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Eighteenth-Century Halifax

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[See table of contents](#)

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EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HALIFAX

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Public Archives of Nova Scotia

THE arrival on June 21, 1749, of Colonel the Honourable Edward Cornwallis¹ at Chebucto, Nova Scotia, was an event important for the times, and portentous for the future. It marked the beginning of real settlement in the colony, and foreshadowed the overthrow of France in Canada. It presaged the role to be taken by Nova Scotia in the American Revolutionary War, and was a decisive step in the development of the Canadian nation from Atlantic to Pacific. The name of the new town which he came to found was a tribute to the second Earl of Halifax who, at the head of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, supervised the undertaking.²

The British had made no real attempt to plant settlers in Nova Scotia from the Treaty of Utrecht to 1749, though the importance of having a base on the ocean side of the peninsula,³ and of making Nova Scotia an effective barrier against an attack on the other British colonies,⁴ had long been realized. The only colonists of British origin were a small group at Annapolis Royal, and the fishermen or soldiers at the Canso fishing station, while the Acadians formed the vast majority of the population. Meantime the French still held Ile St. Jean and Ile Royale, where they had built a strong fortress at Louisburg, and from which they tried to retain their influence over the Acadians and Indians in Nova Scotia, and to restrict the disputed limits of the British colony. Stung to action by French and Indian raids at Canso and elsewhere, the New Englanders with the aid of a British squadron had retaliated by capturing Louisburg in 1745. When the coastal menace was conjured up again, through the restoration of Louisburg to France by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, action was taken to offset its influence by the foundation of Halifax, "the only English colony in America founded by direct government action."⁵

Early in 1749 the Lords of Trade published an announcement about plans for the settlement of Nova Scotia, and advertised for prospective

¹For a biographical sketch see James S. Macdonald, "Hon. Edward Cornwallis, Founder of Halifax" (*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, XII).

²The second Earl of Halifax showed such zeal in promoting colonial trade that he later came to be known as the "Father of the Colonies." *Dictionary of National Biography*.

³William Inglis Morse, *Acadiensia Nova* (2 vols., Plaistow, Eng., 1935), I, 188; II, 5-14. Also Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Manuscript Documents, vol. 14, R. Philipps to the Hon. the Principal Officers of the Ordnance, May 26, 1720; and Archibald MacMechan, *A Calendar of Two Letter-Books and One Commission-Book in the possession of the Government of Nova Scotia, 1713-1741* (Halifax, 1900), 62.

⁴Manuscript Documents, vol. 13 1/2, W. Shirley and Chas. Knowles to the Duke of Newcastle, Apr. 28, 1747. For the efforts of the French Sedentary Fishing Company of Acadia at Chebucto, see Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova Scotia* (3 vols., Halifax, 1865-7), I, 539; *Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France*, by the Sieur De Dièreville (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1933), 73-5; and John Clarence Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century* (Saint John, N.B., 1934), 124-5. And for British projects, see Murdoch, *A History of Nova Scotia*, I, 394-6; and *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. 56 (Boston, 1923), 20, 34, 34 n., 45, 47.

⁵*The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. I, *The Old Empire to 1783* (Cambridge, 1929), 393.

settlers.⁶ Free passage, land grants, and subsistence for one year after arrival were offered. Settlers were also to get material and equipment for clearing and cultivating the land, erecting habitations, and carrying on the fishery, as well as arms and ammunition. These terms were offered to surgeons and tradesmen, as well as to disbanded soldiers and sailors. Thus it was hoped to reduce the number of unemployed in Britain resulting from the sudden hard times of peace, and to provide in Nova Scotia a counterpoise to Louisburg which would also be a centre for trade and a base for the fishery. Chebucto was an ideal site, not only because of its superb natural harbour, but also because of its position about midway between the Bay of Fundy and Cape Breton, and "in the fair way of all Vessels that fall in with that Coast from Europe. . . ."⁷

The Cornwallis expedition was the sequel to the advertisement. It comprised the *Sphinx*, a sloop-of-war, carrying the governor and his suite, thirteen transports with settlers, and a number of supply ships. The *Sphinx* set out on May 14, and was followed a few days later by the transports, carrying 2,545 settlers.⁸ More than half of the men were from the armed forces, and about sixty of them had been officers. In those days, however, the armed services were not noted for education and comforts, for comfortable barracks or healthy amusements; and men in the ranks were illiterate, intemperate, and neglected. In times of peace they were often crowded in insanitary barracks, where through disease and drink they died like sheep. Sailors fared worse, if anything, living in ships that were often little better than jails. Discipline was maintained by the cat, and many died under the lash. It was men released from this kind of life who formed a large proportion of the party which founded Halifax. Many of the remainder were not much better. After the work of settlement began, Cornwallis himself reported that of the soldiers about one hundred were active, industrious men, while of the tradesmen, sailors, and others only about two hundred were able and willing to work. The rest, he stated, were poor, idle, worthless vagabonds.⁹ Among the settlers were surgeons and midwives, clergymen and schoolmasters, periwig makers, a goldsmith, a silversmith, a printer, a staymaker and a wool comber. Many other occupations were also represented. But there were only ninety-one carpenters, 155 farmers or gardeners, and fifteen fishermen. Thus these occupations, which would be of use in the pioneer settlement, formed only a small proportion of the whole.

The thirteen transports reached Chebucto by July 1; and another vessel brought 116 settlers from England on August 30.¹⁰ Other settlers began to reach Halifax from both sides of the Atlantic; and New Englanders, accustomed to New World conditions, soon formed the largest element in the population. After the evacuation of Louisburg by the British in July, 1749, "a good many" civilians accompanied the Hopson

⁶Thomas B. Akins, *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1869), 495-7. Also the *London Magazine*, Mar., 1749, 119-21.

⁷Manuscript Documents, vol. 13 1/2, W. Shirley and Chas. Knowles to the Duke of Newcastle, Apr. 28, 1747.

⁸Akins, *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia*, 506-57.

⁹Manuscript Documents, vol. 35, doc. 2, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, July 24, 1749.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, doc. 6, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, Sept. 11, 1749.

and Warburton regiments to the new town.¹¹ Throughout the summer and autumn a swarm of New England vessels came and went, bringing supplies and additional settlers,¹² so that by the spring of 1750 "almost 1000 settlers from the other Colonies" had arrived,¹³ to take the place of a like number of the first arrivals, who had succumbed to bad rum or the dreaded typhus.¹⁴ Besides New Englanders and New Yorkers,¹⁵ a few fishermen from the west of England,¹⁶ a small number of settlers from the Azores,¹⁷ and a considerable number of "foreign Protestants" from the continent of Europe added to the total.¹⁸ In 1767, when the population was reported to be 3,022, nearly one-half were of American origin, while more than one-quarter were Irish, and about one-tenth English. Of the remainder, 264 were Germans and other foreigners, 200 were Acadians, and 52 were Scots.¹⁹ In times of warfare, the resident population were often outnumbered by the armed forces; and for a time in 1776 Halifax was the headquarters of the British forces in North America.²⁰ During and after the American Revolutionary War a large number of refugees and Loyalists went to Halifax. Some of these remained there, but most of them settled elsewhere in the province. In 1791 the population was reported to be 4,897;²¹ at the close of the century the resident population numbered between five and six thousand; and early in 1801 the total was reported to be about 8,500.²²

When Cornwallis arrived at Chebucto, "the country [was] one continual wood," but soon the scene was transformed. The site chosen for the town was the side of a hill that commanded the whole peninsula, and provided shelter from the northwest winds. There John Brewse, an English engineer, and Charles Morris, a surveyor from Massachusetts, laid out the town on a harbour, "the finest they had ever seen."²³ The town extended seven blocks along the water-front, and the same number up the hillside, and was enclosed by a barricade of felled trees and brushwood, which connected five picketed forts and extended down to the water-side. Before the end of 1749, there were 400 houses within the fortifications, and about 200 outside.²⁴ The next year the barricade was replaced by a palisade, and five-acre farm lots on the Halifax peninsula,

¹¹*The London Magazine*, Sept., 1749, 412-15; Manuscript Documents, vol. 35 doc. 5, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, Aug. 20, 1749.

¹²*The London Magazine*, Oct., 1749, 471-2.

¹³Manuscript Documents, vol. 35, doc. 12, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, Apr. 30, 1750.

¹⁴T. B. Akins, "History of Halifax City" (*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, VIII, 19); also "Letters and other Papers relating to the early History of the Church of England in Nova Scotia" (*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, VII, 110-11).

¹⁵By September, 1751 there were enough New Yorkers "as [would] nearly fill one of the Largest Streets in the Town." "The Arts and Crafts in New York 1726-1776," (*New York Historical Society Collections*, 1936, 302).

¹⁶*Ibid.*, Manuscript Documents, vol. 35.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, doc. 68, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, Apr. 20, 1752.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, vol. 28.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 443, doc. 1.

²⁰*Report of Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, for the year ended 30th November 1940* (Halifax, 1941), Appendix B.

²¹Murdoch, *A History of Nova Scotia*, III, 424.

²²*Ibid.*, 215.

²³Manuscript Documents, vol. 40, doc. 1, Cornwallis to Duke of Bedford, June 22, 1749.

²⁴Akins, "History of Halifax City," 262.

were laid out.²⁵ Germans settled early in Dutch Village, between the North West Arm and Bedford Basin, as well as in the North Suburbs, and Irish settlers built up Irishtown in the South Suburbs.

Although a few significant developments took place in the eighteenth century, until Halifax was incorporated in 1841, government remained largely in the hands of the governor and Council, and their nominees. A new civil government for Nova Scotia was formed on July 14, 1749, when a new Council was appointed. A few days later four justices of the peace were appointed, and constables were selected by the settlers.²⁶ Shortly afterwards the governor and Council sat as a general court. A year later a county court was established, and about the same time a court of general sessions was formed.²⁷ In 1751 the town and suburbs were divided into eight wards, and the citizens were empowered to choose certain town officers every year.²⁸ A supreme court was established in 1754, when Jonathan Belcher was appointed chief justice.²⁹ After the first Assembly of the province met in 1758, it initiated legislation to provide a municipal government for Halifax, but this action was nullified by the Council. Then, in 1759, "An Act for Preventing Trespasses" provided that a joint committee of the Council and the Assembly should choose certain town officers, who were to act until a grand jury should nominate, and the Court of Sessions should appoint, their successors that autumn. Thereafter annual selections were to be made in this manner. Thus failed the first effort of the New Englanders in Halifax to win municipal government. The system of appointing town officers was modified in 1765, when a grand jury, selected by lot, was empowered to nominate two or more persons for each office, and the Court of Sessions was empowered to choose and appoint the officers from these nominees.³⁰

In the first half-century, while Halifax relied chiefly on governmental expenditures, interesting developments were made in fisheries and agriculture as well as in business and industry. Privateering was also a rich source of profit to a number of Haligonians in war-time and, during the American Revolutionary War, Halifax became a commercial entrepôt for British North America, as well as a centre for direct trade with the West Indies.³¹ The fishery had its beginning in 1749,³² and produced

²⁵Manuscript Documents, vol. 35, doc. 33, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, June 24, 1751. Also Harry Piers, "The Old Peninsular Blockhouses and Road at Halifax, 1751: Their History, Description and Location" (*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, XXII); and Harry Piers, *The Evolution of the Halifax Fortress* (Halifax, 1947), 5-6.

²⁶Manuscript Documents, vol. 209, Council Minutes. Also vol. 164, Commission Book.

²⁷*Catalogue of Portraits of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia.* (Law Courts, Halifax, N.S., n.d.).

²⁸Manuscript Documents, vol. 209, Council Minutes, Jan. 14, 1751.

²⁹Akins, "History of Halifax City," 44-6.

³⁰P.A.N.S., Records of Halifax County Quarter Sessions; Walter C. Murray, "Local Government in the Maritime Provinces" (in *Municipal Government in Canada*, ed. S. M. Wickett, Toronto, 1907); D. C. Harvey, "The Struggle for the New England Form of Township Government" (*Canadian Historical Association Report*, 1933).

³¹*Report of Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia for the year ended November 30, 1936* (Halifax, 1937), Appendix C.

³²Soon after the arrival of the first settlers in 1749 a galley was ordered to sea for a few days of fishing cod for the settlement. Manuscript Documents, Order to Jon. Davies of the Warren Galley, dated Aug. 27, 1749.

25,000 quintals in 1750.³³ The next year an export bounty encouraged export to Spain.³⁴ The disparity in duties between foreign and colonial whale oil entering Great Britain resulted in the start of the whale fishery from Halifax in 1779, when a former prize, the *Jenny*, set out on a whaling voyage.³⁵ In 1785 a group of Nantucket whalers settled across the harbour at Dartmouth, and built up a lucrative industry.³⁶ In that year, Spermaceti candles, made in Nova Scotia, were sold at Halifax for 2s. 6d. per pound.³⁷ After the Nantucket whalers left for Milford Haven seven years later, however, a Halifax Spermaceti Refinery was offered for sale.³⁸ Ship-building was also aided by a bounty in 1751,³⁹ and by that time lumbering had begun, for the *Osborn*, a galley which was launched at Halifax in July, 1751, carried several large pines across the Atlantic to Portsmouth for masts.⁴⁰ Printing and newspapers were first introduced into Canada at Halifax. In August, 1751 Bartholomew Green, Jr., the son of the founder of the Boston *News Letter*, the first newspaper in America, went to Halifax to open a printing establishment. He died soon afterwards, and then his former partner, John Bushell, followed him to Halifax, where he launched the first newspaper in Canada, the *Halifax Gazette*, in 1752.⁴¹ Brickmaking and distilling were begun early,⁴² bakeries and mills were established;⁴³ book-shops,⁴⁴ drug stores,⁴⁵ and a "Salmon Manufactory"⁴⁶ were opened; book-binding was

³³*Ibid.*, vol. 35, doc. 29, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, Nov. 27, 1750.

³⁴*Ibid.*, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, July 1, 1751; John Wilson, *A Genuine Narrative of the Transactions in Nova Scotia, since the Settlement, June 1749 till August the 5th, 1751.* (London, Eng., n.d.).

³⁵Margaret Ells, "The Dartmouth Whalers" (*Dalhousie Review*, Apr., 1935, 86); *Report of Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1936*, Appendix C.

³⁶Margaret Ells, "The Dartmouth Whalers."

³⁷*Nova-Scotia Gazette*, Dec. 13, 1785.

³⁸*Royal Gazette*, July 10, 1792.

³⁹This "answered well," according to Cornwallis, "many having commenced building. . . ." Manuscript Documents, vol. 35, doc. 36.

⁴⁰Wilson, *A Genuine Narrative*.

⁴¹Credit is sometimes given to Otis Little, a New Englander who became the first attorney-general of Nova Scotia, for the introduction of printing, since in the summer of 1751 he organized a company for the purpose of establishing a newspaper and carrying on the business of printing. P.A.N.S., Scrapbook of E. F. Hart, "Early Printing in Nova Scotia," by J. T. Bulmer. Herbert Jefferie, a printer, arrived at Halifax with the Cornwallis expedition in 1749, but it is not known if he brought type, or if he printed anything at Halifax. See J. J. Stewart, "Early Journalism in Nova Scotia" (*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, VI); and Akins, "History of Halifax City," 222-3.

⁴²Manuscript Documents, vol. 35, doc. 14, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, July 10, 1750; *ibid.*, doc. 12.

⁴³*Nova-Scotia Gazette*, Nov. 19, 1782; May 12, 1789; July 15, 1788; *Royal Gazette*, Sept. 5, 1797.

⁴⁴In Feb., 1784, for example, Robert Loosely announced that he had removed his book shop from New York to Halifax. Fifteen years later Alexander Morrison was a book-seller there. *Nova-Scotia Gazette*, Feb. 3, 1784; *Royal Gazette*, June 25, 1799.

⁴⁵In 1784, Donald M'Lean, "lately arrived from New York," advertised the sale of drugs and medicines, spices, turpentine, etc., as well as the filling of physicians' and family prescriptions. Five years later Philipps, "Druggist," was conducting a similar business. And during the last five years of the century "Head's Drug & Medicine Store" was in business on Granville Street.

⁴⁶*Nova-Scotia Gazette*, June 6, 1786.

carried on;⁴⁷ furriers⁴⁸ and painters⁴⁹ plied their trade; and shoes, hats, soap, corsets, candles, tools, watches, and gold or silver ware were manufactured. Nor were forerunners of modern undertakers lacking. In August, 1785, for example, Mrs. Freeman, at John Lawson's near the Market House, advertised to the public that she would perform funerals on the shortest notice.⁵⁰

The main sources of outside influence are indicated by the means of communication. Throughout the period annual supply ships continued to make their voyages from England, although communication was sometimes uncertain and infrequent. At the same time a flourishing trade was carried on by coasting vessels with towns in Nova Scotia itself and with New England.

Living conditions in Halifax improved considerably throughout the period. Many of the first houses, small, generally of one story and sometimes of picketed construction, were replaced by more commodious buildings in the later years of the century. The homes of many contained rough tables and chairs, but those of the more well-to-do had furniture of a more substantial type than now used by people of the same standing. The kitchen was then of prime importance; and there for many years was done all the cooking and baking and brewing, over a hard-wood fire, started from flint and steel, at the open hearth. Afterwards coal was obtained from Sydney Mines or Cow Bay. The dining-room of the more well-to-do was furnished with a plain, mahogany table, supported by heavy legs often ornamented at the feet with carvings in the shape of lions' paws. There would also be a high and rather narrow side-board, a covered writing-desk bound with brass plates at the edges, corners and sides, a cellaret for wines and liquors, and uncomfortable chairs—cumbrous, straight-backed and cushioned with black horse-hair cloth. The sofa, an uncommon article, was plain but roomy; and the large armchair deserved its name. Bed-room furniture was of similar wood, and in a similar style. The bedsteads were four-posted, canopied and curtained. The chests of drawers and ladies' wardrobes were covered with burnished brass. And in many a hall stood a clock, encased in a frame of large size.⁵¹

Food was usually substantial, though often lacking in variety. On occasion the arrival of large military and naval forces resulted in a rapid rise in prices, or almost caused a famine. Corned beef, pork, and salted codfish were more common to all classes than was fresh meat. Preserved fruits were a delicacy in winter; poultry early came into fashion; and vegetables were either provided from private gardens or procured when possible from those of others. Some who wished to conserve fuel, or

⁴⁷In 1770 by Benjamin Phippen in Prince Street, opposite the Wheat-Shave. *Nova-Scotia Chronicle*, Jan. 30-Feb. 6, 1770.

⁴⁸Augustine Baffel, a furrier from Quebec, opened a business at Halifax in 1794.

⁴⁹Tradition says that John Merrick, who became a master painter in the dockyard, was the one who made the plans for Province House, which was begun in 1811, and this has given rise to speculation. It is less strange, however, in view of his advertisement of his painting business in 1789, which included the following: "N.B. Plans, Elevations, and Designs for Building, executed in the neatest manner."

⁵⁰*Nova-Scotia Gazette*, Aug. 23, 1785.

⁵¹Rev. G. W. Hill, *Memoir of Sir Brenton Halliburton* (Halifax, 1864), 48-9. Also A. W. H. Eaton, "Social Life of Halifax after the Revolution" (*Americana*, 1915); and "Halifax in 1793" (in *Report of Public Archives of Canada*, 1946, Ottawa, 1947, xxiv-xxviii).

who were not very skilful in the culinary art, bought their bread at the bake-houses in Grafton and Pleasant Streets.⁵²

Drink was plentiful. Pure water, though easily obtained, to the accompaniment of noisy pumphandles and the wrangling of children, was not the only liquid consumed, for rum and wines were easily obtained and found ready sale.

Streets were in a rough state for a long time, and gardens could be seen within the town proper as well as in the suburbs. On fine days the most popular promenade was the "Mall." This was the planked walk on the eastern or lower side of Barrington and Pleasant Streets, from the Parade to the foot of the present Inglis Street. Another favorite promenade was the Grand Parade. Sometimes on rainy days ladies hired sedan chairs and went down to the Market Hall at the foot of George Street, where they could stroll beneath the balcony.

Something of Halifax development may also be seen in its amusements and diversions. Annual dinners were held by the national societies,⁵³ the festival of St. Aspinquid was celebrated during the seventeenth-seventies,⁵⁴ and dances and balls took place at coffee houses or Government House. Horse-racing began in 1768, and was discontinued in 1771 because it tended to idleness, drinking, gambling, and immorality.⁵⁵ Billiards and gambling were subjects of complaint in 1784.⁵⁶ And during the seventeen-eighties and nineties musical concerts, both vocal and instrumental, were presented.⁵⁷ Entertainment was also provided in the last decade of the century by magicians, by feats on the tight and slack rope, by tumbling, by wax-work exhibitions, and by humorous lectures.⁵⁸

The theatre was introduced into Halifax before the American Revolution, and not after it, as has sometimes been stated. *Jane Shore* and *The Virgin Unmask'd* were presented on September 2, 1768,⁵⁹ and other plays may have been performed before that. By 1770, at any rate, interest in plays had become considerable, as comments in the newspapers attest.⁶⁰ Play-going owed its origin at Halifax to the desire of members of the armed forces for enjoyment, and criticism of it was due to some of those of Puritan sentiment who charged it with being worse than vanity, and with being such a wretched instructor of the age as to teach nothing more than its profaneness and debauchery.⁶¹ Yet dramas steadily increased in popularity among the general population

⁵²Hill, *Sir Brenton Halliburton*, 50-3.

⁵³The North British Society was organized in 1768; the Charitable Irish Society, St. George's Society, and the German Society, all in 1786. Other societies and associations included the Freemasons, one of the oldest, the Halifax Marine Society, the Nova Scotia Agricultural Society, and the Carpenters' Society.

⁵⁴*Nova-Scotia Chronicle*, May 29-June 5, 1770; *Nova-Scotia Gazette*, May 25, 1773; June 1, 1773.

⁵⁵James S. MacDonald, "Richard Bulkeley" (*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, XII, 73-4).

⁵⁶*Nova-Scotia Gazette*, Nov. 23, 1784.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1790; *Royal Gazette*, Jan. 10, 1792; Jan. 15, 1793; Mar. 12, 1793; Jan. 30, 1798; Mar. 26, 1799; Apr. 2, 1799.

⁵⁸*Royal Gazette*, Sept. 2, 1794; Dec. 30, 1794; Jan. 6-10, 1795; Sept. 23, 1794; Nov. 3, 1795; Oct. 30, 1798; Apr. 9, 1799; Aug. 13, 1799.

⁵⁹*Nova-Scotia Gazette*, Sept. 1, 1768.

⁶⁰*Nova-Scotia Chronicle*, Jan. 2-9, 1770; Feb. 6-13, 1770; Mar. 27—Apr. 3, 1770; May 1-8, 1770.

⁶¹*Royal Gazette*, Feb. 19, 1793.

during the remaining years of the century. Until the first regular theatre building was erected on Argyle Street in 1789, the Pontac inn was the place for the presentation of plays; and more than a hundred different plays, operas, and farces were presented in the last fifteen years of the century.⁶²

All of these activities marked the development of Halifax in the eighteenth century and illustrate the interplay of New World and Old World influences, and the changing emphases on Halifax as a New England or an imperial outpost, as a harbour or a military and naval base, and as a port or town or seat of government. In the early days the surface was continually stirred by rivalry between the Old and New World settlers,⁶³ and this was followed after the American Revolution by jealousy between the old settlers and the Loyalists.⁶⁴ Nevertheless a gradual growth is apparent; and by the end of the century mutual rivalries owing to differences in origin were being resolved by inter-marriage, by the rise of a new generation, and by the emergence of the distinct characteristics of Nova Scotians.

⁶²A. R. Jewitt, "Early Halifax Theatres" (*Dalhousie Review*, 1925-6, 444-57).

⁶³Akins, "History of Halifax City," 39.

⁶⁴Margaret Ells, "Loyalist Attitudes" (*Dalhousie Review*, 1935-6, 320-34).