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As I am interested in social history I would like to look at three aspects of future Planter Studies. My major focus will be on ethnicity but I will also touch briefly on family studies and mythology. In all three themes I wish to stress a broadening of Planter research in order that an inclusive rather than an exclusive approach be encouraged in our studies of eighteenth-century Nova Scotia. All three aspects suggest a chronological broadening as well, with pre-1760 research playing an important role and oral research taking Planter Studies up to the present.

Nova Scotia is not nor ever has been an ethno-cultural monolith. Perhaps before the European invasion of the province this was true but even then there were inter-ethnic trade and marriage relations between the Micmac and other native groups. The cultural diversity of the province can be addressed at a number of levels but I will take only two. The first is the recognition of a diversity within the group that has been labelled the "Planters" who came on their own volition to re-settle a new colony. The second is the inter-relationships between the Planters and other ethnic groups of different language or colour. I am urging a consideration of the intra- and the inter-ethnocultural relations of this emerging migrant group in future research.

George Rawlyk, in his *Nova Scotia's-Massachusetts*, wrote of a "new New England," a coastal strip of peninsular Nova Scotia from Liverpool to Yarmouth and along the south coast of the Bay of Fundy to Truro and on to the St. John River. He calls these the "Yankee outsettlements." E.C. Wright analyses the origins of the migrants to some of these localities in her *Planters and Pioneers*.² The settlers in Barrington came from Cape Cod; those in Cornwallis and Horton were mostly Connecticut in origin; Falmouth and Newport settlers emigrated from Rhode Island; Truro, Onslow and Londonderry were settled by New Hampshire migrants; and Pictou by settlers from Philadelphia. Wright does not see the group as ethno-culturally monolithic in any sense.

In some cases generational settlement patterns themselves take on a kind of cultural identity. There were, for instance, Planters who departed from Scotland to become planters in Londonderry, Northern Ireland, in the 1670s, were subsequently replanted to Londonderry, New Hampshire, in

1 George Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts: A Study of Massachusetts-Nova Scotia Relations, 1630-1784* (Montreal, 1973), 222.

2 Esther Clark Wright, *Planters and Pioneers: Nova Scotia, 1749-1775* (Hantsport, 1982), 12.

1720, and again replanted in Londonderry, Nova Scotia, in 1760. An examination of such a group may go some way towards a new analysis of the questions of cultural integrity and cultural baggage raised by J.M. Bumsted in his presentation to this conference. What cultural continuity remains for such migrants? More bluntly, what "baggage" is brought and what "baggage" is left in each migration? What are the cultural connections and geographical connections between the old settlement and the new? How do the environmental and cultural influences shape that complex of values, morals and beliefs that become one's cultural persona and that differentiate one, perhaps radically, from others in one's group. Some presenters at this conference have identified the settlers of the Londonderry, Nova Scotia, area as Scotch-Irish and therefore not a part of the "New England" migration. Yet as Elizabeth Mancke pointed out in her fine presentation of the 1760s expansion of New England, the Londonderry settlers together with those in Liverpool, Nova Scotia, pooled their efforts to maintain an important aspect of the political culture of New England. Obviously, there is intra-cultural diversity but there are also several items in the cultural baggage that are the same.

The papers presented at this conference have returned frequently to the question of Loyalist-Planter relations. The vital interaction between these two important migrant groups to Nova Scotia begins in the last half of the eighteenth century and continues into the nineteenth century and, perhaps for those with long memories and particular grudges to settle, into the twentieth century as well. There are, however, other inter-ethnic dimensions here that have not been mentioned. The Blacks, the Micmacs and the Acadians were certainly here before either the Planters or the Loyalists. Scholarly attention to Planter relations with all pre-Loyalist ethnic groups promises to yield valuable insights into colonial Maritime history.

It is clear that not all Acadians were expelled in 1755-62 and many returned to the province within less than a decade of the Planter arrivals. Some Acadians assisted the Planters in re-constructing the demolished Acadian dykes. Yet we know little about the way Acadians reacted to these Planter invaders of their one-time homeland or how the Planters interacted with the Acadians.

When the lands of Nova Scotia were opened to the New Englanders in 1759, free Blacks were offered the same opportunities as Whites to settle. However, most Blacks came as slaves. Slaves were present in Liverpool in 1760, in New Glasgow in 1767 and in Bridgetown, Amherst, Onslow and Cornwallis by 1770. In 1770, Colonel Henry Denny Denson of Falmouth, Nova Scotia, held five and possibly as many as sixteen slaves at his Mount Denson home.³ Although the Black Loyalists have been made the subjects

3 Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* (Montreal, 1971), 27.

of several excellent studies, Black-White relations among the Planter migrants has yet to be investigated.

The Micmac of Nova Scotia shared the defeat of the French by the English but they were not expelled from the province. The influx of the new settlers who replaced the Acadians marked a new phase in White-Native relations. Contact between the Planters and the Micmac were in the areas of commerce and land. In the former instance the Planters operated the "truck houses" which maintained commercial contact with the native people.⁴ The latter issue, that of land, was even more vital. The new colonists paid little attention to the proclamation of Lieutenant Governor Jonathan Belcher which provided guidelines as to safeguarding Micmac land;⁵ consequently, Micmac land was alienated. The arrival of the Loyalists further exacerbated an already difficult situation. The Micmac method of land use was substantially altered and provisions and relief became a major point of contact between the white and the native population.

As noted above, the inter-ethnic relations between the Planters and their Black, Micmac and Acadian neighbours is an area that requires further attention if Planter "neighbours" are to escape the obscurity they hitherto shared with the Planters. The Planters, it must be remembered, brought with them their attitudes towards Blacks, Native people and Acadians that had developed in New England over the first half of the eighteenth century. A comparative look at what these attitudes entailed would be of value.

Two other aspects of future Planter Studies, family studies and mythology, also offer great promise. T. Punch has eloquently raised the possibilities of genealogy and family history. The last decade has seen a tremendous growth of interest in this old, yet new, area of social history. Without question, recent social history which now includes the study of women, labour, ethnicity and children has benefitted from the use of genealogical research. As all of these new areas are part and parcel of Planters Studies, the benefits of family research are obvious. A number of new approaches utilizing census results, oral tradition and computers can provide valuable insights into the study of the Planters and their descendants.

My third and final aspect of Planters Studies is related to those descendants noted above and the broader theme of mythology. Why in 1987 are we discussing the Planters? What traditional beliefs or long held

4 Elizabeth Ann Hutton, "Indian Affairs in Nova Scotia, 1760-1834," H.F. McGee, ed., *The Native Peoples of Atlantic Canada: A History of Indian European Relations* (Ottawa, 1983), 68.

5 G.P. Gould and A.J. Semple, *Our Land: The Maritimes* (Fredericton, 1980), 24-27.

views of the Planters are prevalent and how do these coincide with the reality of what is known? What mythology, be it Acadian, Scots or Planters, has been and/or continues to be created? Do Planter descendants perceive themselves to have particular and special attributes? How much oral tradition is carried through to the present and carefully guarded by these Planter descendants?

In the article that appeared in *Historical New Hampshire* in 1985, R. Stuart Wallace examined the development of identity among the "Scotch-Irish" in New Hampshire, a group which came to Nova Scotia in the 1760s as part of the Planter migration. Wallace noted that in 1720 the "Irish" arrived in various parts of New Hampshire.⁶ A century later with the emergence of such Scottish literary giants as Walter Scott, Robert Burns and David Hume a new ethnic group the "Scotch-Irish" began to emerge from those who had identified themselves as Irish. By the time Edward Parker published his *History of Londonderry, New Hampshire* in 1851, the settlers of 1720 had become Scots who spent a few years in Ireland before coming to America.⁷ It was obviously better to lay a claim to a Scottish heritage in the nineteenth century than an Irish one. What of the "heritage" claims of the Nova Scotia Planters in the nineteenth century and even in the twentieth century? Again what are the mythological claims of the present descendants of the Planters? Where do the myth and the reality superimpose? The use of oral tradition by researchers may raise some interesting insights not about what "Planters" were but what they thought they were and what many descendants may still think they are.

At this conference and in our future research on the Planters we must be aware of the danger of erecting a new mythology and a new exclusiveness about an admittedly understudied group. In our efforts to right the balance in Planters Studies, let us not in our enthusiasm tip the scales.

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As the last speaker, on the last program, on the last day of a 2-day conference, I feel like the caboose on a train. I am not sure whether you are here because you are waiting for the crossing gate to rise or because you want to see what the last car is like. Parks involvement with the Planters is

6 R. Stuart Wallace, "The Development of the Scotch-Irish Myth in New Hampshire," *Historical New Hampshire*, 40, 3 & 4 (Fall/Winter 1985), 110.

7 Rev. Edward L. Parker, *History of Londonderry* (Boston, 1851), 32-33.