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A HISTORY OF THE SOUTH MAGAZINE

AT FORT ANNE

by

Maxwell Sutherland

April 1973

NATIONAL AND HISTORIC PARKS BRANCH

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS AND NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT

ERRATA ( MRS # 110)

Page 1, paragraph 1: Insert "and" after 1880s".

Page 7, line 2: "aspects".

Page 9, paragraph 1: "settlers".

Page 33: "Board of Ordnance".

Page 39: After "A year later" insert "the War Department  
leased the fort to Harris Hall, a local  
citizen; and"

HISTORY OF THE SOUTH MAGAZINE  
AT  
FORT ANNE NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK

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Maxwell Sutherland

National Historic Sites Service

OTTAWA

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The Manuscript Report Series is printed in a limited number of copies and is intended for internal use by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Copies of each issue are distributed to various public repositories in Canada, for use by interested individuals.

Many of these reports will be published in Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History, and may be altered during the publishing process by editing or by further research.

This report is dedicated to everyone who had anything to do with the introduction of the measured drawings program as a means of recording early structures in our National Historic Parks and Sites. As the history of the powder magazine at Fort Anne shows, we could have used you decades ago. In another hundred years the people who repair the building and re-write its history will appreciate the drawings done in 1968 to the same degree that the writer has cursed their absence before that time.



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## PREFACE

When it appeared in 1968 that the powder magazine at Fort Anne National Historic Park would soon need repairs, archaeological excavation was carried out to determine the nature of the buried areaway around the building. The investigations of 1968-9 by W. Dendy, J. Rick and D. Herst showed that the areaway has undergone numerous alterations over a period of 200 years. The present report is prompted by the need for a structural history as background for decisions that may be made for the repair or restoration of the building, and should be read in conjunction with the archaeological report (see W. Dendy, Manuscript Report Series No. 82). It is also intended to supersede the brief preliminary report prepared by J. Kendall in 1966 (National Historic Sites Service, office report 203).

Some small discrepancies may be noted between my report and the historical information in the Dendy report, created by the incomplete state of historical research at the time he was writing. The date 1907 which appears in his summary of the evolution of the retaining wall as the approximate date of one of the wall repairs was an estimate on my part, and can be read as referring to the construction activity in either 1895-7 or 1924.

A minor problem of terminology arose when the present writer embarked on this report. For convenience the magazine is usually



referred to in the National Historic Sites Service as "No. 2 magazine" to distinguish it from the small arms store — powder magazine-dungeon—"black hole" under the west bastion. The history of the magazine in question, however, spans two regimes and more than two centuries, and the term "No. 2 magazine", aside from its objectionably antiseptic flavour, seemed inappropriate. Calling the building after the proper name of the bastion traps one's feet in a toponymical quagmire, since the bastions went through at least three changes of name. It can be assumed throughout that I am referring to the magazine in the more-or-less-south bastion whenever the terms "the magazine" and "the south magazine" occur, and whenever the subterranean building in the west bastion or the short-lived magazine in the southwest ditch is not specified.

People who cling to the notion that there is always an ultimate truth to be found may be disappointed to learn that the French engineer Labat spelled his surname in three different ways. There is something laudable about an age which did not consider name-spelling as a matter of crucial importance; and I have tried to enter into the spirit of things by arbitrarily selecting "Labat". When transcribing the French manuscripts, however, I have attempted to be as literal as possible, following Labat's spelling, his frequent disregard for diacritical marks, and his habit of running his words together.

The photographs which appear in this report are partly from the National Historic Sites Service collection and partly from

the collection at Fort Anne National Historic Park. The collecting done by park staff over the years, and the donations made to the park museum by area residents, have proved very useful for this study. The photographs at Fort Anne were copied for the N.H.S.S. collection in 1966 by Mr. George Munroe of Halifax. I am greatly indebted to Miss Glendean Buckler of Annapolis Royal, who made a personal gift of an original print of the photograph which appears as Figure 21. The old print which provided Figure 24 was given to me by the late Mrs. Fred Harris of that town some 20 years ago, when I was enjoying the privilege of growing up in Annapolis. Other copies of the latter photograph have not been found, although they undoubtedly exist. In both cases the availability of original prints for copying has diminished the loss of photographic quality that inevitably results from the offset printing process. Thanks are also due to the staff at Fort Anne National Historic Park for their co-operation, and to Miss Barbara Wilson of the Public Archives of Canada. Had she not directed me to the appropriate section of the enormous RG 9 collection, the last two chapters of this report could not have been written.

The small detail in several early photographs is important in tracing the structural history of the magazine, but since the early prints are suffering from wear and tear, and since the offset printing process results in a further loss of definition, readers may not be able to see the details discussed in the text. Departmental officials requiring access to the

glossy prints taken directly from the old photographs will have access to them in the National Historic Sites Service collection.

As a final note, the reader is encouraged to remember that the powder magazine, important though it is as a building of unusual age in Canada, represents only a small part of the history of Fort Anne. The trouble with a study of a particular building is that the historian, in attempting to place the structure within its historical context, can unwittingly make everything else revolve around it, just as the convex rear view mirror on a bus creates a solipsistic distortion and makes an overtaking vehicle the centre of the driver's view. The evolution of the fort at Annapolis Royal is a complex story, involving a hectic period of construction during the French regime and numerous repairs, enlargements and constrictions over the succeeding hundred years. During this time a good many buildings came and went as successive engineers wrestled with the problems of accommodating troops and providing better defences for the garrison. Fortunately the magazine reflects the highlights in the fort's construction history; but as a simple and necessary building with a single, limited function, its story is a less organic one than that of other features in the fort.



INTRODUCTION

"WHAT HAS A PARKS COMMISSION TO DO WITH THE WALLS OF AN ANTIQUE POWDER MAGAZINE?"

When Judge A.W. Savary of Annapolis Royal asked this question in the columns of The Spectator in 1919, Fort Anne had been a Dominion Park under the Department of the Interior for less than two years. Savary believed that the record of the previous owner, the Department of Militia and Defence, was on the whole a creditable one as a landlord of historic property. It had saved the old fort from commercial development in the 1880's, from 1895 to 1917 had provided money, the energy of its officers in Halifax and Saint John, and encouragement to the local supporters of preservation. The dilapidated officers' quarters had been patched up, the "black hole" in the west bastion almost rebuilt, the sally port preserved and the powder magazine given badly needed repairs.

By 1917, when Fort Anne was transferred to Interior as a Dominion Park, the magazine in the south bastion needed repairs again. Its roof covering was due for replacement. The retaining walls of the areaway had two centuries of practice in the annoying business of bulging outward, and showed clear signs of doing so again. Hence the Judge's question. Parks, to him, meant trees, shrubs, "Do Not Walk on the Grass" and the protection of animals. The Department of Militia and Defence,

he reasoned, would surely have repaired the magazine by then, had the fort remained with that arm of the government.

In short, Interior inherited a few problems with buildings when it assumed responsibility for Fort Anne. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada had not yet been formed, and the Dominion Parks Branch had no previous experience in the field of historical preservation. The repair of the magazine was one of the first preservation problems encountered by the department, and is perhaps the longest continuing problem. The building has a place of sorts, not only as the oldest building in the national historic sites system - and possibly the oldest documented surviving building in Canada outside the province of Quebec - but also in the chronicle of historical preservation in Canada. It has survived a wealth of good intentions and repairs, firstly by an active citizens' group sponsored by Militia in the 1890's, and by this department in the 1920's and 1940's, and without those good intentions and repairs it would not have survived.

Prior to that it had gone through nearly two hundred years of use, firstly as a powder magazine from 1708 to 1854, and then as a henhouse and storage shed until the 1890s. It survived the bombardment of 1710; an economy drive in 1769 that prompted the Board of Ordnance to demolish most of the fort buildings and ship the salvageable materials to St. John's; and a fire in 1830 when flaming debris from the adjacent barracks fell on its shingled cover. And it survived the

recurring malady of dampness, the pressure of earth against it at different periods, and the construction of new openings in the end walls. Through the years it has remained a constant fixture, while other features of the fort were changed, constricted or enlarged. Successive ranges of barracks have been constructed and demolished. Batteries have been placed and resited. The ramparts have collapsed from heavy rains and been shored up again and again. The south-west ravelin, built between 1702 and 1708, was supplemented by two others on the north east and south east in 1747. The subterranean building in the west bastion, the only possible rival to the magazine in age, has been rebuilt until it cannot be determined by historical documentation what structural relationship it bears to the original. The officers' quarters have been largely rebuilt in reinforced concrete, and only isolated sections of the walls, chimnies and fireplaces survive to demonstrate that the original construction was vastly different from the present. The gorge of the east bastion is occupied by a concrete workshop, a road has been built across the north east ravelin, monuments have been placed on the covered way, and between 1854 and 1860 half of the northeast curtain was shovelled into the ditch to provide a bed for the caretaker's garden. By accident, repeated repairs and its structural solidity, the powder magazine has endured.

As could be expected the magazine long ago became a local landmark and, in a limited way, a national one as well.

Thanks largely to the energy of the citizens' group in the 1890s, the rising popularity of local history, and the droves of tourists who came from "the Boston states" to visit relatives, follow the footsteps of Longfellow's Evangeline, or fish for trout under the tutelage of Micmac (and therefore romantic) guides, the ramparts of Fort Anne became widely known. Writers like Clara Dennis and Frank Oliver Call strolled over the grass-grown parapets, invariably facing downriver into the breeze that blew from France, or from England, or from Massachusetts, or from whatever geographical quarter caught their fancy. They sighed over the ghosts of vanished heroes and lamented the loss of so much stalwart blood, returning to Toronto or Boston to write such books as Down in Nova Scotia; and, when sales proved their writings profitable and respectable, More about Nova Scotia. Photos of the powder magazine were found in school texts, periodicals, postcards, centenary programmes, paper weights and the newspapers of New York, Boston and Guysborough. In the long, benign Edwardian summers, ladies in improbable hats posed in front of the magazine steps. The Governor of Massachusetts had his picture taken against a background of the local dignitaries, the members of the historical society and, barely visible through the self-conscious throng, the powder magazine. Visitors faithfully passed on the story that the magazine door swung on one French hinge and one British hinge; and the speeches that filled the parade square on the innumerable centenaries, bicentenaries and tercentenaries told



of our illustrious double heritage, of the marriage of lilies and roses, and the solemn necessity of cementing the national union more strongly, with action if necessary and, it seems, with rhetoric if possible.

Times have changed, and we are more blasé. The magazine has become another item in the national list of historical assets, and a score of national historic parks have been added since the days when Fort Anne stood virtually by itself. Louisbourg, where rebuilding is the physical objective, has naturally become associated in the public mind with French military construction. But existing buildings still require care, and now the powder magazine at Fort Anne National Historic Park is due for treatment again. Archaeological excavation has once more revealed the areaway and its bulging walls. Measured drawings have been made, and for the first time in its long existence the building is thoroughly recorded. Bearing in mind the history of this oldest structure in our national historic parks system, and its place in the story of historical preservation in Canada, the answer to Judge Savary's question obviously is, "A great deal".

## CHAPTER 1

Both writer and reader are fortunate that a complete history of the fort at Port Royal (Annapolis Royal) is not required here, since the attempt to unsnarl the chronology of the engineering works between 1688 and 1708 would drive the one to distraction and the other to exasperation. This is not to suggest that the story lacks interest: the fort at Port Royal is a minor lesson in the art of mismanaging a colony, illustrating the effects of harrasing conscientious officials while permitting abuses by those who feel that authority alone constitutes their justification. Merely by studying the construction history of the fort one can detect some of the reasons why France was to lose Acadia in 1710.

Fortunately the powder magazine is clearly and solely identified with the fort that was finally built, and had no connection with the temporary and half-finished earthworks that were thrown up before a definitive plan was followed. Yet the problems of the officials at Port Royal cannot be ignored completely, for every phase of construction, the erection of almost every building, brought forth financial crises and a host of charges and counter-charges as each responsible official defended his authority and sought to retain the King's favour. Even the documents which describe the construction contain this heady but distracting mixture of subject matter. It could hardly be otherwise in an imperial system which allowed officials

to act as checks on each other and took into account some rather personal aspect of their lives. The system fed on itself, for a minister bombarded with tale-bearing despatches about alleged chicanery, illegal trading, incompetence and fornication was sooner or later moved to remonstrate, thus encouraging informers. It was this situation which led d'Auger de Subercase, governor of Acadia and perhaps the ablest of the administrators at Port Royal, to make the oft-quoted remark that he was in as much need of a madhouse as a barracks ("autant besoin de petites maisons que de casernes").

Lieutenant Labat, engineer, joined this happy society in 1702, and immediately began work on the fort; precisely on July 15, according to him.<sup>1</sup> The prospect was not encouraging, even though Pontchartrain, the minister, had given him orders to build a strong fort, and this was more positive direction than Pasquine and Vincent de Saccardy, Labat's predecessors, had been given. To begin with, the ground he was to use could hardly be called virginal. He was confronted with the faint traces of small earthwork built at the river's edge about fifty years before, the remains of a ramshackle and half-finished stockade thrown up by Saccardy in 1689, and a strange, triangular enceinte built by Governor Mombeton de Brouillan the previous autumn.

Labat took the view that a practical man does not make bricks without straw, nor a pupil of Vauban a fort without bastions. If a fort was to be built, it should have a

four-bastioned trace with a proper glacis and cleared space around it. Ideally, however, there should be no new fort at all. Labat was the first of several observers, including the British inspector-general of fortifications in the 1850s, to question the construction of defences on the site of Port Royal-Annapolis Royal when the main source of danger, an enemy fleet, could be stopped by a well-built battery at the narrow passage (Digby Gut) that separates the Bay of Fundy from the river basin. Once through "l'entrée" a fleet could land troops in the basin without fear of the guns at Port Royal. A fort at the town, argued Labat, was "une dependance inutile" since it "ne garde que luy meme".<sup>2</sup>

Brouillan may have seen the sense of this argument, but a change of plans might cause a year's delay while Vauban's blessing was sought and the minister's approval obtained. Since Port Royal would be defenceless in the interim, he made Labat continue the work on the fort. By the time Labat's plans of a proposed battery at "l'entrée" reached Vauban's home in France, only a widow was there to receive them; and by the time Pontchartrain had realized the merits of the proposal for himself, Labat had built the foundations of the four-bastioned fort at Port Royal.

Despite irregular supplies, quarrels with Brouillan and constant disputes with the officers whose soldiers constituted the work force, Labat managed to lay the base of the earthwork by the summer of 1704. The next four years were spent in raising

the curtains and bastions to proper height, constructing buildings and repairing the new fort again and again. Pontchartrain had approved plans for a fort built partly in stone, because Labat's predecessors had warned the minister that the loose soil at Port Royal was unsuitable for permanent scarps. They also warned him that suitable stone was lacking at Port Royal, and would prove expensive. As it happened, the money cautiously doled out by Pontchartrain would not have gone far had it been expended on masonry. The penalty for parsimony became apparent almost immediately as the settler's cattle churned up the sods which held the ramparts in place, and the rains cut huge gullies in the sandy loam of the bastions and curtains. Deluged with accusations, Labat was forced to spend time and funds in revetting the scarps with timber.

Somehow the work went on, and Labat reported "les grands Travaux finis" on September 8, 1708.<sup>3</sup> He was referring to the earthworks and the most essential buildings, for there were numerous smaller features to be built. The completion was well timed. Supply ships from France were a rarity in the next two years. Subercase, Brouillan's successor as governor, was forced to encourage privateering raids on New England shipping as a means of getting supplies, to print card money so the colony would have a temporary currency, and to sell his silver service to finance the urgent repairs. The colony would be abandoned, threatened the minister redundantly, if more money and supplies were requested. The king was distracted

by France's problems in Europe, which is presumably why the minister did not reply to Subercase's despatches of December, 1708 until May of 1710. Even before the fort was finished Subercase had seen the wisdom of fortifying the entrance to the basin, and received Pontchartrain's reluctant permission to consult with Labat about ways and means; but by then the money was gone, and the minister's solicitude with it.

With this brief background one can perhaps understand why the construction of a permanent powder magazine in the fort was such a confused and protracted business, or perhaps wonder that one was built at all. It was finished in the summer of 1708,<sup>4</sup> and probably begun the previous year, but the need had been obvious from the moment the decision to build a definitive fort was taken. With an attack from Boston a possibility every spring, Labat had to concentrate on the defensive earthwork. The construction of buildings "peut venir avec les temps". In the meantime something had to be done with the powder on hand, and the conclusion one comes to after studying the various and often conflicting plans drawn by Labat is that by 1703 he had housed the powder in a "poudriere couverte de planches, et du gason plat par dessus" under the terreplein of the Bastion de Bourgogne (west bastion.)<sup>5</sup> This appears to be the "little magazine" described by the British occupants in the 1720s as "nothing but a hole digged into the Bastion the Earth sustained

with Boards propt up." He seems also to have built another underground magazine, this one of stone, immediately in front of the wooden one. This structure appears on one of his plans as a "souterrain de massonnerie" doing duty as a powder store in 1708, but he had originally intended it for small arms storage.

Whatever the case, Labat had no illusions about the storage facilities in the west bastion, and was planning for a proper stone magazine in the south bastion by early 1703 at least. His plan for the building, and the specifications for it, are attached as Figure 1 and Appendix 1. Two dates appear on the plan, the latter being more plausible since the specifications are dated 1703. The date is unimportant, for nothing was done to build the magazine before 1706, and probably before 1707. Figure 2 shows the state of Labat's labours in 1705, and the still-empty south bastion. Brouillan and the engineer had agreed on the need for powder storage, even if they agreed on little else during the governor's turbulent tenure, but there seems to have been a difference of opinion about the location, Brouillan defending his original choice of the west bastion. This apparently delayed matters, and by 1706 Labat considered the question urgent. "Il faut faire absolument un magasin a Poudre", he wrote, because the existing one "n'en peut tenir que 80 a 90 barrils et cette plein de touscoste".<sup>6</sup> This reference appears out of context in the "Extrait des Lettres de l'Acadie de l'Année 1706" in the

microfilmed version of the disorganized and incomplete papers of the Depot des Fortifications des Colonies. Since the extracts are from letters written to Pontchartrain, it appears that Labat took his case to the minister, which explains the following order from Pontchartrain to Subercase, the new governor, in June 1707:<sup>7</sup>

Sa majesté se remet a vous de faire faire un magasin a poudre puisque celui dont se sert n'en peut tenir que 80 a 90 barils et qu'il pleut.

Subercase was also reminded that questions of engineering should be left to Labat, and that the two were expected to get along with each other. They tried each other sorely even though Subercase was a far more polished and amiable man than Brouillan, pitying the engineer rather than disliking him. In what was intended as a charitable gesture, he described Labat as not accountable for his actions "parce que la lune influë beaucoup sur la cervelle".<sup>8</sup> There is little doubt that Labat's innumerable misfortunes at Port Royal had turned him into a man "fort inquiet et fort turbulent",<sup>9</sup> given to roaming the ramparts with musket in hand, shooting the cattle which grazed on the crumbling earthworks and contributed to the continual landslides. Unfortunately there is no justification in a serious paper for the suggestion that Labat may have been the only sane man at Port Royal.



Subercase and Labat had no severe arguments over the buildings, and once the order to construct the powder magazine was received, no more delays ensued. The governor reported in December 1708 that the fort was "en état de faire une bonne deffence", that the barracks were finally finished, and that he had made "une poudrière capable de contenir soixante millier de poudre...a l'épreuve de la bombe".<sup>10</sup> The minister wrote a grudging approval seventeen months later and forbade any more expenditures without express orders.

A comparison of Labat's plan of 1703 (Figure 1) with his plan of 1708 (Figure 3) and the measured drawings of 1968-9 shows that he built the magazine much as he had planned it, but with a less substantial foundation. Also, he shortened its length from the 36 pieds he originally had in mind, perhaps to leave room for a shooting platform in the bastion to the rear, as he did when designing the bakery and forge in the north bastion and the "magasin des vivres" in the east. More likely he was still cherishing the hope of building a new "salle des armes" behind the magazine to replace the stone one, "mal construit", that Brouillan had forced him to install under the west bastion. He abandoned the idea, eventually supplementing the stone "salle des armes" by a frame building placed above and in front of it.

The question of where Labat obtained the workable, light-coloured stone for the arch of the magazine is of some interest, if only because numerous visitors to the fort have

remarked on it for nearly a century. No evidence exists as yet to contradict the universal assumption that the arch is made of Caen limestone from France, nor is the theory in any way improbable. Supply ships arrived at Port Royal from France at least annually until 1708, and ships require ballast. If the historian's interest is aroused, it is because widely varying dates and means of arrival have been ascribed to the stone. It was allegedly requested by Governor Meneval in the 1680s, or by Governor Villebon in the 1690s, or by Brouillan in 1702: it came on the supply vessel La Loire, on L'Eléphant, or on La Seine. All that is certain is that the governors were aware of the scarcity of good stone for finished work; that Brouillan asked for an Acadia-bound ship to be ballasted with limestone in 1702; and that he thought an effort should also be made to collect limestone from the Saint John River. Almost equally certain is that the stone for the arch was not yet available in the summer of 1707, and possibly not available until the summer of 1708 when the building was under construction. Labat noted in December 1708 that in "le mois daoust dernier" (1707 or 1708?) Subercase had ordered him to send a boat "a l'entree chercher du moilon pour la vouste d'une poudriere qu'il faisait faire ..."<sup>11</sup> There is no limestone at Digby Gut, and since the arch is certainly not made of the basalt, or trap rock, which forms the hills on both sides of the entrance, it seems that the arch stone arrived after that time.

That Labat actually built the areaway and retaining walls

as shown on his 1703 and 1708 plans may seem a reasonable assumption; but because the nature of the areaway is a recurring question throughout the magazine's existence, it should be noted that there is some uncertainty even at this early stage, caused by Labat's maps and plans. Denys de Bonaventure, second in command at Port Royal, heaped his share of opprobrium on the unfortunate engineer, remarking that "il a plus travaillé sur le papier que sur le terrain".<sup>12</sup> Whether this was true or not, it must be admitted that Labat could draw attractive plans. This talent cannot truly be appreciated by sole recourse to his draughts of fortifications, for it is only displayed fully when he turns cartographer, as he did when he prepared the full-colour "Plan du Cours de la Riviere du Dauphin, et du Fort du Port Royal...." This work was finished shortly after Labat left Acadia late in 1710, and as the title indicates was intended to show details of both the country and the fort. It is the inset of the fort (Figure 4) on this plan which creates an uneasy feeling about the eight-sided areaway shown on the 1703 and 1708 plans (Figures 1 and 3). On the 1710-1 inset Labat shows areaways around the buildings in the other bastions, consistently with his earlier, more formal plans; but no areaway is depicted around the magazine in the south bastion. In fact, this relatively incidental plan may be the most reliable illustration available of the fort as actually built. The buildings known to have been completed by 1710 are coloured red, while the unfinished or proposed

structures are shown in yellow, indicating that even then the fort was not completed to the last detail. The plan does not prove the absence of any areaway around the south magazine at this time, but it raises strong doubts about its nature.

Without any information about the areaway, and giving Labat the benefit of the doubt, one might surmise that either the areaway was extremely narrow or the magazine was fitted with a roof cover that spanned the areaway.

Then again the question may arise simply because of a cartographic lapse on Labat's part; but the explanation sounds hollow when one notices that no plans drawn in the ensuing fifty years show the constricted approach that he depicts on his earlier plans, and neglected to show on the 1710-1 inset. The nagging doubts persist, and probably will never be removed: did Labat, pressed for funds and reminded by Subercase that "les bastonnais" were expected daily, abandon his plans for a proper areaway and resort to wooden revetment to keep the earth away from the magazine walls? Or was he forced to forego the areaway entirely, merely shovelling the sides of the excavation he made in the bastion into a more or less stable slope?

He would probably have considered the matter academic, for in October the New Englanders came. They brought the rankling memory of the defeats that the energetic Subercase had handed them on two occasions in 1708. More importantly, they brought artillery, significantly the first and only assault force to

use this obvious weapon seriously against Port Royal - Annapolis Royal, and the only one to succeed. Seemingly abandoned by France, Subercase had little choice but to yield to the pleas of his demoralized troops and their panic-stricken families when the British mortars began to pound the fort. Several buildings were hit, and a shell struck the powder magazine, or the ground near it, removing a chunk from one corner. <sup>13</sup>

On October 12 (n.s.) the tired French garrison marched out and the New Englanders marched in. The new occupants saluted the old with a mixture of admiration, pity and chagrin; for in a final characteristic flash of resourcefulness, Subercase had obtained generous terms by convincing the British leaders that his troops and fort were in a better condition for a protracted siege than was actually the case. The victors found that the fort, nerve center of the Port Royal that was known along the seaboard as the bane of protestants and New England commerce, was noisome and in disrepair. They hoisted the British flag and renamed the settlement Annapolis Royal in honour of the queen. Otherwise the change was not to be very noticeable for the next few years. Nova Scotia had passed from the hands of a neglectful France into the hands of a neglectful England.

Labat went home with his countrymen and his unfinished draughts of the Port Royal area. Like several ex-officials from Acadia, he was saddened by France's performance as an

imperial power, but not disheartened. He finished his "Plan...de la Riviere du Dauphin, et du Fort..." shortly afterwards, writing an elaborate legend full of notations and helpful hints to illustrate his view that Acadia was worth retaking. He carefully marked the exact spot at "l'entrée" where he had once hoped to build a battery, and could not forbear remarking

Si les avis du Sr. la Bat Ingenr. avoient este Ecoutés....

## CHAPTER 2

The New Englanders who marched into the fort after the capitulation were surprised to learn that they had been bombarding a ragged garrison, while the officers responsible for repairing the fort and making it habitable for the new occupants were surprised to find it so dilapidated. Major Alexander Forbes, the engineer, did what he could to clear away the debris, fill the gaps in the parapets and patch the filth-choked drains. He left a record of the general condition of the fort as he found it, and listed the magazines among the buildings requiring repair without specifying whether their damaged state was due to the cannonading or neglect.<sup>1</sup> In June 1711, shortly before he was killed, he wrote another statement in which he reminisced that after the capture "there was a great deal of work in putting the Magazines in order".<sup>2</sup> The term "magazine" was frequently used in reference to any store house, and at most one can assume that all of the storage facilities in the fort, including the powder magazines, were in need of repair.

Despite the neglect which the fort and its garrison suffered during the next few years, the powder magazines appear to have remained serviceable. In 1714 George Vane, Forbes' successor, made a survey of the buildings in the fort and found "...both ye Powder Magazines in a very good condition."<sup>3</sup> By 1722, however, the magazine in the south bastion

was proving unsatisfactory and powder storage was becoming a serious problem: <sup>4</sup>

We are also now moving and shifting the Powder, which (by reason of the outward talus of the Ramparts pressing on the Walls of the Grand Magazin thereby communicating a great Damp and stopping the Air, and the little Room there is for such quantity of Powder) will be found in good measure considerably dammag'd.

The problem of space is clearly explained by the assistant engineer, John Milledge, in a letter to Major Mascarene in October, 1723:<sup>5</sup>

The Magazines are so crowded that 'tis impossible to turn or shift the Powder without emptying the Magazines completely... and tis almost a miracle this Garrison has hitherto escap'd being blown up....

...and where four or five tear of barrells is att most to be allow'd we are oblig'd to ride seven and join the Rows close together and to fill the middle almost chuckfull.

The great Magazine is a piece of very good work and will conveniently hold 200 Barrells but no much beyond it.

The engineers' difficulties with the powder arose from three related circumstances: too much powder left over from the



1710 expedition, dampness in the magazine in the south bastion, and the crumbling condition of the subterranean one in the west bastion. Strangely enough, the latter was considered the better housing for powder although in a state of imminent collapse, being "nothing but a hole digged into the Bastion and the Earth sustained with Boards propt up...."<sup>6</sup> In short, the west magazine was unsound but suitable for keeping powder; the south one was a sound structure but inimical to the preservation of powder. Reference to the reason can be found in a representation on the state of the fort drawn up by the officers of the garrison in November, 1726: <sup>7</sup>

The great Magazine tho' a good Building will not preserve the powder that is in it for want of Air it being close round with earth from the Ramparts standing in the middle of the Bastion which had stopt up the air windows it had."

Two weeks later the "little" magazine under the west bastion collapsed.<sup>8</sup> Since it was shored up again, and presumably re-used, it is impossible to be certain which building Major Armstrong was referring to on December 24 when he wrote that the "best Magazine" was "Intirely Sunk by the badness of the foundation to the Detriment of our best powder...."<sup>9</sup>

Presumably the south magazine was repaired and the earth at least pushed back from the side vents, because there are no allusions whatever to its condition, or that of the west one, or to alternative storage arrangements, between 1726 and

1740. Figure 5, which is from a map dated 1725, may reflect the nature of the problem with the south magazine in that no areaway is shown around the building. It is mainly useful for its consonance with Labat's plan of 1710-1 (Figure 4), and one is forced to conclude that, whatever the nature of the areaway, it was decidedly more narrow, or less well built, than that provided by Labat for the structures in the other three bastions.

The fort continued to deteriorate over the next decade, the ramparts crumbling "in Breaches sufficiently wide for fifty men to enter abreast...."<sup>10</sup> The Board of Ordnance, employer of engineers and caretaker of fortifications, finally relaxed its penury toward the fledgling province of Nova Scotia and the struggling little capital of Annapolis Royal sometime between 1737 and 1740. A dozen artificers and an engineer, James Wibault, had arrived there by 1740. Wibault produced the first detailed description of the fort and its buildings, and made recommendations for putting the place in a defensible condition. Wibault's remarks about the powder magazine in the south bastion are reproduced in full as Appendix 2, except for his brief recommendation, found in the summary of his report, "that the Powder Magazine be made Bombproof".<sup>11</sup> This is a curious recommendation, considering that at no other period in the fort's history is the magazine called anything but bombproof. He also recommended in another part of the report that "Ragg Slat", apparently a kind of slate, be

gathered at Minas Basin and brought to Annapolis since it was "the properest covering for Powder Magazines".

The interpretation of Wibault's plan of the magazine (Figure 6) is a tentative business. His eleven plans of buildings in the fort square seem to show a regard for proportions and dimensions, but are obviously not intended to record details or materials. He says in his report that the "Floor is two foot lower than the Level of the ground on the outside....", and this is indicated on the plan. It is not clear, however, how the earth of the bastion is held back from the walls of the building, or how great the distance is between the building and the terreplein of the bastion. In the case of the building in the gorge of the north bastion he clearly shows how it is set into the bastion, and the retaining walls, verifying the earlier French plans. Yet the storehouse in the gorge of the east bastion, and the armory in the west, are not shown as being set into the bastions as the French plans show them and as the later plans of the 1750s show them, and it is apparent that Wibault is inconsistent in this respect. The chief value of the magazine plan lies in its delineation of dimensions, the revelation that a porch existed at the entrance by 1740 and the indication that the earth was no longer pressing against the walls to the extent it was in 1722 and 1726.

Wibault's first choice of a remedy was to rebuild the fort with a foundation of masonry. His second choice was to

construct a seaward battery at the entrance to the basin - Labat's old plan - together with a similar battery on Goat Island to defend the entrance from the basin to the river. The Board of Ordnance apparently accepted the first alternative, and several years were spent in assembling materials for the reconstruction. The outbreak of war in 1744, however, prevented a start being made, and the materials laboriously collected for the reconstruction were expended on patching the existing fort between assaults by Indians and French forces. A good deal of work was done by the British garrison and the New England auxiliaries sent by Governor Shirley of Massachusetts to make the place defensible; and by 1747 the fort was in its strongest state since the original construction. Most of the effort, made under the direction of John Henry Bastide and William Cowley, went into revetting the scarp and counterscarp with timber and constructing the southeast and northeast ravelins, but there is no record of any work that may have been done on the buildings in the fort other than the repairs to the men's barracks.

From this point to the turn of the 19th century most of the information available about the magazine must come from plans. There are two reasons for the lack of written documentation. Firstly, the British engineers at Annapolis Royal, being employees of the Board of Ordnance, were directly accountable to that body and were under no necessity of submitting their reports to the senior resident military officer

except in cases of emergency. They could, and sometimes did, report to him by providing him with copies of their communications to the Board, but this courtesy depended on the goodwill or political astuteness of the individual engineer rather than necessity, and during this period it proved to be a clear exception. Consequently the military correspondence of the period provides few clues to what went on at Annapolis Royal during the balance of the 18th century. Any reports by the resident engineer officers at Annapolis (assuming that the reports survive) are still in the records of the Board of Ordnance in the Public Records Office, and only a part of these records have been made available in Canada. Secondly and less importantly, the Board of Ordnance and the army itself were not yet highly organized bodies. While the 18th century was in some respects an age of formalities, it was not particularly an age of forms, and it is not until the turn of the next century that the growth of regular procedures and the proliferation of paperwork increases the chances of finding documentation.

A review of the history of Annapolis Royal, firstly as the fortified capital of Nova Scotia and after the founding of Halifax in 1749 as a garrisoned outpost, leads to the conclusion that the Board of Ordnance had a talent for exercising its influence at the wrong place at the wrong time. In general it had ignored the garrison in the thirty years following the capitulation - although both the Lords of Trade

and the Lords of the Treasury seemed equally indifferent at times to the fate of the new colony - and now, with Halifax newly established as a struggling and poorly fortified capital, it took the former capital of Annapolis Royal thoroughly under its paternalistic wings and poured money and staff into its strategically less important earthwork. "Annapolis Royal is well attended to", grumbled Lord Cornwallis in 1750, noting that Halifax would prosper too if it were placed under the Board of Ordnance.<sup>12</sup> In the 1750s Annapolis seems to have had the services of as many engineers as Gibraltar!

There are a number of plans of the fort at Annapolis Royal dating from the 1750s, and several undated ones which appear to be from the same era. These plans (Figures 7, 8, 9) show that by 1754 another powder magazine had been constructed in the ditch between the southwest curtain and the southwest ravelin. Presumably this was to provide additional powder storage, but possibly also to supplant the south magazine, since what seems to be the earliest of the plans (Figure 7) gives no clear indication that the earth was being held back from the magazine walls at this period. The double line with which the magazine is drawn may indicate simply the magazine walls, or it may indicate a retaining wall all around it. Most likely it indicates imprecise draughtmanship (one gun platform is shown as intersecting the magazine wall) and a warning that the plan was not intended to be detailed. Retaining walls are clearly shown around the buildings in the other bastions,

however, and it is only in the south bastion that the wall delineation becomes indeterminate. The plan appears to be an attempt to fit the actual buildings into a stylized and formal drawing of a fortification trace. While it may be the work of Matthew Dixon, who was at Annapolis in the mid-1750s, it was more likely drawn by either William Comburn or William Cowley between 1748 and 1752. The plans drawn by William Bontein (Figure 8) and Matthew Dixon (Figure 9) are more reliable, and incidentally are products of the first generation of British military engineers to be recognized, although often grudgingly, by their contemporaries as professionals. The problem of interpreting the magazine remains, but both plans show the porch first outlined by Wibault in 1740. The Bontein plan of 1754, however, shows an areaway around both long walls, while the Dixon plan of 1756 explicitly shows the retaining walls making a right-angled turn toward the magazine near the front corners, indicating some construction or repair activity during this period. The dotted line forming a rectangle in front of the magazine on both plans may represent drains, but more likely it indicates a palisade closing off the magazine from the parade square.

It is virtually impossible to distinguish between the actual state of the fort and the proposals for improving it by studying these plans without reference to preceding and succeeding plans and documents. In considering the history of the fort at Annapolis Royal at any time up to the 1760s

the reader is well advised to heed the unintentionally useful remark made by Lieutenant John Knox, who arrived there a year after Dixon drew his plan: <sup>13</sup>

I dare say a draught of this place, thrown into perspective, would appear very respectable, but I am sorry I cannot say it is so in reality.

He was complimentary about the location, the ditch and the artillery, but otherwise he found the place "in a ruinous condition". The engineer had a staff at his disposal, and the garrison worked away at the fortifications, patching and repairing. Yet the commanding officer could not get a dry roof over his soldiers' heads, the engineer being forbidden to spend money on the decrepit barracks. The same barracks had been extensively repaired only six years before by William Cowley. Both contemporary observers and later writers remarked on the enormous sums of money spent by the Board of Ordnance on the fort, and it appears from the sketchy estimates available for the 1750s that at least £20,000 had been used by 1761, and possibly as much as £30,000.<sup>14</sup> In all fairness to the engineers of the 1750s, however, it should be noted that the condition seemed chronic, and that the engineers themselves expressed bafflement at the work of their predecessors. Major Mascarene had commented on the waste of money in unskilled work as early as 1720, and Wibault in turn sniffed at the want of skill displayed before 1740.



The Board of Ordnance seemed undaunted at the lack of progress, and with the removal of any serious threat from France in the late 1750s, determined, of all things, to revive the old proposal to rebuild the fort in masonry. Another engineer, Captain Lieutenant Robert George Bruce, was despatched hurriedly to Annapolis in the summer of 1761, so hurriedly in fact that the Board did not take time to give him particular instructions before he sailed.<sup>15</sup> He spent most of the year and the next making himself useful to his colleagues in Halifax, surveying on the Saint John River, and reporting on what should be done at Annapolis and Fort Cumberland. He finally received specific orders to put a masonry foundation around the fort in February, 1763, somewhat to the bafflement of Lord Amherst, commander-in-chief in North America, who was doing his best to carry out his orders to observe the utmost economy.<sup>16</sup> Large contracts were let in England and Boston, and by 1766 good deal of money had been spent in materials and in laying the foundation. Then came an abrupt order to stop the work.<sup>17</sup> Bruce left, the fort began to crumble again, and in 1770 the Board of Ordnance ordered the new buildings dismantled, the foundation removed, and the salvagable materials shipped to St. John's where a new fort was being built.<sup>18</sup> Possibly the only sign of Bruce's labours now extant is the stone facing of the counterscarp opposite the east bastion.

He left a legacy of plans, and partial evidence of what had been done to the powder magazine. The starting point is

his plan of June, 1763 (Figure 10) which illustrates what he had been able to do since receiving his orders. This plan, like the others done by him or under his direction, and the ones drawn by his colleagues of other fortifications, mark a change in the style of drawing that marked preceding generations of engineers. The representation of formal fortification traces has been succeeded by partial attempts to depict state or condition as well as ideal form. It will be noted that the new outer magazine in the gorge of the southwest ravelin, although built no more than fifteen years before, had been demolished by 1763 (the letters P and O have been erroneously transposed in legend), leaving the south magazine once again as the sole storage space for powder. Dixon had shown the outer magazine on his accompanying profiles (not included in Figure 9) with props supporting its southwest wall, and it is reasonable to assume that the south magazine was returned to active use shortly thereafter, if that use in fact had ever been interrupted by the addition of the outer magazine. The 1763 plan in Figure 10 shows an areaway around the south magazine, and if the plan is correct in this respect, one may conclude that it had been repaired between 1756, when Dixon's plan was drawn, and 1763.

Interesting though the June 1763 plan may be, it is less significant than what happened during the six months of working weather between June and November. The evidence, perversely, shows up in a plan that was drawn mainly to depict the land

around the fort and to illustrate Bruce's proposal to evict squatters, eliminate encroachments and create a proper glacis around the fort (Figure 11). The square or rectangular area at the rear of the magazine first appears on this plan. Taking the Bruce plan and the Bontein-Dixon draughts, one begins to wonder if the magazine at this period is acquiring a distinct and properly-built areaway for the first time since its construction. The rear square or rectangle was found and excavated in 1968-9 by Dendy, Rick and Herst.

At the risk of clouding the issue, another plan dating from the period of Bruce's residence at Annapolis Royal should be considered (Figures 12 and 13). At first glance this plan, made in July, 1764, seems to be merely a faithful copy of the November 1763 plan, made perhaps for the use of the engineer officers in Halifax or for the office records of the Board of Ordnance. In fact the draughtsman, Thomas Smart, has noted on the plan that he "copied" it on July 17, 1764. Smart is known to have been a practitioner (i.e., an apprentice engineer) in the Board's service, and while it is possible that he was in Halifax or even Annapolis at the time, it is more likely that he copied the plan while employed in the Board offices in London. Yet the plan requires study because variations in the way the fort buildings are rendered indicate that Smart had information about the buildings that he could not have obtained solely from the 1763 plan. He correctly shows the square building opposite the southwest curtain for

what it was - a double casemate. This leads to the probability that he used other plans provided by Bruce or his staff, and not now available, as well as the November, 1763 plan. In any event, the main point of interest lies in the depiction of the magazine as a building distinctly set away from the walls around it, including the walls of the area behind. The November, 1763 plan is less precise on this point.

The demolition of buildings at Annapolis Royal in 1770 was supposed to be complete. Those materials which could not be transported to St. John's were to be let at public auction, and if the instructions from England had been carried out by the engineers in Nova Scotia to the letter, there would not have been a structure standing in the fort a year later. Since the powder magazine, casemated barracks, the largest range of mens and officers' barracks, the provision store and the ordnance shops constructed during Bruce's tenure were still standing in the 1790s, it is obvious that the local engineers used a good deal of latitude in judging what buildings could be transported, and removed only Bruce's masonry foundation and those buildings which were already old and decrepit at the time.

The next segment of the magazine's history begins in the 1790s when Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, was commander-in-chief in Nova Scotia. By that time the fort had been without regular maintenance for more than twenty years, detachments being stationed there only intermittently. The war between Great

Britain and France, and real or imagined sightings of French ships off the coast, had created a feeling of emergency in Nova Scotia. Edward's predecessor as senior military officer, General Ogilvie, was less alarmed than the people, coolly recalling the existing ammunition and stores from Annapolis to Halifax at the very time the governor of the province was requesting increased protection for the former capital.<sup>19</sup> Only a small detachment was left there, with twelve barrels of powder in the magazine. Events and the advantage of hindsight show that Ogilvie was right; but the uneasiness in Nova Scotia was very real, and when Edward arrived in 1794 he sent the troops to their stations and the engineers to their drawing boards.

The fort at Annapolis Royal, along with the defences at Halifax, received considerable attention during Edward's tenure as commander-in-chief. In the usual absence of the reports and estimates sent home by the engineers, information has to be gleaned mostly from plans again. Being a prince of the realm did not relieve him of the necessity of submitting his plans through the commanding royal engineer, even though that officer was a mere captain; and neither the cabinet nor the Board or Ordnance allowed him to forget it.<sup>20</sup> He proved adept in circumventing some of the red tape in which the imperial authorities tried to entangle him, however, mostly because the local junior engineers, overseers of works and storekeepers were apparently very loyal to him. Some of the work at both

Halifax and Annapolis, but particularly at the latter, seems to have been done very discreetly, making it difficult to determine just how much he accomplished.<sup>21</sup> There is only one known plan (Figure 14) showing the fort at Annapolis at this period. It indicates the state of the fort before work was started, while a separate legend (not reproduced) lists the alterations which Edward and the engineers wished to make. Consequently it provides clues to the work done by Bruce thirty years before, and is useful as proof that the so-called demolition of 1770 had been far less complete than the Board of Ordnance had intended. In respect to the magazine, the legend simply notes that it was "to be repaired". The plan is not dated, but can be placed between 1795, when Lieutenant William Fenwick, RE, was transferred from New Brunswick to Halifax and 1796, when Captain J. Straton, CRE, referred to the "Works carrying on" at Annapolis.<sup>22</sup>

The plan leads to speculation that the double-pitched roof spanning the magazine's areaway precedes the work of the 1790s. It may have been put on following Bruce's departure in 1776 or 1767, or it may have originated in Bruce's day, being installed before 1766 but after the 1763-4 plans. The roof over the rear rectangle in the areaway is represented as a continuation of the main roof. In one respect the inset depicting the magazine (Figure 15) seems to show a proposed change. The original, in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, is coloured in a very naturalistic way, the magazine being

rendered in greys and soft earth colours; but the little arches connecting the magazine walls with the areaway walls are tinted red, indicating a proposed revision. There is no evidence to show whether this feature was actually built. Photographs of the 1880s and 1890s do not reveal any ledges or insets in the stonework that would have anchored such arches. The building is represented as having a plank floor, and two vertical ventilation shafts at the rear. If, as appears most likely, the rectangular area at the back of the building, first shown on the 1763-4 plans, was built to solve the old problem of poor ventilation, one is led to conclude that the ventilation shafts at the rear, and probably at the front as well, had been constructed at the same time. The elevation does not show any facing on the wall of the areaway. References to a brick "wall" around the magazine do not occur until 1828, but in the absence of a record of what was actually done at the fort in the 1790s, it remains possible that a brick facing for the areaway wall was installed at that period.<sup>23</sup>

The correspondence between the Nova Scotia engineers and their superiors in the Board of Ordnance is more complete after the turn of the century, listing a number of minor or recurrent repairs to the magazine until the complete evacuation of the fort in 1854. The areaway walls, drainage system and roof shingles were the major maintenance problems in these years. The "Stone walls leading towards the door" had started to bulge by 1811 from "the severity of the Frost,"<sup>24</sup> although

three years before the ordnance store keeper had called the building "in complete Repair and...the most perfect Building of its kind I am convinced in the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick".<sup>25</sup> Unspecified repairs were approved for the walls and "the drain around" in 1811, so that by August the storekeeper could report that the magazine was "quite dry".<sup>26</sup> It was still dry and in good repair in 1821, but major problems showed up in 1823 when the areaway wall on the east side bulged and collapsed, filling up the areaway on that side. The storekeeper urged repairs "to prevent the magazine from being injured by the drip from the roof..."<sup>27</sup> He made the mistake of notifying the Board of Ordnance at home, bypassing the CRE in Halifax; but after the inevitable Board meetings in London and committee meetings in Halifax had been held, and the correspondence floated across the Atlantic twice, the repairs were made. The problem was not solved, for by 1828 the "brick wall and gutter around the Magazine" and the wall in front were in need of thorough repair again.<sup>28</sup> There are two sets of estimates for this repair work, which does not help matters; but it appears that the second estimate (Appendix 3) describes materials and labour required to finish the work in the second year.

The reference to the "Laboratory" is inexplicable. No preceding or succeeding reference has appeared to this building or room in conjunction with references to the magazine itself. Such combustible stores as were normally used in making fine



powder for fuses had been removed in 1810 or 1811 from a dilapidated wooden building near the water side to the magazine, so it can be said that stores normally kept in a laboratory - and normally kept well away from the powder storage area - were kept for an unspecified period in the magazine.<sup>29</sup> This leads to speculation that the magazine may have been partitioned internally, and that the painting of the laboratory refers to a partitioned area inside the building; but there is no evidence to support this theory. Since no exterior porches or new additions appear on the sketchy plans of this period, the above reference to the "Laboratory", found several years ago when research was incomplete, unfortunately led the author to advance the proposition that the rectangle at the rear, shown as roofed over on the c.1795 plan, was a laboratory. Subsequent research and archaeological excavation has shown this supposition to be manifestly impossible.

There was a minor commotion in 1834-5 when the Board of Ordnance discovered that the "Inner Door of the Magazine" was "Iron mounted and fastened".<sup>30</sup> The Principal Officers of the Ordnance met in London to consider the matter, and ordered that a copper lock should be provided. As to the other mountings, the Board felt that their installation could wait until the "Doors" (sic) were due for replacement.<sup>31</sup> In 1807 new hinges had been placed "on the Door" - presumably the main or outer door, thus damaging the legend in Annapolis Royal that the door swings on one French hinge and one British

one.<sup>32</sup> Again regarding doors, there exists an 1826 reference to a requirement for "two new doors to the area around the Magazine."<sup>33</sup>

In spite of the chronicle of repairs, the magazine is described in the brief annual reports of ordnance buildings during these years as a sound building, "bombproof and good", a tolerably good bombproof Magazine of Masonry", "in good repair", a good bomb-proof Magazine for 250 barrels", a "strong building, Bombproof". Bombproof or not, the ordnance storekeeper and the troops garrisoned at the fort worried about fire and the magazine's proximity to the southwest range of barracks. A fire broke out in the latter on the night of January 8-9, 1830, causing the "utmost consternation and alarm" among the townspeople. Presumably the soldiers and their families who fled into the bitter wind in their night clothes were not exactly tranquil either.

The local correspondent for The Nova Scotian made the most of the occasion:<sup>34</sup>

The fire commenced at the east end of the buildings destroyed (the barracks)...but the scene of deepest interest was the Magazine... and thither the eyes of all were drawn, as the flames hurrying to that point seemed impatient to complete the catastrophe. The Magazine was said to be bombproof, but as the

external roof was shingled and the building certainly very old, the worst consequences might have been the result had it caught. The burning embers fell in showers about and upon it and at one period its safety was very doubtful; and indeed nothing but the most indefatigable exertion of all who were present in covering the roof with wet blankets and keeping the engines constantly playing on them, prevented its taking fire.

At any time this ancient fortress has an air of picturesque and romantic grandeur, but illuminated as it was on this occasion, it presented a most imposing spectacle...it is not easy to satisfy the mind, or rather the feelings, that a powder magazine surrounded by fire is free from danger.

The last garrison was withdrawn in 1854, and the buildings were committed to the care of a barrack sergeant in 1857. The condition of the structures in the fort was noted when they were handed over to him, the magazine being described as "Out of Repair".<sup>35</sup> A year later the lease, renewed several times, stayed with the Hall family for nearly thirty years. The last official repairs had been put on the magazine in

1855, when new shingles for the roof were authorized; and after that date any repairs that may have been done are unrecorded. The responsibility for preservation of the buildings in the fort was not clearly fixed in the lease. The lessee was not to make alterations, but he was to keep the place in a "reasonable" state. An "Inspectional Report, 1862-3" notes that the magazine was "in bad state"; <sup>36</sup> and Lawrence Hall, successor to Harris Hall as lessee, described the buildings in 1879 as "all bad". <sup>37</sup> The local militia made an arrangement with Harris Hall in the early 1860s for the occasional use of the fort for artillery exercises, and the CRE in Halifax approved their application for access to the magazine, but this activity does not seem to have continued for long.

A few plans of the fort are available for the 1828-1875 period, mostly sketchy ones done to record the boundaries of ordnance property at Annapolis Royal, and largely duplicating each other. The most useful one dates from 1828 (Figure 16), and is generally consistent in its depiction of the magazine with the c. 1795 plan. The steps leading to the door from the parade square are shown for the first time, but the areaway in front of the magazine is represented as wider than the part that is presumably covered by the roof. Another plan, done in March 1875 (Figure 17), is less representational, but also shows the rectangular area to the rear. This plan is the direct cartographic ancestor of the 1907 plan reproduced in the Dendy report (MRS No. 82).

Two other plans are of passing interest, having originated in antiquarian curiosity rather than in necessity or duty. The first (Figure 18), which comparison with the second (Figure 19) shows to be the handiwork of Louis Whitman, a civil engineer living in the Annapolis area about 1880, shows the areaway clearly, although it must already have been advancing towards the ruined state it was to reach ten years later. A few notes scribbled on the margin are in the handwriting of Judge A. W. Savary, editor of W. A. Calnek's posthumously published History of the County of Annapolis. Whitman prepared the second plan (Figure 19) for Savary, and it was published in the History in 1897. Since both plans are stylized, they can be taken only as evidence that signs of the rear area were clearly visible in the 1880s and 1890s.

Whitman's earlier plan was symptomatic of an awakening interest in local history. Even before the garrison was withdrawn in 1854, the people of Annapolis were petitioning the authorities to restore the morning and evening gun, for they "...still retain(ed) a lively impression of the scenes of former days".<sup>38</sup> This interest probably accounts for the article that appeared in 1871 in the Illustrated London News. One of Albert J. Hill's sketches accompanying the article (Figure 20), shows the powder magazine; and is significant as the first known depiction of the interior of the fort by an artist prior to photography. The magazine roof is depicted with a strong double pitch, possibly exaggerated, and spans

the areaway. The angle irons which secure the purlins are also indicated. This picture, together with the c. 1795 plan, reveals that the building probably never had a truly "bowed" roof, as previously thought, while it was in active use, and that the bowed roof put on by the people of Annapolis in 1897 was a conjectural reconstruction, the first and only roof of that particular configuration.

Hill's drawing bridges the gap between the abandonment of the fort in the 1850s and the advent of photography. By about 1885, when the photograph which comprises Figure 21 was taken, the roof had lost half of its shingles and every trace of its double-pitched configuration except the telltale remnants of fascias. A similar photograph (Figure 22) shows the magazine several years later when the southeast side had lost its shingles completely. The areaway walls are beginning to lose stones, and in both photographs the ruined state of the area leading to the door is consistent with Hill's drawing.

The third and latest photograph of interest from this period (Figure 23), taken about 1890 or shortly thereafter, shows a further degree of deterioration and incidentally is the only known photograph clearly depicting the rear wall of the magazine before the 1940s. The neglect or vandalism which the Annapolis people were beginning to complain of in the early 1890s is hinted at here in the loss of dressed stone along the lower right hand corner of the rear roof line. The choked condition of the areaway is apparent, and the

lowermost purlin is gone. There may be distortion in the left side of the photograph because both the stonework in the rear wall and the terreplein of the bastion slope distinctly to the lower left, but with allowances for this it would seem that the ground does slope to some degree towards the site of the rear rectangle. It may seem strange that the tops of the rear ventilation shafts do not show. In the writer's opinion, a study of the measured drawings in relation to the floor levels inside and outside the rear magazine wall will reveal that in fact the tops of the shafts are just below the foreground level in the picture. If this is not so, it must be considered that at some time prior to the photograph, but subsequent to the loss of any rear porch roof, the exterior openings of the shafts were filled in as protection against moisture.

The earliest of the photographs from this period, and the most inferior in quality, is presented out of chronological context because of its very specific relevance to the vexing problem of the rear walls (Figure 24). It is one of a stereo pair (the other, predictably, does not show the magazine) produced by the Palace Railroad Photograph Car Company, which made a set of Annapolis scenes. Another pair in the set shows the blockhouse in the north bastion, demolished in 1881. The photograph under discussion was probably taken between 1875 and that year, and if this is so, it represents the roof shown in Figures 21, 22 and 23 before such deterioration had set in.

There is no evidence that the roof was renewed by the lessees of the fort after 1854, or that the army authorities built a new roof after the withdrawal of the garrison in that year, and consequently the photograph probably gives a glimpse of the last "military" roof that the building had during its active service. It reveals the rear peak of the magazine roof, with shingling applied to the first couple of feet of the rear magazine wall below the raking eaves. The darker shading of the triangle formed by the intersection of the shingled strips with the bastion might lead one to suppose that a porch is attached to the rear of the building; but examination of the original photo proves that the dark spot in the triangle is the large dark stone directly below the peak in Figure 23.

This does not, of course, preclude the probability that a porch or sub-roof had previously existed, as indicated on the Fenwick plan of 1795. Indeed, the shingling is inexplicable unless one assumes that its purpose was to protect the rear wall from water splashing off a roof immediately below. Assuming that the eaves of the porch roof were directly above the brick drain around the rear rectangle (that is, the brick drain excavated in 1968-9), it should now be possible to determine the size and pitch of the missing roof. The question of how the subroof was supported over the rear rectangle will never be solved beyond doubt until someone with extraordinary luck finds a clear, closeup photograph of the rear wall taken before the 1890s, and preferably before the 1880s.



If the eaves of the porch roof did not actually rest on the drain, as the main magazine eaves did, they could not have been far above it; and the restriction of ventilation that would have resulted from closing in the necessarily short side walls strengthens the opinion advanced by Dendy that the roof may have been supported only by posts or timbers.

## CHAPTER 3

Up to this point all repairs done to the south magazine at Fort Anne were intended to preserve the building as a suitable storage space for powder, whether the structure was in active use as it was between 1708 and 1854 or simply being maintained against the day that the fort might be fully garrisoned again. Two factors influencing the future of the fort and the magazine arose simultaneously soon after the withdrawal of the garrison in 1854, and merged in the 1880s until they were almost indistinguishable from each other. One, mentioned in the previous chapter, was the rise of interest in antiquities and local history. As early as 1826 the Acadian Magazine had published a word-picture of the old town and fort, reminiscing of bygone days, hinting of gothic decay and the victory of time over all of the original buildings in the fort "except only the venerable magazine of stone".<sup>1</sup> Three of Bartlett's ubiquitous engravings, "Old Fort at Annapolis Royal", "Sunset in the Bay of Annapolis" and "General's Bridge near Annapolis" announced that the antiquarian spirit of the age had truly found the old provincial capital.

The other factor was a hardening attitude in the 1850s among the royal engineers in Halifax towards the growing practice of selling the military lands in the province, and permitting unchecked encroachments. The engineers pressed their case before the regular army officers and the lieutenant-governors, and not without initial indifference from the

former and opposition from the latter. They made converts with the help of powerful authorities at home, took a few squatters to court, snubbed the Anglican bishop who wanted some military lands for church purposes, and in general were surprisingly successful in living up to their avowal to "entirely dissent, once and for all, from any proposal...to dispose of any land."<sup>2</sup> They certainly held their own at Annapolis Royal, with the result that it was not until August 1882 that Fort Anne was transferred by imperial order in council to the Dominion of Canada.<sup>3</sup> To the extent that the War Department retained control of the fort into the 1880s, it can be said that there was probably more left of the old fort for future generations than would otherwise have been the case. One cannot be certain that the army authorities, and particularly the engineers in Halifax, really believed their own statements that the fort was strategically indispensable. It takes no great insight to detect in their writings a revulsion against surrendering a place with such long associations with their history.

Mere ownership without money to spend on upkeep provides limited protection, however, and the fact is that the fort deteriorated badly in the 1860s and 1870s. The demolition of the decrepit blockhouse by the lessee in 1881, on the eve of the transfer to the fort to the Dominion authorities, roused the townspeople to effective protest. This is not the place to recount the intricate story of the local move-

ment that led to the preservation of Fort Anne in the late 1890s. It is sufficient to note that the magazine, which had become widely known as a local landmark and the sole surviving building of the French period, benefitted directly from the money and effort expended by the Annapolis preservationists and the responsible officers of the Department of Militia and Defence.

Briefly, the department sent Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Wylie, keeper of Military Properties, on a tour of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island in July, 1883 to report on the lands transferred to the Dominion the previous year. Wylie reported sparsely and factually on the property situation at Fort Anne, but significantly was rather taken with the historical atmosphere of the place, and especially of the magazine: <sup>4</sup>

This is a four Bastioned work, still in very good condition....The old French Magazine still exists, but in a ruinous condition. Its bomb-proof roof with the casings of the door and ventilators, is constructed of stone said to have been imported specially for the purpose from France....So interesting a memento of an historical character deserves to be preserved.

Wylie's visit was followed the next year by an inspection by Lt. Col. J. B. Taylor, deputy adjutant general for the Nova Scotia district. He wrote eloquently on the history of

the fort and against any further leases or encroachments;<sup>5</sup> and it was probably due to his influence that Militia and Defence placed \$315 in the 1884-85 estimates for "Repairs to Magazine etc" at Annapolis.<sup>6</sup> The money was not spent, although it was inserted in the following year's estimates again. By 1886 the local people were becoming organized, and began to bring pressure on Ottawa through their M. P. In 1889 the residents of the town signed a petition calling for repairs to the earthworks and buildings, including the "Stone Magazine fast falling into ruin". In fact, they wanted the Minister of Militia and Defence to provide "a sufficient expenditure...to assure a thorough restoration.." <sup>7</sup>

The M. P., John Mills, badgered both Sir Adolphe Caron, the minister, and Sir John A. Macdonald to authorize at least emergency repairs; but politics and legal problems involving the lease checked the local movement until 1891. In that year Lieut. Col. Charles Macdonald of the Nova Scotia district inspected the fort and added his recommendations to those of Wylie and Taylor. He stressed that time was running out for the buildings:<sup>8</sup>

The Magazine, which at the time it was built was looked upon as shot and shell proof, is fast becoming unroofed. The gables have been torn away, the walls surrounding it are tumbling to pieces and look as if the stone was

being carted away, the door is removed and...its remaining intact is only a question of a year or two.

"The Cols. who come here to report on these grounds" as Mills termed them, made no effective headway until 1895, but they did get an order forbidding the use of the fort grounds for grazing, and installed a sympathetic caretaker. By June, 1895 when Captain Joseph Curren was instructed to inspect and report, the local people had acted on their own initiative by building a temporary roof cover for the magazine and, apparently, re-hanging the door: <sup>9</sup>

This old structure, with its original door, has barely escaped the fate of many points of interest that have disappeared from the Fort. A few citizens ...have put a temporary roof over it, otherwise it would only be a heap of earth and rocks..Efforts are continually being made to chip off pieces. The stone opposite the bolt of the door is almost broken through.

He recommended immediate repairs to the magazine, sally port, "black hole" in the west bastion and the officers' quarters.

Progress was now to be made. While Curren's report undoubtedly helped, the key factor was obviously the appointment of A. R. Dickey, a Nova Scotian, as Minister of Militia

and Defence. Mayor A. M. King hurried to Dickey's home in Amherst; the town engineer at Annapolis was asked to submit an estimate; and in early October Major A. J. Armstrong arrived from Saint John with the news that the Minister had authorized the immediate expenditure of \$500 on the fort, the work to be done under the supervision of the town councillors, who would be accountable to the Minister. A committee of councillors went to work immediately, and by mid-November repairs had been made or started to the buildings. Only part of the project could be done before winter, but enough money was left over to ensure a resumption in the spring. The town engineer's report and estimate prior to the work on the magazine, and Armstrong's review of the work done before winter and left outstanding, are attached as Appendices 4 and 5. Briefly, the work done on the magazine in the fall of 1895 and the spring of 1896 consisted of rebuilding the crumbled approaches and the areaway wall along one side, probably the north side. Figure 25, a photograph taken after the local people had installed the temporary roof cover but before the 1895 work, can be compared with the photograph in Figure 26, taken after the 1895 work but before the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of June 1897 (by which time Armstrong had managed to mount the guns on carriages).

The money provided in 1895-6 was not sufficient to complete the repairs, and the magazine remained the outstanding piece of unfinished business. Most of the money had gone

into the sally port and the "black hole" in the west bastion. The latter had partially collapsed over the years, leaving only a small entrance and a host of legends about the mysterious tunnel that went down to the river and had served every nefarious purpose from live entombment to emergency escape. The diggers found a large subterranean room, and **its** repair took up most of the Militia grant.<sup>10</sup>

Possibly because of a change of ministers in Ottawa, Dickey going to Justice and the new minister taking ill, the promised renewal of the grant was not fulfilled in 1896; but it was only a matter of time, for Frederick Borden of Canning could be counted on even more than Dickey. Militia and Defence's architect, Paul Weatherbe, made a quick inspection in April, 1897. He urged repairs to the officers' quarters and magazine, listing the repointing of the walls, restoration of the areaway and repair of the steps as the urgent items.<sup>11</sup> Major Armstrong reported in more detail a month later, recommending that "one side Wall and one end Wall" be rebuilt "full length and height of Brick." The building also needed "New Wooden Roof. Walls Sodded. Drain around whole building to carry off water from Roof and Walls, and cement pointing and washing inside".<sup>12</sup> With this information and his own recent knowledge of the site, Weatherbe drew up an estimate calling for an immediate outlay of \$1200.

Weatherbe submitted his estimate; Dr. Borden despatched telegrams from his sick-bed at Canning; Armstrong made the



umpteenth crossing of the Bay of Fundy; and when the political and military dust settled, \$1200 had been made available to ex-mayor King as local supervisor of the work.<sup>13</sup> Weatherbe instructed King to spend \$300 of the total on the magazine, "the Roof to be restored as it formerly existed, passage opened around magazine, and drain etc deepened round building".<sup>14</sup>

King went to work enthusiastically, as he had with his associates in the previous two years when he "spent as much time at the Fort as in his own Store".<sup>15</sup> There was greater urgency this time, for the western counties were due to celebrate the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in the fort square on June 22. The fort was presentable by this date, but the bulk of the work was carried out over the next three months. On July 20 King reported that the workmen were "starting to put roof on the magazine". On the 30th the roofing was still underway and the "brick walls" being restored. By August 14 he could announce that "the Magazine is now nearly completed".<sup>16</sup> The last item of work - construction of a new bridge over the ditch - was finished in January, and the \$40.62 remaining from the \$1200 allotment was spent by King on painting part of the officers quarters. Figure 27 shows the magazine with its new bowed roof about 1907.

Except for painting of the roof in 1901, the magazine received in 1897 all the repairs it was to get until World War 1. In 1899 the minister of Militia and Defence leased the fort to "the Garrison Commissioners of Annapolis Royal"

for public use as a park, and the citizens forming the group looked after the place with the help of occasional small grants, mostly expended on the officers' quarters. This system survived until 1917 when the fort was transferred to the Department of the Interior as a "Dominion Park".

There exists no detailed description of the work on the magazine in the 1895-7 period, and no indication of how it was done or with what materials; but it seems safe to say that the entire facing of the areaway wall was rebuilt, and a substantial part, if not all, of the areaway walls themselves. The excavation of the areaway must have been an exacting business, bearing in mind that it was filled with rubble and earth, and probably dislodged stones and brick from the buried retaining wall as well. A correspondent for the Colchester Sun noted in 1899 that "a passage about 24 inches wide runs all round the exterior".<sup>17</sup> The roof was replaced, some stones were put back or replaced, and the building walls were coated with stucco, presumably after repointing. The well in front of the door was covered with an iron grating. A newspaper photo taken about 1920, that is, before the repairs of 1924, shows that the terreplein behind the magazine had been re-graded, presumably during the 1895-97 work.<sup>18</sup> No sign of the rear rectangle appears, and in the absence of other evidence, it seems likely that King and his colleagues had walled off the rectangle and filled in any obvious depression that had existed.

As for the total effort expended on the fort in this period, King had the last and most appropriate word:<sup>19</sup>

The Commissioners have the Fort and Buildings in good shape now, a credit to themselves and the Government.

## CHAPTER 4

Although Fort Anne was taken over as a "Dominion Park" in 1917 with the usual prediction that maintenance would not be costly, it is clear that the Department of the Interior inherited several maintenance problems. Few repairs seem to have been made since 1903. Most of the Militia money provided after that date went into the construction of the DeMonts monument in 1904, the patching of the caretaker's rooms, and the support of various civic celebrations on the fort grounds.

The one exception, demonstrating the problem that Interior was to inherit, was the powder magazine. In 1914 Colonel Rutherford, commanding the 6th division in Halifax, had drawn up an estimate of the repairs needed at Fort Anne. The most costly item related to the magazine: <sup>1</sup>

Renew wall, retaining.

This wall 7' 4" high, 103' long, proposed to put in a concrete retaining wall.	1500.00
Repair steps leading to magazine.	5.00
Repoint walls exterior (in places).	30.00

He warned that the retaining wall should be renewed quickly, since it would injure the magazine building if it fell.

The proposal was turned down at first by Militia authorities in Ottawa, for the Hon. Sam Hughes had already expressed his disapproval of using Militia funds to preserve old fortifications for "sentimental or historical reasons".<sup>2</sup> He was

far from disapproving of preservation as such, ardent imperialist as he was; but he felt that there should be distinct and separate appropriations for such purposes each year, and not annual forays into the regular Militia chest. Since his department had been unsuccessful in getting such distinct appropriations, there was an end to it. <sup>3</sup>

The local people went to their M.P., with their usual success. Militia files reveal that in 1915 Sam Hughes personally authorized \$150 "...to repair the old stone wall around the dungeon at Annapolis Royal".<sup>4</sup> Since Colonel Rutherford's estimate in 1914 makes no mention of repairs needed to the building known locally as the "dungeon" or "black hole", other than \$7 worth of work on the steps, it is believed that the building described is the powder magazine. Surviving records do not certify that the work was actually carried out, but three circumstances make it virtually certain. There is no reason to believe that Militia's traditional despatch is carrying out its orders at Fort Anne was now failing. More importantly, it was probably this work that Judge A. W. Savary was referring to in 1919 when he informed readers of the Annapolis Spectator that several years previously Militia had sent "...a sum of money to repair the brick wall surrounding the powder magazine".<sup>5</sup> He went on to say that the money was insufficient to finish the job. Savary was one of the Annapolis citizens specified by Militia authorities as persons who must be consulted by the Halifax officers in the expenditure

of the \$150. Thirdly, when F. H. H. Williamson of the Dominion Parks Branch wrote his historic report on the suitability of Fort Anne as a Dominion Park in December, 1916, he recommended that Interior should "finish renovating retaining wall around magazine", and estimated that \$150 would be needed.<sup>6</sup>

Nothing further had been done by 1919; and Savary's letter to The Spectator was generated by his belief that the transfer of the old fort to the Department of the Interior had been a backward step. Wartime economy, he felt, had prevented Militia from completing the repairs on the magazine, but after the war that Department "...would surely have finished the work it had begun" had the fort remained under its jurisdiction. Now, he gloomed, the fort was in the hands of "foresters" and "agriculturists", and "...what has a Parks Commission to do with the walls of an antique powder magazine?" After the work was interrupted "...the north wall remained in a most dangerous condition, liable to cave in at any moment". Actually, he had predicted this situation before the transfer was made, for in a letter to the same newspaper in 1916 he had warned that the fort would fall between two bureaucratic stools if the transfer went forward. Militia and Defence would henceforth claim it had nothing to do with old forts, and Interior would decline responsibility for "restoring powder magazines and barracks".<sup>7</sup>

Events did not justify the Judge's pessimism, and by the autumn of 1919 he had become a supporter of the park; but while temporary repairs may have been made, several years went

by before the retaining wall was solidly repaired. Mr. Hayes Lloyd, a Dominion Parks Branch officer, reported on Fort Anne in October, 1919, and specified what should be done: <sup>8</sup>

The brick retaining wall to the west of the west magazine wall is in a state of collapse and might injure the magazine itself if allowed to fall - as it would fall against it. At any rate its tumble down condition is very noticeable. The temporary wooden roof over the magazine is in bad repair, but Mr. Fortier's idea is that it should be removed and the original lines restored by doing so. The stone roof could then be protected by cement.

Loftus Morton Fortier, Honorary Curator at Fort Anne and the man who had sparked the movement for park status, usually got what he wanted. It appears from the general correspondence of the period that he had recently studied Labat's plan of 1702, and one suspects from this that he had determined to restore the roof line accordingly.

The repairs were finally carried out in 1924. Mr. J. Byrne, an engineer from the Dominion Parks Branch, arrived at the end of May, and Fortier's cryptic Daily Journal entry for June 3 notes simply "Work on powder magazine (Bastion de Bery) going forward".<sup>9</sup> Fortier took the precaution of inviting the mayor and town council to inspect the work in progress

because he was under heavy fire in the columns of The Spectator again. E. B. Arnaud, one of the more active of the former garrison commissioners, had hinted darkly of official arrogance and failure to consult the local people. "The Superintendent", he wrote, "informs me that certain wooden steps are to be removed and certain stone and brick of doubtful age and origin in the walls about the magazine are also to be removed and replaced with local granite to effect repairs of a permanent character."<sup>10</sup> The main topics of the council meeting of June 4 had been the dismissal of the chief of police and a resolution to Ottawa "against the despoiling of the historic features of Fort Anne".<sup>11</sup> The parks commissioner in Ottawa, J. B. Harkin, was a little upset by all of this; but Fortier was a durable man. The matter seems to have been smoothed over nicely as a result of the inspection by the mayor and council, and Fortier's annual report for 1924 simply records crisply that during the year the powder magazine was "put in a thorough state of repair."<sup>12</sup>

Branch records of the 1924 work fortunately survive, and together with photographs from the 1920s show that substantial repairs were made. The wooden cover was removed, a layer of cement or mortar placed on the exposed roof, and considerable repointing carried out on the magazine walls. The brick facing of one wall of the areaway, apparently the west wall, was taken down and rebuilt, but it is not clear whether the rubble stone wall that supports the facing was rebuilt in the



process, Byrne using the term "brick walls" whenever he was referring to the areaway. The retaining walls were parged with cement or mortar and the stone steps were rebuilt and coated with concrete. There is no indication that anything was done to the rear retaining wall. Byrne refers to replacing the missing brick gutter on one side with a concrete gutter, and it is possible that he was speaking of a brick gutter on the floor of the areaway rather than of the one at the top of the wall.

Byrne's final report, and his progress report, are attached as Appendix 6 along with Fortier's previous description of the work he thought should be done. Some of Fortier's opinions were obviously wrong, but it must be remembered that he had little information about the building's history, hungry though he was throughout his career for any knowledge about his beloved park, and the other people in the Branch had even less information. He wanted flagstones for the roof, and did not realize that the brick facing on the areaway walls antedated the work of the 1890s. Fortunately, in retrospect, his recommendations for removing the brick were not followed. The idea of flagstone for the roof seems to have been abandoned, probably because of the determination to finish the job once and for all while Byrne was available. Figures 28 and 29 show the magazine after the 1924 repairs.

Although romanticists may be disillusioned, it must be noted that the finishing touch to the 1924 work was given on

August 22, when Fortier sent Harry Gesner, a local tradesman, to cut the date "1708" on the stone sill of the opening above the magazine door.<sup>13</sup> Although he does not record why, the reason seems clear. Fortier had recently declared war on a number of cherished local legends about his fort, and this was probably his way of giving the coup de grace to the persistent story that the fort and magazine were built in 1642.

Headquarters files - the small number left - and the Fort Anne files contain few references to subsequent work on the magazine, and these references are more tantalizing than informative to anyone attempting a detailed chronology of repairs. Had the park's files not been preserved; had Miss Laura Hardy, assistant to the superintendent, not taken the composition of monthly reports as a serious business; and had she not produced the voluminous Thirty Years History of Fort Anne Park, 1917 - 1947 as a largely voluntary act of good administrative housekeeping, we would know even less.

By 1937 problems had arisen again with the walls. In the report for April, Superintendent E. K. Eaton expressed his uneasiness about the safety of visitors:<sup>14</sup>

The wall of the powder magazine in the Bastion de Berry shows signs of deterioration. Some day the wall will fall.

It is suspected that the wall in question was the retaining wall, for in the annual report for 1940 Miss Hardy noted that

"No. 2 magazine (in the Bastion de Berry) had a good temporary roof of pine put on it in January. The retaining walls of this magazine, and the one in the Bastion de Burgoyne (sic), were shored up to protect them against the frost".<sup>15</sup> With a war going on funds were scarce, and a headquarters letter of April 19 advised that the \$109.23 plus \$60.00 for labour already expended could not be added to except for "additional small works which may be necessary in the public safety".<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless, substantial work was done in 1941, representing what appears to be the last phase in the preservation history of the magazine prior to the 1970's. W. D. Cromarty of the Branch came to Fort Anne in September and discussed repairs with the superintendent. Work began that fall, and seems to have been finished by mid-November when a visiting treasury official inspected "the work done".<sup>17</sup> Miss Hardy's description of the work is attached as Appendix 7. This contains useful details, but in summary a 3" concrete coat was put on the magazine walls; "the passage was filled in with rubble and earth"; and bracing walls were built to connect the front corners of the building to the retaining walls. Exterior ventilation shafts, acting as upward extensions of the old ones in the magazine wall, were added at the rear. These can be seen in Figure 30, an aerial photo taken about 1947. Miss Hardy notes that the passage was filled in "because of condition of walls", but it is not clear whether

the reference is to the magazine walls or to the retaining wall. Possibly the fill was intended to keep the building walls from bulging outward, but probably it was considered an economical alternative to repairing the retaining wall.

No further repairs appear to have been done on the structure, although Col. G. C. Childe of the Branch recommended in 1950 that the expenditure of \$200 on repointing the masonry was necessary "to prevent further disintegration of the stonework".<sup>18</sup> The roof cover built in 1940 and shingled in 1941 was naturally showing signs of wear by the mid-sixties; and it appears from various reports made by regional and headquarters staff since then that problems may eventually arise with the walls and the arch if repairs are not made. In recent years a number of officers have been added to the long list of those who have reported on Labat's creation since Major Forbes first noted in 1711 that "there was a great deal of Work in putting the magazines in order".

## APPENDIX 1

Specifications by Lieutenant Labat for a magazine at Port Royal, 1703. Transcribed from PAC, Manuscript Group 1, Series G2, Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies, Depot des Fortifications des Colonies, Carton 2, Part I. This has been transcribed as literally as possible. The letter "S" which appears in the last paragraph refers to a designation for the west bastion on one of the plans sent home by Labat in 1703.

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Ce magasin sera scis dans le Bastion de Bery ainsi que l'indique le plan sera Enfoncé 6 pieds au dessous du Rais de chaussée de la place d'armes, ou lon fera la Fondation de 4 pieds de profondeur et 6 de large que lon Ramplira de gros moilon posé a la main en mortier de gros gravier du plus pur et Tiercé du chau vive. Quand on aura Elevé la d. fondation a cette hauteur on fera une Retraite de 6 pouces par l'interieur et une de 3 par l'exterieur le Reste de 6 pieds sera élevé interieurement a plom et exterieurement en talud jusques a la hauteur de la necence d'une voûte dont les pieds droits auront 4 pieds 6 pouces d'epois, aussy bien que les pignons, qui seront faits avec de la pierre Brute

ou de la Brique, posée en mortier composé de deux tiers de Sable fin et met, et un de chau bien infusée a la Reserve des angles porte et Evants qui seront faits de pierre de toille, observant en la posant d' j'placer les gonds et gaches pour suporter les portes dud magasin scavoir le premier gond et gache au premier tiers de la haut<sup>r</sup> et le second au dernier, ces gonds auront 6 pouces de què (sic) Recourbez de 2 a 3 et Taillez en dent de loup leur Torillon 18 lignes de diametre bien arrondy, et selez en plom entre deux assises de pierre et les gaches de meme.

Les portes seront doubles, les planches interieures montantes et les autres Traverssantes. Epoisses d'un pouce et demy, faites de bois de puplier ou Tramble s'il possible bien seiches.

Ferréez chacune de deux pentures larges de 3 pouces, et longues de la largeur des d. portes. Epoisses de 6 lignes au collet allant en diminnant a 3 a l'extremité. Leuil bien arrondy sur un mandarin du calibre des gonds; De deux verrouils de 18 lignes de diametre arretez aux pentures avec deux anneaux fort<sup>s</sup> a propo<sup>s</sup> et les d pentures atachées avec des cloux a tête plate guerrés et Revez par linterieur sur l'Erou.

Ces portes seront couvertes de Tolle de fer au planches de cuivre par l'exterieur et bien Replyées par les bords haut et bas pour Eviter le feu d'j'prendre. Garnies chacune de deux serreures a bosse dont les filaques auront

au moins deux lignes d'Épaisseur les garnitures a proportion, et les clefs de differtes facon afin que lune ne puisse ouvrir lautre.

Le Plancher dud magasin sera fait avec de bons madriers de chesne de 3 pouces d'Épois, et poses sur lambourdes de 7 sur 10 a douze pouces d'Equarris. Espacées de 3 en 3 pieds de milieu en milieu. Lesquelles porteront sur la Retraite du mur mises en Travers.

Sur lequel sera fait des chantiers suivant le dessein marqué au plan et profils, avec du bois bien sec et du meilleur du pays.

La Cloture sera suivant le plan et profils, de maçonnerie a chau et Sable Tiercé comme cy devant. Les angles et jambage de la porte de pierre de taille s'il est possible, et a deffaut de sela on pourra faire lesd jambages de deux poteaux de chesne de 12 a 15 pouces de grosseur - Enterres 2 a 3 pieds dans la Terre et assambles par un seuil et une Traverse de la meme qualité a tenons et mortaises. Laissant 7 a 8 pieds de haut pour louverture de la porte qui fermera si ou veut avec une porte de menuiserie ou avec une Barriere a deux Batans, Tournant sur 2 pivots qui porteront sur des crapaudines selées dans le seuil, et soutenus par deux anneaux ou colets qui Embrasseront la grosseur des poteau auxquls il seront bien clodes.

Javes projeté une salle darmes au dessus dud magasin, Mais comme Mr. de Brouillan a fait faire celuy

côté S) je lay supprimée si lon n'aime mieux ce party  
plustot que de Refaire celuy la qui ne vaut Rien. Les armes  
si gatent toutes. Etant mal Bouzillé et mal couvert.

fait au Port Royal le 30<sup>e</sup> 7 bre 1703



## APPENDIX 2

Extract from James Wibault's report on the defences of Annapolis Royal, 1740. Reference PAC, Manuscript Group 12, W. O. 55, Vol. 1558 (2), Reel B-1281, frames 11-12.

The Powder Magazine is in the gorge of the South Bastion, well situate, as being on the Side, where probably an Enemy would not think of making an attack, since it is the least accessible of any part, except that side which lyes towards the sea. It is nineteen Foot three Inches, by twelve Foot ten Inches in the Clear, the upright walls are six foot six inches thick, the arch at the Bearing, including Masonry and Roofing but three foot thick, the height from the Floor to the Crown of the Arch, thirteen foot two Inches, the Floor is two foot lower than the level of the ground on the outside of the Magazine, which makes it very damp in the Winter seasons. There is another small Magazine under the Terre plain of the West Bastion, but as it is much decay'd, and very damp, it is of no manner of use.

## APPENDIX 3

Excerpts from Royal Engineer Letter Book No. 34 (Public Archives of Nova Scotia), referring to repairs of 1828-9.

p. 64. Joseph Norman, Ordnance Storekeeper at Annapolis Royal, to Col. G. Nicholls, CRE, Halifax, October 14, 1828:

An estimate of the probable expense and repairs required to Magazine at Fort Annapolis.

30 lb. Copper Sheet	2 . 15 . "
3 " " Nails	" . 9 . "
1 - 12 in. Copper Lock	3 . 10 . "
50 - lb. Iron in Construction	" . 12 . 6
50 - ft. Ranging Timber	" . 7 . 6
100 - ft. Board in repair of Floor.	" . 4 . "
4 days Carpenter	1 . 4 . "
2 " Smith	" . 12 . "
1 " Mason	" . 6 . "
	<hr/>
	£10 . 0 . 0

p. 51. Joseph Norman to Col. G. Nicholls, CRE, November 17, 1828:

An estimate of the probable expense of repairs to the Magazine at Fort Anne, Annapolis Royal ... for the year 1828.

Estimate for repairing the brick wall and gutter around the Magazine - painting the exterior of the laboratory, with a lock and hinges for the door, small frame and shutter for area over Magazine door, repairs to the wall in front of the Magazine.

1 hogshead W. Lime	" .17 . 6
$\frac{1}{2}$ ton Sand	" . 3 . 6
10 days Mason	3 . 0 . 0
10 days Military Labourers	" . 7 . 6
1 keg Paint	1 . 0 . 0
3 gals. Oil	" .18.. "
3 days Painter	" .18 . "
2 pr. Hinges	" . 5 . "
Padlock and Key	" . 5 . "
50 ft. Boards	" . 2 . "
1 pr. Hinges	" . 2 . "
3 lb. Spikes	" . 1 . 6
4 lb. Nails	" . 2 . 8
1 day Carpenter	" . 6 . 0
	<u>£8 . 8 . 8</u>

## APPENDIX 4

Extract of letter from R.J. Uniacke, Town Engineer, Annapolis Royal, to Hon. A.R. Dickey, Minister of Militia and Defence, June 13, 1895. From PAC, Record Group 9, II H I, Vol. 3.

Town of Annapolis Royal

June 13th 1895.

Hon. A.R. Dickey  
Minister of Militia and Defence,  
Ottawa

Sir,

In reply to your letter relative to improvements on Militia property here, I would respectfully report that I submitted the same to the Town Council and they went with me on the grounds and decided the chief points of interest they desired to have maintained would be the five following, viz:-

- 1.- Bridge over the moat.
- 2.- Black hole and approaches thereto.
- 3.- Arch and sally-port with approaches to same.
- 4.- Old magazine and the area around same.
- 5.- Removal of Cannon from Lower Granville and setting same upon carriages within the Fort grounds....

With regard to the Town Council bearing a portion of the expense of repair they considered in view of these grounds being placed under the care of a Commission for the public use, that doubtless an annual grant would be expected from them toward the maintenance and improvement of the grounds, which in their opinion they consider is as much as they should do asked to perform, however in the event of the Estimates being insufficient to complete the restoration they would without doubt carry the work to completion.

With regard to Estimates I have carefully gone into the matter and find....

Fourth:- Powder Magazine:- This ancient building 30 X 25 feet is built of rouble masonry and has double walls the inside lining being chiefly stone brought from France, the roof is arched on the inside with dressed stone and the outer wall of roof arch is rouble masonry. Around the whole building there is an area five feet wide faced with a stone wall 7 to 10 feet in height, this area wall has mostly all fallen in and what in standing is so loose it will require to be taken down and be rebuilt, it will require a large amount of work to clean out this area and sort out the serviceable stone. The main building wants quite a number of stones reset and some replaced and all the masonry overhauled and coated with concrete stucco. A slight roof was put on this building by the citizens which has saved the interior arch from destruction, this roof

will require to be moved as the masonry of the outer arch of roof must be repaired and coated with stucco, and a new substantial wooden roof built, a stone gutter running on the surface around the whole building and outside of the area requires considerable repair and the new roof over the Magazine will require to cover the whole area in order that the water may be carried away from the building which is sunk below the surface of the ground. In estimating the cost of this work at \$375.00 I am doubtful about it being sufficient.

I consider all my estimates low, but think with prudence they may cover all necessaries....

The Barrack building is in an advanced state of decay and will require 5 or 600 dollars (five or six hundred dollars) to make it of any use. Without the Barrack building I think at least \$1200.00 is required to restore the chief portions of these historic works and mount the cannon in position.

The ruin has been very rapid during the past two winters and unless attended to this season before the frost sets in I fear it may be too late to keep them at all original.

Trusting this report may convey the information you desire.

I have the honour to be,

Your obedient servant,

(sd) R.J. Uniacke.

## APPENDIX 5

Excerpts from letter of November 20, 1895, Major A.J. Armstrong to Lieutenant Colonel MacPherson, Director of Stores, Department of Militia and Defence. Reference PAC, Record Group 9, II H I, Vol. 3, Docket A2036.

Saint John, N.B.,  
20th Nov. 1895.

Sir:

I have the honour to further report with reference to the repairs at "Fort Anne" Annapolis, N.S.

After receiving your letter of 13th Instant...I visited Annapolis for the purposes named in yours of the above date.

On my arrival I called upon Mayor King and consulted with him on the subject of postponing any further work on the Fort until spring....I then visited the Fort in company with the Mayor and Mr. Uniacke the City Clerk and went all over the work with these gentlemen.

I was greatly pleased with it all and feel that we have got a very good job indeed in everything that has been done....

The Magazine which stands to its eaves below ground and inside earthworks, with a passage of about 3 feet all around it, had originally stone walls faced with brick

the entire passage way, these walls had fell in filling up the passage, only a small piece being kept shovelled out opposite the entrance to enable visitors to get inside - Walls on either side of stone steps leading to entrance had also fallen in.

The entrance has been dug out, stone steps renewed and walls on either side of steps and along front of Building built up to their original height level with eaves of Magazine. One of the side angles has also been dug out and the walls replaced the full length, faced with old Brick dug out of the debris.

A well was found at the foot of steps leading to magazine which was dug out Iron bars for grating placed across it.



## APPENDIX 6

## A.

Memorandum from J.H. Byrne to T.S. Mills, Assistant Chief Engineer, Canadian National Parks Engineering Service, January 28, 1925. From File F.A. 56, Vol. I. PAC, Record Group 84, Vol. 418.

Herewith reports and cost summary of the repairs made to the magazine at Fort Anne, during the month of June, 1924. These repairs included the removal of the old wooden roof and the replacing of same with a concrete covering; the repair and repointing of the stone walls of the magazine, inside and out; the demolition and rebuilding of one of the brick area walls; the plastering with cement plaster of all the area walls, repairs to the brick copings of area walls and the concreting of same; repairs to area gutters and concreting same and repairs to the stone steps. The dimensions of the magazine, roof, area walls, gutter and coping are as follows:

Roof 16'-6" x 29' x 2	1914 sq. ft.
-----------------------	--------------

## Area walls

36'-0" x 8'-0" x 2	- 576 sq.ft.		
30'-3" x 8'-0" x 1	- 242	"	818 " "

## Wall Coping

36'-0" x 2'-0" x 2	-	144	"		
30'-0" x 2'-0" x 1	-	61	"	205	" "

## Gutter

36'-0" x 8'-0" x 1	-			90	" "
--------------------	---	--	--	----	-----

## Magazine Walls

29'-0" x 8'-0" x 2	-	464	"		
25'-0" x 8'-0" x 2	-	200		864	" "

Work was commenced on June 9th and completed on June 18th the following being a cost summary of same.

Roof

Removing (old wooden roof)	4.60	4.60
<u>Concreting (stone roof)</u>		

Masons	16.80	
Labour	3.20	
Gravel 6 loads	9.00	
Stone 1 load	2.00	
Cement 40 bags	48.40	79.40

Rebuilding (Brick Area Walls)

Masons	28.00	
Labour	15.40	
Lime	5.00	
Gravel 1 load	1.50	
Stone 1 "	2.00	
Cement 6 bags.	7.30	59.20

Area Walls Plastering

Masons	20.25	
Labour	10.00	30.25
Cement 40 bags	48.40	
Lime 1½ casks	7.50	
Hair 2 bu.	1.20	
Gravel 4 lds.	6.00	63.10

Total		93.35
-------	--	-------

Stone Walls (Repairs and repointing)

Masons	12.60	
Labour	<u>5.50</u>	18.10
Cement 2 bags	2.40	
Lime $\frac{1}{2}$ cask	2.50	
Gravel $\frac{1}{2}$ load.	<u>.75</u>	<u>5.65</u>
Total		23.75

Area Gutters (Repairs & Concreting)

Masons	7.00	
Labour	<u>2.50</u>	9.50
Cement 10 bags	12.15	
Gravel 2 load	3.00	
Stone $\frac{1}{2}$ "	<u>1.00</u>	<u>16.15</u>
Total		25.65

Coping, Area Walls, (Repairs & Concreting)

Masons	12.60	
Labour	<u>3.70</u>	16.30
Cement 10 bags	12.15	
Gravel 2 load	3.00	
Stone $1\frac{1}{2}$ "	<u>3.00</u>	<u>18.15</u>
Total		34.45

Stone Steps (Repairs)

Masons	7.00	
Labour	<u>1.85</u>	8.85
Cement 1 bag	1.20	
Gravel $\frac{1}{2}$ load	<u>.75</u>	<u>1.95</u>
		10.80

Cleaning up

Labour	4.50	<u>4.50</u>
--------	------	-------------

Total cost of work - \$335.70

B.

Dear Sir

Fort Anne N.S.  
June 15th, 1924.

I beg to report upon the progress of work at Fort Anne Park for the week ending June 14th 1924.

The repair work on the magazine is completed with the exception of the stone steps and it is expected to complete these tomorrow. The old wooden roof has been removed and the under-roof of stone has been given a coating of cement mortar. The entire brick wall along one side has been demolished and rebuilt with proper ties to the under wall. The tops of the three brick walls have been repaired and given a coping of cement mortar - as well as the faces of these walls. The areas between the brick walls and the magazine walls have been cleaned out and on one side where the brick gutter was missing a concrete gutter has been laid. The walls of the magazine have been repaired and repointed where necessary.

Yours faithfully

( signed )

J. H. Byrne

T.S. Mills Esq.,  
Asst. Chief Engineer  
Can. Nat. Parks.

## C.

Letter of April 16, 1924 from L.M. Fortier to J.B. Harkin. From File F.A. 56, Vol. I, PAC, Record Group 84, Volume 418.

In the matter of No. 2 Powder Magazine referred to in your letter of the 13th ult., F. A. 56 I beg to say that what is wanted is the removal of a wooden roof placed over it some forty years ago to protect it against vandals, who were chipping off pieces of the stone to carry away as souvenirs. The roof served its purpose well, but it is now rotten, useless, and a disfigurement, & ought to be removed, & replaced with flat stones, imbedded in concrete, to give the magazine something like its original appearance. Then the walls, outside and in, need repointing, and there is a portion of the inside of one wall that is cracked and fallen in somewhat, & needs attention. There is an area all round the magazine, with a retaining wall and a floor. These features were originally stone, but in quite recent times brick work was put in, the original stone walls being left for the approaches. This conglomeration not only does not look well, but the brick work is much fallen away, & this, with the rotten roof, gives a general appearance of ruin and neglect to this very interesting part of the fort. It is necessary also in repairing the place to overhaul the floor of the outer area, & restore the grade, so as to carry off water to the catch basin at the foot of the steps,

as was the intention. The stone steps leading down to the magazine also need to be repaired.

I estimate the total cost of materials & labour required to make a satisfactory and lasting job at \$350.00....

## APPENDIX 7

Excerpt from 1941 Section, Thirty Years History of Fort Anne, 1917 - 1947, pages 84-85:

Repairs to No. 2 Magazine (in the Bastion de Berry,  
the South Bastion)

The outer face of the magazine was repointed with a concrete face of 3" in thickness on the East, West and South sides to a height of about one foot from the eaves of the roof. The remaining one foot of masonry above the concrete was repointed; the passage was filled in with rubble and earth and two enclosing stone walls, one on each side across the passage way from corner of the magazine to the corresponding opposite corner of the passage, were built.

The two ends of the ventilators have been continued upward above the dirt surface, with an opening of 11" x 13" on the outside to allow the air to circulate through the ventilator system. This opening has four  $\frac{3}{4}$ " iron cross-bars, equally spaced, across it and embedded in the concrete on the sides. A top or cap has been placed on each ventilator.

The temporary roof of boards placed on this magazine a

year or so ago was made permanent and shingled with No. 1 clear cedar shingles, saddle-boarded and guttered; the roof saddle boards and shingles, stained; the gutter painted.

The interior walls of the magazine were completely repointed. The window was framed in oak, the window passage ceiling restored and finished in three-inch oak; the outside opening of the window passage furnished with a storm shutter. The ventilators into the enclosed outer entrance were restored and repointed. The steps were restored.

COST OF THE WORK DONE ON THE POWDER MAGAZINES AND SALLY-PORT:

The cost of the work done on the powder magazines and sally-port - materials and labour amounted to about \$771.00.

(Copy of the October Pay-list)

RATES OF PAY:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Capacity</u>	<u>Hours</u>	<u>Rate</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Allen, C.B.	Carpenter	167	.55	\$91.85
Kearnes, Chas.	Carpenter	163	.55	\$89.55
Adams, Eric	Mason	41	.75	\$30.75
Cummings, B.	Mason's			
	Helper	34	.35	\$11.90
Stephenson, E.	Labourer	98	.30	<u>\$29.40</u>
				\$253.55





Figure 1. "Plan et profils d'un magasin a poudre  
affaire au Fort Royal a Lacadie". Dated 29 November,  
1702 and 29 November, 1703. PAC Map Division, H4/250,  
PAC Negative # C 46243.

29 novembre 1792.

Plan  
ET PROFILS D'UN  
MAGASIN A POUVRE  
AFFAIRE AU FORT ROYAL  
A LACADIE

Le 29 novembre 1792.

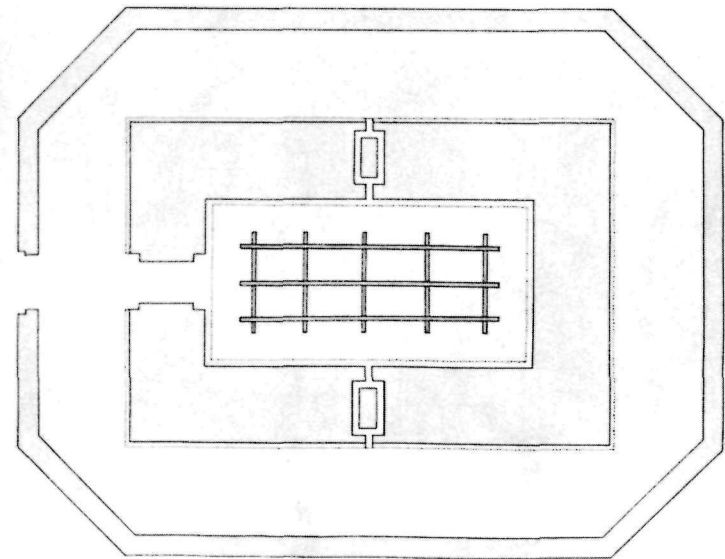
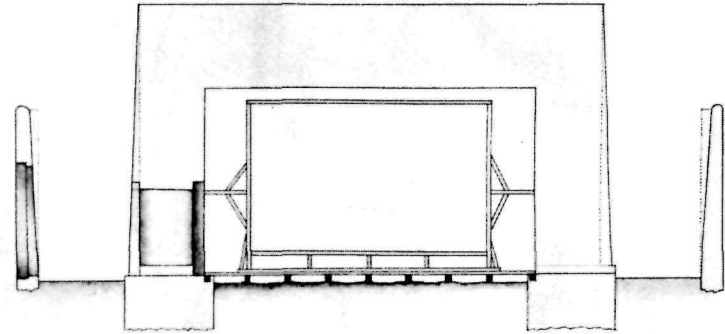
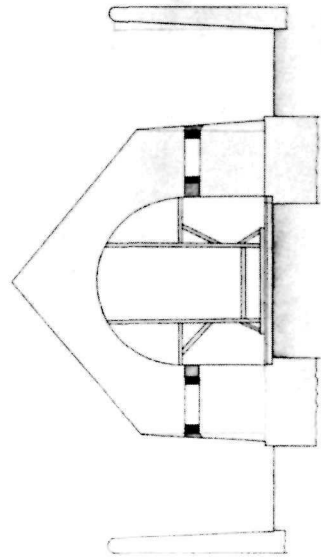


Figure 2. "Etat dans le quel se trouve le fort du port royal - par les reparations de cette annee". Dated 1705. PAC, Map Division, H4/250, PAC Negative # C 50257.

Plan no 1795  
N° 1795, 64

*Etat*

Dans le quel se trouve  
le fort du port royal  
par les reparations de celle  
marque avec le fort depuis les  
fondements jusqu'aux fosses  
de fait depuis les fosses jusque  
aux fosses

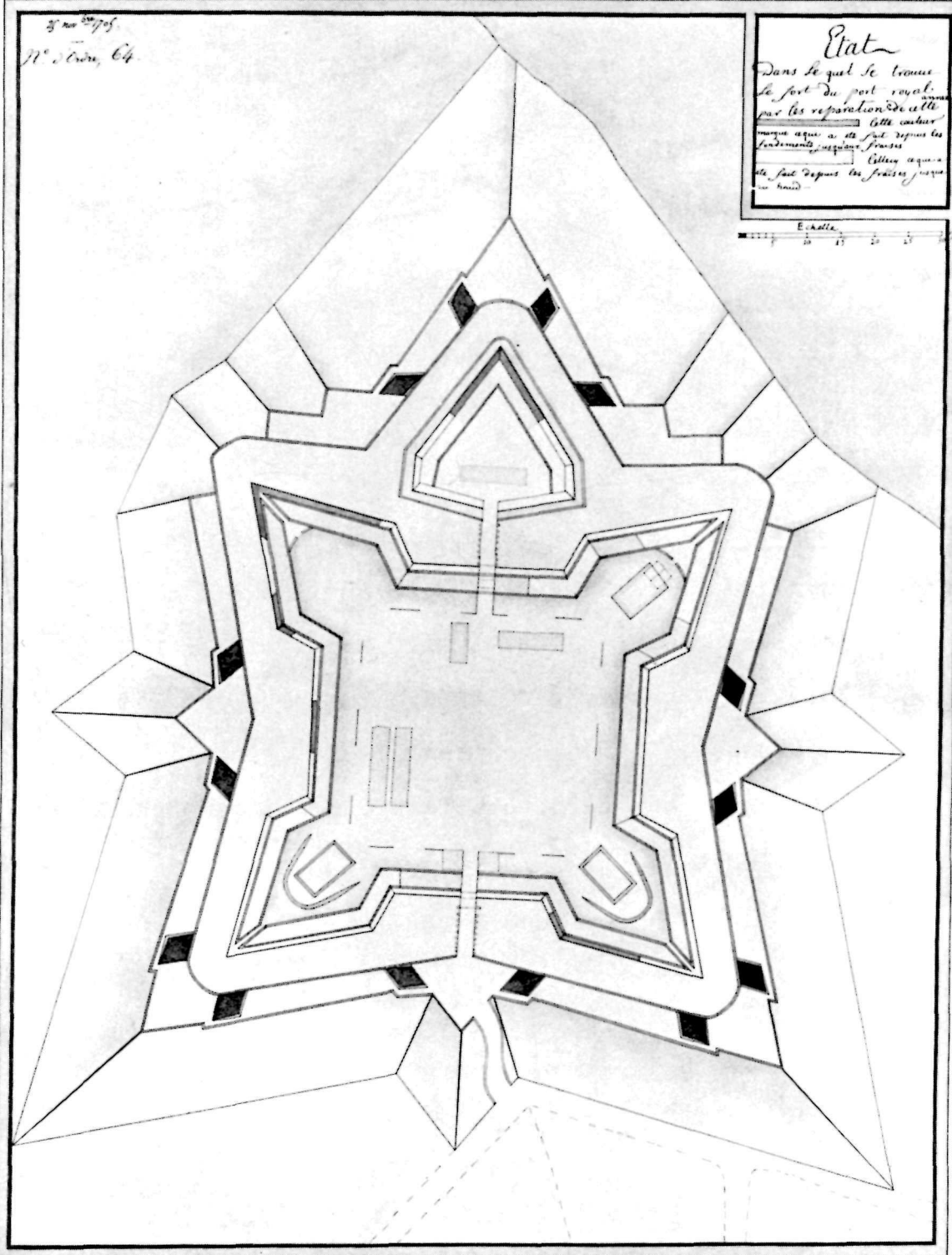


Figure 3. "Plan de la moitié du Fort du Port Royal de l'Accadie, en l'etat qu'il a ete mis la presente anne 1708." PAC, Map Division H/4 250, PAC Negative # C 50256. The south magazine (designated "L" on the plan) is described in the legend as "Poudriere faitte cette campagne".

**PLAN**  
de la motte du Fort du Port Royal  
de l'Acadie

Le Plan qui a été dressé la première année 1708.

- I. Poudrière de la motte de Campagne
- IK. Chapelle de la motte de Campagne
- KR. Logement de la motte
- 1. Cour de la motte de Campagne
- 2. Stalle
- 333 Logement de la motte de Campagne

- 4. Batterie pour un Canon
- 5. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 6. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 7. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 8. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 9. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 10. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 11. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 12. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 13. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 14. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 15. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 16. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 17. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 18. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 19. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 20. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 21. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 22. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 23. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 24. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 25. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24

- 20. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 21. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 22. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 23. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 24. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24
- 25. Batterie de 24 Bouches pour 24 pieces de 24

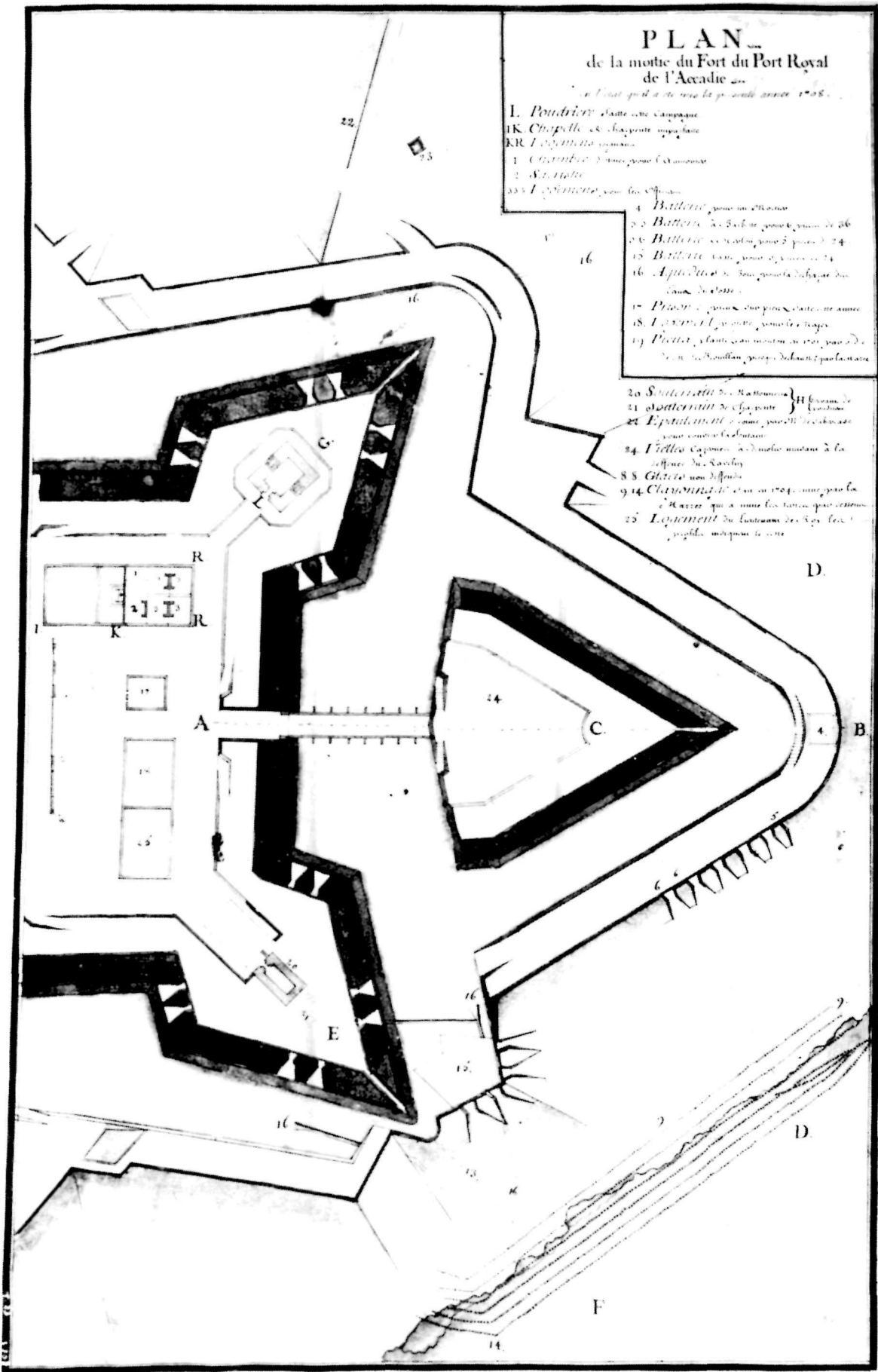


Figure 4. Inset taken from "Plan du Cours de la Riviere du Dauphin, et du Fort du Port Royal y scitue avec la Banlieue". Labat completed this plan subsequent to the fall of Port Royal in October, 1710. Correspondence shows that he had been working on the plan since 1709. The legend describes "F" as "Bastion de Bery, ou il y a un poudriere". PAC, Map Division, VI/210, PAC Negative # C 52870.



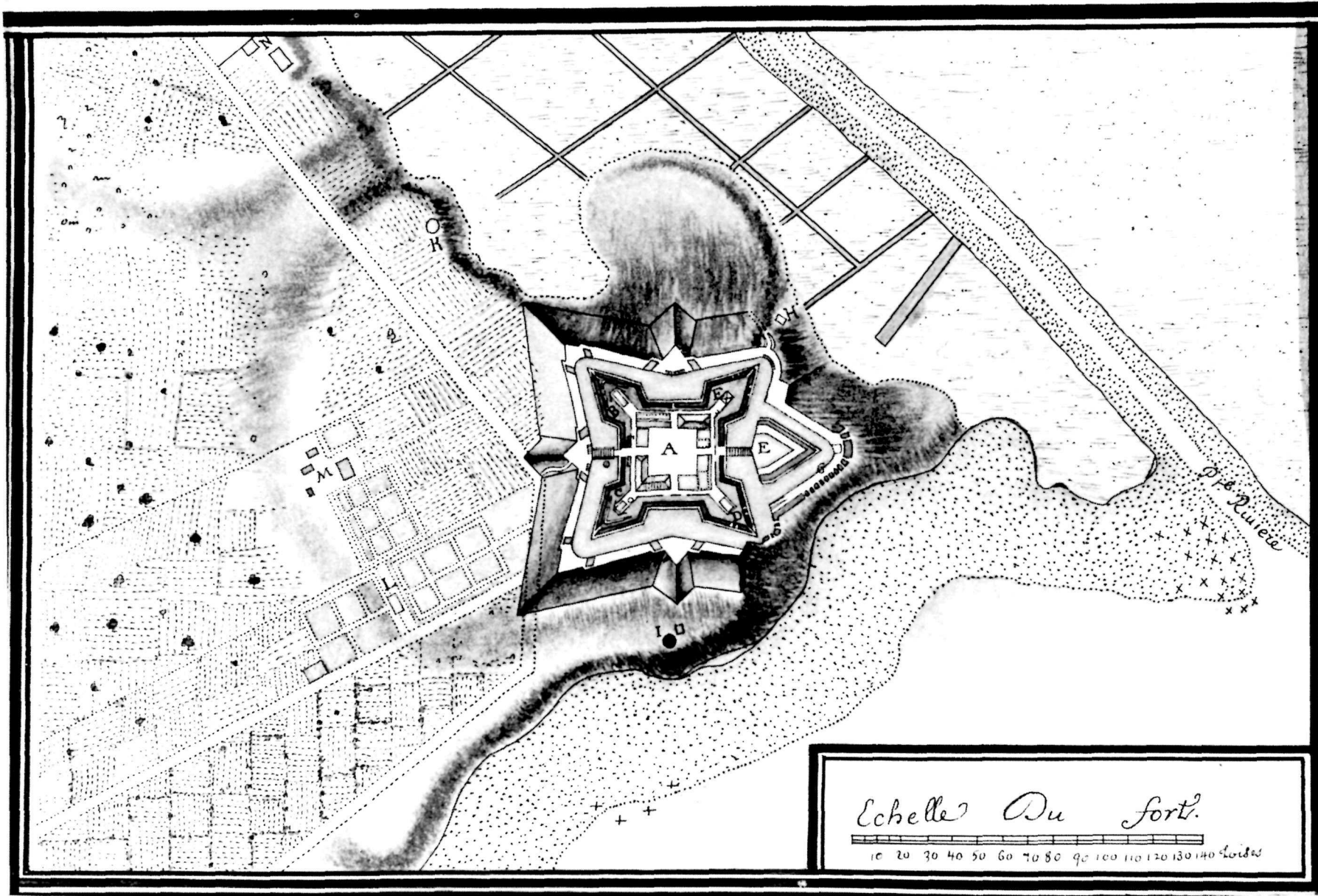
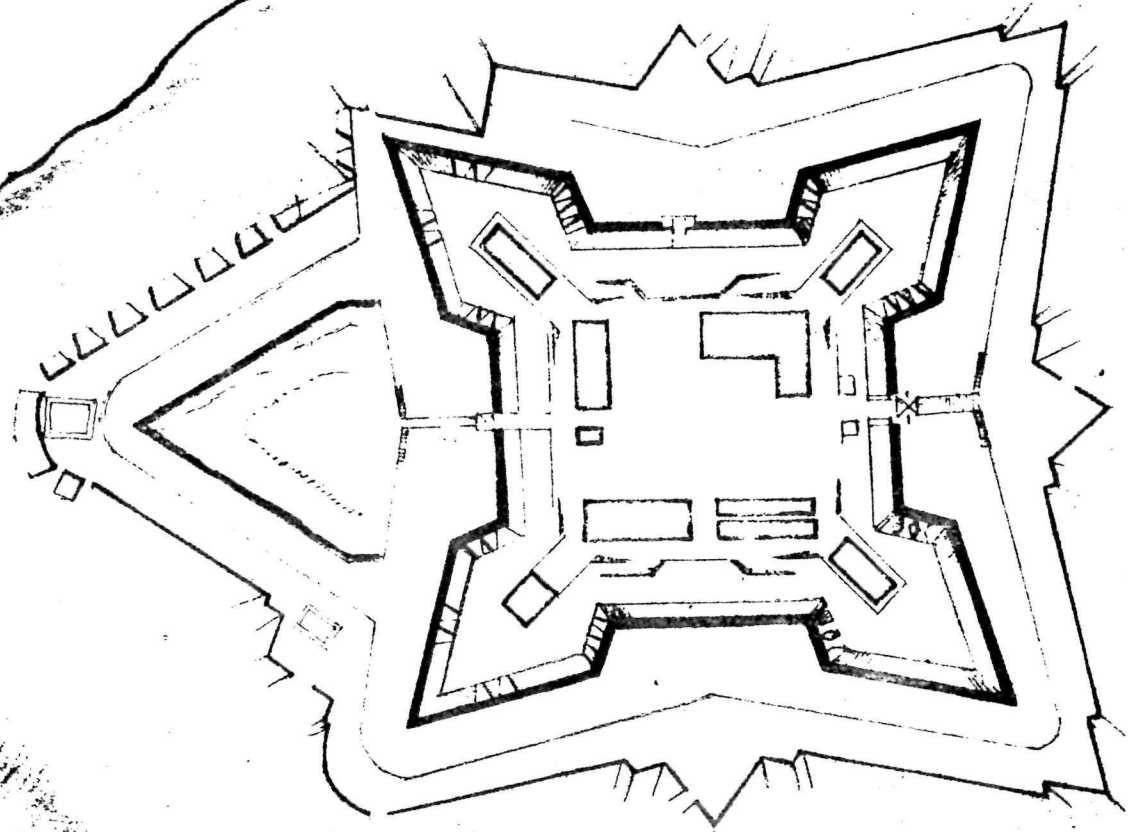


Figure 5. Inset from "A Draught of Part of the British River and of the Fort of Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia. 1725." Unsigned, draughtsman unknown. PAC, Map Division, H/4 240, British Museum, King's Maps CXIX 80.

PLAN of the FORT



10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100  
Scale of 100 Yards.



Figure 6. "Powder Magazine in the Gorge of the South Bastion 1740." Attachment to Wibault report of September 25, 1740.

*Annapolis Royal  
Powder Magazine in the gorge of the South Bastion 1740*

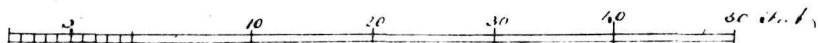
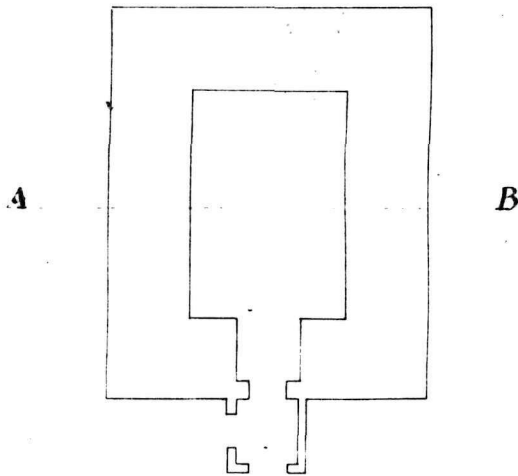
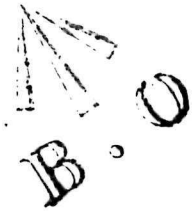
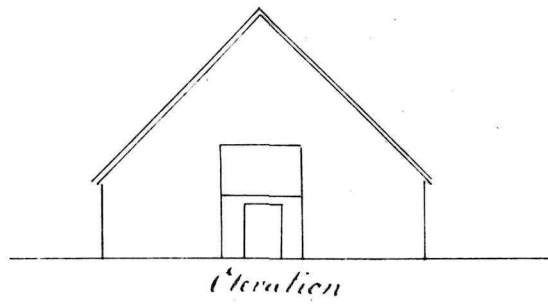
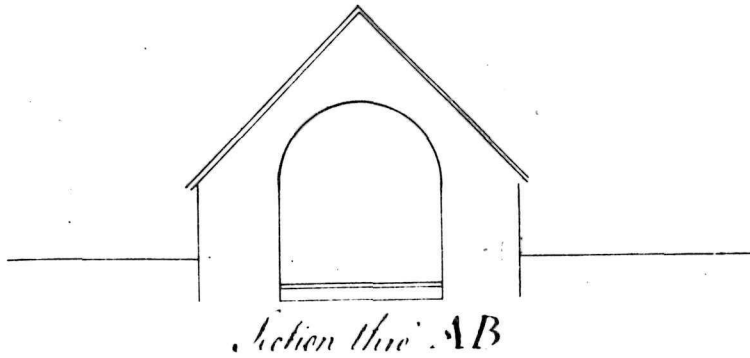


Figure 7. Part of "Plan of the Fort of Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia". Undated, unsigned, probably drawn between 1748 and 1752. PAC, Map Division, H/9 250, British Museum, King's Maps, CXIX 81a.

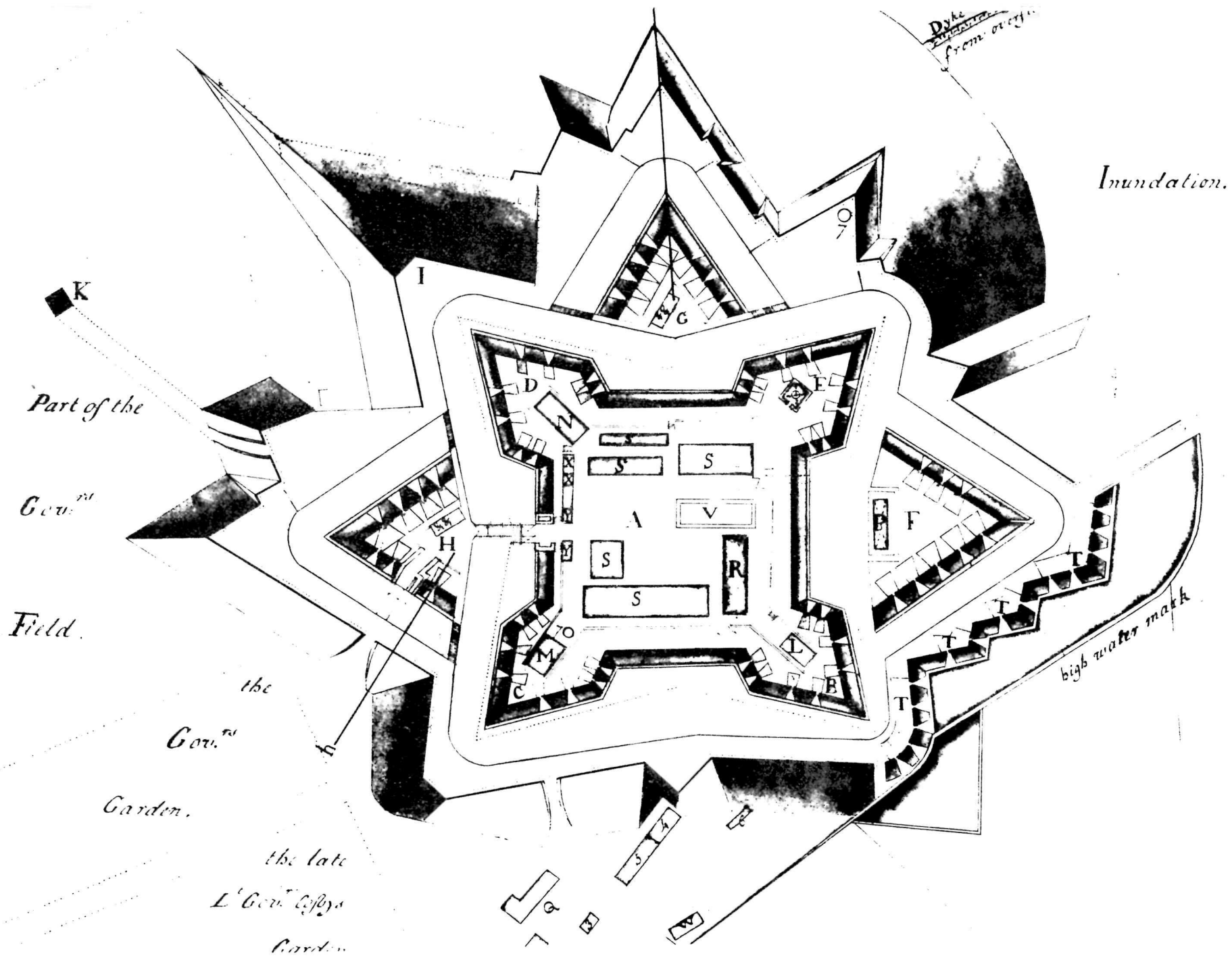
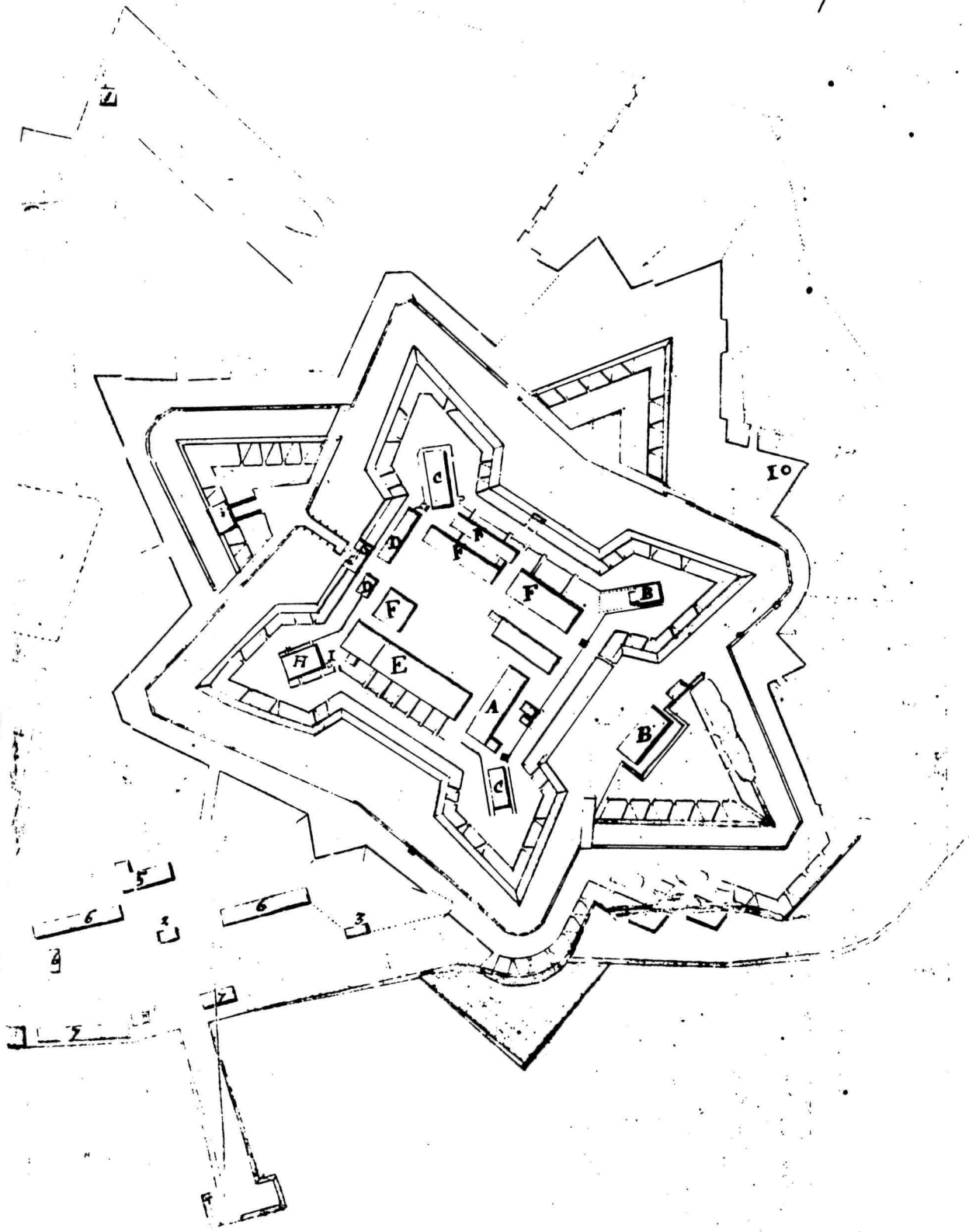


Figure 8. Part of "Annapolis Royal, Fort and  
(what is called the) Town, Survey'd in October,  
1754 by William Bontein." PAC, Map Division, H/9  
240.



*for the Dikes*



*Here*

*Spring S.*

*11*

Figure 9. Portion of "Plan of the Fort of Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia...by Matthew Dixon Engineer, 1756." From original in Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, N.S.

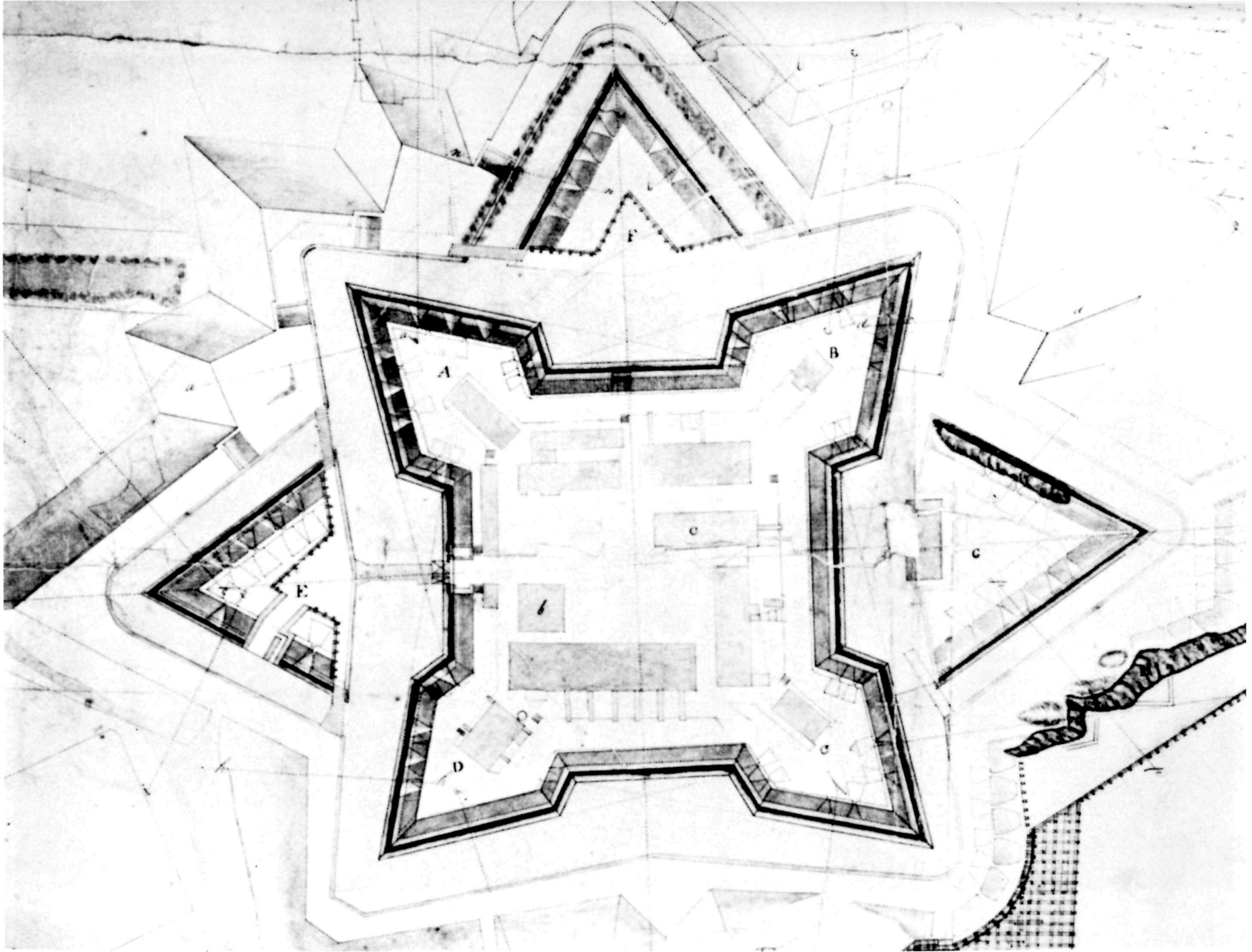
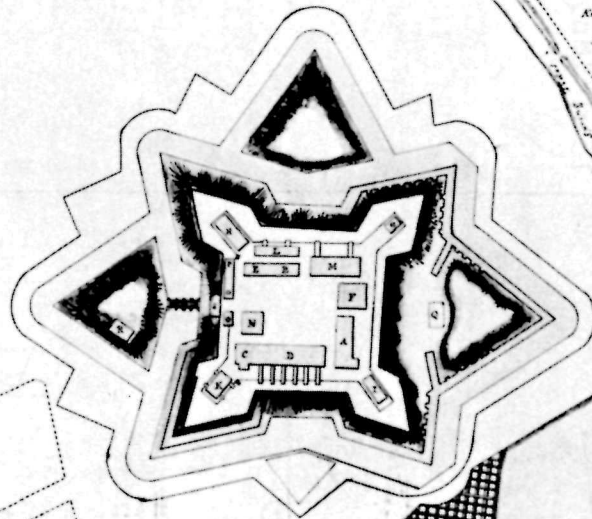


Figure 10. "Plan of the Fort at Annapolis Royal in June 1763. With the projected design for altering and repairing it, And shewing how far the Foundation of the new design is executed." The south magazine "G" is described in the legend as "in good Repair". The powder magazine in the ditch of the southwest ravelin is erroneously designated as "Prison & Brewhouse" (Q), while the latter structure (P) is mis-labelled as "Magazine removed". PAC, Map Division, H/4 250, PAC Negative # C 50258.

PLAN of the FORT at ANNAPOLIS ROYAL  
in June 1763.

With the projected Design for altering and repairing it,  
And showing how far the Foundation of the two Claws is seated.

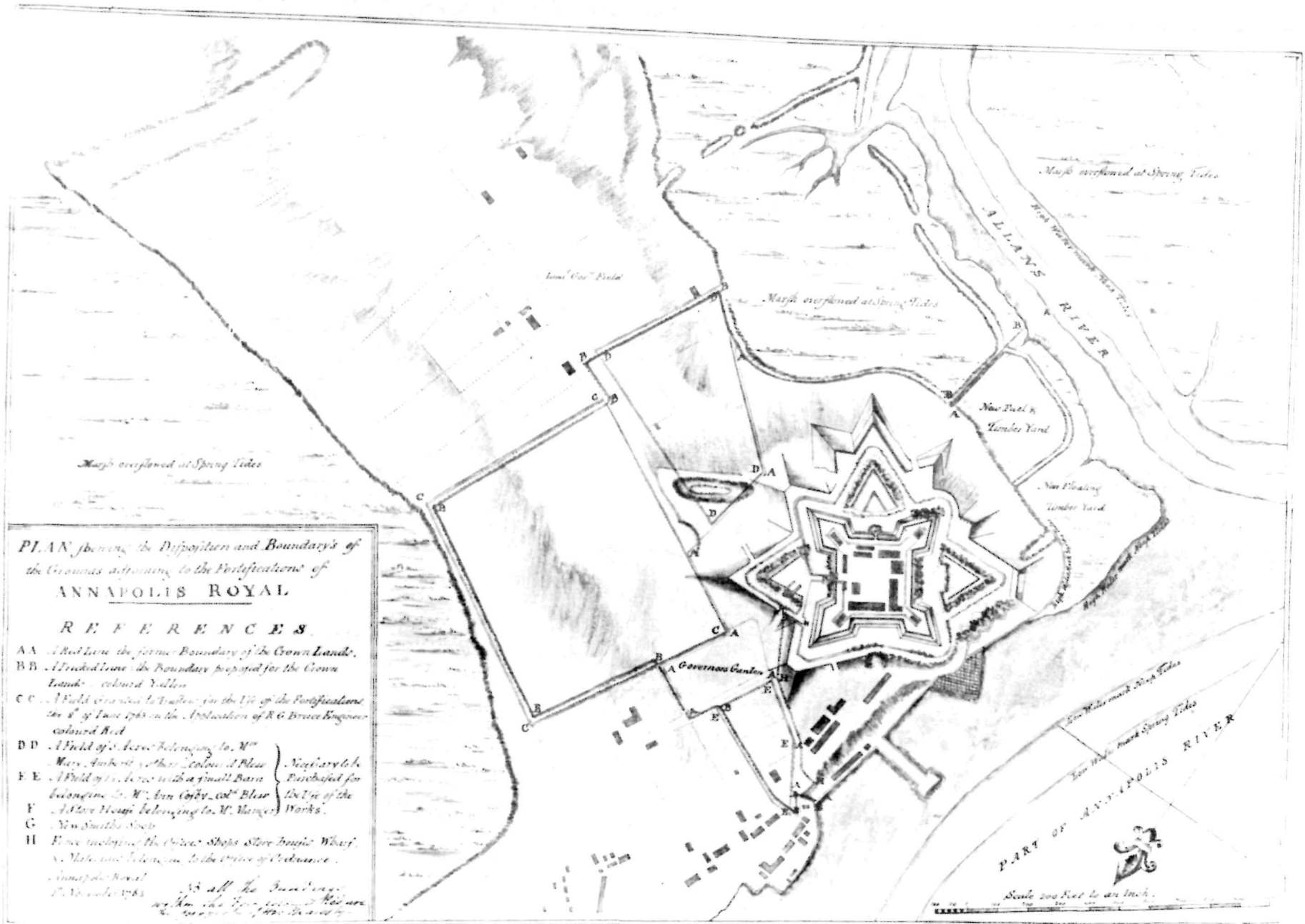
N<sup>o</sup> 50



References

A Governor's House	Remains not	O Guard House	Remains
B Lieut. Col's D <sup>y</sup>	Reparable	P Magazine removed	
C Officers Barracks	Not to be	Q Prison & Storehouse	
D Soldiers D <sup>y</sup>	Not to be	R Lime kiln	
E Officers D <sup>y</sup>	Remains	S Mass & Ravelin (to be removed)	
F Casemate	In good	T Ordnance Store & Mill, Left	
G Powder Magazine	Remains	U Ordnance Office & Clerk's	
H Provision Storehouse		V The Chaplain's Quarters	
I Ordnance D <sup>y</sup>	Remains	V Engineers Office & Quarters	
N Officers Quarters & Quarters of others	Remains	W Quarters & Quarters of Sergeants	
L Soldiers Barracks	Remains	X Ordnance Office & Quarters of	
M Officers D <sup>y</sup> of Chapel		V Blacksmiths Shop	
N D <sup>y</sup> D <sup>y</sup> of Artillery		Z Lime & Lumber Storehouse	

Figure 11. "Plan showing ... the Grounds adjoining to the Fortifications of Annapolis Royal". Dated 1st November, 1763. PAC, Map Division, H/4 250, PAC Negative # TC 54.



**PLAN showing the Disposition and Boundary's of  
 the Grounds adjoining to the Fortifications of  
 ANNAPOLIS ROYAL.**

**REFERENCES**

- AA A Red Line the former Boundary of the Crown Lands.
  - BB A Dotted Line the Boundary proposed for the Crown Lands - coloured Yellow.
  - CC A Field of 10 Acres for the Use of the Fortifications the 2<sup>d</sup> of June 1763 on the Application of R. G. Bruce Esquire - coloured Red.
  - DD A Field of 10 Acres belonging to M<sup>r</sup> Mary Anhalt & others - coloured Blue.
  - EE A Field of 10 Acres with a small Basin belonging to M<sup>r</sup> Jan Coffey - col<sup>d</sup> Blue.
  - FF A Stone House belonging to M<sup>r</sup> Manger - Works.
  - GG New Smith's Shop.
  - HH Fence inclosing the Great Ships Store house Wharf & M<sup>r</sup> Manger's Store in the Office of Ordnance.
- 35 all the boundaries  
 are from the Survey of 1763  
 & the Survey of 1785*

Original in  
 1785, 2, 25

Endorsed  
 Plan of Annapolis  
 in 1785, 2, 25  
 of the Ordnance & War Office

Scale 200 Feet to an Inch.

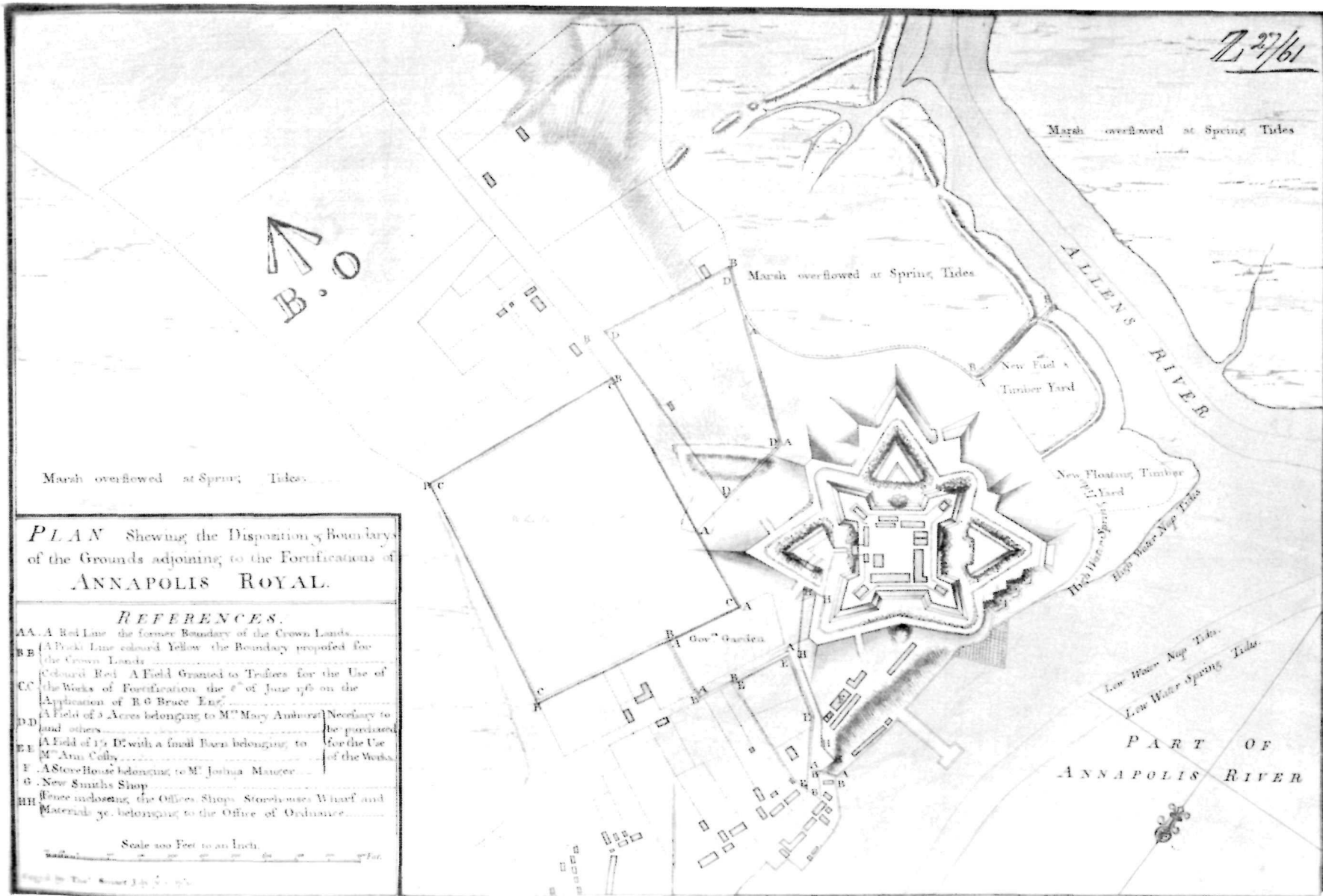
PART OF ANNAPOLIS RIVER

MS 136

Figure 12. "Plan showing ... the Grounds adjoining to the Fortifications of Annapolis Royal...Copied by Thos. Smart, July 17, 1764." From original in the map collection at Fort Anne National Historic Park.



*Z. 27/61*



*PLAN* Shewing the Disposition & Boundary of the Grounds adjoining to the Fortifications of ANNAPOLIS ROYAL.

*REFERENCES.*

- AA. A Red Line the former Boundary of the Crown Lands.
- BB. A Prick Line coloured Yellow the Boundary proposed for the Crown Lands.
- CC. Coloured Red A Field Granted to Traders for the Use of the Works of Fortification the 2<sup>d</sup> of June 1766 on the Application of R. G. Bruce Esq.
- DD. A Field of 3 Acres belonging to M<sup>r</sup> Mary Ambrose Necessary to land others.
- EE. A Field of 1 1/2 Acres with a small Down belonging to M<sup>r</sup> Ann Colly. to be purchased for the Use of the Works.
- F. A Store House belonging to M<sup>r</sup> Joshua Manger.
- G. New Smiths Shop.
- HH. Enclosure inclosing the Offices Shops Storehouses Wharf and Materials &c. belonging to the Office of Ordnance.

Scale 100 Feet to an Inch.

Figure 13. Detail of Figure 12.

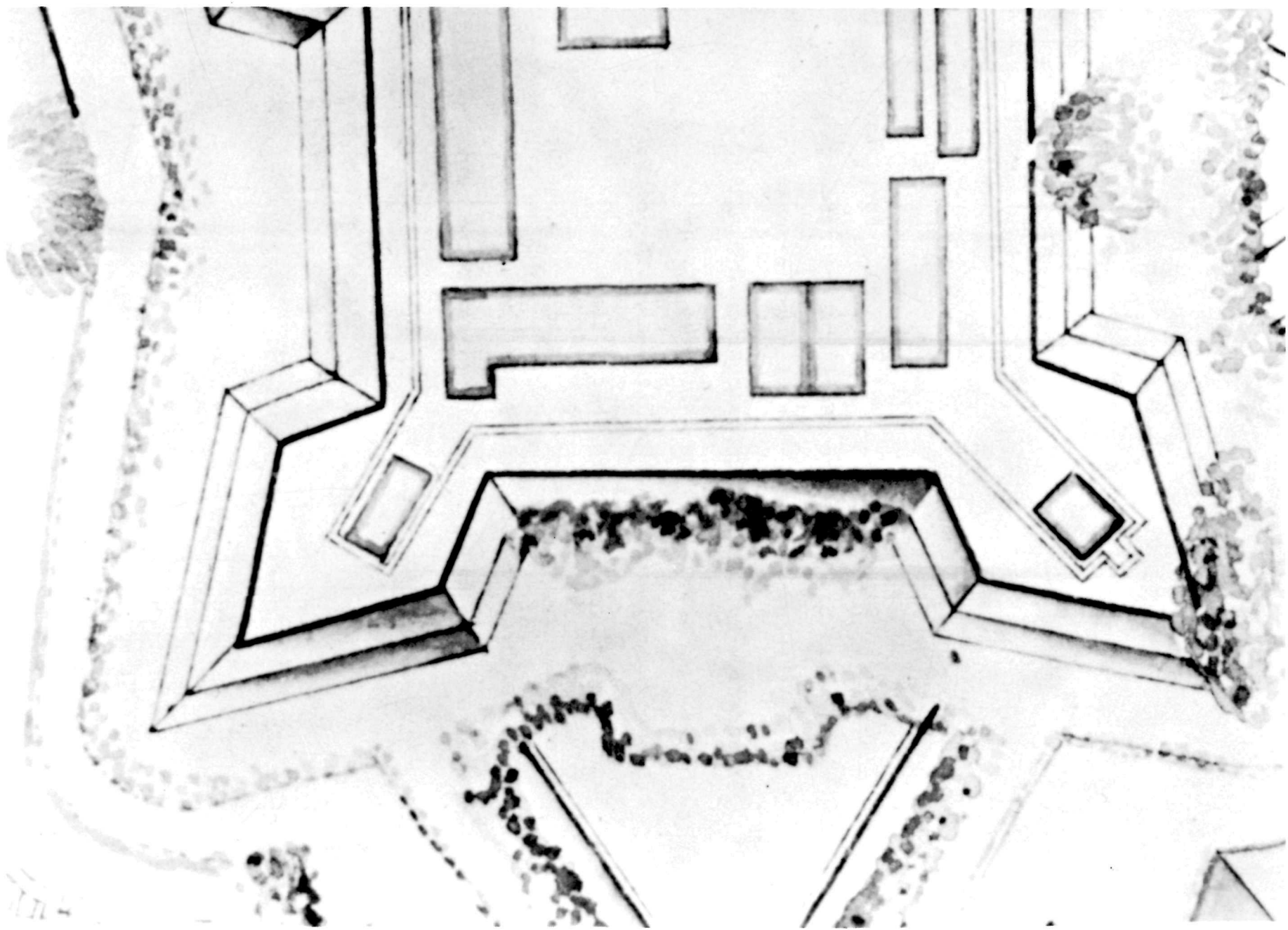


Figure 14. Detail of "Plan of Annapolis Fort, in which it is endeavored to represent the actual State of the Works, together with the proposed Alteration by the late Captain Bruce." c. 1795. Signed by "Lieut. W. Fenwick, Royal Engineer". From original in Public Archives of Nova Scotia. The legend, on a separate sheet, lists the function and condition of the buildings, together with "Alterations ordered by His Royal Highness Prince Edward." The magazine is listed as "To be repaired."

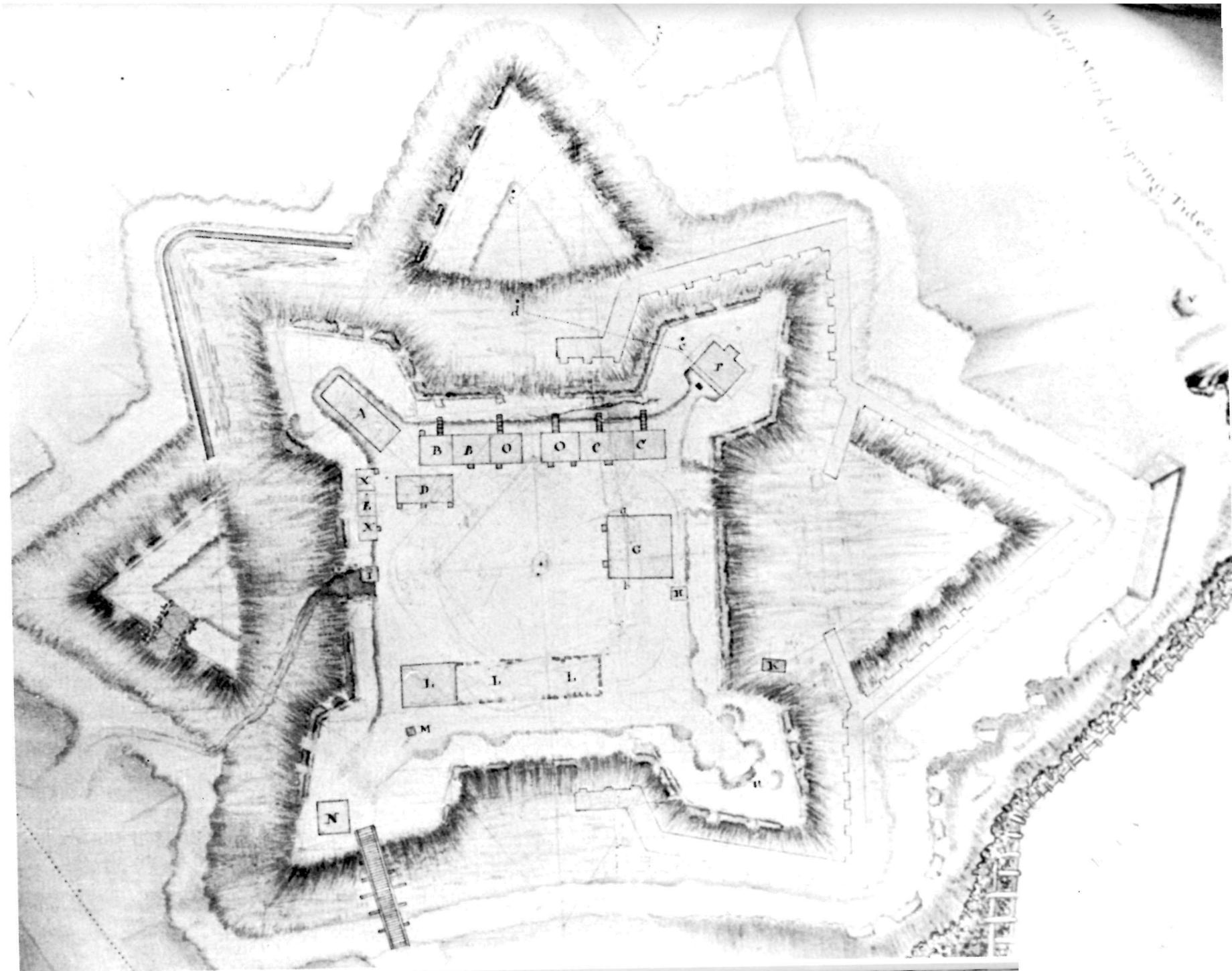


Figure 15. Inset on Fenwick plan showing elevation of south magazine. The small arches shown as connecting the magazine walls with the retaining walls are coloured red on the original, possibly indicating a proposed alteration.

*Section thro' the Powder Magazine F, and on the lines c d e f of the Work.*

*Scale to the Magazine 80*

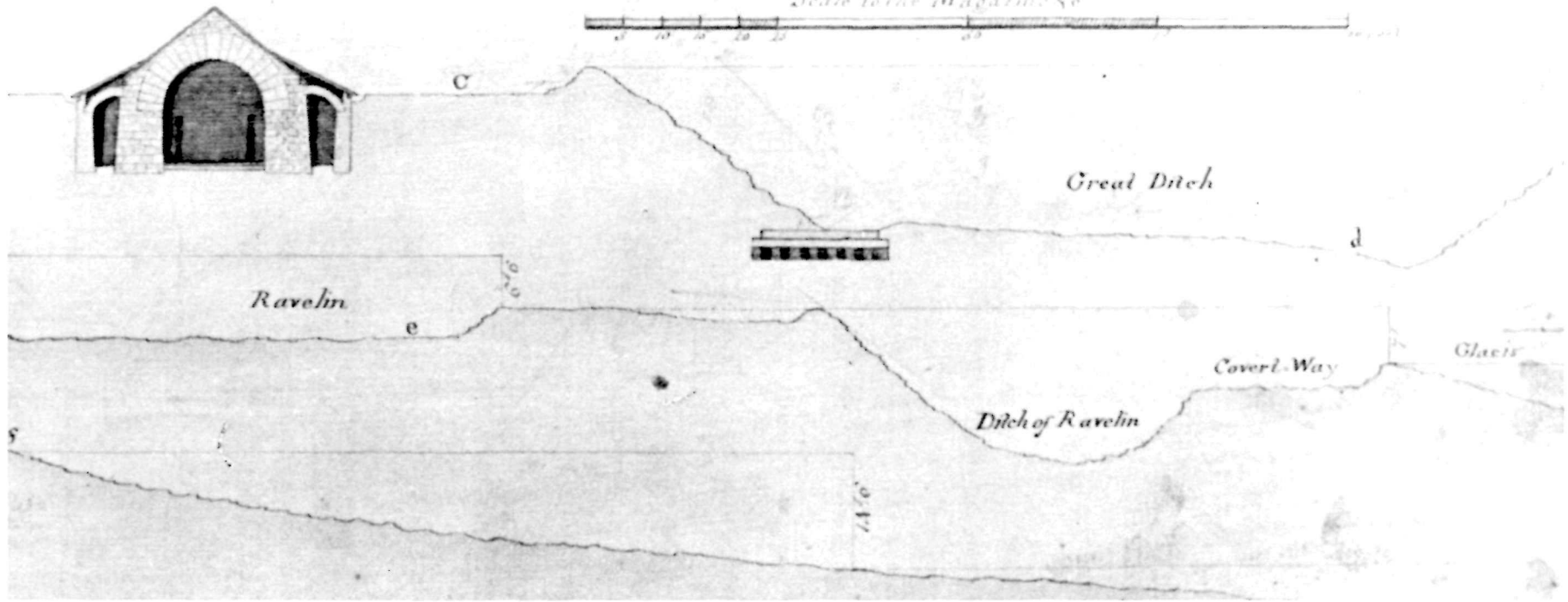
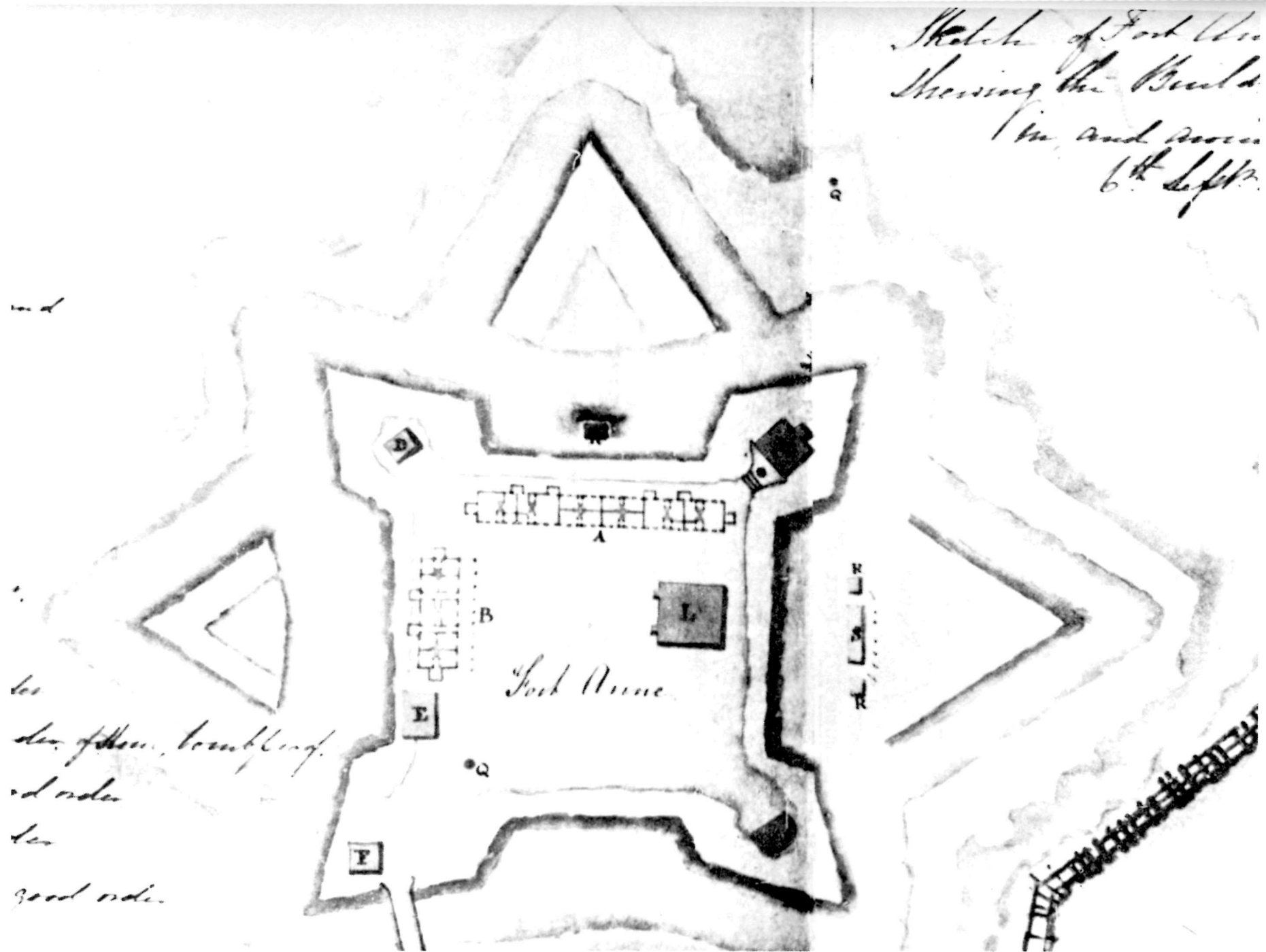


Figure 16. Part of "Sketch of Fort Anne, Annapolis Royal, showing the Buildings now standing in and around the Fort. 6th. Sept. 1828." Drawn by Lieut. Henry Wentworth, Royal Engineers. The south magazine "C" is described in the legend as "Magazine for 300 barrels - in very good order, of stone, bombproof." The building "B" is the Officers' Quarters, now the museum. PAC, MG 12, W. O. 44, Volume 597, Reel B-1438, Frames 6 - 7.



Sketch of Fort Union  
 Showing the Build  
 Plan and Position  
 6<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1847



See  
 also of the same, to be built  
 and order  
 See  
 good order

Figure 17. Part of "Nova Scotia - Annapolis - Plan of W. D. Property....", dated 4 March, 1875. Scale: 200 feet to the inch. PAC, RG 8 C., Vol. 1828, p. 272. Numerous minor variations exist of this plan, which seems to have originated in a survey sketch of 1872. They provide an interesting record of what we would now call "creeping development".

ANNAPOLIS.

Plan of W.D. Property containing  
A. R. P. S. Cowling Fish:  
within the Fort & Glacis Lot 31. 1. 3.

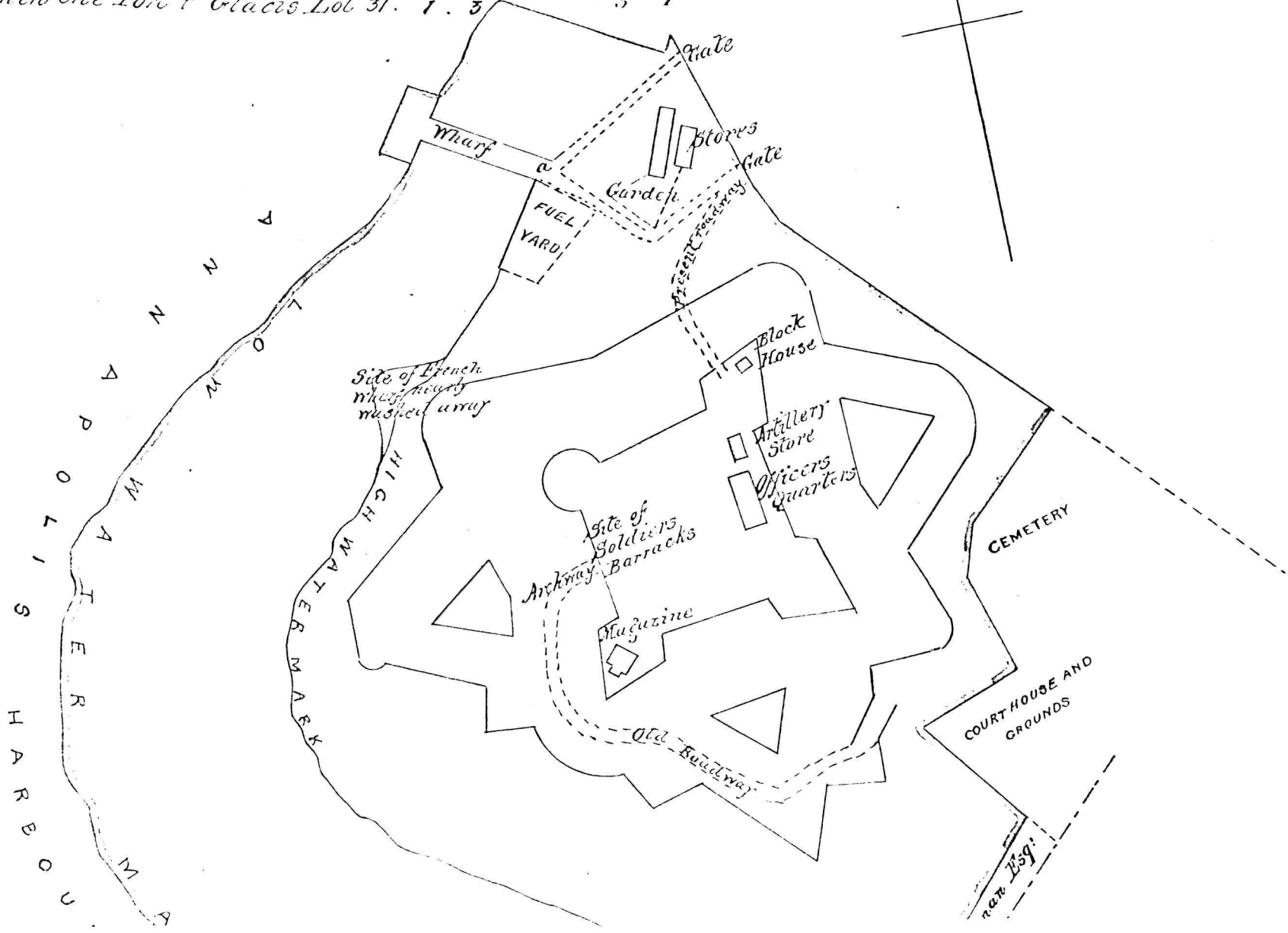


Figure 18. Part of plan attributed to Louis Whitman of Annapolis Royal, c. 1880.

The magazine "B" is labelled in the legend as "Magazine - Caen Stone", while "P" is "Magazine Well with Grating Cover". This plan was found in National Parks Branch File F.A. 2, Vol. 2, in Public Records Centre, Tunney's Pasture, Ottawa.

Figure 19. Part of Whitman plan in frontispiece to W. A. Calnek's History of the County of Annapolis, published in 1897.

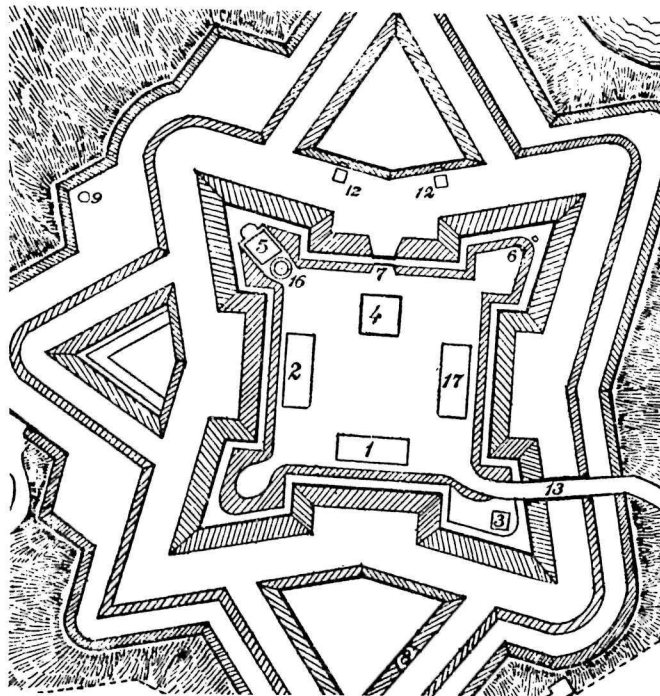
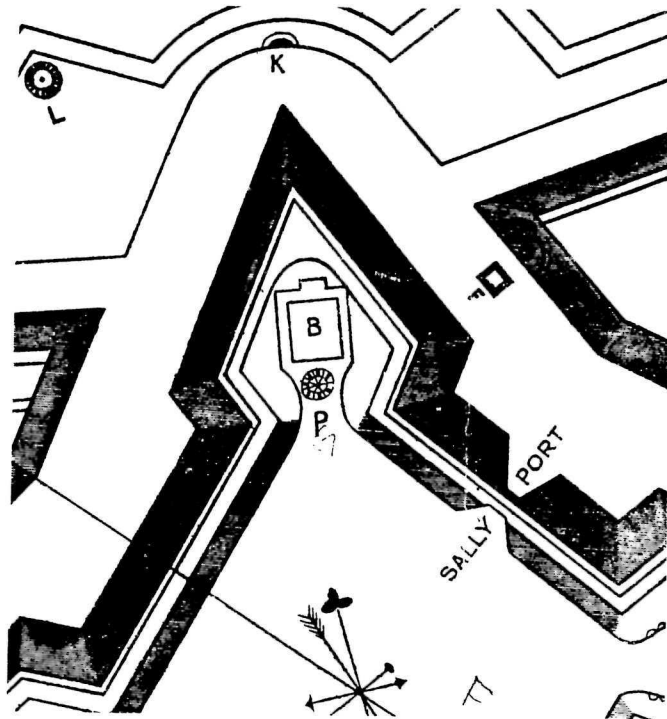
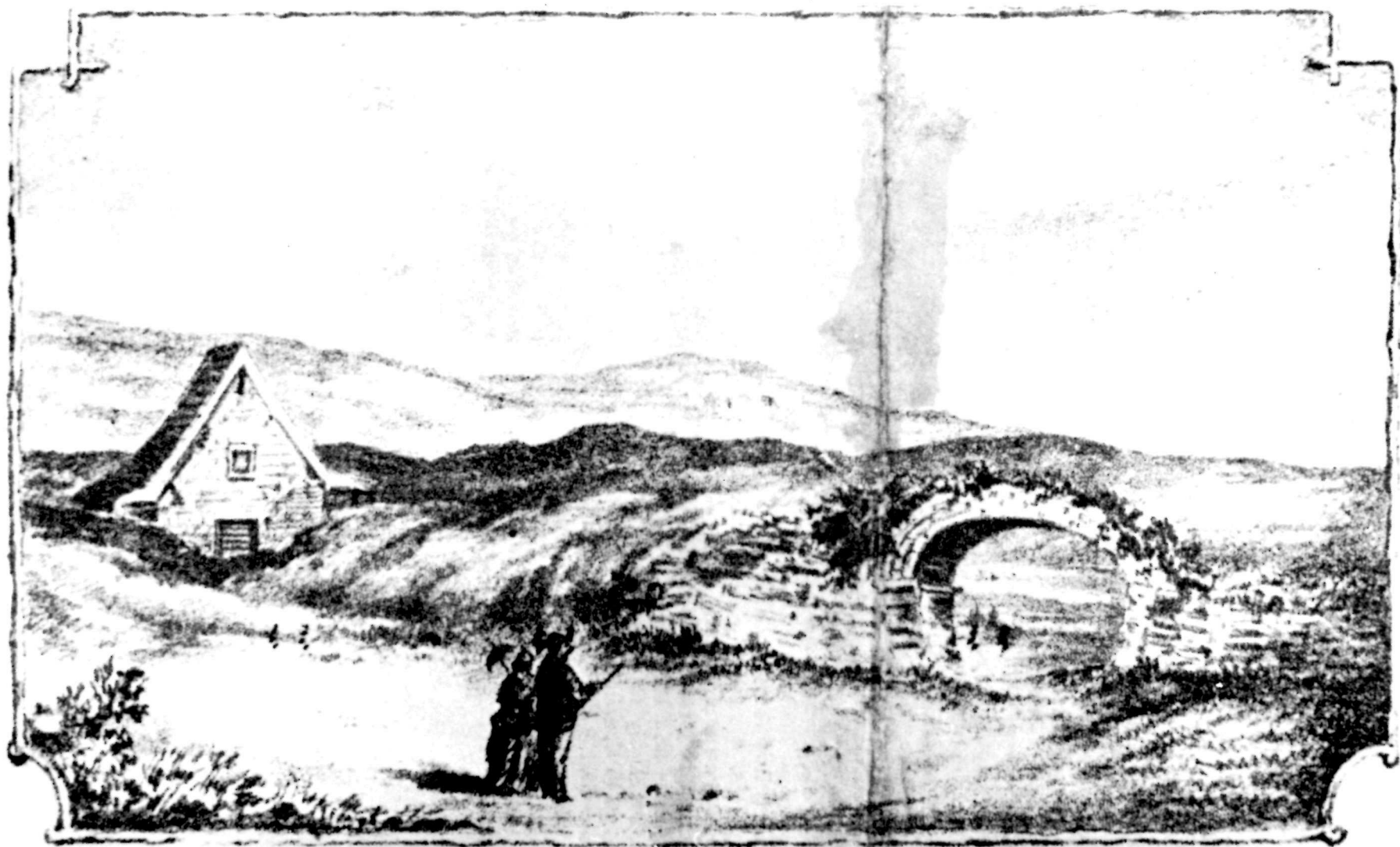


Figure 20. "Ruins of Fortifications, Annapolis, N.S."  
Illustration showing magazine and sally-port, published  
in Illustrated London News, 23 December, 1871. National  
Historic Sites Service Collection, Fort Anne Negative  
# 6J.



RUINS OF FORTIFICATIONS, ANNAPOLIS, N. S. *About 1866.*

Figure 21. The magazine about 1885. Photograph  
attributed to A.M. King of Annapolis Royal.  
National Historic Sites Service Collection, Fort Anne  
Negative # 530.



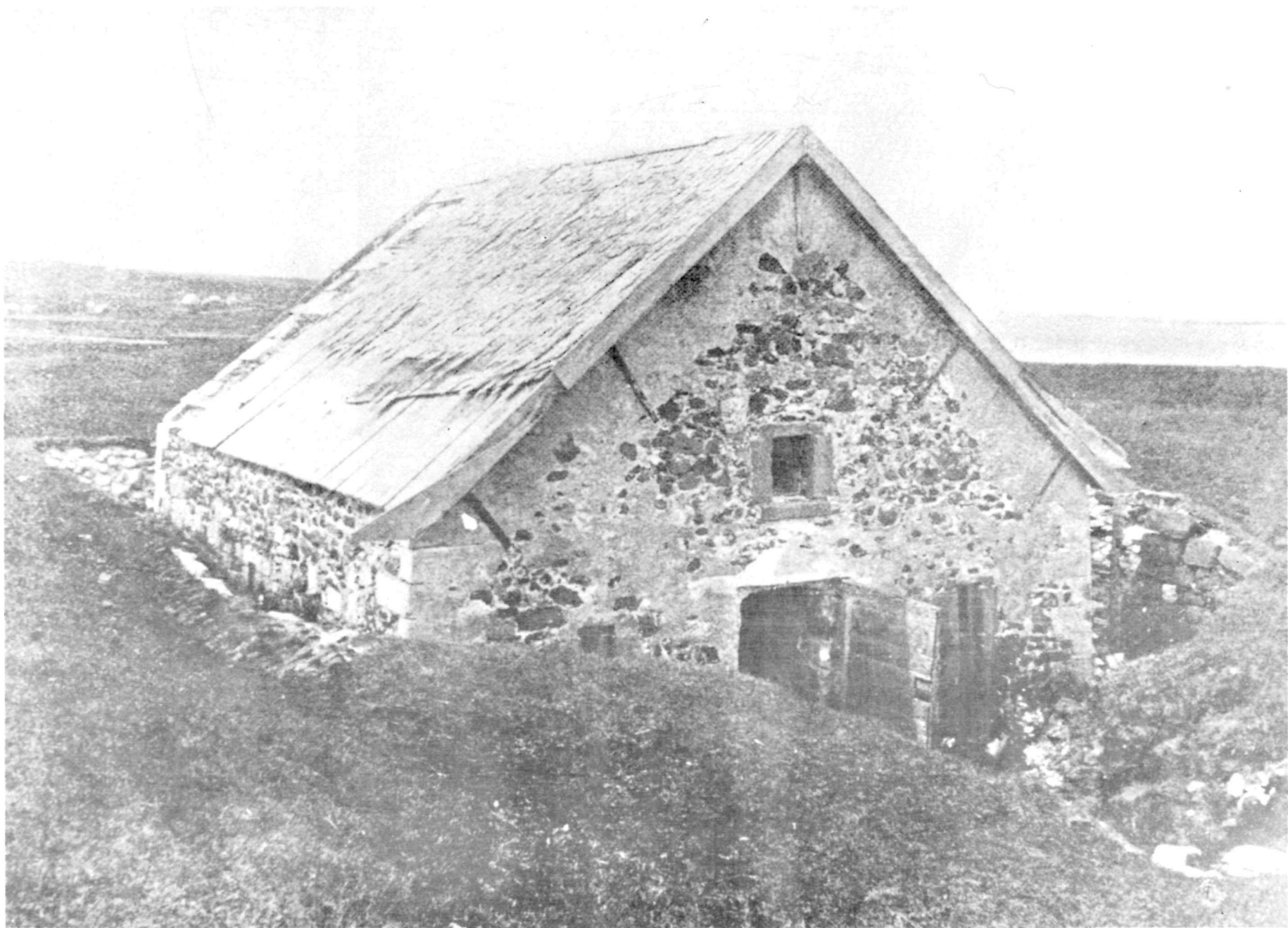


Figure 22. Magazine about 1890. From an old  
postcard. National Historic Sites Service collection,  
Fort Anne Negative # 6F.

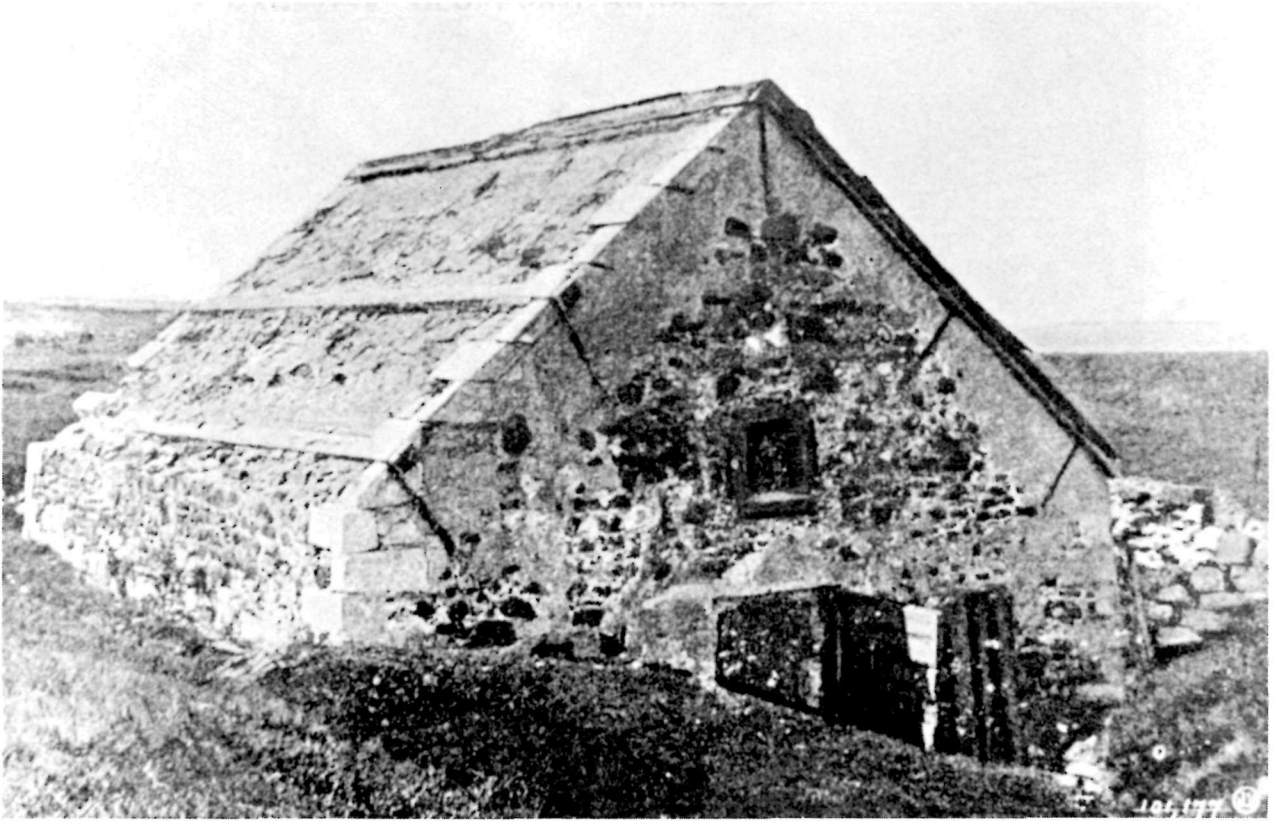


Figure 23. Magazine from rear c. 1893. Photograph taken by Lewis Rice, Railroad Photo Studio. From copy in museum, Fort Anne National Historic Park. National Historic Sites Service collection, Fort Anne Negative # 6C.



Figure 24. Detail from left half of stereo pair taken by the Palace Railroad Photograph Car Company, probably between 1876 and 1881. The company advertisement on the back of the photograph was engraved by Charles Flewelling, who was in business in Saint John, N. B., between 1876 and 1890. The faint horizontal lines on the face of the bastion, discernible at left, show the effects of cattle grazing. From National Historic Sites Service collection, Fort Anne Negative #6D.

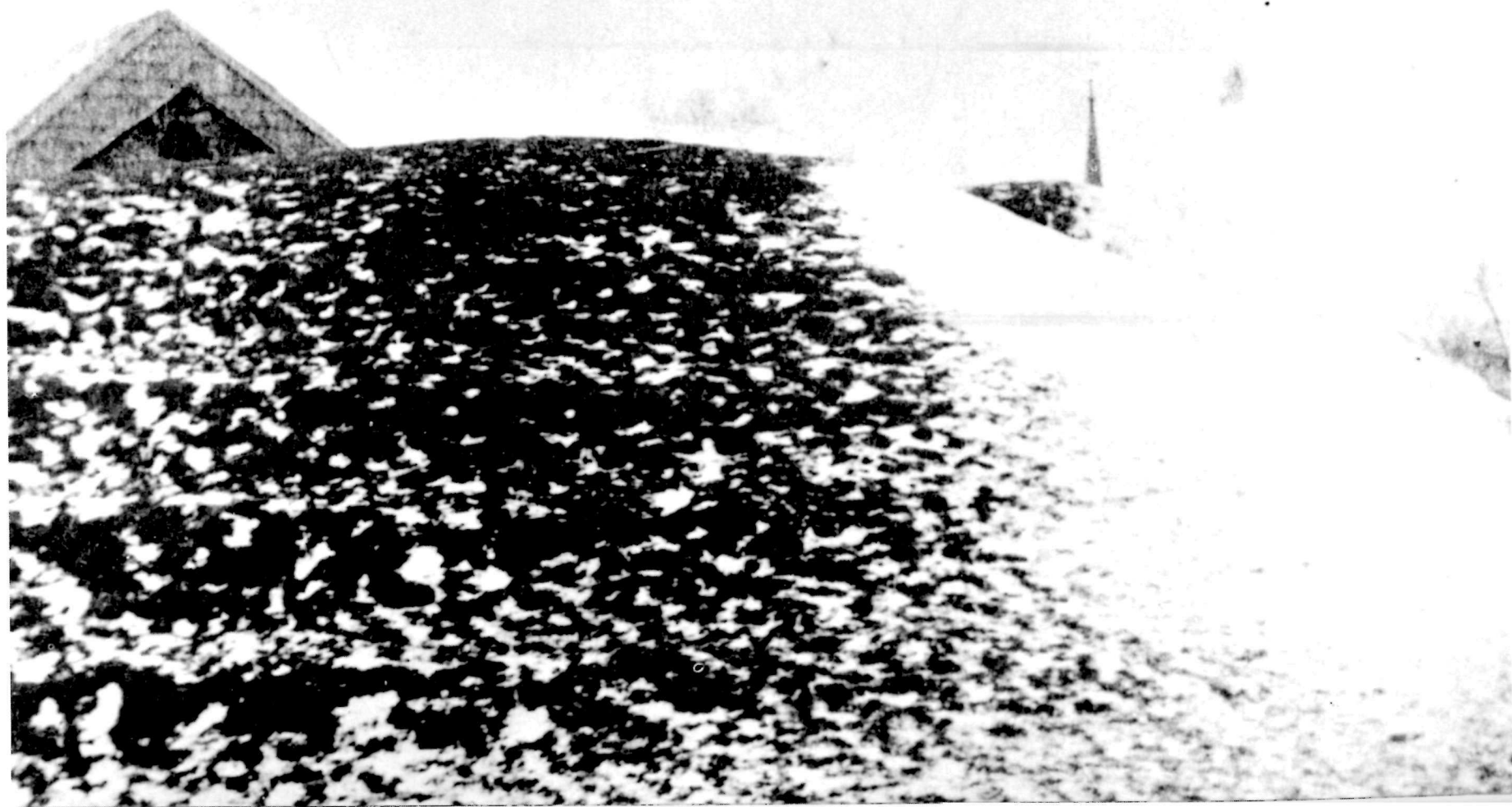


Figure 25. Part of photograph taken between 1893 and 1895. This view gives an indication of the state of the fort prior to the restoration work of 1895. National Historic Sites Service collection, Fort Anne Negative #6B.



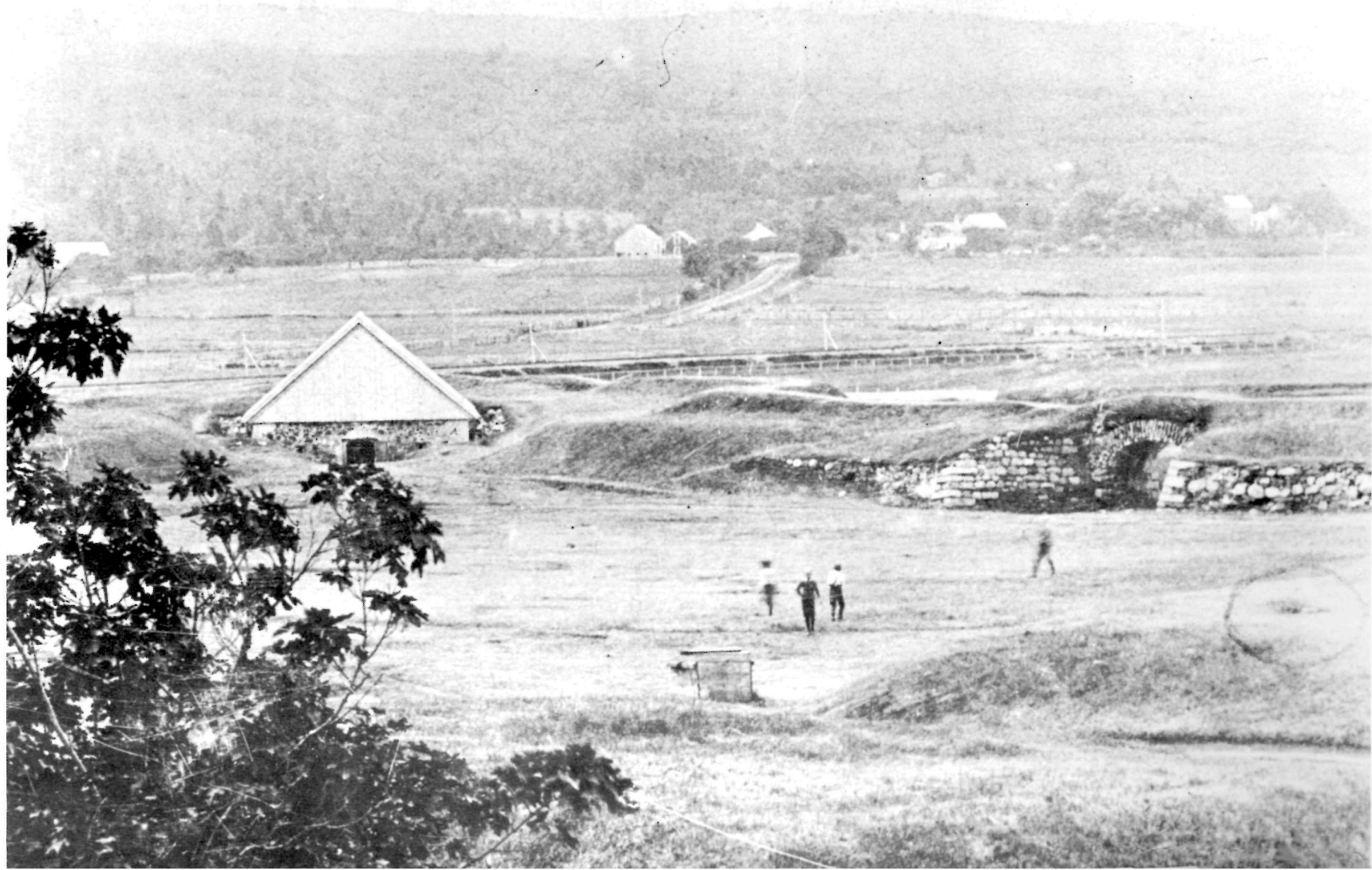


Figure 26. Enlargement of photograph showing magazine and sally port between spring, 1896 and summer, 1897. The retaining walls flanking the approach to the magazine have been built up and the area behind them drastically re-graded. Two of the guns brought from Victoria Beach by Major Armstrong and mounted on carriages in June, 1897, appear below and to the left of the building. National Historic Sites Service collection, Fort Anne Negative # 6A.

Figure 27. From a post card, circa 1907, showing the new "bowed" roof built in 1897. National Historic Sites Service collection, Fort Anne Negative # 6G.

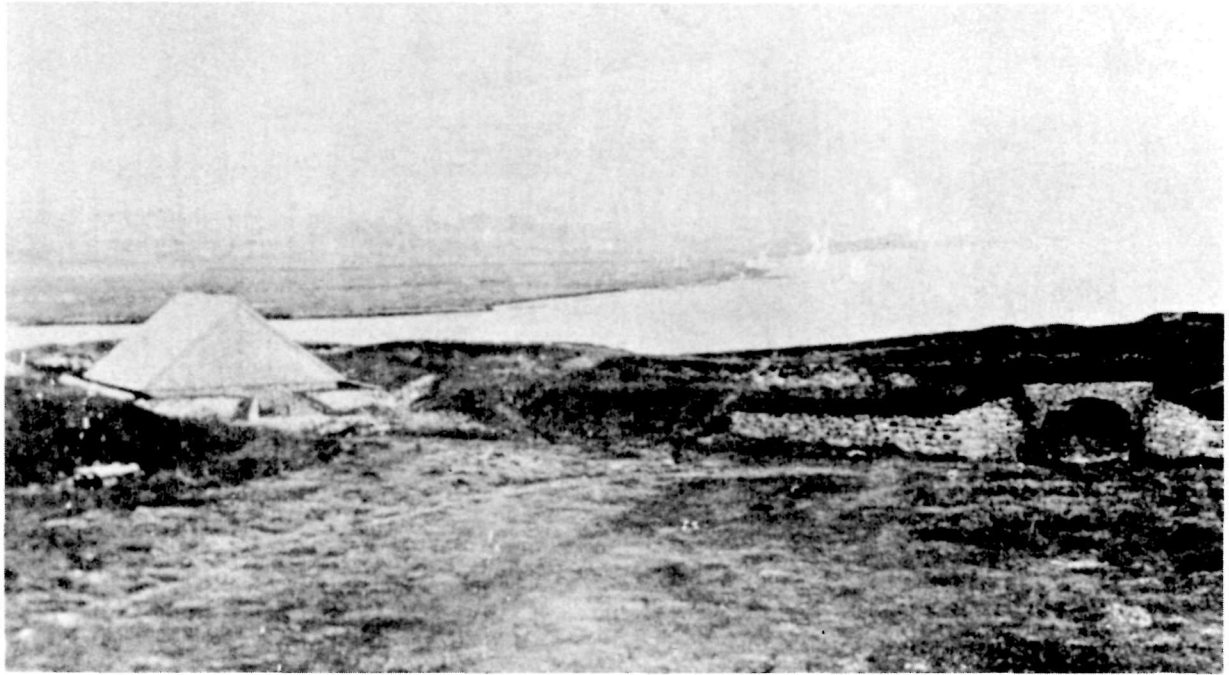


Figure 28. The magazine about 1927, showing its general appearance following the 1924 repairs. National Historic Sites Service photograph collection, Fort Anne Negative # 6H.

Figure 29. Front of the magazine, circa 1929. National Historic Sites Service collection, Fort Anne Negative # 6I.

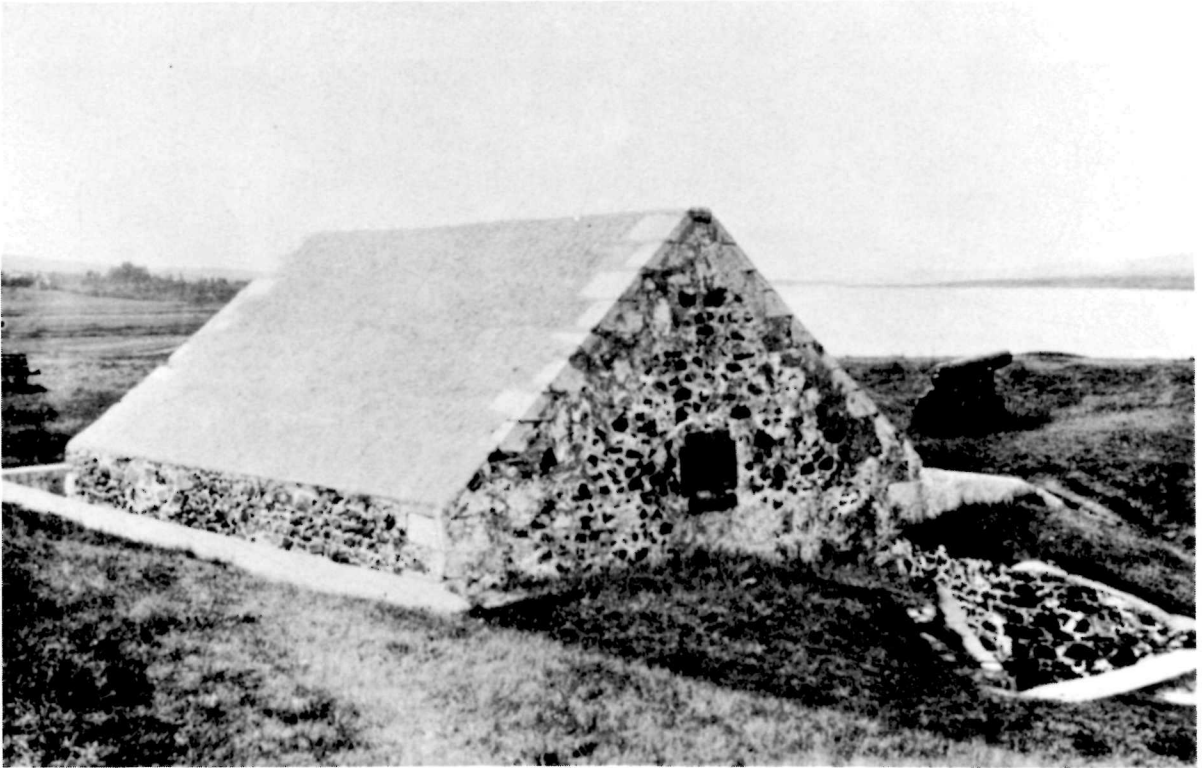
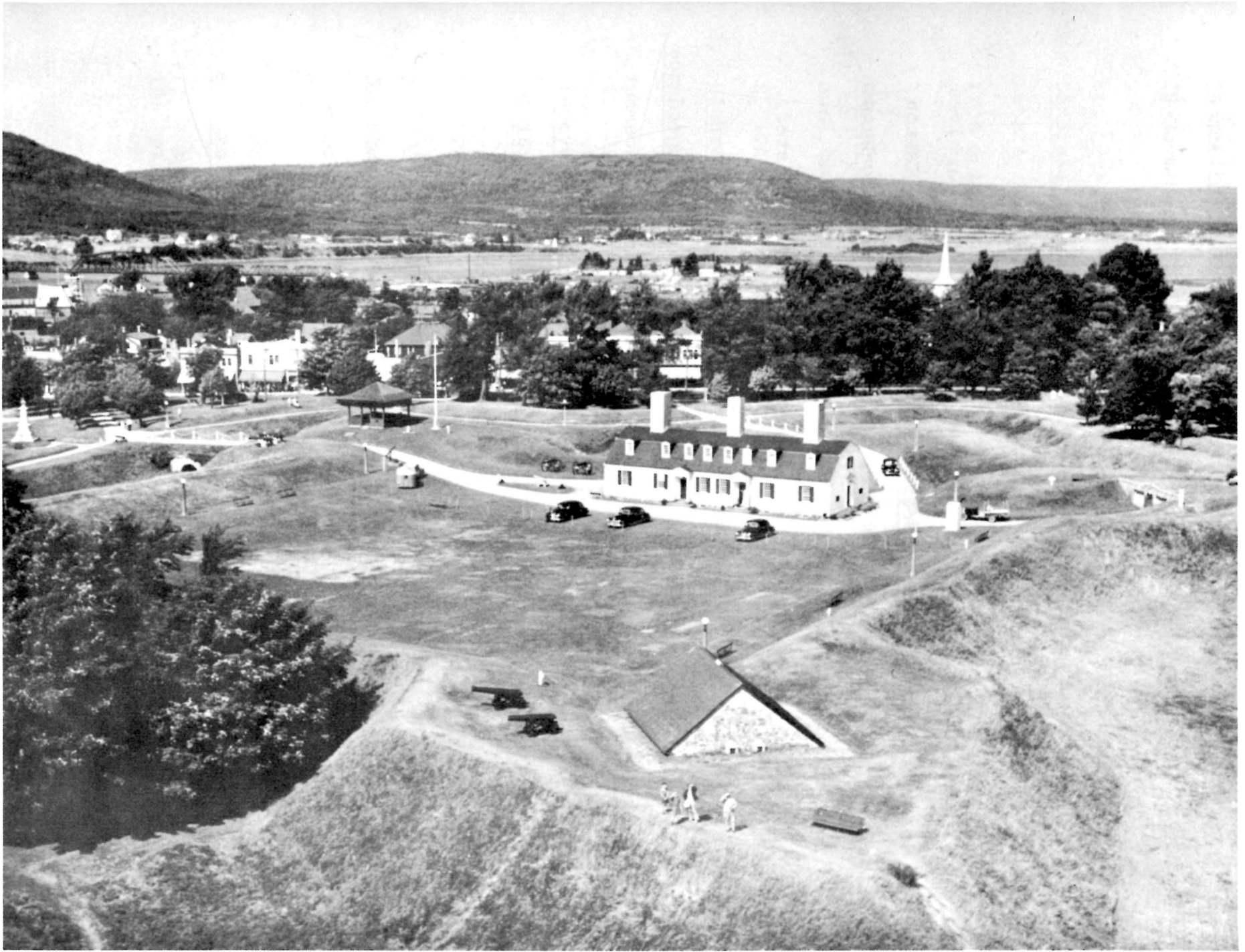


Figure 30. Aerial view showing magazine about 1947, with rear ventilation extensions and wooden roof cover installed during the work of 1941. Photograph courtesy of Nova Scotia Bureau of Information.



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Chapter 1

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2. PAC, MG1, Archives des Colonies, Série C<sup>11</sup>D, Correspondance Générale, Acadie, Vol. 5. Labat to the Minister, 12 December, 1704, p. 74.
3. PAC, MG1, Archives des Colonies, Depot des Fortifications des Colonies, Carton 2, Part 1, Pièce 75. Labat to the Minister, 23 December, 1708.
4. See Figure 3, "Plan de la moitie du Fort du Port Royal ...1708.", on which Labat notes the "Poudriere faitte cette campagne" in the Bastion de Bery.
5. PAC, MG1, Archives des Colonies, Depot des Fortifications des Colonies, Carton 2, Part 1, Pièce 75. "Etat abregé de la depece faite...au fort du Port Royal...acouter du



15 Juillet 1702...." Attachment to Labat to the Minister,  
30 November, 1703.

6. PAC, MG1, Archives des Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>D, Correspondance  
Générale, Acadie, Vol. 5. Reel F-172. "Extrait des  
Lettres de l'Acadie de l'Année 1706." p. 262. Evidently  
from a letter from Labat to the Minister.

7. PAC, MG1, Archives des Colonies, Série B, Lettres  
Envoyées, Vol. B29 - 3. Pontchartrain to Subercase, 30  
June, 1707, p. 488.

8. PAC, MG1, Archives des Colonies, Série C<sup>11</sup>D, Correspondance  
Générale, Acadie, Vol. 6. Subercase to the Minister, 20  
December, 1708, pp. 314-5.

9. PAC, MG1, Archives des Colonies, Série B, Lettres  
Envoyées, B29 - 5, Pontchartrain to Labat, 6 June, 1708,  
p. 125.

10. PAC, MG1. Archives des Colonies, Série C<sup>11</sup>D, Correspondance  
Générale, Acadie, Vol. 6. Subercase to the Minister, 20  
December, 1708, pp. 250, 273.

11. PAC, MG1, Archives des Colonies, Depot des Fortifications  
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Minister, 23 December, 1708.

12. PAC, MG1, Archives des Colonies, Série C<sup>11</sup>D, Correspondance

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13. Dictionary of Canadian Biography, G.W. Brown, general editor. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1969.

Volume II, 1701 to 1740, p. 39. This reference is from the biography of Subercase by the late René Baudry. Father Baudry's source for this statement could not be found in the papers at the PAC; but he used original sources at the various archives in Paris, where he was resident, and had access to material not available in Canada.

## Chapter 2

1. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia "A" Transcripts, Vol. 3, pp. 65 - 70. "The present state of the fort of Annapolis Royall...." Signed by Forbes and enclosed in Vetch to Dartmouth, 22 January, 1711.

2. PAC, MG21, E2, Sloane MSS 3607, p. 18. "Account of What is done and what of necessity must be done for the Security of her Majesty's fort of Annapolis Royal...." Undated, but read at a council of war in the fort on June 15, 1711. The first half of the account was written by Forbes just before he was killed at Bloody Creek. It was finished by Governor Vetch.

3. PAC, MG11, C.O. 217, Reel B-1021, p. 35. Vane to Nicholson, 8 October, 1714.
4. PAC, MG21, E5, Additional MSS 19070, Folio 58. Mascarene to Board of Ordnance, 20 September, 1722.
5. Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS), RG 1, Volume 9 (transcripts), p. 104. Milledge to Mascarene, 31 October, 1723.
6. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia "A" Transcripts, Volume 17, p. 77. "A Representation of the Works of the Fortification of Annapolis Royall...24th of November, 1726".
7. Ibid., p. 76.
8. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia "A" Transcripts, Volume 17, pp. 90 - 91. "A second Representation...24 December."
9. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia "A" Transcripts, Vol. 17, p. 80. Armstrong to Milledge, 24 December, 1726.
10. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia "A" Transcripts, Vol. 17, p. 116. Undated, but early 1727. Philipps to Lords of Trade.
11. PAC, MG12, W.O. 55, Vol. 1558 (2), Reel B-1281, frame 9.
12. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia "A" Transcripts, Volume 39, pp. 183-4. Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, 27 November, 1750. "As this Place (Halifax) has been put on no Establishment,

The Board of Ordnance do nothing....Annapolis Royal is under their care and well supply'd with everything, of much less importance than this Place."

13. Knox, Captain John. An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America. Edited by A G. Doughty. Toronto, the Champlain Society, 1914. 3 vols. Vol. I, p. 97.
14. PAC, MG12, W.O. 55, Vol. 283, Reel B - 3033, frames 44 - 52.
15. PAC, MG12B, W.O. 34, 66, Vol. 14, folder 2, p. 211.  
R.G. Bruce to J.H. Bastide, 22 July, 1761.
16. PAC, MG12B, W.O. 34, 66, Vol. 13, folder 2, p. 175 et seq. Amherst to Bruce, 14 January, 1762.
17. PAC, MG12, W.O. 55, Vol. 1820, Reel B-3040, Part 5, p. 7. William Spry to John Marr, 3 September, 1769. See also same to same, 11 March, 1770; and Granby to Weymouth, 12 May, 1769, in MG11, Nova Scotia "A" Transcripts, Volume 85.
18. PAC, MG12, C.O. 5, Vol. 88, Reel B - 2965, p. 105. Hillsborough to Thomas Gage, 31 July, 1770.
19. PAC, RG8, "C" Series, Vol. 1427, p. 45. Bartlet to the Master General of the Ordnance, 26 June, 1794.
20. See, for example, Secretary of State (Portland) to Prince Edward, 10 May, 1797, in Nova Scotia "A" Transcripts, Vol. 125,

p. 317.

21. It is curious that none of Edward's surviving official correspondence makes reference to the work at Annapolis. There are no accounts, no estimates, no reports and no allusions. Scattered references in the Royal Engineers Letter Books, preserved in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, make it clear that substantial work went on at Annapolis between 1796 and 1802 under Lieutenant Henry Goldsmith and J.G. DeGreiben, Overseer of Works. Both men apparently owed their appointments to Edward, who seems to have been very popular with the engineers in Nova Scotia. The local legend that Edward was fond of Annapolis Royal and frequently visited the town is well-founded in fact, as references exist to his visits there.

22. PAC, RG8, "C" Series, Vol. 1428, p. 32. Capt. J. Straton to President of the Board of Accounts, 14 July, 1796.

23. The work done in the 1790s, and Edward's connection with it, was remembered locally as late as 1826, when the Acadian Magazine printed an article about the fort (see paragraph 1, Chapter 3 of this report). The article describes the magazine as "in excellent preservation, having been repaired by the Duke of Kent at the time of building the brick barracks."

24. PAC, MG12, W.O. 55, Vol. 236. Reel B-2837, p. 160.

- Report for 1811, by James Fraser, storekeeper, 30 April, 1811.
25. PAC, MG12, W.O. 55, Vol. 236. Reel B-2837, p. 18.  
Report for 1808.
26. PAC, MG12, W.O. 55, Vol. 237, Reel B-2837, p. 70. Report for August, 1811.
27. PANS, Royal Engineers Letter Book 16, p. 93. Joseph Norman to Board of Ordnance, 24 February, 1823.
28. PANS, Royal Engineers Letter Book 34, p. 51. See Appendix 3.
29. PAC, MG12, W.O. 55, Vol. 236. Reel B-2837, p. 160.  
Report for 1811, by James Fraser, storekeeper, 30 April, 1811.
30. PAC, MG12, W.O. 55, Vol. 871. Reel B-2815, pp. 345-6 et seq. R. Byham to Inspector General of Fortifications, 17 October, 1834.
31. PAC, MG12, W.O. 55, Vol. 872. Reel B-2816, p. 287.  
Byham to Inspector General of Fortifications, 12 June, 1835.
32. PANS, Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, p. 137. J.G. De Greben to Captain Benette (sic), 17 August, 1807.
33. PANS, Royal Engineers Letter Book 34, p. 15. Joseph Norman to W.R. Creed, Clerk of Works, 4 September, 1826.
34. The Novascotian, Vol. III, No. III, 21 January, 1830, p. 18.

35. PANS, Royal Engineers Letter Book 57, p. 151. Thomas Downes, Barrack Sergeant, Annapolis Royal, to Respective Officers, Halifax, 28 February, 1857.
36. PAC, RG8, "C" Series, Vol. 1654, "Inspectional Reports, 1862-3", p. 6.
37. PAC, RG8, "C" Series, Vol. 1828., pages unnumbered. Note by Lawrence Hall on office copy of his 1879 lease, in docket titled "Lands, Nova Scotia, Cancelled Leases, 1855 - 1882".
38. PAC, RG8, "C" Series, Vol. 1754, pages unnumbered, 1849 packet. Petition from inhabitants of Annapolis Royal to Lieutenant Governor Sir John Harvey.

### Chapter 3

1. Reprinted in Calnek, W.A, History of the County of Annapolis. Toronto, William Briggs, 1897, pp. 180-181.
2. PAC, RG8, "C" Series, Vol. 1447, p. 2. Lieutenant-Colonel R.J. Nelson, CRE, to Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce, 28 June, 1859.
3. PAC, RG9, II A I, 155, Docket 07428. C.E. Panet to Governor-General's Secretary, 20 June, 1883.

4. PAC, RG9, II A I, 155, Docket 07428. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Wylie to unnamed addressee, probably the Adjutant General in Ottawa, 1 August, 1883.
5. PAC, RG9, II A I, 208, Docket A1166. Lieutenant-Colonel J.B. Taylor to Adjutant General, 17 November, 1884.
6. PAC, RG9, II E I, 116, p. 54. "Memo for Minister", from H. James, Militia and Defence Architect, 13 March, 1886; also p. 16, "Memo of Works to be done to Military Properties...."
7. PAC, RG9, II A I, 305, Docket A 8839. "Memorial to the Minister of Militia and Defence", from the citizens of Annapolis Royal; undated, but attached to letter from J.B. Mills, M.P., to Sir Adolphe Caron, 29 March, 1889.
8. PAC, RG9, II H I, Vol. 3, Docket 337. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Macdonald to the Minister, 16 December, 1891, attached to Macdonald to Lieutenant-Colonel J. Macpherson, 9 March, 1898.
9. PAC, RG9, II A I, Docket 14098. Captain J.E. Curren to Deputy Minister, 18 June, 1895.
10. PAC, RG9, II H I, Vol. 3, Docket A2036. Major A.J. Armstrong to Lieutenant-Colonel Macpherson, 20 November 1895.
11. PAC, RG9, II E I, Vol. 38, Docket 1642. Paul Weatherbe,



Militia and Defence Architect, report of 15 April, 1897.

12. PAC, RG9, II E I, Vol. 38, Docket 1642. Major J.A. Armstrong to Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence, 6 May, 1897.

13. PAC, RG9, II E I, Vol. 38, Docket 1642, passim.

14. PAC, RG9, II E I, Vol. 38, Docket 1642, Item 04633. Paul Weatherbe to A.M. King, 19 May, 1897.

15. PAC, RG9, II H I, Vol. 3, Docket A2036. Major Armstrong to Macpherson, 20 November, 1895.

16. PAC, RG9, II E I, Vol. 38, Docket 1642. A.M. King to Paul Weatherbe, 14 August, 1897.

17. Undated clipping from the Colchester Sun, 1899, in Scrapbook #3, Fort Anne Museum, Fort Anne National Historic Park.

18. Photograph, no date, in undated newspaper article in Scrapbook #4, Fort Anne Museum, Fort Anne National Historic Park.

19. PAC, RG9, II E I, Vol. 73, Docket 2996. A.M. King to Paul Weatherbe, 26 December, 1901.

Chapter 4

1. National Parks Branch (hereafter NPB) File F.A. 2, Vol. I, 1890 - 1917. Colonel R.W. Rutherford to Secretary of Militia and Defence, 28 January, 1914.
2. NPB File F. A. 2, Vol. I. Marginal note on Director-General of Engineering Services to Military Secretary, 21 August, 1913. See also Military Secretary to A.L. Davidson, M.P., 6 July, 1914.
3. Ibid.
4. NPB File F. A. 2, Vol. I. Initialled approval on margin of Director-General of Engineering Services to Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence, 30 October, 1915.
5. The Spectator, 20 February, 1919. Clipping in Fort Anne Scrapbook #3, Fort Anne National Historic Park.
6. NPB File F. A. 2, Vol. 2. F.H.H. Williamson to J.B. Harkin, 12 December, 1916, p. 15.
7. The Spectator, 10 February, 1916. Clipping in NPB File F. A. 2, Vol. 2.
8. NPB File F. A. 2, Vol. 2. H. Lloyd to J.B. Harkin, 23 October, 1919.

9. Daily Journal, 1924. Fort Anne Museum, Fort Anne National Historic Park.
10. The Spectator, 8 May, 1924. Clipping in NPB File F. A. 39 - P.
11. PAC, RG84, Vol. 418, NPB File F. A. 56, Vol. I. Clipping from The Spectator, 5 June, 1924.
12. Report of the Honorary Superintendent of Fort Anne Park, 1924. NPB File F. A. 44 - P, item 70, p. 1.
13. Hardy, H.L. Thirty Years History of Fort Anne Park, 1917-1947. Typescript in Fort Anne Library, Fort Anne National Historic Park. 1924 Section, p. 123.
14. Ibid., 1937 Section, p. 276.
15. Ibid., 1940 Section, p. 29.
16. Ibid., 1940 Section, p. 30.
17. Ibid., 1941 Section, p. 64.
18. NPB File F. A. 28, Vol. 2. "Extract from Mr. Childe's Report dated 23rd August, 1950." Stapled to blank page, without context. The full report is not on this file.

## A NOTE ON SOURCES

Both microfilm and transcripts have been consulted when using MG1 and MG 12, particularly the Depot des Fortifications des Colonies papers and the C. O. 217 and Nova Scotia "A" materials. Students of Nova Scotia's history, especially of the period from 1710 to 1749 when Annapolis Royal was the seat of government, soon learn that the Nova Scotia "A" transcripts contain some material that cannot be located in the microfilms of the various Public Records Office series that compose the transcripts; and that the reverse holds true as well.

Government files present a special problem for the researcher because of records-keeping systems and changing organizations. The Branch of which the National Historic Sites Service is a part has had several names, and I have arbitrarily used "National Parks Branch" when citing our early files. The files consulted fall into four groups: (1), those which are in current use at Branch headquarters in Ottawa (2), closed files kept in the Government Records Centre at Tunney's Pasture, Ottawa, subject to recall when need at Branch headquarters (3), closed files turned over to the Public Records Division at the Public Archives of Canada for permanent preservation, and (4), the files at Fort Anne National Historic Park. Some of the earliest files in the second and third groups contain material that was once in Militia and

Defence files but was turned over to this Branch when Fort Anne became a national historic park in 1917.

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