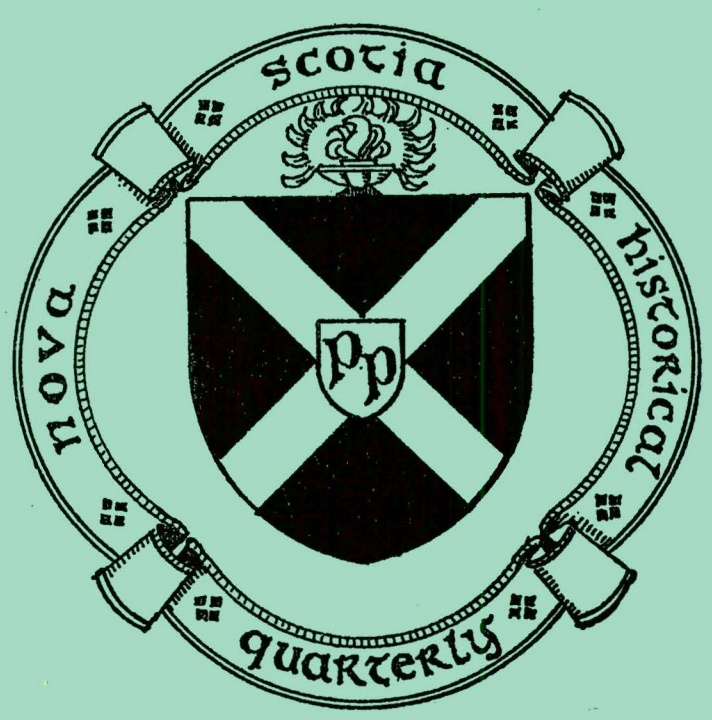
The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

Volume 1, Number 1, March 1971



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Subscriptions to the Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly are $10.00 per year, obtained at the office of the Publisher, P. O. Box 1102, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Single copies or back issues $3.00.

This quarterly is so designed that the paper cover of each issue may be removed at the end of a volume year and bound by the subscriber into one volume. A cumulative index will be provided with issue No. 4.

Inquiries or information on the Quarterly should be addressed to The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly, P.O. Box 1102, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Printed at Halifax, Nova Scotia

by

McCurdy Printing Co. Ltd.

Published by

PETHERIC PRESS

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Published by Petheric Press

The Feast of St. Aspinquid

THOMAS H. RADDALL

J. B. Brebner, in his book "The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia", dealing with the American settlers in that province prior to the American Revolution, has this to say of Saint "Aspinquid": (pages 200 and 201)

"Halifax had its own equivalent to the Tammany Society and other American fraternal societies which drew upon Indian terminology, in the Order of St. Aspinquid, "the grand sachem of all the Northern Indian tribes." The annual festival was held seven days after the first new moon in May, by Haligonians:

"at North-West Arm at Mr. Nathan's, and Mr. Jordan's, both Fishermen, were elegant Dinners at both Places were provided, consisting of various kinds of Fish &c; after dinner at Mr. Nathan's where discharged a Number of Cannon, and at Mr. Jordan's, Musquets, and many loyal Toasts were drunk in Honour of the Day; at Mr. Jordan's the Toasts after the usual Manner were the twelve Sachem Chiefs, of the Twelve Tribes, who were General Friends and Allies to the English."

(Note by THR:- Brebner is quoting here from the Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser, June 5, 1770.)

"The origins and ultimate fate of this truly North American organization for wassail are unfortunately shrouded in mystery." (In a footnote Brebner adds:- "For other references, see the facetious letter from "Aspinquidinus" in Halifax Gazette, May 25, 1773, also June 1, 1773, and May 10, 1774.")

* * * * *

Dr. Akins, in his "History of the Settlement of Halifax", published in 1895 by the N.S. Historical Society in their Volume 8, had this to say, in a footnote to page 218:-

"Among the annual festivities of the old times, now lost sight of, was the celebration of St. Aspinquid's Day, known as the Indian Saint. Saint Aspinquid appeared in the Nova Scotia almanacks from 1774 to 1786. The festival was celebrated on or immediately after the last quarter of the moon in the month of May. The tide being low at that time, many of the principal inhabitants of the town, on these occasions, assembled on the shore of the North West Arm and partook of a dish of clam soup, the clams being collected on the spot at low water. There is a tradition that during the American troubles, when agents of the revolted colonies were active to gain over the good people of Halifax, in the year 1786 (sic), were celebrating St. Aspinquid, the wine having been circulated freely, the Union Jack was suddenly hauled down and replaced by the Stars and Stripes. This was soon reversed, but all those persons who held public offices immediately left the grounds, and St. Aspinquid was never after celebrated at Halifax."

(Note by THR:- In the above, Akins seems to be in error when he gives the date of the flag affair as 1786. Peace had been signed in 1783, and the American success had been sealed by the surrender of Cornwallis in 1781. By 1786 Nova Scotia was teeming with exiled Loyalists, and there was no point in "agents of the revolted colonies" being "active to gain over the good people of Halifax." Probably the flag affair took place at some time during the period of the American Revolutionary War

1775-1783. Such an incident would have discredited the Aspinquid festival in the eyes of British officials and loyal Nova Scotians, especially after 1778 when American sympathisers in Nova Scotia had dwindled to a weak minority. The feast must have perished under the boycott of the loyal inhabitants and officials, and it was not revived at the war's end, despite the fact that Nova Scotia almanacks continued to mention it for three years longer.)

Further Notes by THR

Like Brebner I found the origin of the feast of St. Aspinquid "shrouded in mystery". The only clue was that here and there one found the saint's full title given as "Saint Aspinquid of Agamenticus".

Agamenticus (usually called Mount Agementicus) is a prominent hill in the south-west corner of the state of Maine, easily visible in clear weather from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, less than 10 miles away. It stands about 700 feet above sea level, and from the earliest times has offered a good landmark to seamen off the coast between Portsmouth N.H. and Kennebunkport, Me. From its foot a small stream, the Cape Neddick River, flows to the sea four or five miles to the eastward, emerging at the present village of Cape Neddick. The hamlet called Passaconway is less than half a mile from the river mouth. About five miles northward along the coast is the village of Ogunquit.

In 1957, while engaged in historical research in and about Portsmouth, N.H., I came upon the origin of the feast of St. Aspinquid. It was recorded in a book by Charles Edward Beals, printed by the Gorham Press, Boston, Mass., in 1916. The title was "Passaconaway". I secured a copy of it through the efforts of Miss Dorothy Vaughan, head of the Portsmouth Public Library and an acknowledged authority on New Hampshire history.

Beals made a thorough research for his material, and his book gives copious documentary references.

Passaconaway was originally chief of the Pennacook tribe, the strongest and best organized of the New England Indians, and their home grounds were in the region about the present towns of Manchester and Concord, New Hampshire. About twenty years before the landing of the Pilgrims, the tribes between the White Mountains and the sea were assailed by an incursion of the dreaded Mohawks. Some were decimated. The Pennacooks, under their tall and fearless chief, managed to beat off the Mohawk attack, but at heavy cost.

Passaconaway now proceeded to organize a strong confederacy of New England tribes for mutual defence. *At first a dozen tribes were included,* but eventually there were seventeen—the Pennacooks,Wachusetts, Agawams, Wamesits, Pequawkets, Pawtuckets, Nashuas, Namaoskeags, Coosaukes, Winnepesaukes, Piscataquas, Winnecowetts, Amariscoggins, Newichewannocks, Sacos, Squamscotts and Saugusaukes. The alliance bore the general name of Passaconaway's own tribe, the Pennacooks, and their territory was in what are now Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine.

They seem to have been a peaceful people. They raised crops of corn, melons, squashes, gourds, pumpkins and beans; they dug for groundnuts and gathered acorns, chestnuts and walnuts. They were expert hunters and fishermen, and made good birchbark canoes.

On the Merrimac these Indians had two favorite fishing places, at Pawtucket (Lowell) and Namaoskeag (Manchester). Their third was at the outlet of Lake Winnepesaukee, where they had a number of stone weirs. Vast numbers of shad were caught in the Winnepesaukee weirs. On the Merrimac, besides

the shad, the Indians caught thousands of salmon, alewives and eels. So many fish were taken that, by drying and smoking them, the tribes were able to lay in a supply for a whole winter.

Once a year all the Pennacook people congregated at these fishing places and observed a festival or series of holidays. At these times, lovers' vows were plighted, marriages performed, and speeches made. At the official council, with every sachem and warrior present, the affairs of the nation were discussed, long before the advent of the New England "town meeting". All intertribal disputes were peaceably arbitrated, and under Passaconaway's leadership the confederacy constantly grew stronger and more harmonious. If war was deemed necessary, the warriors were mustered and war dances held at these fishing places. Here, too, the great chief proved to all, through feats of magic, his intimacy with Manitou the Great Spirit.

With the Pennacooks, the favorite place of assembly seems to have been Amoskeag Falls. Passaconaway for many years had his residence on the hillside, east of the Merrimac, where Governor Smyth later built his mansion. Eliot repeatedly visited the Pennacooks at this place, because here he found great numbers gathered together and well disposed to listen to his preaching. It is highly probable that here, at Amoskeag Falls, was the fishing place the apostle refers to when he writes of Passaconaway's acceptance of Christianity.

At one time during Passaconaway's reign, his tribe numbered over 3,000 and he could put an army of over 500 warriors on the war path. His name meant "Son of the Bear", and the bear was the totem of his tribe. There is reason to believe that he was born between 1555 and 1573. His name was derived from Papoes—"child" and Kunnaway—"bear". Passaconaway in person was a tall and powerful man, and in his post as the head of the Pennacook confederation he was entitled Bashaba—"supreme chief".

According to Passaconaway himself, he was present when the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, although they did not see him. He "made medicine" for their destruction but it proved to be powerless, and from that time he resolved to seek and keep the friendship of the white newcomers. Christopher Levett, exploring the coast in 1623, reported seeing a gigantic Indian, reverenced by all, white and red men alike, who called himself "Conway". In the same year Passaconaway visited a white plantation, and the settlers reported him to be about 60 years old.

For many years Passaconaway kept the peace, despite many insults and provocations from white hunters and settlers. In 1660 he was seen by Englishmen, who described him as a venerable, wrinkled man over 100 years old. By that time his people had dwindled through disease and the traders' rum, and were desperately poor. In 1662 he got a white man to write for him a petition "To the honerd John Endecot Esqr together with the rest of the honerd General Court now Assembled in Boston", asking for a grant of land for himself and the remnant of his people. This was given them.

Passaconaway probably abdicated the position of Bashaba about 1668, for in the following year Wonalancet was the recog-

nized chief. The missionary Eliot and the Superintendent of Indians, Daniel Gookin, saw Passaconaway about that time "in the white winter of his 120th year". He seems to have died soon after.

Such a man, with such a career, already a legend in his own lifetime, was bound to become the subject of new legend after his death. Amongst the Indians of the Pennacook people there arose a fable of his passing, drawn on a sled by a team of twenty-four wolves, over the snow and the frozen lakes, and on to the summit of Agiocochook (Mount Washington), greatest of the White Mountains, where lived the Great Spirit.

However, in the other direction, some of the Maine Indians claimed that a man of wonderful bearing and presence, although very old, came to them, calling himself Bashaba. He was a devout Christian, and he taught that religion and many wise things to the people who lived near the foot of Mount Agementicus. They named him "Saint Aspenquid the Good". When he died, there was deep sorrow among the Indians. Runners were sent in all directions; nearly all the Indians on the Maine coast, and many from miles inland, came together at Mount Agementicus for the burial.

To provide the funeral feast they gathered "99 bears, 66 moose, 25 buck deer, 67 doe deer, 240 wolves, 82 wildcats, 3 catamounts, 482 foxes, 32 buffaloes, 400 otter, 620 beaver, 1500 mink, 110 ferrets, 520 raccoons, 900 musquashes, 501 fishers, 3 ermines, 58 porcupines, 832 martens, 59 woodchucks, and 112 rattlesnakes."

The body was borne to the summit of Agementicus and laid to rest in a rocky cave. This tradition was passed on to the whites, and various white recorders and historians of Maine and New Hampshire believe that Passaconaway and "Saint Aspenquid" were one and the same, a real man made into a legendary figure with all the inventive fantasy of the Indian mind.

The white men have commemorated him in various ways. There is, or was in 1916, a statue to the Great Bashaba in the Edson Cemetery, Lowell, Mass. There is a Mount Passaconaway in the White mountains of New Hampshire, and a post office of that name. There is a Passaconway (so spelled) post office on the Maine coast a few miles from Mount Agementicus.

The strangest and most romantic memorial was the institution of the feast of Saint Aspenquid. We know that in Nova Scotia, as in New England, the Indians customarily held a spring feast to commemorate the departure of winter and the return of

the birds and fish. For example, early French explorers, fishermen and missionaries found a large gathering of Micmacs on the shore of Chebucto (Halifax, N.S.) every spring. We do not know when white men first joined in these feasts, or when they first styled it the festival of St. Aspenquid of Agementicus. Presumably the first white celebration was in the vicinity of Portsmouth, N.H., within sight of Mount Agementicus, and the centre of a large and convivial white population.

How did the festival get to Nova Scotia, where it achieved the importance of a definite place in the almanacks? We can only guess.

Fishermen from Portsmouth and other towns and villages within sight of Agementicus were venturing along the Nova Scotia coast long before the settlement of Halifax. They gave the name of their familiar river Piscataqua to one of the islands that protect the anchorage at Canso, N.S., and it still bears that name. There were New Hampshire soldiers and sailors, mostly from Portsmouth, in the great expedition that conquered Louisburg in 1745.

When Halifax was settled in 1749 most of the sawn timber and boards for the buildings came from New England. In 1750 Captain James Birket visited Portsmouth and other towns on the Piscataqua. He noted that the people consumed great quantities of cider, rum and Madeira. He noted that their exports consisted largely of lumber and fish to the West Indies, but added, "They have also sent a good deal of lumber to the City of Halifax (sic)". (See "Ports of Piscataqua", by W. G. Saltonstall, Harvard University Press, 1941.)

We know that the original English settlers at Halifax perished or deserted by hundreds within a year, and that their places were taken by an influx of people from New England. Undoubtedly the towns within sight of Agementicus were well represented in this Yankee swarm.

My guess is that some of these men, from Portsmouth and vicinity, brought with them the legend of St. Aspenquid and the memory of convivial feasts with the Indians in the month of May. At Halifax they found Indians gathering by custom in May on the shore of North West Arm to feast on fish and clams. What was more natural than to join them and give the festival the name of Saint Aspinquid? As time went by it became a fad in Halifax, with more white than Indian celebrants.

Two Letters On The 'Pacification of Nova Scotia'

D. A. MUISE

The intervention of a particular person or the advice of someone close to events can occasionally have a critical impact at turning points in history. The first year of Confederation was such a time for Nova Scotia. It has been a rather overworked truism that Nova Scotia was forced into and has from time to time rested rather uneasily within the confines of Confederation. There have indeed been periods when the relationship between the province and the federal government was strained to the edge of the breaking point. This tension, however, was never so acute as during the eighteen months immediately following the proclamation of the British North America Act on July 1st, 1867.

The Anti-Confederation movement in Nova Scotia had a real legitimacy in its own time. The first federal election in Nova Scotia, held on September 18th, 1867, revealed something of the malaise that had struck the province. Eighteen of the nineteen members elected to the House of Commons were, in one way or another, pledged to seek repeal of the British North America Act. Their party, The Nova Scotia Party, was Canada's first separatist party. It took the support of a strong majority of Nova Scotia's electorate to Ottawa and was a force to be reckoned with for the first two sessions of the House of Commons.

The spirited leader of the Anti-Confederates was Joseph Howe, perhaps the most revered political figure that Nova Scotia has known in all of its history. For his own reasons, Howe stood at the head of a powerful and politically experienced mercantile group within the province. In 1865 he had joined with them in opposition to the Quebec Resolutions of the previous autumn as a basis for colonial union. Their opposition was founded on two basic premises. Firstly, Nova Scotia was intellectually and socially separate from the rest of British North America. No arbitrary fusion could bring the various peoples together, especially under the aegis of the particularly odious Quebec Resolutions.

Secondly, there was a genuine feeling that the economic interests of the various portions of British North America were inimicable. This assertion rested on the assumption that Nova Scotia's future, like its past, rested with the sea and the economy of 'Wood, Wind and Sail', rather than with the continental preoccupations of Canada. There was also a rather prescient feeling that Nova Scotia would be but a small portion of the larger Dominion and, as such, incapable of exercising much influence in the councils of the new nation. When Howe and the merchants failed to prevent the acceptance of union by the Nova Scotia Assembly in 1866 they established the League of the Maritime Provinces, commonly known as the Anti Confederation League; it was to be an extra parliamentary body dedicated to continuing the opposition to Confederation.

Doctor Charles Tupper, Provincial Secretary following the election of 1863 and a major political force behind Confederation in Nova Scotia, clung tenaciously to the idea that a larger union of the maritime and continental regions of British North America was essential for Nova Scotia's future development. Tupper was a practitioner of the politics of positivism. For him, and the men who supported him in the drive for Confederation, the prime function of government was to govern. In the 1860's he and his associates challenged the traditional laissez-faire at-

titudes of Nova Scotia's merchant oligarchy. They tried to be more dynamic and assertive in their interpretation of the role government would play in the functioning of society. Railways, free schools legislation and the development of a collective consciousness of provincial potential in a variety of fields were their prime preoccupations. There had been an enormous expansion of the role of government in the 1850's and 1860's. By the time of Confederation, there were a sufficient number of politicians and intellectuals committed to positivism to take the province into Confederation. For Tupper and his cohorts, Confederation was a logical step in the drive towards action in government. It was the ultimate consolidation, designed to promote an influx of capital for the fullest realization of provincial potential in natural, human and geographic resources.

Tupper had used all of his political acumen and some artfully applied pressure from Imperial authorities to sneak a favourable resolution on union through the 1866 sitting of the Legislative Assembly. The London Conference of 1866-67 sanctified the conclusions of the Quebec conference of 1864 with only a few minor adjustments. This agreement became law in the British North America Act of 1867. The final sitting of Nova Scotia's Legislative Assembly, in March and April of 1867, saw Tupper skillfully guiding acceptance of the measure. In fact, the actual terms were not presented to the Assembly, though members were called upon to approve of the action of the Nova Scotia delegates while in London. Successful in the Assembly, Tupper still had to face the wrath of the antis at the polls.

It was during this time that the Anti-Confederation League transformed itself into the Nova Scotia Party. Howe had led a delegation to London to oppose the British North America Act. Unsuccessful in London, the antis were determined to demonstrate the feelings of Nova Scotia through the upcoming election. The ensuing campaign was a highly emotional struggle for the loyalty of the provincial electorate. The result was the sweeping

victory for the Anti-Confederates described above. Tupper was the lone survivor in the federal house. He only carried his native Cumberland County by a very narrow majority. In a provincial election held the same day, the Nova Scotia Party elected thirty-six of thirty-eight representatives to the Provincial Legislature.

Reaction to the election results was rather mixed. Most of Sir John A. Macdonald's Nova Scotia informants advised a policy of caution. Tupper and his supporters argued that the enormous losses in the election were not entirely reflective of public opinion on Confederation. It was pointed out that the Nova Scotia Party had many disparate elements within it and that it would not take long for their apparent unanimity of the election to wear thin. That the antis lacked the cohesiveness necessary for a protracted and unified protest against Confederation was probably true. In any case, it was with a sense of safety that Macdonald allowed the Nova Scotians, led by Howe, their rein during the first session of the House of Commons; rather benignly tolerating their explosive condemnation of the Confederation agreement. That session revealed minor cracks in the solidarity of the antis but nothing like the submission that Macdonald had been led to expect. The federal government sat back, waiting for Howe and his followers to suggest some coalition. When it was not forthcoming, the result was inaction; perhaps the only policy in the situation.

Early in 1868, the Anti-Confederates, acting through the Nova Scotia government sent a delegation to London to seek repeal of the British North America Act. The federal government after some delay, dispatched Tupper to London to represent the views of Nova Scotia unionists and the federal government. Sending Tupper was a safety measure; designed to ensure only that Howe, the leader of the delegation and an experienced polemicist and London negotiator, would not have an opportunity to sway public officials. There was limited likelihood of that happening, but Tupper's presence was the type of political insur-

ance policy that Macdonald liked to take out. As it turned out, Howe enjoyed some success in having the press espouse his cause, but there was nothing but indifference from government officials. The Canadian and Imperial governments held firm, so the only opportunity open to Howe and the antis was extra legal protest. Howe's firm commitment to the course of law and his continuing loyalty to the Empire would not permit him to adopt any such course. The only alternative, for him at least, was compromise and eventual submission.

The period between February and June, 1868, while the delegations were in London presenting their case, witnessed a gradual change in the tone and attitude of the federal government. Tupper, of course, was in constant communication with Sir John A. Macdonald. He also engaged in rather extensive discussions with Howe while in England. He was sanguine of the prospect of breaking the back of the repeal movement by forcing Howe to accept a position in the cabinet. He rightly concluded that a gulf was opening up between Howe and his provincial counterparts and urged Macdonald to be prepared to make an offer. Back in Ottawa, the antis were offering resolutions in favour of repeal and Macdonald was becoming impatient. There was a nation to be built and a massive provincial disaffection like that prevailing in Nova Scotia could not be tolerated. It was also apparent that the provincial government was not about to collapse, as so many had confidently predicted. That "pestilent fellow" Howe was becoming much more than a mere nuisance and Macdonald felt the need of direct action to remove the cause for embarassment.

With Tupper writing from London and confidently predicting the imminent demise of the anti movement and the antis continuing to rail against Confederation in Ottawa, Macdonald raised himself from his lethargy concerning Nova Scotia affairs. His political nose must have begun to twitch when Tupper writing from London advocated the stumping of Nova Scotia

once again on the Confederation issue. John A. unlike Tupper, was not the politician to espouse the path of direct confrontation when the possibility of conciliation was still open. He wrote Tupper on July 4th to congratulate him on the success of his mission but cautioned against precipitously entering into a direct confrontation with the antis in Nova Scotia. While agreeing to keep the necessary offices open for Howe and his friends, Macdonald instructed Tupper to proceed at once to Ottawa to consult directly with the Cabinet. On the same day, July 4th, Macdonald wrote to S. L. Tilley and Adams G. Archibald, urging them to proceed to Halifax and independently evaluate the situation. The two letters presented here were their replies.

Confederation took a decisive turn in Nova Scotia as a result of the two letters in question. Appraised of the seriousness of the situation, Macdonald journeyed to Halifax in late July and subsequently entered into direct negotiations with Howe; a negotiation that lead eventually to Howe's acceptance of office in the Macdonald government and the effective demise of the Anti-Confederation movement in Nova Scotia.

In some respects the settlement of the dispute represented a mild rebuke to Tupper. His bluff confidence that the situation could be regularized by the provision of only a few patronage plums was rejected. The 'Better Terms' which were eventually worked out between Howe and Macdonald, improved the financial position of the Nova Scotia government, implying that Tupper's assessment of financial need at the London Conference of 1867 had been ill considered. More importantly, the direct entry of Macdonald into negotiations with Howe effectively excluded Tupper, not yet a member of the federal government, from any active role in the final settlement of Nova Scotia's difficulties. Howe and Macdonald 'closed finally' during the autumn of 1868. Their correspondence, followed by Howe's direct negotiation with John Rose, Minister of Finance, settled the "Better Terms' offered to Nova Scotia in January, 1869.

Howe accepted office as President of the Privy Council on January 30th. The terms offered Nova Scotia an additional subsidy of approximately $80,000 annually for a ten year period and a number of less important considerations. In spite of these financial rearrangements, however, the settlement was essentially a political one, designed to break the back of the repealers in Ottawa.

A second consequence of Macdonald's direct negotiation with Howe on the matter of better terms was the exclusion of the provincial government from any part in the settlement. The Duke of Buckingham's reply to the Nova Scotia government's petition for redress had urged the federal government to investigate the situation and settle the matters in dispute. It had been assumed that the negotiations would involve some participation on the part of the provincial government. During Macdonald's visit to Halifax there had been some controversy concerning the propriety of involving the local members in an official capacity. If Macdonald could not have representation from both groups at an informal level, he was determined to act only with the representatives of the federal members. It was an important constitutional point and it forced Macdonald to evaluate the position of the federal government vis à vis the protests of a legally constituted provincial government. The result was a hard-line policy to the effect that only the federal members could participate in the settlement of questions respecting the relationship between the federal and provincial governments.

This splintering of the anti movement was equally a consequence of Howe's estrangement from the members of the provincial government. The conflict there arose when the provincial government espoused the idea of yet another delegation to London. The result was more important than the event. Macdonald established for the time being at least, the principle that the provincial governments had no constitutional right to question the finality of The British North America Act. Excluded from pow-

er, and increasingly aware of the impotency of the repeal chimera, the provincial government was left with the alternative of subservience or extra legal protest. They were subservient, but not without a grand protest against the inequality of the relationship. They established a heritage of frustration and bitterness concerning Nova Scotia's place in Confederation. The reaction of subsequent Nova Scotia governments to the financial straightjacket of Confederation was to be characterized by occasional flirtations with the idea of separation.

With Howe safely in the arms of the government, the back of the repeal movement was fairly broken. Two-thirds of the Nova Scotia members would be found in support of the government at the 1869 session of the House of Commons. Those who continued to oppose the government did so in cooperation with Upper Canadian Reformers who were in the process of forming a legitimate opposition to Macdonald's government. The first significant separatist movement in Canada's history was a failure.

S. L. Tilley and Adams G. Archibald, the authors of the two letters printed below, were trusted advisors of that government on matters relating to the Maritime Provinces. Both had been leaders of Reform parties in their native provinces before Confederation, Tilley in New Brunswick and Archibald in Nova Scotia. Both had offered almost unconditional support to Confederation and had participated actively in the negotiations that made it a reality. Idealogically, they were very much of the same stamp as Tupper and Macdonald. Politically, they were more sensitive to the difficulties faced by Howe in his search for a solution to his dilemma. Both were intimates of Howe from the pre-Confederation era and very much aware of his agonizing over the Confederation issue. As such, they were the perfect pair to offer the Prime Minister an independent evaluation of the Nova Scotia situation during the critical summer of 1868.

Halifax, July 17, 1868.

My dear Sir John,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 4 instant which reached me at Pictou. I immediately came on to Halifax and was here on the arrival of the **City of Cork** which brought back the N.S. delegates & Dr. Tupper.

Mr. Tilley has been here since Wednesday and leaves this afternoon for St. John.

You are undoubtedly right about the effect of public meetings at this moment. Our Antis are not in a humor to listen to argument. With them it is not a question of reason, but of feeling and temper. If meetings were held now, the result would be either that only one side would attend, when the meetings would be useless, or both would attend, where a few noisy and violent people, would have the power & would be sure to use it, to interrupt and disturb the meetings and produce a large amount of exasperation and recrimination.

D. Tupper is now pretty much of the same opinion. He has received your letters and intends going on at once to Ottawa and you will thus have an opportunity before anything is done here of fully talking over the situation.

The day of the arrival of the Steamer, Mr. John Tobin, invited to dinner a party of gentlemen including among others Mr. Tilley, Mr. Howe & myself. The dinner passed off very agreeably and on retiring to the drawing room, there was an opportunity of conversation with Mr. Howe. Mr. Tilley had some considerable conversation with him of which he will report to you the substance.

It is quite clear that until Mr. Howe came out his party here were not in a position to define the course they were to take. It is pretty clear too that at this moment Howe himself has not decided on any precise line. In the protest which he had drawn up and signed with the other Delegates, and which has just been published, they say that they have suggested their remedy, which has failed to be accepted and now it is for the Federal Govt to try their hand at it & that they will have ample time to do so before the House meets in August.

This seems to indicate that they now expect some kind of overtures from the Govt of the Dom.

We have tried to ascertain what is their idea of the shape which any such overtures, if made, should assume. We have gathered from different quarters pretty much the same general ideas—and coming as they do from very different quarters in the Anti ranks, it seems quite clear that the matter must have been freely discussed among them.

It is evident that the present is the turning point with these people. As yet they have acted within the limits of the Constitution. A few more steps and they are outside—A large number of them are not prepared to take those steps—but they want something to excuse them for not taking them—A few offices for their leading men they think can not do—that would only justify the charges of selfishness already made. They must have something that will enable Howe to say to his followers, see what I have got for you by my patriotic fight —This could cover the retreat—and I am quite sure if anything of this kind could be done the great body of the more moderate of the party would be glad to get out of a position which affords them no pleasant prospect ahead. The kind of concession they would like one may judge of from the materials I have mentioned. I am glad to see that it takes a pecuniary shape. The debt of Nova Scotia which was supposed to be 8 millions, has so far exceeded that sum, that the Interest on the excess is a heavy draft on the annual subsidy—a draft which—limited as the subsidy was before to the smallest possible amount with which they could get on, will entail trouble and embarassment (sic) in carrying on the ordinary business of the country. Some relaxation in this direction if it could be made would have the happiest effect— First it would relieve a real embarassment (sic)—in carrying on the public business—2dly It would give to the leaders of the movement something to urge with their followers as a justification of their conduct up to this time, and a reason for changing it now.

In a question of this kind—one in which the well being—almost the existence of the Union is involved—a pecuniary concession is nothing to the Dominion, while it is the easiest—& simplest—most defensible form that concession can take.

I am glad Mr. Tilley is here. It has given him the opportunity of seeing the situation face to face and he appears quite prepared on the part of New Brunswick— (and that for a New Brunswicker, and for **Mr. Tilley** of the New Brunswickers—is a good deal) to admit that Nova Scotia is entitled to a pecuniary relegation [?] and that New Brunswick will sustain it without asking an

equivalent for itself. I have seen a number of N. Brunswickers, some of them prominent men—who are of the same mind. They feel that Nova Scotia off—they could not hold N.B. an hour. N.S. pacified, N.B. is firm. The question of Nova Scotia is therefore the question of the Union.

From all this the general deduction is that we have here a "Nodus deo vindice dignus". That if you can possibly do it, you should come down here yourself. An hours conference between you and Mr. Howe, and a mutual interchange of views, would do more to clear the atmosphere than anything else. It would give Howe immense power—if he has the inclination as I believe he has to control the storm he has raised.

Everybody here whose judgement is valuable, thinks negotiation the remedy & you the man—With temper and feeling to deal with, the proposition should not pass through a local channel, and in any event the effort to settle the matter would be of incalculable value.

I have this moment learned through a certain source that at a meeting of the Govt & Delegates held yesterday, it was decided in the mean time to hold their hands and every thing indicates that they are assuming the attitude I have indicated above.

I have the hon to be
Dear Sir John
Yours sincerely

A. G. Archibald

The Hon Sir John A. Macdonald
KCB etc.

(P.S.)I have forgotten to say that Mr. Tilley is this morning breakfasting with Mr. Howe & will have an opportunity of more fully ascertaining his views.

P.P.S.
Since writing the above I have seen Mr. Tilley who is just returned from Mr. Howe. He will report details, his statements entirely accord with the views I have given above.

(Public Archives of Canada, Macdonald Papers, Vol. 115, 46667-46677)

Windsor, N.S., July 17, 1869

My dear Sir John

I have been spending a week in Nova Scotia and during my stay here, have been feeling the public pulse. I have met and conversed with some of the Anti Dele-

gates and Members of the Local Government and I will convey to you the conclusions at which I have arrived. On my way from St. Johns to Halifax I met and conversed with many men from the Western part of the Province, and after my arrival at Halifax I saw a number of Eastern Men, and had an hours conversation with the Chief Justice, (a Confederate) who had been some weeks on Circuit, and the conclusion at which I arrived was that we had reached the critical point in the history of our Confederation Movement, and that there was sufficient inflamable material **every where** in Nova Scotia, that the torch, applied by a Man like Howe, would put the whole country in a blaze. Nearly all your friends admitted this, and we consequently awaiting the arrival of the Delegates, with no small degree of anxiety, wishing to know their tempers. The Anti papers, were, day after day, containing treasonable articles, exciting the ignorant and prejudiced.

The more moderate of the Antis, such as Mr. Vail the Pro. Secretary, declared that a golden opportunity had been lost by the Imperial Govt in not appointing a Royal Commission. That the Antis having made that suggestion as a means of settling the difficulty, would have felt themselves bound by the decision or report of the Commission and thus the contest would have ended. Whether right or wrong in this opinion, he was certainly honest in the expression of the opinion. His reasoning shewed that **he at least** wanted an excuse for accepting the position. I am happy in believing that there are many such in the opposition ranks, but I regret to say that they are far from composing the majority. Many of the people are worked up to a perfect frenzy, and ready for the most extreme measures. These are backed up and encouraged by the annexation and Fenian element and there is a good deal of that scattered throughout Nova Scotia. You will better understand the position when I state that our friends manifest a nervous anxiety as to the future. This was the feeling everywhere when the Steamer arrived having on board Tupper and the Delegates. On my way to the Customs House on Wednesday Mg. I saw the Steamer coming up the Harbour. I made my way to the Wharf, where some 150 of the Citizens had assembled. Some half dozen of us, including Archibald, Blanchard M.P.P. & MacDonald, the late Financial Secretary were standing together. The word was passed around amongst Howes friends, "Give Howe three cheers when he comes on shore". Some of Tuppers friends asked, "Will we cheer Tupper". We advised them to make no demonstration as Tupper had gained the Victory, it might annoy the opposition, but when Tupper stepped on shore, one of his over zealous friends asked for "three cheers for Dr. Tupper" and they were given, but not very unanimously as we had decided not to

cheer, and notwithstanding, one of the Anti papers in the report of the proceedings states that Archibald & I cheered until we were hoarse. We never opened our mouths, neither did we make any demonstration. The cheers for Tupper were followed by groaning by the opposition. Howe and his friends when landing were cheered heartily, I may say, and no disapprobation manifested by our friends. I may add, that the feeling against Tupper is very bitter, intensified by his late Mission to London. I mention the fact without at all justifying it, for you will readily understand how sore some of the Antis feel. So much for the landing.

I saw Tupper at his house in the afternoon. Kenny & Archibald were present. He have us a brief resume of his proceedings before leaving England, and his suggestion to you to stump the Province, as well as your objection to that course. **I entirely agree with you upon that point.** It would be most unwise for him at this time, to challenge agitation. The true policy is conciliation. On the evening of the day of his arrival, I met Howe at dinner, at a friends. Archibald was there also. After dinner he took the opportunity of commencing a conversation. I soon led him on to the interesting subject. He appeared quite willing to talk, and on the whole, I was pleased with the tone and spirit of his remarks. I asked after Mrs. Howe, and said I would call to see her before I left town. He then invited me to Breakfast with him on Friday Mg, and I gladly accepted his invitation. After Mrs. Howe & his Sons had left the room, we approached the main question. He spoke frankly & fully. He said Tupper had all along been impressed with the idea, that the distribution of a few important offices amongst the Anti Confederates would make matters all right. In that opinion he said he was entirely mistaken, it is, said he "a delusion, a great mistake". He then explained why, and I confess I could not but feel the force of his reasoning. Suppose said he, that some of us were to take office, as matters now stand, we would be branded as Traitors to our cause, purchased with a price, we would be destroyed, and the Government in no way strengthened, and the feelings of our friends wounded and the discontent intensified by our inconsistency, and Tupper only gain a Victory, by being able to point to our faithlessness and inconsistency; No said he, **that can not be done.** He however led me to understand that, an amicable arrangement, once affected, a combination or re-organization might be made, and the support of the Antis gained to work out our destiny. The rest of his remarks amounted to this, appoint a Royal Commission, let it decide. If that can not be done, let a friendly conference be opened between, the Dominion Governt, and the leading Antis in Nova Scotia, including the Members of the

Local Government. The Dominion Govt to make some proposal for their consideration; or if that would be inconvenient, a friendly talk, to see if some agreement can not be arrived at, with the understandinig that bye gones be bye gones, and that they meet as gentlemen anxious to find a solution of the difficulty. Now you will observe that this means just this. We will abandon our opposition to Confederation if some concessions are made. This is an advance in the right direction. The reasonable men want an excuse to enable them to hold back the violent and unreasonable of their party, **and this excuse ought to be given them.** He told me that the Delegates, the members of the local government and few of their leading friends met yesterday, and had decided upon a call of the Members of the General & Local Parliaments for the 3rd of August, to decide what course they had better take. (The Local Legislature meets on the 6th) He said if any advances were to be made, it was of the utmost importance that steps in that direction should be made previous to their meeting.

He thought a visit from you about that time, would do much good, and we all hope that you will see your way clear to come in this direction about the 1st of the month. They will do nothing until that meeting takes place. I can not but think that a visit from you, accompanied perhaps by Cartier, would be productive of the most beneficial results. He did not indicate what changes they wanted, and I rather suspect, that the **nature** of the concessions is of less importance to them, than the fact that concessions **have been made.** Our future may finally depend upon the deliberations of the next 3 weeks. I can not urge too strongly the importance of your visiting Halifax **before the 3rd of August.** All here who see and understand the state of affairs agree with me upon this point. I am not an alarmist but the **position** can only be understood by visiting Nova Scotia. There is no use in crying **peace** when there is no **peace.** We require wise and prudent action at this moment. The most serious results may be produced by the opposite course.

If Howe and some of his associates get off on the **rampage,** I fear the consequences. He talks reasonably now, and appears disposed to act rationally, we should make the most of this frame of mind whilst it lasts. Men of less influence and ability may attempt violent means, but if he is firm, they can do but little. Howe, reported much that Tupper had written to you about their interviews in England. He stated that Tupper's solution of the difficulty Viz. the distribution of some important offices amongst the Antis, was not sufficient. You may depend upon it, this is the golden opportunity,

do not let it pass unimproved. Howe expressed the opinion today, that if Nova Scotia was satisfied, Newfoundland and P.E. Island would soon come in, and that **Nationality** was our destiny, provided all was fairly started. I mention this to shew that he contemplates an amicable settlement of the question. He said he had had satisfaction for all the insult and **personal** indignity offered, and he was satisfied upon that head, and ready to forgive individual offenders. Archibald said he would write you, and Tupper can explain personally his views of the case. I trust they will accord with mine. I do trust you will see your way clear to visit Nova Scotia.

. . . The feeling in New Bu has considerably improved but there is a storm brewing. The Railway route must cause difficulty and a strong feeling once aroused in Nova Scotia, many of our people would join in the cry. Hence the greater necessity for calming the troubled waters in Nova Scotia. Hoping for the best, and hopeful at that. I remain

Yours sincerely,
S. L. Tilley

(Public Archives of Canada, Macdonald Papers, Vol. 115, 46636-46666)

Disasters In The Pictou Collieries

JAMES M. CAMERON ©

Loss of life from explosion in the Pictou coal field has given the field an unwanted record. Between 1838 and 1952, 246 men died underground in Pictou County pits from explosion, not including the number who died from drowning, gas asphyxiation unassociated with explosion, crushed under falling stone and coal, run over by coal cars and other causes. No records of fatalities were kept before 1866, and thus from 1809 when commercial mining began, until 1866 the number of colliery fatalities is unknown. From 1866 until 1969 the number of recorded mine deaths in Pictou County, other than the explosion deaths, is 330. The total of known dead in the Pictou coal field is 576, dating only from 1866; there is an earlier 57 year period for which statistics are non-existent.

It is impossible to tabulate the number of men injured in the collieries, some of whom died prematurely as a result.

The Pictou deposit of bituminous coal, is 11 miles east to west, 3 miles north to south, beginning just east of Thorburn, running westerly to just beyond Westville, the centre roughly in Stellarton and the north boundary in New Glasgow. British capital in 1827, American and Montreal capital in the mid 1866's, and to a much lesser degree, local capital, developed the field,

with approximately fifteen collieries. The coal industry brought the towns of Stellarton and Westville and the village of Thorburn into being.

The Pictou field once employed 2000 men who produced 900,000 tons per year which was sold throughout the Atlantic provinces, Lower Canada, and New England. The industry has declined to two mines, 350 men, and annual production of 240,000 tons. Open flame lights were gradually, but not entirely, replaced underground beginning in the middle 1800's, with safety oil burning lamps. Flame safety lamps were gradually replaced by electric safety lamps beginning in the 1920's, but the last open flame lamps in a Pictou County mine were not taken out of service until 1934.

To the miner the killers are methane gas, which the miner calls "after damp" or "black damp", and carbon monoxide, which he calls "after damp" or "choke damp". The Westville and Stellarton coal seams exude methane in unusually large quantity. When methane gas mixes in the mine air in concentration of from 5 to 15% it is explosive. A spark will detonate an explosion. It is non-explosive at less than 5% and more than 15%, but providing there is oxygen in the air it is always inflamable. Exploding gas will cause coal dust in the air to explode. Coal also exudes carbon dioxide which is non-explosive but which in strong concentration is fatal to breathe. When a colliery is sealed to deny entrance of oxygen, or when a mine ventilating system fails, methane and carbon dioxide exuded from the coal fill the mine.

The second menace, carbon monoxide, CO, formed, in laymen's language, after something burns, is always present after a mine explosion or fire, in the immediately affected area, and from there is carried by the ventilating system throughout the workings, insidiously overtaking victims.

The Stellarton and Westville coal operations, especially Stellarton, had another lethal potential of greater severity than that experienced by any other colliery district in the world, so mining engineers agree, fire from spontaneous combustion, which in turn detonates an explosion.

EARLY EXPLOSIONS

The first explosion with fatalities in a Pictou County colliery was at the GMA's Store Pit in 1838.

For some unreported cause a crowd of people had assembled at the mouth of Number Two Store Pit, a shaft mine described as "new . . . recently sunk by the Company". William Lowe and James Conn, were lowered down the shaft; they descended 30 feet when one of them announced his safety lamp indicated a heavy pressure of gas, an explosion blew the young men 150 feet into the air and killed them instantly.

A coroner's inquest ruled "accidental death by explosion of gas".

Two men were killed in the Cage Pit, operated by the General Mining Association, by explosion on August 11, 1858. The same company's Bye Pit exploded in May 1861 and touched off an explosion to the connected Cage Pit. Three men were killed in the former mine, and sixteen horses suffocated.

DRUMMOND EXPLOSION

The Intercolonial Coal Company's Drummond Mine in Westville was beginning its seventh year of production in 1873.

Shipping coal from Pictou Harbour had scarcely begun in early May when the men struck for higher wages. After one idle week, they returned to work on May 13th. Later that day, the

mine exploded. There was no connection between the brief strike and the disaster which took sixty lives.

Word came to Manager James Dunn that there was a fire underground. He at once went into the mine with volunteers. Word was passed through the workings that a fire was burning at the bottom of the second level on the south side, and that burning gas seemed to be issuing from solid coal. Wisely, most of the workmen left the mine.

Soon after Manager Dunn entered the mine it exploded violently. A mighty gout of flame and smoke burst out of the pit mouth, carrying with it debris. Wooden rollers were hurled 200 yards, timbers as big as fourteen feet by nine inches were flung through the air over trees.

A quarter hour after the blast the gathering crowd on the surface heard cries for help from an air pump shaft. A tub was lowered bearing two rescuers. They were hoisted back, with two injured men, both of whom died later in the day. The tub was lowered again and when raised had an uninjured man, James Dunstan, the last man to get out of the exploded mine alive. Officials from other collieries in the area arrived, and organized rescue work. Four men volunteered in response to the officials' request for men to go below, explore, and report. They were lowered down the air shaft. Soon afterwards one was returning, presumably to report, when the mine exploded again, ejaculating from every entrance clouds of flame and smoke. The body of Edward Burns was blown from the air shaft, far over the heads of horrified watchers, and fell back to earth lifeless. The other three volunteers died in the pit. There could be no more thought of rescue.

While the pit was still burning and most of the victims were still in their fiery sepulchre, where some would lie for nearly two years before being found, Dr. Lewis Johnstone conducted an in-

quest. The significant witnesses as to fact were James Dunstan the last man out, and Robert MacLeod, the miner in whose working place a fire was started by his inadvertant action. Dunstan, a miner, told of going to Robert MacLeod's place,——"(I) helped to work at the fire by throwing water and beating the fire with wet bags, but the smoke soon sickened us. Joe Richardson came and ordered all who were unwilling to assist any further to leave the pit. He led twelve men into the lower level to get at the fire from the main intake. Others of us rushed into the level and rescued three men who had fallen overpowered by smoke. Mr. Dunn came along. Then she blasted. I threw myself down and crawled, as I found I could not stand up in the baffling air. When things became quiet I made my way to the slope. Nearly exhausted I made my way and called up the pumping shaft. A tub was lowered to me and I went up."

Robert MacLeod, whose name will be heard in connection with another tragedy, described what had happened on the fatal day, saying he had entered his place to dig coal and had found about six inches of gas, high up near the roof. He had prepared to blast, tamped powder into holes he had bored in the low part of the coal, and fired two shots which ignited the coal. MacLeod was driven out of the working place by smoke. He reported to Overman Richardson. MacLeod left and walked up the slope. Two hundred feet from the surface he felt a rushing of air coming up the slope. He threw himself down, held to the mine rail, and the blast passed over him. With the help of another man who he did not know he got to the top safely, although his brother and other men on the slope ahead of him were killed.

Mines Inspector H. S. Poole cross-examined MacLeod closely. MacLeod admitted he had been ordered by Richardson previously not to use blasting powder in his working place because of the prevalence of gas, but when he, MacLeod, refused to work unless he could use powder, Richardson rescinded the order.

The jury decided, "Death on the 13th instant by an explosion of gas caused by derangement of ventilation in the mine, arising from fire in Robert MacLeod's place. Considerable care was exercised by the management of the mine, but it is regretted that powder was permitted to be used in the place worked by Robert MacLeod." Thus was the death of sixty men explained away and excused.

FOORD PIT FLOOD AND EXPLOSION

In 1880 the Foord Pit in Stellarton was in production for thirteen years, owned by Sir George Elliott doing business under the name of Halifax Company. The Foord workings, the world's thickest known seam of bituminous coal, covered an area underground of seven linear miles. The Foord Pit was connected to the Cage Pit by a tunnel.

A working place was being driven on an upward slant in coal in the Foord Pit. It was known that the old Bye Pit workings were near. Under obligation of statute, holes were bored in advance of the coal extraction to assure that the Foord Pit operation would not blunder into the abandoned Bye Pit. By mischance the bore hole missed by a few inches the Bye Pit, and as coal withdrawal advanced, only a few feet of coal separated the two, with the weight of thousands of tons of water pressing one side of the thin partition. On October 13th three men were in the Foord Pit working place concerned, engaged in normal routine of loading coal. Water began to run from two places in the coal face. Incredibly, instead of leaving they sought to stop the leak, and still more incredibly, they were joined in the attempt by three more—Underground Manager James W. Fraser, Overman James D. Conway and a road maintenance man, Hugh MacElvie. The coal face gave way to the water pressure. Over the hapless six men water poured with flood force, carrying mine timbers and rails. Water gushed along the level and down the

slope into lower levels. All men, less the six, and the full compliment of thirty-four horses, got out safely.

The jury ruled that extra precautions had been taken, although the jurors did not describe what these precautions were, absolved the management from blame, and expressed regret that the Bye Pit workings plan was unreliable.

A month to the day after the fatal flood, at 6:35 a.m. on November 12, 1880, at the same time, a violent rush of air rumbled up from the underground workings, with hurricane force which blew off the roof of the fan house and bricks from its walls. Soon, carbon monoxide showed in the air tests.

Meantime, Underground Manager John Douglas and Overman John Dunbar, together in the Foord Pit, felt a concussion. They parted, Dunbar to go to the Foord shaft bottom to see what had happened, and Douglas to proceed through the north side workings and order the men to leave the mine by the shorter route through the Cage Pit workings, which at Douglas' order were also evacuated. Dunbar was joined underground by other officials. Their attempt to explore was interrupted by a rush of air which implied a second explosion somewhere. They left the pit.

By eight o'clock most of the Foord Pit north side, and Cage Pit men were out of the pits, but ominously, no men had come from the south side. The south side work force of nearly a half hundred men under Overman James Mitchell had been last seen going to their working places. Beginning at noon officials made several attempts to get into the south side workings, but were driven back by gas.

Rescue gangs were organized and sent below on a four hour shift plan. They were unable to do anything but maintain a watch at the shaft bottom, where the air was good. In the early

night a special train arrived from Halifax, bearing Chief Inspector of Mines Edwin Gilpin. He, with Manager Hudson and others, went into the pit at 11:30 o'clock. They were able to get a short distance into the south side, where they found three men and six horses dead from suffocation. Gas drove them out.

Early on the second day, Hudson with a few picked men, went into the mine again. They had reached a farther point from the shaft bottom in the south workings than before, when thick black smoke rolled along the level to meet them. While running back to the shaft bottom they heard a loud hissing noise. Scarcely had they stepped off the cage at the surface when black smoke plumed high from the ventilation shaft, a thick cloud seen for miles. The pit was on fire. What had been thought before but unspoken was now said aloud. No one could be alive in the south side, twenty-four hours after the explosion, with a fire of such dimension burning.

If the pit were to be saved to yield coal and wages another day, the men below must be presumed dead, and the mine must be sealed and flooded. There was no objection from the crowd of hundreds that stood silently in the mine yard, among them the families of more than forty men to be sealed in a fiery tomb.

Several hundreds of people were clustered about the pit head a few minutes after ten o'clock Saturday night, when the mine exploded with terrifying force. A loud report boomed across country, drawing frightened people out of doors a mile from the pit. The mine covers were blown off; timbers, bricks, stones, metal and canvas flew straight upward with a cloud of black smoke.

The crowd at the mine fled in terror, but none was hurt in the shower of debris which fell back to earth and holed roofs of the mine buildings.

Nothing could be done but replace the covers over the shafts, but smoke and heat, so handicapped the workmen that the job was not completed until the afternoon of the following day, Sunday. Dawn on Sunday disclosed an appalling sight of damaged buildings and three thick clouds of smoke rising straight into the heavens. Pictou and New Glasgow towns sent their steam pumper, fire engines. Pictou by rail flat car and New Glasgow by three-horse team, with hose and volunteer firemen. From the collieries at Westville and Thorburn, steam pumps and pipe came. By mid-afternoon Sunday the mine entrances were re-sealed, and four streams of water were being pumped from the East River into the burning mine.

At half past five o'clock Sunday afternoon, the Foord Pit exploded again, a reprise of the preceding night's performance.

Six weeks passed before officials were lowered into the main shaft to explore. They got no further than 300 feet from the shaft bottom, where they encountered water. Six years would pass before an effort was made to dewater and work the Foord Pit again, but this and later attempts to re-open the mine were thwarted by fire, and in 1896, the Company finally considered the Foord Pit to be permanently closed. Another thirty years would pass before any of its dead were recovered.

A matter for much talk was the death of Robert MacLeod, one of the missing men; this was the man who had fired the shot which caused the fire and subsequent explosion in the Drummond Mine in 1873, from which he had escaped safely.

An inquest was held. There being no survivors from the immediate disaster area, and no one being able to get into it, the explosion's cause could not for a surety be ascertained. However, there were several miners on the jury, and so thoroughly did they inquire into and expose mining practices that public opinion forced the Provincial Government to incorporate safety rules within the Coal Mines Regulations Act.

Let us look to 1926, forty-six years after the Foord Pit exploded. The Allan Shaft mine operators with intent of winning a 200,000 ton block of coal made a cautious foray into the Foord Pit, by way of the Allan Shaft workings. Nine skeltons of the 1880 victims were found. In 1942 the remains of five men, and in 1943 fifteen more, were found and removed for burial. Altogether, twenty-nine of the Foord Pit victims rest by the Stellarton Miners' Memorial. Eleven, and mayhap twelve, still lie where they perished. Closure of the Allan Shaft in 1951 ended speculation that one day all would be recovered.

If in these times you motor on the Trans-Canada highway which leads to Cape Breton, on that part in Pictou County which crosses the East River in Stellarton you will drive over the unfound men who died in the Foord Pit on November 12, 1880. Their 1000 foot deep tomb is directly underneath the Trans-Canada highway.

VALE RUNAWAY

The Montreal financier Sir Hugh Allan brought into being the Vale Coal Iron and Railway Company at Thorburn, which developed the eastern end of the Pictou coalfield. Until May 3, 1883 Thorburn was spared multiple death below ground.

The Vale colliery was a slope mine. Its work force was transported in and out of the pit on vehicles fitted as passenger carriers which, in the men's parlance in this mine, were called trollies, and which were really little more than ordinary coal carrying mine cars or boxes. They were hooked into the main slope's haulage rope, a steel cable, and pulled up or lowered down along the slope rail tracks.

The night shift men were being moved in groups to the surface. Two trollies were in the miniature train boarded by the men. The trollies began their journey out of the mine. At about

seven hundred feet from the bottom of the slope the piece of metal, described as a draw-bar, which connected the front trolley with the haulage rope, broke. The brakeless trollies stopped and ran backwards down the slope propelled by gravity, gathered speed with every second, and crashed against the solid stone at the slope bottom. Four men and two boys were killed outright; later a fifth man died, and a man and two boys were hurt severely.

The jury agreed, "that the deaths were caused by breaking of a drawbar and trollies running back when the men were coming out of the pit." The jury found that the regulations of the Mining Act were not violated, and recommended special boxes be provided for men to ride, such boxes not to be used for any other purpose, and to be fitted with safety catches.

This was one of two mishaps of this type in Nova Scotia. In a similar accident at Sydney Mines in 1938, caused by a broken haulage rope, twenty-one men were killed.

VALE EXPLOSION

At 9:30 p.m. on Feb. 10, 1885 Thorburn was startled by the noise of an explosion which rumbled from the colliery. An anxious crowd converged on the mine, among them Mine Manager John Greener, Underground Manager Thomas Turnbull, Engineer George Appleton, and Overman Matthew Spiers, who directed and personally led the rescue work.

The officials pushed down the slope, until at the 1300 foot level junction with the slope they found seven men, three alive and injured, and four dead. The living were taken to the surface by the trolley, where by this time four doctors were waiting, and next the four dead bodies were sent to the surface, accompanied by Engineer Appleton.

When the trolley was lowered again, it bore rescuers, all miners with tools. The work of clearing debris in the slope proceeded quicker now. One hundred feet above the main slope's end a large fall was encountered which blocked the slope completely. The rescuers burrowed through, using fallen timbers to prop the shaky roof. On the other side they found an injured man, Allan MacDonald, without a lamp. He could only whisper that "my buddy Bobbie Love fell down three times from gas and I had to leave him." MacDonald was burned. He had crawled a half mile along a debris-choked level, keeping low to avoid carbon monoxide gas that his lamp told him was present, had lost his lamp, and continued to crawl by feeling his way until he was stopped by the fall.

The rescue party found Robert Love, naked except for his boots, badly burned, and in shock. Next the rescuers found Hugh Lamont, injured, and Dan Kennedy, dead.

The injured and the dead were put in a coal box and pushed along the level's tracks to the slope bottom where the trolley was waiting. By now the main slope's entire length was clear. It was twelve hours after the explosion that Love, Lamont, with their dead colleague Kennedy reached the surface.

Six men were still missing. After a meal and a smoke, the rescuers went into the pit again. They pushed through the damaged sinking, and had not gone far when they found the bodies of six men lying within a radius of thirty feet. The heads of all were up-slope, as if they had been facing downwards and had fallen backwards when the explosive blast reached them. All were burned. The general condition of the area indicated that this was where the explosion had occurred.

Shortly before noon on February 11 the last body was brought out, and the fourteen hour vigil at the pit mouth ended.

All of the rescued men recovered. The most seriously hurt, a youth, James Robertson, with severe burns and a doubly fractured arm, lived to the age of 98.

Newspaper reports of the disaster list eleven dead. The Department of Mines official report lists thirteen. The jury's verdict absolved the company from blame. Evidence was given that workmen were using open flame lamps. The jury found that an explosion of gas from an "unknown cause" was responsible for the deaths, and recommended the use of safety lamps. No action followed upon the recommendation. Open lights continued in use. Eight months later the two men loading coal were burned when their lights fired gas, and the same thing happened to a third man the following day.

It was not until 1934 that the last Pictou County coal pit with open flame lights took safety lamps into use, the Greenwood colliery in the Thorburn area, and then only after two men were burned, one of whom died, from a gas fire started by their lights.

SURFACE EXPLOSIONS

Not all of the men who died from explosion at the Pictou County collieries were victims of underground explosion. Three men were killed on the surface of the Marsh Mine in the Thorburn area in January 1902 when, incredibly, frozen dynamite was being thawed in a bucket placed on a stove in the manager's office. The dynamite exploded, killing the mine's senior officials, the manager, the under-ground manager, and the engineer.

In an abandoned entrance to a proposed mine that did not materialize, the "English Slope", in Stellarton, on Labour Day 1906, two boys were killed and three injured. They entered the slope in search of a lost ball, and were within a few feet of the surface when one struck a match which exploded methane gas.

At the surface plant of the Drummond Mine in Westville on April 2, 1914, seven men were killed when a steam boiler exploded.

THE ALLAN SHAFT EXPLOSIONS

We come now to the first of the explosions in the Allan Shaft, 1914. Between 1914 and 1935 this Stellarton colliery of the Acadia Coal Company Ltd., took a heavy loss of life. 101 men died in four explosions. There were two explosions, and a third later one, which spared the few men in the pit at the time. By 1914 the Acadia Company had organized a Mine Rescue Corps, the draegermen, so called from an early type of breathing device used by underground rescuers. The Rescue Corps personnel were skilled and physically fit miners in the company's employ, trained to wear self-contained oxygen breathing apparatus while succoring men underground.

Sunday morning, December 20, 1914, an explosion swept through the Allan Shaft, when two men only were underground.

Within an hour Manager Sutherland, Underground Manager Ned O'Reilly and Overman Neil MacLean went below to search for Alfred Hughes and a boy, Edward Bosnan. They found them alive, partly overcome by gas, near the shaft bottom. Taken to the surface, they revived. Fourteen horses were in the pit, and, with carbon monoxide showing strongly in air samples taken from the ventilation out-go shaft, it was decided to leave the horses to their fate.

Manager Sutherland was joined by Westville Acadia Superintendent James Brown and the Provincial Government's District Deputy Inspector of Mines, Thomas Blackwood. Stories were told afterwards of the conversation between these men. A yarn given wide belief but never corroborated by the survivor of the trio, Sutherland, alleged that hard words were exchanged by

Blackwood and Brown about each other's courage. They decided to go into the mine and explore. They refused to take an escort of draegermen.

The cage was down less than ten minutes when a signal to hoist came from below. Within seconds it arrived at the surface, with only one man on it, Sutherland, on his hands and knees, unable to stand, barely able to tell that the men below were overcome by gas. A draeger team of four wearing oxygen self-contained breathing apparatus went below. They were soon back, bearing the insensible body of Neil MacLean, who was revived with a pulmotor. The draegarmen next took out the body of Inspector Blackwood, and eight minutes later the body of Superintendent Brown. Doctors with a pulmotor could not revive them. Blackwood had apparently been dead when found, and Brown died while being carried to the surface.

Our story takes us now to the worst of the disasters that befell the coal miners of Pictou County, the Allan Shaft explosion of 1918.

On January 23 the afternoon shift of 97 men descended and from the shaft landings dispersed to duties in workings off the mine's three working levels, the 476, the 962 and the 1200. Two hours after the men went below, workmen on the surface at 5:30 o'clock were startled by a puff of smoke emitted by the main shaft, followed immediately by a strong rush of air into the mine.

A second puff of smoke, plumed above the mine buildings. The cage was lowered and raised, stopping briefly at each of the three levels. Five more men came up from the 476 level. They had smelled smoke and left their working places, but were unaware of an explosion or trouble of any sort other than the smoke smell. A few minutes later the cage brought up two more men from the 476 level. It was now six o'clock, a half hour after

the first smoke puff. The cage was lowered and raised repeatedly. No more men came up. No signal came from below.

Nine men were safe. Eighty-eight men were underground, and from the collieries' depths nothing was heard but a foreboding silence.

Two and one quarter hours after the first puff, the first draeger team went below. They brought back two dead and one unconscious man—who died—and discouraging word of severe explosion damage.

By midnight it was considered safe to send bareface workmen into the pit, with a draeger escort. The workmen set to work to digging their way through the falls in the levels and searching for survivors. By ones and twos bodies were found, some burned, one was decapitated, but the most were without sign of injury, meaning death had been silent and swift from carbon monoxide. As the searchers probed deeper into the mine and found increasing signs of a violent explosion and more dead men, the hopes for survivors expired.

A Coroner's Jury began proceedings on February 1st while the bodies of forty men were still somewhere in the mine's depths. If any mortals knew the cause of the 1918 Allan Shaft explosion, the knowledge died with them. The last body of the eighty-eight victims was recovered four months later.

Seventy-four men were underground on June 30th 1924 when at four o'clock in the afternoon a puff of smoke rose from the shaft.

At first on the surface there were fears that the whole working force below had met the fate of the 1918 explosion victims, but within minutes the cage was hoisting men, and continued to

hoist them in small groups until six o'clock. By then sixty-three men and all horses were out of the pit. Eleven men were missing.

Seven of the missing eleven survived, and when found they told a story of underground ordeal that caused the death of four. They had heard the explosion and started to walk to the shaft bottom. Small groups merged into a band of eleven. They began to feel the effects of gas, which they could not smell, and which their experience told them was after-damp—carbon monoxide. They encountered several small falls, partially blocking their escape, and this slowed them. They were weakening, and one of them fell and broke a leg. The others helped him along. Then they came to a large fall which, in their weakened condition from breathing gas-tainted air, they could not get through. They were trapped. With presence of mind, they broke an air pipe, used to carry compressed air to the coal cutting tools. (Incidentally, some survivors said the pipe line was found broken when they came to the fall.) The pipe line was carrying a small quantity of air. It was enough to save the lives of seven.

On a Sunday night in 1929 there was a preliminary blast which warned the men below, only three. They got out safely. The mine horses were left. There was another explosion, when only two men were in the mine, on Labour Day 1931, and they got out safely.

The last of the Allan Shaft explosions which caused loss of human life was on April 16, 1935. At 8:15 a.m. workmen in the Allan Shaft's 1500 level were struck by a whistling blast of wind which hit them with hurricane force, knocking some men off their feet. Within an hour all men were safely on the surface, except seven.

The first draeger team sent below reported no gas, no smoke, and damage only in the 1500 level where, 1000 feet from the level end, their way was blocked by a heavy fall.

Barefaced crews were organized, and with draegermen standing by, the work of forcing a way through the fall began. It was the first of many falls.

Thirty-three hours after the explosion, at 5:30 p.m. on Wednesday, April 18, the rescuers reached the end of the main level. Four men were dead, found 125 feet back from the face. From the shotfirer's battery at his body a cable led to a fresh fall of coal from the face. Subsequently, the place was thoroughly examined by a miner's committee and officials. Both groups agreed that there was no doubt of what had caused the explosion—a shot had been fired in solid coal, in direct contravention of regulations, and, a second contravention, there had been a dangerous concentration of methane gas in the air when the shot was fired.

All four men had died instantly from the explosive blast. Three men were still unfound, and another three hours work was required to dig through the explosion-wrecked connecting passageway to the counter level. The three were found, dead from asphyxiation, in positions indicating they had been trying to dig their way through a fall when the gas overcame them.

MacGREGOR EXPLOSION

Pictou County's last colliery disaster to date, and, let us hope, the last there ever will be, was in 1952, when 19 men died in the Acadia Coal Company's MacGregor Mine in Stellarton. It was considered a safe mine, in that it never had exploded, although like all pits in the Stellarton area it had a plethora of fires from spontaneous combustion.

In the early morning of January 14 an official, on his routine safety patrol preparatory to the mine operating the following day, detected a fire smell in the workings. The day shift

men when they arrived for work were for safety's sake prohibited from working, and returned to their homes. It was decided to seal off the fire section.

Draegermen went into the affected area to construct temporary stoppings, and thus smother the fire before it really got going. Meantime, barefaced men undertook salvage of mine equipment. At 12:30 noon the salvage crew and draegermen left the pit, their job completed. It was considered safe to have barefaced men construct permanent stoppings. Nineteen men, selected and agreeable to do the work, were lowered with materials and tools to the slope bottom. They left the riding rake and walked towards the trouble section.

Shortly after one o'clock, four men of the mine's maintenance crew were at the slope bottom, when they were overwhelmed by a blast of warm air and dust that came from the direction of the place in which the stoppings were being built. Draegermen who had left the mine less than an hour before were recalled; the first team went below minutes less than an hour after the blast was felt at the slope bottom.

The group at the slope bottom stayed there, and a quarter hour after the blast a man walked from the trouble area, Fraser Lorimer, with a slight cut on his head but otherwise unharmed. Next came James Hawboldt, limping from a bruised hip, partly overcome by smoke. Last came William Sewell, his face badly burned, and telling of a ball of fire and terrible blast of air and dust. They had been about half way from the slope bottom to the point where the stoppings were being built. These three were the only men to come alive from the fire area. Nineteen men had died instantly in a fiery blast which swept over them with the swiftness of lightning, and then had spent itself when choked with rock dust; by the time, a few seconds, the blast had reached the slope bottom its strength was reduced to gale wind, and the

flame was out, which spared the four men there and two others who were nearby.

The subsequent inquiry conducted by Special Investigator J. Welsford MacDonald, could not from the evidence adduced definitely declare what had caused the explosion, other than summarize what was known—there was a fire smell, men were sealing off the affected section, an explosion occurred, obviously from methane gas being fired, and the men were killed.

Some Seal Island Shipwrecks

GEORGE T. BATES

Seal Island lies about fifteen miles off the mainland at the southwestern tip of Nova Scotia. It is the largest of a group of small islands to which the name "Ilse aux Loups Martins" was given by Champlain in 1604, but is now taken to apply only to the one island.

The seacoast of Nova Scotia had been a familiar sight to mariners from Europe for a hundred years before Champlain, almost continually in fact since the Cabots navigated the tiny "MATTHEW" along its shores in the late 1400's. It was the abundant fisheries just off the coast that was perhaps the first and main attraction, although there were several entrepreneurs dabbling in the fur trade as well. The first attempt at establishing a permanent settlement was made by the Baron de Lery et de Saint Just in 1518. Unfortunately the scheme failed, and although he left a number of live cattle on Sable Island, he left very little else. In 1534, the coast was ranged by Verazzani and possibly also by Cartier the same year. A French settlement is said to have been made at Cape Breton in 1541. The first but unsuccessful voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert was made in 1578, and in 1583, with five vessels and 260 men, he visited

Newfoundland and Sable Island, where he lost one of his vessels. Leaving there on August 31st, 1583, the little vessel of only ten tons carrying Sir Humphrey disappeared with all on board on September 9th. In 1578, or very soon after, another attempt at colonization was made by the Marquis de la Roche, who came in a single vessel. He brought an able pilot and about 50 convicts that had been collected from French prisons. Arriving at Sable Island, the convicts were put ashore while de la Roche explored the mainland. He did not return for the prisoners, however, and they were on the Island for the next five years, and possibly seven, after which the surviving 12 were taken off and returned to France.

Cartier's voyages to the St. Lawrence had opened up that part of the country to the fur traders, and fishermen were soon visiting the banks off Newfoundland, Cape Breton and the Nova Scotia mainland with ever-increasing frequency and a greater volume of numbers.

Four vessels were fitted out at Dieppe and Havre de Grace in 1604 for yet another try at colonization. This expedition was led by Pierre de Guast, sieur de Monts, and Samuel Champlain. Their first winter was spent on Grand Manan and it was a miserable experience for all concerned. The land was strange and inhospitable, the weather was harsh, the Indians were unpredictable and the dread disease scurvy took a heavy toll. By the following Spring, thirty-six men were dead and as many more were still suffering from its effects. When Pontgrave arrived with fresh supplies and a further reinforcement of 40 men, it was decided that a new location for the settlement was necessary, and the move was made to Port Royal. This marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Acadia, or Nova Scotia. The territory was claimed by both England and France, and possession changed hands a dozen and more times in the next hundred years, before Port Royal was taken for the last time, in 1710.

More and more European vessels appeared off the coasts, and these could be either friend or foe, the deciding factor being usually whether it was the English or the French in occupation at the little fort at Part Royal.

Mariners soon discovered that regardless of whether or not their visits were friendly, there were natural hazards that potentially were even more dangerous than the possibility of contact with a human antagonist. Personal information and knowledge of these hazards was passed back and forth between the fishermen, and eventually found its way on to the charts and maps of the region. When Port Royal was established as the capital, maritime travel to the southwestern end of the country increased, and so also did a knowledge and understanding of the navigational approaches leading to it, as well as the precautions to be taken while getting there.

The most familiar of these hazards was known to the Spanish as early as 1505 as Santa Cruz, and in 1544 to the Italians as Isolla del Arena. To the Portuguese it was Isle Faguntes and the French knew it as Ile de Sablon. Much larger then than it is now, Sable Island is about 20 miles long by one mile wide, but the sand bars and shoals at each end extend the malignant effects of the Island on shipping for a total of close to 50 miles in length. Many a vessel came to an untimely and fatal end on its shores, bars or shoals, and by 1633, Johannes de Laet could say with good authority that it "had a bad repute for shipwrecks". In the heyday of the sailing vessel it became known as "The Graveyard of the Atlantic" so that today it is probably known as well by one name as the other.

But—Sable Island is not the only marine graveyard in the waters off Nova Scotia. In the nearly 500 years since the Cabot voyages to these shores, there has been an almost constant flow of marine traffic, and during that time, at least five general areas, including Sable Island, have developed into "Graveyards

of Shipping". Falling into this category would be the St. Paul's Island area, the Scatarie area, the Brier Island area, and the Cape Sable-Seal Island area. These two could even be separated into distinct units by themselves, which is what happens here, with Seal Island.

The ocean currents at this corner of the Province are seasonally variable, and the currents from the south are periodically stronger than those from the northwest. In the days of sail, and before the electronic warning devices, this caused navigational errors that all too often cost the life of the vessel, and sometimes its crew. For a hundred years after Champlain, the main inhabitants of the Island were the seals that gave it its name. We do not know the name of the first vessel to be wrecked on its shores, nor do we know the date, but wrecks happened with increasing frequency as marine traffic grew in volume at that end of the Province. As was the case also with Sable Island, it became customary to visit the islands in the Spring to search for and examine wreckages of vessels cast away during the previous winter, and give a decent burial to any bodies that might be found. A man named Cann from Yarmouth buried 21 corpses over a period of years.

The first lighthouse in the Province was built by the French at Louisbourg in 1731. Next came the Sambro Light in 1758 and thirty years later, the third and fourth were built in 1788 and 1789 at Cape Roseway and Shelburne respectively. The light on Sable Island was built in 1801 and by 1820 there were ten lights around the coasts of the Province giving direction to mariners. Samuel Cunard, later to become the shipping magnate, was head of the provincial Lighthouse Commission when the 11th lighthouse was built on Seal Island in 1830. The first Cunard vessel to become a shipwreck was lost on a ledge just west of Seal Island, on July 2nd, 1842. Sheep were imported to the Island soon after it became inhabited, to provide a source of meat for the survivors of shipwrecks. Fishermen became more

or less regular in their visits, and a small church was erected in the early 1900's.

Less than one quarter the size of the Sable Island area, Seal Island has had almost equally as many shipwrecks as the former. This is not the place for a history of Seal Island itself, due to the limits of space. The coastline of Nova Scotia is said to be 4,625 miles long. From a list of shipwrecks that has been collected over a period of years, (but NOT researched) and which at the present time includes more than one wreck for every mile of coastline, the following list of vessels wrecked at or near Seal Island has been drawn. The information given on the wrecks is generally as it is given in the various sources from which the material has been garnered, and is therefore subject to the type of errors that are bound to creep in, without adequate research and confirmation.

1781—*POLLY,* schr. Nehemiah Patch, master and owner, from New England for Yarmouth, was wrecked at Seal Island in the Fall. All hands perished.
1782—*BLONDE,* H.M.S. 32 guns, Capt. Thornborough, for Halifax with a prize in tow, wrecked on Blonde Rock, off the Great Seal Island on May 10th. Rock is several hundred feet wide by a quarter mile long and is 3½ miles and S½E from Seal Island Light. All on board except one man were saved. Taken off the Rock by two American privateers, the LIVELY, Captain Adams, and the SCAMMEL, Captain Stoddard.
1786—*SCHOONER,* not named, of 18 tons, Samuel Baker, master, from Boston for Yarmouth with supplies, was wrecked at Mud Island. Crew was rescued after eight days.
1806—*HIBERNIA,* bgtn, 53 tons, John Valpey master, from New York for Yarmouth with general cargo, was wrecked at Mud Island in midwinter. All hands perished.
1808—*SEA FLOWER,* sloop, 44 tons, Oliver Healey master, from Halifax for Yarmouth in ballast, was wrecked on the eastern side of Mud Island. All hands perished.

1810—*JANE,* schr. 27 tons, Othniel Beal master, and owner, from Boston for Yarmouth with general cargo, was wrecked at Blonde Rock near Seal Island. Crew saved.

1832—*FRIENDSHIP,* schr, Kenney master, struck on the south breaker of Seal Island on June 26th and sank immediately. Crew was saved and landed on Blanche Island 42 hours later.

ADVENTURE, schr, 33 tons, Waitstill Patch master and owner, from Canso for Yarmouth was wrecked at Mud Island in midwinter. Crew was stranded for 14 days without fire. Taken off by brig *GRECIAN* and taken to Yarmouth.

1833—*SERENE,* American brig, Lord, master from Boston for Malta, was wrecked at Seal Island on September 1st. Crew and cargo saved.

1836—*MEXICO,* brig, 221 tons, Snow master, 29 hours from Boston for Pictou was wrecked near Seal Island on May 13th. Crew saved, vessel was owned in Kennebunkport.

1837—*FRANCES,* schr, Fields master, from St. John, N.B. for Antigua, ran ashore on the northern Mud Island on July 2nd. Was towed off, repaired at Yarmouth and sailed for St. John. Sprank a leak, ran ashore at Cranberry Island and was condemned.

AMARANTH, brig, George Card of Campobello, master, from Shelburne for New York with cargo of granite, went ashore on the east side of Great Mud Island on December 18th and went to pieces. Five persons perished: Mr. Boyce of Halifax; David Carey of Bath, Me.; the cook and his wife (colored) of Halifax; and Margaret Flynn of Waterford, Ireland. The bodies were all recovered and buried on the Island, that of Margaret Flynn turning to stone, later becoming known as the petrified woman.

1839—*MARGARET,* brig, Pitman master, of and from Boston, Mass. for Sydney, C.B. ran ashore on one of the Bald Tusket Islands on July 11th and became a total wreck. Material saved.

HENRY TOLEMAN, brig, 156 tons, from Boston for

Sydney, C.B. in ballast, ran ashore on Seal Island on July 24th. Crew and materials saved.

1840—*TOINETTE,* American brig, John Ewer master, from Boston on June 3rd for Rotterdam, struck on south point of middle Bald Tusket Island in dense fog on the 4th and was abandoned. Became total wreck, later drifted out to sea.

WAVE, schr. Nelson master, from St. John, N.B. for Cork, Ireland lost her rudder, struck on a ledge near one of the Tusket Islands on September 9th and became a total loss. Crew and cargo saved.

1841—*SAINT PATRICK,* barque, 830 tons, Joseph Hughson master, from St. John, N.B. for Bristol, England with a cargo of timber was stranded at upper Mud Island on September 15th. Crew saved, vessel was condemned and sold.

1842—*ELISHA PAYSON,* brig, William Payson master, from the West Indies for Westport, struck on Seal Island on Feb. 4th in dense fog and went to pieces. Crew and part of materials saved.

ELIZA ANN, brig, McAllister master, of St. Stephen, N.B. from Matanzas for Halifax with a cargo of molasses and sugar ran ashore on one of the Bald Tusket Islands on February 17th. The Captain and a passenger, Dr. Crothers of Ireland, were washed overboard and drowned.

COLUMBIA, R.M.S. (Cunard Line) Shannon master, from Boston for Halifax and Liverpool, G. B. with mails and 90 passengers struck on Black Ledges about 1 mile west of Seal Island, in dense fog on Sunday afternoon July 2, and became a total wreck. Passengers and crew saved.

1843—MARY ANN, brig, Wentworth Sanders master, left Yarmouth on May 22nd, for Cork, Ireland with a cargo of deals. Near Seal Island next day, vessel was found to be on fire, and abandoned. Captain and crew landed on Seal Island in the boat.

JOSEPH PEASE, brig, Franks master, with a cargo of coals from Sunderland G.B. for St. John, N.B. ran ashore on Seal Island on May 16th. Vessel and cargo total loss, crew saved.

MARIA, English brig, Hargrove master from St. Johns, Nfld. for St. John, N.B. ran ashore on the outer Mud Island on July 3rd and became a total wreck. Crew and materials saved.

ORIENT, brig, of and from St. Stephen, N.B. for Barbados with a cargo of lumber was wrecked on Seal Island on July 30th. Crew and materials saved.

1845—*SISTERS,* schr. 108 tons, James R. Blauvelt master, from the island of Dominica for Yarmouth on October 13th with a cargo of molasses and sugar. Laid to in a heavy gale on November 11th. Sighted Seal Island light, and struck on the west side of large Mud Island. Crew saved.

1845—*BENGAL,* barque, Gales master, of Whitley, G. B. from London for St. John, N.B. struck on the northeast point of Seal Island on March 30th. Was a total wreck, crew and materials saved.

1846—*PALLADIUM,* schr, Larkin West master, from Beverley, Mass. bound fishing, ran ashore on the north Seal Island on May 10th and was wrecked. Crew and part of materials were saved.

1846—*SUCCESS,* schr, B. Falkir master, struck on Soldiers Ledge near Mud Island on June 20th and went to pieces immediately. Crew barely had time to save themselves in the boat. Pieces of wreckage came ashore at John's Island during the following week.

WILLIAM ABRAMS, ship, 706 tons, James Hamlin, master, from Boston for Calcutta, struck on Black Ledge near Seal Island, on July 2nd and became a total wreck. Crew, consisting of 15 English and 15 Lascars and Malays, were saved, also part of the cargo and materials. A curious coincidence in connection with this wreck was that the Captain first knew of his whereabouts by finding on the shore a part of the materials of the S.S. COLUMBIA. Both vessels struck within a few yards of the same spot, on the same day of the month and at nearly the same hour. The COLUMBIA was wrecked four years previously.

BRAZILIAN, brig, 163 tons from Pictou for Salem,

Mass with a cargo of coal was wrecked on Bald Tusket Island on August 4th. Crew and materials saved.

AMBASSADOR, barque, 330 tons, Barbour master, from St. John, N.B. for Europe with a cargo of deals and timber struck on flat Mud Island on October 18th. Materials and cargo saved.

1847—*LOCH SLOY,* barque, 590 tons, Burns master, from St. John, N.B. for Dublin with a cargo of timber, was wrecked at Devils Limb near Seal Island in thick fog on July 20th, on her maiden voyage. Crew, cargo and materials saved.

ALDINE, brig, of Cork, Ireland, Neil master, from St. John, N.B. for Europe with a cargo of railway sleepers and deals, struck on the northern Mud Island on August 28th and was wrecked.

1848—*BERLIN,* barque, Abrams master, of and from St. John, N.B. for Liverpool, England with a cargo of deals, lumber and railway sleepers, was wrecked at Seal Island in May. Crew, cargo and materials saved.

1851—*DOVE,* schr, 25 tons, Lyman Spinney master, left Halifax on September 17th on a fishing voyage. While running for Murder Island, struck a rock called "Old Man" east of Bald Tusket Island on October 1st and sank immediately. Crew was saved with difficulty.

ZENOBIA, brig, 200 tons from St. John, N.B. with a cargo of deals, ran ashore at Seal Island on July 11th in dense fog and became a total wreck. Cargo and materials saved.

MARGARET McDOUGALL, schr, Lowden master, of and for Halifax from St. John, N.B. with a cargo of lime, dry fish etc. struck on Soldier's Ledge on September 15th and floated off leaking. Was run ashore at Mud Island to keep from foundering. Crew and materials saved after three days without food or water.

1853—*ALLEN BROWN,* barque, of and from Belfast for Miramichi in ballast, ran ashore in thick weather on Seal Island and went to pieces. Crew and part of materials saved.

1853—*STAFFORDSHIRE,* a magnificient Packet ship, Rich-

ardson master, belonging to Train's line of Boston and Liverpool packets, from Liverpool for Boston, struck on Blonde Rock near Seal Island on Thursday night, December 29th. She floated off and sank about 3 hours later. She had about 150 passengers (about 100 females) only 6 of whom and 38 of the crew were saved in the boats. About 175 souls including the Captain, went down with the ship.

1854—*PERTHSHIRE,* ship, Walsh master, of and from St. John, N.B. for Liverpool, G.B. with a cargo of timber and deals, struck on Soldier's Ledge on March 7th. Floated off after 3 hours with loss of anchors, chains, keel, sternpost and rudder. Taken into Chebogue River, placed on flats, stripped, and sold.

GUIDE, American schr. Bartlett master, from Plymouth, Mass, for the Banks, ran ashore at Mud Island May 18th and became a total loss. Crew saved.

SCHOONER, name unknown, belonging to Prince Edward Island, from Portland, Me. bound east on a trading voyage with a general cargo, struck a rock off Mud Island on August 24, came off and sank. Crew saved.

1855—*PERSEVERANCE,* schr. Lacheuse master, from Portsmouth, N.H. for Arichat, was wrecked at Seal Island July 19th. Crew and materials saved, landed at Pictou.

1856—*SARAH MILLEDGE,* barque, Reid master, from Greennock for St. John, N.B. in ballast, struck on Blonde Rock on Saturday evening, October 18th. Floated off, was abandoned about 17 miles WSW of Yarmouth Cape on the 19th. Foundered shortly afterwards. Crew reached Yarmouth in the boats.

1857—*STAMFORD,* a new ship of 1051 tons, built in 1857 at St. Martin's, N.B. Vaughan master, from St. John, N.B. for Liverpool, G.B. with a cargo of deals, struck on Devil's Limb, Seal Island on June 21st and bilged. Towed off and taken to Yarmouth by brigs LEADER and PEERLESS.

1857—*VERMONT*, American barque, 400 tons of Boston, from St. John, N.B. for Europe with a cargo of timber, went ashore at Mud Island on July 20th. Was later towed off and taken to Barrington.

ENERGY—schr, Coombs master, from Castine Me. for Pictou in ballast, was wrecked at Seal Island on August 4th. Crew saved.

ROSALIE, a new barque of 300 tons, McInnis master, of and for Sydney, C.B. from Boston in ballast, wrecked at Seal Island on September 6th. Crew saved.

1859—*ROBERT TREAT,* American ship, 700 tons, from Boston for Miramichi, N.B. in ballast, was wrecked at Sea Island on June 18. Crew saved.

1860—*WHITE CLOUD,* schr, 86 tons, Conant master, of and for Provincetown, Mass., from the Grand Banks with 1,000 quintals of cod, was wrecked on Seal Island in a dense fog on August 22. Crew saved, also part of the cargo and materials.

1861—*TRIUMPH,* brig, from New York for Halifax with a cargo of flour, etc. came ashore at Seal Island on May 8th. Three bodies were found on board and were interred on the Island. All hands perished.

BUCEPHALUS, barque, 501 tons of Scotland, Donaldson, master, from St. John, N.B. for Kingstown, Ireland with a cargo of timber and deals, ran ashore on the north side of Mud Island in thick fog on the night of July 30th.

1863—*SALASIA,* barque, Izat master, of and for Liverpool, G.B. from St. Stephen, N.B. with a cargo of deals, went ashore on Mud Island in dense fog July 27th. Was floated off August 2nd, taken to Pubnico and condemned.

1865—*CHEROKEE,* bgtn, Dunlap master, of and from Liverpool, N.S. for Boston, struck on Soldier's Ledge in a thick snowstorm on January 17th, and bilged. Masts were cut away, boat was lost and other damage sustained. Drifted until 19th, struck on John's Island Ledge. Bottom left the deck, which drifted out of the bay, carrying 12 of the crew and passengers. They were seen next morning from Clarke's Harbour, and a boat put out for rescue. Mrs. Eliza Daly and grand-daughter died in the boat, Mrs. Sarah Guether died soon after being landed. Her husband, John Alex Guether, when convinced that his wife was dead, fell exhausted, and died soon after.

1866—*SEA LION,* American brig, Lowe master, from Boston for Cow Bay, C.B. in ballast, was wrecked at Mud Island on June 25th.

LUCY J. WATSON, schr. Wallace master, of and from Harpswell, Me. for Bay Chaleur, struck on Soldier's Ledge during a dense fog on the night of August 2nd, and sank immediately. Crew took to the boat, and were picked up by the brig EUREKA, Portland for Pictou and landed at Yarmouth. 13 in the crew.

1866—*AGNES FRASER,* barque, Fraser master, of and for Pictou in ballast from Boston, struck on Devil's Limb, Seal Island, in dense fog on the morning of August 3rd. She floated off in half an hour, waterlogged. Captain and crew took her to Yarmouth.

1867—*SURPRISE,* brig, Fulton master, from New York for Halifax in ballast, was wrecked at Mud Island on June 17th. Crew saved.

MARY ELIZA, schr, Morse master, from Boston for St. Peter's, C.B., struck on Devil's Limb, Seal Island on the night of June 30th and became a total wreck. Crew saved.

1868—*ENTERPRISE,* barque, Clarke master, from St. John, N.B. for Queenstown with a cargo of deals, ran ashore at Seal Island in June and became a total wreck. Crew saved.

1869—*ST. GEORGE,* ss of the Allan Line, from Portland, Me. for Glasgow with a cargo of 20,000 bushels of wheat in bags, and 2,000 barrels of flour, struck on Blonde Rock off Seal Island 11 p.m. on April 29th. Crew of 50 were taken to Barrington. During a gale on Monday, May 2, the vessel was completely broken up. A large portion of the cargo was picked up in a damaged condition.

1870—*ALEXANDER WILLIAM,* brig, 166 tons, built in 1866 at W. Arichat, from New York for Newfoundland with a cargo of flour, ran ashore at Seal Island in August. Afterwards floated, she was taken to Yarmouth and repaired, and was the first vessel to be taken on the Yarmouth Marine Railway.

1873—*J. T. SMITH,* barque, Howard master, of and from

Parrsboro for Liverpool, G.B. with a cargo of lumber, went ashore on Mud Island in dense fog in July. Towed off on the 7th, taken to Yarmouth and repaired.

C. C. WARREN, schr, Smith master, of and from Gloucester, Mass, for Bay Chaleur, struck on Bald Tusket Island on the morning of July 4th, and filled with water.

M. B. NICKERSON, bgtn, Kirkpatrick master, from Boston for Cow Bay, C.B. went ashore on Outer Bald Island in thick fog on Sunday night, July 27th.

1876—*LIVE OAK,* barque, 432 tons, of and from St. John, N.B. for Liverpool, G.B. with a cargo of deals, was towed into Barrington West Bay, a derelict, on March 21st, by an American schooner. After the vessel became waterlogged, she was run ashore at Seal Island, where the crew landed. Vessel drifted off, was fallen in with near the mainland and taken in tow.

JULIA LINGLEY, brig, Saunders master, of and from St. John, N.B. for Ireland, deal laden, ran ashore on Bald Tusket Island in thick fog on May 10th. Subsequently floated off, was taken to Pubnico, condemned and sold.

1877—*JUAN F. PEARSON,* barque, John Reid master, of and from St. John, N.B. for Europe with a cargo of deals, went ashore in thick fog on Mud Island, Sunday night, June 10th. She broke up in a gale on July 12th.

1877—*KATE AGNES,* barque, Olsen master, of and from St. John, N.B. for Europe, deal laden, went ashore on Mud Island in thick fog, Sunday night, June 10th. (See Juan F. Pearson above).

MORNING LIGHT, schr, Porter master, Boston for Liverpool, N.S. with 5 passengers and general cargo, ran on Seal Island night of June 10th, became total wreck. Cargo saved.

1878—*ORANGE,* iron schr. Austen master, of and for Cork with a cargo of corn, ran ashore in thick fog on Seal Island on the night of May 4th. On Tuesday 7th, 4,000 bushels of the cargo were jettisoned, the vessel refloated at high water and was towed to Yarmouth.

AMELIA, schr, 114 tons, built 1863 at Arichat, Reg. No. 38452, owned by Peter LeBlanc, who sold in 1876 to P. Richard, was wrecked on Seal Island in August.

1881—*MORAVIAN,* ss, 3,000 tons, Allan Line, Captain Archer master, from Portland Me, for Halifax and Liverpool, G.B., struck on Flat Mud Island at 9 a.m. December 27th (or 30th) in dense fog. Crew and 35 passengers saved.

HADJI, ss, Captain Salvage, from Cow Bay, C.B. for Portland, Me., with a cargo of coal, went ashore on Blonde Rock in a thick fog on August 26th and went to pieces. Crew saved, landed at Barrington.

1882—*J. L. CROSSLEY,* schr, of and for Sydney, C.B. with a cargo of flour and kerosene, ran ashore on Mud Island in dense fog on the night of August 16th. Part of the cargo was jettisoned, vessel floated off, proceeded to Yarmouth, where she was repaired.

1883—*JOHN MURPHY,* ship, 1471 tons, (208' x 38.4' x 24.4', built at Tusket in 1876 by Murphy), George N. Cosman master, from Havre for St. John, N.B. on May 24th in ballast, went ashore at Seal Island on June 20th. Crew saved. Vessel floated on August 20th, taken to St. John, where she was condemned and burned.

1884—*COLONSAY,* iron ss, Reay master, from St. John, N.B. for Penarth Roads, cargo of deals, went ashore on Mud Island, Tuesday night, July 8th. Came off leaking badly, made Yarmouth where she was repaired.

1885—*BESSIE M. WELLS,* schr, 82 tons and two years old, Robert Porper master, from Gloucester, Mass. March 14th for the Banks, fishing, struck the western point of Seal Island Monday March 16th and went to pieces. Captain and crew of 15 saved.

1886—*SISTERS,* schr, 15 tons, built in 1883, Captain Robert N. Crowell, owner, Ezra M. Jeffreys master, was run into by the Maitland barque MEDES August 11th near and north of Seal Island. 7 man crew (Charles Nickerson, George Nickerson, Orlando Malone, Samuel Goodwin, Elijah Jeffreys, Asa Nickerson

and Hezekiah Garron) were taken aboard the MEDES and landed at Parrsboro.

SAMUEL WELSH, bktn, 480 tons, 11 years old, Henry Theissing master, from Boston August 19 for Sierra Leone, general cargo, struck on reef south of Devil's Limb, Seal Island in dense fog, morning of August 23rd. Crew saved.

1887—*CHARLES B. THOMPSON,* schr, 69 tons, William J. Smith master, Gloucester, Mass, for the Banks fishing, struck on Blonde Rock at 2.30 a.m. July 3rd. Remained there 10 minutes, came off and sank in 5 minutes. Crew landed at Seal Island 2 hours later.

1888—*SAINVAL COIPEL,* brig, 1290 tons, 15 years old, Brinton master, from Bear River for the West Indies, struck on Flat Mud Island at 6 a.m. January 26th in a thick snowstorm. Crew stayed on the Island from Thursday until Sunday without food. Caught and killed some sheep. Men kept warm in houses on the island, which were provided with stoves, matches and wood. Rescued on Sunday (29th)

MAY BENT—schr, 110 tons, launched in August 1887, King master, from Parrsboro January 17 for Newberryport, Mass, with a cargo of coal, met a heavy gale, drifted in the bay (of Fundy) for two days and three nights, sighted Seal Island on Friday 20th. Captain tried to get under the lee of the Island, the stove in the cabin upset and the vessel caught fire. Crew was saved.

UNITY—barque, Connaughton master, from Boston for Caplin in the Bay of Chaleur, struck on Seal Island in a gale on July 11th. Came off, drifted without rudder towards Yarmouth, went ashore at Footes Cove July 12th. Was repaired later.

MAZEPPA, barque, 474 tons, 34 years old, Morrison master, from St. John, N.B. for Cork, Ireland, deal laden, ran ashore at Seal Island on the night of July 9th. Floated off, then on again, became a total wreck. Cargo saved. Floated off again August 1st and towed to Yarmouth.

CORINNE, brig, 122 tons, 14 years old, Byrne master,

Boston for Harbour Grace and St. John's, Nfld., struck on the Kelp shoal off Flat Mud Island on the evening of September 12th, filled and capsized. Abandoned, she was later beached in the western cove and towed to Yarmouth.

1890—*G. C. KELLEY,* schr, 998 tons, built in 1885, Benjamin Houdy master, from Boston January 24th for Halifax via Lockeport struck on Soldier's Ledge 10:15 p.m. on January 25th, and filled. Cargo was 400 barrels of flour and meal, 220 casks of sand, 35 barrels of oil, and several carboys of acid as deckload, which went overboard when vessel struck. The cook, one passenger and one seaman washed overboard.

LATHARNA, ss, 265 tons, built 1884, Gray master, from Philadelphia on August 19th for Glace Bay for coal, in ballast. Struck on Soldier's Ledge between 3 and 4 a.m. August 22. Weather was foggy and sea rough. Schooner A.M. BURNHAM, Captain Wilson of Gloucester, Mass., took the crew off two days later, landed them at Yarmouth, for $1200.

HENRY A. BURNHAM, bktn, 473 tons, built 1873, Boston owned, from New York for Halifax, cargo 200 tons of hard coal, was wrecked at Seal Island, September 14th.

1891—*OTTAWA,* new Furness ss, 2600 tons, (built in 1890 and made her first voyage in February, 1891) Dixon master, left Halifax at 1 p.m. Saturday, October 31st. Met strong S.W. gales and a heavy sea. Struck Blonde Rock 5 a.m. Sunday, November 1st, and became a total wreck. Stewardess, Mrs. Annie Lindsay was drowned.

1892—*HRVAT,* barque, 524 tons, 17 years old, from Bangor, Me. May 25 for Greenock, Scotland, cargo of spoolwood, struck on Devil's Limb in dense fog about 4 a.m. on May 27th. She was abandoned, crew landed on Seal Island.

LUCY ANN, schr. 46 tons, 40 years old, John Dowdell master, from Gloucester for the Banks fishing, was dismasted S.W. of Seal Island. Crew of 10 took to boats, landed Seal Island.

EMMA MARR, barque, 799 tons, launched in 1877, McDonald master, of and for St. John, N.B. from Glace Bay

with cargo of coal, struck on shoal between Noddy and Seal Islands, about noon of Sunday, November 27th. Passed over, leaked and foundered in 3 hours. Captain and crew embarked in two boats. The Captain, his wife and daughter and 6 men were picked up near Green Island about 9 p.m. the same evening by schr. S. M. WARREN. The other boat with 6 men landed at Pinkney's Point.

1893—*LOTTIE STEWART,* barque, 742 tons, 20 years old, Cronin master, from St. John, N.B. for Cork Ireland with cargo of deals, struck on Black Ledges off Mud Island on the morning of July 7th. Deckload was jettisoned, she refloated and was towed to Yarmouth. She was built at Black River, N.B. in 1873.

1894—ACACIA, schr, 117 tons, of LaHave, (80.6' x 24.7' x 9.5', built in 1887 owned by J. Norman Rafuse in 1889) Lohnes master, from Boston for St. John's, Nfld. with general cargo, ran ashore on the S.W. point of Big Mud Island in dense fog on May 7th. Portion of cargo taken off by JOHN L. CANN, she was refloated, towed to Yarmouth and repaired. In 1909, on October 15th, she was stranded at Clarke's Harbour.

1897—*ASSAYE,* steel str. 3901 tons, built at Belfast in 1891, Captain Caruthers master, from Liverpool, G.B. on March 23rd, for St. John, N.B. and Montreal, with general cargo. Had a rough passage. On 29th, the two largest and best boats were crippled by heavy seas. On Monday, April 5th, Blonde Rock buoy was sighted at noon. Struck, pounded heavily, threatened to break up. Captain and crew (total 63) were saved, also 3 boy stowaways.

GERONA, ss, Thompson Line, 2035 tons, built in 1888, Dakers master, from Portland, Me., at 7 a.m. on Friday, Dec. 31st for London, England, cargo livestock and produce, struck on wreck of ss ASSAYE, at Blonde Rock, at 3:55 a.m. Saturday. Leaked rapidly and foundered. Crew saved. 22 taken to Yarmouth Sunday evening. Carcasses of horses and cattle floated ashore on Seal and Cape Islands, etc. There were 300 on board. 250 bales of hay came ashore at Bon Portage and Cape Sable. Cargo was valued at $236,000.

1897—*ROY,* schr, drifted ashore on Bald Tusket Island on March 21st. Total wreck, had cargo of deals. Had been abandoned about 2 weeks previously, crew was saved by passing vessel.

OTIS P. LORD, Gloucester schr, 23 years old, Captain Lemuel Goodwin master, collided with schr ANNIE in dense fog off Seal Island, night of August 5th and foundered immediately. Crew saved by ANNIE, which was uninjured, and landed at Liverpool, N.S.

1900—*PLANET MERCURY,* ss, 2092 tons, built at Belfast in 1894, Richard Pye master, left Portland, Me., Saturday February 17 for Bristol, England, and was not afterwards heard of, directly. On February 28th, dead sheep and cattle, flour, lard and deals were washed up on shores of Sanford, Footes Cove and Beaver River. Life preservers marked ss PLANET MERCURY were picked up at West Pubnico a day or two later. A large quantity of wreckage, life belts, etc. was passed floating off Seal Island. Exact position of wreck or its cause is not known. Had a crew of 39 and 6 cattlemen. Cargo was valued at $300,000. The body of C. G. Tarn, a young officer on the vessel, washed ashore at Sanford March 25th.

1901—*EPES TARR,* schr. American registry, stranded on Mud Island, near Seal Island light station on October 6th.

OLIVER WENDELL, 102 tons of American registry, was wrecked on the southwest point of Seal Island on December 30th.

1903—*MASCOT,* schr, 98 tons, reg. Lunenburg 107652, was stranded on the north side of Seal Island, January 28th.

1906—*TERENCE C. LOCKWOOD,* schr, reg. Shelburne, 107,990, 98 tons, stranded on Soldiers Ledge, November 18th.

1907—ORINOCO, 1550 tons of London, England, reg. 112,804, stranded on the western part of Seal Island, July 26th.

1908—*CARRIE MAY,* 25 tons of Yarmouth, reg. 103,051, stranded on Mud Island April 9th.

CORINTO, 98 tons of Parrsboro, reg 103,024, stranded at Seal Island, August 17th.

1910—*BARCELONA,* 99 tons of Lunenburg, reg. 103,501, stranded on the south end of Seal Island, July 25th.

1914—*ALICE GERTRUDE,* 81 tons of Shelburne, N.S. reg. 111,738, stranded west side Seal Island, May 24th.

1916—*VEETA,* 113 tons of New London, foundered 3 miles east of Seal Island, July 21st.

1918—*ROB ROY,* two masted fishing schooner of American registry, 77 tons, was torpedoed and sunk by a U-boat off Seal Island, August 3rd.

ANCOR, SS, was wrecked on Seal Island in 1918.

1921—*IMPOCO,* 1383 tons of Sarnia, Ont. reg. 135,238, was stranded on Blonde Rock, April 5th.

MARY P. HARTY, 77 tons of American registry, was stranded south of Seal Island Lighthouse, August 8th.

1923—*SNIPE,* 208 tons, American registry, 219,678, stranded on Black Ledge, near Mud Island, June 21st.

BENJAMIN A. SMITH, 91 tons of Gloucester, Mass, reg. 204,881, stranded on the S.W. end of Flat Mud Island, August 3.

ABERDEEN, 274 tons of Ottawa registry, 103,227, stranded off Seal Island, October 13th.

1924—*GEORGE M. COOK,* 133 tons of Lunenburg, reg. 141-051, ran ashore in fog on Seal Island, June 29th.

1929—*JOSEPHINE DE COSTA,* 60 tons of Boston, Mass. reg. 207,219, foundered on Blonde Rock, off Seal Island, Sept. 15th.

GUARD, 212 tons of Halifax, reg. 154,617, stranded on Limbs Point, Seal Island, September 21st.

1932—*AZORES,* 53 tons of U.S. registry, 208,437, destroyed by fire, S.W. of Seal Island, June 1st.

KEITH & ROBERTSON, 14 tons of Digby, N.S. reg. 141,398, foundered 10 miles east of Seal Island, July 9th.

1933—*PERYNEAS,* 582 tons of Belize, British Honduras, stranded on Noddy Island, near Mud Island, April 22nd.

1934—*WHITEWAY,* 299 tons of Parrsboro, reg. 141,513, stranded on Devils Limb, Seal Island, August 20th. This vessel

was in trouble in 1928, when she foundered at Kelly's Cove, Yarmouth.

1944—*ELK,* 66 tons of Gloucester, Mass. was stranded on Seal Island, September 22nd.

1949—*PRINCESS PAT,* of St. John's, Nfld, reg. 170,473, 93 tons, was grounded on Flat Mud Island, November 29th.

1955—*JEDBEC* M., 12.32 tons of Barrington Passage, reg. 197,340, was capsized by a huge sea at the south end of Seal Island on January 4th.

Subscribers to the Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly may obtain a copy of a map of Seal Island Shipwrecks, drawn by Mr. George T. Bates, by remitting $1.00 to P.O. Box 1102, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Contributors

THOMAS H. RADDALL was born at Hythe, England. He moved to Nova Scotia in 1913 with his family, first living in Halifax, then Liverpool, where he has remained.

After serving as a radio operator with the Canadian Merchant Marines during the First World War he worked with the government telegraph service and as bookkeeper for a Nova Scotia Pulp Mill.

He started his writing career in 1928 with short stories on Nova Scotia, and by 1933, he was a regular contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*. By 1938 he had made writing a full-time occupation. *His Majesty's Yankees,* the first of many outstanding novels, was published in 1942 with wide acclaim.

Thomas Raddall has twice received the highest honour Canada can bestow on an author, the Governor-General's Award for distinguished Canadian literature. One, for a volume of short stories, and the other for *Halifax, Warden of the North*—the most definitive work on the history of Halifax. In 1945 he was made a Fellow of the Haliburton Society of King's College, one of very few ever to be so honoured. He is also the winner of the Canadian Prize Novel Award for 1960.

In addition to his many novels and short stories, he has written several histories and numerous scripts and documentaries.

We are indeed honoured to have this distinguished author as a contributor to this first issue of the Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly.

DELPHIN ANDREW MUISE was born in New Waterford, Nova Scotia in 1941 and received his early education in that town. He received a Bachelor of Arts in History from St. Francis Xavior University in 1962, a Master of Arts in History from Carleton University in 1964, followed by further post-graduate work at the University of Western Ontario. Mr. Muise is married and has two children.

In the course of his studies he has been awarded numerous scholarships and fellowships in both Nova Scotia and Ontario. His teaching experience has been extensive in the capacities of professor, lecturer, and instructor with an emphasis on North American Colonial, Canadian and Modern European History.

Several of his historic papers and dissertations have been published and he is co-author of a CBC radio script as well as "The Wooden World", a dramatization of the History of Nova Scotia, presented in the 1967-68 season of Neptune Theatre, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Mr. Muise is presently the Atlantic Provinces' Historian with National Museum of Man in Ottawa, as well as lecturer at Carleton University.

JAMES M. CAMERON was born in New Glasgow, Nova Scotia in 1913. He began work as a reporter with the Evening News in New Glasgow.

After serving six years as an officer in the Royal Canadian Artillery, during the Second World War, he returned to Canada and became publisher and editor of The Eastern Chronicle, a Pictou County weekly newspaper. He also founded and managed Radio Station CKEC in New Glasgow.

As a devoted Pictonian and historian he has written six books on various aspects of Pictou County history. His book *About New Glasgow* in 1963, was awarded a Certificate of Merit by the Canadian Historical Association. Another book, *Political Pictonians,* in 1967, was awarded a Certificate of Commendation by the American Association for State and Local History.

He has twice given papers at the Nova Scotia Historical Society. The article "Disasters in the Pictou Collieries" is a condensation of a paper which he read to this group in February 1970. It is also an abridgement of a chapter in a forthcoming book *Pictonian Coal Miners* which he has completed and hopes will be published this year.

Since 1965 he has been a member of the Canadian Pension Commission, an appointment which makes it necessary for him to live in Ottawa, where, he says, he is a "temporary resident".

GEORGE T. BATES was born and educated in Nottingham, England. He came to this country in 1927, and was engaged in farming in both Nova Scotia and Ontario until 1936.

In the spring of that year he began land surveying with Charles P. Roper and became a qualified Provincial Land Surveyor in 1940. He studied town planning and was engaged as consultant by the Civic Planning Commission. He went into private practice as a Land Surveyor and Planning Consultant in 1944. He is a Past-President of the Nova Scotia Land Surveyors Association and was for several years chairman of the Nova Scotia branch of the Canadian Institute of Surveying.

He has read several papers before the Nova Scotia Historical Society of which he has been a member since 1949 and Secretary since 1955.

His major and very extensive hobbies are researching and drawing historical maps, compiling and researching geneologies, and illuminating scroll work. He is presently working on a Memorial Record Book recording all the Canadian Navy and the Canadian Merchant Navy casualties of World War II. He has completed over thirty maps, compiled a list of the names and locations of over 5,000 vessels wrecked in Nova Scotia waters, as well as a list of over 17,000 sailing vessels built in Nova Scotia.

Mr. Bates is married, has four daughters, and resides in Halifax.

Book Reviews

LORNA INNESS

INTRODUCTION

Since the majority of the articles and accounts which will appear in each edition of this Quarterly, of necessity will be concerned with Nova Scotian (or, in the most general sense Maritime) history, it is the purpose of these reviews to call the reader's attention to a variety of books, some about Nova Scotia or by Nova Scotians, but also others concerned with history in a wider sense.

Each year the publishers are turning out more books which come under the general heading of Canadiana. Some, like The National Dream by Pierre Berton, receive widespread publicity and become national best sellers; others are known only within a restricted area.

Our aim, in part, therefore, is to provide the reader with a note about books which may interest him, letting him pursue the matter further, if he is so inclined.

In this time of Western "centennials" and other anniversaries, it is worth remembering the part Nova Scotians have played in settling other parts of Canada. It was a Nova Scotian family which first settled what is now Lethbridge, Alberta.

This is but one example of the thousands available, but it serves to emphasize that Nova Scotian history and heritage are part and parcel of the fabric of Canada.

Loch Bras d'Or, by Margaret MacPhail
164 pages, paperback, $3.95 published July, 1970
Lancelot Press

One of the gentle pleasures of life is spending a quiet hour or two listening to some older relative or neighbor travel back in memory to the "good old days" and share the stories—those experienced personally and those heard at second hand or third hand and passed along again. Such an experience can be shared by the reader of Loch Bras d'Or who will enjoy Mrs. MacPhail's vivid accounts of early days in Cape Breton.

The book was an instant hit and has sold widely which should surprise no one. It's charm is in its warm, rambling style, and the fact that primarily it is a story about people.

Nova Scotia Furniture, George MacLaren
44 pages, paperback, $2, published March, 1971
Petheric Press

Just as small communities scattered around Nova Scotia could once boast shipyards which sent wooden vessels to the four corners of the map, so could many villages and towns boast makers of fine furniture. Fall River, Clements, Centre Rawdon, Amherst, Horton, Conquerall Banks, Green Hill, Liverpool, Pictou, Granville, these were some of the homes of craftsmen who produced chairs, cabinets, cupboards, tables, clocks and other items in daily use in the home.

It is these artists and their handiwork which have been catalogued in a booklet by George MacLaren, chief curator of the history section at the Nova Scotia Museum. MacLaren's interest in the subject is a deeply personal one. His grandfather was a third-generation cabinet-maker in Pictou, and Curator MacLaren has made a study of the delicate work of identifying and restoring antiques.

The book is illustrated with photographs of articles of furniture and is filled with sufficient detail about woods, fine points of construction and makers' names and dates to provide not only a valuable record but serve as a useful handbook and guide to the collector who is interested in this field.

A Century Ago—Halifax 1871
108 pages, spiral-bound, $3.50, published October 1970
The Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia

This volume is a facsimile reproduction of a photographic album which was first published in 1871 by Joseph S. Rogers, a Halifax photographer. The book contained photographs (in the original edition they were "brown, gold-tone collodion prints pasted on heavy card") of well-known Halifax business houses. The prints were accompanied by advertisements extolling the firm's services or wares, as the case might be.

The British Warehouse, corner of Duke and Granville Streets, for example, was run by M. Kearney who kept "constantly on hand a large stock of gent's furnishings and ready made clothing . . . for cash." In spite of the passage of time, the corner is easily recognizable today.

While the ads make fascinating reading, the photographs enable the reader to visualize a bustling city in a bygone time. In fact, those whose memories of Halifax go back to that era just before World War II will find much that is familiar. The last few years particularly have changed the face of the downtown part of the city, but, just for fun, some fine spring day when the driving is better, take an historical tour of bygone Halifax and see how many of the buildings can still be found.

Out of Old Nova Scotia Kitchens, Marie Nightingale
219 pages, spiral-bound, $3.95 published October 1970

During all the pre-confederation centennial activities which marked 1966, Mrs. Marie Nightingale, the wife of a Halifax businessman, became exasperated at the scarcity of genuine Nova Scotian recipes and information about them. "How," she won dered, "can someone who is anxious to show visitors the best in this province, prepare a truly Nova Scotian meal instead of serving New England boiled dinner and Boston cream pie?"

That started Mrs. Nightingale off on what proved to be a fascinating hunt, not simply for the recipes themselves, but for information about the kitchens of the settlers, about the contributions the main ethnic groups which settled the province had made in this respect. This book, which now has gone into a second printing of 5,000 copies, is the result of extensive research and testing.

Originally, the book was available only by mail from: Cook Book, Cystic Fibrosis Society of Nova Scotia, Room 122, Roy Building, Halifax, N.S., with an additional charge of 35 cents for handling and mailing. It was also obtainable from members of Beta Sigma Phi, throughout the province. Fifty per cent of the proceeds of the book goes to the work of the Cystic Fibrosis Society of Canada, an organization in which Mrs. Nightingale and the sorority are vitally interested. With the advent of the second printing, however, in addition to the sources mentioned above. the book may be found in some stores in the province.

The Micmacs, who were here originally, the French, English, Germans, Loyalists from New England, the Irish, the Scots, the Negroes have all contributed to the kitchen lore of Nova Scotia and are dealt with in separate sections. The book is heartily seasoned with such items as:

"In the days of the Order of Good Cheer, the Indians who came to the feasts at the Habitation often chose to make their meal of bread. It was a novelty to the Micmacs who did not grow wheat and therefore never knew the taste of bread before the coming of the white man."

"Blueberries probably were the first familiar foodstuff found by the settlers. The type that grew in Nova Scotia was

almost identical with the hurtleberries of England and Scotland."

And, "Scotch Cheese was called 'the Coal Miner's Dish' in Glace Bay, Cape Breton." The recipe for it was contributed by "a lady in her 90s who all her life served it for Sunday night supper."

Wild vegetables, greens, fruits, fish and game, home-made beverages and potions are all represented here. But, while the book is useful in the kitchen, it is mainly for its historical interest that it is being read widely. Men who don't happen to like to cook, for example, have been known to read it.

God Bless Our Home, Una Abrahamson
233 pages, hard-cover, $9.50, 1966, 1967
Burns and MacEachern Ltd.

One of the brightest lights in the dazzling display of literary fireworks that accompanied centennial year was God Bless Our Home, by Una Abrahamson, an editor of Chatelaine. The book was subsidized by the Centennial Commission. It is a manual of housekeeping; everything the chatelaine of the 19th-century needed to know, both to run a gracious home and to realize how much she was indebted to her pioneer sisters and how lucky she was to be living in gentler times.

It is filled with things "a lady would like to know", such as the proper etiquette at a ball: "When a lady is standing in a quadrille, though not engaged in dancing, a gentleman not acquainted with her partner should not converse with her."

Wise words on "the evil of low-necked dresses", "How to use newspapers to protect against the cold" and a handy home-made cure for rattlesnake bite, make delightful reading for today's Canadians.

At Home in Upper Canada, Jeanne Minhinnick
228 pages, hard-cover, $22.50, published October 1970
Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd.

Mrs. Abrahamson's book reigned supreme in its field until the publication last December of At Home In Upper Canada by Jeanne Minhinnick. Mrs. Minhinnick is an authority on household life in Upper Canada in the 18th and 19th centuries and has done extensive research for Upper Canada Village, where she was curator of furnishings until 1963. Historic houses which she has furnished include Dundurn Castle at Hamilton, "Woodside," the Kitchener home of W. L. Mackenzie King, and Pauline Johnson's home near Brantford. Her articles on Canadiana have appeared in a number of magazines and she is the author of Early Furniture in Upper Canada.

The book is a beautifully produced volume with design and drawings by John Richmond. It contains a veritable storehouse

of photographs and sketches. Various types of houses are studied in detail, room by room, with chapters on painting and decorating, pictures, lighting, childrens' furniture and toys. The book is a thorough catalogue of "domestic life from 1783 to 1867." It is written with grace and charm, and Mrs. Minhinnick has incorporated into the narrative stories and recollections of her childhood in an Ontario family of Scots ancestry. "The years from 1903 to 1970," she points out, "cover a period of such extraordinary change in family life that I have felt a desire to record scenes which may soon be forgotten."

This book will provide historians of the future with a comprehensive record and will join God Bless Our Home as one of the definitive works on early Canadian domestic life.

Antique Maps and Their Cartographers, Raymond Lister
127 pages, hard-cover, $11, published 1970
Clarke Irwin & Co. Ltd.

The writing of history and the drawing of maps have gone hand in hand through the ages, the one complimenting and elucidating the other. The map in question might be a simple sketch of how to get from point A to point B or it might be an illustration of a fictional area highly embellished with art work to compensate for lack of facts, and bearing notations of the "Here be dragons" variety. It's a long way from the latter to the sophisticated charts and maps of today compiled from surveys and information sent back from outer space by satellites.

The story of the development of the cartographer's art is a fascinating one, and this book not only traces the development of the map maker's craft, but gives, where possible, details of the personalities and lives of the men themselves.

The oldest known map of America was drawn by one Juan de la Coca, a pilot of Columbus, in 1500. Some early maps made in New England were carved on wood, others were engraved on copper, neither medium offering much in the way of portability, and making the problem of refolding the modern highway map seem tame by comparison.

This book, which covers mapmaking around the world, is beautifully and profusely illustrated. Of particular interest to the reader will be the extensive bibliographies which follow each chapter, providing a further source of reading material for those interested in some particular area.

A Thoreau Gazetteer, by Robert F. Stowell, edited by William L. Howarth
56 pages, hard-cover, $8.25, published 1970
Saunders of Toronto Ltd. (distributors for Princeton University Press)

"Honest travelling is about as dirty work as you can get to do, and a man needs a pair of overalls for it," wrote Henry D. Thoreau. "When travelling," it is stated in the introduction to

this book, "Thoreau avoided easy roads, carried little food, and wore only rough clothing because 'the genuine traveller is going out to work hard, and fare harder,—to eat a crust by the wayside whenever he can get it.' . . . "

This gazetteer is primarily a collection of maps, sketches and photographs of the areas covered by Thoreau on some of his journeys; in Walden, of course, which he "studied minutely", the Maine woods, Cape Cod, and west to Minnesota.

In 1850 Thoreau travelled to Canada. Finding maps of the area difficult to obtain, he copied one from the wall of an inn where he stopped for a meal. His travels took him to Quebec City and along parts of the St. Lawrence River. He later lectured about his trip at Harvard University and published an account of it in 1866.

The gazetteer is a "geographical guide to the writings of Thoreau, including some of his maps, some available at the time and others 'reconstructed from his accounts and other sources'."

The recent general public concern about pollution, ecology, the rapidly vanishing wilderness and its value have reawakened interest in Thoreau and his writings, and his work has found new adherents among today's conservationists.

The book quotes his theory, "noted in Walking: 'The whole nation sought its freedom by travelling westward, but its only permanent freedom lay in preservation of the wild.' All of Thoreau's books present that poetic message; the facts of geography were his means of presentation."

Tales of A Pioneer Surveyor, Charles Aeneas Shaw, edited by Raymond Hull
167 pages, hard-cover, $8.95, September, 1970
Longmans Canada Ltd.

Charles A. Shaw was the chief engineer of the survey party that laid the route followed today by the CPR through the Rocky Mountains. This is the story of a remarkable man and a journey marked by unbelieveable hardship.

Shaw was born in 1853 at Oak Hill, the family farm near Toronto. At the age of 23 he survived a week-long ordeal of examinations to qualify as a surveyor (he was the only candidate to pass the exams successfully), and in later years he "was able to point out correctly the location of a peg he had driven ten years before—one of countless thousands he had set during his career."

In 1936, Shaw retired after a full career as a surveyor and wrote the journal which forms the basis of this book. An editor's foreward gives extensive information about the surveyor's trade and the tools of his craft which will prove useful to the reader with no particular engineering background.

Shaw's own writing is direct, vivid, a recounting of his travels, the land and people as he saw them. There is one especially revealing comment in his descriptions of the Plains Indians and their customs: "Some of the half-breeds who afterwards stirred up the Riel rebellion tried to make trouble for us by telling the

Indians that we were going to build a road for the Scoota Taban —fire sleigh—that would scatter hot coals and burn up the Prairie, and drive all the game out of the country. There was, of course, considerable truth in this, as the advent of the railway made a complete change in the habits and methods of life of the Indians."

The hardships of forging a way through mountains, the dangers of camping in what was then wilderness, all the hazards of life in hard winter conditions are recounted here in an absorbing book.

Cheadle's Journal of Trip Across Canada 1862-1863, by Walter E. Cheadle
320 pages, one map; hard-cover, $5.95, published October, 1970.
M. G. Hurtig Ltd.

In a note on this book, the publishers comment that "not all of the travellers who came to the Canadian wilderness and risked their lives opening the trails through the Rockies were men of heroic conviction and determination. Some of them simply didn't know any better."

Well, how many great discoveries have come about because the people concerned "simply didn't know any better"?

Walter Butler Cheadle, the author of this journal, is described as "the first trans-Canadian tourist . . . the first to traverse the whole country from the St. Lawrence to the Pacific simply 'for pleasure'."

Cheadle, a Cambridge rowing blue and a doctor of medicine, left Liverpool, England, for Quebec when he was 27 years old. Accompanied by Lord Milton, Cheadle left Quebec in July 1862. By boat, by rail, by stage and canoe, the men travelled west, reaching Fort Garry on August 7. There they outfitted a small expedition and started the long trek across the prairie, mountain and river, which was to bring them, after many hardships, to Kamloops, which place they reached on August 28, 1863, "in a state of almost complete exhaustion from exposure, fatigue and lack of nourishment."

The two men toured the Caribou gold fields and then, by way of San Francisco and New York, they returned to Liverpool nearly two years from the time they left it. After their return, an account of their travels was published under both names, and it became a best-seller of its time, a ninth edition being published in 1891. However, as M. G. Hurtig and Co. Ltd., point out, "a comparison with his (Cheadle's) journal will make it quite evident . . . (that) the book is simply the journal abbreviated, re-arranged and changed from its daily entries into a more systematic and logical account." But, while the book may have been neater and tidier from a publisher's point of view, it "lacked the intensely dramatic element of the actual hardships, anxiety and the experiences recorded day after day; it misses also the spice of opinion and criticism of things and persons, which the diary exhibits with open and undiluted frankness."

As with the journals of Lewis and Clark, a record of this type

conveys across the intervening years to the reader steeped in city life the sense of wonder, awe and excitement experienced by men of perception who looked upon this land in the early morning of its settlement before it reached its present high noon of endless factories, gas stations and miles of suburban dreariness. Two entries suffice to give the flavor of Cheadle's diary.

"Thursday, September 25th. Thro' wooded country with numerous lakes & arrive at South Saskatchewan at noon. Camp in bank, dine. After dinner men cut down trees, make raft, & cross for Company's barge; . . . .Saskatchewan about 80 yards wide here, muddy stream, wooded banks, muddy & stony at edges. Make Canada fire in road under trees & sleep in open air."

"Thursday, June 25th—Fine morning, & we set off for the place where the crossing of the river is usually made; intending if the river is still too high to wait there and hunt until it lowers sufficiently. All morning along the banks of the Athabaska now more swollen than before. It is a fine river very like the McLeod but not so winding, here nearly 1/8 mile broad & full to the banks. On a little bare knoll in the thick wood of the high bank I stopped and awaited the others behind, & had my first view of the Rocky Mountains. A beautiful prospect, & a bluish haze softened off the picture very completely. (You can bet it wasn't smog!) In the foreground below us rolled the rapid Athabaska between its high banks, clothed with pine, spruce & poplar. Beyond, ranges of hills clothed with pines, & running nearly north & south. Farther still & parallel dimly in the haze stood out the first chain of the mountains 'de facto', backed by still higher ones behind; the sun shone on the snow still lying in the hollows & on the peaks . . . "

Adventure and history combined! What more could one ask?

From Sea to Sea, Alexander Mackenzie, by Thomas Bredin
117 pages, hard-cover, $3.95, published September 1970
Longman Canada Ltd.

This is a volume in the Canadian Pageant Series intended for young readers. Essentially it is the writing of Alexander Mackenzie who began his account after concluding his epic journey to the Pacific Ocean. Bredin has edited and "occasionally changed words or phrasing—always reluctantly . . . My sole intent was to let Mackenzie tell his own story again—more briefly, and in a fashion less unfamiliar to present-day readers."

Eight years after his journey, Mackenzie's book was published. In 1808 he returned to Scotland where, as Sir Alexander Mackenzie, he resided until his death in 1820.

Summing up the explorer's work, Bredin says: "His big achievements are plain. He opened up to trade and to further exploration three of Canada's great rivers. He first gave expression to the idea of a northern continental enterprise reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. And with his voyageurs from Quebec he first saw all of the three ocean waters beyond our shores . . .

"What Champlain had looked for, Mackenzie had found."

Steam At Sea, A History of Steam Navigation, by K. T. Rowland
249 pages, hard-cover, $9.35, published 1970
Giffin House

In 1819 the Savannah, the first vessel fitted with a steam engine to make the Atlantic crossing, took 27 and a half days to make the trip and ran under steam for about 85 hours. This opened up a new era in trans-Atlantic shipping and Halifax has been a port of call for many of the great steam leviathans which have followed the Savannah.

This book tells the story of the development of the use of steam in ships and the growth of the British marine engineering industry. It was Newcomen, a Devon blacksmith who built the first practical working steam engine. Another Englishman, a clock repairer named Jonathan Hulls, drew up plans to mount one of Newcomen's engines on a boat driven by paddle-wheels. It was part of a search for an answer to the problem of moving sailing ships in and out of harbor when the wind was not adequate. Inventors in Europe and the United States were working along similar lines.

It's a long voyage from those days to the powerful engines of the QE2 and the nuclear vessels of modern navies, but it's all here. There are illustrations and diagrams of ships and the engines used to drive them. The book contains much technical detail; those whose interest is not so technical will find it a fascinating story of the growth of the age of steam.

Arduous Destiny - Canada 1874-1896, by Peter B. Waite
340 pages, hard-cover, $10.00 published February, 1971
McClelland and Stewart Limited

The years 1874-1896 were hard ones for the young country of Canada, a loose collection of provinces and territories searching for a nation's destiny. It is this Arduous Destiny which Professor Peter B. Waite has recorded in this book, the 13th volume of the Canadian Centennary Series.

The series is intended to be a "comprehensive history of Canada . . . written for the general reader as well as the scholar." It is edited by such eminent historians as W. L. Morton and Donald G. Creighton, and authors contributing to the series include J. M. S. Carless, Marcel Trudel, Hilda Neatby, W. S. MacNutt (The Atlantic Provinces, 1712-1857), among others.

Professor Waite describes his book as "a survey . . . a waterbug kind of book, skimming across the surface." Waite begins with an "overview" of Canada in 1874, discusses the reciprocity issue, the movement westward (territory by territory) to British Columbia, the role of the railways in knitting the country together, and the Saskatchewan rebellion. Here, too, are the men who held centre stage at Ottawa, and the men in the shadows behind them. There are the struggles for power, and the life and death struggle to maintain a separate Canadian identity in the shadow of the rich and powerful neighbor to the south.

Waite writes with perception and humor of the men who helped to shape Canada. Take Laurier, for example: "It was in Parliament that he made his first speech in English . . . Laurier used English with a flair and a finish perhaps uncharacteristic of the feel of the language, but which carried very well—better on set occasions than on casual ones . . ." And, later, "Laurier did not like telling stories, nor did he like being told them; he neither drank, nor smoked, nor played games. Laurier's Canada was not to be Macdonald's."

Newspapers of the time have been used in part to provide atmosphere and eye-witness accounts of the working out of this destiny. Waite has managed the difficult task of writing a book of value to the scholar who already has a comprehensive knowledge of the period, while, at the same time, making of these events an exciting story which will interest the casual reader.

There are extensive notes at the end of the book, as well as a full bibliography.

Professor Waite was born in Toronto and received his BA (Hons.) and MA degrees from the University of British Columbia and his Ph.D. from the University of Toronto. Since 1951 he has been on the staff of the history department at Dalhousie University, and he served for some years as head of the department. His other published writings include The Life and Times of Confederation (University of Toronto Press, 1962), a collection of newspaper articles dealing with the events connected with confederation.

Annapolis Royal

The author of the following poem was Roger Viets, a Loyalist clergyman, born in Simsbury, Connecticut in 1737 and educated at Yale College. During the Revolution Viets was jailed in Hartford for his Loyalist sympathies, but he eventually made his way to Nova Scotia, where he served as a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1787 he established a mission at Digby, from which he served southwestern Nova Scotia until his death in 1811.

Annapolis-Royal was originally printed as a separate publication, possibly by Anthony Henry's press, and was reprinted in the **Nova Scotia Gazette** on August 12, 1788. It was one of the first works of a purely literary character to originate in the province; up until now nothing had been printed other than sermons and various government documents. It is interesting that the setting of the poem is identical to that of Marc Lescarbot's **Theatre of Neptune,** the New World's first dramatic presentation, which is dated one hundred and eighty-two years earlier.

The King of Rivers, solemn, calm and slow,
Flows tow'rd the Sea, yet scarce is seen to flow;
On each fair Bank the verdant Lands are seen,
In gayest cloathing of perpetual green:
On ev'ry Side, the Prospect brings to Sight
The Fields, the Flow'rs, and ev'ry fresh Delight;
His lovely Banks, most beauteously are grac'd
With Nature's sweet variety of Taste.
Herbs, fruits and Grass, with intermingled Trees
The Prospect lengthen, and the Joys increase;
lofty mountains rise in ev'ry View
Creation's Glory, and it's Beauty too.
To higher Grounds, the raptur'd View extends,
Whilst in the Cloud-top'd Cliffs the landscape ends.

Fair Scenes! to which, should Angels turn their Sight,
Angels might stand astonish'd with Delight.
Majestic Groves in ev'ry View arise,
And greet with Winder the Beholder's Eyes.

In gentle windings, where this River glides,
And Herbage thick it's Current almost hides;
Where sweet Meanders lead his pleasant Course,
Where Trees and Plants and Fruits themselves disclose;
Where never-fading Groves of fragrant Fir,
And beauteous Pine perfume the ambient Air;
The Air, at once, both Health and Fragrance yields,
Like sweet Arabian or Elysian Fields.

As this delightful Stream glides tow'rd the Sea
Thou Royal Settlement! He washes thee;
Thou Village, blest of Heav'n, and dear to me.
Nam'd from a pious Sov'reign, now at Rest,
The last of Stuart's Line, of Queens the best.

Amidst the hural Joys, the Town is seen,
Beclos'd with Woods and Hills, forever green:
The Streets, the Buildings, Gardens, all concert
To please the Eye, to gratify the Heart.
But none of these so pleasing, or so fair,
As those bright Maidens, who inhabit there.

Your potent Charms, fair Nymphs, my verse inspire,
Your Charms supply the chast, poetic Fire,
Could these my Strains, but live, when I'm no more,
On Future Fame's bright Wings, your Names should soar.

Where this romantic Village lifts her Head,
Betwixt the Royal Port and humble Mead;
The decent Mansions, deck'd with Mod'rate Cost,
Of honest Thrift, and gen'rous Owners boast;
There Skill and industry their Sons employ,
In Works of Peace, Integrity and Joy;
Their Lives in social, harmless Bliss, they spend,
Then to the Grave, in honour'd Age descend:
The hoary Sire and aged Matron see
Their prosp'rous Offspring, to the fourth Degree:
With Grief sincere, the blooming Offspring close
Their Parent's Eyes, and pay their Debt of Woes,
Then haste to honest, Joyous Marriage Bands,
A newborn Race is rear'd by careful Hands:
Thro' num'rous Ages thus; they'll happy move
In active Bus'ness, and in Chastest Love.

The Nymphs and Swains appear in Streets and Bowers,
As Morning fresh, as lovely as the Flowers.
As bright as Phoebus, Ruler of the Day,
Prudent as Pala, and as Flora gay.

A Spire majestic rears it's solemn Vane,
Where Praises, Pray'r and true Devotion reign,
Where Truth and Peace and Charity abound,
Where God is sought, and heav'nly Blessings found.
The gen'rous Flock reward their Pastor's Care,
His Pray'rs, his Wants, his Hapiness they share.
Retir'd from worldly Care, from Noise and Strife,
In sacred Thoughts and Deeds, he spends his Life,
To mod'rate Bounds, his Wishes he confines,
All Views of Grandeur, Pow'r and Wealth resigns,
With Pomp and Pride can cheerfully dispense,
Dead to the World, and empty Joys of Sense.

The Symphony of heav'nly Song he hears,
Celestial Concord vibrates on his Ears,
Which emulates the Music of the Spheres.
The Band of active Youths and Virgins fair,
Rank'd in due Order, by their Teacher's Care,
The Sight of all Beholders gratify,
Sweet to the Soul, and pleasing to the Eye.

But when their Voices sound, in Songs of Praise
When they to God's high Throne their Anthems raise,
By those harmonious Sounds such Raptur's giv'n,
Their loud Hosannas waft the Soul to Heav'n;
The fourfold Parts, in one bright Center meet,
To form the blessed Harmony complete,
Lov'd by the Good, esteemed by the Wise,
To gracious Heav'n, a pleasing Sacrifice.
Each note, each Part, each Voice, each Word conspire
T'inflame all pious Hearts with holy Fire:
Each one, in Fancy seems among the Throng
Of Angels, chanting Heav'ns eternal Song.

Hail Music, foretast of celestial Joy!
That always sat'at'st, yet canst never cloy:
Each pure, refin'd, extatic Pleasure's thine
Thou rapt'rous Science! Harmony divine!

May each kind Wish of ev'ry virtuous Heart
Be giv'n to all who teach, or learn thine Art:
May all the Wise, and all the Good unite,
With all the Habitants of Life and Light,
To treat the Sons of Music with respect,
Their Progress to encourage and protect,
May each Musician, and Musician's Friend
Attain to Hymns divine, which never end.

Notes on Nova Scotia

The first Nova Scotia steamer the "Richard Smith" was built in New Glasgow.

* * *

The stone used in the building of the fort of Louisbourg was quarried at Port Hood, Inverness County.

* * *

Captain Joshua Slocum, born at Wilmot, Annapolis County, sailed alone around the world in a 36' 9" sloop of about thirteen tons in 1895-98.

* * *

The first commercial use of the telephone in Nova Scotia and the first underground installation in Canada was in Caledonia mine, Glace Bay 1877.

* * *

Port Royal, Annapolis County, is not the first French colony of that name in North America—the name was given to a harbour on the east coast of Florida in 1562, but the attempted settlement ended in failure.

* * *

The first Agricultural Fair in Canada was held at Fort Edward Hill, Windsor, Hants County, in 1764.