262.
[91] Thomas B. Akins *Selections From the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia.* (Halifax: House of Assembly, 1869), 560-561.

by potential enemies. He reacted to this situation by beginning a campaign of militarization in key areas throughout the province. This is very much in line with the military theory he was accustomed to following his experiences within the campaign to pacify the clans of Scotland, up until 1748.[92]

This campaign Cornwallis was involved in for several years is important to understanding his application of military infrastructure and strategy in Nova Scotia and the effect he had upon the development of the Pisiquid road. Within this campaign, which began in 1726 in response to the attempt of the Scottish clans' threat to install Charles Edward Stuart as a rival sovereign to King George II, many of the military tactics of suppression of an unruly populace that Cornwallis uses in Nova Scotia were developed.

Upon beginning their occupation of Scotland, the British military realized that in order to effectively control the Scots and also deploy troops and field equipment it was necessary to invest in logistical infrastructure in the form of roads connected to and protected by fortified strongholds.[93] This was due to the fact that the roads in Scotland were not sufficient for the logistical movement of troops and field pieces. In fact, as Guldi notes, "As late as 1745, no road thick enough to carry cannons crossed the Scottish border."[81] It would be necessary then for the British military occupying Scotland and attempting to suppress the Jacobite rebellion among the Scottish clans, to create roads to and within Scotland. According to General George Wade, in 1725, "The only possible

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[92] Murray J Beck "Cornwallis, Edward", in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1979) and Geoffrey Plank *Rebellion and Savagery: The Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the British Empire*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).
[93] Jo Guldi *Roads to Power: Britain Invents the Infrastructure State.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 29.

means of taming such fighters was to change the landscape itself […] roads and bridges

alone could render Scotland subject to English power".[92]

This was exactly what the British military would proceed to do in Scotland,

developing modern road construction in "the military laboratory of Scotland between

1726 and 1773 as a craft known to soldiers and surveyors".[94] It was within this military

laboratory that new methods for surveying landscapes, particularly forested and hilly

landscapes were created.[95] Also, new methods for clearing and building the actual

structure of the roads were developed.[96] New techniques for levelling roads, including

filling hollows and blasting hills, were developed by British military surveyors and

engineers within the rugged terrain of Scotland, all with the intent to provide logistical

superiority in a hostile country, of which the enemy combatants were thoroughly

knowledgeable.

This background knowledge that Cornwallis was acquainted with during his time

in Scotland would be useful when he found himself tasked with constructing his new

colony in Nova Scotia, in a very similar circumstance. When diplomacy began to break

down between his forces in Halifax and the Mi'kmaw and Acadians, Cornwallis used the

same stratagems that were used in Scotland in an attempt to pacify the clans.

Following the founding of Halifax, the laying out of lots, and the building of

houses, Cornwallis turned to fortifying the town and projecting his influence into the

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[94] Ibid., 3.
[95] Ibid., 30-31.
[96] Ibid, 40-41.

interior of the province. He let the Board of Trade know on July 23rd 1749 his plans to

police the inhabitants of Nova Scotia:

> I have ordered all the Deputies (French) to come here and expect them in a few
> days, --- I think tis necessary to shew them that tis in our power to master them or
> to protect them, and therefore I design to send as soon as possible two Companies
> to Minas with Orders to build a Barrack and stay there the Winter, I shall also
> send an Armed Sloop into the Bay of Minas to prevent all correspondence with
> the French by sea: ---another Company I shall send to the Head of the Bay, where
> the Road to Minas begins :---I propose likewise a Blockhouse half way for the
> conveniency of Travellers, and then to employ all the Men I can get together,
> Soldiers and Inhabitants to clear the Road from hence to Minas, tis about 30 Miles
> in a direct line—whether this can be executed before winter I cannot say.[97]

In this letter Cornwallis lays out his plan to either protect or police the potential hostile

inhabitants of the province through a series of forts and a military road. The early road

was important to Cornwallis in regards to the pacification of the landscape. The

supplanting of a Acadian road by a British-constructed can also be seen symbolically as

the supplanting of French-power with British power. The reconstruction of the road is

also a drastic change of place for the road, as Cornwallis converts it from Acadian

economic infrastructure into British military infrastructure.

One can also think of it as a violent act of destruction, similar to the eventual

destruction of Acadian homesteads and churches. In a sense this reconstruction of the

road, linking it with a British settlement and British forts, is a physical deconstruction and

reconstruction of a symbolic feature in the landscape meant to display to the long-

standing inhabitants of the province, the French and Mi'kmaw, that there was a new

authority in the land unto which the important roads travelled. The new road is also a

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[97] Akins, *Selections*, 564.

symbol of power in the sense that it is not only a physical representation of the British in the landscape at all times, but, especially for the Acadians, also a sign of the potential for the British military to quickly and efficiently march to your home.

Cornwallis himself seems to acknowledge these facts when he orders Captain John Gorham and his rangers, on March 24 1750, to continue onwards to Grand-Pré following a skirmish with a group of Mi'kmaq while on his way to arrest Acadians involved in the siege of Grand-Pré. He notes that staying at the river and waiting for reinforcements would be ill-advised due to the fact that Gorham could be surrounded and cut off from Halifax and thus his supply route.[98] Cornwallis also notes that his force is of sufficient size to attack the Mi'kmaq wherever he finds them, and therefore he orders him to continue his march and post himself at the parish church, with orders to "scour all the country round, and shew them we are masters."[98] This display of power and authority by the British was facilitated by the reconstruction of the road, transforming it from a French drove road into a British-owned military resource.

The Drove Road Versus Military Infrastructure: The Differences in the Physical Landscape

Eventually Cornwallis completed his road sometime in October of 1749. We know this because he noted in another correspondence, this time with the Duke of Bedford that "About thirty of the French inhabitants have been employed in the works

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[98] Beamish Murdoch *A History of Nova-Scotia or Acadie.* (Halifax: James Barnes, printer and publisher, 1866), 181.

here for some weeks—some of them have likewise cut a road from the Head of the Bay (Bedford) to the Town."[99]

What would have this road looked like? Most likely it would have differed in fairly substantial ways from a French road, or as Cornwallis called it upon landing at Chebuctou: a "path for driving their Cattle over here."[100] One can imagine a cattle track as simply a cleared path from point A to B, most likely hemmed by trees or brush to keep the cattle from wandering off into the surrounding landscape as you herded them. A British military road, on the other hand, was a piece of infrastructure designed to quickly and easily transport an armed force, as well as cannon. Most importantly in a European context, the road had to be serviceable enough to haul armaments, again, a similar situation to the one the British military found themselves in during the pacification of Scotland. Although it is not described in primary source documents, the British would have had a surveyor, perhaps Charles Morris, sight the most satisfactory path for the new road. It would have been the surveyor who decided whether or not the road would deviate from the path of the Acadian cattle track. Considering the road as depicted in the 19th century, and previously noted, follows so closely to river systems, it is likely that there was not much deviation.

The construction of British roads relied heavily upon three things according to Guldi. The first of these, sighting, a technique developed in Scottish road building, would not be needed by the British as it had already in a sense had done for them by the original

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[99] Akins, *Selections*, 595.
[100] Akins *Selections*, 561.

road builders, the Acadians.[101] The next two important points were clearing, of forests and boulders mostly, and then of constructing a firm foundation.

Clearing depended upon the landscape in which one found oneself. In a marshy landscape to clear a path it would be necessary to tunnel under obstructions like boulders, slowly turn them deeper into the marsh, and off the path of the road.[102] In other, drier environments, it would be necessary to simply use manpower to dig it up or roll it away. In a forested environment, as Burt notes in regard to techniques that the British military used to clear roads, "the trees, for the necessary space, have been cut down and grubbed up; their fibrous roots, that ran about upon the surface, destroyed; the boggy part removed; the rock smoothed, and the crannies firmly filled up; and all this in such a manner as to make of it a very commodious road."[103] To quickly remove obstructions heavy plows were often used in Scotland pulled by teams of horses. Whether or not this was the case in Nova Scotia is unknown, but it was a possibility that these same techniques in clearing could have been used.

After clearing the road of any brush or trees, laying a good foundation for their road would have been the next step for Cornwallis's crew of Acadians and British soldiers. In Scotland the construction of foundations for roads tested in a variety of different environments. When building over a marsh or bog, one of the most difficult terrains in which to build a road, it was necessary to construct an elaborate foundation by

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[101] Guldi, *Roads to Power*, 30-40.
[102] Ibid., 40.
[103] Edward Burt *Letters From a Gentleman in the North Scotland to His Friend in London.* (London: Ogle, Duncan and Co., 1822), 202.

using "knotted bundles of heather that floated the gravel stacked over them."[104] The

theory was that a heavy foundation could be sunk into the marsh and the road could be

built atop it with a normal foundation and surface. These normal foundations often

consisted of "Pavements constructed with common Pebbles, which are generally of a very

hard Substance, and if well bedded in Sand, rightly disposed, sufficiently rammed and

well covered."[105] If a road needed to be levelled, such as a road upon a hill, road builders

would level it by "by building up the hollows, and lowering the hills"[106] The British road

builders that evolved within Scotland would go on to revolutionize road building in the

United Kingdom as they became private contractors, or moved to other parts of the

empire.

In short the British soldiers constructing the road along with the Acadian labourers

would have had access to knowledge that was developed within Scotland for making a

good road, with a solid foundation, and a level surface, no matter the terrain. These roads

would have been built according to the topography or terrain they were encountering. If

in a poorly drained area they could be floated with heavy foundations and then built

normally. If Cornwallis' soldiers completely re-designed the road from Halifax to

Windsor it is possible that their road may have looked something like this.

The Response to the Militarization of the Acadian Drove Road: Dangerous Liminal

Space

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[104] Guldi, *Roads to Power*, 25.

[105] Henry Homer *A Enquiry Into the Means of Preserving and Improving the Publick Roads of this Kingdom.* (London: Pearson and Aris, 1767), 38.

[106] E & R Peck *The Life of John Metcalf, Commonly Called Blind Jack of Knaresborough.* (York: E and R. Peck, 1795), 140.

What effect did the construction of this new road along with the construction of its forts have upon the landscape and its inhabitants, the Acadians and Mi'kmaq? We know that the road led into a major Acadian population center and also that is followed and crossed at least two major Mi'kmaq travel routes, that being the Sackville River and the St. Croix. Therefore for both of these peoples the road and its forts would have been troublesome. This is evident in two ways through historical events that took place following the re-development of the road and the construction of forts along it.

The first of these two events is that of the Acadian Exodus, which began in 1749 with the foundation of Halifax and continued until the Deportation began in 1755.[107] The Acadian Exodus consisted of the self-Deportation of Acadians from Nova Scotia to French-held territories, notably the Isle Saint-Jean, Ile-Royale and the French-held Chignecto region. There are estimates that up to half to a third of Acadians during the period of 1749 to 1755 participated in the Exodus.[108] The reasons for the Exodus are varied but generally it was caused by Britain's attempt to centralize power within Nova Scotia via the British demands that Acadians take an unqualified Oath of Allegiance to the British King, and also due to pressure by Abbé LeLoutre for Acadian families to take up arms against the British. Rather than be involved in conflict within Nova Scotia, and choose sides, many Acadians chose instead to flee and begin life anew.

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[107] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 359,

[108] J. B. Johnston "French Attitudes Toward the Acadians, ca. 1680-1756." In Du Grand Derangement a la Deportation, (Moncton: Chaire d'Etudes Acadiennes, 2005), 152, & Stephen E. Patterson "1744-1763: Colonial Wars and Aboriginal Peoples." In The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 132.

The road, along with its series of forts, may have played a part in precipitating the Exodus in the Pisiquid. We know that the road was most likely completed during October of 1749. With the completion of this road and the linking of Fort Edward with Halifax and the reality of companies of British Rangers patrolling within Pisiquid the authority and power of the British military was tangibly felt in largely independent Acadian communities.

Rather than continue to be under the thumb of British authorities we see that many Acadians fled. The British authorities in Halifax noted this as well and became concerned, specifically tasking Ranger parties to stop Acadians from leaving the land, and taking their possessions with them, such as when Captain John Handfield was ordered to Fort Vieux Logis, in Grand-Pré, specifically to patrol the roads there to stop Acadians from fleeing.[109] Gorham was also ordered, after the siege of Grand-Pré, to arrest the Acadians involved in the siege as well as to stop any Acadians that were attempting to flee with their possessions and cattle.[110] These attempts to confine and control the Acadians would not be wholly successful, as entire villages gathered their belongings and left, such as in the case of the Five Houses along the St Croix River.

The Five Houses was a village that lay along the St. Croix River, specifically where the road from Halifax to Pisiquid crossed the river. This village is especially curious because it not only ran adjacent to the road from Halifax but it was also the closest of the Pisiquid villages to Halifax, and also because the village as no surname attached to it. This is quite uncommon for Acadian villages, especially within Pisiquid, as

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[109] John Faragher *A Great and Noble Scheme.* (New York: Norton, 2005), 262.
[110] Akins, *Selections,* 181.

often when one approaches primary source documents, such as maps, that deal with

Acadian villages one notes that they are named primarily after the majority familial group

that inhabited them. The Five Houses however are not named for a family who lived

within the village, but are rather named for the five houses that were left when the family

left – in short, the residents did not stay long enough to leave a name for their village.

Hicks speculates that most likely a group of Héberts settled and lived within the

village. [111] Hicks also proposes that it was the close proximity of the village to the road,

and also the fact they were the closest village to Halifax, that may have contributed to

their village choosing to self-exile.[112] Whatever the case, when Gorham with his company

of British Rangers approached the village in late March of 1750 he found it completely

abandoned.

The exodus of a village lying adjacent to the road could represent a change in the

way that at least some Acadians viewed the road. The road existed before the settling of

Halifax as a drove road, a space that in its very nature was liminal. It was used primarily

for the transportation of cattle from Pisiquid to Chebuctou. It existed to get an individual

from point A to point B. The village of the Five Houses close to the road can be thought

of as the first change in this liminality. The road was, at least in the area of Pisiquid,

becoming settled. With the Exodus this change was halted, as the Acadians upon the

settled parts of the road fled the British and the inherent danger they brought to their

lives.

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[111] Colin Hicks *In Pursuit of the Five Houses: Identifying the Place and People of an Acadian Village on the Saint Croix River.* (Unpublished Honours Thesis: Saint Marys University, 2012), 25-26.
[112] Ibid., 24.

When Gorham stumbled upon an abandoned Five Houses in 1750 he also found a Mi'kmaq war party. Having been ordered into the region by Cornwallis to arrest the Acadians at Grand-Pré who assisted in the siege of the fort there, Gorham was ambushed along at the site of the village by a Mi'kmaq war party. Having been engaged in supposedly clearing this same road of a Mi'kmaq presence since December 17th, it may have been a surprise to Gorham that he would be attacked in force. Regardless Gorham returned fire upon the Mi'kmaq and was forced to take cover in two of the houses and a saw mill.[113] Gorham sent a messenger for reinforcements from Halifax and eventually the siege was lifted. With these reinforcements were the orders from Cornwallis to continue onto Pisiquid.[114] Gorham suffered no deaths in this battle, although he himself was wounded via a bullet to the thigh, along with two others.

Clearly, some Mi'kmaq contested the authority of the British within Pisiquid, and also contested the ability of the British to safely move men along the Pisiquid Road. In this same month a messenger was killed on route from Halifax to Chignecto by the Mi'kmaq.[115] The result of this, and of Gorham being ambushed on the Pisiquid Road, was that Cornwallis stopped sending out small companies of men.[116]

The Mi'kmaq and aggressive French were making life difficult for the British by ambushing them throughout the province, whether it be at Grand-Pré, Dartmouth, or along the road to Pisiquid.[104] They were contesting the claim of British authority within

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[113] John Grenier *The far reaches of empire: war in Nova Scotia, 1710-1760.* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Publishing Division, 2005), 154-155.

[114] Beamish Murdoch *A History of Nova-Scotia or Acadie.* (Halifax: James Barnes, printer and publisher, 1866), 174.

[115] Akins, *Selections,* 184.

[116] Ibid., 606.

the province, and with Gorham's Battle at the Five Houses this included the authority of

the British to move troops into Pisiquid via the road from Halifax. This fact seems clear

to Cornwallis as he orders Gorham to continue onto Pisiquid not only for strategic

reasons, that is, to prevent being cut off from supplies via Halifax, but also to

symbolically display his authority and power with a show of force.[117] The conflict with

the Mi'kmaq had to be responded in kind, and with the men Gorham had Cornwallis

ordered he scour the countryside within Pisiquid and root out the Mi'kmaq. Whether or

not he was successful is not said, but the fact remains that the contestation of power by

the Mi'kmaq within the landscape of the road was met in turn by Gorham in his

subsequent "scouring" of the countryside.

The landscape of the road was marred by conflict and tension as its use and

validity as a military resource by the British was challenged by the Mi'kmaq. John

Salusbury, a member of the council of Nova Scotia, later travels through the area and

notes the spot where Gorham fought his late action, naming the area "the five houses on

the River St Croix".[118]

Following the battle at St. Croix the road continues to be used by Ranger parties to

move freely from Halifax to Pisiquid, and eventually when Cornwallis is replaced as

Governor the road takes a primary role as a military resource within the province, as it

provides access to Pisiquid from Halifax that was used by the British to help deport the

remaining French families within Minas beginning in 1755. Although Winslow and his

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[117] Murdoch, *A History*, 181.
[118] Ronald Rompkey *Expeditions of Honour: The Journal of John Salusbury in Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1749-53*. (Newark: University of Delaware Publishing, 1982), 82.

men would travel to Grand-Pré via ship, the Rangers involved in the Deportation would have travelled along the road to enter Pisiquid, and following the Deportation Winslow and his men returned overland to Halifax.

This battle provides an example of the danger that Acadian families, such as those at the Five Houses, fled with the founding of Halifax. It also represents a change in what type of space the road existed as within the landscape of the province. From a simple liminal space the road was changed through the actions of Cornwallis and his militarization of the road into a contested liminal space, a bridge between two different cultures and communities. Through the actions of Cornwallis and his attempts to control not only the community of Pisiquid but also the road itself, and the responses of the Mi'kmaq and Acadians, the previously benign liminal space was transformed into a dangerous liminal space, in which those who were settled within it left and those who travelled upon it did so cautiously and in numbers.

After the Deportation the road continued to exist as a military resource as the Seven Years War required the logistical necessity of a road into the Mines region, as well as Fort Edward and Fort Sackville. With the Deportation of the Acadians and later the fall of Louisburg in 1758, Quebec in 1759 and Montreal in 1760, the Mi'kmaq finally made peace with the British in 1761. This ended a period in which the road was highly militarized, utilized particularly as infrastructure to watch over an unruly populous, and logistically to keep Halifax in touch with the inhabitant population through a series of forts.

This also generally signals an end of the contested cultural landscape that existed throughout the period of 1749-1755, in which British officers in Halifax attempted to exert their authority within Acadian communities in Pisiquid through the use of the road as a military resource. The culmination of this contestation along the road and in general the contestation of British power over the French-Acadian way of life within the province is the Deportation of the Acadians beginning in 1755, and the disassembling of their cultural landscape through the destruction of their villages and the forcible removal of their families.

Interestingly enough, although the British soldiers were instructed to not only deport Acadian families, but also to destroy their homesteads, they were not entirely thorough. The village of the Five Houses and much of Pisiquid for that matter remained untouched. One of the reasons we know this is because in 1759 Charles Morris surveyed the land upon which the village once lay, and the map he made of the lot he drew up for the soon-to-be resettlement of the Planters shows in faint pencil the actual Acadian buildings.[119]

These buildings, located on the Pisiquid side of the river St. Croix rather than the Halifax side, were left relatively untouched by the British.[120] This could be because the Acadians that lived within the village chose to leave before the Deportation, and thus the village was not a threat because the inhabitants had left prior to the Deportation, and were

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[119] Hicks, *In Pursuit of the Five Houses*, 39.
[120] John Duncanson *Falmouth – A New England Township in Nova Scotia, 1760-1965.* (Windsor, Ontario: Self published, 1965), 7, & John Duncanson *Newport Nova Scotia – A Rhode Island Township.* (Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing Co., 1985), 2.

not likely to return, a concern that British officials had, and one that underlied their burning of the Acadian villages during the Deportation.[121]

Another reason the abandoned village continued to exist into the Planter period is perhaps because it was used as a stopover on the way from Halifax to Pisiquid, for travelers using the road. If caught between Fort Edward and Fort Sackville in the time between the Deportation and the re-settling of Acadian lands in former Pisiquid, one could have stopped over at the Five Houses. Considering that at this point in the history of the province there were no inns along the road such as there would be years later, the Five Houses represented the only place between these two forts to spend a night under shelter. This is what Salusbury does during his stopover at the Five Houses, April 1750, before continuing on his way into Pisiquid.[122] To the British the houses had ceased to be a threat as a French homestead and instead become a comfort or luxury as a stopover.

In any case the existence of this village into the Planter period, a period following the Deportation in which the province sees the settlement of New England families into formerly-Acadian held lands, symbolizes the continuation of the former Acadian cultural landscape in an era in which the province begins to become more British, as we will see in chapter three.

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[121] John Winslow *Journal of Colonel John Winslow*. In Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 4, (1884), 100, 101, 151, 153.
[122] Rompkey, *Expeditions of Honour*, 81.

Chapter 3: The British Settlement of the Road and the Creation of a Service Industry

The landscape of the road, and later the Five Houses, would undergo another radical change beginning in the late 1750s and early 1760s, as the road transformed from a military into a domestic sphere. The maps which serve as an anchor to the third chapter come from the two year period of 1817 to 1818, a period of time in which settlement along the road was beginning in earnest.

<u>The Maps of Woolford: An Ideal Settled Landscape</u>

Created by John Elliott Woolford, this series of watercolor strip maps details a road entering a period of domestication, with the arrival of British families along its path. Woolford began his professional life with a commission of Major, in either the Royal Artillery or Royal Engineers.[123] From there on he served in the Napoleonic Wars, becoming involved in the campaign against Bonaparte's army in Egypt.[123] It was during these campaigns that he was noticed by Earl of Dalhousie, George Ramsay, as a particularly gifted landscape artist and sketcher. Woolford entered Dalhousie's patronage in 1807, and eventually found his way to Nova Scotia with Lord Dalhousie in October of 1816 as part of his entourage.[123] Woolford would often accompany Dalhousie on his travels around the province, and during his tenure in Nova Scotia he "recorded his impressions of the towns and villages, the topography of the land, its forests, waterways, and historic sites in precise but vigorous line and wash drawings in sepia".[123] One of the landscapes Woolford documented during his time travelling with Dalhousie was that of

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[123] Donald C. MacKay "Woolford, John Elliott" in Dictionary of Canadian Biography. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/woolford_john_elliott_9E.html (accessed 3 July, 2015).

the Great Road between Halifax and Windsor, through a series of surveys, which produced these maps.

The first sheet of Woolford's maps is a frontispiece, that is, a decorative illustration.[124] The frontispiece details a quarried piece of stone with the words "Surveys of the ROADS from HALIFAX to WINDSOR and from HALIFAX to Truro". The stone appears weathered, and there is lichen obscuring some of the letters, along with trees both in the foreground and background. Not only is this frontispiece an impressive piece of artwork, but one can also interpret it as an introduction to the reader the setting of the maps: that of a civilized world arising out of the wilderness. These maps have no scale, and their only points of orientation for the viewer are a simple north arrow upon each sheet as well as the mile markers along the road. As well, the map has no key, and thus it is left up to the viewer to interpret what Woolford has included within each sheet.

The purpose of these maps was to not only map the road but also give the viewer a sense of what it was like to travel them. Woolford includes not only topographic features such as streams, rivers, hills, swamp and fields but also man-made structures, such as farms, inns and blockhouses. Along with these structures Woolford also includes the names of the families whom inhabit the houses along the road, and whether or not they are a stopover place, such as "Thomsons Inn".

The map also contains the names of some natural features, such as rivers and lakes. If one views the maps closely, one may notice that during his surveys Woolford seemed to have missed some of the individuals who lived along the road. Several

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[124] See figures 4-12 for Woolford maps.

buildings with fields surrounding them, such as in sheet 9 (most likely residences), do not

have landowners attached to them – perhaps they were not at home at the time that

Woolford conducted his survey, or perhaps they made themselves scarce. For this reason

it is tricky to gauge exactly how many families were living along the road in this period.

Another important primary source to include within the analysis of Woolford's

maps is that of Lord Dalhousie himself, who during his period of travelling with

Woolford was also keeping a diary. This diary mirrors Woolford's maps, and oftentimes

provides detailed descriptions of the landscape Woolford reproduced.

When Lord Dalhousie first travels the road he describes the landscape around

Sackville, on sheet 3, as an "awful ruin of […] woods by fire & strong winds. All the

large wood is laying black & tore up by the roots, in masses of confusion. Others remain

erect but dead and rotting, to fall by next blast. There is however some fields

cultivated…"[125] What Dalhousie is describing is the process of settlement that families

such as the Grays, Fultz', and Robinsons were undertaking, as well as the destruction of

the natural Acadian forest. Not only was this process not pretty, but Dalhousie describes it

as seemingly futile, noting that the soil which the individuals within Sackville were

attempting to farm was "rocky and extremely bad in general."[126]

Further along the road Dalhousie goes on to describe the estate of Attorney

General Richard John Uniacke, an Irish-born lawyer and politician. His estate, called

Mount Uniacke, is easily the largest of any along the road, and Lord Dalhousie upon

passing this way in February of 1817 describes it as: "the only Gentleman's seat on the

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[125] Marjory Whitelaw *The Dalhousie Journals*, vol 1. (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 1978), 22.
[126] Ibid., 26.

road, finished last year, has a very comfortable neat appearance but tho' called is not a

Mount, but situated in a bottom between two very pretty and extensive lakes, surrounded

with wood, Pine and hard."[126] When Dalhousie visits Uniacke again on June 1st, he goes

on to say that Uniacke had cleared 100 acres of land and planted potatoes, oats and grass.

He finishes his description of the farming property by noting that "I shall be hereafter

much astonished if either Potaoes or oats come to maturity upon it."[127] Dalhousie also

seems to take a personal interest in some of the residents along the road, as when he stops

at Spencers Inn, in sheet 7:

> We stopped a little while at a small miserable public house kept by a man
> Spencer, whose only recommendation is his wife, a very pretty woman who
> supports a large family by her industry alone. Her story I do not know, but she is
> the daughter of a clergyman, near Falkland in Scotland, & ran away from her
> parents with this man. She spoke of them with tears overflowing.[128]

From here not only do Dalhousie's descriptions of the landscape (until Windsor)

become sparse, but as well do Woolford's. Through sheet 8 and 9 Woolford not only

seems to miss identifying the majority of landowners but he also begins to disregard the

general topographic landscape. Within sheet 9 this is especially evident as he details only

a hill at the beginning of the map, and then boggy terrain along the road, no other natural

features other than small streams that seemingly disappear when they flow away from the

road.

Comparing Dalhousie's description of the landscape along the road with

Woolford's helps the viewer understand that what Woolford is describing within his

surveys is not an actual reflection of the reality of 1817-1818. We see no description of

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[127] Ibid., 35.
[128] Ibid., 28.

the devastated landscape described by Dalhousie within Woolford's maps, nor do we have a sense that the soil was anything but fertile. Unlike Dalhousie's description of the farmers struggle with barren and rocky fields, including the estate of Uniacke, Woolford's landscape is seemingly pleasantly settled, bare some places in the interior, but similarly to his frontispiece the settlers are slowly bringing civilization, in the form of fields and structures, to the wilderness. All the settlers in Woolford's world seem to be industrious as well, with full fields surrounding farmhouses, including those at Spencers Inn of, whom Dalhousie does not have a high opinion.

Woolford may do a good job of describing what the physical landscape of this period looked like, but he also does a poor job of representing its cultural landscape. Dalhousie reveals the struggles that the settlers had in taming their land, as well as the devastation they brought. The ruined landscapes which Dalhousie describes were very likely a direct result of the settlement along the road. Burned down and broken forests make for a harsh landscape to travel through, and Dalhousie looks to the future when he notes that "There is nothing romantic on all this road, and when the wood is cut down, which is at present the grand object of every new settler, there will be little to interest the traveller's eye."[129] Through Dalhousie's eyes we see the ruination of a physical landscape present before the arrival of the British. In a sense Dalhousie is describing the destruction of the Acadian forest, a trade-off for the landscape of British settlement Woolford sees within his construction of the landscapes.

Where once there were thick and tall forests with a canopy of darkness overhead, with the introduction of settlement Dalhousie describes ruinous, unromantic wastelands

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[129] Ibid., 27.

dotted with settlements and fields. It is the first part of a re-construction of the landscape

along the road, beginning with the Deportation of the Acadians and the end of hostilities

with the Mi'kmaq and ending with construction of farms along the road. The road in

Dalhousie's time is a place of new beginnings, one that was going through a literal and

figurative immolation as the old unsettled landscape underwent the process of settlement.

It is tempting to take Dalhousie's description of the remains of Fort Edward in Windsor,

"ruined and useless"[129] as a metaphor for the evolution of the road in this period, as its

former military capacity begins to crumble with the rise of domestic settlement along the

road.

Woolford's survey may be flawed by romanticism, but together with Dalhousie's

contrasting subjective musings it represents a time stamp of what the road looked like

within the first two years of the creation of the coaching industry along the road.

<u>Woolford's Depiction of Settlement Along the Road</u>

Woolford's survey also provides valuable data with regards to the extent of

settlement along the road in the early 19th century, towards the end of the struggle to

domesticate it. In total there were 35 miles from the beginning of the road in Sackville to

the end of the road in Windsor. Woolford breaks these 35 miles up into eight portions, or

sheets. Table 1 details the total number of buildings, the number of inns, and also the

number of 'other' buildings and property holders recorded upon each of these sheets.

Table 1: Settlement

Miles	Total Buildings	Inns	Other Buildings	Property Owners

9 – 12	13	1	1 Mill	4
13 – 17	32	2	1 Church	16
18 – 22	7	1		6
23 – 27	4	2	Uniacke Estate	4
28 – 32	9	1		5
33 – 38	12	2		4
39 - 43	11	1		4
44	14	0	Church, College, Prison	0
Total: 35	102	10	6	43

It quickly becomes evident which portion of the road settlement has reached by 1816-1817. Between miles 9 and 17 there are 50 buildings. There are almost as many buildings in this small eight mile stretch of road as the next twenty-seven. This disparity is particularly evident in miles 18-32, with only 20 buildings between these fourteen miles. The conclusions to draw from this are that the areas of settlement in this period are generally located close to Halifax, that being the Sackville area, or close to Windsor. The road which travels along the interior of the province is sparsely populated when compared to these two areas. One reason this sparse population could be because the land within the interior of the province was generally poorly drained and hilly, and thus not of the highest quality.[130] It is also possible that the reason this land was still sparsely populated was

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[130] D. B. Cann, et al. *Soil Survey of Hants County Nova Scotia.* (Truro: Nova Scotia Soil Survey, 1954). & J. I. MacDougall, et al. *Soil Survey of Halifax County Nova Scotia*. (Truro: Nova Scotia Soil Survey, 1963).

simply because individuals at this point in time still wanted to be close of hand to their neighbours.

Also of interest is the fact that the Woolford was not apparently able to find all the property owners for the residences he visited. For example, although there are 13 buildings on the first sheet, Woolford names only four property owners. It is possible, but unlikely, that these four property owners account for the many farms located upon Woolford's mapping. Another good example of this is toward the end of Woolford's mapping; the last two sheets boast 25 buildings but only 4 property owners. Although three of these buildings are private or public institutions (a college, church and prison) many appear to be farms of which Woolford has not named property owners.

This suggests that Woolford, while conducting his surveying, was meeting with property owners along the way to get their names and place them. If this is true, evidently toward the end of his survey he grew lax in this endeavour, or the property owners were not home. The most accurate property owner to building ratio comes when one enters the remote areas of the survey, in which there are fewer buildings. This suggests that Woolford was better able to contact the people here – either because while passing these areas he was extra diligent, or because of the fact these properties are so far away from established settlements (such as Halifax, Sackville or Windsor) that the property owners are less likely to be away from their property. In any event, this means that attempting to draw conclusions about settlement pattern based upon the property owners listed upon Woolford's survey is problematic because in this measure his surveying is spotty at best.

The third and last interesting bit of data encoded in Woolford's mapping regards inns and taverns, and their placement along the road. In total there are nine inns and one

tavern, which averages to one inn every three and a half miles. If one takes a closer look at the data in an attempt to understand where the majority of the inns are placed, one finds that three sheets have more than one inn. Miles 13-17, map place in Sackville, have two inns, while 23-27 and 33-38 also has two stopovers. Miles 13-17 are densely populated and perhaps the reason for two inns here is due to the higher-than-average amount of traffic that would have taken place in a more densely populated area of the road. Miles 23-27 and miles 33-38 represent two of the more remote areas along the road, with miles 23-27 being the most remote of all with only four buildings, one of those being the Uniacke estate. The fact that there are two inns between these four miles is because there were few places to stop here, and thus if travellers passed through this area and found themselves in trouble they would be forced to stop at one of these inns, because this portion of the road which covers much of the interior of the province was very remote.

Finally, the last of the sheets to contain more than one single inn is that of miles 33-38. Interestingly enough this sheet also contains more than the average mileage than any other, and this may attest to why there are two inns along this portion of the sheet. Regardless, this area of the road contains a crossroads – a perfect area for an inn. This may explain the presence of two inns along this given stretch of road, regardless of the fact that there was a fair bit of development along it, with 12 buildings located along this sheet.

The Evolution of the Road: Deportation to Woolford

Woolford's maps are an undeniably important resource to draw upon in an attempt to re-create the conditions for the final evolution of the road from a military resource into a solely domestic, civilian one. The landscape depicted by Woolford and Dalhousie represents a nearly sixty year process of agrarian British settlement within Nova Scotia, beginning in the late 1750s and early 1760s. With the security of the province substantially improved in the eyes of British authorities through the Deportation of the Acadians and the ending of a guerilla war led by Abbé LeLoutre, the administration of the province looked towards the former Acadian lands in Pisiquid as excellent lands for settlement.

The settlers for this undertaking came generally from New England. Prior to the Deportation, settlement from New England to Nova Scotia was stymied for a number of reasons. Settlers were not attracted to Nova Scotia due to the simple fact that there was still easily available land in the north and west of New England.[131] Coupled with the fact that Nova Scotia was generally a remote part of the British Empire inhabited by a French-speaking population who were also Roman Catholic, and also that the province was embroiled in a simmering war fought between British Rangers and the native Mi'kmaq and French residents, a Protestant settler from New England generally chose to stay home.

Following the Deportation of the French-speaking Roman Catholic population of the province, and the cooling off of hostilities between the British, French and Mi'kmaq

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[131] John G. Reid *Six Crucial Decades: Times of Change in the History of the Maritimes.* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Limited, 1987), 49-50.

in the late 1750s with the capture of Louisburg in 1758, the province was a more appealing place to settle. At the same time the previously abundant land in New England was becoming less available, as the settlers that could have arrived in the mid-to-late 18th century in Nova Scotia instead settled in the north and western parts of New England.[132]

Governor Lawrence in the fall of 1758 and in early 1759 spurred on the settlement of the province via New England through two proclamations inviting settlers to Nova Scotia.[132] These were published widely in New England, and assured New Englanders that the time of troubles in Nova Scotia were over following the capture of Louisburg, and that now was the time for the "peopling and cultivating as well the lands vacated by the French as every other part of this valuable province".[133] These proclamations also assured the settlers that the land they would be settling was of the utmost quality, having been worked for a hundred years by the Acadians prior to the Deportation, and each year never failing to raise crops.[132]

There is an argument to be made that their settlement was not as safe as Lawrence's proclamations made them out to be. Although the French defeat at Louisburg had signalled an end to open war within the province through the use of French forces, the Mi'kmaq still continued to be a threat. In the spring and summer of 1759, as plans were being made for New England settlement of Acadian lands, the Mi'kmaq were still carrying out raids on British holdings within the province, particularly at Lunenburg and

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[132] Ibid., 50.
[133] Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton *The History of Kings County Nova Scotia: Heart of the Acadian Land.* (Milton, Ontario: Global Heritage Press, 1999), 59.

the Isthmus of Chignecto. These types of raids continued into the fall of 1759, accompanied by raids of sea-borne Acadians.[134]

When the first New England settlers arrived in former Pisiquid in 1760, their communities were planned with defense in mind. Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth townships all had defensive infrastructure installed upon their founding, including palisaded forts and local militias, as well whatever British regulars could be spared.[135] Through the early years of Planter settlement and occupation in Nova Scotia, the threat of native attack on their communities was substantial. Reid reports that settlers such as Henry Alline and his family, upon settling in Falmouth, were soon beset upon by Mi'kmaq "with their faces painted", declaring that "the English should not settle this country."[135]

The Planters persisted however through their early period of colonial settlement in the province, and through 1760 to 1763 roughly 5,000 settlers had arrived within the province.[135] It would be this decade of the 1760s in which the population of the province would become overwhelmingly British, or British-sponsored.[136] Many Planters arrived in the formerly-Acadian held lands, such as Pisiquid. It would be here that they would found the townships of Cornwallis, Horton, Falmouth, Windsor and New Port. The road to Halifax evolved from a military resource during this time into a domestic artery that connected the settlers in former Pisiquid, now the Annapolis Valley, to the capital of

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[134] John G. Reid "Pax Britannica or Pax Indigena? Planter Nova Scotia and Competing Strategies of Pacification." in Essays on Northeastern North America: Seventh and Eighteenth Centuries. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 180-181.
[135] George A. Rawlyk *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts a Study of Massachusetts-Nova Scotia relations 1630 to 1784*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973), 218-221
[136] Reid, *Six Crucial Decades*, 51.

Halifax. The Planters brought with them unique American ways of living. They built their houses differently than the Acadians had. They practiced a Protestant religion rather than a Catholic religion, and they also had a different way of settling the land. They also requested that their land be freehold, so they would own their land, rather than lease it from a large landowner.[137] This differs from the traditional way of doing things associated with English estates. In short the Planters brought new ideas and ways of living into the province, different in a way from the British and Acadian ways of life.

There were still large landholders along the road and within the province generally, however. Colonel Joseph Scott, a British military officer, comes to own the land that the Acadian village of the Five Houses was originally located upon. He obtains this land most likely through his brother, George Scott, who dies following a duel in 1767, and was one of the original grantors of the land in 1759.[138] George Scott in turn obtained the land through a granting process which not only granted lands to settlers from New England but also granted land to British military officials and officers as rewards or payment for services.

This particular grant was composed of 2,500 acres and granted to George & Henry Scott, as well as Winkworth Tonge, in 1759.[139] All of the men in this primary grant were military officers. Sometime between Joseph Scott coming into possession of the

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[137] Lucille H. Camprey *Planters, Paupers and Pioneers: English Settlers in Atlantic Canada.* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2010), 85.

[138] Hicks *In Pursuit of the Five Houses*, 27.

[139] NSARM "A Survey of a Tract of Land on the River St Croix laid out to Mr. George & Henry Scott Esq and Winkworth Tonge Gent containing Five Thousand Five Hundred Acres with allowance for High Ways" PANS O/S 136, 1760

land, which most likely occurred in 1767 following his brother's death, Joseph Scott puts

settlers on the land to work for him and pay him rents.[140] In short he creates a landlease

estate along the St. Croix upon which there was formerly an Acadian village – the Five

Houses. This landlease comes to be known as Georgefields, most likely named for the

British monarch rather than its former grantee, George Scott.[141]

The descendants of the Dills eventually purchase the land from Margaret Scott,

Joseph Scott's widow, in 1811. Specifically they purchase all the property from ""[…]

the old Road beginning at the Old St Croix Bridge and continuing at St Croix River till it

meets the New St Croix Bridge on said river."[142] Interestingly enough, nine years later

when a map of this area is produced, this property is seen as quite substantial and

encompasses the buildings in which William Dill was living in 1820. The area on this

map is given the name "Five Houses".

Sixty years after the Deportation of the Acadians from this region, the place that

was once an Acadian village continues to be named the "Five Houses". This is evidence

that the proceeding Acadian mental landscape continues to exist in the British cultural

landscape of this region. Within a New England Protestant agricultural landscape the

echoes of the former French Catholic agricultural landscape still exist. Similarly to the

French farmers, Planter farmers continue to farm the same land, using the same dyking

system, on the same river, near to the same old road. One cannot help but think that this

road and its bridge across the river was viewed differently by the Dills however. Perhaps

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[140] Hicks, *In Pursuit of the Five Houses*, 28-29.
[141] Pearl A. Brown *The Story of Cinq Maison and Georgefield – Winckworth – Mantua and Reminiscences.* (Unpublished: NSARM CS88 B879, 1975) VI and Hicks *In Pursuit of the Five Houses*, 30.
[142] NSARM "Grantor: Scott, Margaret to Grantee: Dill, John & Alexander." RG 47 volume 9 #201

when the Planter residents look upon it, it is not a cause for anger, or concern, as it may have been for the original occupants of the Five Houses, who eventually left the area, perhaps due to its influence upon their daily lives, and what it represented.

The landscape of the road in a few short decades is drastically changed as small communities begin to develop in areas left vacated by the Acadian Deportation, capped in the valley by large communities like Windsor. The road in time is no longer called the road to Pisiquid, but rather the road to Windsor, as in 1764 the township of Windsor is created.[143] In the Annapolis Valley the landscape along the road quickly evolves from a contested pastoral French-Acadian landscape to that of an initially contested New England British-landscape with the introduction of settlers from New England, which eventually becomes pacified as peace with the Mi'kmaq is obtained.

Through the interior of the province during this time the road continued to be deserted; however there was outgrowth along the road from the bay of the harbour near Fort Sackville. Thirty-two grants, or "farm lots", were alloted following the road from Halifax to Windsor, and people began to farm, work and live outside of the city, along the road.[144] It would not be until later in the 19th century that these small farming settlements would develop into communities.

In 1767 Joseph Scott was granted land near to Fort Sackville, along the road to Windsor, and proceeded to create an estate for himself there.[145] Joseph Scott owned land upon the two ends of the settled road for much of its early history following the Acadian Deportation. Upon one, near Fort Sackville, he resided with his family within an estate,

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[143] Garth Vaughan *Historic Windsor*. (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2006), 1.
[144] Robert Paton Harvey *Historic Sackville*. (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing 2002), VI.
[145] Tony Edwards *Historic Bedford*. (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2007), 3.

upon the other; he leased out the land and was paid rents by its inhabitants, the

aforementioned Dills and Smiths. Joseph Scott and the early settlers at the mouth of the

Harbour, along with Fort Sackville, account for the majority of the settlement along the

road from Halifax during the early time period of the domestication of the road following

the Deportation. The road would have been travelled and used through the interior, but

there are no records in the form of grants or maps that show anyone living within the

interior until much later. This is because the road was not as well-travelled as it would

become decades later.

Following the American Revolution British citizens still loyal to the crown

entered British North American, and especially Nova Scotia, with upwards of 30,000

entering Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.[146] Many of these United Empire Loyalists

stayed and settled within the province, although their settlement was not felt as strongly

upon the road as in other parts of the province, such as Shelburne or Guysborough.

However, Loyalists did settle within Windsor, with Anglican Loyalists constructing the

University of King's College in 1789, becoming Canada's first university.[147] Students

from the college would go on to use the road to travel back and forth from Windsor and

Halifax.

With families settling at either end of the road, near Windsor and near Halifax,

and with the military using the road less and less, the road suddenly shifted from a

military resource into domestic infrastructure. Its purpose became a route for

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[146] Maya Jasanoff *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World*. (Toronto: Random House, 2011) 357.

[147] Cheryl Bell and Lois Kernaghan. "University Of King's College." The Canadian Encyclopedia. Historica Canada. http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/university-of-kings-college/ (accessed 11 April 2017).

communication and transportation from and to Windsor, a connection for Halifax to the proverbial breadbasket of the province, rather than a route to watch over a possible threat to the colony. Through this transformation there were growing pains. One of these growing pains was the question of maintenance of the road.

Following the settling of the Planters in the Annapolis valley of Nova Scotia in the 1760s, a bill was passed in 1761 by the government in Halifax requiring each township to appoint individuals as surveyors of their own roads, and also to organize settlers in their own areas to contribute to their road's general upkeep.[148] The passing of the bill in 1761 included general maintenance throughout the year as well as requiring those who lived along the road to repair any damage incurred along its length, as well as clear it of obstructions, and in the winter, of snow.[149] Those who lived upon the road with carts, oxen or horse were required to provide them for their use along the road and to work four eight-hour days a year, whereas those without carts or beasts of burden were required to provide six days of work.[150]

Through this bill the government was in effect removing itself from responsibility for the roads in the province. What this led to in the case of the road from Halifax to Windsor was a road in terrible condition. Whereas before the Deportation and the settling of the Planters the road was a vital resource of the military, and thus the assumption is upkeep for the road fell to the military, at this point in time the upkeep of the road fell to those living along it. Along with everything else they had to do as they developed their

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[148] R. D. Evans *Transportation and Communication in Nova Scotia 1815-1850.* (Halifax: Dalhousie University, 1936) 107 & Joan Dawson *Nova Scotia's Lost Highways: The Early Roads that Shaped the Province.* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2009), 9.

[149] R. D. Evans *Transportation and Communication in Nova Scotia 1815-1850.* (Halifax: Dalhousie University, 1936) 107

new lives in the province, they also had to care for large swathes of the road from Halifax

to Windsor. There was also the fact that the interior of the province at this time was not

densely settled, and therefore large parts of the road were uncared for due to the fact there

was simply no-one there to put in the time and effort to care for it.

Other schemes for providing funding for the road were developed over this period

of settlement as well, such as the use of toll booths along the road. Toll booths first come

into being in 1782, and were staged along the road at key intersections, such as at the

bridge over the Sackville River. The tolls were immediately very unpopular among those

who regularly used the road, and a toll booth located upon the land of the grantee William

Piggot in Sackville, was attacked and destroyed in October of 1782.[150]

What these toll booths and fines represent are the efforts of the government at the

time to create a self-sustaining road, that is, a road that they did not want to be bothered

with the responsibility of keeping up, a road that was to be left to the inhabitants that

lived along it. Therefore the administration within Halifax attempted to introduce funding

programs that would create revenue independent of the government's budget. The

construction of these toll booths is another example of the government determining

upkeep of the roads not to be a requirement of the State.

The attempt to subsidize the road through the use of toll booths did not go as

planned, and the booths were out of commission by 1787, a year after the tolls for farmers

who lived in the vicinity of the toll booths, and whom would have been using them quite

regularly, were waived.[150] The various schemes of the government to pass responsibility

for the road onto those who lived along it did not work as planned, and the result was that

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[150] Harvey, *Historic Sackville*, 18.

the roads went generally uncared for, and for the next roughly fifty years they stayed this way. Travelling satisfactorily only occured in the summer or winter months, when the roads were either dry or frozen. In 1812 Lady Sherbrooke, undertaking a journey to Windsor via her own horses and carriage, describes the road as "in many parts very rough and bad" and for 10 miles "so stony and shaking that it requires the utmost care in driving, not to dislocate the carriage and the travellers' bones"[151]

During this time as well the roads continued to be looked after primarily by those who lived upon them, as evidenced by Lady Sherbrooke's account of Mr. Sabatier in Sackville, who "resides there and has been very active in mending the road – he wished to point out to Sir John what he had done & therefore rode with us".[153] It was not until 1813 that the province began to consider improving the roads, and three surveyor generals were hired to look after them.[152]

Two of these surveyors were responsible for the "Great Roads" the road from Halifax to Windsor and the road from Halifax to Truro, while the third was responsible for the rest of the roads in the province. The two "Great Roads" were extremely important to the province. The "Great Road" from Halifax to Windsor served to connect the agricultural heartland of the province with the capital, while the "Great Road" from Halifax to Truro served to connect the capital with the 'hub' of the province, that is, the town from which one could travel either north or south throughout the province, or west into New Brunswick and eventually to Upper and Lower Canada.

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[151] Lady Sherbrooke *A Colonial Portrait: The Halifax Diaries of Lady Sherbrooke 1811-1816*, ed. G. Brenton Haliburton (Raleigh, N.C.: Lulu Press, 2011), 68.
[152] R. D. Evans *Transportation and Communication in Nova Scotia 1815-1850.* (Halifax: Dalhousie University, 1936) 107.

With the introduction of surveyor generals for the roads of the province, the road from Halifax to Windsor was divided into districts, and within these districts supervisors were appointed.[154] These supervisors were responsible for purchasing equipment and obtaining resources for the repairing of roads, and also directing the statute labour put under their authority.[154] Most importantly, however, is that the government of the province was responsible for allocating pay for not only the surveyor's salaries, but also for labour, materials and compensation "to landowners for property expropriated for road construction."[153]

This meant that the government was, at last, taking responsibility for the road. By the time Lord Dalhousie comes to Nova Scotia in 1816, he notes that "The great roads are good, but the byeroads scarecely entitled to the name. The Acts of Statute Labour are not enforced, the grant money much squandered from want of proper control or inspection, & what is repaired this year equally requires it the next."[153] Dalhousie also notes that many of the supervisors appointed by general surveyors were corrupt, and as noted in the quote above, many of the resources meant for the road were squandered, not on resources or through shoddy repair – but through embezzlement of funds by those entrusted with the repair and upkeep of the roads.[154]

Although the changes to the great roads early in the 19th century were taken advantage of by some to make quick and tidy profits, the end result was that the road from Windsor to Halifax was improved enough that in 1815 a committee was appointed to discuss the troubling matter of the lack of postal communication and transportation

[153] Whitelaw, *The Dalhousie Journals*, 73.
[154] Whitelaw, *The Dalhousie Journals*, 31, 113-114.

within the province.[155]

The Development of the Coaching Industry

Before the development of a coaching industry along the road it was necessary to travel by one's own horse or carriage. Lady Sherbrooke, wife of career soldier Lieutenant General Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, recently appointed to Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia following their marriage, lived within the province between the years of 1811-1816.[156] During these years she is a diligent diarist, and records not only the social lives of top military, naval and colonial government officials but also makes various trips to Windsor from Halifax. Lady Sherbrooke embarks on these trips via her own personal carriages. As previously noted she often described these trips along the road as jarring.[157] In terms of the topography of the road, she describes it so:

> the Hills are steep and very numerous but the Horses being accustomed to the road, went up and down with great willingness – The road, such as it is, must have been made with great difficulty and labour, the woods on each side are very magnificent and we passed some beautiful Lakes – one called the Spectacle Lake, from its resemblance to a pair of spectacles is particularly beautiful.[157]

Especially interesting to note about this description of the road is that it seems prior to Dalhousie's travels upon the road the forest seemed to be pristine. Perhaps this is due to the fact the settlement of the road was not as advanced as in 1816, as evidenced by Sherbrooke's description of the inhabitants "the country is very thinly populated – a very few scattered Houses and log Huts on the side of the road, are all indications of

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[155] House of Assembly of Nova Scotia *Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly*, (Halifax: King's Printer, 1815), 39.

[156] G. Brenton Haliburton, introduction in *A Colonial Portrait: The Halifax Diaries of Lady Sherbrooke 1811-1816.* (Raleigh, N.C.: Lulu Press, Inc., 2011), 14.

[157] Sherbrooke, *A Colonial Portrait*, 69.

Inhabitants that we saw."[157] Upon arriving in Windsor Sherbrooke notes that Fort Edward is "in a dilapidated state" however those within the fort did raise a flag for her husband, and "a Salute [was] fired from two 3 pounders in honor of Sir John's arrival."[158] Sherbrooke encounters other travellers on the road as well including, the Judge of the Admiral and his wife, who tells Lady Sherbrooke that they spent the night on the road and were continuing onward to Halifax through the day.[158]

When stopping at the houses of inhabitants and two inns along the way to and from Windsor Sherbrooke also describes the types of hospitality given to her. The first is Gracie's, of where she makes two visits, one on the way to Windsor and one on the way back. While at Gracie's the first time Lady Sherbrooke has a breakfast of "roast and broiled chicken, broiled ham, roast Partridge, eggs, Hot rolls, tea & coffee, with very good cream milk and Butter"[158] on her way back Sherbrooke indulges in "excellent new milk and … some brown bread".[159]

The other inn she stops over in she describes as simply a house, run by a Scotch family of the name Spence –the same family that Dalhousie describes later as being led by a not-so-hardworking husband. On her first visit to the house she does not record if she ate, which could mean it was not memorable or that she simply did not eat, and on her second visit, on the way back from Windsor to Halifax, she describes having an excellent breakfast similar to that she had at Gracie's. (Sherbrooke 1812:72)[160]

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[158] Ibid., 68.
[159] Ibid., 73.
[160] Ibid., 72.

What one can take from Sherbrooke's descriptions of her travel upon the road is that it was entirely up to a traveller to make their own way along the road. Although there were stopovers, such as the "Gracie's" that Sherbrooke stops at in Sackville, the Sherbrookes were also forced to stop over at the house of a settler within the interior of the journey, where they could rest, feed their horses, and get something to eat themselves as well.

For a traveller who was less well off than the Lieutenant Governor and his wife or the Admiralty and his wife, it was perhaps more difficult to travel along the road – not only to secure transportation from Halifax to Windsor in the form of one's own horse or carriage but also to bring enough funds along to stop over at the burgeoning inns or within the houses of one of the settlers. Sherbrooke notes encountering only other well-off people during her travels on the road, such as the Judge of the Admiralty or Richard Uniacke, whom she notes was at that point planning the creation of his estate.[160] This could be because she does not consider common folk of note or because in order to make the long journey from Halifax to Windsor in relative comfort one had to be wealthy enough to finance themselves and also own a suitable means of transportation.

Finally, on her return to Halifax Sherbrooke does notice that:

> In some parts of the woods that had been set on fire, the remains of the Burnt trees, some standing, others falling in all directions, with their roots in the air present a curious though not a very pleasing scene of confusion. Mrs. Blowers told me that she had more than once been travelling when the woods have been on fire on each side quite close to the road, to the very great dread of the Horses and usually to the very great annoyance of Travellers, fortunately however we only saw the blackened and scorched trunks and branches of trees that had escaped being quite consumed.[159]

It seems that during this period and the beginning of settlement along the interior of the road that forest fires were fairly common place, although the forest was not entirely decimated as described by Dalhousie during his travels. These types of fires could be related to the clearing of woodlands by settlers for use as fields or pasturage.

By 1815 the settlement within the Annapolis Valley, and especially around Windsor, was suitably developed that a reliable form of communication between the communities needed to be established. The end result of the discussion within the House of Assembly was a decision to subsidize a private company, for £300, to provide a postal and stage coach service once a week from Halifax to Annapolis and Digby, and also from Halifax to Pictou, with the fares for the service to be regulated by the House of Assembly.[157]

Before discussing the effect this had upon the road, it is necessary to describe exactly what a coach is, to better understand how in what way it will change the cultural landscape along the road. The stage coach is a method of transport by which one travels in either a carriage or a wagon, depending upon the fee, and normally with several other passengers. Stage coaches were named for the method by which they got a passenger from point A to point B. In general coaches were defined by the distance through which each coach would travel before stopping, normally at an inn, and changing the horses. In Nova Scotia this distance was normally fifteen miles.[161] In Woolford's maps the average

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[161] Esther Lewis "Stage Coaching Days in Nova Scotia" in *Blue Nose Magazine* 1(3), 4.

distance between inns was three and a half miles, giving travellers plenty of places to stop along the way.

Coaches travelled best by summer and winter months, when the road was too dry for the wheels to get stuck or frozen solid, allowing the wheels to be replaced by runners and used as sleighs.[162] Due to the fact that coaches need to stop to change horses, and also due to the fact that often middle to upper class individuals would ride coaches for the entertainment value of viewing the land, often a service industry evolves that caters to just these individuals in the form of stopovers along coaching roads, such as inns or taverns. This service industry also developed along the road from Halifax to Windsor.

Even with the offer of subsidy, however, it was not until 1816 that a coach service would begin running from Halifax to Windsor, headed up by one Isaiah Smith, and subsidized by the Assembly with a grant of 100 pounds, provided that Smith continue the service for at least one year.[163] The development of the coaching service along the road helped create a second available industry, or income source, for those living along it. Although almost all the residents living along the road practiced subsistence farming, they could also open their houses up to the public and serve the travellers moving along the road, whether in the form of a farmer shipping goods to Halifax for sale or a well-to-do individual enjoying a trip out of Halifax by travelling to Windsor. The boon of wealthy travellers such as Lord Dalhousie moving to and fro along the road from Halifax to Windsor helped supplement the income of what was largely subsistence farming along the Great Road.

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[162] Richard K. Doyle "The Wild East – The Stagecoach in the Maritimes." In *Atlantic Advocate* 77(8), 11.
[163] R. D. Evans *Transportation and Communication*, 23.

Bolstered by the traffic between two of the largest settlements in the province and the eventual creation of a stage coach industry, settlers along the road and their descendants would come to depend not only upon subsistence farming but also an industry of service which catered to those travelling one of the Great Roads of the province. This settlement and growth of a service industry would continue into the 19th century, and by 1832 there were two stage coach lines operating out of Halifax. They worked on a bi-weekly schedule, one going from Halifax to Annapolis (with an extension once a week to Digby) and the other from Halifax to Pictou. [164]

As a place the road had transformed from a piece of military infrastructure used symbolically to display authority and power, as a liminal space thought of as little more than a path from point A to point B, to domestic infrastructure. Settlers could identify with the road as a home, especially so with the creation of the service industry in the wake of the development of the coaching industry between Halifax and Windsor. The road was no longer wholly liminal, rather than being a simple space it had evolved into a space for families to create prosperous lives for themselves, a place. The physical landscape of the road was undergoing immense change as well. The settlement of new peoples and evolution of the cultural landscape of the road along the route of the road brought ruination to the Acadian forest, and a drastic change in the physical landscape for a traveller passing through would view. The next chapter will cover the expansion of settlement and industry along this road into the mid-19th century, and its eventual collapse with the transition of transportation infrastructure within the province from roads to railways.

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[164] Ibid., 41.

Chapter 4 - The Rise of Locomotion and the Demise of the Service Industry

The previous three chapters have explored the evolution of the road from Halifax to Windsor from its supposed prehistoric origins up until the early 19th century. They have tracked its evolution as a cattle track used by Acadians to bypass British authorities in Annapolis Royal, to militarized infrastructure meant to police a perceived unruly populace, to a domesticated road with a burgeoning settler population and service industry. As a place the road has evolved from a benign liminal structure, to a dangerous liminal structure, and finally with the settlement of the road in the 19th century a place that could be regarded as a home, something more than a route between point A and B. This chapter will describe the impact that other methods of transportation, mainly the railway, had upon the road from Halifax to Windsor in the mid-19th century, and how it changed the road as a place within the cultural landscape. As an anchor this chapter will focus upon the maps of Ambrose Finson Church.[165]

The Maps of A. F. Church 1865-1871

Church's maps are an essential tool to a researcher interested in Nova Scotia in the mid-to-late 19th century. Not much is known about the mapmaker himself, and no official biography has been created of him. The closest account of his life we have is an article in 1989 by C. Bruce Fergusson, former provincial archivist for Nova Scotia. Much of the information within the article is gleaned directly from elderly residents who remember Church and also his grandsons. They contend that Church was not only a deserter from

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[165] See figures 13 and 14.

the United States of America's army (which is how he arrived in Canada) but also that he was an eccentric given to sleeping with a revolver under his pillow and wearing flypaper atop his head while in his house.[166]

Church began his life as a map maker in Maine, wherein he became interested in Nova Scotia through his association with Jacob Chance Jr., who had been hired to create a map of Nova Scotia which Church eventually got around to creating following the man's death.[166] Church began his work on his maps in 1865, and was contracted by the House of Assembly to produce a map of each county. The two maps which we are concerned with are the maps of Halifax and Hants County, which both encompass the road from Halifax to Windsor. The Halifax portion of the maps was the first to be completed in 1865 on a scale of 500 rods to one inch. The Hants county map was completed in 1871, after the completion of the Pictou, Digby and Yarmouth section of the maps in the intervening years, this map was on a scale of 1" to 1 mile.

The Halifax County map was produced from surveys drawn and engraved by H. F. Walling and includes not only topographic details such as roads, rivers, coastlines, and hills, but also the names of families living within the county. As well in the legend of the map there are statistics for the county, including numbers and tonnage of vessels registered in Nova Scotia, the population of Nova Scotia by county, the number of improved land in Nova Scotia, the religions and educational facilities in the province, ports of entry, telegraph stations, post offices and way offices. The document presents itself as an official government document which is meant to reflect the vital statistics of

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[166] Charles Bruce Fergusson "A. F. Church and His County Maps." In *Cape Breton's Magazine* (vol. 50, 1989) 78-82.

the province in 1865. In doing so it also reflects the state of the road in 1865 within the county of Halifax, and also the state of the recently constructed railway line between Windsor and Halifax.

The first thing to note about the state of the road in 1865, and especially when comparing it to the road of 1816, in Woolford's maps, is that there has been an explosion of families living within Sackville. In fact, the names of families living within Sackville and up to Springfield Lake are so densely packed upon the map that they become near-to illegible to the viewer. This trend ends after Lewis Lake, and the number of families living upon the road begins to dwindle as it approaches the interior. The other trend noted in the Woolford maps seems to continue within the A. F. Church maps as well – settlement of the interior parts of the road has not seen similar growth in the intervening years between the Woolford and Church maps.

Another thing to note is the difference between how the railway line to Windsor and the road to Windsor are presented to the viewer. The railway line is bold and large, with the font for the junctions and stations as well enlarged and emboldened. When the railway line reaches the Beaverbank railway station its name is actually so large that it overlays the names of individuals living upon the road from Halifax to Windsor. This is the first clue of the type of relationship the railway infrastructure would have with the infrastructure of roads. To Church the railway seemed to have been more important than the road, and even to those who lived upon the road. Taking into account that the purpose of this map to reflect the vital statistics for the county and province, and that it was commissioned by the government of the province, it suggests that for the House of

Assembly the modern infrastructure of the railway was more important than the bygone roads and those who inhabited them.

In the 1871 Hants County map the road, upon meeting with the rail line in Mt. Uniacke, is completely superseded by the railway. Again, the stations are described in large, bold font and where the road meets the rail line, such as at Newport, the road is secondary to the large lines of the railway. This Hants County portion of the map also highlights the fact that the interior of the province, especially from Mt. Uniacke to the village of St. Croix is very lightly settled. When comparing this map to Woolford's from 1816, settlement of the interior seems to have halted. If one was travelling through this part of the province upon this road in 1871 it would be quite lonely for long stretches.

The A. F. Church maps of Halifax and Hants represent a definite shift in the importance of specific types of modern infrastructure by not only the mapmaker but also the government of Nova Scotia. One can make this diagnosis confidently due to the fact that within the first map, that of Halifax, the railway lines are large and emboldened. Six years later when the Hants County map is sent to the government for approval by Church the government still has no qualms with the railway line taking precedence over the road in their survey of the province. The question is what led to this shift in the importance of one type of transportation over the other, and what effect did it have upon those who in Woolford's period decided to not only make their homes along the road but also construct a burgeoning industry of service?

The Continued Development of Stage Coaches

By 1832 there were two stage coach lines operating out of the town. They worked on a bi-weekly schedule, the first leaving from Halifax to Annapolis (with an extension once a week to Digby) and the other from Halifax to Pictou.[167] By 1850, the time in which the railway system became a concern for the province, and notably Halifax, two lines operated daily from Halifax to Windsor, while also running to Annapolis Royal, one line three times a week, the other twice a week.[167] As well there were lines running from Annapolis to Digby & Yarmouth, and also to Liverpool from Halifax, and another independent line which ran from Halifax to Pictou, and Truro to Amherst four times a week.[167] This does not include the smattering of mail carriages which could also handle passengers along these same roads. Other townships within the province had similar services, such as routes from Truro, through Pictou, to New Glasgow and Antigonish or from Pictou and Antigonish to Sydney, Cape Breton.[168] During a thirty-five year period, from 1815 to 1850, stage coach travel within Nova Scotia boomed. Stage coaches were a regular sight along the Great Roads of the province, Halifax to Windsor through to Annapolis and Halifax to Truro, as well as many other roads throughout the region. Nova Scotia and especially the Halifax to Windsor road were, at the beginning of the supposed railway era of the province, well supplied with land-based travel through the use of stage coaches.

On the road between Halifax and Windsor there were a number of communities born up and out of those that began to be settled by the British after the founding of Halifax, and particularly after the arrival of the Planters in the 1760s. With the election of

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[167] Evans, *Transportation and Communication*, 41.
[168] Evans, *Transportation and Communication*, 107.

Sir James Kempt as Lieutenant Governor of the province in the 1820s came the revolution of the roadway through the small community of Sackville at the beginning of the road. After being thrown from his coach while attempting to pass a wagon near Mount Uniacke, Kempt made it his mission to reconstruct the roads of the province, and in particular the road from Halifax to Windsor, with an eye to avoiding hills and in particular to driving around them rather than over, which could be dangerous for travellers.[169]

In 1824 a road grant which doubled the size of a grant proposed two years previously was voted upon and passed.[169] Immediately Kempt set about rerouting the road around hills. A large part of the old Sackville community was left literally by the wayside with the construction of the new road, which cut through the old grants that had been laid out from the Old Windsor Road, and left the houses that faced the old road now rear-facing to the new road.[170] The result was that new houses began to be built along the new road, and the traffic that once flowed along the more dangerous old road now flowed along the new.

The recently developed stage coach industry changed too, with the stage coaches using the new road rather than the old, along with the general traffic, such as soldiers from Annapolis and Windsor, and farmers from the counties of Hants and Kings, and even students from the college of Windsor would visit Halifax via the road.[171] The small hamlet of Sackville throughout the 19th century continued to grow, as the members of its

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[169] Harvey, *Historic Sackville*, 68.
[170] Ibid., 69.
[171] Ibid., 70.

community made use of their physical and cultural resources such as inns and taverns to thrive, creating farming, lumber and service industries along the road.[172]

The Uniacke Estate continued as an home for the Uniacke family through the 19th century. Richard John Uniacke, patriarch and creator of the estate, would die there in his bed in 1830 at age 77.[173] A small community, similar to others along the road, would develop here focused upon farming, service and lumbering. At its peak following the discovery of gold in Mount Uniacke, some five hundred individuals would live in the community.[174]

Windsor at one end of the road was a thriving community in which industries such as farming, shipbuilding, lumbering, mining and service were all productive.[175] Its waterfront was created in 1800 and further developed throughout the 19th century into a port which supported both shipbuilding and importing and exporting.[176] The apple industry within the Annapolis Valley along with the Colonial Fertilizer Company and Nova Scotia Cotton Company were all local industries which all shipped their goods out of the Windsor wharf.[177] Along with gypsum mining and the service industry which catered to travellers from not only Halifax but also Saint John, Boston and New York, Windsor quickly became a thriving community.

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[172] Ibid., 22.
[173] Richard Field *Richard John Uniacke.* Uniacke Estate Museum Park, https://uniacke.novascotia.ca/about-uniacke-estate/richard-john-uniacke (accessed 29 June 2016).

[174] Mary Kennickell *Beyond the Estate: Historic Buildings of Mount Uniacke.* (Hantsport: Lancelot press, 1981), 5.
[175] Vaughan *Historic Windsor,* 2.
[176] Ibid., 2-3.
[177] Ibid., 3.

Alternative Transportation: Canals and Rails

Although the road between Halifax and Windsor in the mid-19th century was well

settled and adapted not only to farming but also a service industry made up primarily of

general traffic between Halifax and Windsor, including regular coaching and postal

services between the two communities, there was a concern among the elites within

Halifax that the transportation systems of the province were lacking and in particular that

the potential of the province would be economically depressed unless modern methods of

transportation were introduced.[178] This was not a recent conclusion. As early as the mid-

18th century there were suggestions for alternative forms of transportation in the province.

William Owen, a Royal Navy Captain, upon surveying the chain of Shubenacadie lakes in

1767 suggests in his survey notes that because of the terrible roads and the difficulty that

carriages had in traversing them, as well as the dangerous nature of the coastal waters

surrounding the province, that the chain of lakes would be well suited to a canal.[179] He

goes further to suggest that this canal would open a line of transport and communication

between the capital and its inland settlements, which at that point in time was severely

lacking. This suggestion in particular would not be forgotten and in 1796 the House of

Assembly in Halifax would grant money to survey the proposed Shubenacadie Canal,

followed by in 1797 an actual survey by Theophilus Chamblerain and Isaac Hildreth, who

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[178] Howe, Joseph "Editorial", in *The Nova Scotian* (October 1, 1835).
[179] Donna Barnett *River of Dreams: Saga of the Shubenacadie Canal.* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2002), 5.

noted that there would be few impediments for a canal through the Shubenacadie system, and estimated the cost of the canal at 24,002 pounds 17 shillings and 6 pence.[180]

The experience of surveying and constructing the Shubenacadie canal would take nearly sixty-one years, having begun in 1797, and unofficially opened in 1858, with the hiring of three lock keepers. The Shubenacadie Canal represents an effort of the state, as well as private individuals, to improve transportation within the province with one massive infrastructure project. It is an attempt to connect the capital to the inlands, and the Atlantic Ocean to the Minas Basin, as well as an attempt to promote trade and industry, allowing for a quick, cheap and easy way to move people and freight. In essence what the canal represents is a physical manifestation of the elites' frustration with the transportation system of the province.

This frustration would be given a voice through a series of editorials published in the *Novascotian* in 1835. In them Joseph Howe, a notable promoter of railways in Nova Scotia, the owner of the *Novascotian*, and also a politician, calls upon the residents of the city to back the railway. Howe himself had travelled throughout the provinces in an attempt to make his newspaper a success through 1828-1831, attempting to gain subscribers by meeting with them in person. The experiences Howe collected in his travels include his thoughts that the road from Halifax to Windsor was "monotonous and tiresome … much of the land is bad, and but poorly skirted with timber; and until within a few miles of Telfry's, at whose door we are getting out, there is but little cultivation."[181]

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[180] Ibid., 6.

[181] Joseph Howe *Western and Eastern Rambles: Travel Sketches of Nova Scotia*, ed. M.G. Parks (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 49.

Telfry's Inn was within the interior of the province, past Mount Uniacke but before St.

Croix River. Howe does not seem impressed with his journey, spending much of his time

describing the passengers he encounters rather than the landscape itself. The finest view

he has is from a hill near to Telfry's, from which he can see

> cleared fields and a cottage or two – on the left the Windsor road meanders along, and opposite is the highway leading into Newport, bordered by some fine fields and snug looking farm houses; the hills, both before and behind, are finely wooded with stately trees, while a stream runs across the Windsor road, bubbling and sparkling in the sunbeams.[182]

In Howe's first editorial about the need for new transportation within the province

he speaks from a position of authority, having travelled much of the province and seen

first-hand the road from Halifax to Windsor. In particular within his editorial he

emphasizes the wealth that would be generated, specifically for Halifax, upon unlocking

the outlying and valuable lands to the north:

> if Halifax could be brought as near to Windsor as Mr Jeffrey's farm; or if Windsor, with all the shores of the Bason of Mines [sic] at its back, could be drawn as near the capital as Mr. Fultz's inn now is – both town and country would be benefitted to an extent which no one could possibly calculate. The former would in effect be placed upon the borders of the best lands of the Province, and the population of two of the finest Counties would be included in a moderate suburban range[183]

His editorials were ignored, however, and they abruptly stopped when he was charged

with criminal libel for criticizing the colonial government. Following his acquittal, Howe

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[182] Ibid., 64.
[183] Howe, "Editorial", 1835.

would enter politics, and be consumed with the fight for responsible government within Nova Scotia. This left the issue of a railroad for the province, from Halifax into its outlying agricultural centres such as Windsor, forgotten.

Although Howe was calling for the construction of railway infrastructure within the province with the express intention of benefit for the general populace, there were already railways within the province which were being used for private enterprise. The rail was first introduced into the province by the General Mining Association (GMA). The adoption of the railway by the GMA was intended to maximize efficiency in transporting the coal from the Albion Mines to Pictou Harbour, where the cargo could be loaded onto vessels and shipped to consumers. The GMA had acquired the exclusive rights to gather all unworked minerals within Nova Scotia in 1826 through the repayment of the Duke of York's debts to the jeweller Philip Rundell, part owner of the GMA. By 1830 the outfit was using steam power to "operate hoists and pumps with what appear to have been the first steam engines used in Canada."[184]

The GMA was innovative in the sense that they were the first to introduce in an industrial setting steam power, and in particular a working railroad to the province in the 1830s. However, the company itself was wholly selfish when it came to making money and especially so when it came to their monopoly of unworked mineral rights in the province. The GMA had exclusive access to coal mining in Nova Scotia up until the loss of their provincial minerals right in 1858. The GMA guarded these rights doggedly, and although rival mines were allowed to open if after one year a known coal seam was not

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[184] A. H. MacDonald *The Albion Railway: A Study of an early Nova Scotia Experience with the Industrial Revolution.* (Masters Thesis: Saint Marys University, 1999) 1-2.

worked by the GMA, the House of Assembly was not obliged to issue leases until well into the 1840s for such rival mines, due to the fact they were favorably disposed to the GMA.[185] When the House of Assembly became less favorably disposed to the GMA and petitioners for the construction of mines in locations such as Joggins were issued licenses to construct their mines, the GMA interceded and exercised their right to work any mineral in the province. In the case of the mine at Joggins the GMA used a local resident and several short-term subleases to stymie their rival mining outfit, setting up a small mining operation but in essence preventing a rival from establishing a mining base in Nova Scotia.[186]

The GMA succeeded for decades in profiting from the mineral wealth of the province while essentially squashing the industrialization of mineral wealth. It is probable that if the mineral resources had been open locally controlled rather than monopolized by the GMA the early industrialization at sites like the Albion Mines would have occurred across the province, and perhaps more railroads of the kind built in Pictou would have followed. However this was not the case and the result of the GMA monopoly was a stunting of the industrial growth of Nova Scotia, especially when it came to the railroad and mining in the province. If one views A. F. Church's mineral map of the province from 1889, just over 30 years after the rescinding of the GMA's monopoly of mineral rights within the province, it is evident that there were valuable minerals that could have been utilized in the industrialization of the province that were not, especially so along the

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[185] Marilyn Gerriets "The Impact of the General Mining Association on the Nova Scotia Coal Industry, 1826-1850" in *Acadiensis* (Vol. 21, 1:54-84), 74-75.
[186] Ibid., 75.

road from Halifax to Windsor, such as the previously mentioned gold found at Mount Uniacke, suspiciously just after the revocation of the GMA's monopoly.

This stunting of the industrial growth of the province through the actions of the GMA is one of the reasons that commercial rail travel took so long to develop in the province, as Nova Scotia did not have the industrial infrastructure of other parts of North America. Had there been private companies developing infrastructure that could eventually be incorporated into passenger rail lines, and also a wealthier Nova Scotia that made full use of its mineral resources, rather than being stymied by the GMA, perhaps the introduction of the railway would have happened earlier. One could even envision the valuable minerals along the road from Halifax to Windsor as having been exploited far sooner by private individuals or corporations, thus industrializing not only the province but the landscape of the road far sooner.

This was not to be, and it would be more than a decade after Joseph Howe's editorials, 1845, that the concept of a railroad for Nova Scotia would be seriously considered in the public and political sphere again. This time, the debate revolved around an intercolonial railway to link Halifax with Quebec City, through New Brunswick. The proposed route would proceed from Halifax to Annapolis, by ferry across the Bay of Fundy to Saint John, across to Fredericton, and west into the St. Lawrence.[187]

The committee behind the proposal was having problems raising capital for the project. Over the next five years, a survey of the proposed rail line was conducted, and

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[187] Shirley Woods *Cinders and Saltwater: The Story of Atlantic Canada's Railways*. (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1992), 21.

through the passing of the Railway Guarantee Act, would receive partial funding for the

construction of the Halifax and Quebec railway, but they could not secure funding from

the British Crown.[187] Until the delegation was invited to Portland, Maine, in which a plan

was concocted to develop a supposed European & North American railway, one that ran

through Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. With a new plan, and additional

funding from the Americans, all that was needed was, again, additional funding from

Britain. This would eventually be gained, but it would not be until 1854 that construction

of the railway would begin in Nova Scotia. Publicly owned, the construction of the

railway in Nova Scotia began nearly 25 years after Joseph Howe began calling for a

railway for the province which would serve the people.[188]

The Windsor line of the Nova Scotia Railway opened June 3, 1858. The track was

thirty-two miles long, and linked Halifax with Windsor, and thus the Atlantic Ocean with

the Bay of Fundy. Surprisingly, however, the railway did not extend into Halifax. Due to

a disagreement with the Admiralty (they believed the noise from the train would upset

patients in their hospital),[189] the first railway terminal was located on the outskirts of

Halifax, at a spot known as the Governor's Farm, or Richmond.[189]

The first railway was a three hour round trip from Windsor to Richmond station,

just outside Halifax. The Nova Scotia Railway owned "sixteen locomotives, eleven of

which were designed to haul passengers and freight … twelve passengers carriages, four

mail and baggage vans, ten freight cars, seventeen horse cars, one sheep car, and thirty-

[188] Ibid., 45.
[189] Ibid, 46. See also 16 figure

six platform cars."[190] The railway encompassed four stations in Halifax County:

Richmond, Rocky Lake, the Junction Station, and Beaverbank Railroad Station. Within

Hants County the track stopped at four stations as well: Mt. Uniacke Station, Ellerhouse

Station, Newport Station and finally at Windsor Station.

Following the success of the Nova Scotia Railroad, other railroads began to

develop around the province. In 1864 the House of Assembly passed a bill which allowed

the Railway Act of 1854 to come into effect for a portion of soon-to-be-built railway line

from Windsor to Annapolis. What this meant was that the House of Assembly had opened

a tender for so-called "responsible parties" to bid to construct and run a railway from

Windsor to Annapolis.[191] In effect this created a railway building boom, as with public

and private investment, railways began to be built throughout province.

Although the Albion Mines railway represents an early example of these types of

private railroads, in time dozens of other private railroads across the province were built,

mostly for the use of hauling coal, as the monopoly that the GMA held for over two

decades was broken.[192] By the time of Confederation, Nova Scotia would have 145 miles

of railway in operation throughout the province.[193] As well, with the intercontinental

railroad moving back on track to connect New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to the rest of

the colonies forming the burgeoning confederation of Canada, the railway became a key

political issue. As Woods notes, "Politicians and speculators sparked the railway boom.

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[190] Ibid., 53.
[191] Marguerite Woodworth *History of the Dominion Atlantic Railway*. (Kentville: Kentville Publishing Co., 1936), 51.
[192] David E. Stephens *Iron Roads: Railways of Nova Scotia.* (Hantsport: Lancelot Press Limited, 1972), 9.
[193] Evans, *Transportation and Communication*, 116.

For the politician, a railway through his constituency was a sure-fire way to get votes. For the speculator, it was a rare opportunity to make a dollar."[194]

Railways were popular, and getting them built, or promising to get them built, was good business for politicians and investors. Often the most commonly constructed railway was one that was publicly funded yet privately run, the most obvious example of this being the Dominion Atlantic Railway, which began as the Windsor & Annapolis Railway, the company that won the tender to construct the said line.[193] From the 1870s into the early 20th century Nova Scotia and New Brunswick would fill in their gaps along the intercolonial railway line, completing the railway in 1872. Across the country up until the First World War Canada's railway lines would increase sevenfold, the majority of the line being laid in Western and Central Canada, but a fair share as well being laid in the Maritimes.[193]

The Railway and Its Effect on the Road from Halifax to Windsor

What effect did the introduction of the railway within the province have on the road from Halifax to Windsor? With the construction of the rail lines from Halifax to Windsor, and from Halifax to Truro, stage coaches began to disappear, as the demand for their services dried up.[195] This was most likely because the railway was a superior way to travel in comparison to stage coaches. Captain Francis Duncan gives insight into what it

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[194] Woods, *Saltwater*, 131.
[195] Evans, *Transportation and Communication*, 128.

was like to travel by carriage just before the completion of the railway from Halifax to

Windsor in 1858.

> This coach, and its fellows all over the province, were the most amazing
> specimens of carriage architecture ever beheld. The roads of Nova Scotia, to
> which, by the way, I should have alluded in my chapter on the province, are a
> disgrace to the country, and a source of extreme discomfort and irritation to
> passengers in any conveyance, public or private, with springs or without. In huge
> vehicles, like the old stage coaches to which we have alluded, springs were utterly
> out of the question; so the body of the conveyance was hung on gigantic leather
> bands, long enough to allow of considerable oscillation, and, in a sharp turn of the
> road, to give the outside passengers a practical concept of centrifugal force. The
> interior was roomy, and passengers sat three deep, through an ingenious
> arrangement of leather bands … The horses were wretched, the coachman
> important, the coach coated with the muds of ages[196]

Suffice to say, Duncan did not have high esteem for the stage coaches of Halifax.

Wherever the railway went, decreased traffic on the roads to and from communities, now

connected by railway, followed. When the rail line finally connected Halifax to Truro,

Hiram Hyde closed his coach service to the capital, yet continued to service a route from

Truro to Pictou, a transportation route which did not yet have access also to a railroad.

Stage coaches only existed on the periphery of the railroad transportation network.[197]

Another traveller, Frederic S. Cozzens, details his experiences travelling the

province following the introduction of the railway. He describes the conductor at the

Richmond station with amusement, noting the "gravity and importance … in uniform

frock-coat and with crown and V. R. buttons, as he paces up and down the platform

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[196] Francis Duncan *Our Garrisons in the West: Or, Sketches in British North America.* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1864)
[197] Stephens, *Iron Roads*, 31.

before starting".[198] As well he describes the journey around the Bedford Basin as "a pleasant ride".[198] Having arrived at the end of this section of track in Sackville, the only part of the line completed by the time Cozzens rides it in 1855, he leaves the railway to take a stage coach through to Windsor – perhaps one of the last of the stage coaches to make this run.

Most telling about this ride is that over the 45 miles he travels he does not once describe the scenery of the road or any stops at inns – rather he takes to describing the pony that was travelling with him and diverts into a tangent about Sable Island ponies.[196] Perhaps this absence of description by Cozzens is more telling than if he had described run-down inns or desperate innkeepers. Not only did the trip not seem memorable to him, it perhaps suggests that there was not much service to be had along the road any longer.

The census data from the periods of 1851 and 1861 support the conclusion that following the introduction of the railway the service industry along the road became depressed. Although the census data from 1851 is inadequate for properly surveying the professions that existed along the road during this time period due to its simplistic nature, it is possible to extract some information from it in comparison to the detailed 1861 survey. The census collectors in 1851 simplified the surveyed professions as such:[199]

Table 2: 1851 Census Professions for Windsor Road

Professions:	Population:

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[198] Frederic S. Cozzens *Acadia; or, A Month With the Blue Noses,* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1859), 282-283.
[199] Library and Archives Canada *1851 Census of Canada East, Canada West, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia*. No. 17 Windsor Polling Station. http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/1851/Pages/1851.aspx (accessed November 28, 2016).

Farmers	134
Lumberers	30
Mechanics	16
Merchants	1
Totals	181

The census records from 1861 are more detailed, and in turn the professions are more

detailed. Rather than collecting labour professions as simply "mechanics", that is, one

who labors, the 1861 census details the exact professions of those surveyed:[200]

Table 3: 1861 Census Professions for Windsor Road

Professions	Population:
Farmers	108
Carpenters	22
Laborers	20
Lumberers	16
Farm Laborers	15
Masons	4
Shoemakers	4
Clerks	3
Innkeepers	2
Railway Employees	2
Stone Cutters	2
Wool Manufacturers	2
Station agent	1
Plate layer	1
Total:	202

The census data both from 1851 and 1861 both make clear that farming is the

primary profession along the road. The secondary profession seems to heavily involve the

lumber industry, with lumberers and carpenters making up a significant portion of the

roads professions during these two periods, especially so in the 1861 data. General labor

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[200] Library and Archives Canada *1861 Census of Canada East, Canada West, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.* No. 17 Windsor Polling Station. http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/1861/Pages/1861.aspx (accessed November 28, 2016).

also seems to crop up during the 1861 census, with a difference between farming laborers and general laborers being made among the census takers.

Perhaps the most significant take away of the 1861 census data is that there are still two individuals whom the census takers consider innkeepers plying their trade along the road. It is possible that these two innkeepers lived close to Halifax and enjoyed the luxury of having customers who travelled for pleasure from the city into Bedford-Sackville. It is also possible, although unlikely, that there was enough traffic along the interior parts of the road for innkeepers to subsist into this period as well it seems, given that there are still innkeepers in operation, that the service industry's decline was not sudden or overnight but slow, taking place over years. What can be said, however, is that there was a decline. Comparing this data to Woolford's maps from 1816 indicates that close to fifty years later there were eight less innkeepers operating along the road.

Other specialized professions have also been noted among the census records, such as masons, clerks, and interestingly enough railway employees and one station agent. This suggests that along with the decrease in farmers that individuals were switching from agrarian activities toward skilled professions, or in the case of the general and farming laborers, any work they could get. If one assumes that the mechanic profession is a generic profession in 1851 that requires labor, whether it be skilled or not, and also being different than lumbering or farming, than if one totals the amount of laboring professions in 1861 and compares them to 1851's 30 one sees almost a two-fold increase of 53 individuals. If one includes what may be considered a profession related to

the increase of lumbering along the road, carpentry, the number of mechanics in 1861 increases to 65, more than two-fold.

It is possible that this increase, and perhaps the depression of farmers along the road, is related to the de-construction of the service industry, as those who previously farmed part-time found their customer base dry up and began to take on extra laboring work. In any case the census data does support the decline of the service industry along the road.

Woodworth notes that during the first six months of the railroad's operation the Halifax to Windsor line saw 11,324 first class passengers and 6,927 second class passengers, earning £7,584.[201] This traffic not only consisted of individuals travelling between communities, but also in traffic relating to goods, both industrial and agricultural. Woodworth's data relating to freight receipts for the first six months of the Windsor line's operation reveal that revenue generated for freight totalled £2,550, while horse and wagon traffic (a separate category from passenger receipts) totalled £1,466.[201] At a cost of £1.56 a trip for a rider, wagon and horse, which meant that roughly 940 wagons rode upon the railroad during the first six months of its operation. Over the next two years the numbers of passengers upon the railway increased, totalling 16,810 more passengers carried in 1860 than 1859, which was the first full year of the railroad.[202] This was all traffic that before the introduction of the railway would have entered Halifax by travelling along the road. In essence, the railroad quickly dismantled the service industry

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[201] Woodworth *History of the Dominion Atlantic Railway*, 51.
[202] Ibid., 48.

along the road by simply providing a more comfortable and efficient service in comparison to coaches or wagons.

Joseph Howe's dream of a Halifax only two hours from the heart of the agricultural centre of Nova Scotia had become a reality. However, what Howe may not have anticipated was the loss of income for the small communities of individuals living along the Great Roads. Captain Francis Duncan serves as a witness to these events, as he describes the situation the once-profitable inns were in:

> But the first place which when found is to be made a note of, is the hotel known as the Halfway House. Alas! As to many of our best inns in England, the now completed railway has brought desolation and silence on this hospitable hearth; and the landlord may well wring his hands and mutter, "Ichabod, Ichabod." But in the days I talk of, twice a day did a coach disgorge a hungry load of passengers to do justice to breakfast whose equal I never shall see again … I thought that, perhaps, after all, in these racing days, we paid somewhat heavily for rapid locomotion.[203]

Duncan speaks specifically about the Halfway House, an inn that was surveyed in the previous chapter.

The introduction of the railway depressed areas of road-based transportation, in particular places in which stage coach would drop off customers to inns and taverns through their journey. With the railroad running the same route in a fraction of the time, many of these businesses faded away, along with their partners the stage coach lines. Traffic on the roads through which railroads ran dried up, as stage coach lines could not compete with the railway, and also as businesses along the roads, such as inns, which catered to travellers faded away, their customer base riding on railroads which did not

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[203] Duncan, *Our Garrison*, 141-142.

stop at their door any longer. Rather the stations were placed in smaller communities away from the road.

The adoption of the railway drastically changed not only the transportation network of the province but also the lives of those who lived along the road from Halifax to Windsor. With the eventual destruction of the service industry through the introduction of the railway, those who lived along the road and depended upon coaching services for their livelihood soon had to find new ways to live, or leave. Many turned to back to farming, lumbering or skill-based professions such as masonry or carpentry as full-time professions. Those soldiers, farmers and students that regularly used the road in the past no longer did so, preferring instead to ride upon the railway, which was not only faster but also most likely cheaper, as one would not have to stopover and pay for food or lodging along the way. Rather, they would simply have to purchase a single ticket and lounge in relative comfort.

This of course had an effect on not only the physical landscape of the road, in so far as the fact that public houses disappeared, perhaps not physically as the buildings may have been repurposed into strictly houses, but they did disappear mentally. No longer could one stop and get a meal, or rest at an inn and chat with the keeper. This loss of a place in the mental landscape of the road did not go unmentioned either by those who regularly used it – such as Captain Francis Duncan, who witnesses the demise of the coaching industry and its inns and memorializes them with the simple statement that the price for rapid transit was a heavy one.

Those hardest hit by the introduction of the railway were those who lived upon the peripheries of the two large towns, Halifax and Windsor. As is often the case they were in a way overlooked in the name of progress, and the loss of their service businesses was not taken into account when the railway route was created. The importance of the railway to the elites, such as Joseph Howe, superseded the importance of the road to those who lived on it.

This is visually represented when one analyzes not only the Church maps from 1865 and 1871 of the counties of Halifax and Hants, but also the maps of Belcher (1855) and Mackinlay (1868).[204] The map of Belcher from 1855 details Nova Scotia with the roads of the province and also the proposed routes for rail lines. These routes are emboldened, much like in Church's and Mackinlay's maps, in which the actualized railway routes are bold and strong lines along the route from Windsor to Halifax, while in muted and fine lines beneath the railway route is the road, the former important route between the two towns. To the mapmaker the road was physically less important to transportation than the railroad.

These maps succinctly detail the relationship between the road and railway, one superimposes on the other, taking priority not only on the map but also in reality. The traffic along the road from Halifax to Windsor would be of a wholly different sort up until the invention of the internal combustion engine and with it automobiles. The road would see virtually only local traffic, farmers travelling between their houses and their fields, or to neighbours. Those caught between the railway stops could travel to Halifax or Windsor

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[204] See figures 14 and 15.

using the road, but the volume of individuals doing so would be little in comparison to the traffic that used the road before the introduction of the railway line.

If one were to pose the question "How did the introduction of the railway affect the road?" the answer would be based in the affect it had on the cultural landscape of the road. The road between Halifax and Windsor before the introduction of the railway was largely agrarian-looking in the physical landscape. Where there was not young growth forest, because the forest along the road was devastated by human hands or wildfires, there were houses and fields of settlers. Small communities were burgeoning along the road at various points, such as Sackville, Mount Uniacke, and St. Croix.

Along with practicing farming and lumbering, some of the settlers along the road were part of a service industry which catered to those travelling from Halifax to Windsor. Inns such as Fultz House and Halfway House provided travellers with not only sustenance along their journey but also rest and relaxation. With the introduction of the railway, however, this changed.

The railway bypassed the majority of these communities and left the service industry created along the road without anyone to service. This in turn changed the fabric of the cultural landscape along the road through the direct removal from the mental landscape of the inns and stopovers which were for decades before were much frequented and as memorialized by Captain Francis Duncan, also much loved.

As a place the road loses the substantiality it had for travellers, that is, its inns and stopovers, with the introduction of the railway. It once again reverts to a liminal place for

the majority of peoples, as the families living along the road turned back to subsistence farming, and general labor. The effect of the railway can be seen as foreshadowing to the modern state of rural Nova Scotia, with politicians and elites emphasizing the benefit of urban areas and specific rural areas rather than the general rural, and policies being made which through ignorance rather than malice make it harder to live on the fringes of urbanity. Similarly to how the cultural landscape took a dramatic change with the Deportation of the Acadians, or the settlement of the road by the British and the dismantling of military infrastructure, the severe reduction in traffic along the road in turn changes the cultural landscape of the road greatly, and through the destruction of its service industry, a unique place and a way of life within the province.

<u>Concluding Thoughts</u>

This thesis details not only the history of the road from Halifax to Windsor but also the evolution of its cultural landscape and its transformations as both space and place overtime. Within the first chapter this thesis notes that the prehistory of the road does not exist, that the road in turn was an Acadian construction rather than a traditional Mi'kmaq travel way. During this period much of the activity and residence upon the road would have occurred at either end, in Chebuctou or Pisiquid. As a place the road in this period can be defined as liminal. It was created and primarily utilized as a route to smuggle livestock to Louisburg. The road during this time was entirely a means of travelling from Point A to Point B, and back again. Although the space in which the road resided within was liminal, it was also a unique Acadian construction, and it is possible that the Acadian who used it may have felt a unique sense of independence as they subverted British rule.

The second chapter of the thesis details the transformation of the Acadian drove road into British military infrastructure used practically to display authority and power during the period of the founding of Halifax. Using maps as well as primary source documents such as journals and government correspondence, this chapter charts the decisions made that led to the transformation of the road. Through the possible re-construction of the highway and the placement of forts at either end Cornwallis effectively militarized a previously liminal space, creating a contested, dangerous liminal space. Although much of the road through this period continued to be utilized strictly for transportation, the road took on elements of danger as skirmishes upon its surface occurred between British rangers and Mi'kmaq war parties. As a space it was contested

throughout this period, and the landscape reflects this as well, as at least one Acadian village close to the road exiles themselves as part of the Acadian exodus, rather than live within its bounds.

The third chapter picks up following the deportation of the Acadians and the events of the second chapter. It tracks the evolution of the former military infrastructure of the road into domestic infrastructure. The chapter details the settlement of the road as well and the evolution of its cultural landscape, as British settlers moved into parts of the road, such as the interior, which were traditionally not settled. The physical landscape during this period also saw great change, as the Acadian forest underwent settlement and was destroyed. The chapter also notes the transformation of the road from largely a space into a place, as those who lived upon the road identified it as a home, especially with the creation of the service industry in the wake of development of the coaching industry between Halifax and Windsor.

Finally the fourth chapter describes the change in the lives of those living upon the road with the introduction of the railway system. Encouraged by elites within Halifax who were attempting to connect areas of prosperity in the province with the capital, such as Joseph Howe, the development of the railway bypassed much of the road and in turn the service industry which had been created along its length with the booming of the coaching industry. This changed the fabric of the cultural landscape along the road as inns and stopovers which for decades were much frequented, such as by Captain Francis Duncan, were forced to close. As a place during this period the road loses its substantiality for travellers, becoming just a space, as they travelled upon the railway

rather than the road. For the majority of those living in the communities of Halifax or Windsor the road reverted to a liminal space, a place to pass by, such as the train did. For those who continued to live upon the road however the road continued to be a place to call home.

Although much of this thesis is narrative, there are three interesting observations to be drawn from the study of the road. In regards to the first it is necessary to note that the road has felt the mark of three distinct cultures over time: Mi'kmaq, Acadians, and British. Throughout the history of the road detailed within this document it has also undergone several changes, as the cultures upon it gave way to one another. The fundamental constant throughout the changing periods of the road is the road itself. It remains following the deportation of the Acadians, the decline of the British military rule, and the demise of the coaching industry. The study of a simple road has helped define nuances to several different periods of history and the interactions of different cultures within the confines of the province of Nova Scotia.

This thesis also helps to clarify the intentions and actions of Acadians, Mi'kmaw, and British during a turbulent period of colonialism within the province. During the period of British expansion and settlement within the province the study of the road provided a lens through which to analyze the practice of settlement within the province, as well as allowing a researcher to understand the differing views of settlement during this period through the analysis of conflicting primary sources, such as Lord Dalhousie and Woolford.

The history of the road also reflects the history of the province. One theme that still resounds strongly with the modern history of the province is that of the rural and urban dichotomy. Presently within Nova Scotia there is a divide not only between rural and urban prosperity[205] but also services, such as high speed internet[206], access to emergency services[207], and with changes in climate, access to drinking water.[208] As revealed with the construction of the railway linking Windsor and Halifax, no thought was given to the effect it would have on the rural communities which depended upon the traffic from coaches as a source of income. Some of the blame for this falls upon the short sighted-ness of the elites within positions of power within Nova Scotia at the time. It can be argued that this continues on today.[209] The evolution of the road and its succession of different cultural landscapes occurred due to decisions made by powerful individuals over time, such as Cornwallis, Lawrence, or Howe. These decisions were often propelled by economic opportunities, political machinations or technological innovation.

With a long history and static state in the landscape of Nova Scotia the road also provides a template for the impact of several different cultures. Beginning with the

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[205] Paul Withers "Rural-urban prosperity divide grows in Atlantic Canada, report says" http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/rural-urban-divide-atlantic-canada-economy-jobs-1.3830194 (accessed 21 November 2016) and CBC News "Food bank use on the rise in Canada, with 'drastic' surges in Nova Scotia, territories" http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/food-bank-report-2016-1.3850897 (accessed 21 November 2016).

[206] CBC News "High-speed solutions sought for rural Nova Scotia internet woes" http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/rural-internet-request-for-information-1.3678242 (accessed 21 November 2016).

[207] Paul Withers "House fire reignites debate on rural fire service in Halifax area" http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/ingramport-house-fire-rural-station-staffing-weekends-1.3852236 (accessed 21 November 2016).

[208] Steve Silva "Nova Scotians struggle with dried-up wells" http://globalnews.ca/news/2878197/nova-scotians-struggle-with-dried-up-wells/ (accessed 21 November 2016).

[209] CBC News "Nova Scotia film tax credit changes damage screen industry: report" http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/economic-survey-film-industry-decline-1.3535662 (accessed 21 November 2016).

Acadians the changes to the physical and mental landscape of the road reflect the values

and cultures of those imposing their will upon it. Over the history of the road this thesis

also tracks the deportation of an entire people, a people whose impact continues to be felt

upon the cultural landscape of the road, with places like the Five Houses continuing to

exist in the mental landscape of the British Planters following their settlement. As well

we see the demise of the Acadian forest following the period of British settlement, as the

forest is cut & burnt to make way for the settled agrarian British landscape.

Finally this thesis also provides a study in the change of space and place for roads

within the context of British colonialism. This thesis tracks the evolution of a road from a

simple liminal space used to get from one place to another to a substantiated place settled

by families and upon which contemporaries such as Captain Francis Duncan wax poetic

following the demise, in his eyes, of this unique place. In terms of the study of space and

its transformation into a place I believe that the study of the road and its own

transformations are important. Just as important is the interplay in the values and

meanings attached to the road by one subsection of people in comparison to another.

Although those who lived upon the road or travelled meaningfully upon it may have

regarded it as a unique place, in the eyes of the elites of the province it was simply a static

liminal structure which was to be disregarded, along with those who lived upon it and

relied upon it for income, with the development of the railway. These types of attitudes

are revealed in the way maps emphasize the railway during its construction in detriment

to the road.

Although the thesis ends with the construction and implementation of the rail line between Halifax and Windsor, the story of the road does not end there. With the introduction of automobiles in the 20th century the road between the two settlements once again saw traffic. Today the road exists as part of the Evangeline Trail, a scenic route which takes travellers from Halifax along the Western part of the province and into the Annapolis Valley. Although there is a 100-series Highway which connects Halifax and Windsor and in general is the easier and quicker mode of access between these two communities, the Evangeline Trail serves as a sight-seeing tour within some of the oldest parts of European-settled Nova Scotia.

It is also important to note that this thesis is not the only interpretation of the road. Other researchers could take any of the time periods detailed within this thesis and expand upon them. Narratives such as the initial creation of the road by Acadians, or the destruction of the coaching industry and its ramifications for those who participated in it along the road are just two subjects that could be expanded upon, I believe, into a fully-fleshed thesis. One particularly interesting question that I think needs to be answered, but which after quite some time researching I was unable to adequately answer, is: after the implementation of the rail line between Halifax and Windsor, who exactly continued to use the road between the two communities rather than the railway? The assumption inherent within this question is that those who could not afford to use the railway would use the road to travel between the two communities, but it would be interesting to see exactly who these individuals were.

I also believe that the methods used within this thesis to analyze the changes of the road and its attached cultural landscape over time could be used on similar roads within and without of the province. One road in particular begs for a similar research project: the other "Great Road" of the time, the road from Halifax to Truro. There are many similarities between the two "Great Roads" of the province, including the fact that there were coaching services that ran from Halifax to Truro in the 19th century, similarly as between Halifax and Windsor. I believe that this road has yet to be researched and discussed in great detail and that if one were to research its evolution one would be rewarded with an interesting narrative and valuable insights.

I found through researching and writing this thesis that it was not so simple to describe the road through various time periods. The reality of the road was not simple, it was as complex and varied as the people that lived and travelled upon it. The road was not only travelled by very different peoples, of different cultures and times, but also resided upon by different cultures. Often their experiences, even if they acknowledged the experiences and lives of those that came before them, were wholly different. That being said, the road from Halifax to Windsor and its cultural landscape is an incredibly complex structure that continues on into the modern day, and which today you can still travel upon. It is still a liminal space for the majority of the people who use it, but for those who still live upon it, the road remains an important and valuable *place*.

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APPENDIX - FIGURES

1.
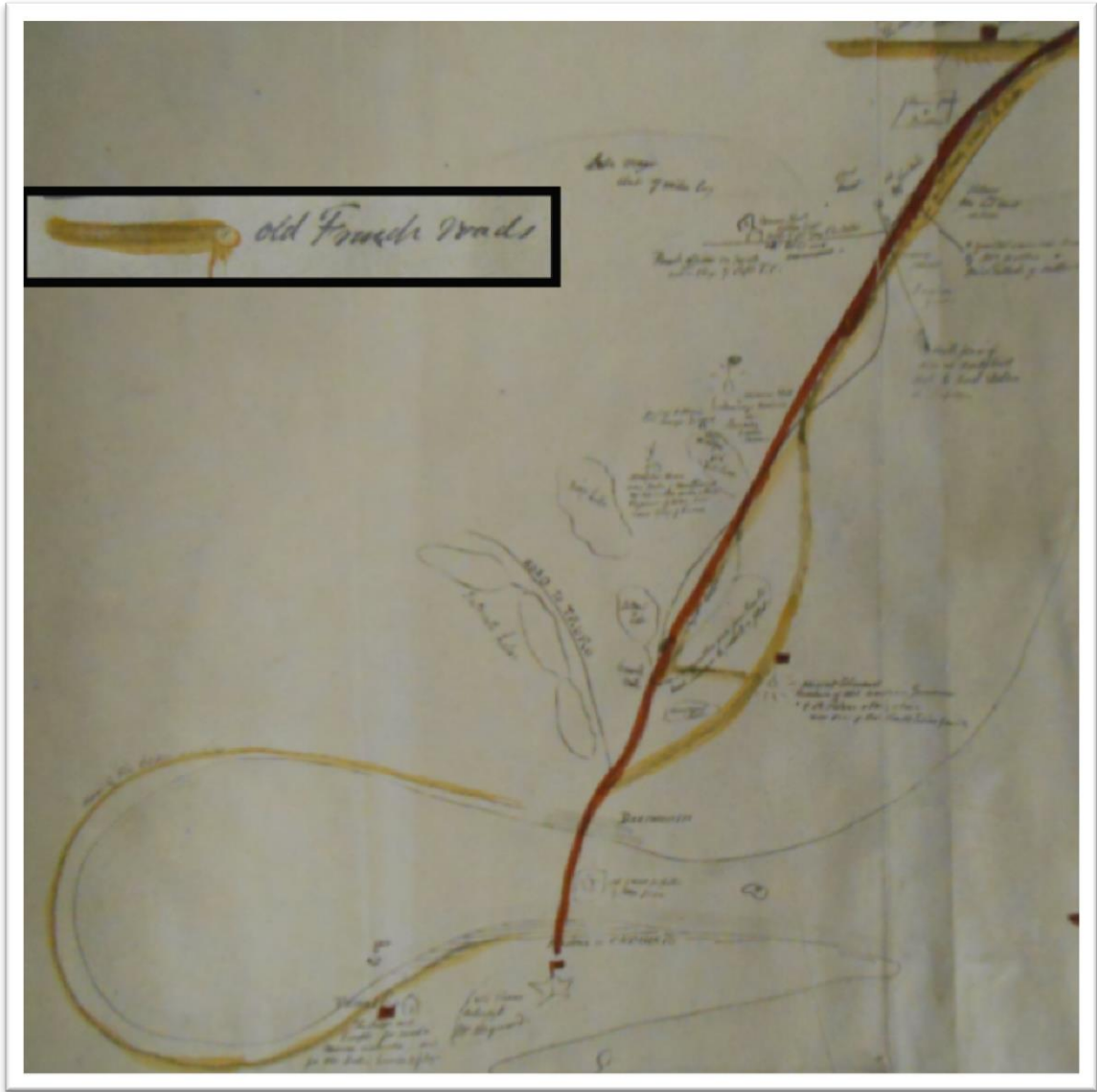
"Coach roads from Halifax to Wentworth Hall" NSARM 209-1783 or 1883

2.

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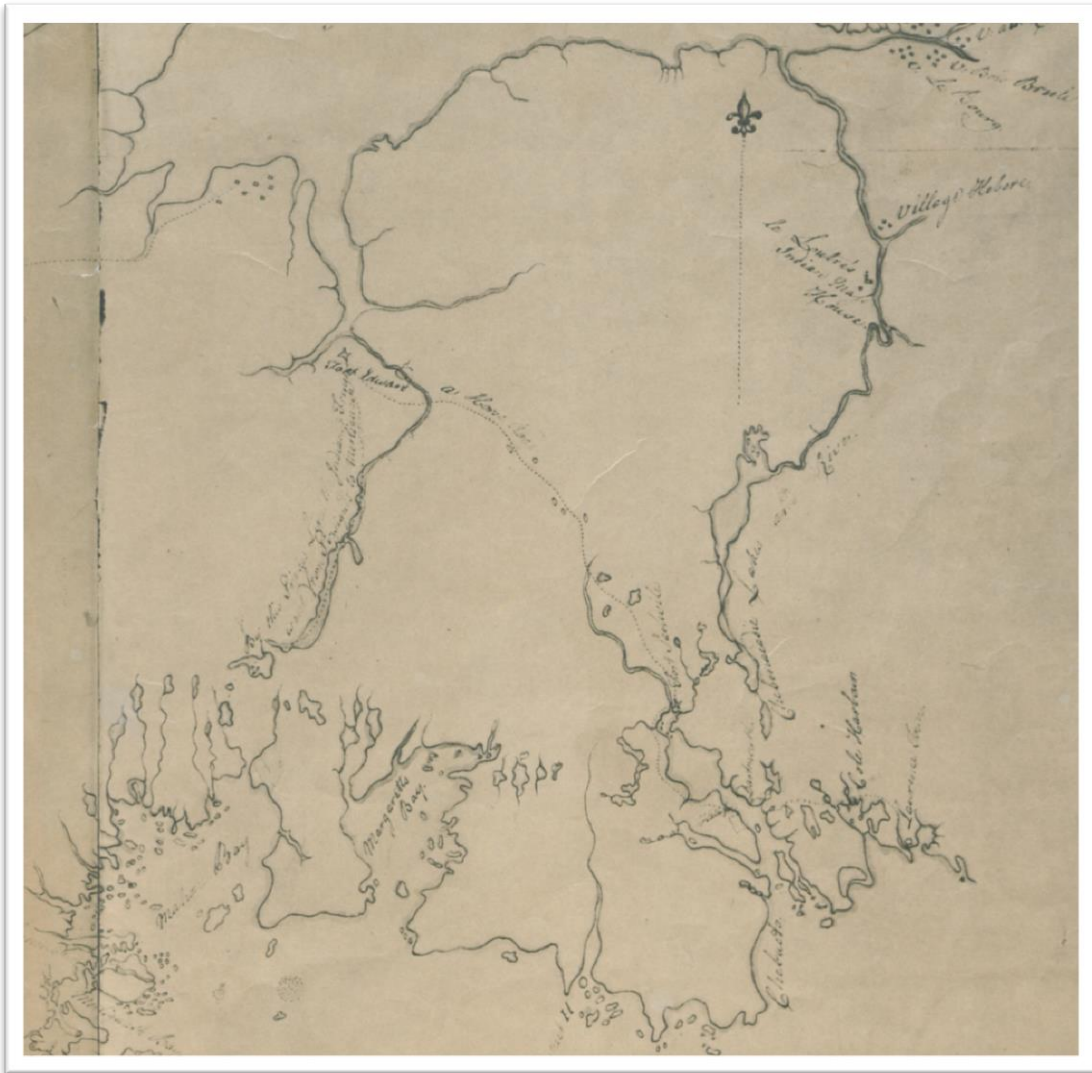
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4.

John Elliott Woolford. Frontispiece, from "Surveys of the roads from Halifax to Windsor and from Halifax to Truro," 1817/18. NSARM F/209-1817
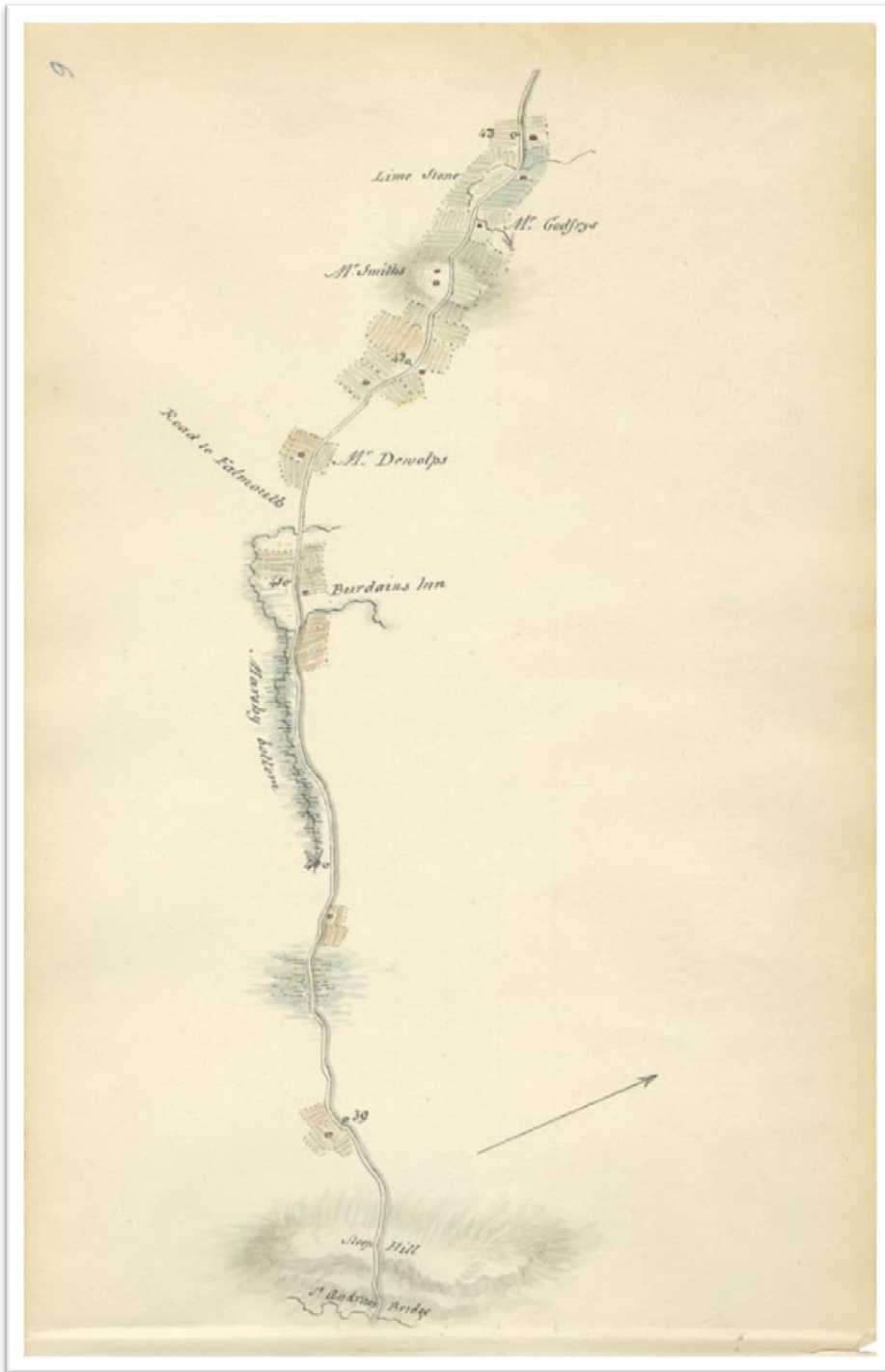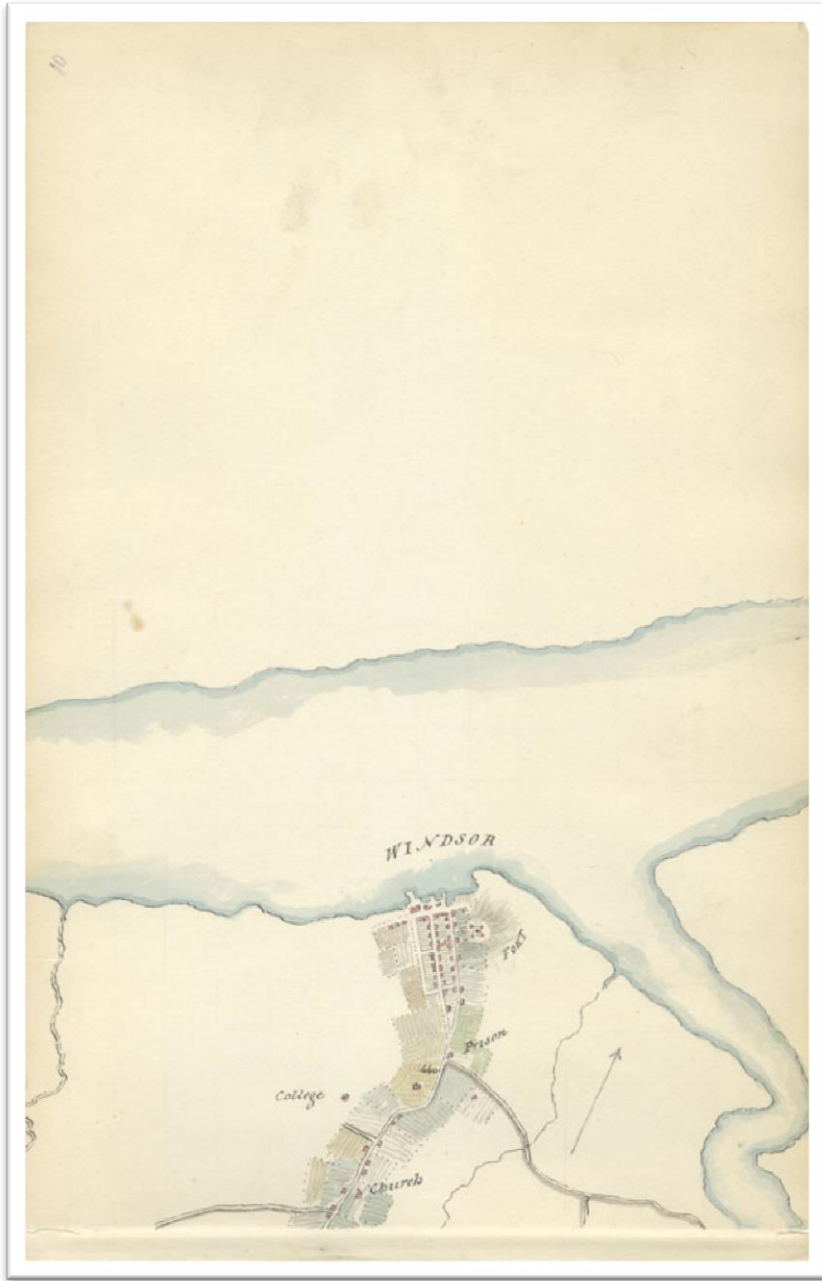
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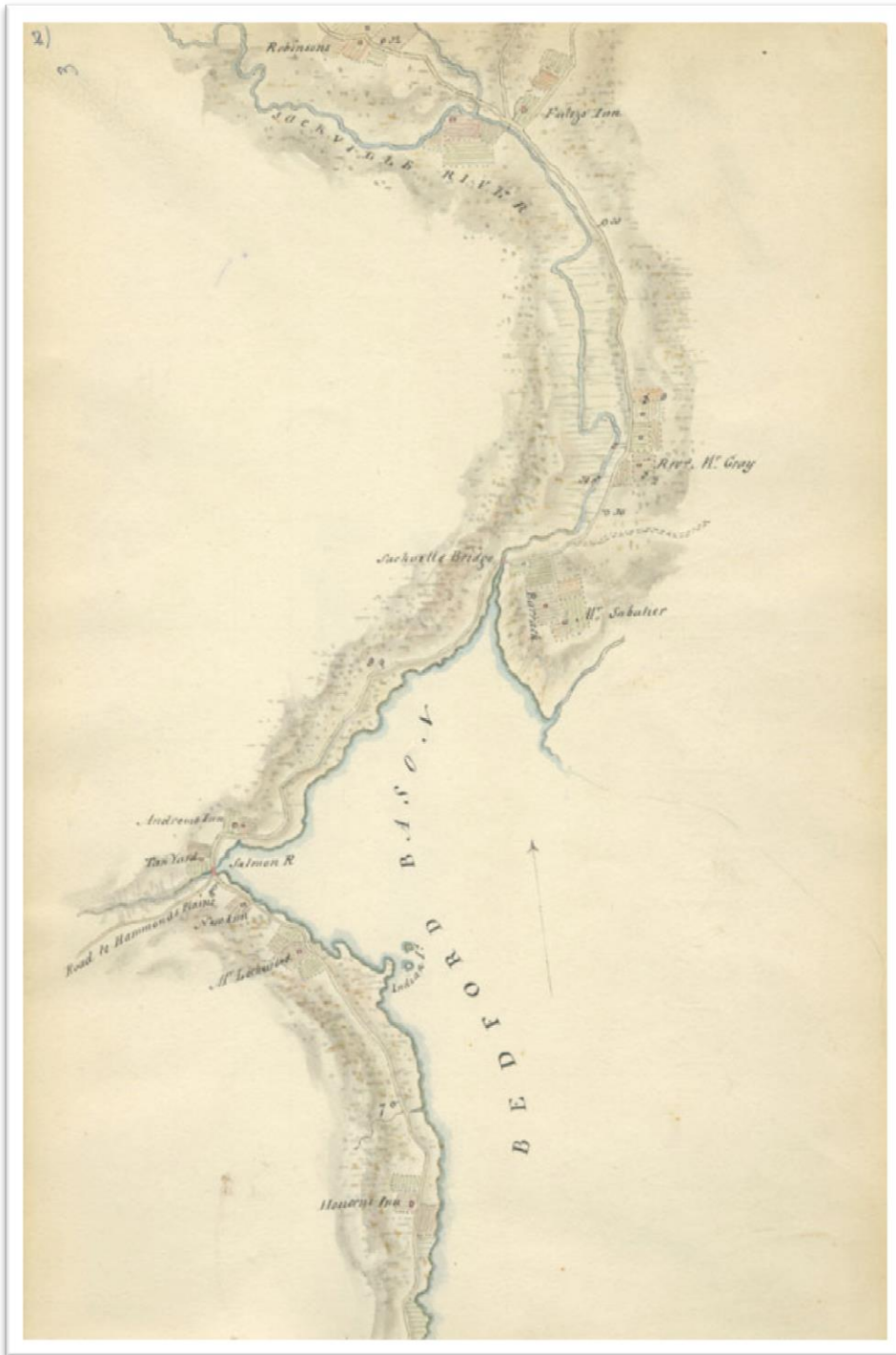
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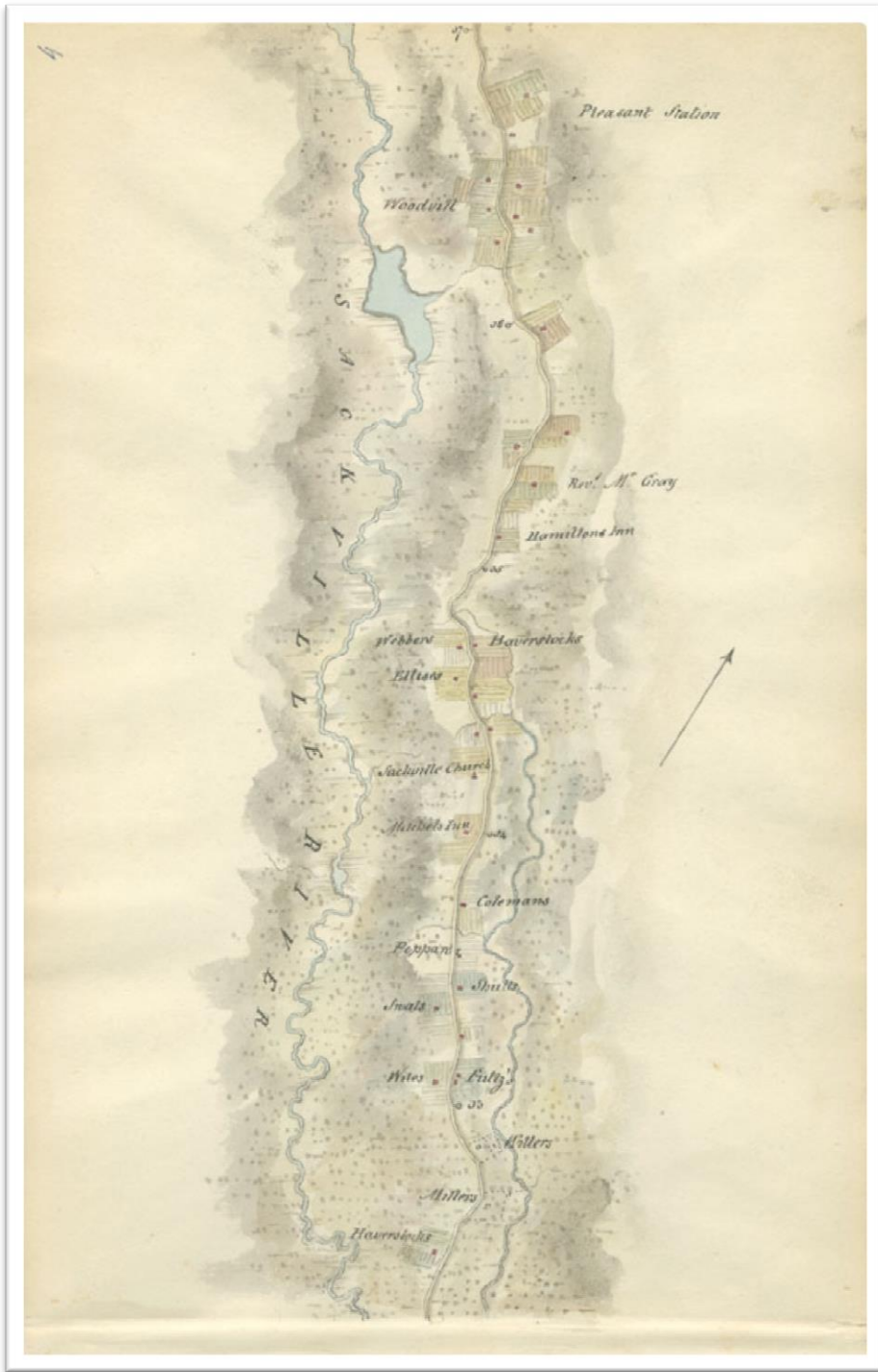
John Elliott Woolford. Sheet 4, from "Surveys of the roads from Halifax to Windsor and from Halifax to Truro," 1817/18. NSARM F/209-1817

7.

John Elliott Woolford. Sheet 5, from "Surveys of the roads from Halifax to Windsor and from Halifax to Truro," 1817/18. NSARM F/209-1817

8.
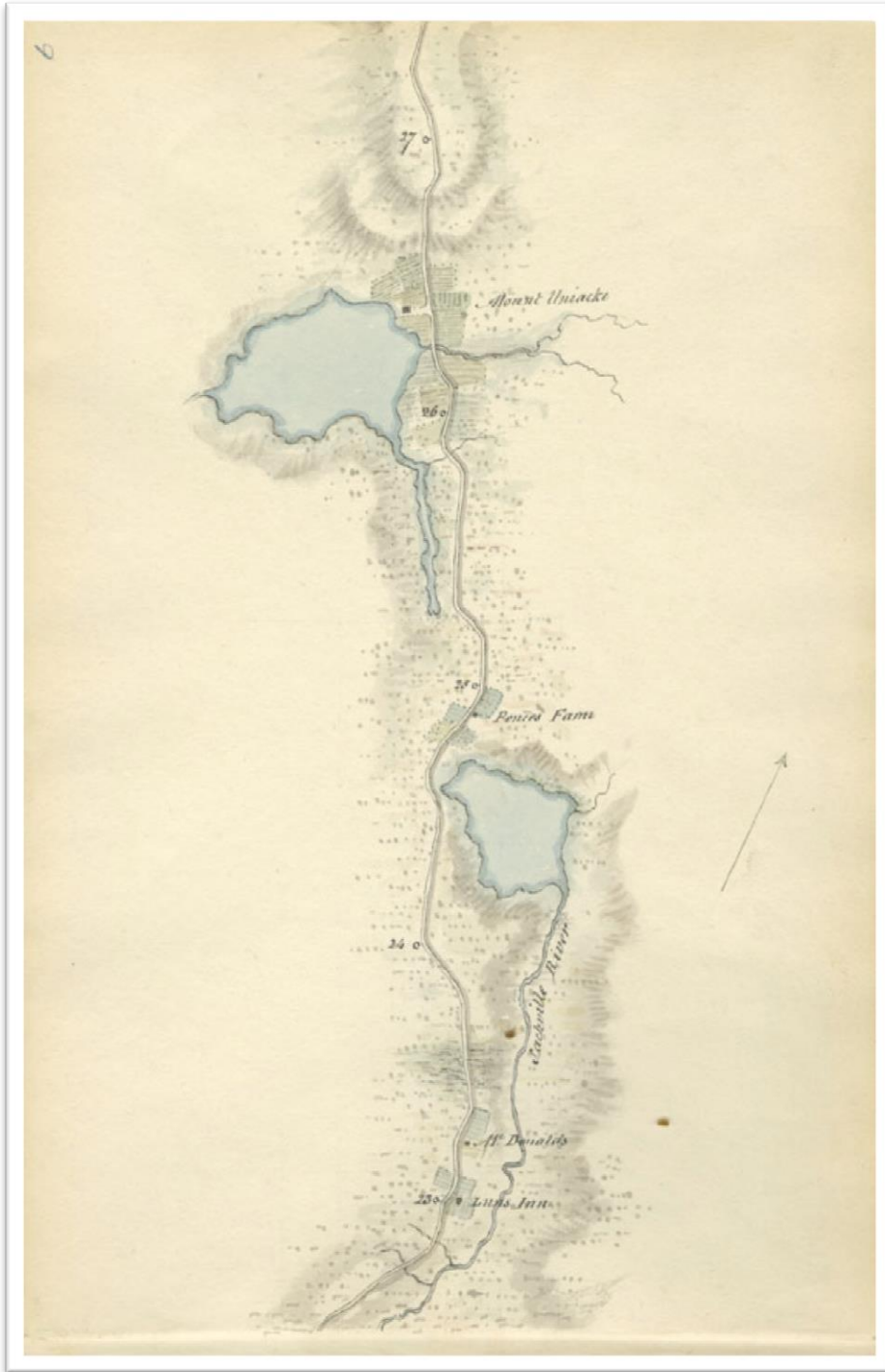
John Elliott Woolford. Sheet 6, from "Surveys of the roads from Halifax to Windsor and from Halifax to Truro," 1817/18. NSARM F/209-1817

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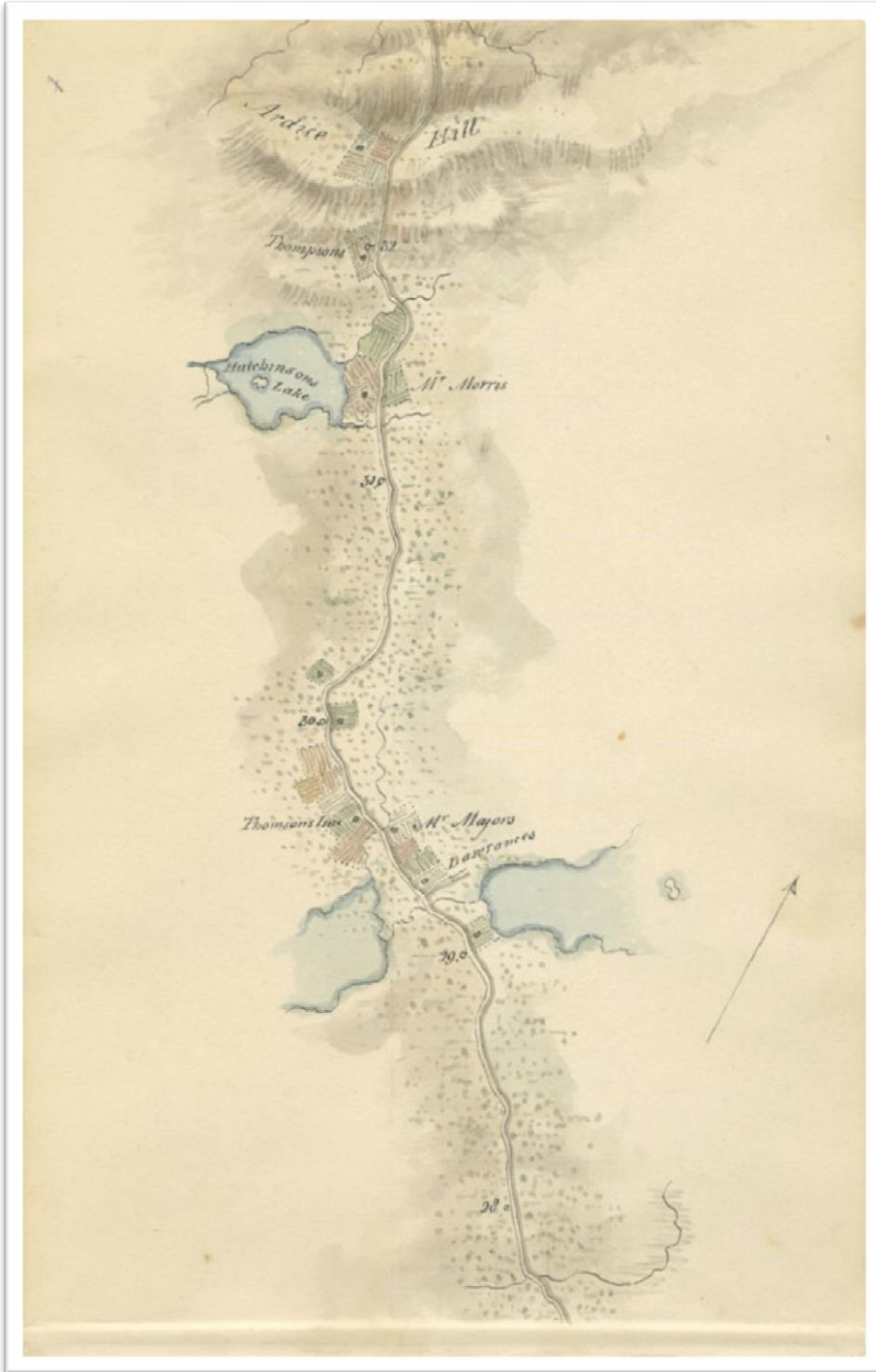
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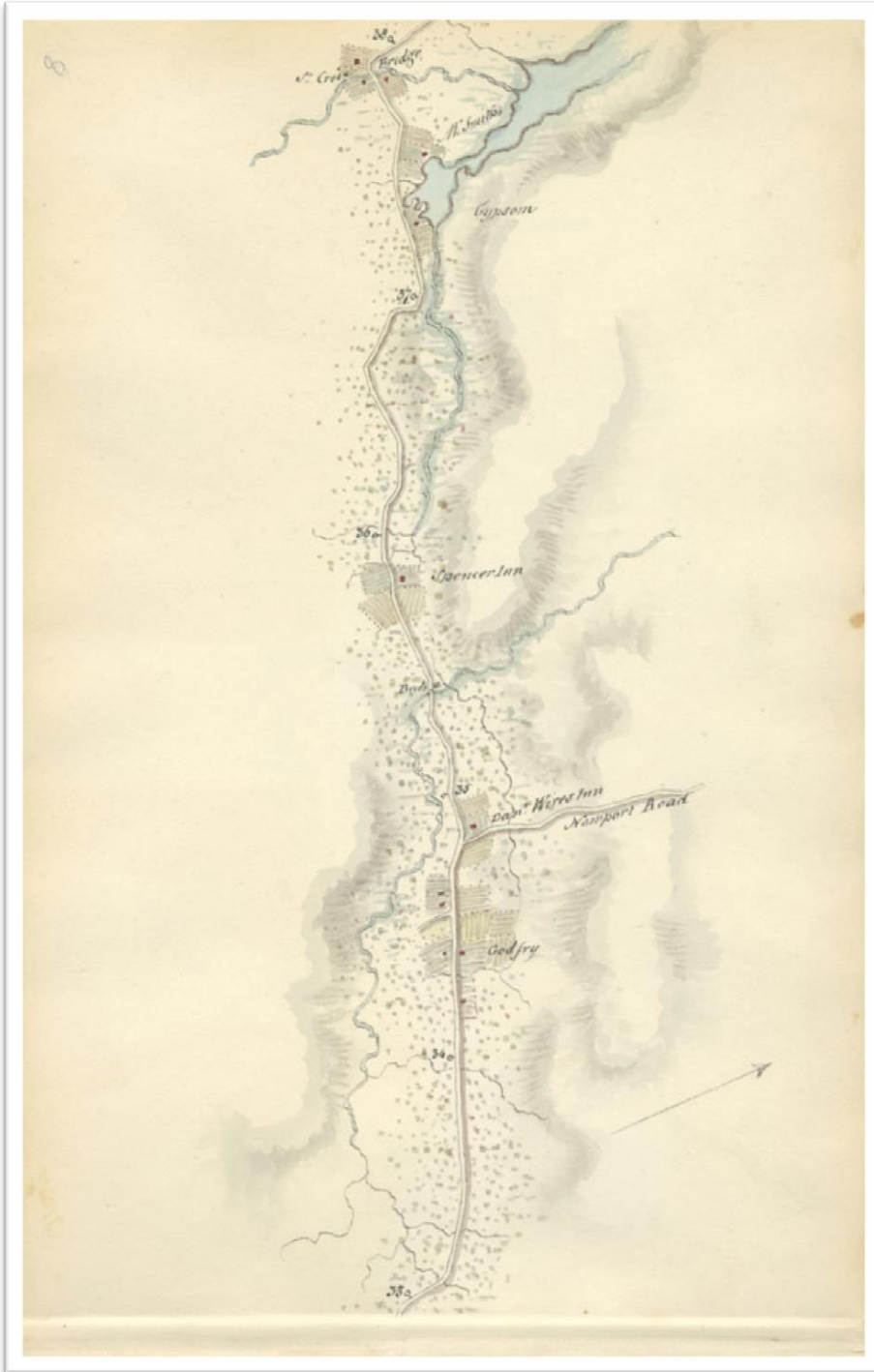
John Elliott Woolford. Sheet 8, from "Surveys of the roads from Halifax to Windsor and from Halifax to Truro," 1817/18. NSARM F/209-1817

11.

John Elliott Woolford. Sheet 9, from "Surveys of the roads from Halifax to Windsor and from Halifax to Truro," 1817/18. NSARM F/209-1817

12.

John Elliott Woolford. Sheet 10, from "Surveys of the roads from Halifax to Windsor and from Halifax to Truro," 1817/18. NSARM F/209-1817
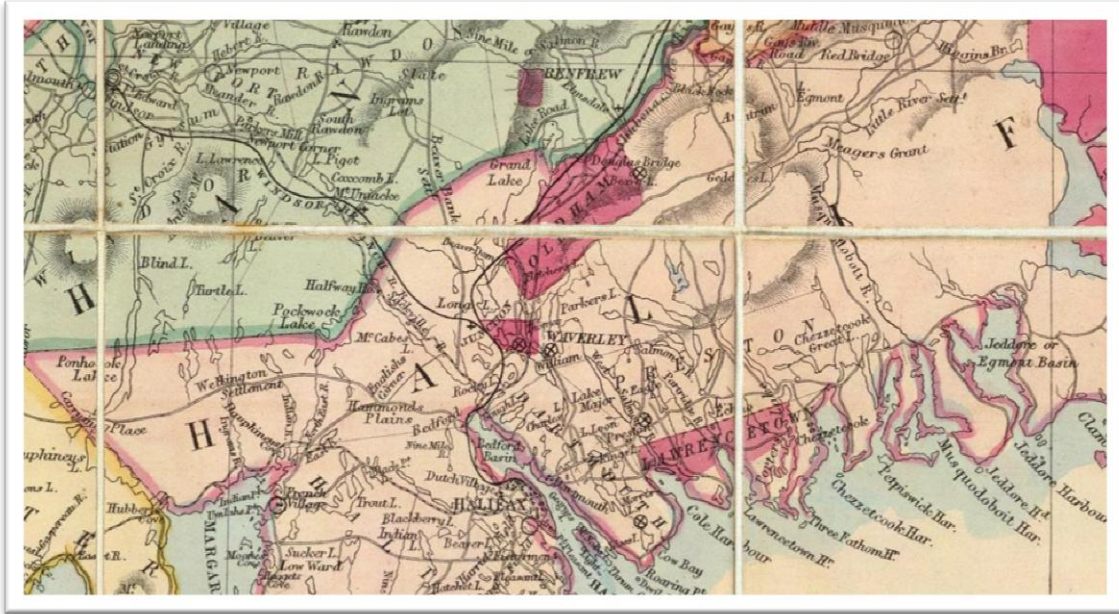
13.

Nova Scotia Archives and Record Management (NSARM), "County of Halifax" Nova Scotia
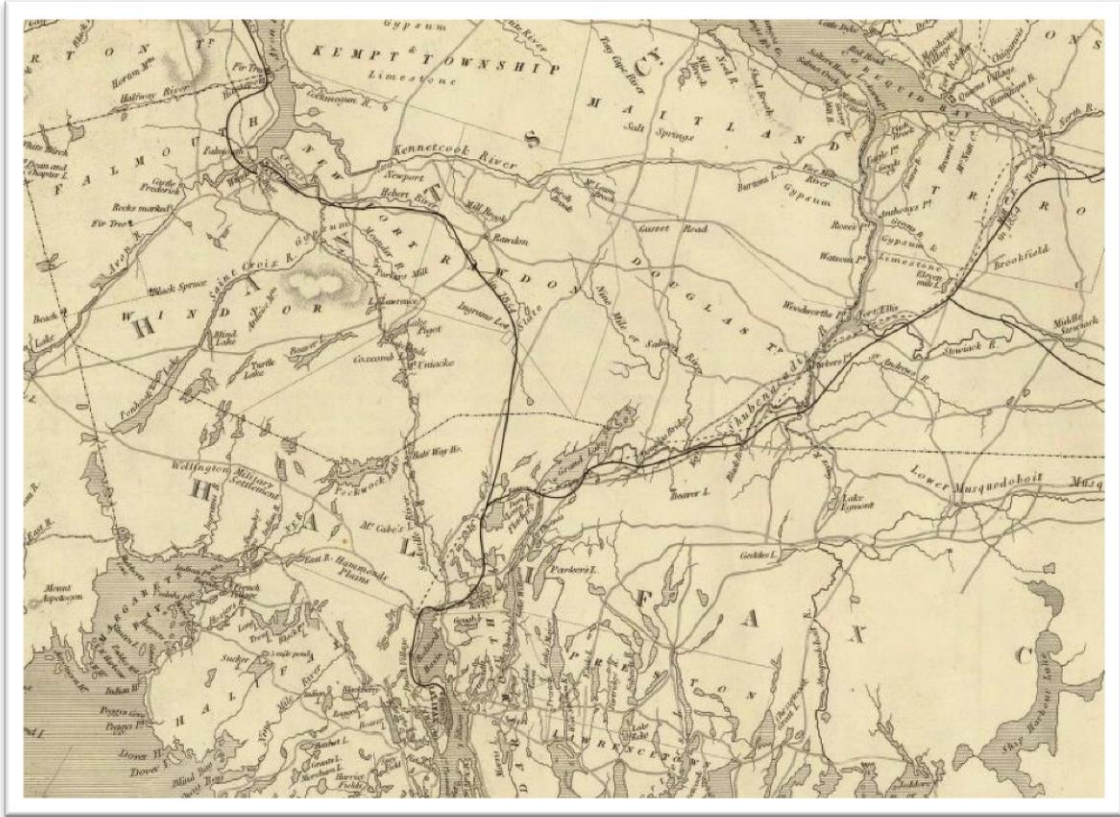Archives Map Collection: A. F. Church Maps.

14.
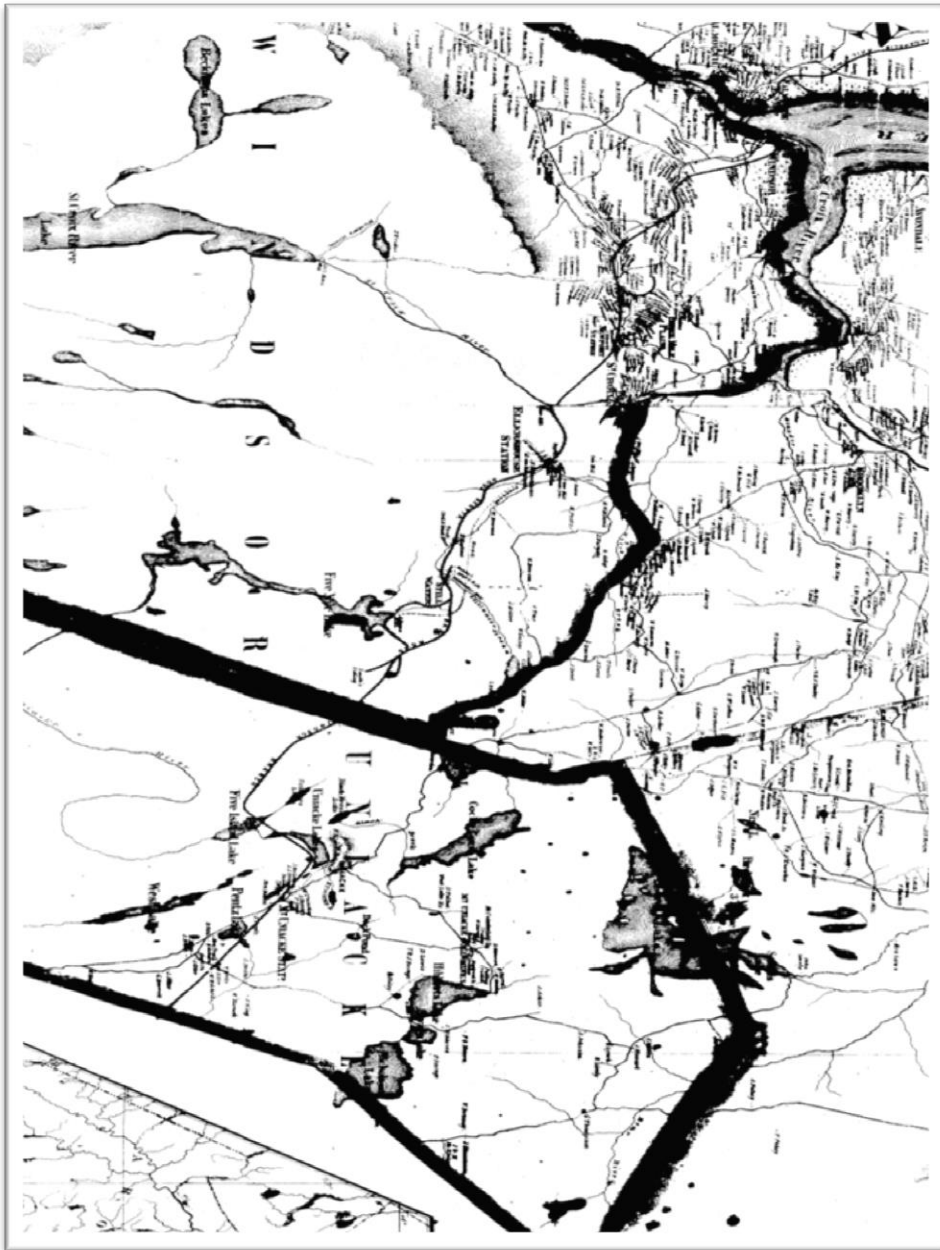
Nova Scotia Archives and Record Management (NSARM), "County of Hants" Nova Scotia Archives Map Collection: A. F. Church Maps.

15.

Mackinlay's map of the Province of Nova Scotia, 1868

16.

Belcher's map of the Province of Nova Scotia, 1855