THE GEOGRAPHY OF HALIBURTON'S NOVA SCOTIA

There is no more fascinating account of Nova Scotia in the early nineteenth century than that given by Thomas Chandler Haliburton. In the course of his duties as a distinguished barrister-at-law and member of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, Haliburton travelled many times throughout the mainland section of the province. During the early 1820s he compiled his observations of the contemporary scene, drawing upon his detailed knowledge of history, on such statistics as existed, and on his own experiences. His compendium appeared, in brief form, in 1823, and a further edition was published in 1825. The finished work, in two volumes with a combined total of 798 pages, and entitled An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia, appeared in 1829. There is much in it to interest the geographer.

Haliburton makes clear from the beginning a distinction between the rugged drowned coastline in the south, with its numerous rias and drumlin islands, and the more hospitable northern coastlands. The south shore he describes as "generally inhospitable, presenting a bold rocky shore, and a poor sterile soil, clothed with a thin and stunted growth of Birch and Spruce." The north is presented as "soft and free from rocks. The shores are everywhere indented with harbours, rivers, coves and bays." The forested Pre-Cambrian and Cambrian structures of the Nova Scotia "spine" were largely ignored. With the exception of the Rawdon Hills there were few settlers there, and Rawdon was noted for its impoverishment and its economic reliance upon supplying hay and straw to the stables of Halifax. One can visualize Haliburton sighing with relief, as, north of the Halifax County boundary, on the road to Windsor, he notes: "The sombre spruce and fir, and the dwarf birch that clothe the Country for twenty miles from the Capital, are succeeded by a growth of beech mingled with hemlock, elm and maple; and the surface of the ground is no longer encumbered with heavy masses of stone."

Halifax, with its safe harbour and developing fortifications, was already the largest centre of urban population, in which the principal industry was the refitting of ships in the King's Dock Yard. The street pattern included "eight streets running through the centre of the town, only two of which reach its southern and three its northern extremity. These are again intersected by fifteen others." The main streets were macadamized; there were a number of fine public buildings, including the incorporated but not yet opened Dalhousie University; meat, vegetable, and fish markets displayed a wealth of goods drawn from the produce of surrounding areas. Since its foundation in 1749 the town had grown to 700 houses in 1790, 1,200 in 1817, and 1,580 in 1828. Its population had increased from about 4,000 in 1790 to 14,439 in 1828.

Across the harbour from Halifax were the settlements of Dartmouth and Preston, already economically dominated by the capital. Dartmouth had been settled in 1784 by twenty families from Nantucket. The men had been engaged in whaling, as had the men of Barrington, but the enterprise had suffered a financial disaster in 1792, and most of the original inhabitants had moved to Milford in South Wales. Preston had been settled in 1784 by Loyalists, disbanded soldiers, and freed Negro slaves. Only the Loyalists had remained. The Negroes were industrious, gaining a living by supplying butter, eggs, and poultry to Halifax, but most of them had taken advantage of the offer in 1791, extended by the British government, to resettle them in the newly purchased Colony of Sierra Leone. Of the other group of settlers Haliburton notes that "the disbanded soldiers were prone to idleness and intemperance, and when they had exhausted his Majesty's bounty of provisions, they sold their lands and quitted the settlement."

East of Dartmouth and Preston the only substantial settlement was Sherbrooke, at the head of navigation on the St. Mary's River (referred to as the Antigonish stream by Haliburton) and accessible to vessels of 50-60 tons. It was the collecting and shipping point for timber floated down the St. Mary's River and its tributary streams. "In 1827, 400,000 feet of sawed lumber, and 100 head of horned cattle were sent from this place to Halifax; and during the last seven years, ten vessels of from 50 to 100 tons were built there." Since there were few areas of good soil in the coastal areas on either side of Sherbrooke the inhabitants divided their economic activities between land and sea, a fact which Haliburton, as a landsman, deplored. Evidently he over-estimated the capacity of the soil in many areas to produce crops, and under-valued fishing as an economic activity. Of the Manchester township of Sydney County he writes:

The difference between raising indigo, indian corn, and tobacco, in the prairies

of Florida and Carolina, and planting potatoes on land, from which they were under the necessity of first removing the forest, was so great as to discourage their efforts; and as the adjoining fisheries presented a prospect of support, with less labour and fatigue, they applied themselves alternately to the cultivation of the soil, and catching fish. To this unprofitable system, not only they, but those who have subsequently settled there have always adhered. . . .

There were similar criticisms of Guysborough. He bemoans the existence of large fields that had never been ploughed. Yet he is wary of being too severe, for the forests had been exhausted already by land clearance, and there were several annual shiploads of black cattle, horses, sheep, butter, potatoes and oats to Newfoundland. Moreover the fisheries were also obviously excellent: Haliburton mentions 50,000 barrels taken along a twelve-mile coastline in 1824 and 1825.

The coastline between Halifax and Yarmouth was no more encouraging for farming activities. Already one town, founded with high hopes in 1783, had suffered serious decline. Shelburne had sprung up almost overnight with the arrival of eighteen square-rigged ships and some smaller vessels, so that before the end of the 1780s it had had a population of about 12,000. Ten years later most of the New Englanders had sailed away again, while the Negroes in the satellite village of Birchtown migrated to Sierra Leone. Haliburton notes that "there are still a number of settlers, but their farms are not extensive." "Remote from the other settlements of the Province, surrounded by the forest without roads, situated too far from the entrance of the harbour, to reap the advantages of the fishing grounds, and filled with people, who were unacquainted with the mode of settling the wilderness, it was impossible that such a town . . . could long exist."

Only those communities favourably located in relation to fishing grounds, and basing their economics principally upon the export of fish, or otherwise connected with trading by sea, could hope to prosper. Between the capital town and the La Have river were Lunenburg and Chester. Lunenburg was very prosperous, with substantial wharves, more than a hundred registered vessels, and "upwards of two hundred and thirty dwelling houses, stores and other buildings, many of which are spacious, substantially built, and neatly finished." The town not only had a magnificent harbour in command of large fishing grounds, but it had gained a place in the West Indian market for fish so well that it had developed a substantial position as an entrepôt:

The annual export of cod fish, is stated to be about twenty thousand quintals.

... The export of mackerel is obtained at Canseau. . . . For salmon it is altogether dependant upon the Labrador. Towards the autumn . . . the traders occasionally assort their cargoes with potatoes, fish, and lumber, and if they reach the Islands before the English ships arrive, they often yield a very handsome profit. The surplus returns of rum, sugar, molasses, & c. are sold either at Halifax, Quebec, or Newfoundland.

The trade link with Newfoundland also gave opportunity for the export of cattle and vegetables grown in Lunenburg County. These items helped to complete the cargoes, and on the return were replaced by fish.

Chester, which had about 2,000 people of New England and German origins, placed more emphasis on the export of lumber, "for the manufacture of which there are seven saw mills." It had fourteen vessels in use in coastal trade between Halifax, Lunenburg, and Liverpool.

Between the beautiful La Have river and Liverpool there were only small villages, but Liverpool was nearly as substantial as Lunenburg:

It contains 150 dwelling houses, 50 commodious stores and warehouses, with 26 wharves for the convenience of vessels. . . . The houses are spacious, substantially good, and well-painted, and there is an air of regularity and neatness in the place, which distinguishes it from every other town in the province. . . . Nature has formed a very convenient inlet . . . which affords a safe retreat for sailing vessels, and as the beach is well-suited for curing fish, most of the Labrador fares are landed here for that purpose. It is computed that 20,000 quintals may be spread upon it at one time. . . .

The trade of Liverpool is in a flourishing condition at present. There are 56 sail of ships, brigs and schooners owned at this place. . . . This shipping is employed in the European, West Indian and Coasting trade, and in the Labrador and Shore fishery. . . . One of the principal resources of Liverpool is its export of lumber . . . at the mouth of the harbour great quantities of mackerel and herrings are taken every year in seins.

The only handicap was a bar across the entrance to the harbour reducing clearance to fifteen feet at the full tide and nine feet at ebb tide. Already there were vessels that had to anchor three miles away at Herring Cove, a small fishing village of about thirty families.

Apart from Shelburne and Barrington there were only small fishing villages between Liverpool and Yarmouth. Port Mouton with fifty families was larger than most because it exported timber, and even Barrington was little more than a long thin ribbon of settlement between the sea and a rocky,

ill-drained moorland of little economic value. Of the land that could be tilled (after the removal of rocks) Haliburton says that "it is covered with a deep chocolate-coloured turf, which requires to be well-manured before it will produce a crop of potatoes." Consequently the Barrington settlers who came from New England in the early 1760s never considered farming as a way of life. Whaling had failed early, and some depopulation had occurred. The cod fisheries, however, had thrived, and the population numbered 2,186 in 1828, almost all the men being empoyed in fishing with a few engaged in the West Indies trade.

Along the uplifted northern coastlines of Nova Scotia there were fewer inlets than were evident in the south. Moreover, the section bordering on the Northumberland Strait was ice-trapped through the winter, so that fishing between St. George's Bay and Bay Verte was not the dominant economic activity. There were compensations, however, in the small coalfields of the area. The largest centre of population was Pictou, the centre of an area in which numerous Scots had been settled, and the only substantial port. A little town of grey stone houses, whose people numbered 1,439, it was already in decline. It still shared some of the West Indies trade with the south-coast ports, and had even showed a temporary increase, but its timber exports had slumped badly, apparently because of increased British import duties. Since this decline is not mentioned elsewhere it seems probable that timber supplies near to the coast were already deficient, so that cost of production had risen significantly. Haliburton's comment that there was still much birchwood indicates a lack of the more favoured conifers. Not far away was the newer village of New Glasgow which was later to overshadow Pictou. Coalmining had already begun, and Haliburton notes with enthusiasm: "The vein of coal ... is upwards of fifty feet in thickness, and iron ore is both contiguous and abundant."

The Cumberland shores of Chignecto Bay and the Minas Basin were much more favoured. In the Amherst-Fort Lawrence area were the extensive Tantramar marshes that formed a natural boundary zone between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. At Fort Lawrence, situated between the Missiquash and La Planch rivers were some 6,000 acres of dyke-land. Haliburton notes that "vast stacks of hay cover these alluvial lands", and that there were consequently large herds of cattle grazing near to substantial farm-houses. Around Amherst he also notes, with some apparent distaste, because of his predilection for cultivated land: "The inhabitants appear to give a decided preference to grazing . . . and keep large herds of cattle. The marshes, although substant-

ially dyked, and in some places well drained, present vast tracts of uncultivated land; which, though susceptible of the highest improvement, are never disturbed by the plough." In fact the frequent fogs made grain growth almost impossible, while there was a double crop of hay.

Between Cape Chignecto and the town of Truro there were more settlements. Of Parrsborough, which faced Cape Split at the entrance to the Minas Basin, Haliburton noted: "The land in this township is much broken and hilly, . . . but the soil on the summit as well as the slopes of these produces all kinds of vegetables and grain." Nearer to Truro was Londonderry, settled by twenty families from Londonderry, Northern Ireland, in 1761. The seven small villages within this township had a mixed farming-fishing economy. There were cargoes of "boards, planks, and a few articles of agricultural produce, for the market of St. John, N. B., and beef, butter and pork, which are transmitted to Halifax." Haliburton also adds: "Cargoes are occasionally assorted for the West Indies, and about twenty vessels have loaded with timber for Europe." There must also have been a cottage woollen industry, for two carding mills are mentioned. Six grist mills, two oat mills and five saw mills were also listed. There were also five small rivers, which "at a distance of six miles from their mouth, are intersected by veins of coal, which are so conveniently situated for the operations of mining, and for transportation by water, that if the Shubenacadie Canal should be successfully completed, it is probable the Halifax market will derive the greatest part of its supply of fuel from this township." The coal seams were in fact too heavily faulted to be commercially useful, except on a very small scale in the immediate area, and the ill-fated Shubenacadie Canal was never used for this purpose. Haliburton nevertheless presents a delightful description of a very prosperous little community, similar to others surrounding the Minas Basin.

The areas surrounding Salmon River and the Shubenacadie River were as prosperous as Londonderry, and Truro township was already well populated by British settlers who had inherited much from the expelled Acadians. Within Old Barns, whose name stemmed from the fact that two French barns were still standing when the land was resettled, there were about seventy houses. Of the Acadian inheritance, Haliburton notes: "Of dyked marsh there were, however, 1036 acres, of cultivated upland—390 acres, and of cleared interval—200 acres. Several orchards were in full vigour, and some of them still produce fruit."

Within Truro township there was also a substantial town developing at the lowest bridging point on the Salmon River. So far it had been laid

out in two parallel streets running east-west, and roads led from the town to Pictou and Cumberland. There were four grist mills, one of which had a carding machine and a fulling mill attached to it, indicating that there was a woollen industry in the town. Throughout the township there were nine saw mills, and Haliburton was enthusiastic about the state of farming.

North of Truro was Onslow, resettled by thirty families from Massachusets in 1761, but it had not prospered like its neighbours. Although there were "570 acres of Marsh land . . . still under dyke, and about 40 acres of upland round the ruins of the houses", the countryside had, in the main, been laid waste, on the departure of the Acadians, much more effectively than elsewhere. There were restrictions in the grant also. Among other things, one thousand acres had to be set aside as glebeland and all mining rights were vested in the crown.

North River repeated the success story of Truro. There was a "valuable salt spring" and some small seams of workable coal. It was agriculture, however, that really thrived. Originally dependent on the Saint John market, it was now sending more produce—wheat, potatoes, and turnips—to Halifax. "The intervale land on this river contains nine hundred acres, of the first quality; some of it having produced 14 wheat crops in succession without manure. . . . The upland soil upon the Bay is various. . . . In general it is an intermixture of clay and sand. The whole front of the township is cleared upland, and is nominally divided into three villages."

Southward the cleared agricultural land in the Middle Shubenacadie and Stewiacke valleys continued as far as the Gay's River Ridge, and from this general area Halifax was supplied with cattle and dairy produce.

Haliburton was clearly unfamiliar with the Minas Basin shoreline between the Shubenacadie and St. Croix rivers, though there is perfunctory recognition of Noel and, further inland, of Kennetcook. He mentions the Kempt cod and herring fishery, which seemed to thrive in spite of the great tidal range which left large tidal flats at low tide extending some three miles to the sea—a factor that was later to cause the decline of fishing along the whole coast. The small farms of this area were manured by seaweed, which made intensive production possible. Although it is not mentioned in the text of Haliburton's account, his statistics make it clear that shipbuilding was of importance as it was also at both ends of the Annapolis-Cornwallis Valley, where such townships as Windsor, Horton, Cornwallis, and Digby were involved.

Along the Minas Basin shoreline, from Windsor to Cape Blomidon,

extended the most prosperous agricultural area in Nova Scotia. Its water communications, its sea breezes, and its fertile shale-sandstone soils, as well as its natural beauty, were attractions to the Acadian settlers. It was equally attractive to the New Englanders who followed them, so that already it shared with Pictou County the highest density of rural population in the province. Most important were the Horton and Cornwallis townships. Entering Horton from the east, Haliburton describes the scene at Grand Pre: "On either hand extend undulating hills richly cultivated, and intermingled with farmhouses and orchards. From the base of these highlands, extend the alluvial meadows, which add so much to the appearance and wealth of Horton. . . . During the summer and autumnal months, immense herds of cattle are seen quietly cropping the herbage of the Grand Prairie." This verbal transect illustrates the basis of the economy in geographical terms: there is the contrast between the dykelands, with their hayfields and grazing cattle, and the apple orchards of the undulating higher land; in addition, wheat and oats were being grown, and many sheep were grazed, though sheep were to disappear in a later age of specialization.

Within Horton there were the beginnings of urban development. Kent-ville had already come into existence at the junction of the Halifax-Annapolis post road with the old Acadian road to Cornwallis: "It is distant from Halifax about seventy-two miles, and from Annapolis sixty, forming the central point at which the stagecoaches meet." There was also a nucleation growing around the point at which the Windsor-Parrsborough packet steamer called. Haliburton mentions also the rumour that the Baptists were planning to open an academy there. Almost before his ink was dry the institution had been founded in an old farm-house. The village was soon to grow into the town of Wolfville, and the Baptist academy was to become Acadia University.

Windsor, although it was located at the eastern entrance to the Annapolis-Cornwallis valley, was not typical of the towns of the area, for around it there were considerable gypsum deposits. "The chief trade of Windsor consists in the exportation of Plaster of Paris or Gypsum, to St. John and St. Andrews, in New Brunswick; from whence it is transported to the United States, and applied to agricultural purposes." Windsor, moreover, was a resort for prosperous Haligonians and for higher government officials (of whom Haliburton himself was one), to whom unusually large grants of land had been made after the Acadian expulsion. Within the town was the Anglican University of King's College, of which Haliburton was one of the earliest graduates. Some features of the town, however, were typical of the area, and Haliburton

offers a good geographical description: "The peculiar situation of this place, surrounded by a range of mountainous land, and protected from the bleak winds, and chilly fogs, experienced on the sea coast, is peculiarly favourable for raising tender fruits. Peaches, though subject . . . to be injured by frosts, have been known to ripen without artificial aid, or even common shelter; and grapes, pears, quinces, and plumbs arrive in perfection."

In the centre of the Annapolis-Cornwallis Valley there were few inhabitants, for the only means of communication was the Annapolis Royal-Halifax post road, along which a ribbon development was showing the beginnings of a village. Other than this, in spite of fairly good soils, there were only a few dispersed farms which relied mainly on subsistence. Timber from land clearance could only be exported at high cost. Communication by sea was all important before the development of the Dominion Atlantic Railway, and the formidable basaltic wall of North Mountain shut the area off from the Bay of Fundy. Hopefully, Haliburton writes: "To remedy this evil and enable the people to export their staves and lumber . . . a pier has been erected on the shore of the bay." But the journey to the pier, though short, was very difficult.

Beyond Wilmot the Annapolis River was navigable. The number of inhabitants, and the timber-cutting activities, showed a marked increase, and in the township of Granville there were twenty saw mills as well as five grist mills. Granville township also boasted the beginnings of Bridgetown, a neat little village that had already superseded Annapolis Royal as the commercial centre of the area. Although there were only twenty-five dwelling houses, Bridgetown had "twelve stores, three inns and thirteen shops", all built since 1822.

Haliburton correctly pinpoints the reasons for the decline of Annapolis Royal, the ancient capital of the province and the site of the first French settlement in Canada. Its expansion was limited by its peninsula site and the further fact that it was "unfortunately encompassed by Government enclosures, a large common, and glebe land. From these causes any considerable extension of the place is rendered impracticable, and many enterprising and wealthy persons . . . were compelled to seek a residence elsewhere." Furthermore the forests had receded from the immediate neighbourhood of Annapolis Royal, so that lumber, as well as an increasing amount of agricultural produce, was being shipped to Saint John from Bridgetown instead.

Wherever there was hope of developing industrial capacity, Haliburton was normally enthusiastic, but about the Annapolis Iron Mining Company,

formed in 1825 to exploit two veins of iron ore—one near the mouth of Moose River in Clements township and the other at Nictau, a short distance away he seems to have had some reservations. He may have been prejudiced against the company's status, for limited companies were still novelties. Nevertheless he dutifully notes its apparent advantages. There was a demand in the province for hollow ware and bar iron that was acute enough for the government to have offered bounties amounting to £1200. The site of the Moose River deposit was eight miles from Annapolis Royal and twelve miles from Digby, and the river offered a good anchorage for shipping. However, although "a quantity of hollow ware of very superior quality" had already been produced, and the company was in process of "laying the foundation of forges for making bar iron" the project seems to have been foredoomed. There was a coalhouse, but the main fuel was charcoal, at a time when the use of charcoal was in decline. In England, coke was in general use by 1750, and iron smelting was therefore in process of migrating from the charcoal using areas of the Weald and the Forest of Dean to the West Midlands, with the "Ten Yard Seam" of exposed coal at Dudley, contiguous ores, and nearby Silurian limestone inliers for fluxing material.2 Haliburton concludes with a significant comment: "... the only part of the experiment yet to be decided, is whether they can compete with the English ware, or whether the cost of production will not exceed the value of the article when manufactured." Only Sydney, on Cape Breton Island, had any real chance of successfully competing with England in the production of iron.

Digby was a prosperous town. Located just within the narrow gap in the basalt mass of North Mountain, through which the Annapolis River flowed into the Bay of Fundy, it was a natural terminal point for the ferry from Saint John. This function also encouraged its development as a popular holiday resort: "The air of Digby is remarkably salubrious, the water excellent, and the town rendered particularly agreeable in summer, by a cool sea breeze. It is much frequented during the autumn by company from New Brunswick."

Between Digby and Yarmouth the forested wilderness reached to the coast, except at such isolated points as the Sissiboo River area, where at Weymouth there were a number of "extensive farms, under a state of cultivation". It was along the rest of this otherwise bleak coastline that were settled the largest group of returned French-speaking Acadians. Prohibited from returning to the richer agricultural areas by English resettlement, they were forced to accept this unpromising residual area. Haliburton gives scant recognition to the problems of agriculture in such a region, and castigates the people of

Clare for the way in which their settlement straggled along the shore line for many miles: "They manifest a great repugnance to penetrate into the woods, and instead of spreading over the Country, they subdivide their land on the sea coast." The Acadians were in fact by no means unfamiliar with the interior, since they had more than thirty sawmills in operation. The rocky land could support little besides trees, and to feed the growing population (which had increased from 1,050 in 1800 to 2,038 in 1828) resort had to be made to the offshore fisheries, as on the province's southern shore. The kindest words that Haliburton could say of the Acadians were that they were hard-working and, since they were all Roman Catholics, lacking in religious strife.

Around Yarmouth, at the western tip of Nova Scotia, there is a softening of the landscape. The same rock structure is evident as in many of the southern coastlands, but the intensive portions of granite batholith, and the Pre-Cambrian bands of slate and quartzite, differentially eroded by river and wave action before the Quaternary Ice Age, have had their characteristic features blurred by extensive glacial and fluvio-glacial deposition. The fine harbour of Yarmouth itself is the estuary of a pre-glacial river, of which the channel has been largely infilled by debris.³ There are many lakes and many variations of soil capacities, some small areas having a reasonable fertility but most being infertile. Haliburton says nothing of this, but he does indicate the types of agriculture then current, and suggests climate as the main limiting factor: "The sea breeze and the fogs which occasionally occur in summer, render Yarmouth more suitable for the production of potatoes and grass, the manufacture of butter and cheese, and the rearing of cattle, than for culture of grain, of which not more than five thousand bushels were raised in 1827." In any case, about 3,000 acres (out of a cultivated acreage of 13,000) consisted of marshland, only suitable for hay production and grazing. Yet there was also a substantial variety of fruit grown (though quantities may not have been high) because temperature ranges were lower than anywhere else in the province: "In a short distance from the salt water, apples, plumbs, and cherries succeeded well; and on the banks of the Tusket pears, peaches, and melons ripen."

Farming may have been more practicable in the Yarmouth area than anywhere else in the western extremity of Nova Scotia, but there were few people whose livelihood was obtained entirely from the land. The decaying wharves and warehouses of the town of Yarmouth today indicate that in the nineteenth century it must have been a thriving seaport. It was not far distant from Boston, and more conveniently located for West Indian trade than any

other Nova Scotian port. Haliburton could state with truth that "Yarmouth has always been in a state of steady improvement."

Haliburton presents us with a delightful picture of a colony whose main advantage, before changes came about with the development of railways and the consequent opening up of the more fertile western plains of North America, lay in the possession of a long, indented coastline. This gave relative ease of communications, and the possibility of combining farming and forestry with fishing, shipbuilding, and coasting. Later, when this advantage was lost, and when the demand for wooden ships was markedly reduced by the use of iron, in the production of which Nova Scotia could not hope to compete with the British Isles, there was considerable depopulation, and Nova Scotia became, for a time, an economic backwater.

NOTES

1. TABLE 1 Haliburton's farm statistics for Nova Scotia, 1828

| County or District | Acreage cultivated | Wheat (Bushels) | Produce Other grain (Bushels) | Potatoes (Bushels) | Hay (Tons) | Horses | Animals Cattle | | Pigs |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--|-----------------------|---------------|--------|-------------------|--------|-------|
| Annapolis | 22174 | 5410 | 26309 | 385428 | 21549 | 1351 | 13872 | 27042 | 6804 |
| Colchester | 29135 | 18644 | 64078 | 292231 | 16756 | 1440 | 10177 | 12713 | 6912 |
| Cumberland | 1 29308 | 14152 | 34076 | 269897 | 13790 | 1264 | 8266 | 11576 | 3533 |
| Halifax | 14460 | 5336 | 32317 | 222642 | 11873 | 1480 | 7588 | 8759 | 4163 |
| Hants | 37531 | 18520 | 43328 | 227948 | 19977 | 2486 | 9475 | 14863 | 5927 |
| King's | 34150 | 25688 | 65100 | 538903 | 25336 | 1789 | 12580 | 18574 | 8232 |
| Lunenburg | 13476 | 3117 | 33146 | 334163 | 10577 | 202 | 8978 | 11238 | 5331 |
| Pictou | 49181 | 38198 | 98561 | 302659 | 11750 | 1609 | 11701 | 21128 | 12945 |
| Queen's | 5630 | 1362 | 3476 | 52817 | 3577 | 163 | 2436 | 27370 | 1941 |
| Shelburne | 17499 | 445 | 9062 | 408250 | 12293 | 319 | 10039 | 20752 | 5986 |
| Sydney | 39465 | 21919 | 38173 | 363228 | 15794 | 848 | 15706 | 24349 | 7705 |
| Total | 292009 | 152791 | 447626 | 3398166 | 163272 | 12951 | 110818 | 198364 | 66479 |

- See W. G. East, "England in the Eighteenth Century", in H. C. Darby, ed., Historical Geography of England before 1800, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1951) p. 512, and R. H. Kinvig, "The North-West Midlands", in A. G. Ogilvie, ed., Great Britain: Essays in Regional Geography (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), p. 222.
- 3. J. Connor, M. V. Marshall, G. T. Rimmington, and B. A. Robinson, Yarmouth County Study: A Preliminary Socio-Economic Assessment (Wolfville, N. S.: Acadia University Institute, 1965), pp. 7-9.