

J.B. Brebner and Some Recent Trends in Eighteenth-Century Maritime Historiography

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J.B. Brebner, in so many ways, was a remarkable historian. Born in Toronto in 1895, he did his graduate work at Oxford and Columbia, and after teaching at the University of Toronto from 1921 to 1925 he went to Columbia where he spent the rest of his academic career.¹ He was an inspiring and concerned teacher. Moreover, he was able to digest quickly and carefully the work of others and to impose upon it a persuasively argued and often brilliantly executed organizational overview. Brebner was, as he convincingly demonstrated in *The North Atlantic Triangle* and *The Explorers of North America*, a master of penetrating synthesis and lucid, cogent writing. But, of course, he was much more than this. He was, as Donald Creighton once observed, "quite capable of a very high level of original research."² Brebner's *New England's Outpost* published in 1927 and *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia* published ten years later were, according to Creighton, "without any doubt two of the most important books on the history of Canada that have appeared during the twentieth century."

It should not be surprising, therefore, that few scholars, since the publication of *The Neutral Yankees*, have been eager to rework Brebner's Nova Scotia world. Those who have are usually content to write about historical problems which did not really engage Brebner — Louisbourg, the Great Awakening and Scottish immigration. Those revisionists who have attempted to challenge Brebner's interpretation, on the whole, failed to transcend him, at least as far as their academic peers are concerned as well as in the opinion of some of the revisionists themselves. One of the latter has recently complained about his inability "to escape the long shadow cast by Brebner" as well as the remarkable sustaining power of Brebner's paradigm.³

Not only has Brebner's widely-perceived "classic" *The Neutral Yankees* discouraged, for half a century, other scholars from reassessing, in a

1 See my brief sketch of Brebner in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (1985), 216.

2 D. Creighton, "Introduction to the Carleton Library Edition" of J.B. Brebner, *The North Atlantic Triangle* (Toronto, 1968), xiii.

3 See my "J.B. Brebner and *The Writing of Canadian History*," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 13, 3 (Fall 1978), 92.

significant manner, the historical development of Nova Scotia during the 1760 to 1783 period, but the publication of the volume also encouraged Brebner to leave the field once and for all. There was, as W.S. MacNutt has observed, a “note of petulance in the Foreword” of the book as if Brebner had suddenly realized in 1937 that all his widely-praised work on Nova Scotia was, like the province itself, of marginal importance after all.⁴ And in the Foreword he permitted his frustration and bitterness, for once, to break through the hard crust of his usual dispassionate prose style. He really wondered whether his *New England's Outpost* and *The Neutral Yankees* had been worth all the effort he had lavished on the research and writing of the two books. With reference to the 1760 to 1783 period of Nova Scotia history, and why it had not been examined in a scholarly manner before 1937, Brebner caustically observed:

The reasons why this had not been done before was that it was properly questionable whether the result, even if fairly definitive, was sufficiently important to justify the necessary expenditure of time. It seems debatable, for instance, whether this book should not have been much briefer than it is, considering the relative colonial insignificance of Nova Scotia.⁵

His Columbia University colleagues had been right after all in arguing that Brebner was wasting his time, energy and ability in writing about a “marginal colony” of little real consequence. By 1937 Brebner had come to the conclusion that there would not be a third Nova Scotia volume dealing with the post-1783 Loyalist period. Instead, underscoring his bitter disillusionment with his two Nova Scotia volumes, Brebner found himself powerfully attracted to *The North Atlantic Triangle* and then in the twilight of his academic life with the mainstream of British history. Before he could make his scholarly mark in this area, he died in New York City, on 9 November 1957. “In his last years,” it has been observed, “Brebner had become more continentalist, more engrossed with Canada as a curious collection of fragmentations by-passed in the march of American Manifest Destiny.”⁶

The central thrust of Brebner's *New England's Outpost* was the contention that the “expanding energies” of New England had led “inevitably and naturally” to the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755.⁷ And

4 W.S. MacNutt, “Introduction” to J.B. Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1969), xiii.

5 “Foreword” to J.B. Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees*, xix.

6 MacNutt, “Introduction” to Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees*, xvii.

7 For a more detailed critique of this aspect of the Brebner thesis, see G.A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts* (Montreal, 1973).

in *The Neutral Yankees* he argued that during the Revolution the Nova Scotia Yankees, most of the population of the "fourteenth colony," like their Acadian predecessors during periods of Anglo-French conflict, had resolved to walk the knife-edge of neutrality. Even though, of course, he warned his readers of the dangers involved in relying "on a single explanation for Nova Scotia behaviour," Brebner nevertheless concluded that the colony's "insulation from the rest of North America" provided the "principal clue" for the region's neutrality.⁸ Thus Brebner stressed what he saw as the striking theme of continuity in Nova Scotia's eighteenth-century experience; he confidently threw the "straightjacket of neutrality forward, from the 1750s, to catch all the Nova Scotia residents during the American Revolution."⁹ Yankees became Acadians and a kind of environmental deterministic framework was imposed upon what otherwise appeared to be a largely meaningless jumble produced by the complex overlapping of names, events and personalities.

The great and continuing influence of Brebner's work may be assessed in a variety of ways. One of these is to ascertain how the revisionists have fared in recent years with the scholarly community. The evidence suggests that in Canada, at least, Brebner's interpretations are still regarded as "classic" ones, while the work of the revisionists is pushed off into some dark corner of historiographical oblivion. This general conclusion seems to be supported by a careful reading of a number of widely used and recently published Canadian history texts.

In Barry Gough's *Canada* (Englewood Cliffs, 1975) the Acadian Expulsion is not even mentioned — no mean accomplishment for a Canadian historian writing a general textbook; and Nova Scotia's reaction to the Revolution merits only one paragraph. According to Gough:

Nova Scotia colonists also rejected revolution, but unlike the Quebec case, theirs was an instance of how a region on the fringes of the Revolution was torn by conflicting forces, and in the end remained passively neutral. Of the seventeen or eighteen thousand settlers, three-quarters were New England by birth. But though they knew of the complaints across the waters in Boston and Philadelphia and had close family ties there, they were part of the British colonial system of mercantilism. In Halifax, the capital, a cautious oligarchy maintained close ties with London merchants, and this same group maintained a dominance in the provincial assembly at the expense of

8 See the historiographical discussion of this point in G. Stewart and G. Rawlyk, *A People Highly Favoured of God* (Toronto, 1972), xviii-xix and also G.A. Rawlyk, "Revolution Rejected," *Emerging Identities*, ed., D.W. Bennett and C.J. Jaenen (Toronto, 1986), 133-57.

9 Rawlyk, "J.B. Brebner and *The Writing of Canadian History*," 92.

the rural areas. They looked on the war as advantageous for war contracts and good for trade. And, with the naval base for Royal Navy ships in the North Atlantic and Caribbean situated in Bedford Basin adjacent to Halifax, how could a revolution be got up anyway? It was only in the out-settlements such as in Cumberland county that the fervors of revolution ran high. Outbursts against the Crown did occur and indicated the sympathies of the rural or outport majority. But as the Revolution progressed, the Nova Scotians found themselves cut off from their former New England homelands, and they were divided from one another by the roadless Nova Scotian wilderness. Occasionally Yankee ships made raids on the coastal ports and this tended to weaken pro-revolutionary support. Thus, somewhat ironically, the Yankees who had conquered Acadia and expelled the Acadians now found themselves torn between revolutionary and reactionary forces. In the end, they became, as one historian called them, "The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia."¹⁰

In Kenneth McNaught's *The Pelican History of Canada* (Markham, 1975), New England imperialism, as personified in Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts, was responsible for "the ruthless device of expelling the Acadians from Nova Scotia."¹¹ And as far as Nova Scotia neutrality during the Revolution was concerned, it could be directly traced to the merchant oligarchy of Halifax. These men, many of whom were recently arrived Yankees, ensured that the residents of the outsettlements were at least neutral. And George Washington observing "the almost cynical attitude of Nova Scotia to the continental cause... decided to leave the province strictly alone."¹²

Brebner's influence certainly shines through the books by Gough and McNaught and there is no evidence of any post-Brebner scholarship. It is as though nothing had been written, since 1937, about eighteenth-century Nova Scotia. This same criticism cannot, however, be levelled against the 1984 version of J.L. Finlay and D.N. Sprague, *The Structure of Canadian History* (Scarborough, 1984), or Desmond Morton's *A Short History of Canada* (Edmonton, 1985). Yet, despite this disclaimer, the influence of Brebner is still to be found in these two volumes. As far as Finlay and Sprague are concerned, the "British launched a massive round-up of the entire French-speaking population in Acadia in 1755" and thus the "Acadian landscape was cleared for occupancy by British settlers from New England."¹³ These Yankees, during the Revolution, because of

10 Gough, 38-39.

11 McNaught, 38.

12 McNaught, 52.

13 Finlay and Sprague, 61.

“situational pressures” adopted “neutrality.”¹⁴ Indeed, Finlay and Sprague are willing to go beyond Brebner by stressing that Yankee society “had not yet crystallized” in Nova Scotia:

To the extent that the events of the period were a source of anxiety, that psychological energy was discharged in religious revival fostered by Henry Alline rather than in political slogan-shouting from the south. Then, too, it should be mentioned that Halifax was a naval base.¹⁵

Some academics might argue that these authors probably inserted material about Alline into the text because of the presence of Alline’s biographer in their history department and also because a reader of the original manuscript for Prentice-Hall had also written extensively about Alline and Revolutionary Nova Scotia.

It has already been noted by John Reid that Morton’s superficial treatment of pre-1713 Acadia is characterized by “inaccurate or misleading statements” and his discussion of the post-1713 period is “only marginally better.”¹⁶ Perhaps, Morton is guilty of the unpardonable sin in Canadian historical writing — he has not read J.B. Brebner. There is also some evidence to suggest that for the pre-1776 period he did not read anything written since 1937. For the Revolutionary period, however, he obviously had done more research but his descriptive-analysis was all summed up in one short paragraph:

Like the Acadians, the American settlers who took their place and who spread themselves along the southern and western shores of Nova Scotia largely ignored the self-important little government of merchants and officials at Halifax. They sent home grim corrections of the glowing propaganda which had enticed them to “Nova Scarcity,” but, while New Englanders’ minds turned to revolution, Nova Scotia’s Yankees turned their few leisure thoughts and moments to the “New Light” movement, a passionate religious revival. With a British fleet and garrison in Halifax, the few sparks of revolt in the 1770s were swiftly extinguished, and the missionaries of the “New Awakening,” alarming though they seemed to Halifax Anglicans, sought revolutions in morals, not governments. Merchants in

14 Finlay and Sprague, 73.

15 Finlay and Sprague, 74.

16 See J. Reid, “Towards the Elusive Synthesis: The Atlantic Provinces in Recent General Treatments of Canadian History,” *Acadiensis*, XVI, 2(Spring 1987), 115.

Halifax and other ports made too much money from the war to feel rebellious.¹⁷

What is particularly striking about how these recently published general histories of Canada treat eighteenth-century Nova Scotia is not necessarily their Brebnerite twist but rather their pronounced lack of interest or concern. Usually there is a short paragraph or two, at most, devoted to the Acadians in the 1713 to 1755 period and in this brief section there is sometimes a sentence about the Louisbourg Expedition of 1745. This is followed, perhaps a little later on in the text, by another paragraph about the founding of Halifax, the coming of the Yankees, the Revolution and neutrality. Then come the Loyalists and “Canadian” history can begin. Most recognize the Hartz thesis now, which is post Esther Clark Wright. As far as the 1713 to 1783 period is concerned, two or three paragraphs are regarded as more than adequate. This latter criticism could not, however, be applied to those contemporaries of Brebner’s who wrote general history texts — men like W.L. Morton, Donald Creighton, Arthur Lower, J.M.S. Careless and Edgar McInnis. For example, Morton in his *Kingdom of Canada* devoted some thirteen pages to Nova Scotia’s historical development during the 1713 to 1783 period and the Brebnerite bias was explicitly obvious. Arthur Lower even included a paragraph in his *Colony to Nation* on the “Planters”:

This little extension of New England into New Scotland brought up a vigorous and wide awake group of people, among the best immigrants that Canada has ever received...From the first, they gave the province weight and ballast and the reality of a democratic tradition. They insisted on the rights of Englishmen, one of which...was an elected Assembly. This they demanded even before they came, and in 1758, the authorities in England ordered the unwilling...Governor...to summon one.¹⁸

Lower described post-Planter Nova Scotia as “an extension of New England: but not new England over again”: and as “the outpost of New England.”¹⁹ As far as Lower was concerned Brebner’s neutrality thesis explained perfectly Nova Scotia’s response to the Revolution. And Lower, moreover, explicitly argued that Nova Scotia was not in fact “a Loyalist province.” Rather, it was “primarily pre-Revolutionary New England” in character, as demonstrated by the “appearance of its houses and villages and by the energy of its people, their avidity for higher-education and their

17 Morton, 54.

18 (Toronto, 1977), 107.

19 Lower, 65, 97.

religious denominations.”²⁰ For Lower, the Loyalists were indeed the “dancing beggars” but he had a far more positive view of their predecessors.

It seems clear and obvious that Canadian history texts published during the past decade treat Nova Scotia in the eighteenth century far more superficially and far more inadequately than do texts published thirty or forty years ago. Brebner’s declining influence may be one reason for this development and the presentist and Central Canadian obsession of so many Canadian historians may be another. Yet the point should be underscored that when there is a paragraph or two written in the 1970s and 1980s about eighteenth-century Nova Scotia these still very much reflect the Brebner bias. And when they do not it is often the case that the authors have not, in fact, read Brebner.

Another way of ascertaining Brebner’s influence on eighteenth-century Nova Scotia historiography is to examine how recently-published collections of key articles have dealt with Nova Scotia in the 1713 to the 1783 period. In recent years three different two-volume collections have been published; the first volume of all three deal with the pre-Confederation period. P.A. Buckner and David Frank’s *The Acadiensis Reader: Atlantic Canada Before Confederation: Volume One* (Fredericton, 1985) contains three articles largely about pre-1783 Nova Scotia and one about Prince Edward Island. Four articles out of a total of eighteen, from the best in *Acadiensis*, is both noteworthy and encouraging, for the eighteenth-century historian at least. And all of these articles, it should be observed, move beyond Brebner. Gisa Hynes, “Some Aspects of the Demography of Port Royal, 1650-1755,” is certainly suggestive, however flawed her evidence might be; Naomi Griffiths, “Acadians in Exile: the Experiences of the Acadians in the British Seaports,” points in the direction of her much anticipated two volume study of the Acadians. Also included in this volume of the *Acadiensis Reader* is Graeme Wynn’s “Late Eighteenth-Century Agriculture on the Bay of Fundy Marshlands,” a cogently original study somewhat influenced by A.H. Clark and J.M. Bumsted’s “The Origin of the Land Question on Prince Edward Island, 1767-1805,” a preliminary thrust for Bumsted’s recently published important monograph *Land, Settlement and Politics on Eighteenth-Century Prince Edward Island* (Montreal, 1987). This book, together with Bumsted’s *The People’s Clearance 1770-1815* (Edinburgh, 1982), have established the author’s position as, among other things, the leading authority on the Scots impact on the Maritimes in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. By concentrating on the Scots, the Celtic fringe of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, Bumsted has succeeded admirably, in my view, in escaping the long shadow cast by J.B. Brebner. And, in the process, he has

20 Lower, 108.

compelled all students of late eighteenth-century British emigration and North America to take his work seriously indeed.

In his *Interpreting Canada's Past*, Volume I (Toronto, 1986), Professor Bumsted includes in his pre-Loyalist eighteenth-century section only Mason Wade's often neglected "After the *Grand Derangement*: The Acadians' Return to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and to Nova Scotia," originally published in 1975. This is, Bumsted contends, an example of "the best and most innovative work of the past few years."²¹ For R. D. Francis and D. B. Smith, in *Readings in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation* (Toronto, 1986), two other articles about pre-1783 Nova Scotia are the "best and most innovative." These are Naomi Griffith's "The Golden Age: Acadian Life 1713-1748," originally published in 1984, and G. A. Rawlyk, "The American Revolution and Nova Scotia Reconsidered," written some twenty-five years ago. The inclusion of the Griffiths article — though it breaks little new research ground — may certainly be defended, but the Rawlyk study is now largely irrelevant apart from its very limited historiographical importance. The *Acadiensis Reader*, contains the best post-Brebner collection of articles about pre-Loyalist Nova Scotia. Yet the point should be made that the *Reader* is strangely silent about the Planters and the Yankee impact on Nova Scotia, apart from a very brief discussion of their agricultural methods in the brief Wynn article. Since *Acadiensis* has shown exemplary sensibility to new trends in eighteenth-century Nova Scotia historiography, this silence is testimony to the widespread Canadian neglect of Planter history.

It is ironic, maybe it is more than ironic, that five books published in the United States since 1982 reveal a far greater degree of perceptive awareness about recent trends in eighteenth-century Nova Scotia historiography than have most Canadian scholars. In 1982 Stephen Marini's much revised Harvard Ph.D. dissertation was published under the title *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England*. In this most suggestive and ground-breaking study, Marini attempts to show how and why the "New Light Stir" of 1780, a religious revival triggered by Nova Scotia's Great Awakening, encouraged the fragmentation of the Whitefieldian Evangelical consensus and the growth of the sectarian folk religions such as the Shakers, the Free Will Baptists and the Universalists.²² Though numerically insignificant, these three new sects showed how the traditional structures of Yankee society had crumbled under the hammering of the Revolution. And, as might have been expected, often bizarre yet satisfying ways of relating to the Almighty and to others became increasingly common as a growing number of northern New Englanders looked for a renewed sense of community-

21 Bumsted, *Interpreting Canada's Past*, I, x.

22 See my "Evangelicals, Patriots and Sectarianism," *Queen's Quarterly*, 91, 1 (Spring 1984), 89-95.

belonging in order to neutralize the powerful forces of alienation then sweeping the region. It was a period when almost anything could be believed and almost everything doubted. Many Yankees found themselves in a state of spiritual tension torn by the contradicting forces pulling at them. Unlike the South, however, the sectarian centrifugal tendency was not effectively checked by the institution of black slavery and was therefore free, in the post-Revolutionary period, to spin off in a myriad of directions. Eventually the power of sectarian individualism would be such, especially in the Northeast, that the old Evangelical consensus would be seriously weakened and pushed to the periphery of the region's religious culture.

Marini traces the growth of the Universalists, Shakers and Freewill Baptists in northern New England during the 1780 to 1820 period. He places special emphasis on the roles played by the three key leaders of these movements, Caleb Rich, Benjamin Randel and Ann Lee. He then examines the theological basis of each of the sects, their polity and organization and in a particularly important section of his book throws much new light on what he calls "The Language of the Soul." What Marini is referring to in this finely-crafted chapter is the important role of hymnody in the ritual expression of these three sects. In their hymns, ordinary folk were able to express their peculiar theological views in a language which resonated with their experience.

One important feature of Marini's book is of special interest to the Canadian reader. Perhaps, for the first time in recent years, a serious American scholar has contended that an influential American social and religious movement — the "New Light Stir of 1780" — was triggered by Nova Scotian events and a charismatic Nova Scotian, Henry Alline. Marini argues quite persuasively that the Yankee revival owed a great deal to Nova Scotia's Great Awakening. Moreover, according to Marini, Alline, although he died in 1784, significantly affected the Freewill Baptist movement until at least 1800. Alline's theology was enthusiastically appropriated by Benjamin Randel, the Freewill Baptist founder, and by his followers, as were Alline's over 500 hymns and spiritual songs. Marini, making good use of recent Canadian work on Alline, is unusually sensitive to Alline's influence on unfolding events, locating it persuasively in its Nova Scotia-New England context.

John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, in their *The Economy of British North America 1607 to 1789* (Chapel Hill, 1985), have also been influenced by recent Canadian scholarship. The fact that McCusker began his teaching career at Mount Allison and St. Francis Xavier universities may help to explain this commendable clear-sightedness. In their much-praised book, they link in Chapter 5, "New England and Atlantic Canada," pointing out that Nova Scotia during much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was "integrated into New England's economy through two processes," migration and the "aggressive commercialism" of

the Yankee merchants:

Attracted by market opportunities in fish, timber, and farm produce and pushed by the pressure of population on the land in more-densely settled regions, New Englanders flocked to Nova Scotia during the 1760s as part of the same migration that had earlier led them to New York, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine and that would later lead them to the Midwest. We know very little about the particulars of this migration or of the numbers involved, but they were sufficient to make Nova Scotia a "new New England" and help bring the region into Boston's expanding commercial orbit.²³

McCusker and Menard have provided convincing evidence to support the contention that "focussing on exports, on population growth, and on settlement" they have, in fact, explained "more than just the narrowly economic aspects of the British Americas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."²⁴ And for them, of course, and this point needs to be emphasized, British America included Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and after the Conquest, Quebec.

D.W. Meinig has a similar broad view of North America in his *Shaping of America: Atlantic America, 1492-1800* (New Haven, 1986). The book has been described as "a post-Turnerian geography for the age of Fernand Braudel and Immanuel Wallerstein." For Meinig, a leading historical geographer, "the most important spatial relationships in early American history are not the settlers' wrestling with fields and forest, but imperial lines of authority stretched across the Atlantic determining the flow of supplies and skills that made commercial expansion in North America so implacable."²⁵ Meinig's picture of Acadian society in the pre-1760 period has been significantly affected by Andrew Hill Clark's work, especially his *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison, 1968). And Meinig's treatment of Nova Scotia from 1760 to 1783 owes a great deal to Brebner and to *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts* (Montreal, 1973). His description of the coming of the Planters captures some of the flavour of his writing:

In 1758 the British began their program for the recolonization and expanded development of an enlarged Nova Scotia. Much of the best land was soon in the hands of various officials and favorites, but there was a need for actual settlers and an obvious source lay nearby: New England, whose seamen had long been familiar with every little

23 McCusker and Menard, 113-4.

24 McCusker and Menard, 11.

25 See the Garry Wills review in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 17 April 1987.

harbour, whose merchants had long dominated the trade, whose soldiers had marched here against the French, and whose families had had more than a century of colonizing experience. Counties and townships were laid out, liberal land allotments offered, tolerance of Dissenters declared, and assurance given that local governments and courts were “constituted in like manner with those of Massachusetts, Connecticut and other Northern colonies.” And so within a few years several thousand Yankees, drawn from coastal Connecticut, Rhode Island, and eastern Massachusetts, had taken over nearly all the former Acadian farms, filled in the Annapolis Valley and Minas townships far more thickly than the French had done, occupied every good harbour along the southerly coast, and were sprinkled here and there in the old contested borderland of the northern Fundy shore, as at Passamaquoddy and the lower St. John. And thus much of the domesticated landscape and social geography of Nova Scotia — its busy seaports, its closest villages with their greens and Congregational or Baptist churches, its farmer-forester-fishermen, its many cultural and commercial connections with Boston and many other ports — displayed the unmistakable mark of Greater New England.²⁶

It is interesting to note that Meinig argues strongly that the “Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia” were, in fact, Loyalists. For him, as for Professor Bumsted, their British allegiance “cannot be dismissed as simply an untested routine commitment” but rather was their response to a “great imperial crisis.”²⁷ As far as Meinig is concerned, Brebner was absolutely correct in linking Yankee and Acadian neutrality and in generalizing from the December 1775 Yarmouth petition: “We were almost all of us born in New England, we have Fathers, Brothers & Sisters in that country, divided betwixt natural affection to our nearest relations, and good Faith and Friendship to our King and Country, we want to know if we may be permitted” to be neutral.²⁸ From his vantage-point at the University of Syracuse, Meinig has brilliantly succeeded in integrating Canadian scholarship into what he calls his “idiosyncratic” overarching thesis concerning the interplay of North American localities and regions, “networks and circulations,” and “national and intercolonial systems.”²⁹

26 Meinig, 273-4.

27 Meinig, 312. See also J.M. Bumsted, *Understanding the Loyalists* (Sackville, 1986).

28 Quoted in Meinig, 314.

29 Meinig, xv-xvi.

Bernard Bailyn's prize-winning book *Voyagers to the West* (New York, 1986) also superbly integrates scholarship on pre-Revolutionary Nova Scotia. While researching for this volume, Bailyn kept in close touch with Canadian historians about British emigration to Nova Scotia in the 1770s. His research associate, Barbara De Wolfe, moreover, diligently combed through various relevant theses and other studies. In this impressive first installment of a proposed multi-volume series — *The Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* — Bailyn presents a comprehensive and detailed picture of British immigration to North America in the years 1773-1776. Bailyn sets out to synthesize and reorganize the available information about population movements between the Old World and the New. To make sense of the migration of thousands of individuals across the ocean, he searches for patterns to explain their actions and for individual accounts to determine the character of the peopling process. The result is a masterful work of historical interpretation which successfully transports the reader back in time and allows one to sense the thinking and mentality of the early immigrants.

Bailyn's approach in *Voyagers to the West* is obviously much indebted to the tools of social history. He relies heavily on quantitative data, made intelligible with the aid of an adept human research assistant and the newest non-human aid to historians, a computer. As well, Bailyn's interpretation concentrates on the experiences, not of the elite, but of ordinary farmers, artisans and laborers. Both techniques are advantageously combined, as Bailyn, in the first half of the book, uses quantitative analysis to create an overview of the migration process, identifying its participants, their backgrounds and motivations. From this panoramic view, Bailyn zeroes in on the experiences of individual immigrants and promoters in different regions of British North America, including Nova Scotia, and by using literary documents recreates their multifarious experiences.

Before presenting the quantitative data he has analyzed, Bailyn begins by setting the scene for the British-American migration. The movement of people across the Atlantic is portrayed, within a "push-pull" framework. Bailyn considers both the pressures pushing potential emigrants away from England and forces attracting people to North America. The New World, by 1775, had become attractive both as a refuge and as a land of opportunity for many Britons, he convincingly argues. Many people believed that one could achieve a better situation in British North America than ever was possible in Britain. With the increase in popularity of this belief, North America began to have a growing influence on British life. At the same time, the pool of potential emigrants from Britain was increasing, as a result of a number of factors. Bailyn argues that farmers had been hard hit by the conversion to commercial agriculture, which had encouraged rent profiteering, enclosures and absentee landlords. Economic distress

was further evident as a result of the structural changes in the linen and other textile industries. The effects of these events were compounded in the Scottish Highlands by the collapse of social organization due to the change in cultural role of the clan chieftain from warlord to landlord. Given these conditions, it is not surprising that a considerable number of people wished to leave their situation, but it is noteworthy that many of them decided to go to North America. The New World, Bailyn argues, was considered in the 1770s as "the best poor man's country in the world" and thus became a positive attraction in itself. Bailyn interprets the movement of the immigrants across the ocean as a continuing link between the Old World and the New. The American destination is considered, not only in itself, but on a continuum of options open to potential British emigrants.

The changing Anglo-American relationship, Bailyn notes, merited increasing critical attention in Britain. Officials and landlords became convinced that depopulation would fuel a radical social disturbance in the Old Country and that it posed as well a serious demographic, economic and cultural loss. In an effort to curb emigration from Britain, the government, under heavy pressure, altered the process of land distribution, so it could restrict and regulate land grants. As well, it undertook a statistical assessment of the extent of emigration.

The Register of emigrants, compiled between December 1773 and March 1776 listed 9,364 individuals who departed from England and Scotland for British North America. This documentary collection, gathered by customs officials, constitutes a detailed and comprehensive body of immigration data, which has never before been systematically analyzed in such a sophisticated manner by a historian. Bailyn's analysis of the data contained in the Register provides the statistical basis of his overview of the migration process. Before outlining the results of his analysis, Bailyn enumerates the shortcomings of his information source. Large areas of coastline were beyond the range of effective customs surveillance and, moreover, there was no legal requirement for vessels carrying emigrants to register with customs, and many ships picked up additional passengers after they had registered. Furthermore, it was up to local officials to decide who was and who was not an emigrant, a judgement coloured by class distinctions, and resulting in the coverage for the "gentle" occupations being indeed erratic. The accuracy of social data was also compromised when customs officials used vague terms and estimated personal information such as age.

Despite these shortcomings, the Register data provides a most revealing survey of British emigration in the 1770s. For Bailyn the movement of British people to North America was a dual migration. The "metropolitan" pattern, firstly, represented migrants from central and southern England. Emigrants were typically young men, in their early twenties, who travelled

alone to the New World on ships carrying a few passengers for extra profit. Usually single and trained as artisans or craftsmen, these individuals could not find regular employment in England and thus had no prospects at home. Most were drawn to North America for positive purposes, as their chances seemed better across the Atlantic. With hope for a better future in mind, these young men commonly indentured themselves to serve an American employer for four or five years in exchange for their passage. Bailyn also identifies a second pattern of emigration, which he characterizes as a "provincial" one, set in northern England and Scotland. Migration from this region was usually undertaken, not by single individuals, but by family units moving intact, including small children. The family character of emigration meant that the age and sex of emigrants was more evenly balanced than in the metropolitan pattern and that heads of households were typically older than the English average. Occupationally, Scottish emigrants represented two groups, a traditional labour force of farmers and labourers and a semi-industrial work force of artisans, mainly in textiles. The move across the Atlantic was typically a carefully planned step by Scottish families searching for personal betterment or security, often in the form of their own land, and it involved the selling of the family's assets in the Old World to pay for passage to the New in large ships chartered specially for that purpose.

The two emigration patterns that Bailyn identifies were distinctive, not only in their characteristics in Britain, but also in their experiences in North America. The quantitative data shows that the central colonies of Pennsylvania, Virginia and especially Maryland were the destinations of the majority of immigrants in the "metropolitan" stream. The newcomers, Bailyn argues, represented a specific kind of work force. The labour market in the central colonies favoured young workmen, mostly artisans, whose services could be bought by individuals in advance. The high degree of economic specialization in the region meant that specific skills were highly in demand. Since the backcountry was being opened and established communities were growing quickly, the labour needs centered on men skilled in construction trades. The experience of the "provincial" family migration, however, was markedly different. Most of these newcomers settled in New York, North Carolina or Nova Scotia. They represented, not a specific labour force, but a patterned social movement of often substantial families. They sought destinations where land was available for their resettlement and where they could thus recover lost security.

In his discussion of the quantitative data contained in the Register of emigrants, Bailyn identifies clear, coherent patterns in the seemingly random movement of individuals and families from the Old World to the New. He then proceeds to transfer the figures into human experience by recreating the career lines of both emigrants and emigration promoters in

the central colonies, Nova Scotia, North Carolina and New York. Bailyn concentrates first on the experiences of immigrants representing the "metropolitan" pattern. He focuses, in particular, on the large number of workers gathering in London. London, as the largest urban centre in the world, was a powerful magnetic force for migrant workers. As the economic centre of the nation, it was also the main source of recruitment for the American work force. Bailyn identifies the emigrants as coming from the newly arrived, mobile, disoriented segment of London's population. Migrant workers without connections in the city often had difficulty finding work. Even for resident skilled workers, unemployment was a constant condition of life. Emigration was thus a rational option for workers facing low wages or periodic unemployment or both. It represented "the specific expression of a general search by the labour force for stability in an unstable economy." Aside from skilled and migrant workers, North America also became a viable option for textile industry artisans who were being made redundant, for laborers and farm workers for whom agricultural employment had become highly unreliable, and for convicts whose death sentences were commuted to banishment.

The mobilization of British metropolitan workers on their way to America was undertaken by merchants and agents whose transactions were impelled by the search for profit. The profit motive is, for Bailyn, the root cause of the pattern of movement across the Atlantic. The merchants sought to enlist the indentees skilled in high-demand trades who would fetch the highest prices for their talents. Lined up on the ships like cattle, the indentees were carefully inspected by single potential buyers in America. The most valuable young men were sold individually and quickly and the rest were sold together for a lump sum, to be distributed by an American buyer. The immigrants were thus absorbed separately into the organization of life in America, their final destinations often being miles inland in the isolated backcountry.

The career lines of emigrants representing the "provincial" pattern reflected the different characteristics and motives of family groups, and another type of profit. Their motivation, Bailyn states, was both a search for security and for resettlement on their own land. In Britain, farmers and artisans were being dislodged by shifts in the organization of the economy, which threatened to debase their settled way of life. Ambitious for greater security and prospects for the future and eager to escape the progressive constriction of life taking place around them, they looked to North America as a land of opportunity. Many Yorkshire and Cumberland Methodists, for example, were also attracted to Nova Scotia by their desire for religious freedom. The immigrants felt their goals could be reached by taking advantage of the unclaimed land still available in North America to rebuild the family farm. On the American side, land speculators promoted colonization projects and migration schemes to entice settlers who would

subdue the wilderness and render the land profitable. Again, the profit motive was a strong force shaping the pattern of human movement.

Bailyn retraces the histories of immigrants to Nova Scotia and the American South in some detail. In both areas, settlers were drawn by the advertised prospect of land ownership or cheap rentals in a world free of the power of the landlords. For immigrants to Nova Scotia, the claims of the speculators misrepresented the real-life hardships they actually faced. The typical story was that of the family's assembled resources being exhausted in the process of transplantation and the family being involved in a struggle for mere survival. Eventually, after years of labour in often harsh conditions, they would establish a secure position in the frontier world.

In the last section, Bailyn concentrates further on the individual experiences of entrepreneurs and immigrants, outlining their hopes and motivations, successes and failures in the New York region. Again, land speculation was interpreted as the driving force behind the opening of new lands and the expansion of American settlement. Each promoter and emigration organizer worked independently and Bailyn illustrates the variety of processes by which transfer and relocation of people was accomplished, as well as the range of experiences the immigrants endured. He concludes by characterizing British North America as "a poor man's country in which some grew rich" and which, most importantly, offered the opportunity to become "independent."

In his *Voyagers to the West* Bailyn has, without question, masterfully recreated the process of immigration from Britain to North America on both a general and individual level. In so doing, he has outlined both the significant influence of the migrants on American life and the historical fact of America's considerable and growing impact on life in Britain. Bailyn argues, for example, that there was no typical New World community, but that the different character of migrants to various areas produced regional discordances in the evolving culture. On the other hand, the fact of emigration made Britain painfully aware of the changing nature of its relationship with its formerly insignificant colony.

There are some flaws, however, in Bailyn's important study. Bailyn seems overwhelmed by detail and does not entirely succeed in imposing a tight organizational framework on his material. He also surprisingly makes no mention of the role of political ideas in the lives of the new immigrants. Although the reader gains a general sense of the possible response of certain specific individuals to Revolutionary ideas, their political thought remains obscure. Given Bailyn's great interest in evolving Revolutionary ideology, it is surprising that there is so little stress placed on ideology in his new book. Although Bailyn concludes with an expression of the settlers' wish for personal independence, this statement is neither given meaning nor substance in any ideological sense.

It is certainly noteworthy that Bailyn has made such excellent use of recently-published and unpublished Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island immigration studies. For example, he has sensitively integrated into his own book the descriptive analysis provided by Professor Bumsted's articles on Scots emigration to Prince Edward Island as well as Donald MacKay's *Scotland Farewell: The People of the Hector* (Toronto, 1980), Graeme Wynn's article "Late Eighteenth Century Agriculture on the Bay of Fundy Marshlands" (*Acadiensis*, 1979) and E.C. Wright's *Planters and Pioneers* (Hantsport, 1978). Furthermore, Bailyn has underscored some of the real scholarly merits of James Snowdon's 1974 University of New Brunswick M.A. thesis, "Footprints in the Marsh Mud: Politics and Land Settlement in the Township of Sackville, 1760-1800." Bailyn has also, it should be pointed out, made excellent use of Brebner's *Neutral Yankees*.

Thus Bailyn in his *Voyages to the West* has accomplished two things with respect to the Maritimes in the 1770s. First, he has pulled the region into the mainstream of American scholarship. And, second, he has shown an exemplary awareness of some of the recent scholarship concerning Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, a greater awareness than most Central Canadian historians have shown in recent years.

Without question, the American book which has made the best and most effective use of the new and post-Brebner eighteenth-century Nova Scotia scholarship, and the Louisbourg Archives in particular, is John Robert McNeill's *Atlantic Empires of France and Spain: Louisbourg and Havana, 1700-1763* (Chapel Hill, 1985). McNeill's *Atlantic Empires* is a boldly conceived study in comparative history; some reviewers have described it as brilliantly innovative and a model for other historians to emulate. McNeill selected Havana and Louisbourg for comparison, as he put it, "not because their internal histories are especially similar — they are not — but because their assigned roles within their respective imperial systems were nearly identical, as were the problems of economic and defense policy." Their similar assigned imperial roles were affected by what is referred to and a fundamental "similarity in their geographic positions."³⁰ According to McNeill — and this is the central thesis of his study:

Both faced numerous, energetic, and generally hostile British neighbors. Both were well situated for a lively entrepot trade within their imperial systems, and an equally lively smuggling trade without. Both served as the military, commercial, demographic, and administrative centre of a strategic island. Both fulfilled administrative responsibilities in adjacent settlements. Each was nominally subject to a higher authority (the Viceroy of New Spain and the

30 McNeill, xv.

Governor of New France, respectively), but both found themselves largely autonomous in practice. Both were heavily and expensively fortified and thus became symbols of the might of their colonial empires. And last, but far from least, both channelled the production of highly valuable hinterlands to Europe. Of course, important differences existed. Europeans found Cuba a most unhealthy place and Louisbourg comparatively salubrious. Louisbourg's population never exceeded 5000 while Havana's approached 35,000 by 1760. But despite these and many other differences, imperial dilemmas and responsibilities in Havana and Louisbourg were very much the same. In comparing the two port cities I compare the ways in which different imperial systems responded to the same sorts of problems.³¹

Although there might have been some serious conceptual and evidentiary problems endured along the way, McNeill has been remarkably successful in bringing to fruition his scholarly ambitious and groundbreaking volume. There is, in my view, a ring of truth and perhaps muted frustration in McNeill's concluding paragraph:

The history of Louisbourg and Havana in the eighteenth century represents the interplay of imperial policy — conservative policy based on traditional methods — with colonial conditions. The population, geography, and natural resources of Cape Breton and Cuba, together with financial and naval limitations, defined the boundaries within which imperial policy could determine colonial history. Historians who have ignored these local factors in favour of imperial policy alone have misunderstood the importance of these island colonies, seeing their military roles as paramount. Other historians who have ignored imperial policy in order to concentrate on social and economic patterns in the new colonies (and precious few among these newer generation of historians have turned their attention to Cape Breton or Cuba) have failed to see the critical impact — often unintended — of imperial policies in shaping colonial destinies.³²

I am sure that McNeill is not, in any way, suggesting that younger scholars should turn their attention to Louisbourg and Havana as the centers of a crucially important unfolding historical dramas. Rather, with some justification, he is implicitly and explicitly suggesting that comparative history which cuts across national boundaries is both significant and

31 McNeill, xvi.

32 McNeill, 208.

suggestive. And his work, in my view, points in the direction in which, at least, some of the new eighteenth-century Nova Scotia scholarship, as well as American scholarship, should move.

McNeill's *Atlantic Empires*, owes a great deal — as his footnotes underscore — to what has been recently called “the Golden Age of Louisbourg historical scholarship.”³³ It is scholarship that has been significantly encouraged by the ongoing “Louisbourg Project” and also by the fact that, being on the periphery of the Brebner paradigm, it has a great deal of freedom for growth and experimentation. During the past two decades, scores of historical researchers have worked on the “Louisbourg Project.” But it has not been until recent years that their work has resulted in major monographs. The evidence suggests that the so-called “Golden Age” of Louisbourg historical scholarship is only beginning. At its best, this scholarship is absolutely first-rate, even within the general context of eighteenth-century North American and Anglo-French historiography. At its worst, it is second or third rate, even within the far more narrow confines of eighteenth-century Nova Scotia studies.

The best of these books, by far, is Christopher Moore's *Louisbourg Portraits: Life in an Eighteenth-Century Garrison Town* (Toronto, 1982). His imaginative reconstruction of Louisbourg's social life is both innovative and brilliantly executed. He has made remarkable use of the available primary sources, fleshing into two-dimensional perspectives often obscure personages from Louisbourg's eighteenth-century historical record. And he has done so by locating them and their lives firmly within the framework of recent historiographical developments. With good reason Professor James Axtell has contended that Moore's book “with deceptive ease” has “set new standards for scholarly and popular history.” According to Axtell, “Moore has crafted a personalization of the past that, if it could be widely emulated, would do much to bring back a deserting audience to history.”³⁴ *Louisbourg Portraits* is therefore perceived as a most unusual Canadian book; it is historical writing which American scholars not only emulate but also “envy.”

This same point, however, cannot be made concerning A.J.B. Johnston's two books, *The Summer of 1744: A Portrait of Life in 18th-Century Louisbourg* (Ottawa, 1983) and *Religion in Life at Louisbourg, 1773-1758* (Montreal, 1984) or of Bernard Pothier's *Course a L'Acadie: Journal de campagne de François Du Pont Duvivier en 1744* (Moncton, 1982), each of which, for different reasons, is a disappointing study. B.A. Balcom's slim 88-page *The Cod Fishery of Isle Royale, 1713-1758* (Ottawa, 1984), on the other hand, though not as significant or as suggestive as Moore's study, is nevertheless very well researched and on the whole cogently and lucidly

33 See my “Louisbourg Revisited,” *Acadiensis*, XIV, 1 (Autumn, 1984), 117.

34 *William and Mary Quarterly*, XLI, 1 (January 1984), 154.

written. It is a noteworthy addition to eighteenth-century North American economic history. Balcom is particularly impressive in his discussion of the economics of the fishery and its major participants. He convincingly argues that the Isle Royale cod fishery was of greater value to the Mother Country than the fur trade of New France. Moreover, "dried fish exports formed a crucial link in the establishing of a triangular flow of goods between France, Isle Royale and the French West Indies."³⁵ Balcom has succeeded, in a rather understated manner, in questioning the central role given to the fur trade in any discussion of France's involvement in North America. This is no mean achievement.

Another historiographical project, this one funded by the United Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces and not Ottawa, has also significantly affected the historiography of eighteenth-century Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. And, like the recent outburst of Louisbourg studies, the Baptist Heritage in Atlantic Canada series is located on the outer edges of Brebner's organizational framework. Thus far seven volumes have been published and each of these throw considerable light on the Yankee-Planter religious heritage, especially during and immediately following the American Revolution. The series, together with other studies associated with it, have, it has been correctly observed, resulted in the "Transformation of Maritime Baptist Historiography," and the confident locating of these studies on the so-called "cutting edge" of the discipline of religious history in Canada.³⁶ In 1979 G.E. Levy's *The Diary and Related Writings of the Reverend Joseph Dimock (1768-1846)* was published, followed in 1980 by B.M. Moody's collection of essays entitled *Repent and Believe* which contained among other things a long article on Harris Harding, "From New Light to Baptist." The following year witnessed the publication of B.C. Cuthbertson's valuable *Journal of the Reverend John Payzant (1749-1843)* and in 1982 *The Life of and Journal of the Rev. Mr. Henry Aline*, as edited by James Beverley and Barry Moody. In 1982 G.A. Rawlyk's *The New Light Letters and Spiritual Songs* was published and in the following year D.G. Bell's *The Newlight Baptist Journals of James Manning and James Innis*. In my view, this last book is the most important study published thus far about religion in pre-Confederation New Brunswick. The most recent volume in the series, *The Sermons of Henry Aline*, was published in 1986.

It should also be kept in mind that Gordon Stewart's Champlain Society's edition, *Documents Relating to the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1760 -1791*, was published in 1982, followed two years later by Rawlyk's *Ravished By The Spirit* (Montreal, 1984). In addition, there has

35 Balcom, 65.

36 D. Bell, "All Things New: The Transformation of Maritime Baptist Historiography," *The Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 4, 2 (November 1984), 70-81.

been a basic reassessment of the immediate post-Revolutionary impact of Methodism on Nova Scotia in Rawlyk's 1985 article on "Freeborn Garrettson and Nova Scotia,"³⁷ and in A.B. Robertson's suggestive "Charles Inglis and John Wesley: Church of England and Methodist Relations in Nova Scotia in the Late Eighteenth Century."³⁸ David Bell, moreover, has continued his ground-breaking work on religion in early New Brunswick with his "Charles Inglis and the Anglican Clergy of Loyalist New Brunswick" also published in 1987.³⁹

There have been a significant number of other articles dealing with the immediate Loyalist impact on New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. In fact, the evidence is overwhelming that Loyalist Maritime historiography is far more sophisticated and richly textured than is Upper Canadian Loyalist historiography. In the last few years very little of consequence has been written about the Upper Canadian Loyalist experience. According to Norman Knowles, writing in 1987, Upper Canadian Loyalist scholarship, despite the Loyalist Bicentennial celebrations "had not really progressed far beyond earlier studies by such historians as J.J. Talman, Adam Shortt, S.F. Wise and Gerald Craig."⁴⁰ Perhaps the only exception to this general rule is Jane Errington's recently published volume *The Eagle, the Lion and Upper Canada: A Developing Upper Canadian Ideology, 1784 to 1828* (Montreal, 1987).

On the other hand, Maritime Loyalist historical writing has taken a giant step forward in recent years. Black Loyalists, for example, have had two volumes published about their collective experience: E.G. Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks* (New York, 1976) and James Walker, *The Black Loyalists* (New York, 1976). In 1983 Brian Cuthbertson published *The Loyalist Governor: Biography of Sir John Wentworth*, a book criticized because of the "simplified version of Nova Scotia," presented and the "excessive claims about Wentworth's influence,"⁴¹ as well as the lack of research on the New Hampshire background. The same criticism about the lack of American background cannot be levelled at Cuthbertson's second Loyalist biography, *The First Bishop: A Biography of Charles Inglis* (Halifax, 1987). In this study, as was the case with his 1986 article "Faithful Missionary: The Young Charles Inglis,"⁴² Cuthbertson convincingly argues that while in New Jersey Inglis was a Methodist Evangelical. This

37 In R.P. Heitzenrater, ed., *Reflections upon Methodism During the American Bicentennial* (Dallas, 1985), 105-21.

38 *The Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 7, 1(June 1987), 48-63.

39 *The Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 7, 1(June 1987), 25-47.

40 See N. Knowles, "The Loyalist Tradition and the Adolphustown Centennial Celebrations of 1884," M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1987, 2.

41 See D. Wilson, "The Ambivalent Loyalists," *Acadiensis*, XIV, 1(Autumn 1984), 125-6.

42 See Nova Scotia Historical Society *Collections*, 42 (1986), 99-120.

fact may tell us a great deal about his subsequent intensely negative attitude towards Methodists and New Lights in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Two other major books about the Nova Scotia Loyalist experience have been published during the past four years: Marion Robertson's *Kings Bounty: A History of Early Shelburne Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1983) — a much neglected volume — and Neil MacKinnon's *This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791* (Montreal, 1985), a mature and persuasively-argued study.

Even though E.C. Wright's "landmark work"⁴³ *The Loyalist of New Brunswick* was published in 1955, it did not discourage two recent scholars from reassessing the Loyalist impact on New Brunswick. In 1983 the thoroughly researched and cogently written *Early Loyalist Saint John: The Origin of New Brunswick Politics, 1783-1786* (Fredericton, 1983) by David Bell appeared, and in 1984 Ann Condon's much revised Harvard Ph.D. dissertation was published under the title *The Envy of the American States: The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1984). Condon's work was history from the top down while Bell's was history from the bottom up even though his concluding section attempted to thrust the concept of Loyalty into the mainstream of nineteenth- and twentieth-century New Brunswick political culture. There is also, of course, Bumsted's valuable treatment of the Loyalists and Prince Edward Island to be found in his *Land, Settlement, and Politics on Eighteenth-Century Prince Edward Island* (Montreal, 1987). This book's treatment of Loyalism should be carefully viewed through the revisionist prism provided by Bumsted's *Understanding the Loyalists* (Sackville, 1986), a fleshing out of the central thesis of his 1979 article "Loyalists and Nationalist: An Essay on the Problem of Definition."⁴⁴

Is it merely a coincidence that where there is little evidence of Brebner's influence on eighteenth-century Maritime historiography, significant advances have been made in recent years? Perhaps not and perhaps it is unfair to blame Brebner for discouraging further research in a field that he had mined so thoroughly. Indeed it might also be argued that a basic reassessment of the Yankee immigration into Nova Scotia in the 1760s and 1770s did not take place because of Andrew Hill Clark. For at least a decade, in my view, Clark's declaration at the beginning of his magisterial *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison, 1968) frightened historians, especially those interested in historical demography, from this area of study. Clark underscored the fact that his *Acadia* was only "the first" volume of "two which will be devoted to an exposition of geographical change in the lands of Nova Scotia before that province,

43 See the very positive assessment of E.C. Wright's work in Bumsted, *Understanding the Loyalists*.

44 *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, VI (1979), 218-32.

rather painfully evolved out of Acadia and Isle Royal in the eighteenth century, joined most of the other units of British North America in the later nineteenth to form the Dominion of Canada.⁴⁵ I must confess that I discouraged not a few graduate students from moving into what I considered to be Clark's field. I was told in 1969 and the early 70s that the sequel would be imminently published — that all the maps were completed and that it was only a matter of time before the page proofs were returned to the publisher. When Clark died in 1975 the manuscript was still not close to being completed. By that time, most graduate students and other scholars interested in the eighteenth-century Maritime experience were being drawn to other areas, away from what J.S. Martel once called "the Boston-Bay of Fundy axis,"⁴⁶ to religion, Loyalism, Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island. And in the process they have helped to reshape the contours of eighteenth-century Maritime scholarship, even though most mainline Central and Western Canadian historians seem to be oblivious to the fact. And, moreover, because of the way in which the so-called leading edge of scholarship has in recent years cut through the century, the Planter period beckons the venturesome and the brave.⁴⁷

45 Clark, vii.

46 MacNutt, "Introduction" to Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees*, xvi.

47 There is a good overview of the 1750s and 1780s in J.G. Reid's recently published *Six Crucial Decades: Times of Change in the History of the Maritimes* (Halifax, 1987).