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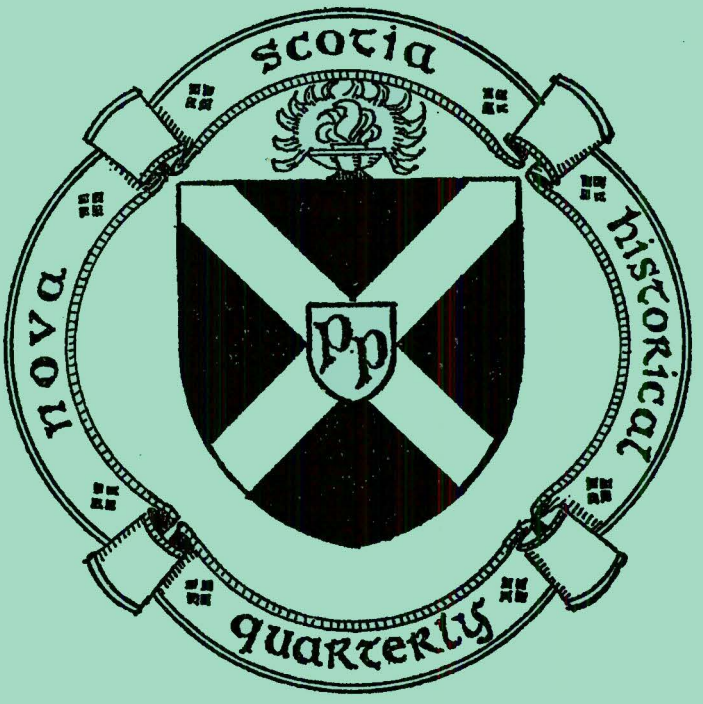

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The Negro Loyalists

EVELYN B. HARVEY

In 1789 Lord Dorchester, then Governor-General of British North America, proposed, "to put a Marke of Honor upon the families who had adhered to the unity of the Empire and joined the Royal Standard in America before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783 . . . and ordained that all Loyalists of this description were to be distinguished by the letters U.E.L. affixed to their names."[1] Although, on the whole, attempts to create a Canadian aristocracy have been abortive, the inhabitants of the Maritimes tend to feel that the possession of Loyalist forebears confers a certain superiority. The general impression given to those whose ancestors were unfortunate enough to arrive at a later date is that all the Loyalists were wealthy, cultured aristocrats, that they voluntarily sacrificed their numerous possessions in order to rally round the Royal Standard and that, in selecting Canada as their refuge, they conferred an inestimable social, educational and political benefit on an otherwise benighted land. To a limited extent the impression is a true one; in Nova Scotia especially, the Loyalist list teems with judges, clergymen, teachers and merchants, a number of them highly articulate.[2] If we accept the impoverished aristocrat theory, however, how then do we account for the fact that at least seven percent of the Loyalists were negro and over five

hundred are on the Honor Roll—the veritable United Empire Loyalist List? Who were these negroes, from whence had they come, and what was their fate?

When Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New York in May, 1782, one of his minor problems was the disposition of the 3,000 negroes whom he found there. Approximately one-third of this number were slaves and thus the responsibility of their loyalist owners but the remainder were, in a sense, stolen property. Some had seized the opportunity provided by civil war to escape, some had been captured in raids and others had been persuaded to desert their masters by offers of freedom to all slaves who would enlist on the British side.[3] It was hoped thus to upset the economy of the rebels and, as was anticipated, there was considerable response to the offer.[4] But as both food and shelter were in short supply in New York it is a question as to whose economy was more disturbed by the negro influx. A small percentage of these runaways, perhaps 500 in all, was actually mustered into the army. A company of militia called the Black Pioneers was formed and led by a mulatto, Colonel Bluck, and others were mustered singly into various regiments as buglers, drummers and servants. The "free negro" was encouraged to indenture himself for some definite length of time to a Loyalist in return for food, clothing, land or money. However, since the white refugees were also short of cash and food was fantastically expensive, the number of Loyalists willing and able to add to their households was decidedly limited. There remained, therefore, in government charge, many negroes too old to work and numerous women and children.

When Carleton was confronted with the task of evacuating the Loyalists his concern about the negroes is evidenced by his correspondence.

Washington having demanded the restoration of the slaves, Carleton replied that it, "would be delivering them up, some

possibly to execution and others to severe punishment."[5] (Compensation for 3,000 slaves was later demanded but I have been able to find no evidence that a definite sum was decided upon or that any money was paid except for a remark by Beckles Willson in his *Nova Scotia.*) He says:

> Eighty years ago Great Britain awarded (1830?), on account of their ancestors, the refugees, a donation to America of 1 million pounds sterling, as compensation to the American planters whose slaves were carried off in order to enjoy the comforts of political freedom and physical starvation under the British flag in Nova Scotia, an award long and properly ridiculed by the Americans.[6])

Lord North, commending Carleton's decision regarding the escaped slaves, wrote:-

> The Removal of the Negroes whom you found in the Possession of their Freedom upon your Arrival at New York, and who are desirous of leaving that Place, is certainly an Act of Justice due to them from Us, nor do I see that the Removal of those Negroes, who had been made free before the Execution of the Preliminaries of Peace, can be deemed any Infraction of the Treaty. It was, however, a very proper Precaution to have a correct List of the said Negroes taken and their respective value ascertained.[7]

The decision, justifiable on humanitarian grounds was, however, in direct contravention of the Articles of Peace, Article 7 of which states: "His Britannic Majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any Destruction or carrying any Negroes . . . withdraw . . . "[8]

Carleton had three more or less distinct groups of negroes with which to deal and appropriate measures had to be devised for their disposal. The smallest group, those who had been re-

cruited into the militia, was discharged according to regulations. A letter from Sir Guy Carleton to the Hon. Brig.-Gen. Fox reads as follows:

> I enclose a Return of the Company of Black Pioneers embarked for Annapolis Royal. They are paid up to the 24th Oct. 1783, and as they are already considered as disbanded they will have no Demands for Pay or Clothing after their arrival in that province. I recommend them to your protection and beg you will apply to Gov. Parr, that in case they settle near any of the towns, they may have a Town Lot as at Shelburne, and about 20 acres in the vicinage granted them, and if as farmers and at a distance, their Grant may be extended to 100 acres.[9]

There is reason to believe that all the negro grants and warrants were for disbanded soldiers and their families, which would make 500 a very conservative estimate for this group.[10]

The size of the other two groups is difficult to estimate although together they composed over 2,500 negroes. Some light would be thrown on the mystery by a thorough, detailed study of the *Book of Negroes* compiled by Carleton and now at the Royal Institute in London. There are, however, excerpts, handwritten in facsimile, available at the Archives in Ottawa. They are comprised of short, specimen lists of negroes sailing from the Port of New York and were for the use of three British and two American Inspectors who ratified their accuracy. The following is a brief transcript:

> Book of Negroes Registered and Certified after having been Inspected by the Commissioners appointed by His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, K. B., General and Commander in Chief, on Burd (sic) Sundry Vessels in which they were Embarked Previous to the time of sailing from the Port of New York between the 23rd April and 31st June,1783, both Days Included.

Vessel's Name	Where Bound	Negro's Name	Age	Description	Names of Persons in whose Possession they are	Remarks
	St. Johns	George Black	35			Freed Lawrence
Ship Spring		Ann Black	25		Lt. Col.	Hartshorne as Certified
		Reuben) children	7		Isaac Allen	
		Sukey)	5			
Aurora		Billy Williams	35	healthy, stout	Richard Browne	formerly lived Carolina, etc.
Aurora		Rose Richard	20	healthy young woman	Thos. Richard	property of Thos. Richard a refugee from Philadelphia
Aurora		Daniel Baker	70	worn out	James Moore	says he was made free . . . nigh 20 yrs. ago

Roll follows to Number of 660

There are further lists:

July 31st, 1783	349 names
Aug.	154 "
Sept.	750 "
Nov.	286 "

TOTAL:	Men	Women	Children	Altogether
	1336	914	750	3,000 negroes[11]

7 Companies of Guides and Pioneers

In a subject so open to conjecture it is refreshing to be presented with definite information. One can be reasonably sure that 3,000 negroes embarked at New York, on which vessel they sailed, and whither they were bound. That this is the minimal number of negro refugees is also certain. (More came from other ports. In Haliburton's "Historical Diary" is found the following: "April 9, 1785. One hundred and ninety-four negroes, men, women and children, arrive at Halifax, from St. Augustine, naked and destitute of every necessary of life."[12]) Keeping in mind the fact that the United States claimed compensation for 3,000 and unless the rest of the Book of Negroes differs widely from the excerpts (which seems unlikely) what we have here is an enumeration of the so-called "Free Negroes."

In addition to them, however, was a sizable group of slaves, the personal property of the Loyalists. There are several factors which tend to conceal the extent of slave-importation into British North America at this time. The British slave trade had reached its highest peak just before the War of Independance,[13] the position in the economy occupied by indentured white servants in early colonial times had been filled by the negro and the relative proportion of negro to white in 1790 in the United States was one to five. When the subject of the provisioning of the refugees had to be considered, the term 'slave', since it denoted property and not an individual, could not be employed. In the *Minute Book of the Port Roseway Association* it is noted that, "We requested to be informed if provisions would be allowed servants. His answer was Certainly and that we must insert them as amongst the number of the Association for that purpose."[14] And Ida Greaves states that, "With the coming of the Loyalists in 1783, slave-holding became a common characteristic of the leading families in every district, but in Colonel Morse's Return of Disbanded Troops and Loyalist Settlers in Nova Scotia, negroes accompanying families were listed as servants. It is estimated that there were 1,232 slaves in Canada in 1784."[15]

The above figure is conservative as it is the result of a purely Maritime census. Slave-holding was by no means unknown in Canada before the coming of the Loyalists. The 47th Article of the Capitulation of Canada, 1760, States, ". . . all Negroes and Panis (Indian slaves) remain in condition as slaves to Christians."[16] It must be borne in mind, however, that certain advantages accrued to the slaves, although it is doubtful whether there would have been hearty assent to the prayer of the Newport Elder who, "gave thanks in meeting on Sunday after the safe arrival of a slaver, that a gracious over-ruling Providence had been pleased to bring to this land of freedom another cargo of benighted heathen to enjoy the blessing of Gospel dispensation."[17] Slaves were usually treated with some consideration. The *History of Annapolis* records that, "Sir John Wentworth, 1st Loyalist Governor of Nova Scotia, had 19 of his slaves christened Feb. 11, 1784 and sent them to his friend in Dutch Guiana, where they would be well treated."[18] The Rev. John Wiswall, M.A., a Loyalist Clergyman, in talking of his wife, says, "Her slaves would cheerfully sacrifice their lives for her,"[19] and he sent Tan, his slave, with his son John to build a hut on his land grant.

Slaves were brought into Upper Canada, too. A Newspaper articles in the *Daily Standard* of Cornwall cites numerous examples among which are:[20]

> The Reverend John Stuart, pioneer Loyalist Anglican Minister at Kingston had slaves, as in his will of 1811 he says: "I give to my beloved wife, Jane Stuart . . . my female slave Louisa and her children."
>
> Lt.-Col. Gray had at least four slaves when he settled at Cornwall.
>
> Chief Joseph Brant who led the Mohawks from N.Y. to Upper Canada had a large contingent of black slaves with him whom he had captured in the war.[21]

Negro settlement was not encouraged in Upper Canada. The Dominion Archives contains a Petition of the Free Negroes for Grants of land in Upper Canada sent in 1784 to Lieut. Gov. Simco stating that the petitioners had been "born free", wished to settle adjacent to each other on a tract of land separate from white settlers. It has nineteen signatures. It is endorsed 'Rejected'. Simcoe took positive steps to discourage slave-holding and, at the 1793 Session of the Legislature, had his Attorney-General introduce a bill to liberate all negro slaves in Upper Canada. When it became obvious that there was no hope of legislative assent, the bill was modified to read that no more slaves were to be brought into the province and that terms of gradual manumission were to go into effect. (Passed, July 9, 1793) The Bill passed without much opposition because slavery was not general in Upper Canada since the Loyalists tended to be farmers rather than displaced merchants, professional men and bureaucrats and, as far as I can discover, there are no negroes on the Upper Canada Loyalist List.

The problem only assumes significance in the Maritimes where about 10% of the refugees were negroes. Despite a genuine effort on the part of the authorities to settle them advantageously and to accord them fair treatment a number of factors militated against any success. For three or four years the Government supplied equal rations of pork and flour for masters and servants but when this provision ceased the possession of slaves was often more of a liability than an asset. There were no large plantations to employ field hands and a pioneer household had neither shelter, clothing nor food enough to support an extensive domestic staff. In these circumstances a number of slaves were set free to provide for themselves as best they could. An interesting sidelight showing two solutions of the problem is given by Simeon Perkins in his Diary, 1785-6:

> Tues. Mar. 22. A Negro man came to my house yesterday and insisted on staying with me. He says he was to have

gone with Capt. Dean to Halifax, but could not git on bord, & says Capt. Dean ordered him to come to me.

Fri. Mar. 25. Hay is exceeding scarce, which looks very Melancholla indeed. Provisions for men also very Scarce.

Thurs. Dec. 28. I attend as Justice to Bind a Mulato or Negro boy, called Edward Jackson, to Benjamen Parker and his wife.

Apr. 1. A Black Man, called Morant, preached last evening at the New Light Meeting. I understand they do not approve of him.

Apr. 3. The Black Man preached in ye Great Meeting House this evening. I heard him and liked him well.[22]

That slavery persisted in Nova Scotia through the first decade of the nineteenth century is evidenced by the fact that, in 1808, Mr. Ritchie, Member for Annapolis, introduced a bill to regulate negro servitude in the Province. During the same session a petition was presented by the Member from Digby asking for a definite ruling on the legality of slavery because of ". . . negro servants daily leaving their masters and setting them in defiance.[23] However, by the time Haliburton was writing (1829) the slaves had all been emancipated, although a statute enforcing their release did not emerge from the British House of Commons until Aug. 1838.

The fate of the negroes who had actually served in the armed forces under British or Colonial officers is somewhat easier to detail. They were actually included in the Nova Scotia Loyalist List (and are entitled to use U.E.L. after their names.) It is equally evident that they were not all considered on a par with white soldiers whose allotments were to be as follows: field officers—1,000 acres, captains—700 acres, subalterns—500

acres, N.C.O.'s—200 acres, other ranks—50 acres. (Parr's Instructions). The negroes, some with families, were settled in four districts. Digby Township records 74 grants of 1 acre each (negroes mustered into the army as servants on town lots with unregistered land outside), and 155 warrants for 50 acres each were issued in Clements—both these in Annapolis County. In Shelburne only four grants were made, the recipients being listed as Negro Pilots, for which service they got 50 acres. One hundred and eighty-four warrants were issued in Shelburne for from twenty to forty acres. The fourth group was settled in Sydney, Tracadie Township, with warrants for 50 acres each for fifty negroes. As the great bulk of the grants to white settlers was made in 1784 and the negro grants and warrants were not issued until '85, '87 and '89, it is obvious that they were not given first consideration.[24] However, although the acreage seems small in proportion to that given the other Loyalists, a town lot, if such were the one acre grants, was worth more than a large tract of land in the wilderness and a fifty acre plot, if reasonably fertile, was of more value than a thousand acres with no means of access. (The granting of huge tracts of land adjacent to each other might have appealed to a grateful government with ample land to dispose of but a little imagination would have revealed the fact that to set single families miles apart in a wilderness was utterly impractical). The Loyalist List compiled by Miss Gilroy is obviously incomplete, however, since, on p.58 a series of names of the type given negroes[25]—James Negro, Nero, Pompey, etc.—appears in the record of escheats although no grant is listed for them. It is not to be wondered at that the loyalist lists are incomplete as ten steps had to be taken and six legal papers accumulated before a grant was issued.[26] Needless to say, many grants bogged down *en route* and land had been settled for many years before legal title was obtained. Dr. Fergusson gives an example of this: "In the same year (1809) 21 men of colour in Annapolis County petitioned for land. They had all been in the province for more than 15 years and some for more than 20 years."[27]

There is no proof that this group of negroes—those actually on the Loyalist List—were disbanded soldiers and my theory is founded on the following facts. First, the Black Pioneers were sent to Annapolis Royal, Carleton recommended that they be settled near-by ("as at Shelburne") and the largest number of grants and warrants is in that area. One settlement at Shelburne was in Burchtown with 600 "Free Negroes" and, if this is the one to which he refers, there should be more grants recorded. However, there are only 180 and since Carleton is writing about the arrangements to Brig.-Gen. Fox and not to Gov. Parr, he was probably referring to a previous military settlement. Finally, the negroes were, by and large, ignorant and illiterate and thus completely incapable of carrying through the process necessary to obtain legal title to land unless they were part of an organization such as the army. The four negro pilots would also have had their claims processed at military headquarters. Admittedly this is pure conjecture but it seems reasonable and the settlements proved to be of a more permanent character than those of the "Free Negroes" although the latter term and that of "disbanded soldier" are not mutually exclusive.

The disposition of the Free Negroes (escaped slaves) presented a much more difficult problem. There were several inherent factors which militated against their becoming successful pioneers. In the first place it was the considered opinion of the general public at that time that a coloured person could not thrive in a cold climate and, although there is no biological foundation for the belief, it had a psycho-somatic effect and there is no doubt that a negro from the deep south would be very unhappy in the chill fogs of Nova Scotia. Also, owing to their former state as slaves, they were ignorant, superstitious, emotional and lacking in energy, industriousness and independence. Finally, while, "There seems to be no marked difference in innate intellectual power . . . the differences are rather those of disposition and temperament,"[28] the latter proved a bar to successful settlement.

The *Minute Book of the Port Roseway Associates,* now in the National Archives, is a mine of information on the largest, and probably least successful, settlement of Free Blacks. The Port Roseway Associates was an organization composed of Loyalists banded together to effect an organized settlement in Nova Scotia. It was formed in Dec. 1782, each of the 224 subscribers paying dues to finance the trip of chosen representatives to Nova Scotia to interview the Governor and to choose a site for settlement. The advance party was evidently carried away by the sight of the magnificent harbour at Port Roseway or, perhaps, deceived by the romantic-sounding name (which, alas, is just a corruption of Port Razoir) into visions of lush vegetation, and returned to report enthusiastically on the location. *The Minute Book* records that it is anticipated that Port Roseway can become the most important harbour on the continent. (One is led to speculate on why they were so grossly deceived. Was it deliberate or did the Loyalist sense of superiority preclude asking the natives for information? At any rate, no one bothered to tell them that Port Roseway was shallow, ice-bound in winter and fog-bound in spring.) A fishing industry was to be established although none of the settlers knew the trade. Town lots, wharf lots and farm lots were assigned and the now-augmented group was divided into civilian companies each with a captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants and thirty-six in the ranks. Over a thousand Free Blacks, similarly divided into companies, were also sent to form a settlement near-by in a village called variously Burchtown and Birchtown. The following table is revealing as to the composition of the settlement.

Persons Victualled at Shelburne the 8th of January, 1784

	Men	Women	Children over 10	Children under 10	Servants Men	Servants Women	Servants Children	Totals	
Loyalists	1825	1043	1036	796	823	287	157	5969	(sic)
					(SLAVES)				
Disbanded Soldiers	628	185	62	112				1191	(sic)
Free Blacks	630	475	133	247				1485	(sic)
						see footnote 29		8645	

Port Roseway became a flourishing community, large houses were built, roads laid out, an elegant social life developed and the town was rechristened Shelburne. But when the money the Loyalists brought with them was spent and the government ceased to send supplies it gradually became apparent that the location would not support such a large number of settlers. As noted before, the port was useless for part of the year and would not float a large vessel at any time, the fishing proved unprofitable and, most disastrous of all, the soil was poor, thin and unsuitable for field crops. The negro settlement, nearer subsistence level, suffered most. Brebner says, ". . . other labourers found it unpleasant to work in their company. A race riot followed . . ."[30]

In the Minute Book is a copy of the letter sent in 1789 to the Hon. Magistrates of Shelburne from The Overseers of the Poor, Shelburne:

> We the Overseers of the Poor of this Township . . . beg leave to acquaint your Honours that there are a great Number of Black People, both in this Town and in Birchtown who are in the most distressing Circumstances . . . But as the Number of White People whom we have constantly to supply are very considerable it is not in our Power to afford the Blacks that assistance which their present necessities loudly call for . . .
>
> And as it is evident that they become more and more Burthensome every Year it appears incumbent upon us to apply to your Honours and submit their Case to your Consideration . . . some Mode may be adopted that may be favourable to the distressed Blacks and free this Infant Settlement from a Burden which it is by no Means in a Capacity to Bear.[31]

The situation of the negroes went from bad to worse. The land on which they had been settled was barren; Parr, not the

most energetic Governor at the best of times, refused to see to grants for them elsewhere. In desperation, they sent a representative, Thomas Peters, an ex-sergeant in the Black Pioneers, to present a memorial to Secretary of State Grenville. The Memorial reviewed their situation, stated that the equal rights and privileges which they had been promised had not been forthcoming and that, in any case, a number would prefer Sierra Leone to Nova Scotia.[32] The upshot was that Grenville sent a dispatch to Parr (Aug. 3, 1791) reprimanding him severely for this neglect and ordering him to make grants in favourable locations for the negroes at once. He also ordered agents sent to offer free transport to Sierra Leone.

In order to understand the alternative offered the Nova Scotia blacks, it is necessary to review briefly the Sierra Leone scheme. Following the judgement of Lord Mansfield in the Somerset Case (1772) that a slave setting foot in the British Isles became free and that, "slavery is odious in nature and a contradiction of natural law" many of the black servants were set adrift in the streets of London and their number was augmented by, "negroes who had served the British in the American War."[33] A committee was formed for relieving the indigent blacks and a scheme promulgated by Dr. Smeathman, an abolitionist, secured the advocacy of Granville Sharp,[34] and, as a result, the British Government agreed to pay for the transport of the negroes to Sierra Leone to found a colony. The situation of the projected settlement was remarkably ill-chosen. Not only was fever so prevalent that Sierra Leone became known as 'the white man's grave', but the average rainfall of 164.8 inches was confined to eight months of the year, the other four being completely dry and plagued with tornadoes and winds carrying Sahara dust. To this must be added that directly opposite the peninsula where the settlement was to be made was a large and flourishing slave station.[35]

The management of the migration was equally inept. "Many of the blacks, as might be expected, were merely worth-

less loafers; and, by an extraordinary error in judgement the promoters sent out in their company a number of women of loose character (400 negroes, 60 white prostitutes!), so that both physically and morally the constituents of the colony were ill-chosen."[36] There was a delay in starting, the colonists embarked on the Thames in December 1786, reached Portsmouth in February, set sail in April (fifty passengers having died in the interim) and reached Sierra Leone in May, 1787. The settlement, not unnaturally, proved a complete failure and by 1790 the village had been burned to the ground and the inhabitants scattered. Pure philanthropy was not enough!

A second attempt was made in 1791 with a more judicious mixture of altruism and self-interest. The Sierra Leone Company was incorporated with a board of directors composed of merchants as well as philanthropists. They averred that, "The introduction of a system of spirited cultivation in Africa is highly desirable," and their aim was "Civilization" to result in "Extension of Trade."[37] While deploring the profits of the slave-trade they were disposed to see the bright side and added: "On the other hand, it may be important to remark that the slave trade has served to initiate the natives into the use of European articles, some of which are considered among them as necessaries of life. The taste which has been created may therefore be reasonably expected to operate as an effectual spur to industry."[38] A representative, Alexander Falconbridge, a former surgeon on slave-ships, was sent to gather up the remnants of the first settlement and lay out a new one to be called Granville's town, and an agent was selected to go to Nova Scotia and arrange for the transport of those negroes who had expressed to Granville a wish to emigrate.

In August, 1791, John Clarkson, a naval lieutenant and younger brother of the Rev. Thomas Clarkson, one of the directors of the Sierra Leone Company, set sail for Nova Scotia with high hopes of success. He was to be joined later by Dr.

Taylor, who had been appointed to take charge of the medical side of the expedition. When Clarkson reached Nova Scotia, however, he met with unexpected obstacles. Governor Parr had received a letter, signed E. N., telling him to retard the scheme.[39] A Mr. Miller, a recruiting officer, had arrived from the West Indies and was endeavouring to persuade the negroes to join the army and finally, although the Nova Scotians would have been delighted to get rid of the burdensome negroes (the authorities were still required to supply food to many) Clarkson had been instructed to select only the negroes who could produce evidence of "honesty, sobriety and industry."[40] It seemed clear to the Nova Scotians that they were to be deprived of the serviceable negroes and left with the ill, unmanageable and unemployable. So, although there was no overt obstruction, neither was there any attempt to smooth Clarkson's path. Various County Members were employed by the government to superintend the removal of the selected negroes to the embarkation point[41] and on Jan. 15, 1792, fifteen vessels, bearing 1,190 blacks, set sail from Halifax. Sixty negroes and two ships' captains died during the voyage and the rest made a landfall at Granville's Town on Mar. 6th.

A governor had been appointed by the Sierra Leone Trading Company in the person of Zachary Macaulay (father of T. Babington and long-time associate of Wilberforce, Granville and the Quaker Abolitionists). He managed to get the colony established, although not self-sufficient, much less profitable to the company. He was forced to conclude that, "A negro with plenty to eat and drink, with clothing and shelter, has little care for anything else. He has no ambition. To him labour is a last resort."[42] The disciplinary problem was also difficult. Haliburton says, ". . . the negro Loyalists who resided in Nova Scotia . . . had been induced to quit the country to join the Colony in Africa, where they soon became turbulent and unruly, and proceeded to the most criminal lengths."[43] In 1794 the settlement, which had been transferred to the original site and

renamed Freetown, was captured and plundered by the French and in 1800 it required the well-disciplined Maroons to put down the rioting and establish order. There were seventeen changes of governorship in the first twenty-two years, ample evidence of the physical and mental hazards of the post.[44] One can only conclude that it seems to take many generations to induce the negro to accept the white man's standards and way of life (vide the Congo) and the settlers from Nova Scotia were in a transitional stage, neither one thing nor the other— incapable of purposeful activity above a subsistence level and separated from the native Africans by a thin veneer of civilization, by language, and by a superficial Christianity. They eventually became entrepreneurs and formed a shaky bridge between the native and the white commercial world.

The negroes who remained in Nova Scotia fared little better. Haliburton says, "The remnant of these different bodies of blacks (Loyalists, Maroons and refugees after 1812) and their descendants now resident in Nova Scotia amount perhaps to 3,000 souls. Although they are in general inprovident and indolent, there are some good labourers and domestic servants among them."[45] This opinion was expressed in 1828. In 1911, Beckles Willson says: "Apropos of the negroes, one sees a great many of these in and about Halifax and in other parts of the Province . . . on the whole they form a dirty, good-humoured, retrograde feature of the population."[46]

Thus ends the tale of the Negro Loyalists. The attempt to settle them in the Maritimes was unfortunate from its inception and disastrous in its consequences. It imposed an additional burden on the already-overburdened white settlers; the change of climate was too abrupt for the southerners; the practice of slaveholding and the temperament of the negroes, caused in a measure by their recent servitude, made them seemingly incapable of sacrificing an immediate pleasure to reap a future benefit —a grasshopper outlook in a geographical situation where only the ant survives.

Yet it is difficult to see how Carleton could have done other than he did with them. The negro militia enlisted and had to be discharged on the same terms as the rest of the Loyalist troops, he could not legally deprive the Loyalists of their slaves, and the "Free Negroes" were obviously incapable of coping with a return to the jungles of Africa. Nevertheless, sending them to colonize Nova Scotia was an error for which all the Loyalists suffered, not least the negroes themselves. They were the victims of the immoral practice of slavery and Canada was perhaps fortunate that their stay was so brief.

FOOTNOTES

1. **Canada, an Encyclopaedia of the Country.** p. 115
2. Wiswall, Odell, Bailey, Clinton, Winslow, Sewall, Inglis, etc. The lack of similar material from Upper Canada is considered indicative of a different type of settler.
3. General Clinton and Lord Dunsmore, the Governor of Virginia both gave wide publicity to the offer.
4. In some cases the flight of the negroes was not greatly obstructed since the indigo-tobacco-rice economy of the south was depressed and negroes, in great numbers were not required until after the invention of the cotton gin.
5. N.S. Hist. Soc. Vol. X. p. 21
6. Willson Beckles, **Nova Scotia.** p. 33. This award was probably given in the settlement after the War of 1812. Compensation for the negroes after the Rev. War awaited the payment of compensation to the Loyalists for the property which had been appropriated. I don't believe either was paid.
7. P.A.C. Nova Scotia A. No. 11, Vol. 50-52, p. 111.
   North to Carleton, Aug. 8, 1788
8. Wright, **The Loyalists of New Brunswick.** p 41
9. P.A.C. **Nova Scotia A.** Vol. 32-6. Letter 80. p. 112.
10. At the end of the **Book of Negroes** there is a cryptic note, p. 9—"7 Companies of Guides and Pioneers." They may have been Negro Troops.
11. P.A.C. Nova Scotia A. Vol. 55 pp. 88-109
12. Haliburton, Hist. & Stat. Acct. p. 264
13. The estimated number of slaves brought to America and the West Indies between 1780-1786 is 2,130,000.
    Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. XX p. 779.
14. **Minute Book.** p 2 (Letter from Sir Guy Carleton)
15. Greaves. **The Negro in Canada.** p. 18 The figure does not include Upper Canada.
16. N.S. Hist. Soc. **The Slave in Canada** Vol. 10. 1896-98 p. 6
17. Ibid. p. 8
18. Calneck-Savary, **History of Annapolis,** p. 213
19. Saunders. **The Life and Times of Rev. John Wiswall, M.A.,** p. 23
20. Ibid. p. 55
21. Roy Fleming. "Loyalists Brought Slaves to Canada" **Cornwall Daily Standard,** Dec. 8, 1949. (in folder at P.A.C.)
22. Simeon Perkins. **Diary** Vol. II
23. Calneck. **History of Annapolis Co.** p. 284
24. Marian Gilroy. **Loyalists and Land Settlement.**
25. I consulted Dr. Fergusson about this, as elsewhere in the book negroes are designated as such, and he agrees with the supposition.
26. Margaret Ells. **Settling the Loyalists in N.S.** p. 106-107
27. Dr. Bruce Fergusson, Provincial Archivist of N.S. **The Establishment of the Negroes in N.S.** p. 3
28. Encyclopaedia Britannica. "The Negro" Vol. XIV p. 193
29. **Minute Book of Port Roseway Associates.** p. 52

30. John B. Brebner (Marcus Long) **The Mingling of the Canadian and American People.** Vol. 1 p. 54
31. **Minute Book of Port Roseway Associates.** p.52
32. "Out of the frying pan, into the fire!"
33. Malden and Harlowe. **Select Documents of Colonial Development.** Melville State Papers. pp 176-7.
34. Wilberforce, Macaulay, Clarkson and the Society of Friends supported the measure also.
35. C. P. Lucas. **Historical Geography of the British Colonies.** III p. 17
36. C. P. Lucas. **Historical Geography of the British Colonies.** III. p. 182
37. Malden and Harlowe. **Select Documents.** p. 459
38. Ibid. p. 538
39. Gov. Archibald. **The Story of the Deportation of the Negroes from N.S. to Sierra Leone.** N.S.H.S. Vol. VII p. 138
40. He offered 20 acres for each man, 10 for the wife and 5 for each child.
41. The remuneration was a shilling a head. Calneck. History of Annapolis County. p. 213
42. Archibald. op cit. p. 145. So much for "the effectual spur to industry"!
43. T. C. Haliburton. **Hist. & Stat. Account of N.S.** Vol. I p. 291
44. Sydney Smith jested that Sierra Leone had always two governors, one just arrived in the colony and the other just arrived in England! Macaulay was Governor for 4 yrs. so that makes 16 in 18 yrs.! Many of them died at Freetown.
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Charles Tupper and the Politics of Education in Nova Scotia

P. L. McCREATH

Because he established a viable free school system in Nova Scotia through the imposition of compulsory assessment, Charles Tupper has been described as a progressive statesman "who realized that democracy could not survive without educated voters".[1] The assumption always has been that Tupper took great political risk in establishing his free school system both because of the unpopularity of assessment (or any form of direct taxation, for that matter), and because of Roman Catholic opposition to integrated secular education. Nevertheless, the argument goes, "the inadequacy of the existing system was so unpalatable to him that he decided to risk the dangers."[2]

Is this explanation sufficient? Certainly education was a sensitive issue. Moreover, it can be argued with some degree of credibility that Tupper was indeed concerned over the state of education in Nova Scotia, that he recognized the importance of and need for a sound common school system, and that throughout his provincial career in Nova Scotia he was anxious to improve upon the existing situation. But did Tupper, in fact, take a substantial political risk by establishing free schools? Or, was Charles Tupper the astute politician who, realizing that the time had come when the people of Nova Scotia would accept

drastic educational reform, took a very carefully calculated risk —even if it meant the imposition of compulsory assessment? The politics of education provides the key and at the same time, provides an early example of the political pragmatism of one of Nova Scotia's most successful political leaders.

Charles Tupper was born in Amherst, Nova Scotia, on July 2, 1821. Because his father was a clergyman, Tupper lived in different communities during the course of growing up. In fact, he attended elementary schools in each of the Maritime provinces, in addition to being tutored by his father.[3] It is reasonable to assume that Tupper came from a home in which education was highly regarded, and that for his day, Tupper was an unusually well-educated man. In fact, Tupper's father took the credit for the entry of both his sons into the medical profession.[4] Thus, it is reasonable to expect that Tupper might be more concerned about the state of education than most of his political contemporaries.

Tupper's first foray into politics came in 1852 when he nominated T. A. deWolfe to run against Joseph Howe and Stephen Fulton in a by-election in Cumberland County.[5] At that point in time, Tupper had been practising medicine in the county for nine years and was already well known and respected. No doubt, the fact that J. W. Johnston, the leader of the Conservative Party, was a close friend of his father probably swayed the younger Tupper to become an active Conservative.

In 1855, Tupper became a Conservative candidate for Cumberland County in the general election of that year. He won a stunning upset, personally defeating Joseph Howe, despite the fact that the Conservative Party suffered a resounding, province-wide defeat.[6]

Educational reform had long been an issue in Nova Scotian politics.[7] As early as the election campaign of 1847, Joseph

Howe and his Reformers had run on a platform which pledged them to make common school education available to every child in Nova Scotia.[8] By the time of Tupper's entry into the Legislature, it was generally felt by those people interested in educational reform that only through the imposition of compulsory assessment could a satisfactory system of common schools be established, supported and made available to all children in Nova Scotia. However, there was still considerable opposition to an improved school system, especially if it meant further taxation.

Even assuming that the idea of assessment was palatable, the question of whether or not these schools should be parochial or secular would have to be settled. This was a matter of particular concern to the Roman Catholics who hitherto had left the clergy to run their schools. In Halifax, for example, the Archbishop 'owned the schools, paid the teachers, received the government grant, and collected from his own people the other revenues for their support".[9] Should a system of secular free schools be established and supported on the basis of compulsory assessment, Catholics in Halifax would find themselves paying for the support of both state and parochial schools or surrendering their schools to the state.

Between 1847 and 1863, no government held office with a large majority. Thus, in days when members did not hesitate to cross the floor, a government could find itself defeated on a bill involving taxation or religion. As a result, the question of free schools and compulsory assessment was slow to make its way onto the order paper of the Assembly, even though men like Joseph Howe, John Dawson, the superintendent of schools, and his successor after 1855, Alexander Forrester, devoted considerable platform time to the question. If the measure were ever to come to pass, it would require a government leader with considerable political acumen and a strong majority at his back.

On March 1, 1856, the Premier of Nova Scotia, William Young, introduced a bill entitled "An Act for the better encouragement of education" in the Legislature, and it received first reading.[10] On March 28, in moving the Bill into Committee, Young presented a resolution "to test the sense of the House upon the assessment principle embodied in the School Bill",[11] Young stated that if the resolution were to pass, he would proceed with the Bill. At the same time, he requested the members not to treat the resolution as a party measure, but as a free vote, as under the former circumstances, the measure could not pass.[12]

Despite Young's plea, Tupper took what has to be interpreted as a partisan position on the question. He said the Government should be prepared to present the measure, and accept responsibility for it. Nevertheless:

> he was not opposed to the application of the principle of assessment for the support of a system of secular education, but was clearly of the opinion that the time has not arrived which resort might be properly had to it.[13]

The time was not right, he argued, because the Government had opposed a bill introduced by his leader, J. W. Johnston, for the municipal incorporation of the counties. Moreover, the Bill meant creating several hundred new offices which would be at the disposal of the Government dispursers of patronage.

Despite his announced intention to vote against the resolution, in the end, Tupper voted for it. Johnston spoke after him in the debate, and announced that he would support the resolution in order to let the Bill go to committee,[14] so probably Tupper changed his mind in order to vote with his leader. In the end the resolution passed, 37-9.[15]

The question of school reform and assessment could not have been a matter if conspicuous public debate, otherwise it would have received some attention in the press of the day, and

would have merited more than one afternoon's debate in the Legislative Assembly, Nevertheless, Young must either have sensed public displeasure for the measure, must have been pressured by his backbench to drop it, or simply must have detected that Tupper would use the issue to defeat the Government, if possible. In any event, on April 8, Young in effect withdrew the measure, much to the scorn of the opposition benches.[16]

Young's short-lived education Bill of 1856 may well have demonstrated Tupper's desire for a free school system based on assessment. But, even more, it showed Tupper to be a politician in quest of power. As he would say ruthlessly the following year in encouraging his colleagues to take advantage of Howe's feud with the Roman Catholics: "What need we care how the downfall of the government comes about so long as it places power in our hands?"[17] On this latter occasion, Tupper beseeched his colleagues to recognize that if the Tory party were to become the dominant party in Nova Scotia, the support of Roman Catholic voters was essential. Hitherto, the Roman Catholic segment of the electorate had evidently been the preserve of the Reform party. In fact, Tupper had taken this same position at the first caucus he ever attended, prior to the opening of the 1856 session. At that time, Tupper had pointed out that the Roman Catholics represented twenty percent of the population and controlled nine seats in the Legislature; hence, they held the balance of power. He had therefore called for a policy of "equal rights for all, without respect to race or creed",[18] and the party adopted this progressive policy.

The strategy paid off that autumn when Howe embroiled himself in a controversy that resulted in his alienating Roman Catholics generally and those in the Legislative Assembly in particular. When the House met in February, 1857, Johnston moved a simple non-confidence motion. All the Liberal members who were Roman Catholic, and two Protestant members who sat for Roman Catholic constituencies crossed the floor

and the Government fell by a vote of 29-22.[19] Thus, on February 24, 1857, within two years of their crushing defeat, the Conservatives returned to power under the titular leadership of J. W. Johnston, and the *de facto* leadership of the new Provincial Secretary, Charles Tupper.

During the ensuing three years, the religious bitterness aroused in 1856 endured.[20] Under such circumstances, only the most naive of politicians would have tampered with an issue as sensitive as education. One can only assume that this was the main reason why no new educational measures came before the House during the three years of the Johnston-Tupper administration—although the appropriation for education was increased in 1858.[21] For example, in 1859, Tupper noted that: "the spirit of hostility from the opposition has not made it possible to do much, including bring in an Education Bill."[22] However, governments have been known to use opposition obstruction as the excuse for their own inaction.

An election held in 1859 saw the Government defeated narrowly by twenty-nine seats to twenty-six, although the Conservatives disputed the election of five successful Liberals. As was the custom, the Conservatives did not resign from government until they were defeated in the House in February, 1860.[23] During the three years of the ensuing Young-Howe administration,[24] either there was not sufficient public interest in the question of educational reform for anything to be done, or Howe's desperate attempt to remain in power kept the question from being dealt with. Nevertheless, following the publication of the census of 1861, Tupper did call upon the Government to remedy the situation.[25]

Even so, during his second period in opposition, Tupper concentrated on destroying the credibility of the Government. Educational reform was not an issue in the election of 1863: Tupper attacked the Government on other issues.[26] He also

managed to hold up the implementation of a new franchise bill which would have denied the vote to some 20,000 Nova Scotian electors.[27] When the election came in May, the Liberals were soundly beaten, the opposition winning forty seats (twenty-three by acclamation) to the Government's fifteen.[28]

Once again the seals of office changed hands. J. W. Johnston resumed his position as Premier and Attorney-General and Charles Tupper returned to the Office of Provincial Secretary, at that time a catch-all department responsible for virtually all non-legal government services.[29] Within a year, on May 11, 1864, Johnston retired to become an Equity Judge of the Supreme Court, and Charles Tupper became Premier of Nova Scotia.

When the first session of the Twenty-Second Assembly of the Province of Nova Scotia met on February 4, 1864, two conditions existed for the first time since Charles Tupper had entered the Legislature: the Provincial Secretary and effective head of the government was of the view that the time had come for a radical revision of Nova Scoia's antiquated school system;[30] and the government in office enjoyed an overwhelming majority in the House. Still, there can be no certainty that this was why Tupper chose that particular time to inaugurate proceedings for the establishment of a free school system in Nova Scotia.

In introducing his first bill, Tupper stated quite simply that too many years had passed since there had been any improvement in the province's system of education. He noted that the census of 1861 had revealed that 85,000 Nova Scotians over the age of five were illiterate and that the matter could no longer be ignored, despite the political risk involved. The issue must be dealt with in a non-partisan fashion. He would have been happy to have supported the previous government in bringing about reform but had been unable to prod them to action. Nevertheless, he had framed the present bill in such a fashion as to make

it acceptable to both the opposition and the people.[31] In other words, Tupper adopted for himself the posture of a statesman doing what had to be done, no matter what the consequence. Perhaps he was.

While this argument has been accepted by some,[32] there is, nevertheless, another view: "Dr. Tupper, forceful and ambitious, no doubt wished to do something unusual to mark the administration."[33] Certainly, reform of the school system was overdue.

Since the establishment of the office of superintendent, Dawson and then Forrester had continuously urged reform and adoption of the assessment principle. In February of 1864, petitions were received by the Legislative Assembly from both the Provincial Teachers Association and the Halifax Teachers Association urging the Assembly to adopt the principle of assessment for the support of education.[34] Prior to the adoption of the assessment principle, all educational institutions existed on the basis of voluntary support. What was the result of the voluntary approach? In the words of Adams G. Archibald, the Leader of the Opposition: "it simply will not work. To give the power to the people to assess themselves if they think proper will never work well."[35]

How did the system function under the voluntary approach? Longley offers a succinct description:

> Any teacher proposing to establish a school generally had to canvas the district in advance and get parents to subscribe according to the number of children they were prepared to send. The school houses were below any reasonable standard of comfort or efficiency. Apparatus and equipment were wanting and the system of licensing teachers was unsatisfactory. There could not be a satisfactory system of common school education until free schools were establish-

ed, supported by compulsory taxation, whereby all property holders paid the assessments for the support of schools, whether they were or were not blessed with children.

The time had now come for action. The Opposition led by Archibald was committed to the principle of free schools supported by assessment. They had claimed they were too weak, when in power, to introduce the measure themselves, and in fact Archibald criticised Tupper's 1864 Bill for not going far enough.[37] Even the mouthpiece of the Liberal party, the *Morning Chronicle* felt the time had come for action: "The country will look forward with deep interest for this measure, and so will we. The question . . . must now be set at rest".[38] Finally, Tupper had a commanding majority at his back. Being a shrewd politician, Tupper must have realized he could achieve his goal, and therefore committed himself to the task.

Once committed to this decision, Tupper would have to devise a strategy. He established his free school system by two Acts passed in consecutive sessions of the Legislature in 1864 and 1865. The first Bill established the structure or framework of the system but left out the controversial basis upon which alone the system could achieve its proper end—compulsory assessment. The following year, after the public had had ample opportunity to express themselves on the question, Tupper declared that the expression of public opinion on the matter was sure that he had no alternative but to finish the job, to provide the sole financial basis upon which the reformed system could effectively accomplish its purpose. And, therefore, his Bill of 1865 introduced and established the principle of compulsory, as opposed to voluntary, assessment.[39]

When Tupper presented his 1864 Education Bill, he undoubtedly caught his political opponents off guard by not including within it the principle of compulsory assessment; rather the reformed school system was to be supported on the

basis of either voluntary assessment (with financial incentives offered by the government to those districts that opted for this approach), or subscription. The *Morning Chronicle,* which had welcomed the news that there would be a school bill [40] condemned the measure totally:

> as assessment is not going to be compulsory, it will, we take it, be a dead letter; and without it, the bill leaves matters almost where they were.[41]

Archibald took basically the same position, lamenting the fact that Tupper had failed to take advantage of his large majority to put through the measure which he (Archibald) would like to have done, but was never strong enough to do.[42] Thereby committed to the principle of the Bill (or rather a principle going beyond the Bill), Archibald concentrated his attack on the fact that under the framework established by the Bill the Executive Council would control not only education, but virtually all appointments having to do with education.

Under the Bill, the direction on the administration of the common school system, and the appointment of the superintendent and all school inspectors, were entrusted to a Council of Public Instruction. The Council of Public Instruction was to consist of the Executive Council of the Province. Archibald claimed that this made education a matter for partisan politics and that, as a result, educational appointments would simply be made on the basis of political patronage.[43] Tupper replied that only if the Executive Council acted as the C.P.I. was there any guarantee that the direction of education would be in accordance with the wishes of the people, for the Executive Council alone was responsible for its actions to the people through their elected representatives in the Assembly.[44]

Tupper knew that the composition of the Council of Public Instruction as set forth in the Bill would arouse the hostility of the Opposition.[45] Perhaps, he also realized that this issue would

deflect opposition criticism from what he really wished to accomplish. After all, how much sympathy does an opposition complaining about patronage usually receive from the general public? Tupper perhaps realized that: the Government would get full credit for the measure; the Opposition would be committed to supporting the imposition of compulsory assessment when it was introduced; and a number of new appointments would be placed at the disposal of the Executive Council.[46] Under such circumstances could a government lose?

On the other hand, perhaps Tupper really believed what he said about responsibile government and the Council of Public Instruction; perhaps the Executive Council, in their collective wisdom, could find no other solution to the problem.

As for the decision not to introduce compulsory assessment the first time around, it would appear that Tupper was simply being cautious. He knew that this decision would disappoint some, including himself:

> I confess that my views have undergone no change on this subject since the first session I had the honour of a seat in this House, when I voted for a resolution approving of a system of compulsory assessment for the support of the common schools of the province. But after careful examination of the whole subject, looking at it with a sincere desire to come to such conclusions as would best advance the wide diffusion of education amongst the people, I have come to the belief that in the present condition of this country, it would not be either wise or politic to carry immediately into effect a system of compulsory assessment . . . the bill which I now introduce is framed with a view to render that system as gradually acceptable to the people as it is possible.[47]

The following year, when the House met, the speech from the Throne announced that amendments would be introduced to

the Education Act of the previous year which would make it "better adapted to the wants of the country."[48] And so, on March 1, 1865, Tupper introduced his new Education Bill to the House, the principal feature of which was the substitution of compulsory assessment for the voluntary approach established the previous year. [49] In presenting the Bill, Tupper complimented the Government for the arduous and courageous task it had undertaken the previous year when it chose to grapple with this difficult subject of education. Despite his large majority, he called on the Opposition to support him and to recognize that the question of education was one that should be placed above party politics.[50] Despite the hostility aroused by a question which "touched the pockets of the masses, and was therefore necessarily calculated above all others, to arouse a feeling of hostility", the measure had "proved eminently adapted for the great object for which it was intended."[51] There were more children in school than ever before, he said.

> This is a result so satisfactory that I think it has placed forever at rest the question whether in this province the principle of free schools shall continue to exist. I believe . . . the evidence which is now furnished to the House of the result of its operations during the comparatively brief period the people have had an opportunity of understanding its merits, have been such as to render it impossible for any government, or any legislature, unless they forget what they owe to the country and the education of the masses, to recede a single step back from the great principle of establishing free schools and maintaining that legislation which has already been enacted—that every child in Nova Scotia shall have the means of obtaining a common school education.[52]

His Government would not recede; in fact, they would go further, and ensure that there would be a school in every district by levying a county assessment for each county equal to two-thirds

of the amount contributed directly from the provincial treasury.[53] In other words, they would introduce compulsory assessment.

In replying to the Premier, Archibald said the Bill had not been as successful as the Premier tried to suggest because the Government had failed to place the system under an independent board, "above the suspicion of being influenced by party motives".[54] He lamented the fact that the Government had not learned from their error and experience of the previous year. Nevertheless, Tupper subsequently pointed out, this had nothing to do with the question at issue—compulsory assessment.[55] Nevertheless, the official Opposition had no intention whatsoever of opposing the principle for which the Bill had been introduced.

Whether or not the Education Act of 1864 was an immediate success is a question for debate. The facts of the situation are that out of approximately 1,400 school sections, 654 had held meetings and approved the provisions of the Bill, 142 had rejected it, and the remainder had ignored it altogether. Moreover, not all of the 654 had as yet established schools, this figure being somewhere around 500.[56] On the one hand, Archibald argued that there were only half as many schools in operation as under the old law;[57] on the other, Tupper claimed there were more children in school than ever before.[58]

On the one hand, the *Morning Chronicle* accused Tupper of having "involved the whole province in an uproar of confusion from Canso to Yarmouth—of wrecking and destroying the sacred cause of education";[59] on the other, the *British Colonist* noted that Tupper's 1864 Act had "been eagerly seized and appreciated by many districts".[60] The Education Act of 1864 set up a framework for a free school system in Nova Scotia. The Act of 1865 provided the financial base which made the system viable. Without the Act of 1865, the Act of 1864 probably would have been relatively meaningless. But, considering the

hostility which the Act of 1864 did arouse—as evidenced by the fact that only 654 of 1,400 districts organized under it, and that only some 500 schools had been established—Tupper might have been in real difficulty had he introduced compulsory assessment at the same time. Proceeding as he did, Tupper achieved, in the long run, unquestioned success.

The only remaining matter to be dealt with in order to establish successfully a free common school system was to overcome the Roman Catholics' preference for a separate school system. Saunders maintains that to alleviate Roman Catholic concern, Tupper met with Archbishop Connolly of Halifax prior to introducing his Bill in 1865, and assured him that because the Roman Catholics would always be represented in the cabinet, and because the cabinet made up the Council of Public Instruction, the Roman Catholics would have nothing to fear. This, according to Saunders, was all the assurance Connolly desired, and he agreed to support Tupper on the measure.[51]

On reflection, however, it seems reasonable that the Catholics, as a minority, should not wish to see themselves isolated politically. With Archibald and his supporters expected to support the free school principle and the imposition of compulsory assessment, the Catholics could easily find themselves isolated, should they choose to oppose the system.

In fact, during second reading, Issac LeVesconte, MLA for the predominently Catholic County of Richmond, proposed a clause authorizing the maintenance of separate schools, where a sufficient proportion of the population warranted it.[62] Tupper maintained that denominationalism would destroy the common school system, and that he would withdraw the Bill rather than submit to that.[63] Nevertheless, LeVesconte formally moved an amendment on April 5. However, he withdrew it when Tupper and Archibald both indicated their opposition; still the Opposition might have used the issue to combine with the Roman

Catholic members to defeat the Government.[64] This did not happen and thus the religious aspect of the question ceased to be a critical factor.

How much political danger did Tupper place himself in by establishing a free school system based on compulsory assessment? LeVesconte's action seems to suggest that there was a possibility that the Government could have been defeated had the Opposition and the Roman Catholic members combined to oppose some aspect of the measure. This was unlikely: Tupper would never have introduced the measure if there had been any possibility of defeat. Even so, he took the precaution of presenting the measure in two stages, with the innocuous part first, and the controversial part being introduced only after the Opposition were in effect committed to support the principle of it.

Probably a general election would offer the most unequivocal evidence with which to answer the question, but before that could happen, the issue of Confederation crossed the Nova Scotian political scene, and nothing was ever the same again. In fact, the Confederation Conferences were held during the autumn of 1864, and by January, 1865, the issue completely pervaded Nova Scotian politics, crossing party and religious lines. As a result, during 1865, the *Morning Chronicle* devoted only one editorial[65] to the Education Bill of 1865, and the *British Colonist* did not have a single one on the 1865 Bill. When the next general election came, the one and only issue was Confederation, such that one can infer nothing of public response to the establishment of the free school system and the imposition of assessment.

Four by-elections were held during the remaining life of the Twenty-Second Assembly (1854-67).[66] Only in the campaign in Lunenburg did the question of education get more than passing mention, and at that, the subject was introduced by the government paper.[67] So far as the *Morning Chronicle* was

concerned, the issues in Lunenburg were Confederation and the Government's failure to keep its election promises.[68] And, the day after the election, the *Morning Chronicle* declared that the decisive factor in the Liberal victory was Confederation.[69] In short, no evidence can be found from by-elections to demonstrate the political danger of Tupper's establishment of the free school system.

It is difficult to conclude just how hazardous an endeavour Tupper undertook when he decided to introduce a free school system into Nova Scotia in 1864-65. Clearly, it was not so courageous an undertaking in 1864 as it would have been in 1857. No administration during Tupper's provincial career enjoyed the legislative majority that he did in 1864. Moreover, in 1865 Tupper faced an Opposition already committed to the principle of compulsory assessment. At that point, even had there been substantial opposition to the measure outside the Legislature, there would be no place, in terms of practical politics, for that discontent to manifest itself at the polls.

Moreover, one can readily assume that education was a considerably more significant political issue than in fact it was. During some sessions of the Legislature, for example, the subject of education never arose—except during consideration of the estimates.[70] On the other hand, page after page of Hansard, each year, was devoted to patronage and railroads. In fact, the most hotly debated aspect of Tupper's Education Bills of 1864 and 1865 was the question of the Council of Public Instruction, considered to be a source of patronage.

One conclusion that can be drawn from this study concerns not education, but Charles Tupper. It would appear that this was a man who could see and judge the temper of his times, a man with the astuteness to devise a political strategy which would enable him to achieve his end, and, indeed, with the courage to carry it through. Unquestionably, Charles Tupper was a pre-eminent practitioner of the pragmatic art of politics.

Nevertheless, this examination of the education issue in Nova Scotia from 1855-1865 with particular reference to the role of Charles Tupper reveals more than the political skill of Tupper: it explains how it was that Nova Scotia was able to establish and finance the first[71] free public system of education in Canada in 1865.

While on the one hand this paper has sought to demonstrate the political skill of Tupper, it would be wrong to leave the impression that Tupper was not concerned about the state of education in Nova Scotia, or indeed, that he was not a progressive political leader. During consideration of the 1865 Bill, Tupper revealed what can only be considered to be a most progressive, and indeed, enlightened political philosophy, with respect to the education question:

> Objection has been taken to the principle of assessment because it taxed the property of one man to teach the children of another. In every civilized country, it was the recognized duty of all classes of the people to feed the hungry . . . Did not the law force upon us the principle that the property of those who were rich had to contribute to the alleviation of those who were poor? Does not the responsibility fall tenfold upon every man in reference to feeding the mind? . . . The obligation rests upon every man of property to provide for the common school education of the country in which he lives.[72]

There can be no doubt that Charles Tupper felt that Nova Scotia needed a free school system based on the principle of compulsory assessment. But, how much of a political risk was he prepared to take in order to achieve it? Tupper felt that it was something that ought to be done, but when the time was right, and when it was politically expedient.

FOOTNOTES

1. Blakeley, Phyllis R., "The Early Career of Sir Charles Tupper", **Atlantic Advocate,** Vol. 54 #12, (August, 1964).
2. Tait, Donald H., "The Role of Charles Tupper in Nova Scotian Politics, 1855-1870", M. A. Dalhousie (1962) p. 80
3. The Rev. Charles Tupper, D.D., (1794-1881) the father of Sir Charles Tupper, was himself an educated man, said to have a reading knowledge of some thirteen languages. A baptist minister, he also served one year as the principal of the academy at Fredericton and was the author of **Scriptural Baptism** (Halifax, 1850). See E. M. Saunders, **Three Premiers of Nova Scotia** (Toronto: William Briggs, 1909, pp. 268-270.) Sir Charles attended the grammar school at Amherst and spent one year at Horton Academy in Wolfville. Then he studied medicine under Dr. Benjamin Page of Amherst and Dr. Harding of Windsor before going to the University of Edinburgh for three years, from which he graduated (M.D. and F.R.C.S.) in 1843. Tait, Donald H., **op. cit.,** 5-6.
4. Saunders, op. cit., 269.
5. **Ibid.**, 270-271.
6. Saunders, E.M., **The Life and Letters of the Right Honorable Sir Charles Tupper,** Vol. I, Toronto: Cassell and Co. (1916), 41-46.
7. Major school acts were passed in 1808, 1811, 1826, 1832, 1841, 1847, and 1850. In addition, there were amendments to some of these acts. For an exhaustive study of the early history of education in Nova Scotia, see John E. Crockett: "Origin and Establishment of Free Schools in Nova Scotia" M. A. Dalhousie, 1940.
8. **Ibid.**, p. 98.
9. Longley, J. W., **Sir Charles Tupper,** (Makers of Canada Series) (1926), p. 19.
10. **Debates of the Assembly,** 1 March, 1856, p. 87.
11. **Acadian Recorder,** March 29, 1856.
12. **Nova Scotian,** March 31, 1856.
13. **Ibid.**
14. **Ibid.**
15. **Ibid**, The resolution as passed:
    Whereas the principle of assessment is the only permanent foundation for the Common School Education for the Country—and as the principle is the leading feature of the measure now under consideration, and the details may be modified and improved, Resolved, therefore, that the Bill entitled an Act for the better encouragement of education be referred to a select committee with instructions to consider the same and report thereon, by a short day.
16. **Debates of the Assembly,** April 8, 1856, 187, and **Nova Scotian,** April 14, 1856.
17. Cited in Longley, **op. cit.,** 19.
18. Saunders, **Life and Letters,** p. 47.
19. For a full explanation of the controversy see **Ibid.,** pp. 53-56

or J. M. Beck, **Joseph Howe: Voice of Nova Scotia,** Carleton Library #20, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart (1964), 140-146.

20. Beck, **op. cit.,** 145.
21. **Debates of the Assembly,** February 4, 1858, p. 3.
22. **Ibid.,** February 3, 1859, p. 3.
23. For details of the issue see Saunders, **Life and Letters,** 66-74.
24. Young retired to the bench and was succeeded as Premier by Howe on August 3, 1860.
25. **Debates of the Assembly,** February 5, 1864, p. 23.
26. Such as: members sitting in the House illegally; conflict of interest by the Premier; refusal to accept an opposition retrenchment proposal.
27. Saunders, **Life and Letters,** p. 84.
28. **Ibid.,** 86-87.
29. For some explanation of the office see: A. S. Barnstead, "Development of the Office of Provincial Secretary", **Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society,** Vol. 24 (1938), 1-33.
30. Tait, **op. cit.,** 79.
31. For Tupper's speech, see **Debates of the Assembly,** February 5, 1864, pp. 23-25.
32. Tait, **op. cit.,** 79-80.
33. Longley, **op. cit.,** 31.
34. **Petitions to the Assembly on Education,** February 1, 1864 and February 20, 1864. P.A.N.S.
35. **Debates of the Assembly,** February 5, 1864, p. 25.
36. Longley, **op. cit.,** 29.
37. As will be seen, Tupper did not adopt compulsory assessment in 1864. See Archibald's speech: **Debates of the Assembly,** February 5, 1864, p. 25.
38. **Morning Chronicle,** February 6, 1864.
39. It is not within the scope or purpose of this paper to examine Tupper's school bills in detail. A detailed analysis of the bills may be found in either the Tait thesis, **op. cit.,** chap. 5 or the Crockett thesis, **op. cit.,** or in Edward A. Logan, "Educational Achievements in Nova Scotia, 1840-1865", M. A. thesis, Dalhousie University, (1936).
40. February 6, 1864.
41. **Morning Chronicle,** February 15, 1864.
42. **Debates of the Assembly,** February 5, 1864, p. 25 and February 25, 1864, p. 51.
43. **Ibid.,** February 25, 1864, p. 51 and 54.
44. **Ibid.,** February 25, 1864, pp. 52-53.
45. **Ibid.**
46. One of the reasons Tupper had given for opposing Young's Education Bill in 1856 had been that it considerably increased the patronage at the disposal of the Executive Council. Now the shoe was on the other foot. See **Nova Scotian,** March 31, 1856.
47. Debates of the Assembly, February 5, 1864. See also, **Acadian Recorder,** February 20, 1864.
48. **Debates of the Assembly,** February 5, 1865, p. 2.
49. **Ibid.,** March 1, 1865, pp. 59-60.
50. **Ibid.**

51. **Ibid.**
52. **Ibid.**, p. 61.
53. **Ibid.**, p. 64.
54. **Ibid.**, March 23, 1865, pp. 121-123.
55. **Ibid.**, p. 126.
56. **Ibid.**, pp. 61 and 121.
57. **Ibid.**, p. 121
58. **Ibid.**, p. 61.
59. March 20, 1865.
60. January 12, 1865.
61. Saunders, **Three Premiers**, pp. 339-340.
62. **Debates of the Assembly**, March 29, 1865, pp. 161-162.
63. Saunders, **Three Premiers**, p. 163.
64. **Debates of the Assembly**, April 5, 1865, p. 195.
65. That of March 20.
66. January 12, 1865, Annapolis County; December 27, 1865, Lunenburg County; December 12, 1864, Pictou East; and February 20, 1866, Yarmouth Township.
67. The only other mention being made in the Annapolis by-election. See **British Colonist.** March 2, 1865, "The Annapolis Election" and December 16, 1865, "The Lunenburg Election".
68. See **Morning Chronicle**, December 5, 11, 14, 18, and 19, 1865.
69. **Ibid.**, December 28, 1865.
70. i.e. 1859, 1861.
71. Gillett, Margaret, **A History of Education**, Toronto: McGraw-Hill, (1966), p. 186.
72. **Debates of the Assembly**, March 30, 1865, p. 177.

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Margaret Marshall Saunders The Author of "Beautiful Joe"

PHYLLIS R. BLAKELEY

The first Canadian to sell a million copies of a book was Marshall Saunders—and the book was "Beautiful Joe", the story of the sufferings of a dog.

It was at her Grandfather Samuel Freeman's home at Milton, near Liverpool on the Mersey River in Nova Scotia, that Margaret Marshall Saunders was born on April 13th, 1861. Always she associated her grandparents' home with the buzzing and humming of saw mills and with the delicious smell of cookies and pies, and with tamarinds, raisins, cones of sugar and other delicacies brought back on voyages from the West Indies by the seafaring folk of Queens County. These were the Golden Days of Sailing Ships and launchings from the Freeman yard were splendid occasions.

But the first six years of Maggie's childhood were spent in Berwick in the beautiful Annapolis Valley where her father, Edward Manning Saunders, was the pastor of a large rural church, Second Cornwallis Baptist. Everyone came to church in those days—on foot, on horseback, by wagon and ox-cart for the Windsor and Annapolis Railway had not yet been construct-

ed. Berwick truly deserved its early name of Pleasant Valley with its rich intervale land along the river, studded with ash and elm trees, and fields still being cleared from the woodlands.

There at Berwick two brothers and a sister joined the Saunders family—John Cramp named after his father's theological instructor at Acadia College, Edward Manning who carried on the name of a revered pioneer Baptist preacher, and Maria (Rida). Maggie had a happy, healthy childhood wandering in the garden and fields and playing with pets and farm animals. In summer the Saunders travelled by horse and buggy across country to Milton to visit the Freeman grandparents in their big cream coloured house with the high wooden porch. Maggie played games of Greeks and Trojans and Rob Roy with her cousins and on rainy days they went into the warehouse near the mill and crawled into the giant hogsheads, when all the molasses had been emptied, to lick the sugar off the sides!

The young minister was amused by his children's escapades and inclined to let them learn from experience. He helped to make rabbit hutches, dog kennels and bird cages—and then disappeared into his study to read and prepare his sermon with a favourite setter at his feet. Providentially, pretty, brown-eyed Mrs. Saunders loved animals and over the years accepted as household pets numerous dogs, cats, rabbits, white rats, canaries, goldfish, pigeons, bantam hens and guinea-pigs. She did object to Maggie's pet goat when she found the creature in the garden eating everything in sight and exclaimed in anguish: "Oh Edward . . . my roses—my roses . . . that goat must go!"

In the year of Confederation the popular young preacher accepted a call to the Granville Street Baptist Church (now First Baptist) at Halifax. Six year old Maggie hated this move from the country to the old naval and military town with its brown wooden houses and dirty streets, although she used this as the setting for her novel *The House of Armour*. Never did

she forget her dismay when she sat with her brothers Jack and Ned and her little sister on the steps at 15 Birmingham Street—staring at the rows of houses opposite. Gone were the gardens and fields. This experience gave her sympathy with the need of children for playgrounds.

But it was their home at 62 Queen Street (now 1278) to which they moved in 1870 which she described in *Jimmy Gold-Coast*. Down Queen Street paraded military funerals to Fort Massey, the soldiers' burying ground. The Saunders' children soon made friends with the Murray children who then lived on Victoria Road, and with dogs at their heels used to roam over Smith's fields and Miller's fields to Point Pleasant Park. One day they put their lunch on a big rock in the woods at Point Pleasant before going off to explore. When they had raised tremendous appetites they could not find the boulder and had to go hungry. Their father, Dr. Robert Murray, is remembered as the editor of the *Presbyterian Witness* newspaper for fifty-five years and for his hymn "Ocean to Ocean". Later the Murray family moved to Studley, now the site of Dalhousie University. The pond on this estate was a popular one for skating. One Sabbath morning he was horrified to find some English army officers skating there and sent his son to tell them they were welcome on weekdays, but not on the Lord's Day.

Water Street was the main business street and Hollis and Granville streets were still mainly residential, and it was here that the stone chapel of the Baptists was located. Maggie remembered her tall, handsome father standing there in the old-fashioned pulpit preaching the gospel. During the evengelical services in the autumn of 1874 Margaret Marshall Saunders became one of the seventy new members who joined the church when the membership expanded to 241.

Both parents read aloud to their children, until they learned to read for themselves. Indeed, when she was four Maggie

read books and any religious magazines which were in the house. At eight Maggie began to study Latin with her father and remembered sitting on a stool in his study, staring alternately at her dogeared Latin grammar and at the tall, black-haired young man who wrote at his desk so diligently when he might have been out in his garden. She used to study with a tame white mouse up her sleeve. Occasionally the mouse came down to her wrist for a lunch of biscuit crumbs.

She was allowed very few novels except Charles Dickens and Sir Walter Scott, and this was to influence the style of her books. After a visit to Thomas Nelson's of Edinburgh in 1870 with his friend Dr. T. H. Rand (who was superintendent of education in Nova Scotia and later chancellor of McMaster University), Mr. Saunders brought home a yellow paper-covered set of the Waverley novels, which were devoured by his children. Maggie had memories of the whole family sitting cosily by the fire in winter, or on the veranda in summer, Papa reading aloud the exciting adventures of the heroes and heroines of Scott while Mama and Maggie were sewing.

There were few libraries in the province and Mr. Saunders recognized the importance of providing books in rural districts. Before taking a trip to an outlying area he would line up his children in his study and say: "Children, bring me all your gift books that you can spare. I am going to an outlying part of the province where the boys and girls have little reading matter." How they protested—but the books went!

As there were few boarding schools in the province in those days for the advanced education of young ladies, the Saunders decided to send their eldest daughter to Trafalgar School in Edinburgh. The assistant preacher in the church which the school attended was the famous Professor Henry Drummond, author of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World", who had been influenced by Moody and Sankey and for two years had travelled with the great American evangelist Moody.

Fifteen year old Maggie was sent off to Britain with a wardrobe provided by the deacons' wives—fourteen petticoats, a yellow coat, a heavy black mantle and four dresses. A minister's salary was low and fifty years later she wistfully remembered her parents' precept: "First you must clothe your mind in the finest raiment. Your body can wait for handsome habilments".

Margaret Saunders was grateful for those petticoats once she was established at school for she was both homesick and cold. The other boarders laughed at a Canadian hugging the fire, but she retorted that only the inhabitants of cold countries knew how to keep warm houses. There were sixteen girls at the school from all parts of the British Empire. The headmistress, whose fiance had been killed in the Crimean War, was very religious. On the Sabbath the girls attended two church services, a catechism class and a lecture on foreign missions!

One school vacation while Maggie was visiting an old college friend of her father's at Liverpool, she told the Vannings that her father wished her to attend a service by a famous Baptist preacher. In the autobiographical *Esther DeWarren* she described how Mrs. Vanning lent her a long loose coat. When the usher started to take them up the church aisle, Mrs. Vanning let the train of her soft brown dress slip to the carpeted floor.

Following too closely, Maggie planted one foot on her hostess' silken train. There was a dreadful "Rip! Rip!" Maggie leaped backwards. Mrs. Vanning did not even turn her head but kept on her way. But in her backward leap, Maggie had stepped on one of the long pieces of the too ample coat, and tripped and fell headlong on the carpet. Two gentlemen sprang nimbly from neighbouring pews to her assistance, but Maggie abandoned the coat and her hostess, and dodged into the nearest pew to hide beside a darling stout lady—too shaken to pay any attention to a word of the sermon.

After a year's study in Scotland, Margaret was sent for another year to Pension Clavel at Orleans, with the daughter of Mrs. Blaikie, where she learned French and became a warm admirer of Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans. Their vacations were spent in Paris under the hospitable roof of Miss Ada Leigh, who had a wide reputation as a Christian philanthropist.

After an exciting time abroad Margaret returned to Halifax to live at home, as was still customary for unmarried daughters. Her family had moved from Queen Street to 28 Carleton Street (now 1488) in a middle class district which was just developing on the fringe of the South Common where the Forrest Building of Dalhousie College would be built in 1887.

For a while Margaret taught school and a Sunday School class of ragamuffins from Water Street, and helped her mother for a clergyman's family always had many guests. She acted as witness at surprise weddings and was given the fee by her father. "Once it was a pair of pups, and once a keg of salt mackerel". There were deacons' high teas when Mrs. Saunders and her daughter fussed all day over the cooking and even when dressed for the evening put on big aprons over their silk dresses and stayed in the kitchen till the door bell rang because they were afraid that the maid would commit one of the numerous follies of which she had a prodigious stock.

One summer when her parents went away for a visit Margaret said in a solemn voice to her younger sister Rida, a merry girl with black eyes, who was taking science classes at Dalhousie, "What shall I do? Father's friend Dr. Rand wishes me to describe our exquisite winter scenery—a bit of woodland—the track of a rabbit in the snow . . . a rabbit doesn't appeal to me."

"Don't you do it" said Rida, "Write something with blood and murder in it—lots of blood. People like that."

"I can't have much blood" Maggie replied, "but I'll have a burglary."

For three weeks Rida did the housekeeping while Maggie scribbled. "It was a tale of Spain, a country of which I knew little, and of an unhappy marriage of which I knew less" the author remembered. It was titled "A Gag of Blessed Memory". Rida pronounced it excellent but "where shall we sent it?" as she surveyed in dismay the religious and literary journals on the minister's study table.

The two girls went downtown to Granville Street, bought an armful of magazines and came back to the beautiful Public Gardens and sat down on a bench to peruse them. Rida selected "Frank Leslie's Magazine" which paid forty dollars for the story. Only then did they tell about their success. Dr. Saunders and his academic friends refrained from comment—even when the story's illustration showed a beautiful woman in evening dress bending over a man with a gag in his mouth! Maggie felt that "Gentlemen whose favourite reading was Hebrew and Greek, and whose pastime was Shakespeare would not appreciate this gem."

Rida was even more jubilant about the money than Maggie and urged the author to write another story. To their dismay, "Beauty's Child" was rejected, but Rida sent it off again. "Godey's Magazine" paid twenty-five dollars for it. Next Maggie wrote "My Spanish Sailor", a novelette about an unhappy married life at sea, and sent it to a friend in England to sell for her. Although he was known for his scientific writings on "Dynamics", he finally persuaded Ward and Downey in London to publish it.

In September 1881 Mr. Saunders resigned after fourteen years at Granville Street Baptist Church to be editor and proprietor of the "Christian Visitor". He became known as a tren-

chant and voluminous writer both for the religious and secular press, and today is remembered for his *History of the Baptist Church of the Maritime Provinces* and *Three Premiers of Nova Scotia—Johnston, Howe and Tupper.*

The American Humane Education Society was looking for a book to be a companion to *Black Beauty,* Anna Sewell's story of a horse, and to interpret the life of a dog to the humane feeling of the world. The committee felt that the Sunday-school and libraries for the young needed books to *teach* the reader *how* to live in sympathy with the animal world. They offered what was for those days the substantial prize of two hundred dollars. Margaret Saunders decided to enter and wrote about the dog "Beautiful Joe" who belonged to friends in Meaford, Ontario, changing the locale to New England to make the story eligible for the contest and using the pseudonymn "Marshall Saunders". The committee selected *Beautiful Joe* because through "it we enter the animal world, and are made to see as animals see, and to feel as animals feel. The sympathetic insight of the author, in this interpretation, is ethically the strong feature of the book . . ."

As the exultant young Nova Scotian was about to accept the prize money, which would have given the copyright to the Humane Society, her father gently reminded her that he had spent one hundred and fifteen dollars for a typewriter so that she could copy her dog story. So Joe was sent begging among publishers, finally finding a hearty welcome from the Baptist Publication Society of Philadelphia.

The novelty of a dog telling about his sufferings and pleasures made a tremendous impact and by September 1894 Miss Marshall Saunders of Halifax, Nova Scotia, had received congratulatory letters from all parts of the world. Those interested in humane work wrote from France, Germany, Denmark, Africa, India, Japan, the Sandwich Islands, and the Princess Mele Barese of Casa Mele in Naples wrote "few books have

given me so much pleasure". The book was brought out in England by Jarrold and Son, the well-known publishers of *Black Beauty*.

To everyone's surprise *Beautiful Joe* became a best seller and hundreds of thousands of boys and girls read and re-read the story of the ugly dog and his friends and its crusade against cruelty towards dumb animals, and absorbed the advice on the care of household pets. Many children wrote to tell the author how much they loved Joe, and multitudes of cats were named Malta. It was a sentimental age and when eighteen year old Joe died at Meaford on September 18th, 1899, his passing was duly noted by the press! Forty thousand copies of the book were sold in 1898 in the United States where the publisher believed "that the demand for this popular book will continue indefinitely", and it is still in print. It was the first Canadian book to sell over one million copies, and was translated into eighteen languages.

While Margaret Saunders had been at school in Edinburgh she had seen an aviary which she was to remember all her life. At home she dreamed of a real aviary instead of large cages where "the darling captives could stretch freely the beautiful wings that God had given them". With some of the royalties from *Beautiful Joe* she could realize her dream. In 1901 she began an aviary in her home on Carleton Street in Halifax. Here she had a large room with earth on the floor and tree boughs on the walls.

The children of Halifax brought injured birds to the author to cleanse wounds and adjust tiny splints and to nurse back to health and later set free. Outside one of the large windows of the aviary was a wooden box which at certain hours of the day was filled with corn for the pigeons of Halifax "who fly in a cloud to partake of their friend's unfailing bounty". This gratified her desire to have varieties of the feathered world close around her as described in *My Pets*. She had insisted that a bird committee

be formed in the federation of American Humane Societies and in 1911 she was chairman of this committee, the same year that Acadia University bestowed upon her an honorary M. A.

Beautiful Joe's success confirmed Miss Marshall Saunders in a literary career, but of course she never repeated her best seller. With her royalties she indulged her love for travel and pretty clothes, and gave large donations to societies which cared for animals. Maggie and Rida travelled gaily to Boston, New York, California, and Europe while Maggie wrote one book after another. Rida criticized and typed them until she married Professor Clarence King Moore of the Department of Romantic Literature at the University of Rochester. A "Marshall Saunders Library Memorial Fund" was established in 1955 at Dalhousie University by a bequest of more than $20,000 by Mrs. Moore of Pasadena, California, in memory of her sister, and she also established a scholarship at Acadia University in memory of her father.

For two and a half years, when she was in her forties, Miss Saunders lived in California, where she acted as governess for a time and wrote serials for the *Youth's Companion,* which were later published in book form for the Sunday-school library trade. There was a tremendous interest in the Pacific Coast at this period and many Nova Scotians were emigrating there. As her parents were becoming elderly, Marshall spent more time at home, and the Halifax Local Council of Women utilized her fame and prestige to promote supervised playgrounds for children—a cause close to her heart. In *The Story of the Graveleys* she has her heroine Bertie Gravely persuading the mayor to provide playgrounds in the slums and tells how women could use their influence to improve civic government and obtain better conditions for poor women and children, but she did not advocate women being allowed to vote. "It isn't women's business to go into reforming city politics, is the men's place" declared Bertie.

The famous authoress wrote eloquent articles for the Halifax Morning Chronicle pleading for supervised playgrounds for city children and telling about playgrounds in large American cities she had visited, and she declared that children had their rights as well as grown ups—an unusual opinion in Victorian times. The Local Council of Women planned to bring a recreational specialist from the United States to train local volunteers, and to operate two playgrounds—one in the north and one in the south end. Funds to run the playgrounds were raised by a "Tag Day"—an innovation in Halifax—and 250 young girls chaperoned by older women sold tags on street corners in 1909.

Although Marshall Saunders was given the credit for being the pioneer of the movement for children's playgrounds in Halifax, other ladies who actively assisted in soliciting funds were the president of the Women's Council, Mrs. William Dennis (whose husband owned the *Halifax Herald and Mail),* Mrs. William McNab, Mrs. E. Keefe, Mrs. J. E. Wood, Miss Wallace, and Mrs. James Egan. Miss Saunders emphasized that the vacation playground system would save money in the end, although she hoped it would eventually be taken over by the School Board.

J. W. Longley praised the novel *The House of Armour* for its faithful portrayal of local colour of life in Halifax, and for inspiring high ideals of kindness, self-sacrifice and devotion to duty. In it Miss Saunders described life in the slums in the shadow of Citadel Hill, among the "Brahmins" in the south end and wealthy military officers, the Negroes and Indians, merchants and workmen, and soldiers and their sweethearts, and its minor characters are far more realistic than the hero and heroine.

Mrs. Saunders had become frail—so frail that her daughters dreaded to have her risk the dangers of street traffic,

but she would insist upon setting out alone with her fox terrier Billy. Billy, alas, was old too, but Halifax was small enough for drivers to respect the often wayward passage across the street of the dear old lady who had made comfortable neck scarves for all the men working on her trolley car line.

After Mrs. Saunders' death in 1913, Marshall moved from the old home in Halifax with her father and younger sister Grace to Toronto to be near her brothers, but travelled occasionally. Once she returned from a business trip to New York with a fox terrier which she named "Billy Sunday". Shocked friends learned that she had picked the dog up in the streets at three o'clock one morning on her way home from a meeting conducted by the famous evangelist. This at a time when single women seldom took a business trip to New York, and never alone!

After Dr. Saunders' death in 1916 Marshall and Grace Saunders built one of the first houses on Glengowan Avenue in Lawrence Park in North Toronto, then a suburban district, overlooking a wooded ravine, where she delighted in the wild birds, as well as tame ones. An "elevator tunnel" allowed 60 or 70 birds to fly from the basement to the sunroom, the home of "Milly", a pet pigeon who always flew to welcome Miss Saunders and would dance to the drumming of her fingers.

This was a stucco bungalow, modelled on the California homes Marshall had admired, and she was one of the first to introduce the style to Toronto. She had many friendships made through the Canadian Authors' Association, the Canadian Women's Press Club, the English-speaking Union as well as various humane societies, and she was elected a member of the Royal Society of Arts and Commerce of London, England. Visitors from all over the world called on the Saunders sisters and during the Y.M.C.A. Convention in 1931 Madame Radaskso-Pageonano of Rumania called to ask for permission to translate

"Joe" into Rumanian. When she was in her sixties, Marshall and her sister embarked on a series of lectures here and there in Canada and the United States which revealed her humanitarianism, and her wit and humour.

Although the charming white-haired woman was overjoyed by the honour conferred by King George V as a Knight Commander of the British Empire in 1934, when she was 73, the problem of expenses for everyday living became harder and harder in the depression and World War II. The total royalties from her twenty-six books brought only three hundred and sixty-seven dollars in 1941. Some financial assistance came from the Canadian Writers' Foundation, which is still assisting distinguished Canadian writers who have fallen upon hard times because of physical disability or old age.

As she grew older Miss Saunders' preoccupation with birds and animals made her seem eccentric to those who did not share her love of animals. They were amused by the "Toad's Hotels" under a log in her garden. Miss Saunders pointed out the value of toads in her garden, but she worried over "Brownie" who insisted on sitting every evening on the street under the electric light! The writer had at her fingertips a wealth of knowledge about the economic value of birds, and in *Jimmy Gold Coast* she had tried to teach children that if there were no birds in the world to eat the insects, all green things would die, and then all the people in the world would perish too!

After the death of her sister Grace, Miss Saunders moved to a rest home in Toronto and friends took her pets to care for. There she retained her flashing wit and lively humour and her interest in the beauty to be seen from her window and in the birds outside, and her belief that the world was wonderful.

On September 12th, 1953 a plaque on the Masonic Hall at Milton was unveiled by Mrs. Thomas Raddall, whose Grand-

father Freeman was a brother of Mrs. E. M. Saunders, Marshall's mother:

MARGARET MARSHALL SAUNDERS, C.B.E.

Author of "Beautiful Joe"

Which won for her international fame and membership in humane societies of America and Great Britain

Born at Milton, Queens County, N.S. 13th April, 1861

Died in Toronto, 15th February, 1947.

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Canadian Bookman, November, 1930—pp. 227-228

It Began In 1816

J. LYNTON MARTIN

Lord Dalhousie was Governor of Nova Scotia. He was deeply interested in agriculture and was convinced that settlements should be established in the forested interior of the province. He persuaded William Ross, a native of County Cork in Ireland, and a lieutenant in the 16th Regiment of Infantry, to accept a captaincy in the Nova Scotia Fencibles, and to undertake the settlement of the remnants of the latter regiment on the lands of Sherbrooke (later called New Ross).

In August, 1816, Captain Ross, his wife Mary and five children, and 172 disbanded soldiers established this settlement. Captain Ross acted as Deputy Surveyor and laid out the lots for his men. He built a small log house overlooking Lake Lawson, and the following year, with axe and whip saw, he built the frame house which still stands. He named his new home Rosebank.

The government provided rations of food and rum to the new settlers, and tools were divided as follows:

—one axe, one hoe and one whip saw for every man, one hand saw, chisel, draw knife and auger for every fine men, and a fair proportion of nails, hammers, gimlets and spades for all.

—seed potatoes, turnip seed, red and white clover seed, shovels, garden rakes, Dutch bake ovens, fishing nets, rope, lead, cork, trout hooks, twine, wax and thread.

Rations for the first settlers were discontinued in 1818, and for latecomers in 1820. By this time many of the people had abandoned their lands and left the district, but those who remained became firmly established on the land.

Captain Ross did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his labors. In the fall of 1821, he attempted to blaze a route for a proposed road to Halifax. He was overtaken by a severe storm, became gravely ill, and died in Halifax on May 2nd, 1822. Mary Ross was left with seven young children to face life in a raw pioneer settlement.

In 1835 William Ross, the eldest son, was married and lived at home. He was responsible for the operation of a saw and grist mill, but he helped out on the farm when required and the other boys helped him in the mill at peak periods. After 1850, William left home and settled in Cornwallis.

The second son, Irlam, is presumed to have died by this time, and George, the third son, was primarily responsible for the farm operations. However, in stormy weather and during slack times, George served as the community shoemaker, having learned his trade from Jacob Hiltz of the nearby Forties Settlement. George was educated at Kings College School in Windsor, and in later years was Captain of Militia, Justice of the Peace, and a leader in the community.

The next son, Edward, helped George on the farm, did William's bookkeeping for the mill, and operated a small store with supplies he brought in from Halifax. He also bought cattle, butter, hay, barrels and other produce of the district and sold it in Chester, Lunenburg and Halifax. He, too, probably attended

Kings College School, became a Justice of the Peace in 1838, collected county rates, paid pensioners, and controlled statute labor. After 1850, Edward left New Ross and set up an import business in Boston. He later returned to Nova Scotia and served as Justice of the Peace in Kentville until his death in New Ross in 1894.

Lawson, the fourth son, worked at home until 1835, but then left for St. Martin's in New Brunswick. After several years there he went on to Boston where he remained until he died. The youngest son, James, helped his brothers on the farm, and Mary, the eldest child, married Andrew Kiens, a son of John Kiens, the former Quartermaster of the 5th Battalion, 16th. Regiment, and she went to live on the Kiens farm across Lake Lawson.

George Ross had eight children; Albert, Lizzie, Harold, Harvie, Ralph, Ethel, Ellen and Emily. Harold Ross fought in the 1885 Rebellion with the North West Mounted Police and remained in Saskatchewan. Harvie married Eva Ross of Kentville, and Ralph married and settled in British Columbia. Ethel married the Rev. Charles White of Shelburne, and Ellen married a Rev. Smith. Emily married Dr. Mark Rogers from the Boston area, and they lived in Baltimore, Maryland.

Rosebank Farm passed from George to Albert Ross in 1895, and from him to his sister Lizzie, in 1950. Neither Albert nor Lizzie married, and when Lizzie died the property was passed on to a grand nephew, Mark White. Mark White died in 1963, and in 1970 the property was transferred to the Province of Nova Scotia through the New Ross District Museum Society and the Nova Scotia Museum by his widow, Mrs. Mark White.

HOW ROSS FARM BECAME A MUSEUM

In 1966, the community of New Ross celebrated its 150th anniversary. A gala parade wended its way through the village

and terminated at Ross Farm, the home built by the founder of the community. Most of the residents of New Ross were present as well as many former residents now living in various far places across the continent. There were speeches and games, and contests, and good food and fine fellowship. The past was a prime topic of conversation, and at some point a fund was begun to establish a museum in New Ross, a museum which would preserve a bit of that proud heritage.

The following year, 1967, was Canada's Centennial, and by this time the fund had grown to over $5,000. In August, Mr. R. T. Barkhouse, Chairman of the Centennial Committee, approached the Nova Scotia Museum for assistance. It was proposed that the provincial government should buy the Ross property and establish a museum, with the community contributing its $5,000 toward the total cost.

Nova Scotia Museum staff examined the property and studied the proposals. As a result, they recommended to their Board of Governors that the Province should support the New Ross group if a living museum rather than a static one was developed, and if the local community was willing to assume an active role in its operation. An agricultural museum was proposed because the property was suited to illustrating life on the small family farm, the Nova Scotia Museum had a large agricultural collection in storage, and some federal funds were available for such a venture.

The Board of Governors and the Government in turn approved these proposals, and they were presented to the citizens of New Ross who greeted them with great enthusiasm. Capital grants were provided by both provincial and federal governments and the newly-formed New Ross District Museum Society raised additional funds. It was agreed that all property was to be deeded or otherwise assigned to the Province, but the restoration and operation was to be the responsibility of the Society with advice and assistance from Nova Scotia Museum staff.

Repair and restoration of the buildings began in 1969, and the Ross Farm Museum was opened to the public in May, 1970. During the first year, over 13,000 people visited the farm and they came from all over the world. The visitors were loud in their praise, and the people of New Ross were justly proud.

The Ross Farm Museum is operated by a small group of about ten citizens who give their time and energy entirely on a voluntary basis. Mr. R. T. Barkhouse is President of the Society and Mr. Joseph Murphy is Treasurer. Mr. Earl Young, as chairman of the building committee has been responsible for the major part of the restoration work. Mr. Allan Hiltz, the only fulltime employee, serves as Curator, and Mrs. Nina White acts as Secretary and Assistant Curator in charge of program. The writer serves as an honorary trustee and provides liaison between the Society and the Nova Scotia Museum.

During the current year, 1971, the restoration and furnishing of Ross House (Rosebank Cottage) has been completed, and it was officially opened to the public on August 27 by the Lieutenant Governor, the Honourable Victor deB. Oland, and Dr. C. Bruce Fergusson, Provincial Archivist. In the years to come it is planned to add constantly to the program of the farm, and eventually to schedule activities all year round. Designed for family entertainment and education, Ross Farm is becoming increasingly popular every day to both residents and out-of-province visitors. Without a doubt, it has set a pattern for other museums to follow.

The Ross Farm

ANNE F. YOUNG

To visit the Ross Farm in New Ross, Nova Scotia, is a lesson in national pride. This unusual project, a magnificent result of making the most of what is at hand, brings alive the ingenuity and resourcefulness of the early settlers who were filled with ambition for a better life in this western land across the sea.

New Ross is a village nestled in a picturesque spot fifteen miles from the South Shore, on Number 12 Highway, between Chester and Kentville. Gold River, which empties its waters into the Atlantic Ocean not far from Oak Island where Captain Kidd is supposed to have buried his treasures, winds its merry way through the valley. The rolling hills with their towering forests and beautiful flowers form a pleasant backdrop for the scenes of this valley below—isolated formidably from the outside world.

In the shallow, crystal-clear waters of this river, boys and girls swim, fish for speckled trout, and gather the lilies found in yellow patches along the banks. This is in contrast to the early days when, in the spring of the year, the rugged high-booted, red-jacketed log drivers with their loud voices and long pike poles broke up the log jams by the bridge. It was a frightening thing to see the cruel waters from the open dams overspread the banks until the basements were flooded.

A few stores, a credit union, post office, community hall and three churches make up the nucleus of what is known as "Charing Cross" or "The Cross." It lacks a bank, a theatre, funeral parlours and sufficient industry. Many citizens commute by automobile daily to Halifax for work, a distance of sixty miles. Yet the spirit and courage of these people are amazing beyond belief.

Perhaps these fine characteristics have been handed down through the generations by their military ancestors who braved the wilds and hardships which confronted them in 1816, after the battle of Waterloo. At that time the one hundred seventy-two disbanded soldiers of the Nova Scotia Fencibles, led by Captain William Ross, were given land and rations by the Earl of Dalhousie, Governor of the Province, who was more interested in providing education for students than bettering the provincial agriculture.

It is here, at Rosebank, in the first house built by Captain William Ross, in 1817, that the Ross Farm is centered. Rosebank, on the shore of Lake Lawson, an expansion of Gold River, consists of about thirty acres which make up the development. It is typical of the land system of one or two centuries ago: woodland, pasture, cleared land for small plots of grain, vegetables, and hayland and, of course, the necessary buildings.

I wondered how this project got started. The treasurer, Joseph Murphy, a retired community-minded veteran enlightened me on the question in mind. Says Joe, in his quiet and unassuming manner, but with a real sense of pride, "It started back in 1966 when New Ross celebrated its one hundred fiftieth anniversary. The organization and planning of this very successful day, which brought 15,000 visitors from far and near, reaped profits beyond expectations."

The citizens have always been more pragmatic than speculative; the Anik in them shows that success comes from much

voluntary hard work. Continued Joe, with his charismatic charm, "What to do with this money brought about many meetings and considerable discussion. There are some who always knock any effort. It was finally decided to form a District Museum Society in order to preserve the historic site of Rosebank." This is a branch of the Nova Scotia Museum which acts as advisory body, as well as setting up and maintaining the exhibits for the New Ross Society. He told me that, following their decision, a membership drive was promoted. Many far-away citizens of the "Little Red Schoolhouse Days", with a warm spot in their hearts for their birthplace, contributed generously to the cause. The Department of Agriculture, under the Exhibitions Grants Regulations of Nova Scotia, pays an annual grant of $7,500. while the Federal Government comes across with fifty cents for every dollar expended up to the sum of $15,000 per year.

To understand the purpose of the project you must realize that Nova Scotia was the birthplace of Canadian agriculture. Among firsts were the growth of wheat, the first water-powered mill, and the first production of steel. Ploughs and oxen were brought from Europe in 1610. In 1818, John Young wrote and published the first comprehensive work on scientific agriculture in Canada, known as the Letters of Agricola. By 1850, the province could boast of a number of major crops. Fairs, ploughing matches, and publications did much to improve conditions while at the same time made people aware of the necessity for improvement in farming.

July 11, 1970, was the date of the official opening of this interesting and unique museum. It is unique because it is the only "living museum" in Canada. You can see the aspect of rural life depicted as it was in the nineteenth century.

Upon entering the grounds you "sign in" at the Reception Centre which is a century-old one-roomed schoolhouse that has

been transported and preserved for this purpose. It is the actual building where some of the girls present started their career in teaching. I talked to Mrs. Theriault who said, "Yes, I taught in that building. How well I remember one morning when I was near the school, an alarm clock showing nine fifteen was loudly ringing in the middle of the road. As I approached it, it was slowly dragged by a string to the woods by the roadside. Later, I discovered it was an interested male admirer who wanted to attract my attention by scaring me into thinking I was late for school."

In this building are some well-preserved three-seater desks, a pot-bellied stove, and much history of the village and the province. I was particularly interested in the previously mentioned book known as the Letters of Agricola published in 1818. Also a picture hat, well-shaped and beautifully woven with fine strips of bass wood in the natural colour. I would have modelled this smart looking sun hat but, unfortunately, it was secure in the showcase.

Among other buildings is the barn built in 1893. It holds cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, and hens on the first floor. The second and third floors have a fine collection of early types of equipment used before the steam and gas engines which prove to be a great favourite with the tourists. Have you ever seen a dog churn? I hadn't either, But there it is with the treadle big enough to hold a good-sized dog. As the dog treadled, the spindle turned the churn on the left, until thick cream became chunks of yellow butter floating on the buttermilk. The dog-treadle churns were manufactured in Stewiacke.

A grain-thresher, worked by horses on the same principle, is there. Mrs. Evelyn Lough, whose great-grandfather came from Ireland with the first soldiers, remembered an interesting episode when she was young. She said, "Dad did the threshing on the barn floor. Three horses were used on the treadle. It took

a good horseman to handle the situation and the noise was terrifying. My sister, who was a great lover of horses—and still is —thought they were being cruelly treated and ran to the house crying as if her heart would break." It was in 1837 that Mister Z. Lane of Horton, Kings County, invented, patented and manufactured the horse treadmill, threshing machine and winnowing machine. Other Nova Scotian inventions on display are the Spring-tooth Harrow, the Wheel Rake, Hillside Plough and a most interesting type of wooden conveyence with wheels made out of the trunks of trees.

The workshop consists of a cooperage which provided one of the chief industries when barrels were used to export apples, potatoes and fish. Here, also, is a blacksmith shop—but no smithy with strong muscles—. Most unusual, however, are the bunches of Tansey hanging on the wall. Why? Because this herb was steeped and used as a linament for healing sprained muscles of the animals. Other attractions are shingle and yoke making. An interesting collection of hand-made ox yokes decorate the walls.

Antique dealers must drool when they see the numerous small and large artifacts in closed cabinets for viewing. Some are attached to chains. There are apple-peelers, candle moulds— so valuable before the use of oil lamps and electricity—, hand cards for making rolls for spinning into wool; flat irons, that were heated on the wood stoves or the fireplace; old dishes, dolls, spinning wheels and wooden utensils made by hand. One of the highlights among the antiques is a small piano.

Here is a conversation related on the opening day between the late Captain Albert Ross, grandson of William, and a school boy of fifty years ago. The Captain, though a bachelor, had a keen interest in children and education.

Says Bert, ruffling the boy's hair, "Hello, son, are you a good boy today?"

"Yes, sir, I think so. May I have a drink to water?" hastened Johnny after having walked about three-quarters of a mile, at recess, for it.

"Here you are, lad, passing him the mug of water. Did you wink at the teacher today?"

Captain Ross had such a ruddy complexion you would think he was the one being asked the embarrassing question.

To avoid answering, Johnny quickly asked a question. "What is that?" shyly pointing to what looked like a toy to him.

"That, sonny, is a piano that was brought from England by the governor of Nova Scotia, Lord Dalhousie."

"How did you get it?" asked the curious student.

"Lord Dalhousie was sympathetic to the early settlers so he presented the piano to my aunt," answered Bert with a proud smile. "It has been in this house ever since."

Realizing it was a long time ago, Johnny queried, "How did your aunt get it from Halifax?"

"It came to Chester Basin by boat and four soldiers carried it over the trail from there to New Ross, Sherbrooke as it was then called."

"Thank you, Captain Ross, I must go or I'll be late for school. Good-bye."

Yes, you are immediately reminded of the changes in the educational system. From the one-roomed school of early days to the beautifully, well-equipped and staffed consolidated school that the children enjoy today.

Other stories, brought to mind by the many treasures some which are two hundred years old, are told by parents and grandparents—as they heard them in the true story-telling fashion—by those who experienced a different kind of life. Without modern conveniences, they were forever working, trying to find ways and means to lighten the burden. They were a creative race. Ecological problems were solved by hard work, companionship and a good pioneering spirit, with plenty of faith and hope in the future. 'Tis true few of the citizens reached middle age. Doctors were scarce and far away, and some home remedies did not always cure the ills, so the infant mortality was great.

Ever hear of some of the remedies? Herring tied to the bottom of the feet brought down the body temperature. The root of the plant called the Goldthread was steeped, mixed with the beaten white of an egg and given to babies with a sore mouth. The juice of the Balm of Gillard buds soaked in alcohol was a sure cure for sprains and bruises. (Many a man lost his last drink this way). Goose greese mixed with camphor oil was used for a chest cold and a salve made of this greese and grated carrots was used for hemorrhoids. How do you like it, doctors?

Yes, the great grandmother of one of the men now living in New Ross, was desperate for a doctor for her sick child. When all her knowledge failed, she walked from the rising of the sun to the setting thereof—a distance of twenty miles—for medicine. A horrendous feat!

There is another side to this Ross Farm—something for every season for the visitor to see. This reminds me of a quotation from Ecclesiastes. "To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven . . . A time to get, and a time to lose; a time to keep and a time to cast away."

In winter, as in the early days, there will be the spinning of flax and wool, maybe a quilting party or "bee" as they were

called. How would you like some figure skating on Lake Lawson? Or a hayride on bob-sleds drawn by horses? In spring, the sheep will be shorn, the ground prepared for seeding, along with maple sugaring and trout fishing. If you are lucky in summer you might savour some gourmet cooking in the form of a strawberry festival. This season followed by the busiest of all, with harvesting, pulling and retting of flax, drying and smoking meats and fruits, topped off with some corn boils down by the lake. Yes, the big iron pot is all ready and there's plenty of birch firewood ready to be kindled, for those who are not afraid of their diet—or, if the young uns didn't swipe all the corn on "Hollere'en".

Although this ambitious project, which portrays all facets of life in the early days of a flexible and pragmatic people, is in the embryonic stage, it has great possibilities. Thirty thousand tourists visited this lucrative enterprise in the five months it was open in 1970. They came from every province in the Dominion, thirty-four American States, sixteen countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, South America and Australia. They are amazed at the variety of exhibits, the excellent portrayal of each and every phase of the project which has been completed.

The young Curator, Allan Hiltz, chosen from a number of applicants, has an ardent spirit of ambition and speculation. He was president of the 4H Club and of the New Ross Federation of Farmers, so he is well-equipped for his position. He lives with his family in a Cape Cod style dwelling built on the grounds by the Society.

Each year will see expansion of the development. In 1970, nearly forty thousand dollars was paid out in wages and improvements. Ninety per cent of this amount benefitted the people of the community. This year, 1971, the Ross House will be opened. Constructed in the days sans cranes, sans carpenters, sans concrete, it is an interesting structure built with materials

hewn and sawn by hand, bricks being made with local clay. Until half a century ago, the massive fireplace in the kitchen generated the heat used for baking bread and pies in the big ovens and the iron pots that held the meat and vegetables against a background of red coals.

Apart from the responsibility of the expansion, which rests directly on the shoulders of the able committee, with Mister Ronald Barkhouse as President, it is hoped the economy will be stepped-up further by the building of good motels, trailer courts and restaurants. These are necessary to serve the ever-increasing flow of tourists. To quote The Latest Word, "Comments from visitors were invariably favourable, and it was interesting to note that visitors, who were familiar with many of the large pioneer villages of other parts of Canada and the United States felt that Ross Farm was the best they had seen."

Nova Scotians are proud of their rich heritage. Nonetheless the busy, more secure residents of New Ross. Filled with ebullient confidence they realize they must look to the past in order to extend in the future.

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Contributors

EVELYN B. HARVEY was born and spent her early life in Westmount, Quebec. She attended Carleton University where she received a Master of Arts degree in Canadian Studies, and was recipient of the Gold Medal from MacDonald College.

She has done extensive research on several aspects of Nova Scotia history with a particular interest in the Rev. Jacob Bailey —Anglican Minister at Annapolis 1731-1808.

Mrs. Harvey is a housewife, mother, avid gardener and French teacher, and is presently residing in Ottawa, Ontario.

PETER L. McCREATH was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia in 1943. Following graduation from high school he attended the University of Toronto, receiving a Bachelor of Arts degree with Honours in Modern History in 1966. He returned to Halifax, where he obtained a Master of Arts in History in 1967. This was

followed by two years of study at Queen's University toward a PhD. A Bachelor of Education cum laude was conferred upon him at St. Mary's University, Halifax, in 1971.

During his course of study Mr. McCreath has received numerous scholarships, fellowships and awards.

Mr. McCreath is a former editor of a national political magazine and a member of the Canadian Historical Association.

He is presently residing in Halifax and teaching history at the Sir John A. MacDonald High School.

PHYLLIS RUTH BLAKELEY was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia. She was educated in the public schools of Halifax and graduated from the Halifax County Academy in 1939 with the Governor-General's medal and the St. George's Society Prize for literature. She attended Dalhousie University, where she graduated in 1942 with a Bachelor of Arts degree with distinction in English and History, and, after obtaining a Diploma of Education the following year, she began a teaching career.

After receiving a Master of Arts degree in Nova Scotian History from Dalhousie University in 1945 she was appointed to the staff of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia as a research assistant. In 1959 she became Assistant-Archivist, a position she still holds.

Miss Blakeley is the author of *The Story of Nova Scotia,* a junior high social studies textbook. This was revised as a history text for Grade 6 and is used in the schools under the title *Nova Scotia—A Brief History.* Among many other published works by Miss Blakeley are *The Story of P.E.I.,* and *Nova Scotia's Two Remarkable Giants.*

In 1969 she received a certificate from the Canadian government "on behalf of the Canadian people to record our thanks for a generous contribution to the preservation and enrichment of Canada's historical heritage".

Miss Blakeley is a member of the Canadian Historical Association, the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, the Nova Scotia Branch of the Canadian Author's Association, and the Editorial Board of the Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly.

J. LYNTON MARTIN was born in Bridgewater, Nova Scotia, and received his early education in the Bridgewater public schools. He is a graduate of The Nova Scotia Agricultural College, Truro, Nova Scotia, McGill University, Montreal, and Dalhousie University, Halifax, with the degrees of Bachelor of Science and Master of Science in Forest Ecology.

He began his museum career as Curator of the DesBrisay Museum, Bridgewater in 1939. From 1950 to 1954 he was in charge of the Science Section of the Nova Scotia Museum.

Following eleven years as Chief Research Officer with the Canada Department of Forestry at Sault St. Marie, he returned to Nova Scotia as Director of the Nova Scotia Museum in 1955.

In 1970 he was appointed Director of Cultural Services for the Department of Education and is now in charge of museums, libraries and audio-visual services for the province.

Mr. Martin is the author of over sixty articles on natural and human history and over thirty scientific papers.

He is a member of the Council of the Canadian Museums Association, the Board of Trustees of the Heritage Trust, the Halifax Landmarks Commission, and the Editorial Board of The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly.

MRS. WARREN (ANNE F.) YOUNG was born in New Ross, Nova Scotia. She received her education at Charing Cross public school and the Nova Scotia Teachers' College in Truro, Nova Scotia.

She served with the R.C.A.F. during the Second World War in the Education Department.

Her interest in things historical has developed through extensive world travel and through her experience as a teacher and Librarian.

Mrs. Young has written numerous articles for local Ontario papers, and a History of the Stoney Creek Library for which she was Publicity Trustee for ten years.

She is presently residing in Stoney Creek, Ontario.

Book Reviews

LORNA INNESS

Joe, or A Pair of Corduroy Breeches, H. Shirley Fowke
176 pages, paperback, $3. Published July 1971,
printed by Petheric Press Limited.

It's a pleasure to be able to lead off this selection of books with one for young people. This story is based on a colorful incident in Nova Scotian history, and has been written by an accomplished author who has chosen to make her home in Nova Scotia.

The story is based on a young lad named Joe Cracker who lived at Herring Cove in 1797 when the British frigate, La Tribune, went aground on Thurm Cap shoals and was refloated only to sink under the cliffs along the entrance to Halifax Harbour. Joe braved high winds and rough seas in wintry weather to take a small boat out to the wreck and rescue some of the survivors. He was praised extensively for his heroism and had an interview with His Royal Highness, the Duke of Kent, who was in Halifax at that time.

Miss Fowke has filled out the gaps in Joe's story by adding an assortment of colorful characters and drawing a detailed picture of what life was like in a small Nova Scotian fishing village in the late 18th Century. Miss Fowke spent much time in painstaking research in an effort to ensure that each historical detail was as accurate as possible.

The setting includes the various forts and military encampments about the harbour. York Redoubt, the Citadel, George's Island, the Duke of Kent's signal station, the old sail loft and the stone warehouses along the edge of Halifax Harbour figure in the book.

But while it is historical, it is also a book for boys, intended to serve as enjoyable as well as informative reading. Miss Fowke has given Joe a companion in the shape of Roderick Dhu MacGregor, the son of the military commander at the fort at Saint

John, New Brunswick, who spends the summer near Herring Cove. The antics of Joe and Roddy are chronicled in the various episodes which include storming York Redoubt and narrowly escaping from the press gang in Halifax.

Joe is the first in a series which Miss Fowke plans to write. Further adventures will take him into New Brunswick and on the march to Quebec with the army.

Miss Fowke, who now lives in Chester, has written numerous historical plays, many of them produced on CBC radio. She has won several awards for her work.

The story of Joe's adventures is illustrated with black and white sketches by Mary Eliza Franklyn.

Men Against the Sea, High Drama in the Atlantic, Cyril Robinson
140 pages, paperback, $2.95, published June, 1971
Lancelot Press

Cyril "Swifty" Robinson is a reporter with the flair of a born storyteller. Since 1929 he has been writing about those who live near and work on the sea. "There is so much color and good copy in the Maritimes I figure it is the best beat in the country," he says.

This book is a collection of 19 articles written over the years for Weekend Magazine. Most of the stories concern fishermen and small craft along the Nova Scotia coast. They are stories of peril, tragedy and near-tragedy. They are stories of courage, daring and initiative. Above all, they are stories about people—warm and human.

Illustrated with a few black and white photographs.

The Great Age of Sail, Edited by Joseph Jobe,
252 pages, hard-cover, $20.95, Published 1971, revision of 1967 issue.
The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited

The Great Age of Sail is one of those glorious, beautifully produced, "coffee-table" type books about sailing ships, sailors and the sea. This is one of the best of the current assortment.

Joseph Jobe, the book's editor, has included, along with the usual historical background of the age of discovery and the opening of the great trading routes, contributions from American and European writers describing eight characteristic sailing ships. Jobe rightfully calls this book one "which while satisfying those zealots with salt in their veins, will surely fire the imagination of every reader."

Lavish use has been made of color illustrations, maps charts, paintings of ships, diagrams and plans of vessels. Singled out for special, detailed attention are the vessels which marked the development of the great national fleets, forerunners of the modern navies; royal vessels of note; the great clippers—the East Indiamen; the Baltimore clippers (with particular reference to the work of Donald MacKay, the Nova Scotian born builder of

some of the finest ships of his day); such notable reminders of other days as The Vasa, The Victory and the USS Constitution.

Armaments, gunnery techniques, ship construction and seamanship are all treated at length. The appendix provides illustrations of various maneouvres: heaving to, going about, wearing, and different rigs.

There is a section on Maritime museums or museums with naval sections. And, in case anyone thinks that these great sailing ships, with a few exceptions, have disappeared from the seas of the world, a section entitled Survivors of the Age of Sail lists the ships which have been preserved either as training ships or floating museums. The list fills five pages and besides Britain, the United States and Canada, includes such nations as the Argentine (the Libertad, a square-rigged, three-masted training ship has been a visitor to Halifax in recent years), Bulgaria, Chile, France, Denmark ,Norway, Italy, Portugal, Sweden, Spain and the USSR.

This book will provide the reader who has a love of the sea and ships with many rewarding hours.

Gold Rush 1894-1907, A Pictorial History,
Compiled by James Blower
199 pages, hardcover, $9.95, June 1971 (Canadian Heritage Series)
Ryerson Press/McGraw Hill, Canada

"Gold Rush"! The term brings to mind the trek to California, the great dash for fabulous riches to be had, many thought, simply for the taking. There was, however, another later bonanza, this time in the Klondike.

Would-be prospectors loaded up and headed for the North. Some went by sea, others went by land, by way of Edmonton. If the latter way was more perilous and led to tragedy, the town of Edmonton still prospered.

"The hush of '98 brought many of Edmonton's merchants more money than they had ever hoped for. The gold in the North and in the Saskatchewan brought hordes of men from the United States and eastern Canada to the district, doubling the town's population and leaving behind well over $600,000 in exchange for supplies, in the pockets of the local merchants."

The story of the "Back Door Route", or the "All Canadian Route", the trail from Edmonton, is told in a series of full-page photographs accompanied by detailed notes. Bearded, bewhiskered men, muffled in woolens and furs, stand beside their belongings loaded on wagons ready for the trail. Graydon's Drug Store still offers "Sarsaparilla" and "Anodyne Expectorant". A prospector operates a "grizzly".

Once at Athabasca Landing, the traveller could take one of the different types of small craft plying the river. Mining equipment could be obtained there, too. "Within a very short time . . . men like Captain Abel Pearce of Nova Scotia began building and operating small hand-powered dredges for local businessmen . . ."

The photographs in the book include the work of two men, W. C. Mathers and Ernest Brown, who had studios in Edmonton at the time of the rush. Some of the pictures are published here for the first time.

Portraits From The Plains, J. W. Grant MacEwan
287 pages, hardcover, $7.95, Published June, 1971
Ryerson Press/McGraw Hill, Canada

"Canadian Indians invite study," writes Hon. J. W. Grant MacEwan, Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta, in his preface to this collection of biographical sketches of 33 Indians who were leaders of their people.

"Of course, outstanding human worth should never be ignored or forgotten, regardless of where it occurs. Indians should know their men of distinction and know their heroes, and non-Indians should acknowledge those great Indian figures and seek to understand them . . .

"It would be quite wrong to continue to look condescendingly upon the native people as if they did not possess the natural gifts needed to compete successfully in modern society. Nobody studying the lives of great Indians could fail to be impressed by their strong and sterling qualities.

"Crowfoot was great by the standards of any race. So were Maski-pitoon, John Callihoo, Walking Buffalo, Kinistin, Pakan, Steinhauer, Poundmaker and Edward Ahenakew. So, also, are many members of the Indian communities living at the time of writing, Dave Crowchild, Johnny Powderface, artists like Gerald Tailfeathers, and Allan Sapp, controversial figures like Robert Smallboy who could stand the white man's artificial and superficial ways no longer and led his followers to the isolation of mountain wilderness, and many others . . .

"In resisting the aggressor's demands, stubborn spirits like Big Bear and Paipot did exactly what people of European races always admired in their own leaders . . .

"A study of leaders among Canada's native people of recent generations is something to bring admiration . . . Having the qualities of greatness, their life stories should be studied. Indeed, it would be impossible to understand Canadian or North American history without some knowledge of their respective roles."

The stories will provide an insight into the Indian way of life when our country was young. They provide a valuable addition to a field where too often the accounts have been either ruthlessly prejudiced or unrealistically glorified.

Dr. MacEwan, who is also a former mayor of Calgary, has held senior positions in a number of western Canadian universities. He is the author of books dealing with various aspects of agriculture and with the history of the Canadian West.

Place Names of Avalon Peninsula of the Island of Newfoundland,
E. R. Seary,
383 pages, hardcover, $15, published May, 1971
University of Toronto Press

The quaint character of some Newfoundland place names (Heart's Content, Come-by-Chance) has fascinated residents and tourists alike for many years. This book is an attempt to probe into the history behind the names, concentrating particularly on the Avalon Peninsula. The project was undertaken some 12 years

ago by E. B. Seary of the faculty of Memorial University. Other faculty members aided Dr. Seary and contributed studies of the characteristics of speech, nomenclature, vocabulary and folklore found in the names.

Speaking of the value of toponymy, Dr. Seary points out that: "From a mildly entertaining exercise for dilettante etymologists, toponymy has become a rigorous linguistic discipline, for as Ekwall (the Swedish authority on English place names) reminds us, 'Place-names form a part of the vocabulary and deserve as much'—and we may add the same kind of—'attention as other words.'

Further, it is a discipline founded on two basic principles: "that no place name can be interpreted in the light of its present-day form alone, but must be traced back to its earliest recorded form; and that no explanation of a place name, however convincing as phililogy, can hold good if inconsistent with the known history and topography of the site, and, conversely, that no ex-explanation based upon legend or topography is of value if inconsistent with philology."

Dr. Seary adds that "tracing the recorded history of place names is, however, only a preliminary step towards their fuller understanding . . . Different places make different demands on the toponymist, but it may be taken for granted that he should know the topography and history of his chosen region, the names and origins of its families, their religious beliefs, their habits, their customs and occupations, their lore, legends and anecdotes, the kind of language they use. He will need to know the topography, toponymy and history of the places from which its explorers and settlers came. He must be able to recognize linguistic relationships and to perceive the name hidden under a phonetic spelling . . . In Stewart's phrase, he must become 'possessed by the fascination of names' but through them he will gain an insight not only into words but also into a history and culture than no other study can offer."

This book treats in detail the early history and exploration of the Avalon Peninsula, the contributions of the Indians, English, French, Portuguese, Irish, and the development of this mixture over the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.

There is a detailed analysis of the place names: distribution, single-element names, generics; and specifics, qualifiers and composition.

The rest of the book is devoted to a gazeteer, maps, charts, and a bibliography of manuscripts and printed sources of information.

Modern toponymy has developed to the extent that various organizations exist for its furtherance including: the English Place-Name Society, the American Name Society, la Commission Nationale de Toponymie et d'Anthroponymie and the International Centre of Onomastics.

The Coles Canadiana Collection, Coles Publishing Company Ltd.

The Coles people specialize in facsimile reproductions of early Canadian books and this growing library contains some fascinat-

ing items. The reproductions are faithful, down the last typographical error, and capture "all the fragile age and charm of the originals." The natural aging of the paper has been duplicated. These paperback editions are priced, the publishers state, "to enable everyone to become a collector of old valuable Canadiana." A few titles are dealt with below:

* * *

My Canadian Journal, by the Marchioness of Dufferin & Ava, "Extracts from my letters home written while Lord Dufferin was Governor-General. The diary records the period 1872-1878, and was first published by John Murray in London, England, in 1891. The journal begins with the couple's arrival in Canada in 1872, and covers life in Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal, state openings of Parliament, dinners, balls, social gatherings, etc. During July and August, 1873, the vice-regal couple visited the Maritime provinces and the accounts of their reception and entertainments there are charming as well as informative.

"Wed. 30th July: The weather was most dull and muggy, and gave a certain melancholy to the ceremonial or address reading. Fred and the Colonel had been exulting all the way upon again seeing 'real soldiers', after all the Volunteers that have welcomed us in other places; but I have been provided with a fund of chaff against them by the non-arrival of the 'real' guard of honour, who made some mistake and turned up an hour later at the Government House, instead of at the wharf.

"I received Admiral Fanshawe, his wife and daughter and son, in the afternoon, and when the day cleared up and the sun shone we saw that we were anchored in a very cheerful place close to the town. Dartmouth, which is almost a part of Halifax, is on one side of us, and woods and villas and large institutions are dotted round the Bay, while at the mouth of the harbour is a small fortified island. There is one man-of-war here, and we have just missed the Flying Squadron."

"Friday, August 1st.—This was the day of the Regatta, and, had it been fine, it would have been a very pretty sight; but as there was fog and rain, little except the lunch took place.

"We had a great dinner at the Lieutenant-Governor's, which was long but pleasant. The dinner had a rather funny finale. Mr. Archibald proposed the Queen's health, and we all stood up to drink it; the band played the National Air, and at the end of the usual eight bars we all prepared to sit down. But, no; the band went on— a slight smile passed down the table; eight bars more —the band strikes up another verse; until at last, after several of these unexpected beginnings, the whole of the solemn and stately party broke out into a hearty laugh . . . "

Saturday, 2nd.: . . . next week we have four balls, three monster picnics, three dinners, a concert, a cricket-match, and a review. Is it not fearfully kind? . . . We dined tonight at Admiralty House with Admiral and Mrs. Fanshawe, where we met the same people as last night and a few sailors. One guest, a midshipman, was Prince Louis of Battenberg."

A witty, perceptive, warm account of life in the vice-regal household in the late 19-century.

(422 pages, illustrated with sketches by Lord Dufferin and portraits, $3.75)

An Attempt To Reach Repulse Bay in His Majesty's Ship 'Griper'.

by Captain G. F. Lyon, RN, first published in 1825 by John Murray, London, England.

From Earl Bathurst, Downing Street, 8th June, 1824: "Having submitted your name to His Majesty, as a fit person to be employed in the examination of the eastern part of the North Coast of North America, from the Western Shore of Melville Peninsula to the point where Captain Franklin's late journey terminated; ... I am to desire that you will lose no time in putting to sea ... and proceeding to the place or places therein pointed out; on your arrival at which, if the season and state of the weather will admit, you are to endeavour, with a party, to cross the Melville Peninsula, and examine that part of the coast of the Polar Sea, where your researches in the following spring are to commence, in order that from the state of the ice, or other circumstances, you may take measures during the winter to be perfectly prepared to prosecute your journey, either by land or water, to the ultimate object of your destination ...

"In the course of this journey, you should, not only yourself, but also those who accompany you, collect all such observations on the tides, currents, state of the ice, and other particulars, as may be useful to geography, and the navigation of the coast along which you are about to proceed, as well as to science in general; and you are also to collect as many specimens of natural history, in its various departments, as you shall have the means of carrying along with you; and to make accurate drawings of such objects as may not, from their magnitude, be capable of being brought away . . ."

Such, then, was the way in which small parties of men gathered painfully, under conditions of the greatest privation, the small fragments of lore which filled in the early picture of our Canadian north, a picture in many respects relatively unchanged until the advent of the use of aircraft, aerial surveys, etc. (198 pages, chart and illustrations, $2.50)

The Treaties of Canada with the Indians, including the negotiations on which they were based, and other information relating thereto, by the Hon. Alexander Morris, PC, late lieutenant-governor of Manitoba, the North-West Territories and Keewatin, first published by Belfords, Clarke & Co., Toronto, in 1880. (375 pages, $3.50)

A Veteran of 1812, the life of James Fitzgibbon, by Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon, first published by William Briggs, Toronto, in 1894. An account of Fitzgibbon's activities during the War of 1812-1814, chiefly in the Niagara area. (336 pages and appendices, $3.50)

Canadian Folk-life and Folk-lore, by William Parker Greenough,

first published by George H. Richmond, New York, in 1897. The life of the Habitants, illustrated with photographs and sketches. (199 pages, $2.50)

Songs of the Great Dominion, first published in London, England, by Walter Scott, in 1889. Everyone knows Bliss Carman's

The sun goes down, and over all
These barren reaches by the tide . . .

and Carman, and E. Pauline Johnson, Charles G. D. Roberts, Archibald Lampman are represented here, along with many now forgotten singers of the glories of Canada. The poems included here are patriotic—"The Imperial Spirit" and "The New Nationality", the spirit of Canadian History. They deal also with the Indians, the voyageurs and the Habitant, with life in the settlements with places and seasons.

How many have read Charles G. D. Robert's The Tantramar Revisited?

. . . Now at this season the reels are empty and idle; I see them
Over the lines of the dikes, over the gossiping grass.
Now at this season they swing in the long strong wind, thro' the lonesome
Golden afternoon, shunned by the foraging gulls . . .
Yes, as I sit and watch, this present peace of the landscape,—
Stranded boats, these reels empty and idle, the hush,
One grey hawk slow- wheeling above yon cluster of haystacks,—
More than the old-time stir this stillness welcomes me home . . .

And, these lines for a season coming all too soon:

Leave the old thinkers to their dreams,
The treasures of the ages;
Leave dusty scientific reams;
And study Nature's pages.
Her poetry is better far
Than all men write about her;
Old Homer's song of love and war
Had scarce been sung without her.
Haste to the wood,—put books away,
They'll wait the tardy comer;
For them there's many a winter day,
But brief's our Indian summer!
—From An Indian Summer Carol, by "Fidelis"

The appendix includes a section devoted to the work of French-Canadian poets; Louis Honore Frechette, the Hon. Pierre J. O. Chauveau, Benjamin Suite and Pamphile Le May, with their works in French. (465 pages) $3.95

Notes on Nova Scotia

The Theresa E. Connor, now the Fisherman's Museum, Lunenburg, was the last Lunenburg schooner to fish with dories on the Grand Banks.

* * *

The Canso Causeway is the world's deepest, being 210 feet deep.

* * *

The first play in America "The Theatre of Neptune" was written and produced by Marc Lescarbot at Port Royal on November 14, 1606.

* * *

The Presbyterian College, now Pine Hill Divinity Hall in Halifax was first located at Durham, Pictou County in 1846.

* * *

The highest tides in the world are at Burntcoat Head at Noel on Minas Basin, where they reach up to fifty-four feet. The Saxby Tide of 4th of October 1869 reached a height of 103 feet.

* * *

The first globe made in Canada, made out of pine and turned on a lathe in 1820 is in Tatamagouche, Colchester County.

* * *

The first post office in British North American was established in Halifax in 1755.