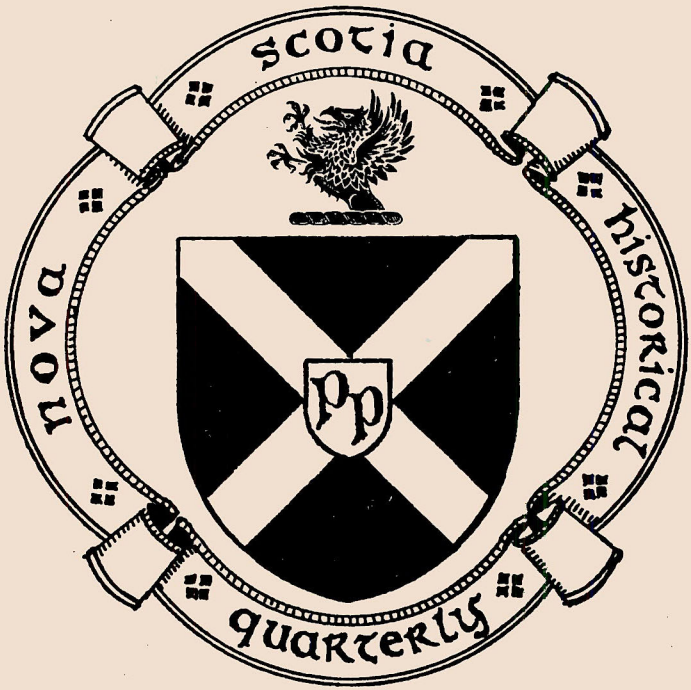
The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

Volume 10, Number 1, March 1980



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Printed at Halifax, Nova Scotia

by

McCurdy Printing Co. Ltd.

Published by

PETHERIC PRESS

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The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

Volume 10, Number 1, March 1980

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ISSN — 0300 — 3728

A Publication of Petheric Press Limited

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The New Grand Theatre Halifax 1789-1814

YASHDIP SINGH BAINS

Early in 1789 the amateurs of the garrison built Canada's first regular theatre—the New Grand Theatre on Argyle Street in Halifax. "As complete a thing for the size as I ever saw,"[1] this modest structure remained in use for twenty-five years and was managed for fourteen of those years by a conscientious professional actor, director and student of the theatre—Charles Stewart Powell. Three scholars have already pointed out a few of the notable features of Nova Scotia's rich thespian tradition by describing some of the socially popular and fashionable activity in Halifax and by compiling a calendar of performances.[2] Based on material which was not available to those earlier historians, this study focuses on the operational and financial aspects of the New Grand and on the procession of visiting actors and actresses without

whose pioneer efforts Nova Scotia would have stayed culturally isolated. According to incomplete records, Haligonians watched over four hundred plays and farces on the boards of their new theatre.

An evening's entertainment at the New Grand Theatre comprised the standard bill of fare—a mainpiece, an afterpiece, and songs and dances between the acts. Evenings at the theatre tended to be fairly long, and the managers often assured the public that "the whole will be over about ten o'clock—provided no accident happens. Performances to begin precisely at six o'clock."[3] The management found it difficult to end performances at ten, but it still kept promising that "the greatest Dispatch will be made between the different Parts (as there will not be so many changes of dress as before). Good Fires will also be kept, by a Person employed for that purpose."[4] Delays in changes of scene were particularly frowned upon, for it was a matter of great inconvenience for people to return home on snowy, rainy or dark nights. The lack of elevation of seats in the house forced the managers to ask ladies to "dress their heads as low as possible, as otherwise the Persons sitting behind cannot have a Sight of the Stage."[5] The prices of admission were high, considering the purchasing value and scarcity of money—five shillings in the boxes, three in the first pit, and two in the second pit.[6]

Performances at the New Grand "met the approbation of a numerous and respectable audience."[7] As theatre going became popular, the managers modified the interior of the house to make room for more spectators. Two rows in the first pit were railed in as boxes, and an additional row was

taken into the first from the second pit.[8] Sometimes there was so much rush that people got admitted illegally "into the Pit by paying money at the doors, contrary to [the managers'] positive orders, which they issued to prevent the Pits being overcrowded."[9] To reduce overcrowding, the management merged into one the two different prices to the pit and made "all the tickets Three Shillings each."[10] The change in price pacified the turmoil in the pit: "We could not help observing that the Pit was infinitely more tranquil and orderly than it hitherto has been; owing, probably, to the price of the lower part (usually called the second pit) being raised to the same with those seats nearer to the boxes."[11] A year later the two back rows in the pit were "railed in as Boxes, at 5s. per ticket, in order to accommodate every person and give more room."[12] When the peace of the house was disturbed "by the intrusion of several persons who had no tickets," the managers reduced the number of pit tickets as a precautionary measure.[13] Under pressure of demand for tickets the Theatrical Society again fitted up the gallery into separate boxes "far more convenient and spacious than those below."[14] This increase of seating capacity argues well the popularity and prosperity of the populace.

Not dependent on the box office for livelihood, the Theatrical Society donated its profits for "the relief of the indigent and distressed, of every description and denomination."[15] Although the amateurs paid no rent for the use of the theatre, they spent most of their box receipts on costumes, scenery and other items like lighting and carpenter's work. Some idea of the expenses can be gained from the

figures for one evening, published by J. Straton, Treasurer, "for the Inspection of the Publick." The receipts of the box office amounted to £73-16-0. The majore items of expenditure for dresses, door keepers, printing, carpenter's work, hair dressers, iron work, lighting, cleaning, firing, attendance, added up to £63-1-6. Five pounds were paid in charity, and £2-7-2 given in charity to two persons particularly recommended.[16] These costs of one production indicate clearly why a professional company which earned its living from the theatre would not succeed in supporting itself. The amateurs were lucky indeed that their performances were usually well attended. On 30 December 1794, for example, "the Halifax Theatre opened for the season to a very crowded and brilliant audience;"[17] On 25 February 1795 it was "the most crowded audience we ever remember to have seen."[18] On 22 December 1795 "the audience was, as usual, very respectable and extremely crowded."[19]

While often recording the size of the audience, the local papers did not comment on the styles of acting and the appropriateness of scenery, costumes and music. A typical brief notice stated nothing more specific about acting than that "the characters were in general supported with much propriety."[20] A slightly more detailed review would say that "the scenery and machinery were completely new, and had a very pleasing effect; much taste was discovered in the drapery of the Celestials; the characters were, in general cast with propriety; the music was in many instances excellent, and the whole obtained reiterated testimonials of the greatest approbation."[21]On one rare occasion a

spectator expressed his amazement at the unsuitability of some of the amateur voices for operas: "In the name of all the Gods at once, what can induce you to act Operas? Is it to convince us what dismal singers you are?"[22] This Haligonian claimed to have attended the theatre "with some part of my Family ever since it opened, and invariably have seen more to be disgusted with, than pleased at; for instead of sterling Sense, we receive Grimace and wretched Buffoonery."[23] As the context of the letter will make clear later, this spectator's low opinion may not reflect the truth about acting at the New Grand.

In order to improve the quality of acting, the amateurs recruited professionals to visit Halifax and established a tradition which was developed further by managers like Powell. The first outsider to appear at the New Grand was McPherson of the Old American Company of Lewis Hallam, Jr. Starting in 1785, McPherson acted with Lewis Hallam, Jr., in New York, Philadelphia and other towns.[24] In 1788, he got himself in trouble in New York for non-payment of debts. He tried to salvage himself financially in New York by delivering a "Lecture on Heads" in June of 1788, instead of accompanying the company to Philadelphia. After disappointing performances on 19 and 25 of June 1788, McPherson made his last and apparently unfruitful attempt on 15 July. Odell cited this "record for its value as evidence in the hardships of a player's life."[25] During these months of poverty, McPherson's thoughts turned away from New York and Philadelphia to small towns like Halifax, where he hoped to secure his finances. On 14 September 1790,

he brought to Halifax his "Lecture on Heads," which was repeated in October and November.[26] Later, he put together "a Dramatic Medley" of scenes from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet,* Otway's *Venice Preserved,* Farquhar's *Beaux Stratagem,* Murphy's *The Citizen,* O'Keeffe's *The Poor Soldier,* and Bickerstaffe's *The Padlock.*

In addition to McPherson, this medley marked the occasion for the Halifax debut of Mrs. Mechtler—the first prominent female singer and performer to come to Nova Scotia—in songs in Frances Brooke's *Rosina.*[27] She was the third daughter of Mrs. Storer, a singer, who performed in Covent Garden in 1761-62 and, lured by the theatrical possibilities on the island, went to Jamaica in 1763.[28] Fanny Storer started her career in the American theatre in Philadelphia on 24 March 1768.[29] Unlike her three sisters who married or cohabited with John Henry, Fanny married Mechtler in fall of 1768 and sailed for England. Mechtler surfaced in Quebec City in 1786 as a member of a professional company, but there is no mention of his wife.[30] Mrs. Mechtler resided in Halifax for no longer than a year, and she was singing in concerts in New York in fall of 1792.[31]

In order to give entertainment, as distinct from drama, McPherson introduced in Halifax the highly popular comic dancing for the first time in "The Shooting of Harlequin" on 4 January 1791.[32] This dance formed part of a programme entitled "An Attic Entertainment." Other items on this bill were scenes from *The Poor Soldier* and *The Padlock,* a prologue, and an epilogue. McPherson and Mrs. Mechtler gave for "the last time this season" Rowe's *Fair Penitent* and Coffey's *The Devil to Pay* on 29

March 1791.[33] McPherson acted during the summer of 1791 in Home's *Douglas* and *The Padlock.* "His last attempt in this town," which was also for his benefit, consisted of "An Attic Entertainment" on 21 July 1791.[34]

Late in 1795, an outstanding actress named Mrs. Hatton made Halifax her home under circumstances which cannot be ascertained. She was the sister of Mrs. Siddons and reputed to be an official poetess laureate of the Tammany Society in New York. If one took William Dunlap's word for it, she was a crafty lady who sought to secure a position for herself by intrigue. As Dunlap recollected it, Mrs. Hatton "introduced herself to the American world by writing a play called Tammany, which she presented to the Tammany Society, who patronized it, and recommended it to the theatre through Hodgkinson." The managers of the theatre "would not have dared to reject anything from the sons of St. Tammany, and gladly received this production of the sister of Mrs. Siddons, seasoned high with spices hot from Paris, and swelling with rhodomontade for the sonsorous voice of Hodgkinson, who was to represent the Indian saint."[35]

In Halifax, Mrs. Harron announced the opening of "An Academy for Young Ladies,"[36] and she also sought to act in plays. Loyal to her trust in intrigue for promoting herself as an actress, she seems to have persuaded a friend to write strongly to a Halifax paper condemning the amateurs for presenting "Grimace and wretched Buffoonery" and accusing them of a prejudice against her. This anonymous correspondent, cited earlier, stated that he had composed the letter after being provoked by

the petty behaviour of the garrison amateurs, and he asserted indignantly that the public "was highly pleased with Mrs. Hatton's style of performing, tho' they never had a fair opportunity of judging her abilities, as they never saw her in a part of any consequence, where her powers could display their full force." The Duke of Kent was much pleased with her acting, if one believed this letter. "The expression of her countenance, the justness and gracefulness of her gestures, and the correct propriety of her delivery," this friend of Mrs. Hatton's went on, "renders her an object of the greatest importance to the Theatre, if the Managers consider the gratification of the audience at all; yet she rarely appears; for the plays where she would shine, such as the *Wonder,* the *Provoked Husband,* the *School for Grey Beards, Which is the Man,* &c., are never acted, as if the Gentlemen Performers were envious of her superior talents, and dreaded a Rival, even in Petticoats playing with an awkward Idiot rather than a woman of Genius and an Actress."[37] There are no records to prove the effect of this letter on Mrs. Hatton's chances on the Halifax stage.

It is not improbable that Mrs. Hatton appeared on the Halifax boards quite often, even if the only evidence of her activity that can be uncovered is a benefit she received on 11 January 1797.[38] That she undoubtedly worked for the theatre is revealed by an advertisement for an 8 November 1797 production, which said, "Tickets to be had of Mrs. Hatton, leading to the Navy-Yard, and of Mr. Minns, of whom Places for the Boxes may be taken."[39] The date of her departure from Halifax is not known.

In the fall of 1797, Theatre Royal (the New Grand changed names several times: New Theatre, Halifax Theatre, and, finally, Theatre Royal) got for the first time a professional manager in Charles Stewart Powell, who directed its affairs until his death in 1810. Powell's wife and two daughters supported the company in female roles. Also accompanying Powell during the first year of his management was an actor J. S. Baker, who had worked with Powell in Boston.[40]

Powell began his professional career at Covent Garden in 1789. Seeing no Prospects of advancement there, he emigrated to Boston, where he became well known for his management of the Federal Street Theatre in 1793-95 and the Haymarket Theatre in 1796-97.[41] Financial losses and disagreements with fellow actors drove Powell to Halifax.

Powell and Baker, in their first programme at Theatre Royal, delivered the popular entertainment of "Collins' Evening Brush," which Powell had presented alone in Boston and New York.[42] Perhaps a concrete picture of Powell's satirical and literary evenings can be obtained from "An Olio, or At tick Evening's Entertainment, composed of the Sublime, the Pathetic, the Humorous and the Musical," given on 8 November 1797 under the patronage of the Duke of Kent and the Governor. The first of this three-part bill included a prologue and "A Lecture of Hearts, compiled from the works of the late celebrated George Alexander Stevens." In the second the performers recited "The Three Warnings from Mrs. Thrale" and a poem and danced a hornpipe. In the last part were given Milton's "Satan's Address to the Sun" and "A Dissertation on Jealousy, describing

its different effects on the Spaniard, the Italian, the Frenchman, the Dutchman, and the Englishman." This programme concluded "with an Epilogue to be spoken in the Character of Harlequin, who will leap through the Jaws of a FIERY DRAGON."[43] One could hardly imagine a dull moment in this variety entertainment.

Powell depended on the support of the garrison amateurs for most of the males, and he also maintained the Theatrical Society's past policy of hiring professional actors and entertainers whenever he could.

When Powell and his amateur group started performing plays regularly at the end of 1797, he tried to attract spectators by stressing, in his newspaper advertisements, special features of an evening's show. Some days he would publish lengthy summaries of plays to lure his patrons; on 3 January 1798 he placed in the paper a column-long synopsis of Moregon's *A Cure for the Heart Ache*.[44] For his less literary patrons, the manager selected pieces with visual, scenic and other special effects. The pantomimes, centred around Robinson Crusoe and Harlequin, filled the audience demand for acrobatics, topical songs, dances, and picturesque tableaux. On 15 August 1798 Powell tried to draw people to the Theatre Royal by publicizing the fact that the first part of *Robinson Crusoe or Harlequin Friday* would open with an "exact representation of Robinson Crusoe's Cave, with the Fence before it, as formed by himself, after being sometime on the Island." The spectators were invited to gaze in wonder at "A Representation of the Savages Landing in their Canoes, with the original March

from their Landing, and an exact Performance of the War Hoop Dance and Martial Exercises, strictly conformable to the Custom, which precedes an Act of Sacrifice in those parts." With new scenery painted for the occasion, Powell's company boastfully enacted the "preparation of the Savages to sacrifice Friday, from which Robinson relieves him, and takes him to the fruitful part of the Island where he had formed his Plantation and Bower." The second part of this programme enchanted the spectators through a staging of the "several Transformations of Friday" from Friday to Harlequin to a mastiff dog and, finally, to an alligator.[45]

In addition to presenting scenic and other spectacles, however crude they may have been on account of limited stage equipment, Powell encouraged visiting male and female performers to continue performing at his theatre. These performers included Mrs. Munto, Mrs. Pierce, Mrs. Spencer, Marriott and his wife, Salenka and his wife, James Ormsby and his wife, Martin, and Woodroffe. Little can be found about the lives of some of these individuals, but the careers of some of them can be traced in the British Isles and the United States.

The presence of Mrs. Munto, a New York actress, was disclosed on 27 February 1798 by a notice that she could not perform in Halifax owing to her indisposition.[46] Mrs. Munto had made "her first attempt" in New York in the character of Sylvia in Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer.* According to a report, she "went through some manual exercise—quite to the destruction of illusion, one would think—'in the character of an American soldier'."[47] This failure in New York probably forced her to take the

road to small towns which were lacking in acting talent at various levels.

Mrs. Pierce had been acting in Halifax since early 1797 and was still active in the spring of 1799, but no biographical information about her has turned up. One of her more famous contemporaries in Halifax was Mrs. Spencer whose benefit fell on 21 January 1799.[48] Upon Mrs. Spencer's New York opening as Juliet in Shakespeare's tragedy, critics could not "form a determinate judgment of her abilities from this tryal, but hope that she will succeed." Odell wondered if she "was hired to take the place of Mrs. Hallam."[49]

As for Salenka and his wife, who performed in Halifax in the summer of 1799, some idea of his special talents may be deduced by the fact that he exhibited in 1796 in New York a dog trained by himself. Accompanied "by a Learned Dog," Salenka demonstrated his skills again in New York in March 1799.[50]

Two of the British actors, who performed in Halifax and had worked hard to organize a company in Saint John, were Marriott and his wife. Marriott began his theatrical career in Edinburgh. He had apparently been enticed to come to the United States by some one who professed immense faith in his acting and expected him to take the leading position of John Henry who had just died.[51] Marriott's six-year long tour of North America, which began in Charleston, South Carolina, on 24 January 1794, took him to Philadelphia on 20 September 1794 and to New York in December of the same year.[52] The New Yorkers received him quietly, according to William Dunlap, and the newspapers condemned

him.[53] As his hopes of a career in New York faded, Marriott decided to go on tour. He and his wife performed in 1796-97 at Boston's Haymarket Theatre.[54] After acting in Montreal and Quebec City in the winter of 1797-98, Marriott emerged in Halifax in the spring of 1798 to work for Powell, his old Boston acquaintance.[55] Marriott's last recorded performance in North America took place for his benefit in Halifax on 18 June 1800.[56]

Among the talented individuals who joined with Powell and the amateurs may be mentioned a "Mr. Woodroffe, whose poetic genius has ever afforded such real entertainment to the inhabitants of Halifax." What this "real entertainment" consisted of is a mystery. Woodroffe displayed "his talents on the stage for the first time" on 2 March 1802.[57]

In the first decade of the nineteenth century Halifax saw a few more entertainers and professionals. Don Pedro Cloriso gave his "feats of activity" in December of 1802 at the Theatre Royal between a mainpiece and a farce.[58] James Ormsby and his wife Mary performed for a few months in 1804 in Halifax before proceeding to Quebec City and Montreal.[59] Robertson and Walter C. Davids participated in plays and other entertainments in the fall of 1807. Robertson's favourite piece was "Antipodean Whirlgig," in the course of which he whirled around on his head.[60] He may be the same actor who claimed to have come to North America from Astley's Amphitheatre and about whom William Dunlap complained that he had degraded the stage by whirling round on his head "with crackers and other fireworks attached to his heels." He had demonstrated his whirling feats in Quebec

City and Montreal before coming to Halifax.[61] Davids had also acted in Quebec City and St. John's in 1806.[62]

During his fourteen years as manager of the Halifax theatre, it was not easy for Powell to live on income derived from the dramatics; therefore he conducted a dancing academy to supplement his earnings. One summer, when his academy was closed, he adopted an alternate means and formed "a society for the purpose of reading the English Classics." In this society Powell proposed to guide his students "in reading the ancients, not only to point out the most distinguished beauties of each author, but to explain to the young reader the moral contained in the several respective passages, which may not be so clearly understood in general, so as to form the judgment and give them a taste for cultivating their minds with polite literature." Powell advertised that he was eminently qualified to run this society because of his training under the senior Sheridan in the Theatre Royal, Dublin, where he attended "his inimitable lectures on the English language for five successive years."[63] Another of Powell's methods to increase his income and to explore the market was to travel to Saint John, New Brunswick, and to perform there with his company.[64]

Since Halifax papers did not review Powell's productions during these fourteen years, it is impossible to assess the style of his acting. John Bernard recalled that "Charles Powell, my old Taunton aquaintance, and the original Boston manager, came to me on a visit from Halifax, where he had established a theatre under the patronage of

H.R.H. the Duke of Kent and played a few parts, in which he was well received."[65] According to Bernard, Powell "was a thoroughly artistic, though rather hard, actor."[66]

Powell seems to have encountered no difficulty in finding amateurs for his productions, and the garrison provided the money to ensure the newness of dresses, scenery and decorations. But sometimes he found it difficult to obtain sheets of music and texts of plays. "In consequence of the Music of *Inkle and Yarico* being lost," it could not be staged on 31 January 1800.[67] "Any person who may be in possession of the dramatic piece of the *Children in the Wood"* was urged to lend it to the theatre on 11 November 1802; "it shall be carefully returned by C. S. Powell."[68]

Halifax papers reveal almost nothing about Powell's dealings with the garrison and the public. But one incident seems to show that Powell dealt with his critics squarely and forthrightly. A resident of Halifax disapproved of the manager's choice of *The Provoked Husband* and *The Poor Soldier* for the evening of 12 April 1802 and protested to him rudely in a letter. The performances of 12 April had to be cancelled, but Powell inserted a note in an advertisement to the effect that he "would be very sorry if the Dogmatist who sent him a letter on Monday, should arrogate any merit to himself the Play being put off on that night." Powell hoped that "he has as much respect for every Moral and Religious duty, as the ignorant Fanatic who impudently attempted to asperse his profession, the business of which has ever been to reward virtue, and lash vice and hypocrisy, when mask'd under the

cloak of sanctity." Finally, the manager challenged that if his critic "will be generous enough to disclose himself by calling at Mr. Powell's house, he should be happy to receive every instruction that might tend to make him more of a Christian than he has the presumption to boast to be."[69] This show of firmness by the manager must have cooled off the ardour of some of the enemies of the theatre.

With Powell's death in 1810 Halifax lost a studious and conscientious manager and actor, and it must have pleased the garrison that Mrs. Powell, Fidelia Powell and Cordelia Powell made their home in Halifax and supported the amateur theatre. The Theatrical Society continued to draw some outsiders also. A professional named Adams, from Boston and Providence, joined the amateurs early in 1811. He had started acting in Boston in 1792-93 and performed with Joseph Harper's company in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1793-94. Among the women who performed in Halifax about the same time as Adams were Mrs. Stanley, Mrs. Rivett, and Mrs. Watchet. Although Mrs. Rivett and Mrs. Watchet are mere names to theatre historians, Mrs. Stanley enjoyed considerable reputation. She "arrived in Boston from a country circuit she had been taking," John Bernard noted in his memoirs, "but as we could not agree upon terms, she quitted us for a lucrative and agreeable situation in the Canadas, to perform there in private with the military amateurs."[71]

The New Grand Theatre served Halifax adequately for over twenty years, but in the second decade of the nineteenth century people began to realize the limitations of this structure and felt the

need for a well-regulated theatre. An unseemingly incident at the Masonic Hall on 8 December 1813 indirectly underlined this need. Some officers of the Navy and others went to the Masonic Hall "disguised for the express purpose of kicking up a Row." In the ensuing disorder "the beautiful transparency of the Battle of Martinique was destroyed by Am. Prisoners who are suffered to enjoy the same advantages of this town as a British subject." This misbehaviour convinced some Haligonians that they should build a "Theatre where our families may be comfortably accommodated—their minds enlightened and amused." He considered "a Theatre a most beneficial institution —for many who would there pass their evenings in harmony and decorum, would otherwise be found drinking in public houses, to the detriment of their own health and the good of their families." He hoped that his observations would "shame those who have been guilty of such unmanly conduct . . . and to induce the inhabitants of Halifax to support their own dignity by erecting a Theatre worthy of such a respectable and populous town."[72]

The garrison amateurs abandoned the New Grand in 1814, and it was occupied by the Acadian School. Next year the Theatrical Society moved to the Amateur Theatre across from the Liverpool Wharf near Jacob Street; in the fall of 1816 Nova Scotia got a second theatre—the Fairbanks Wharf Theatre. In these two structures amateur and professional troupes maintained the tradition set by Charles Stewart Powell. The foundation of their security and popularity had been laid by the

assiduous cultivation of public taste and trust by Charles Stewart Powell, Halifax's first man of theatre.

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3. **Weekly Chronicle,** 2 January 1796.
4. **Royal Gazette,** 4 January 1791.
5. Ibid., 5 March 1793.
6. **Nova-Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle,** 26 January 1789.
7. Ibid., 3 March 1789.
8. **Royal Gazette,** 5 March 1793.
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12. **Royal Gazette,** 2 February 1796.
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14. Ibid., 24 January 1797.
15. Ibid., 21 January 1794.
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18. Ibid., 26 February 1795.
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24. George C. D. Odell, **Annals of the New York Stage,** 15 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927-49), I, 270; George Seilhamer, **History of the American Theatre,** 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Globe Printing Co., 1887-1891), II 222, 243.
25. Odell, I, 270.
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27. Ibid., 30 November 1790.
28. Richardson L. Wright, **Revels in Jamaica** (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1937), pp. 51-53.
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30. **Quebec Gazette,** 26 July 1787.
31. Odell, I, 311.
32. **Royal Gazette,** 4 January 1791.
33. Ibid., 22 March 1791.
34. Ibid., 19 July 1791.
35. **A History of the American Theatre** (New York: Harper, 1832), p. 104.
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37. **Halifax Journal,** 3 March 1796.
38. **Royal Gazette,** 10 January 1797.
39. Ibid., 7 November 1797.
40. See Philip Highfill, Jr., et al, **A Biographical Dictionary of Actors** (Carbondale & Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973), I 224-25.
41. Seilhamer, III, 18-19, 227, 354-55.
42. Jewitt, pp. 447, 450-52; Seilhamer, III, 19.
43. **Royal Gazette,** 7 November 1797.
44. Ibid., 2 January 1798.
45. Ibid., 14 August 1798.
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47. Odell, I. 393, 402, 424.
48. **Royal Gazette,** 15 January 1799.
49. Odell, I, 384-85; Seilhamer, III, 112.
50. Odell, I, 419, II, 67.
51. Odell, I, 373.
52. Eola Willis, **The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century** (Columbia, S.C.: State Company, 1924), pp. 193, 245-46; Seilhamer, III, 104, 109-10; Odell, I, 373.
53. Dunlap, p. 136.
54. Seilhamer, III, 355-56.
55. **Royal Gazette,** 1 May 1798.
56. Ibid., 17 June 1800.
57. **Nova-Scotia Royal Gazette,** 18 February 1802.
58. Ibid., 16 December 1802.
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The Irish Catholic, Halifax's First Minority Group

TERRENCE M. PUNCH

History bears eloquent witness to the fact that the presence of minority groups, whether ethnic, linguistic, or religious, has been both a common occurrence and a fertile source of trouble. It is not surprising to learn that Halifax has always had groups of residents who were not of the predominant English or Anglo-American strain. In this paper, I propose to explore who the first minority group was; what was the basis of the discrimination against them; and to discuss some of the developments connected with the rising of the minority from its repressed status in the community.

Halifax was founded in the summer of 1749 when the British government, in an untypical burst of generous expenditure, sent out Cornwallis with orders to construct a town and fortifications. The previous European inhabitants of the province were both French and Catholic, as were Britain's most likely rivals in Nova Scotia. The people most acceptable to the British authorities for use in the new settlement would be those

who spoke English and practiced Protestantism. From the military and political point of view, an Anglophone who called himself a Protestant was a preferable settler, even if he happened also to be the inmate of a workhouse or gaol, or had wandered the London streets. It was considered far safer to Britain's imperial plans to have such "loyal Englishman" than to risk the presence of those who shared the faith of the French, and who might, moreover, be tainted with Jacobitism.

In order to assure that the first Haligonians would be trustworthy subjects, the British authorities scoured some fairly shabby quarters. Cornwallis was dispatched to North America with some of the choicest characters from England's slums, as well as tradesmen and former servicemen. Within weeks, about forty per cent of the settlers had abandoned Halifax, among them the greater part of the more respectable elements. Those who were left did not impress the authorities, and received very low opinions from those who had to deal with them. Cornwallis himself described them as "poor, idle, worthless vagabonds", while Rev. William Tutty speaks of the Halifax English majority as "a set of most abandoned wretches . . . so deeply sunk into almost all kinds of immorality that they scarce retain the shadow of religion." After the first year of wholesale desertion, "the population was augmented by further arrivals of settlers, including Irish, Swiss, German, New Englanders and others, a stock that brought a much-needed transfusion to replace the rum-soaked corpuscles of Cornwallis's poor, idle worthless vagabonds,"[1]

Of the new arrivals at Halifax, the Swiss and Germans, whom Winthrop Bell has termed, probably enduringly, "the foreign Protestants", were quickly transported out of Halifax to Lunenburg county, and therefore they did not become a conspicuous minority group in Halifax. There were only sixteen blacks in Corn-

wallis's Halifax, and even fewer Jews.[2] The Micmac Indians did not attempt to live in the town, even after peace had been made. The New Englanders "gradually became the core of the English-speaking population."[3] The Acadians, of course, were regarded with suspicion and mistrust, and were not part of the Halifax settlement. Thus, almost by default, it fell to the lot of the Catholic Irish to become Halifax's first minority group.

The English attitude towards the people of Ireland in the mid-eighteenth century was unflattering. The Irish were considered "a type of aboriginal natives, less hairy and less uncouth after the benefits of two centuries of war and English administration, but... at bottom for the most part savages."[4] While that was the typical opinion of that day among great European countries where colonies were concerned, not all mere savages laboured under anything like the penal laws, which were described by the Protestant Irishman and famous English statesman, Edmund Burke, as "a machine of subtle invention, the best adapted to the oppression, impoverishment and degradation of a people, the debasement of human nature itself, which has ever been conceived by the perverted ingenuity of men."[5]

Armed with a battery of legal restrictions on Catholicism, the faith of England's French and Spanish rivals, English civil and military authorities had the means to suppress people who looked to Rome in spiritual matters. In popular belief Papists were Jesuit-inspired agents of the international enemies of Protestant England. It beggars the imagination to attempt to reconcile this view of the Irish Catholic peasants as a dangerous fifth column with the other opinion that the Irish were near-savages, unless you accept that at bottom, the English Protestant considered Irish Catholics as both barbaric and ignorant, and as dangerous and cunning enemies. It was as though

their Irishness accounted for the barbarism, while their Catholicism explained their craftiness.

It should also be borne in mind that the attitudes and beliefs advanced in England's governing circles of the eighteenth century were those of the Establishment. That body of landowners and peers was Whiggish, and the Whigs were anti-Catholics from the beginning. Many of the landed proprietors in the British Isles were in possession of lands appropriated from the legitmate Roman Catholic owners. The Whig oligarchs and gentry could not risk loss of political control without contemplating the socio-economic loss of lands and prestige. Nothing that turned the clock back before 1689 could be considered, and it was therefore in the interests of the ruling circles to keep alive among English people generally the old prejudices against the Papists. By portraying the Catholic as the quintessential foreigner, the Whig Establishment played up to the xenophobia of Englishmen. Great Whigs made the Grand Tour of Italy and France and hobnobbed with Catholic clergy and aristocracy, aped their manners and styles, and copied their music and painting, but made certain that whatever they did they did not import Catholicism into England. It was to some extent Ireland's misfortune that it happened through historic circumstances to be both predominantly Roman Catholic and an English possession. In the clinches, England's Whig oligarchs preferred enonomic and political security to cultural expression or freedom.

Their natural leaders exiled or ruined, their trade restricted, their education forbidden, their political expression denied, their religion proscribed, the Catholic Irish were an oppressed people. It cannot be denied. Yet, the popular English prejudice against the Irish did not abate. Having made sure the Irish Catholic had no schooling, the English could deride the Irishman's lack of education. Having ruined his industry, they could mock

his idleness. Having taxed him with heavy rentals and denied his right to his improvements, they could dismiss him as shiftless and lacking in ambition. This was not an exceptional attitude, but one that found expression again and again in the eighteenth century. There was no reason to expect that the transfer of hundreds of Englishmen and scores of Irishmen to Nova Scotia would alter that ancient relationship.

And what was the Irish reaction to all of this accumulated abuse? Responses varied from class to class and generation to generation. The ancient nobility and gentry of Ireland withdrew from Ireland and offered its swords and pens to France or Austria, Spain or Russia, indeed to anyone who accepted them for themselves. The French victory at Fontenoy in 1745 was won by Irishmen just four years before Cornwallis entered Halifax Harbour. Many of the mercantile class removed themselves from home and devoted their work to other nations. The others, the mass of the people, sank into peasantry and ruinous decay. Yet for all the hopelessness and gloom, there remained a core of the Irish character that remained true to itself, and retained its identity. Their Catholicism, like that of the Poles, was an integral part of their national character, being derived in part from it and in turn reinforcing it.

Many of the Irish learned the tricks of survival of oppressed people and slaves. They became adept at obeying the letter of the law while evading its spirit and intent. They played at being cheerful and obedient fellows, filling the air with profusions of "Yissor, yer honour" and affecting innocent simplicity. These tricks reassured their rulers and masters that they had little to fear from such childlike people. It also diminished belief in the political maturity of Irishmen, a belief founded, at least in part, in the Irishman's own presentation of him-

self as a stage "Paddy". How would this "boyo" fare in the Englishman's new settlement of Halifax?

There is one minor cautionary note to add. When Irishmen are discussed in this paper, they are the Roman Catholic southern Irish. The Ulster Irish were also the victims of religious and economic discrimination, but because they were Protestants and could more easily intermarry with the English and New Englanders of Nova Scotia, their distinctiveness was far less pronounced. In cases where it is uncertain whether an individual was Ulster Irish or Catholic Irish, the rule has been to follow the usual designation of people of the particular surname. This point is made here so that no one will consider that I am referring to the Ulster Irish who migrated to these shores in large numbers in the 1760's.

The passenger lists of Cornwallis's ships and the victualling lists for early Halifax contain names that are Irish and Catholic. Names such as Pat Farrell, Bart Walsh and Frank O'Neal invite that classification, while others are not as obvious but are no less Irish—e.g., Jeremiah Ford.[6] In 1752, sixty heads of families with 262 persons in their households were at or near Halifax.[7] Though 262 among 4248 was a mere six per cent, the Irish element must have been larger, to include the many Irish servants living in households headed by non-Irish persons. Some of these earliest Haligonians were Irish "indentured servants from Newfoundland or Virginia seeking to escape the hard obligations to which they were contracted."[8] In 1756 Jonathan Belcher of Halifax wrote a 'Letter to a Noble Lord', in which he claimed that "the common dialect spoke at Halifax is wild Irish."[9]

Another early observer, Rev. Dr. Stiles of Boston, stated in 1760 that Halifax had nearly three thousand people, "one third of which are Irish, and many of them Roman Catholics."[10] Some corroboration of his estimate comes from statistics collected in 1767. Halifax and its

environs then contained 3,022 people, of whom 667 were willing to admit to being Roman Catholics, and 853 had been born in Ireland.[11] By discounting 200 Acadians from the Catholic total, it appears that there were about 470 Catholic Irish officially in Halifax. Because of the anti-Catholic provisions of the law, there would be likely some concealed Catholics. An estimated Irish Catholic population in Halifax in 1767 of about 500 (ca. 16%) seems credible.

In 1776 a valuation of the real estate in Halifax Town showed that there were 360 property owners in the community. These should include the most affluent part of the settled population. Of these about thirty were both Irish and Roman Catholic.[12] At a time when supposedly oppressed by penal restrictions on land ownership, the Catholics comprised nearly ten per cent of the landed proprietors in the capital of the colony!

The poll tax lists for Halifax Town for the years 1792 and 1793 survive. They should present a nominal roll of the adult male population during the Loyalist period.[13] There had been a substantial influx of Loyalists after 1783 and the pre-Loyalist elements in the population tended to be rather fewer in relative terms, if not absolutely. A consolidated list drawn up from the two poll tax lists suggests an adult male population of 1,051, of which ninety-nine (ca. 9%) can be identified as Irish Catholics, with a further fifty Irish Protestants. Assuming that the proportions by age and sex remained about the same throughout the entire population, we may say that towards the end of the eighteenth century Halifax Town was about one-sixth Irish.

Nova Scotia had enacted severe penal acts against Catholics in 1758. Measures were passed in 1759 "so that members of this . . . denomination might have no priests, might not hold land, teach school, or even act as guardians of a minor who had a Protestant relation."[14]

The purpose of these laws may be questioned, inasmuch as the colonial government itself seemed to wink at the laws when it assisted Abbe Maillard and his successors financially and made facilities available to them. This exceptional toleration can be justified with the argument that the missionaries kept the Indians quiet and away from French political influences.

What exactly did the government hope to achieve with its enactment of penal laws in the 1750's? There seem to me to have been two reasons for these harsh-sounding pieces of lawmaking. Firstly, the colony was paying obiesance to the known policy of the mother country. The laws of Great Britain aimed at the suppression and legal extinction of Roman Catholicism. The first legislators of Nova Scotia simply were removing a page from the book of Westminster. Second, the placing of the anti-Catholic legislation on the statute book was a deliberate matter of policy. The Catholics in Nova Scotia, other than Acadians, were few in number and posed no threat to the British government of these regions. However, the availability of tough penal laws armed the colonial authorities with a potent coercive weapon. There was the clear inference—behave yourselves or we will put these enactments into vigorous prosecution!

As it was, the Catholics of Nova Scotia seemed to be placed in dire straits indeed. On paper, the Irish Catholics were an oppressed minority with no legal rights nor recourse. Yet in practice the drastic laws were not generally enforced. The letter of the statutes was invoked only in those few instances when a specific complaint was made. Truly the Catholics could not sit in the Legislature nor vote in elections, but they seem to have suffered little if any discrimination when it came to acquisition of lands for private uses.

An indication both of the presence of Irish Catholics in the town, and that the penal laws were largely paper

regulations in Nova Scotia, may be seen in the Halifax probate records. The two earliest will books, for 1749 to 1784, contain the wills of at least fifty Irishmen, of whom about thirty were Roman Catholic.[15]

The wills tell the tale. Irish artisans, traders and mariners, as well as retired servicemen and Loyalists had sufficient property to require a testament to dispose of their goods. The probates from 1749 to 1784 include evidence that the penal laws could be ignored with impunity. The laws on the statute books reassured officialdom that the Catholics were under control in colonial Nova Scotia. The availability of legal sanctions gave the local authorities a ready means of curbing any undesirable tendencies among the Irish Catholic population of Nova Scotia. The Irish in this province did not, in the event, evince dangerous leanings. On the contrary, they seem to have been law-abiding and careful to give no pretext for more active persecution.

This does not mean that there was no anti-Catholicism, nor that the Catholic population was happy or satisfied with the state of affairs after 1758. Catholic membership in the Legislature and the Bar was non-existent until the third decade of the nineteenth century, and the reason must be put down to the unwillingness of the majority to accord place to Roman Catholics. Certainly in the early 1800's such men as Lawrence O'Connor Doyle and Michael Power (later Bishop of Toronto) had to leave the province to get an education beyond what we would consider grammar school levels. Doyle attended the English Jesuit school at Stanihurst, Lancashire, while Power was educated in the Catholic schools and seminaries of Lower Canada.

In 1812, Terence Cochran, an Irish-born candidate in the elections of the preceding year, petitioned to have the election of his successful rival overturned. His grounds were that people were dissuaded from supporting him

because the Sheriff of Hants County had circulated a letter accusing Cochran of being a Roman Catholic. It included the line: "What have we to Expect if an Irish Roman Catholick has the rule over us. [.] Read the History of the Irish Rebellion and you may there See a Cathoulge (catalogue?) of as Bloody deeds as ever was acted by the Wildest Savages . . . ?"[16] This was arrant nonsence and bigotry, but both the voters and the victim took it seriously and acted accordingly. Quite transparently, Catholics received the most grudging tolerance in some circles.

The Irish Catholics wanted relief from the restrictions upon them, but were extremely patient and cautious in acquiring those changes they wished. It would be reading too much back into history to claim that the Irish acted according to any overall plan. However, there are several logical steps that were taken between the 1780's and the 1820's which established Catholic rights in Nova Scotia, and these initiatives came from the Irish of Halifax.

In the 1780's the Roman Catholics of Halifax sought official relaxation of certain of the penal restrictions on them.[17] Relief was followed at once by construction of a church building in town—St. Peter's, predecessor of the present basilica. The main import of this victory was, on the one hand, to encourage hopes among the Catholics that further progress could be made, and on the other hand, to indicate plainly that the authorities had begun to back away from their previous hardline attitude towards Catholics.

The Catholic Church in Nova Scotia remained in a missionary state for another decade and a half. "Although Roman Catholics were numerous . . . and a few priests were scattered throughout the area, the . . . Church remained highly disorganized until the Bishop of Quebec appointed the energetic Irishman, Edmund Burke, as his vicar general for the region in 1801."[18] Burke would be

instrumental, for instance, in setting up Catholic educational facilities in Halifax. One of his foundations, following a very precarious and sporadic career, was the lineal ancester of St. Mary's University.

An Irish population which had a sense of community and identity existed in Halifax by 1785, and it was undenominational. On 17 January 1786 a group of Irishmen founded the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax. It may have had short-lived predecessors, but this is by no means clear. The resident civilians were supported by a large contingent of army and navy officers of Irish background. Of the 136 men who signed the original articles, we can note equal proportions of Catholics and Protestants.[19]

We perceive, then, that simultaneously with the acquisition of the first legal concessions, the Irish Catholics of Halifax had joined with their non-Catholic countrymen in founding a Society that was at once national, charitable, non-sectarian, loyal, and which transcended many of the distinctions of society. Without claiming too much for the new group, I do feel that it would have been a natural consequence of frequent social interrelationship among themselves for friendships to be formed which cut across religious lines. Many of the most influential officials, such as governors, councillors, magistrates and clergy attended the festive dinners of the Irish Society, heard the Loyal toasts, and became comfortably familiar with the Irish, Catholic and Protestant. Much of the former feeling of suspicion and hostility towards Catholics and Irishmen was evaporated through this means. That is not to say that all distinctions vanished, for they did not. It is to suppose, however, that the operation of such a Society necessarily removed some grounds for antipathy.

The figures adduced earlier provide a good indication that there were relatively few Irish Catholics in Halifax in

the early 1790's. As these seem in general to have been men with employment, their presence was not a social or economic burden on the town, and the majority could feel reassured about its Irish minority. A fairly stable community having a relatively static minority could be reasonably tolerant if the latter conformed to the outward beliefs and customs of the majority. In the event, two influences disturbed this equilibrium. Firstly, in Ireland itself there was the rebellion of the United Irishmen, which naturally rekindled many of the ancient emotions against the Irish. The Irish Revolt had its repercussions in distance Nova Scotia, where even the passengers on ships from Belfast were closely examined by the authorities before being allowed to land.[20] Secondly, immigration stepped up, and the proportion of Irish Catholics in Halifax began to rise appreciably above the usual level near ten per cent.

A very substantial portion of the Irish who reached Halifax was coming indirectly from Ireland by way of Newfoundland. As early as 1797, the Catholic mission priest, Jones, said that most of the Irish in his Halifax congregation had come from Placentia. The same origin was attributed by the irritable governor of Nova Scotia, Sir John Wentworth. He wrote a letter to Lord Castlereagh, on 3 February 1806, to complain of the "useless Irishmen who pass annually from Newfoundland through this province, where some of them remain one, two or perhaps three years, and then proceed onward to the United States."[21] The governor seems to have been completely and perhaps not unexpectedly ignorant of the fact that much of this Irish migration was the result of sheer poverty. Many Irish had come as far as Newfoundland on fishing vessels, then worked to earn enough cash to go to Halifax, where they would follow the same procedure to get a stake to take them to Portland or Boston, New York or Baltimore. We must therefore ask, "Useless to whom?"

Even had the migrant Irishman planned to remain in Halifax, they might have been deterred by the fact that there was a shortage of eligible Catholic females, and that the religious superintendant would not encourage mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants. At least some of the younger men would have moved along in the hope of finding suitable wives, or a bishop with a more lenient attitude towards intermarriage with other religions. Just at the turn of the century there was no supply of jobs requiring new manpower. Unfortunately for their image, these factors only helped to confirm a growing perception of the Irish Catholic minority as a shiftless lot, with some sort of inherent disability for staying in one place. They enjoyed a reputation as being blue-eyed gypsies.

As late as 1816 and 1817, the Irish were still arriving from Newfoundland, many of them in a state of destitution calling for relief. When one or two large bodies of poor immigrants had been received into Nova Scotia and had proved too much for private charity to relieve, the authorities seem to have exerted themselves to head off further arrivals of such paupers en masse. A certain measure of resentment was directed at ALL Irish Catholics because of the poverty of their indigent countrymen.

At the same time, there was an upsurge in Irish immigration directly from southern Ireland to Halifax. This was comprised in the main of a poor, but not destitute class of tradesmen and farmers, who soon either found work or moved away. They did not place a burden on the resources of Nova Scotia, but by clustering in and near Halifax they substantially increased its Irish minority to something like twice its size in 1800. The Irish Catholic proportion among the total population of Nova Scotia was swelled again in 1820 when Cape Breton Island was reannexed to Nova Scotia. In the quarter century between

1795 and 1820 much had altered. The Irish Catholics had been a small minority, stable, employed at trades, and docile. By 1820, they formed a large and growing minority, many were unemployed migrants, and there were some among them who wanted to see changes in the arrangement of politics and society. The newcomers from Ireland were influenced by the stirrings of what grew through the Catholic Association to be the potent Repeal Movement. Although far from being revolutionaries, these post-Napoleonic Irishmen were not prepared to be placid stage Paddies satisfied with bare toleration, low-paying jobs, and grudging privileges.

During the 1820's major developments took place with respect of the legal status of the Irish Catholics in Nova Scotia. In the spring of 1820, the newly-annexed county of Cape Breton had voted to elect two members to the Assembly. When the House met in December, Richard J. Uniacke, Jr., took his seat. His colleague, Mr. Laurence Kavanagh, a Catholic Irish merchant, could not be seated. Nova Scotia had a constitutional dilemma which might have been more serious had Kavanagh been forward in pressing his claims to his seat. In its way, his very reticence helped his cause by obliging Protestants to become his champions.

The laws of the time effectively barred Catholics from public office because of certain clauses in the oath of allegiance which were offensive to the Catholic belief in the Transubstantiation of the bread and wine in Holy Communion. It was practically impossible to remain a Roman Catholic and to take elective office in a British Legislature. In Nova Scotia that put Irish Haligonians well out of the political running. Cape Breton's election of Kavanagh, brother of James Kavanagh, a Halifax merchant, posed the question squarely. Would the colony continue to suppress Catholic participation in government, or would the authorities accept the necessity to alter

the rules? The answer, initially, would be a typically British compromise.

Protestant opinion by the 1820's had matured and mellowed considerably from the days of William of Orange or even 1798. Catholics could no longer be seen as Jacobites and Spanish agents. The last male Stuart pretender was dead, and British forces had largely restored the Spanish monarchy. Two Protestants, Richard J. Uniacke, Jr., and Thomas C. Haliburton (better known as the author of the 'Sam Slick' stories), upheld the Catholic cause and in 1823, special royal prerogative extended to Kavanagh the privilege of taking a revised oath of allegiance and his seat in the Assembly. In effect, the law said that Catholics could not, of right, sit in the Assembly, but that Kavanagh could do so as a privilege granted him by the Crown. It was in this odd way that in Nova Scotia the first Anglophone Catholic anywhere in the British Empire was allowed to sit in Parliament. This event occurred several years before the celebrated Catholic Emancipation was won in Great Britain as a result of the O'Connell election.

Both logically and politically, the extension of a special status to an individual represented a breach in the walls of the existing system, and facilitated the raising of the matter as one of the general principle of Catholic exclusion. In 1827, the Irish Catholics of Halifax determined to try to push back their legal disabilities by petitioning the Legislature in the matter. Richard J. Uniacke, Jr., M.L.A. for Cape Breton, a man of southern Irish Protestant stock, presented the House with the petition, asking the Crown to remove the offending declaration against the Transubstantiation. "This petition was the first overt political act of the Irish population of Halifax whose numbers were rapidly being augmented by immigration."[22] Despite the reservations of many members, and the bigotted opposition of a few, the

Legislature accepted the plea of the petition. The actual concession of Catholic rights was delayed until 1829, following Catholic Emancipation in London.[23]

We can see, then that there was an Irish Catholic presence throughout the first eighty years of Halifax. Its character changed from that of a barely tolerated fringe group, largely of the servant class, to that of a progressively more articulate minority group, possessing incipient leadership among the mercantile community. Nor is it without importance that in 1829 a Halifax-born son of Irish parents, Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, became the first of his faith to be called to the bar of Nova Scotia. In his political career, which spanned a quarter century, this witty lawyer was the best legal talent in the Reform ranks, with the possible exception of William Young. If later Reformers, such as Howe, suffered opposition, they at least were starting from within the ranks of the majority, whereas men such as Doyle had been obliged first to overcome barriers of race and creed.

FOOTNOTES

1. George T. Bates, "The Great Exodus of 1749 or the Cornwallis Settlers Who Didn't," **Collections** of the N.S. Historical Society, XXXVIII (Kentville, 1973), 43-45.
2. Calculated from careful examination of passenger, mess and population lists.
3. John Bartlet Brebner, **New England's Outpost** (New York, 1973), 117.
4. Charles-M. Garnier. **A Popular History of Ireland** (Cork, 1961), 83.
5. Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke to Sir Hercules Langrishe; open letter.
6. Compiled from Thomas B. Akins, ed., **Acadia and Nova Scotia—documents relating to the Acadian French and the first British colonization of the Province** (Halifax, 1869), 506-557.
7. Thomas B. Akins, "History of Halifax City," **Collections** of the N.S. Historical Society, VIII (Halifax, 1895), 246-261.
8. W. S. MacNutt, **The Atlantic Provinces** (Toronto, 1965), 54.
9. **Ibid.**
10. Thomas Chandler Haliburton. **An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia,** II (Halifax, 1829), 12-13.
11. D. Allison, "A General Return of Townships . . . 1767," **Collections** of the N.S. Historical Society, VII (Halifax, 88), chart facing 56.
12. P.A.N.S., R.G. 1, Vol. 411, doc. 7.
13. P.A.N.S., R.G. 1, Vols 444, 445.
14. Norah Story, "The church and State 'Party' in Nova Scotia, 1749-1851," **Collections** of the N.S. Historical Society, XXVII (Halifax, 1947), 36.
15. Terrence M. Punch, "Wills of Irish Interest in the Probate Registry at Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada," **The Irish Ancestor,** I, No. 2 (Dublin, 1969), 89-95.
16. P.A.N.S., **Assembly Papers,** Vol. 18. dated 14 Feb. 1812.
17. P.A.N.S., R.G. 1, Vol. 222, doc. 91, 92, 93.
18. John S. Moir, **Church and State in Canada 1627-1867.** (Toronto, 1967), 46.
19. Herbert Leslie Stewart, **The Irish in Nova Scotia** (Kentville, 1949), 30-31.
20. Terrence M. Punch, "The Passengers on the 'Polly', **"The Irish Ancestor,** Vol. 8, No. 2 (Dublin, 1976), 82-84.
21. P.A.N.S., R.G. 1, Vol. 54, 146.
22. John Garner, **The Franchise and Politics in British North America 1755-1867** (Toronto, 1969), 142.
23. S. W. Spavold, "Nova Scotia under the Administration of Sir Colin Campbell" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1953), 65.

The Witness

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In the year 1848 a gentleman who described himself, as,—'R. Montgomery Martin Esq., Late Treasurer to the Queen in Hong Kong, and member of Her Majesty's Legislative Council in China.'—visited Halifax, Nova Scotia, in order to compile statistics for his forthcoming history,—THE BRITISH COLONIES. This work was to be dedicated (by Special Authority) to Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen.

With such credentials Mr. Martin was no doubt cordially received in Halifax, and he seems to have enjoyed his visit, for he wrote:

> The Nova Scotians are a loyal, brave, and intelligent People, gifted with high natural endowments, of prepossessing appearance, pleasing manners, and very hospitable. The Society is more gay and polished than that usually found in a provincial settlement,—and its tone is entirely British."

Accurate as these observations undoubtedly were, Mr. Martin seems to have relied for his facts on the Blue Book

for 1847, and perhaps for this reason his history does not record an event of great importance to a very large number of Nova Scotians whose most notable characteristics and prejudices may have disqualified them for that "gay and polished society" which he so admired. These were the Scottish Presbyterians, Burgher and anti-Burgher,[1] Free (Church) and not so Free. Together they constituted the largest, most literate, and most prosperous religious denomination in the Province.

That unrecorded (By Mr. Martin) event was the appearance on the first Saturday of January, 1848, upon the already well-supplied news-stands of Halifax, of a weekly newspaper: THE PRESBYTERIAN WITNESS AND EVANGELICAL ADVOCATE "To be published every Saturday Morning, by James Barnes at the MORNING HERALD office."

In his introductory editorial Mr. Barnes appealed for support—with flattery equal to Mr. Martin's—not only to Nova Scotian Free Churchmen, but to all Maritimers of shared predestination.

> "... Than Free Churchmen, no body if Christians in Scotland can better appreciate the benign, the fostering influence and power wielded through a well-conducted Press ... Are the Free Churchmen of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, P.E.I., Cape Breton and Newfoundland of a different intellectual stamp? We think not ... Let us have a well-conducted periodical to give publicity to our views, wants, interests and progress ...

This was a new venture for James Barnes. He had emigrated to Nova Scotia from England at the age of fourteen, apprenticed to a printer. Later he worked as 'Journeyman Printer' under Joseph Howe for whom he always "entertained an affectionate regard." Being a good business man and an ardent Presbyterian, (not incompatible attributes) he saw his opportunity in the wave

of enthusiasm imported from Scotland with the Free Church, and embarked on his own publishing business.

In the beginning he did most of the work of compositor and pressman himself, although he seldom did any writing, depending on voluntary contributions and extracts from British and American papers, and especially the Scottish religious Press.

Among the earliest contributors were the Rev. Dr. Alexander Forrester of the Free Church College of Halifax,—later Superintendant of the Normal School at Truro—and Mr. John Dickie of Colchester County, Member of the Executive Council, and one time Speaker of the House.

Throughout the Maritimes, but more especially in Nova Scotia, THE PRESBYTERIAN WITNESS was well received (though not always paid for). In time it came to be the unofficial organ of the Presbyterian Church in Nova Scotia, and its 'Religious Department' took second place only to the Bible, for Nova Scotian Presbyterian's Sabbath reading.

The first issue of THE WITNESS consisted of eight small pages with only three advertisements: C. Mackenzie and Co., No. 19 Granville St. advertised Books and Stationary, James Gordon, No. 125 Barrington St. offered an assortment of Round, Dining, Supper, Pembroke, work, and other Tables, Wash-stands and Dressing-glasses etc., and John Esson, 65 Duke St. and No. 18 Barrington St. had for sale—800 Barrels of Superfine Flour. The only other acknowledgement of the business world was a list of Halifax prices for: Fish, flour, hay, coal, cordwood, shingles, oil, molasses, codfish, mackerel, cheese, American beef and pork, and tea.

An optimistic tone was set at the top of the first column with a poem by a Mrs. West, entitled:—"On Heaven opening on the View."

This was followed by the somewhat discouraging information culled from the CALCUTTA CHRISTIAN HERALD, that there were, in India—"only one missionary in every 750,000 people."

An extract from a letter written to a friend in Canada by Lord Sydenham, in 1841, is quoted 'from an American Paper."

> I have sent home a long report on emigration which some of you won't like, because it tells the truth, and declares that to throw starving and diseased paupers under the rock at Quebec ought to be punishable as murder. No heed is given in England to such remonstrances, and the loss of 17,000 lives this year is a natural result, besides converting the Canadas into a lazar house for the sordid land-owners of Ireland and Scotland.

The 'News of the Week' included the arrival of the 'Caledonia' from Liverpool, bringing mail from which it was learned that:

> Lord John Russell has brought forward in the British Parliament the still remaining disabilities of the Jews.

Also noted were the Irish Arms Bill, the Irish Outrages Bill, and the fact that there was an outbreak of influenza in the British Isles.

The arrival in the Port of Halifax of the Cunard steamship Hibernia was also a matter of interest. It was three days out of New York with two passengers for Halifax, and forty-four bound for Liverpool. This service was expected "to open a new era in steam Navigation."

The local news included a list of deaths usually accompanied "with suffering born with Christian fortitude",—as well as the notice of three deaths at the 'Poors Asylum'—"On December 24, a girl 17, a boy of 4, and a man of 24." They were nameless and their fortitude or lack of it was not mentioned.

More uplifting reading was provided by an article on 'The Late Dr. Chalmers' from the North British Review, and the 'complete Address of the Synod of Nova Scotia to the Presbyterians of the Lower Provinces and the Christian Public.'

The issues of the following weeks and years developed a pattern in which evangelical piety and correct theology were administered in almost equal proportions with social criticism based on Christian Principals as in an article from the Free Church Magazine of Scotland, of April 22, 1848.

> Late riots in Scotland, no doubt stirred up by Chartists and Socialists, have been mainly taken advantage of by idle boys and thieves . . . It is a loud call on the Government not only to act on Christian Principles, but to do justice to the middle classes of the country, upon whose exertions, after all, the national peace must, humanly speaking, depand.

Increasingly more space was given to matters of local interest. Notices of the 'Mechanics Institute, the ladies' Missionary Societies, and the Halifax Philanthropical Society, were interspersed with news of a different kind, such as:

> Woman found Drowned!—in the well in the kitchen of a house on Barrack St. She lived in the attic and was seen half an hour earlier going downstairs under the influence of liquor.

On Jan. 15, a lecture by Mr. Forman on Astronomy at the Mechanic's Institute was apparently of equal importance with another news item:

> A successful experiment was performed by Dr. Almon in the presence of Dr. Parker and Dr. Brown of Horton. Dr. Almon amputated the thumb of a poor woman in the Poor Asylum. Chloroform was inhaled from a soft rag applied to nose and mouth. The poor woman expressed her thanks and in the judgement of all the experiment was a success.

On the same date it was reported that:

> A squaw was found dead in an old building in Mr. Cogswell's Field on the Common. She had sought shelter there and had been frozen to death. When discovered her face had been eaten by rats.

THE WITNESS continued in this manner with increasing support from the Presbyterian community, until, in 1855 it finally achieved a full time, and as it turned out, a life-time editor,—a young man of twenty-three named Robert Murray.

In 1902 Dalhousie granted him an honourary degree, and in 1905 there was a public celebration in St. Matthew's Church of his fiftieth year as editor of the WITNESS. On that occasion the Press[2] of Nova Scotia, some of whose members had crossed swords with him many times and had had reason to fear his waspish pen and devastating humour,—addressed him:

> The representatives of the Press of Nova Scotia desire to blend their congratulations with other public bodies upon the attainment of your jubilee as Editor of the PRESBYTERIAN WITNESS . . . The story of your life with its half century of stress and strain is the history of one of the most important periods of modern history,in a country destined to play a noble part in the arena of the world . . .
>
> For fifty years with a genious born of deep conviction and prophetic instinct, in thoughts that breathed and words that burned, your brain let loose through a pungent pen, has been moulding the lives of twice ten thousand . . .

Robert Murray was married in 1867 to Elizabeth Carey, daughter of 'Squire' John Carey of Baie Verte. They had five children. He died at his home called 'Studley'[4] on the Coburg Road, on December 12, 1910.

Notices of his death appeared in the newspapers across Canada, but in the Maritimes, and in Halifax itself, many columns were devoted to it.

In large capitals and with appropriate euphemism the Halifax Herald announced:-

NESTOR OF MARITIME JOURNALISM IS CALLED TO HIS LONG REST
DR. ROBERT MURRAY, UNIQUE IN THE PUBLIC LIFE OF EASTERN CANADA
FOR FIFTY YEARS EDITOR OF THE PRESBYTERIAN WITNESS, JOINS THE

GREAT MAJORITY NEWSPAPER LIFE NOWHERE ELSE IN CANADA PRESENTS A PARALLEL TO THE CAREER OF DR. MURRAY

On January 5, 1856, Robert Murray flexed his editorial muscles and announced some changes for the Witness:-

Henceforth it would be printed on larger sheets, "the size of the Nova Scotian,"[3] and it would offer two papers in one, by a division into Religious and Secular Departments; the great advantage being that the Secular part, giving "The pith of the news of the week, European, American and local, plus the claims of pure literature and information valuable to the farmer and man of business," could be folded away on Saturday evening, and the Religious part left out for Sabbath reading. Along with this offer of two papers for the price of one went a new system of financing subscriptions through "Clubs", or groups.

At the same time the priorities of the Religious Department were set forth:- "We shall always," the young editor declared blandly, "testify against infidelity, popery, puseyism,[4] Sabbath desecration, drunkeness, and vice of all kinds."

Although Infidelity was given precedence on the list of vices against which the witness was to testify, over the year Popery certainly received more space on its pages. Puseyism was regarded more in sorrow than in anger, as a weak imitation of Popery, in fact:

> The transition from Puseyism to rank Popery is an easy matter and the one system is just about as soul-destroying as the other.
> Witness April 13, 1861.

As for Sabbath Desecration, Robert Murray testified against that to the very end of his long life. On June 7, 1856, he wrote:-

> The Sabbath is God's Institution, the World's Institution is Sunday. To the claims of the Sabbath as

> stated in the Word of God, idleness, pleasure-seeking, or worldly conversation are just as hostile as the pursuit of our ordinary avocations. If it be true that our life on earth is a state of probation: if it be true that in twenty or thirty years, or forty, the fortunes we are amassing, the houses we are building or beautifying, and the social position which we are gaining, shall know us no more forever; and that we shall then commence an existence the happiness or misery of whose never-ending cycles shall be determined by considerations of which our worldly success shall form no part, surely it is not unreasonable that our eternal and irrevocable destiny should absorb one's thought during one day in seven.

Sabbath Desecration included everything not directly related to the worship of God. (excepting only acts of mercy or necessity). On March 1, 1856, therefore, the Witness notes with satisfaction that:-

> The British Cabinet has opposed a resolution to allow the working classes into the National Gallery and the British Museum after Church on Sundays.

(At that time most members of the working classes worked a twelve hour day, and a six day week.)

Not only in London, but in Halifax as well, there were those, like the Israelites of old, who had forgotten the smoking mountain and the "thick darkness where God was", and incurred God's wrath, to say nothing of the Presbyterians', by listening to band concerts on summer Sunday afternoons.

On August 9,1856, the Witness dealt with this subject:-

> At the risk of being styled Puritanic we must enter our most earnest protest against the desecration of the Lord's Day in this city by naval and military Bands.

Drunkeness, as the last-named vice against which the Witness was to testify, might seem in contrast to the others to be a non-denominational sin, practised then as now, in private by the rich and in public by the poor. But in fact,

for reasons perhaps apparent to sociologists, the cheap rum and whiskey, so easily available by the barrel, seemed to filter by a process something like osmosis, through the shanties and grog shops whose owners rejoiced in such names as Murphy and O'Brien. That the Highlanders of Cape Breton, many of whom were also Roman Catholics, had a weakness for their Mountain Dew, could not be denied, but was attributed to purely theological causes; in their case their nationality alleviated their sin. To the opprobrium of the Murphys and O'Briens however, was added the suspicion that the Irish were quite unappreciative of the benefits of British Rule, which made drunkeness on their part all the more reprehensible.

During that summer of 1856, Robert Murray had again to risk being styled Puritanic, because of the Theatre Controvery. On July 12, he wrote:-

> Some of our contemporaries seem anxious that a theatre should be erected in Halifax. In this year intentions are generous and philanthropic of course. But while we give due credit for their motives, we disapprove utterly in their proposal. Have theatres proved of such vast benefit where they have been established for centuries that we must accept them as a Public boon? Or have they not been the means of temporal and spiritual degradation? We hope it may be a long day before the inhabitants of Halifax become so blind to their own highest interests as to encourage the erection of a theatre in our midst.

Two weeks later, on August 23, he took issue with the editor of the 'Colonist', (Dr. Charles Tupper's paper)

> . . . and in Nova Scotia we have a public newspaper coming forward unblushingly to defend and recommend Theatres and play-actors and to denounce the advocates of a Sanctified Sabbath!

And the next week, returning to the Theatre Controversy, Robert Murray cites 'La Traviata' as an example of an

immoral play, and suggests that the editor of the 'Colonist', instead of going to the Theatre, should spend his evening by his own fireside, reading and studying the Bible.

In the following years, under the impetous of Robert Murray's Presbyterian zeal, physical energy, crusading spirit and waspish humour the Witness prospered, entering into every political, social and religious controversy with zest; crossing swords with other newspapers who were so deceived as to hold contrary views, and invariably coming out of the battle victorious. How could it be otherwise when the Witness was always on the side of true religion and true liberality?

While no doubt there were those Nova Scotians, not so fortunate as to be Presbyterians, who did not wish to be informed, and were definitely not amused, by the Witness, numbers and sectarian prejudice were on its side. The Witness prospered and the young editor was soon gratified by a letter signed "A Free Churchman", ending:-

> . . . I am happy to add that the Presbyterian Witness is the most popular paper that comes to Pictou. The great inquiry is "What says the Witness on this question or that question?"

A RUN TO TRURO

(The editor of the PRESBYTERIAN WITNESS writes on his way to Earltown, Colchester County, where he will spend a holiday on the family farm.)

July 20, 1861,

Hard is his fate who is condemned to spend all the hot weeks of summer in the dust and fog and smoke of town, dreaming all the while of the woods, of hillocks blushing with strawberries, of lapping waters, cool shadows, gentle breezes and singing birds. Dreaming of the country and

enjoying it in real life are two different things—though each is delightful in its own way. You do not always have trees over your head; strawberries and cream will not rush spontaneously to your lips; brooklets do not always gurgle and splash by your feet; the wind is not always cool, nor will the mosquitoes always mind their own business . . .

Halifax for the last few weeks was given over to fog, dense, sooty, wet, and stifling, or to drifting dust and intense sunshine. I made my escape out of it on Thursday morning, 6 o'clock.

After an hour of snorting, rumbling and screaming we were beyond the fog district and we could breathe freely. I felt disposed to admire even the barren,rocky region at and beyond the Junction . . .

It is pleasant to note the improvement in the farming districts all along the road. Elmsdale is rapidly becoming a village; and so is Shubenacadie. The traveller gets charming glimpses of the Stewiacke and Shubenacadie valleys as he passes through and his only regret is that he cannot see more of them, or enjoy the overflowing hospitality of the highly intelligent and sober peasantry who have turned this wilderness into fruitful fields.

. . . A little after ten o'clock we reach Truro, tidy, sunny, bonnie Truro, with its churches and schools and pleasant fields, its gardens all blooming with roses, its houses smiling out from overshadowing trees. Truro is thriving notwithstanding the hard times, and promises long to continue the prettiest village in Nova Scotia—as its people are the best. I say this with all possible respect for every other village in Nova Scotia—but so far as I have seen the people of Truro—the old substanstiantial families with the young shoots they have sent forth—it is no disgrace for any people to come second to them. They have their faults no doubt, and their faults are not hard to point out, but I, as a true blue Presbyterian as I am, do not like to point them out.

... I would recommend him who visits Truro, by all means to take a drive to the top of Penny's Mountain—up the North River Road. From its breezy summit you may inhale the odours of two hundred square miles, rich in the fullest bloom of summer, and you sniff from afar the foam of the Bay of Fundy itself. You may see ten or twelve churches and the habitations of four or five thousand men. The road is steep, very steep for a mile, but don't be alarmed for Truro horses, like Truro men, are canny and sure-footed, and however little they may care for your neck, they will take good care not to risk their own. However hot, breathless and oppressive the day down in the valley, you will here enjoy a stiff refreshing breeze; and if you are thristy there is a pleasant cottage. On the summit or near it, where you will be welcome to, not a drink of cold water, good as that is, but to a cool and delicious bowlful of milk.

Penny's Mountain reminds me of other mountains beyond, which are still more attractive to me. I Hasten off to see them, but as the reader is tired I will leave him for the present in that pleasant cottage over that delicious bowl of milk.

Earltown, July 14, 1861

What an ordeal it used to be a few years ago to travel this road in the Coach on one of these hot summer days! Six horses to eighteen or twenty passengers. People crowded together like Africans in the hold of a steamship, or lambs in a teamster's wagon ... Clouds of dust stifling us. Happy they who by prudent forethought or by the Driver's favor, could enjoy a spot on the outside, second, third, or fourth storey! Sixty-four miles of this sort of thing was possitively terrible in the month of July. The only relief to the painful monotony of the journey would be an occasional walk up a steep hill—a hot political discussion or a doleful dog-nap if you had possession of a corner.

Now, however the journey from Halifax to Truro is everything that is comfortable, plenty of room, fresh air,

swiftness, safety,—and all for nine and fourpence halfpenny,—whereas we used to pay twenty shillings for getting jolted, smothered, and roasted in the old Coach. I for one, feel thankful for the Railway, costly though it has been. One is glad to see signs of increasing traffic at the leading stations. Piles of timber, lumber of all sorts, bricks, free stone, country produce of every variety, going to Halifax; and bales of dry goods, barrels of sugar and flour, chests of tea and so forth, going from town to country.

One cannot hide from himself the fact that there are rum shanties along the line . . . The head of the department is responsible to the country for this abuse. Is he not a strong man?—a very Hercules? If so let him clean out these Augean Stables. It would be a mercy to the wretched vampyres themselves, if they were extinguished, their bottles broken, and their "white-eye" split, and they themselves compelled to some course of honest industry to earn a living.

The Editor of the PRESBYTERIAN WITNESS writes from Truro, July 2, 1864.—

This bonnie, bonnie town now wears the full crown of summer. Every summer adds to the charm of Truro. The houses are becoming tidier—the gardens better tended—the trees for shade more numerous. It is a place that in its appearance is worthy of the honest intelligent people who adorn it with their virtues, enrich it with their industry, and beautify it with their taste.

If I had time (and the WITNESS had space) I would like to lead the reader by the hand through Truro and point out to him its many attractions, and tell him of its good old folk who have gone to their long home—the Archibalds the Blanchards, the Christies, and others that *were*—and the honoured descendants of those God-fearing old Presbyterians.

. . . I may try this some other time . . .

That "tall and slender, straight and thin" man in the honest homespun coat is WILLIAM CHAMBERS—a man used to speak the truth in a plain, honest, simple way that it does people good at times to hear. O how the "ultramontanists" and their friends here used to hate him; and I don't suppose they have learned to love him yet. He has been rightly regarded as a good specimen of the "Clear Grits".

There, in the middle of the Opposition crescent sits a small, dark-haired, neat bit of a man who is always ready to put in a good word for Total Abstinence. It is Mr. LONGLEY. His hat is stuck so far down on his head that you don't see much of his face. When he speaks he is too slow: he says a word, looks at it, waits till its echo comes back from "these walls", and then utters another word which is served just the same way.—He is a strong and true Temperance man and therefore well worth a word of commendation. He is a very great admirer and most faithful follower of Mr. Johnston.

Up a little towards the Chair is Mr. McFARLANE, as efficient and sensible a man as in that house.—Face slightly florid—hair thinning into baldness and quite grey—forehead retreating with a rapidity that almost suggests a mediocre intellect; on the whole a fine-looking, pleasant, clever man. He deserves much praise for his discretion in not talking too much or too often. He rarely makes a long speech; but when anything stirs him he can *speak* well: never indulges in rhodomontate like—or vitriolic rhapsodies like ————————, (you must fill these blanks yourself!)

Silent as a statute, still as a stone, with a hilly and hollowy face, near a post, near the Speaker's chair, near Dr. Tupper, sits Mr. DONKIN. He always votes as his leaders dictate, and this is all I can say of him, as I never heard him open his mouth, and as he sits there in the same spot whenever I choose to look for him. I infer that he is a wise man; if he were a fool we would have heard of it long before now—he wouldn't have held his tongue.

Sometime when I have nothing else to do I'll relate to you the sad soliloquy of a silent member, but I must stop here now—take breath, and change my theme.

FOOTNOTES

1. Burgher; a member of the Established Church of Scotland Anti-Burgher; a member of the Free Church, the name assumed by those who at the 'Disruption' with the Church of Scotland in 1843, withdrew from connection with it.

Chambers Encyclopeadea Vol. iv, page 810

2. The Press (of Nova Scotia) is as free as that of England. There are at present thirteen newspapers published in the capital and five in the interior. The circulation of English newspapers has increased an hundred-fold since the establishment of the line of steam packets, and all the leading periodicals of the United Kingdom are looked for with as much eagerness and received with as much certainty as the London newspapers were in Scotland and Ireland a few years ago.

from Sir John Harvey's report of 1847
(quoted without acknowledgement
by R. Montgomery Martin
The British Colonies, vol. 1, page 192)

3. The **Novascotian**, Joseph Howe's paper.
4. Puseyism Pusey, Edward Bouverie, 1800-1882. Professor of Hebrew at Oxford. Contributor with John Henry Newman and others to 'Tracts for the Times', a member of 'The Oxford Movement', considered by many to be synonymous with Anglo-Catholicism.

The Life and Times of James Barclay Hall, Ph.D.

LEONE B. COUSINS

James Barclay Hall was born in the Village of Lawrencetown, Annapolis County in 1843, the same year that the Post Office was established there.

He was the eldest son in the family of seven children of John and Caroline Sarah (Longley) Hall.

Of English ancestry, the Halls arrived at Annapolis Royal from Massachusetts in 1760 and settled in Lower Granville just east of the Old Scotch Fort and today's Habitation. The family was prominent in the community and in the commercial life of the area and conducted an extensive mercantile and shipping business. The family owned a wharf, built ships and were proprietors of an "Entertainment House"—as the hotels and coach stops were called in the early days. They owned and operated one of the first vessels in Granville, the *Hall*. They were also among the early farmers.

The Longleys were of English ancestry as well. Israel arrived with his family from Groton, Massachusetts and settled in the Belleisle district. Three of his sons moved to

Paradise, while Israel Jr. remained in Granville. Asaph, the third son, was the father of Caroline Sarah. Her brothers were Avard (MLA, MP) and Israel, who became the father of Hon. James Wilberforce (MLA and Attorney-General of Nova Scotia 1886-1905). J. Wilberforce was also author of several books. It is likely that Wilberforce was an influence and example for James B. Hall, as they were friends in their adult life. Although six years younger, J. Wilberforce enrolled at Acadia two years prior to James.

John and Caroline Hall settled in Lawrencetown on the main village throughfare or Post Road, just west of the road over the river. Here they raised their family of seven children. It was a small and pretty village on the banks of the Annapolis River which was crossed by a covered bridge. There was the village doctor, the school of James Hardy in his own house, a few small stores, the Methodist meeting house, a small Sunday school class (one of the first), the Baptist church on the opposite side of the river, the Anglican Church, and the Stagecoach Inn. There was also a grist mill, a saw mill and a carding machine and, most important perhaps, the blacksmith shop. John Hall was a blacksmith and a farmer too. In the first half of the nineteenth century families had to be self-sufficient. There was a garden as well as fields of oats, barley, flax and wheat. Farm stock comprised cattle, sheep, pigs, and hens. Geese were kept for their feathers and down that make pillows and feather-beds. The women prepared the flax and wove the threads into linen. They made candles and soap, baked the bread, spun the wool into yarn and wove the cloth. There was little cash money in circulation.

John Hall's smithy was located near his house and buildings. He also had a stable and boarded and cared for the horses of one, Barnaby, who drove a coach on the line between Halifax and Annapolis. The elder Hall at one time exercised the horses for the "Pony Express",

carrying the mail between Halifax and Victoria Beach to the waiting steamer for Saint John and the telegraph, which had reached that city at the end of 1848. The run began at Halifax on February 21, 1849, when the rider picked up the mail packet from the overseas steamer, and galloped off toward Granville. The rider changed horses every 12 miles. He sounded a horn a half mile before he reached the stop and his fresh mount would be saddled and ready. This always furnished great excitement for the villagers along the route. The rider of the rival line changed horses at Ross's Inn (next east of the present Baptist Church) at Lawrencetown, which was a regular coach stop. When the "Pony Express" reached Granville, a fresh mount would be ready at "Entertainment House", the establishment of the Hall family. Among their business enterprises was a stable; it is probable that John Hall, Sr. learned his trade at Hall's in Granville. The telegraph line reached Halifax in November, 1849 and the "Pony Express" passed into history.

By the 1850's plans were afoot to upgrade the public schools. Schools were supported by parents and government, each paying a small sum for each pupil. A school was frequently a room in the schoolmaster's house, or a plain one-room building. All ages might be found in the same room—sometimes one as old as 20 years, another as young as five. There were private schools for girls. Boys usually attended public school only in the winter, since they were needed on the farm during the planting and harvesting seasons.

Often the education of a boy was simple reading, writing, and arithmetic. The larger settlements usually had better school; but any school was only as good as the schoolmaster!

The institutions of higher learning were Acadia College, Wolfville and Dalhousie at Halifax. Academies or prep schools were Horton associated with Acadia, King's Collegiate at Windsor, and Pictou Academy. These

were established by the Baptist, Anglican, and Presbyterian denominations, respectively. The earliest public schools were under the supervision of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which was an organization directed by the Anglican Church in England. By the 1850's it appeared the Government at last would do something constructive for the school system. There was talk of Free Schools, paid for by taxation of property. While this was unpopular with those who had no children, or with their children already grown, it was welcome news to parents of large families. The census of 1861 showed about five-eighths of the province outside Halifax was without opportunity for, or benefits of schooling.

In February the Free School Act was introduced in the legislature. It became law in May, 1864. The province was divided into numbered sections wherever there was a need for a school, and new buildings went up quickly.

Times were changing. Confederation was fast becoming a reality, and the railroads had begun its march from Windsor to Annapolis. The first sod was turned at the crossing on the Leonard Road on July 20, 1867, by Mrs. Charlotte (Troop) Longley, wife of the Hon. Avard, MLA, Commissioner of Railways for the Province. He was an uncle of James Barclay Hall. Confederation of the four provinces—Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick—had been achieved just nineteen days before. The day of the stage coach would soon be past.

About this time James B. Hall took stock: here he was 23 years of age; a blacksmith in his father's forge, the eldest son usually following the father's pattern, as he could rarely be spared from the home. By now the two younger brothers could easily take his place. Horses would not be important when the trains began to run. He made his decision.

"I'm going to get an education!" he declared, and hanging up his leather apron, he left the forge forever.

Back to school he went. It would be very difficult; in fact, it was sheer drudgery. There was no advanced class in the village, so what help and encouragement he received took place at the schoolmaster's desk, and that probably after school hours. James persisted. In 1869, he was ready for his first test. He would be a teacher and, therefore, must pass the entrance exam to Horton Academy, the nearest prep school. He wrote the exam, barely passing; but he was on his way. Hall must have been greatly influenced by his cousin Wilberforce Longley; the two were friends throughout their lives, and J. W. was, by now, enrolled at Acadia College.

So, in 1869, James Barclay Hall enrolled at Horton Academy Preparatory School. He never looked back. He graduated B.A. from Acadia in 1873 and M.A. in 1877. He received his degree of Ph.D. from Boston University that same year, as well.

He was now 34 years of age; a slim, handsome man—reserved but friendly and with an air of distinction. He returned to his native village as he would do for many years to come. When eventually he retired after 38 years in the field of education, he made his home in his beloved Lawrencetown. But retirement was far in the future; here and now James would do something for the young. During the preceding years he had helped and encouraged his youngest brother, Fred, in his education. Now the brothers opened a High School or Academy in Lawrencetown. It was a private school for boys; the public school had only the elementary grades. It was just about this time that the new school section had been set off and a two-room public school built. While James was operating his private school he demonstrated his concern for the welfare of the community when he joined with two other gentlemen of the village to open its first Bank. His banking interests foreshadowed a lifelong habit of care and shrewdness in monetary affairs. At any rate, this initial private venture later became the branch of the

Royal Bank of Canada which still serves Lawrencetown and district.

During the second year of the private school venture, Dr. J. B. accepted a call to the principalship of Horton Academy, and Fred continued as head of the Lawrence school for a time. James was only one year at Horton when he was engaged to fill the chair of "History of Education" and "Methods in Language and History" at the Provincial Normal School in Truro. He had found his niche; it was to be in the field of education. He would, for the next thirty years, encourage the young to improve the mind, and inspire the teacher to gain an understanding of the principles of the *divine art of teaching.*

Dr. Hall settled into life at the Normal School and in the town which continued it. He made friends—a close one being G. O. Fulton, owner and proprietor of a fine bookstore on Inglis Street. When Fulton married a young teacher, a graduate of the Normal School—Nina Amelia Fellows of Granville—on September 5, 1881, Dr. Hall was the "best man". He was a second cousin of the father of the bride through grandparents being brother and sister. James always had an affection for the large family connection of which he was a part. He remained a warm friend of the Fultons during his years in Truro.

The public schools in Truro were associated with the Normal School to the extent that they were Model Schools in which student teachers could observe how things should be done. The founder of the Normal School, Dr. Forrester, had arranged for a Kindergarten to be a model also. Dr. Hall was quite enthusiastic about the school for young children and he was instrumental in placing others in a number of schools of the province. He became Secretary of the Kindergarten Committee, and set up and participated actively in that organization for some years, promoting the adoption of the Kindegarten class in schools throughout the province.

In 1883 (the same year his mother died at 72) Dr. Hall went to Europe for three months, visiting schools and universities in many leading cities. He was particularly interested in the German educational institutions, and here he got much of his driving force for kindergartens—the Germans being founders of the original system, which they named. He was also interested in German technical schools and in methods and administration of technological programs. He had the nub of an idea which would germinate and bear fruit in a tangible way, years later—a technical school for his own village.

About this time Dr. Hall, with other members of the faculty, organized the Normal School Alumni Association—from this emerged the Summer School of Science for the Atlantic Provinces of Canada, which had its first session in 1887. It was a refresher course for teachers. The faculty was made up of educationalists (teachers and professors) from Mount Allison University, Acadia College, and the Academies of Yarmouth and Amherst, the two provincial normal schools, and one member from the school systems in Halifax and Kentville.

In 1892 the school met in St. John. There were 60 students registered, 18 from Nova Scotia. In 1893 the session was in Sackville, N.B., July 5 to July 20.

Looking at the brochure of that session, one wonders how they crammed it all into two weeks. One could only hope that the weather would co-operate, since there were three outings scheduled, and it was during "horse and buggy days." The brochure (26 pages) listed the Board of Directors:

> President and Faculty of Instructors
> Principal and Faculty of Normal Schools
> Inspectors of Schools

The President was J. B. Hall, Ph.D.

When Summer School met in 1903, on Tuesday, July 21 to Friday, Aug. 7—a day longer—at Chatham, N.B., some of the names had changed, but Dr. Hall was still one of the faculty.

In 1889-90, Dr. Hall returned to Europe and spent a year in study and observation of educational work in schools and universities of Germany. He visited many of the schools and studied at Berlin University under Paulsen and Lazarus.

On May 9 he arrived at Jena, scene of the crushing defeat of the Prussian army by Napoleon in 1806. Jena was famous also for its Academy, and in particular for its chair of Philosophy, held by Professor Rein at this date. James B. was enrolled as a "candidate in Philosophy." He duly received his certificate of attestation, couched in classical Latin which, in translation, reads:

At the Academy of Jena

> Under Charles Alexander, grand duke of Saxony, Prince of Weimar and Eisenach, landgrave of Thuringia, marquis of Meissen, Count of the first rank of henneberg and lord of Blankenhain, Neustadt, and Tautenburg, as its Honorary President,
> James Hall, an Englishman and candidate in philosophy, having, in my presence and capacity as prorector, confirmed his name, country, and course of studies, has promised, under solemn oath, that he will readily and willingly obey the statutes of this Academy that have been or will be issued under the authority of our Governors; that he will faithfully respect the decrees of the Senate and the decisions of our lawful judges; that he will never attach himself to any unlawful factions nor will in any way contribute to the creation of such under any pretext; and that he will never, through wicked contrivance, work anything against this university that might bring it trouble and harm. Wherefore, having been enrolled in this academic community, he has received this document in testimony thereof, sealed with the seal of

this Academy, and signed by own hand in my capacity as Chancellor,
Jena, in the year of our Lord, 1890, on the ninth day of the month of May

Wilhelm Muller
Prorector of the Academy

On his return, Hall published an essay—a small volume entitled "Notes on the German Schools." This was an outline of his observations of common schools, and it appeared in 1890. The little book left no doubt but that education was James B.'s vocation.

In the preface he expresses the hope that his outlines might be the means of inspiring some young teachers to gain a more comprehensive knowledge of the principles of which the *divine art of teaching* is based.

A notation at the back of the small volume reads:

Outlines of Pedagogical Psychology
Logic
and
History of Pedagogics
by
J. B. Hall Ph.D.
Normal School
Truro

This was the projected title for his next work. It was published by William Briggs, Toronto, with the revised title:

Outlines
of
Psychology, Logic
and
The History of Education
by
J. B. Hall Ph.D.
Prov. Normal School

Certainly, this was a more attractive summary of its contents. The presentation was divided into three sections or chapters, each covering a topic of the title.

The third topic, *History of Education,* touches on various aspects of education from the Ancients, through the Greek, Roman, to the early Christian; the Middle Ages, the sixteenth century, Jesuits, philosophers of the seventeenth century, pedagogs of the eighteenth, and many learned Europeans are discussed. He closes with observations on education at that time as found in European countries such as Germany and England, and on education in the United States and Canada.

He included a table giving "approximately the percentages of illiteracy among persons over 10 years of age" in 19 countries. Hall does not state his source of reference, nor does he include a date. He begins his list with Prussia at 1.14%, Germany 4% and ends with India at 95%. The United States is recorded with 25%, but there is no entry for Canada. The Prussian entry given to two decimal places of a percentage point, suggests an acceptance of the official figure issued by the State Education Office, acquired while he was at Jena, while the other figures are doubtless estimates of one sort or another. At any rate, he gives a glowing account of education in the Dominion of Canada. One has the feeling, though, that it is a biased and selective report.

In 1891 Dr. Hall had been appointed "examiner in teaching" for Nova Scotia, and in this capacity visited the rural and urban schools. He was Vice-President of the Dominion Education Association and represented Nova Scotia in the Dominion History Competition 1895-96.

He was also a provincial examiner for the Board of Education, and for many years supervised the students who sat for their provincial exams at Bridgetown High School. His subject was Geography. Dr. Hall also supervised and graded the papers written by prospective

teachers, who were high school graduates, and required to write and pass a set of papers known collectively as Minimum Professional Qualifications (MPQ). These covered three subjects; a pass was the prerequisite for securing a Teacher's License without Normal School Training. Education and Educational Methods was the paper assigned to Dr. Hall; the other two were School Hygiene and School Law and Forms. He is listed in Belcher's *Farmers Almanac* for 1920, under Education, as Examiner for High School Geography, and M.P.Q. Subject, No. 2.

A former teacher, retired these many years, recalls that J. B. was supervisor when she sat for her MPQ Exams at Bridgetown High School in 1920. As she struggled with the unfamiliar vocabulary of Educational Methods, Dr. Hall dozed gently behind the teacher's desk. He was 78 at that time, well-known throughout the Valley, respected by one and all.

Usually James B. spent part of the summer in Lawrencetown, with his young brother Fred and their sister Bertha. In the summer of 1894, for example the reunion of the Bents took place in Paradise. On August 17, the family of Warren and Frances (Schaffner) Bent gathered at the homestead, next door to Israel Longley, brother of Caroline Sarah Hall, and the father of James Wilberforce, MLA and Attorney General of Nova Scotia 1886-1905. More than one hundred guests in the form of relatives from California to Halifax, gathered at the beautiful home and grounds which were decorated for the gala occasion. The Halls were cousins of the Schaffners, and the Longleys, cousins of the Bents.

The gathering was addressed by several of the distinguished guests, among whom were, The Hon. James Wilberforce Longley and his cousin Dr. James Barclay Hall. The latter expressed his pleasure at being present at the grand family reunion. He felt such meetings would tend to "enlarge men's sympathies and make them more

cosmopolitan." According to the *Weekly Monitor,* Bridgetown, the happy occasion came to a close with "God Be With You Till We Meet Again" and the national anthem, "God Save The Queen."

In looking through the calendar of the Provincial Normal School, Dr. Hall is first mentioned in 1889 as teacher of Language and History; in 1893, "History of Education" and "Method in Geography" were added; in 1904 he was teaching "Psychology and Civics." His name J. B. Hall, Ph.D., appears for the last time in 1910-11.

In 1901 he spent some time at Edinburgh University.

In 1903 Dr. Hall's picture was published in Truro News, May 27, with an article on the session of the School would meet in Chatham, N.B., Tuesday, July 21 to Friday, August 7. Dr. Hall was listed as a Director. It states the "school has been growing in efficiency ever since it was established 16 years ago."

The motto adopted by the school: "Recreative, Interesting, and Educational," expresses the aims of the group.

Ambitious plans were taking shape that year! It had been suggested that "an ideal session of the summer school would be to take a trip across the Atlantic." A committee had been appointed to investigate holding summer school in the British Isles and reported, "the entire cost of such a meeting need not be more than $150.00."

Indicative of the prevailing salary scale:
'The founders of the summer school were themselves all teachers and fully realized that, unless the cost was very moderate, the teachers whose special benefit was desired, would be debarred (sic) from attendance. The tuition fee for the entire course is only $3.50. The article went on to say "similar institutions for a course no fuller (sic) charge from $30 to $40." '

Teachers were advised that the exceptionally moderate rates could be obtained by an early application to the local Secretary of the Summer School.

It is not known if the students made the trip to the British Isles, but, knowing the expertise of James B. in organization, we suspect that a subsequent session of the Atlantic School of Science may have been convened in the British Isles. See Annex B for the high points of the session of 1893.

In the triangular shaped invitation to the Class Day Exercises of the Provincial Normal College, class of 1911, June twenty-seventh, the Honorary President of the Institute is Dr. J. B. Hall Ph.D. and the program reads:

Farewell address Dr. J. B. Hall

Whether the farewell is to the graduates or Dr. Hall's farewell to the Institution is not stated, but probably the latter. James Barclay Hall, Ph.D., Educator, retired in 1911.

The motto for the class that year was "Follow, follow, thou shalt win." The words might have been said of Dr. Hall's own career, from the day he left the forge to go to school back in his native village in 1866, to the moment his teaching days came to an end, forty-five years later.

Dr. Hall is remembered by members of the Class of 1911 as a very kind person, with a good sense of humour, who took a great interest in each of his students. Miss E. Bessie Lockhart of Wolfville writes:

> Dr. Hall was a very genial gentleman. He was especially interested in "environment" and "ecology" though these are new names . . . Although he was our professor, he treated us all as equals . . . he was a real teacher.

P. N. C. Students

Myrtle Neily Beaton, a native of Niteaux, and a former teacher in the Canadian West, remembers Dr. Hall

as a friendly and competent teacher, who encouraged the students to accept responsibility. Looking back 68 years she feels that there was a special rapport between Dr. Hall and the Normal students from his native Annapolis County.

At the end of a long and successful career he returned to his native village.

Retirement Years in Lawrencetown

With retirement an actuality, Dr. Hall returned to his home in his beloved Lawrencetown, but not to idleness. He had maintained over the years a close relationship with family and friends, and had always a deep interest in the local school.

In 1890 a pupil of the Lawrencetown school placed first in a Dominion-wide competition for an original true story. This occasion was marked by a celebration when Miss Maude Saunders was presented with the prize, a beautiful piano, bearing an engraved silver plate. The whole village turned out to do her honour at a gathering in Whitman Hall, October 30, 1890. She had placed first among 2357 entries from across Canada.

The address on this occasion was delivered by Dr. James B. Hall, following the presentation of the prize. Among other speakers was Dr. Hall's brother John, a trustee of the school, who spoke on their behalf.

So J. B. was no stranger to Lawrencetown—a native son had simply come home. Always an enthusiastic promoter of community improvement, civic reform and progress, he now assumed an active role in the life of the village. The community was much changed from the time when he and brother Fred had opened their private High School, some forty years before. Since the arrival of the railroad in 1869 the village had grown steadily. The main street was lined on both sides by stately elms, meeting

overhead to form a leafy arch. There were sidewalks, and a new bridge spanned the river. Fine comfortable homes, with landscaped lawns and flower gardens enclosed by white picket fences, were numerous. There were churches of three denominations, with two resident clergy; there was the hotel; there were several prosperous mercantile businesses and of course the telephone and telegraph. There was also the bank of which J. B., with other businessmen, was a co-founder, and a drug store. Two doctors and a dentist had extensive practices. Everywhere there were orchards: miles of fruit trees in the surrounding countryside.

On sidings adjacent to the railroad station were five apple warehouses. Here during the fall and winter the farmers packed apples and loaded waiting box-cars for the rail trip to Halifax to be shipped to the West Indies and British Isles. Summer was the busy season, with crops and gardens to care for. Two regular express trains passed east and west six days of the week carrying mail and passengers. There were also two daily freights and, during the summer season, two "Flying Bluenose" went zipping through the Valley carrying visitors and tourists each way between Halifax and the "Boston boat" at Yarmouth. The Bluenose stopped only at the larger centers unless flagged down. Every summer visitors arrived in Lawrencetown by this means, spending the season as boarders at the village hotel or on the Bay Shore. For many years several members of a family would leave home to make a career in the United States, particularly Massachusetts, and would return to spend their annual vacation with their families in Nova Scotia. Dr. Hall's youngest brother, Frederick, was one such emigrant.

There was also a week-end train—the one between Annapolis and Halifax. The milk train went through in the cool of the evening, picking up the milk-cans left on the station platforms by the farmer.

Trains were great company for country people. There were dozens of crossings and the engineer, by law, sounded the whistle which could be heard for much more than a mile in clear weather. Indeed one could foretell the weather by the tone to the whistle, which sounded deeper and nearer, with a drop in the barometer, forecasting rain. One could almost set one's watch by the "noon train". Village people frequently walked to the station to mail a letter, as well as just to see who alighted from, or boarded, the train.

People walked to do their errands and shopping. Groceries were delivered by horse and wagon, and left on the kitchen table. Doors were rarely locked—day or night. Everybody in the village was known by everyone else, at least by sight. The mail was picked up at the village Post Office while exchanging the "time of day" with neighbours, en route. At twelve sharp the mill whistle sounded, which was the signal to lay down tools and go straight home to dinner which was the main meal of the day. Supper was a more leisurely affair, but promptly at six in the evening.

For amusement there were sleigh rides, parties, pie socials, and skating on the river in winter; family picnics on Ross-Hall's Island, or the Bay Shore by hay-ride, in the summer. Nearby towns observed national holidays alternately, sometimes with horse races.

Sunday was a peaceful quiet day of rest—no trains and no mill-whistle. Nearly every family had a driving-horse and a carriage, double-seated for families with children, and on fine Sunday afternoons the family usually enjoyed an outing visiting nearby friends or relatives. One had already greeted friends nearer to hand, at the morning church service.

It was an easy, relaxed, and happy way of life into which James B. Hall, with his friendly nature, fitted easily. Indeed, one looks back on this way of life with a

certain nostalgia. Just as the arrival of the railroad was followed by change, so the day of the motor-car, just over the horizon, would arrive inevitably and this way of life would be no more.

Meantime Dr. Hall, never idle for long, picked up the threads of his new way of life. This tall, spare figure, wearing a bowler hat, and carrying a walking-stick was already familiar to the residents of Lawrencetown. He was to be an important member of the community for the next seventeen years. He was interested in the schools, particularly in education of the youth—probably recalling his own youth and how he narrowly missed his own vocation, through his early years at the blacksmith's forge.

On reflecting on the life of Dr. James B. one is struck by how this brilliant man, who had so much to offer, almost didn't make it. His youth was sheer agony, as he struggled to master the simple rudiments of reading. At age 23, a tall, gangling and shy youth, his hands shaped by the tools of his early trade, he persevered—sometimes amid ridicule from the children in the class. On one occasion he was faced with having to pronounce the word *psalm*. He always tried, and after puzzling for a few moments: "Slam", he exclaimed confidently—only to be humiliated by his error. However, with his brilliant intellect, rapid progress was inevitable once he had mastered the simple rudiments of language. Wasn't it fortunate that he succeeded, for the cause of education in Nova Scotia was advanced by the energy and intellect of Dr. James B. Hall!

A departure from his usual way of life occurred soon after J. B.'s return to Lawrencetown. He was persuaded to throw his hat into the political arena. He ran on the Liberal ticket for a seat in the Provincial Legislature, representing Annapolis County in the Election of 1911. His opponent was Norman H. Phinney, of the well-known

Phinney Music Company, a life-long resident of Lawrencetown. The two candidates were friends, but the contest was on; and a serious struggle it was. When the final votes were counted, Phinney had won. James B. was not unduly disturbed. He resumed his interrupted activities, in church and community affairs. Both men were interested and active in the plan for a "Building an Agricultural Organization" in the Valley, located (hopefully) in Lawrencetown. This project would eventually be realized.

During the first years of retirement Dr. Hall made his home with his only surviving sister, Bertha, though he was not far from their brother John, and other members of the family. Hall remained a close friend of his cousin the Honourable J. Wilberforce Longley—Attorney-General (1886-1905). The two enjoyed fishing and they made an occasional trip together to Albany Cross for a day or two at this popular sport.

James was active in the Lawrencetown Methodist (United) Church and was busy in a variety of community organizations where he was frequently a speaker. He was an enthusiastic promoter (if not the actual founder) of the Lawrencetown Library: he was active in the Literary Society, which was a group which convened monthly during the fall and winter months at the homes of different members. Individual members subscribed to a particular magazine; these were circulated through the group. At the meetings a programme was enjoyed by all: perhaps a one-act play or selections by the male quartette; often a debate; sometimes an address.

Dr. Hall visited the near-by schools, often addressing the classes in his easy way. He visited the new three room school in Lawrencetown which, by then included the high school grades. By 1925 a new and larger building would include the special departments of Domestic Science, Manuel Training, and Music. A laboratory and a library were also included. It probably occurred to James B. that

Education had come a long way since 1866, the year he had entered the Baptist Church school (at 23) to begin his education.

The even tenor of village life was rudely shattered by World War I which broke out on August 4, 1914 and continued to November 11, 1918. Things would never be the same again! A way of life was gone forever. With the war, everyday life in the small communities was indeed changed. Nearly all men of military age, who could be spared, enlisted and went 'off to War'. Those left behind coped with the shortages. Farmers worked harder, since other hands which formerly held the plow now carried a rifle. Everyone worked for the "War Effort". Every community had a Red Cross organization. Concerts and drives for funds were the order of the day. School children were drilled in flag-waving marches. The women knit, quilted, sewed, and packed parcels for the Red Cross to send to hospitals and to the boys at the front. Dr. Hall was active in that organization; he had the time and the talent.

Although the war effort was top priority, local affairs were not forotten. In the years immediately prior to the outbreak of hostilities, the government had toyed with the idea of erecting an agricultural Demonstration Building, in the fertile Annapolis Valley. It would be a sort of centre, and operated for the benefit of the farmer. Nothing had come of it. Most considered the idea as 'election talk'. They reckoned without Dr. J. B. Hall. Always the enthusiastic promoter of any cause furthering education, whether academic or practical, he joined the valley enthusiasts and became a prime exponent of the plan for construction of a government building for agricultural purposes, preferably in Lawrencetown.

He and others worked tirelessly. After many a meeting, a good deal of politicking, and the usual pressures, Lawrencetown was finally selected as the site, right in the heart of the farming district.

Dr. Hall and other interested citizens were delighted and work began at once. It was completed during the war. Immediately it justified its reason for being. The Department of Agriculture offered short courses for farmers. The Women's Institute promoted short courses on cooking and canning. A large number attended.

Dr. J. B. Hall was gratified. He believed one should never give up learning. He enthusiastically began to plan a gala celebration to mark the opening of the facility. This would be for school children: a United School Exhibition. It was sponsored and promoted by Dr. J. B. , himself. All summer, mothers and daughters were sewing, hooking, knitting, and canning. Boys were grooming their calves, and coaxing the vegetables to grow bigger and better. A sample of every variety of fruit and vegetable was put into a pint jar, sealed and polished, and labelled ready for the great day. Miss Eileen Henderson of the Department of Rural Science, Provincial Normal College was in the neighbourhood for the summer. Her headquarters were at the Demonstration Building. She worked tirelessly, teaching canning, in the new type jars with a spring top, to mothers and daughters.

At last the great day arrived, Wednesday, September 12, 1917. It was a gala occasion for the Valley. The exhibits were many and varied, and a great credit to the exhibitors, who were the school children of the area. The emphasis was on their work. A single exhibit might have as many as 36 varieties of fruit and vegetables. Schools rendered musical numbers. There were games, swings, races, and speeches, a wonderful get-together. Prizes were awarded and the happy occasion ended with "God Save The King". None was any happier than James B. Hall, who had fathered the whole idea.

When the building was constructed, a room had been set aside for the club-room of the Literary Society. It was finished in fine wood panelling, with a fire-place, shelves

for books, carpeted and well-lighted; it was a handsome club-room. Unfortunately the room was demolished when the building was renovated. The original, plus a dozen additional buildings including a sports arena or rink, is presently the home of the County Exhibition patronized by people from far and near. This well-known annual event grew out of Dr. Hall's first one-day United School Exhibition—Admission 10 Cents. He would see the first Annapolis County Fair and Exhibition at the Demonstration Building and grounds in September, 1927.

"Once a teacher; always a teacher", it has been said. Certainly teaching was Dr. Hall's true vocation, and always uppermost in his mind. He had a really innovative idea toward the end of the war. He conceived the idea of furthering the education of those adults who had not the advantages of a good school in their early years.

Since J. B. rarely had an idea which was not followed by action, he promptly opened an evening class for adult men and youth of the community. The class met in the vestry of the Methodist (United) Church and Dr. Hall taught elementary arithmetic and English to a fair-sized group. Among those attending the classes were Homer and Miner Daniels and Dave Whitman from the south side of the river, and Charles Harris from Brickton.

Mr. Harris remembers the class vividly, 'Dr. Hall was an enthusiastic and humourous instructor who had a personal interest in the purposes of each—and "wonderful at explaining." ' It was at this period that the idea of Adult Education became popular. Several towns and communities throughout the province organized similar classes, no doubt the origin of today's Continuing Education programme.

At about the same time a committee of interested citizens, including Dr. Hall, organized the first public Library in Lawrencetown, the beginning of the present much larger facility.

When the war years with their anxieties, sorrows, shortages, and toil were a thing of the past, people picked up the threads of their ordinary lives. Many changes had come to the village.

With the Library a reality, evening classes a going concern, the Demonstration Building a real physical presence, and Dr. James B. Hall an enthusiastic promoter of all, it seemed appropriate for the citizens to make some tangible show of appreciation toward their native son.

Accordingly, at a gathering of friends and fellow-citizens, on February 17, 1919, Lawrencetown paid tribute to a distinguished son, James Barclay Hall, Ph.D. He was presented with an illuminated address, 'as a spontaneous expression of our genuine feelings,' and 'a slight indication of the eminent regard and honour in which you are held'. It was signed by N. H. Phinney, L. A. Morris, H. H. Whitman, R. J. Messenger and F. G. Palfrey.

During the years since his return to Lawrencetown Dr. Hall had continued his visits to the public schools, his first love. As he went from class to class he reflected on the education provided for the youth of the province, particularly in his native county. The nucleus of a plan formed in his mind. It would reach fruition many years later.

He saw the need for some further and practical training for the youth, other than, or in addition to, the academic courses offered by High School and University. He considered something along the lines of a Vocational School, where the youth could learn skills applicable to his future life in the community, or on the farm. In all probability Dr. Hall had had this concept in his mind since his exposure to the German Technical Schools many years before.

Dr. Hall continued as Examiner of High School and Teachers' MPQ papers written each year at the end of June! In the year 1920, at 77 years of age the name Dr. J. B.

Hall appeared among others, on the Board of Provincial Examiners for the Department of Education.

When James B. Hall was 78 years of age, a great change came into his life. He was active and in good health, but the tempo of his life had slowed somewhat. Many of his contemporaries had passed on. Less active, he had time for reflection. Perhaps he realized, 'it's later than you think', more likely he was simply lonely. For whatever the reason, early in the year he took a big step, and on January 12, 1921 Dr. James Barclay Hall married Clara (Willett) Bancroft, widow of his friend, the late Samuel Bancroft, and a distant cousin, as well as long-time friend and neighbour.

The marriage was a wonderful change for James B. For all his long life he had lived and worked for others. He had had no personal or intimate life, such as most men know. Now for the years remaining, he would be loved and cared for by a fine and gracious lady. J. B. was personally happy, and deeply appreciative of Clara's care and devotion. Soon after the marriage, one evening she passed her husband his slippers, as many a wife has done a thousand times, but the husband's reaction was unusual. At this homely act of wifely thoughtfulness J. B.'s eyes filled with tears. As he explained, 'it was the first time in his life that anyone had performed a simple act for his personal comfort as a gesture of affection.' They were happy. James enjoyed his new status, and their home was conspicious for gracious hospitality during the next seven years.

On the marriage of a young friend, Clara made plans to host the wedding reception, following the ceremony. After lengthy preparation, everything was in readiness. The wedding party and guests arrived at the Hall residence.

Tables has been laid with flowers, linen and silver; the guests were seated, when the bell rang again. Upon

opening her front door Clara was confronted by two Micmac chiefs, clad in full regalia, feathered headdresses included, and carrying several baskets. Clara knew they were not wedding guests, and explained she was occupied, and bade them "Good day". The Indians were not to be put off, they would like to see the bridal couple and present the baskets as a gift. Always the gracious hostess, Clara was compelled to acquiesce, and opened the door wide. The Indians entered. They presented their baskets, looked for a seat, and remained. Clara hastily laid two places and the "wedding feast" proceeded.

Presently it was time for the departure of the happy couple for the honeymoon. The Ford car was waiting at the gate, decorated with white streamers and the traditional old shoe trailing behind, the good luck symbol. The bride and groom ran the gauntlet in a shower of rice and laughter, and reached their get-away car. Who should be occupying the seats, one in each front and back, but the chiefs! Nothing would budge them, so the couple set out on their honeymoon, each seated beside a Micmac chief in his feathered bonnet. Unusual to say the least. Dr. Hall was amused by the episode, and Clara's discomfiture. It became one of his favorite stories.

The whole episode had been staged by friends of the groom. It was just another quaint custom peculiar to that era, like serenading "newlyweds", by putting a pig in the bedroom, or the bucket from the well up the flagpole on the barn. In the earlier days they created their own fun.

James carried on his usual activities and celebrated his 85th birthday during the summer of 1928. He had not forgotten his dream of a vocational school for the youth of the County. He had often discussed it with Clara. Nothing had really been decided but he had evolved a plan which he felt would be viable, in the future.

During the summer and fall of 1928, Dr. Hall sold various pieces of real estate, including the Ross-Hall house in September (brother John had died in 1922). In the

fall, Dr. Hall fell ill, and by November it became obvious that he must finalize his plan and settle his affairs accordingly. He would not recover from this illness. His condition worsened and Clara summoned their lawyer, K. L. Crowell, from Bridgetown.

He arrived promptly at the Hall residence and the three discussed the matter of J. B.'s estate and his plan for founding a training school in the foreseeable future with the residue, having first provided for Clara during her lifetime. 'Clara was in full accord with the wishes of her husband', Judge Crowell affirms.

Accordingly the barrister drew up the last will and testament of James Barclay Hall on November 24, 1928 A.D. T. G. Palfrey and K. L. Crowell witnessed the signature. The will directed the trustees to set up a Trust Fund of $25,000, the income from which would go to Clara during 'the term of her natural life', and after her death the amount of the Fund should be added to his residuary estate. He further instructed the trustees to invest the balance, over and above the amount of the Trust, in authorized securities, 'and when the fund so invested together with the accrued interest shall amount to Sixty-five Thousand Dollars', it should be used to found a Vocational School in the County of Annapolis. '. . . the plans, the nature of and location of which shall be decided upon by the Superintendent of Education for the Province of Nova Scotia . . . and my said wife, Clara E. Hall'.

When the $25,000 mentioned reverted to his residuary personal estate, it was stipulated that this amount would be held in trust with the annual income therefrom to be used 'toward the support, maintenance and operation of the said Vocational School.'

As events turned out, it would be thirty years before the testamentary bequest was given effect. In 1958 some $80,000 was applied to the capital cost of a building in Lawrencetown for the N.S. Land Survey Institute. The trust fund established for "support, maintenance and

operation" of the school Hall envisaged to almost $70,000 and the annual income is directed to the provision of books for the Institute library.

Thus, at the close of a long unselfish life dedicated to helping others, the last act of James Barclay Hall was to advance the cause of Education—the aim and purpose of his life for 57 years.

At 5:30 P.M., November 26, 1928 his earthly life came to an end.

The High Points of the Summer School Brochure, 1893

Some eighty-five years later the programme would have little appeal—no microphones, movie camera, nor automobile, no rock and roll, not even a debate. Education must have been a serious matter indeed in 1893.

The opening session was in the Convocation Hall, Mount Allison, President of the University delivered the address of welcome. The Sup. of Education for each of the three provinces responded on behalf of the Institute.

J. B. Hall Ph.D., President of the School of Science, delivered the opening address and (it was hoped) would be followed by Premier of Nova Scotia, W. S. Fielding, and Premier Blair of New Brunswick—Music by a select choir.

The President, Dr. Hall, received the members of the gathering at a reception, where "citizens and scientists had an opportunity to become mutually acquainted."

> The Instructors and other members of the school will lodge and board in the Institution. Ladies in the Ladies College; gentlemen in the Collegiate Academy. All will board at the same table.
>
> This band of intelligent men and women, will meet socially around the same table from day to day, giving the school something of the aspect of a continuous picnic.

One feature of the Round Table Talks would be the "Educational Symposium," three or four meetings during the session at which subjects of vital and practical importance will be discussed.

The work in the school was especially arranged for the benefit of those who wished to study the *Natural Sciences, Music, Elocution* and *Literature.*

Students were to be directed in collecting, classifying, naming and mounting specimens in *Botany, Mineralogy* and *Zoology* for use in their home school. Lab work, experimenting, disecting, and taxidermy would be emphasized in the study of Natural Science.

All this, and lectures in *Literature, Pedagogy* and *Psychology* had been added the year before in St. John. There would also be the usual number of lectures, entertainments, excursions, etc., etc.

An interesting item: expense would be less this season, because of *reduced tuition fee* and the *favorable terms secured for board.*

Believe it or not! Fees:

Registration and one subject	$2.00
Registration and all the subjects	$2.00

NOTE — Students are recommended to take three subjects.

BOARD — $3.50 per week: return tickets free or one/third.

Free, on presentation of certificates from Summer School. Student Teachers enrolled at Summer School may close their schools one week early without loss of Provincial or County Grants.

Course of Study:

Astronomy: Should the weather be favorable two evenings could be devoted to *stargazing* when Prof. Cameron would give talks on *heavenly bodies* — and answer all reasonable questions — *Botany, Chemistry, English Literature, Elocution* (the vocal exercises would take away all huskiness etc. and cure all *forms of sore throat, including "clergyman's sore throat,"* etc.

Mineralogy, Music, Pedagogy, Physics (no reference to atomic energy or nuclear reactors, but nevertheless, "a modern view of the Physical Universe").

Physiology; Zoology — B. Lab. work comprised External and Internal anatomy — the dissection of typical forms.

(1) a radiate;
(2) a mollusk;
(3) a fish;
(4) an amphiban;
(5) an anthropod;
(6) a bird;
(7) a mammal;
(8) peculiar forms (?)

The apparatus—a sharp pocket knife, a magnifying lens, a pair of small scissors—a pair of forceps or tweezers will be useful. J. B. Hall, Ph.D. (Instructor)

Text books ranged from 30 cents for a music book to Gage's Physics text book for $1.40.

Four evenings devoted to "Round Table Talks", among subjects "Our Great Educators" when teachers gave papers on six of the great men, seven minutes each, followed by general discussion. *(Two ladies* were among the six who presented papers.)

Evenings *stargazing* alternated with Round Table Talks, with two evenings devoted to lectures, for a change of pace. Classes began at 8 a.m. and ended at 4:30 p.m. Dinner from 1 to 2 p.m. All this and three afternoon excursions:

(1) Tramp over Tantramar Marshes.
(2) Excursion to Fort Cumberland and Chignecto Ship Railway.
(3) Excursion to the Joggins.

NOTE: Tantramar is rich in botanical specimens, while Blomidon, the Joggins, Five Islands, and Springhill are the haunts of the geologists. The ship railway is an interesting specimen of modern engineering skill. (Under construction at that time, it was never completed.)

Irish Miscellany; Some Have Gone From Us

TERRENCE M. PUNCH, FRSAI

Saint Mary's University will be the site of our first international Irish Genealogical Seminar on 11 and 12 April. In keeping with the event it is timely that the *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly* should contain something Irish and genealogical in this issue. We have two speakers coming from Ireland: Dr. Cormac O Grada of Dublin, and Dr. A. P. W. Malcolmson of Belfast. A battery of speakers from Atlantic Canada will back them up . . . and it all coincides with the conclusion of Irish Week in Halifax-Dartmouth! Address your enquiries to the International Education Centre, St. Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3H 3C3. Mark the envelope "Irish Seminar" to ensure prompt handling.

The format of the genealogical section is different for this issue. In lieu of the usual history of one family, we have twenty-five smaller genealogies. These have common characteristics: they are all of Irish Haligonians of

the nineteenth century; and there remain no male lines of descent in this region, though female lines almost certainly continue to live in Nova Scotia. In some instances, male lines live elsewhere. The purpose of this arrangement is to offer people a chance of linking their ancestry to one of these Irish family groups.

When we trace our family tree, we generally begin work with our paternal or maternal line. This, more often than not, consumes all our time, funds, luck and patience. Many of us find that among our ancestors there were connections with names which, while interesting, we cannot follow up. When the names are those of families not met in our daily round, we may tend to question their accuracy. Here are twenty-five Irish families as a means of filling in a few of those ancestral gaps in your charts. Most are Roman Catholic in religion, though three (Lynch, Joynt and McGory) were wholly or partially Protestant.

Eleven families came from the province of Leinster as follows: Carlow 2, Kilkenny 3, Longford 1, Wexford 3, Wicklow 2. Ten were from Munster: Cork 2, Kerry 1, Tipperary 5, Waterford 2. Two came from Connacht (Leitrim and Mayo), one from Ulster (Derry), and one was from Ireland, county not known. We hope that some will find an ancestral name among the group.

These are purely name/date compilations, with slight bits of narrative. Most can be expanded by those who are concerned with a particular family. The following list is a key to the surnames to be found here. If the name is followed by another name, it is a cross-reference, and you should turn to the entry under the second name. If there is one name, in dark capitals, that family is given herein. The date following these latter entries is that of the first known appearance of any of that family group in a Nova Scotian record. This will at least indicate the date of immigration into the province. Please note that a family might have spent time in Newfoundland en route.

ARCHER

Michael ARCHER, carpenter from Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny, came tc Nova Scotia in 1826 or 1827. He was born in 1779 and died 6 March 1846 at Halifax; m. Catherine CAREY (1786-16 Apr. 1856). Issue.

1. Mary Archer, b. ca. 1821; m. 26 Nov. 1842, John, son of James & Mary (Perrer) WALKER.
2. Ellen Archer, b. 1823 in Thomastown, d. 24 Aug. 1847 at Halifax; m. 19 Feb. 1844, Michael HOWLEY from Co. Kilkenny. Issue.
3. Thomas Archer, carpenter, b. 1825 in Thomastown, d. 11 Aug. 1875 at Halifax; m. 3 Nov. 1863, Catherine, b. at LaHave, N.S., 1837, dau. of John DOYLE. Issue.
   (1) Mary Archer, b. 15 Sep.1867.
   (2) Ellen Archer, b. 2 Dec. 1869.
4. Michael Archer, carpenter, b. 15 Aug. 1828 at Halifax, d. 30 May 1857, unm.
5. Frances Archer, b. 20 May 1831, bur. 28 June 1833.

AST

Robert AST of Clonmel, Co. Tipperary, d. in Ireland; m. Margaret WATSON of Clonmel (1757-19 Jan. 1841), who came to Halifax with her youngest son ca. 1834. Issue:

1. Mary Ast,b. 1788, d. 14 Nov. 1862 at Halifax; m. 7 July 1816 at Halifax, Arthur (1778-27 May 1843), son of Bartholomew & Eleanor (Flinn) ANDERSON of Co. Kerry. Issue.
2. John Ast, shoemaker, b. 1791, d. 20 Jan. 1869; m (l) 9 May 1822, Bridget (1793-29 Sep. 1833), dau. of John & Bridget (Keating) KEHOE of Tintern, Co. Wexford. He m (2) 29 June 1834, Catherine (1814-6 Aug. 1877), dau. of Charles & Bridget (Houghry) McKENNA of Omagh, Co. Tyrone. Issue:
   (1) Bartholomew Ast, bap. 15 June 1835, d. 26 July 1900 at San Diego, Calif.; m. 8 Oct. 1878, Bridget, dau. of John KLINE of Halifax. No issue.
   (2) Margaret Ast, b. 23 Apr. 1837, d. 19 Apr. 1906; m. 5 Aug. 1876, John EDWARDS, mariner from Whittington, England, who d. 29 Dec. 1882. No issue.
   (3) Catherine Ast, bap. 30 Dec. 1838, d. 1 June 1917, unm.
   (4) John Ast, b. 4 Oct. 1840, d. in infancy.

(5) John Ast, b. 12 Dec. 1842, d. 20 July 1846.
(6) Charles Ast, b. 29 Aug. 1846, d. May 1847.

3. Thomas Ast, mason, b. 1792, d. ca. 1827; m. Rachael HATKINGS. Issue:
   (1) Margaret Ast, bap. 8 Aug. 1813.
   (2) Mary Ast, bap. 21 Apr. 1816.
   (3) Lydia Ast, bap. 7 Mar. 1819.
   (4) Thomas Ast, bap. 13 Apr. 1821, d. 27 July 1822.
   (5) John Ast, bap. 17 Aug. 1823.
4. Robert Ast, stonemason, b. 1793, bur. 12 Mar. 1837; m. 21 Apr. 1822, Mary, dau. of John & Eleanor (Flinn) HUNT from County Waterford. Issue.
   (1) John Ast, b. 10 Mar. 1823, d. young.
   (2) Thomas Ast, b. 22 Aug. 1824.
   (3) Robert Ast, b. 4 March 1826.
   (4) Margaret Ast, b. 17 Apr. 1828, d. young.
   (5) Bartholomew Ast, bap. 31 Aug. 1831, living 1838.
   (6) Michael Ast, b. 15 May 1832, living 1838.
   (7) Mary Ast, b. 17 Sep. 1834, living 1838.
   (8) Martin Ast, bap. 13 June 1836, living 1838.
   (9) Ellen Ast, bap. 5 Nov. 1837, posthumous child.
5. Bartholomew Ast, stone cutter, b. 1800 at Clonmel, d. 24 Sep. 1840 at Halifax; m. Anne MORICE (living 1873) of Co. Limerick (m. 10 Nov. 1841, Owen KELLY of Co. Sligo). Issue.
   (1) Margaret Ast, living 1840.
   (2) Robert Ast, living 1840.
   (3) William Ast, bap. 3 Dec. 1837, bur. 20 Aug. 1838.
   (4) George Ast, b. 11 June 1839, d. infancy.

BENNETT

Michael BENNETT, merchant from Ardfinan, Co. Tipperary, was born 1763, d. 16 May 1847 at Halifax. He came to Halifax ca. 1795; m. (1) Jane HURLEY of Co. Tipperary. Issue:

1. Edward William Bennett, farmer, b. ca. 1791 in Ardfinan, d. after 1847 at Buffalo, New York; m. 28 Nov. 1828, Ann Elizabeth, dau. of Robert & Elizabeth SALTER of Newport, N.S. Issue:
   (1) Ann Elizabeth Bennett, b. 11 Apr. 1829.
   (2) Jean Bennett, b. 20 June 1831.
2. Mary Anne Bennett, b. 1793, d. 30 Mar. 1824; m. 24 Sep. 1810, Dr. Thomas G., son of Patrick & Bridget KEE-

GAN of Kilmallock, Co. Limerick. Issue.

3. Harriett Bennett, b. ca. 1796, d. 12 Jan. 1872; m. ca. 1818, George METZLER, b. 24 Nov. 1791 at Lunenburg, N.S. Issue.

Michael Bennett, m. (2) Mary Ann (1771-9 Aug. 1836), maiden name said to be ALBRO.

CASSIDY

Thomas CASSIDY, painter from Co. Wicklow, b. 1782, the son of Thomas & Mary Cassidy. He came to Halifax in 1804, and d. 29 March 1844; m. (1) 16 June 1805, Ann (1785-25 Oct. 1829), dau. of Michael & Mary (Bradbury) POWER of St. John's, Nfld. Issue:

1. Jane Cassidy, bap. 15 Apr. 1806, living 1844; m. William EDSTROM. Issue.
2. Thomas Cassidy, bap. 27 Oct. 1807; m (1) 13 Nov. 1831, Martha ROAST (1807-21 June 1832). He m (2) 7 May 1834, Isabella McMULLEN.
3. Edwin Cassidy, bap. 8 Oct. 1809, living 1844; m. 6 Aug. 1831, Julia HOUSNER.
4. Mary Ann Cassidy, bap. 17 Mar. 1811, d. 12 Apr. 1891 at Staten Island, N.Y.; m. 30 Apr. 1839, Edward LIPPINCOT of West River, Pictou, N.S. Issue.
5. Abigail Maria, bap. 28 Feb. 1813, d. 7 Oct. 1879 at Halifax; m. 8 June 1834, George T. SMITHERS (d. Feb. 1868). Issue.
6. William Spillard Cassidy, bap. 2 Jan. 1815, d. 25 Jan. 1816.
7. William George Cassidy, b. 24 Nov. 1816, d. 22 Jan. 1817.
8. James O'Brien Cassidy, b. 22 Dec. 1817, d. 7 Sep. 1849 at Halifax; m. Mary Louisa WELLENOR. Issue:
   (1) Louisa Cassidy, b. 1843; m. 9 Feb. 1867, Solomon, son of John & Mary BAULD of Preston, N.S.
9. George William Cassidy, b. 6 Apr. 1820, living 1844.
10. Allen Michael Cassidy, b. 13 Dec. 1822, living 1844.
11. Richard John Cassidy, b. 21 Oct. 1823, living 1844.
12. Francis Augustus Cassidy, b. 13 June 1827, bur. 15 June 1827.

Thomas Cassidy m (2) Ann PARRY, and had further issue:

13. Hugh Cassidy, b. 2 June 1835, bur. 6 Oct. 1835.

13. Hugh Cassidy, b. 2 June 1835, bur. 6 Oct. 1835.
14. Elizabeth Parry Cassidy, b. 31 Oct. 1836, living 1844.
15. Stephen Cassidy, b. 21 Feb. 1839, d. infancy.
16. Thomas Parry Cassidy, b. 19 Mar. 1840, d. 24 Sep. 1844.

COLFORD

Philip COLFORD was a truckman from County Wexford, Ireland, who was buried at Halifax, 2 June 1828, age 60. He married in Co. Wexford, Mary MURPHY (1777-26 Sep. 1827). Issue:

1. Thomas, b. 1796 in Co. Wexford, d. 11 Jan. 1822 at Halifax; m. 22 Jan. 1818, Jane O'NEAL. No issue.
2. Mary, bap. 25 Aug. 1800 in Halifax, d. 18 Dec. 1879; m. 26 Sep. 1818, John Leonard (1794-30 Sep. 1867), Customs officer, son of John & Margaret COMPTON. Issue.
3. James, b. 11 Nov. 1801, bur. 13 Mar. 1833, unm.
4. John, bap. 20 Feb. 1804.
5. Eleanor, bap. 16 Sep. 1806, d. 10 Mar. 1883; m. Robert FITZGERALD of Boston. Issue.
6. Philip Edward, tobacco merchant, bap. 8 Feb. 1809, d. 1886; m (1) 7 Jan. 1831, Eleanor MEAGHER (1808-20 Sep. 1840), who d. at Boston. Issue:
   (1) John Edmund, b. 9 Dec. 1831 at Halifax.
   (2) Philip L., b. 1833 at Boston, living 1909.
   (3) Joseph Benedict, b. 1835 at Boston, d. 29 Jan. 1873; married Elvira———.
   (4) Edward M., b. 1838 at Boston, living 1912 at Washington, D.C.; m; (1) Mary E. A. (1844-31 Jan. 1874), dau. of Daniel BYRNE of Chelsea, Mass. Issue:
      (1a) Mary b. 21 Aug. 1865 at Roxbury, Mass., d, 7 Nov. 1885 at Boston.
      (2a) Edward C., b. 1867.
      (3a) Ellen Frances, b. Mar. 1870 d. 12 May 1870.

   Edward M. COLFORD m. (2) 14 June 1876 at Washington, D.C., Ida C., dau. of E. B. McCLEES of Philadelphia.

Philip Edward COLFORD m (2) Sedina Candida ————, b. 1821 in Cuba, living 1903. Issue.

   (5) Elena Maria, b. June 1845, d. 7 May 1864.

(6) Amelia M., b. 1851, d. 1898, unm.
(7) Robert, b. 1852. d, 27 May 1909.
(8) Maria C., b. 1855, d. 24 Sep. 1912, unm.
(9) Charles, b. 1857, d. young.
(10) Thomas, b. 1858, living 1912 in Texas.
(11) Francis Edward, b. 1860, d. 7 Sep. 1873.
(12) St. Iago, b. 1862, living 1885.
(13) Clarence, b. 1864, living 1912 in Washington, D.C.

7. Edmund William, bap. 8 Dec. 1811.
8. Catherine Ann, b. 20 Jan. 1816, d. 24 Sep. 1817.
9. Catherine, b. 15 June 1820.

COTTER

William COTTER, storekeeper from Co. Cork, b. 1791, d. 28 Jan. 1861 at Halifax. He came to Halifax between 1825 and 1830; m. Honora CALLAGHAN (1796-18 Nov. 1870) of Co. Cork. Issue:

1. Mary Cotter, b. 1811, d. 2 Jan. 1895 at Dartmouth, N.S.; m. 28 Nov. 1833, Paul KINGSTON (1802-1898) of Co. Cork. Issue.
2. Julia Ann Cotter, b. 1814, d. 29 May 1884 at Halifax; m. 27 Oct. 1830, Patrick (1800-31 Jan. 1885), son of John & Mary (Grady)QUINN of Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford. issue.
3. Honora Cotter, b. 1817, d. 24 Apr. 1892, unm.
4. Garrett Cotter, Halifax City Marshall, b. 1819, d. 10 Jan. 1900 at Halifax; m. 28 Feb. 1854, Elizabeth BUCKLEY (1830- 8 Feb. 1857) of Ardnageehy, Co. Cork. Issue:
   (1) Ellen Cotter, b. 1 March 1854, d. 27 March 1854.
   (2) William F. Cotter, gas inspector, b. 20 May 1855, d. 15 Apr. 1910; m. 26 Nov. 1885, Elizabeth Edna (1862-1959), dau. of John & Bridget BRENTON of Burin, Nfld. Issue:
      (1a) William Garrett, b. 28 Aug. 1886, d. 7 Feb. 1887.
      (2a) Clifford John, b. 5 Oct. 1891, d. 28 Feb. 1976 at Belleville, Ont.; m. Jessica HANLON. Issue:
         (1b) Jack Cotter, d. v. p.
         (2b) Ruth Cotter; m. L. W. RODGER, Belleville, Ont.

(3a) Edna Elizabeth Cotter; d. 23 Nov. 1974; m. Colin C. TYRER of Halifax. No. issue.
(4a) Reginald F. Cotter, auditor, b. 1900, d. 13 Aug. 1966, unm.

(3) John Cotter, b. 1 Jan. 1857, d. 3 Jan. 1857.

5. Catherine Cotter, b. 1825, d. 15 Sep. 1873 at Halifax; m. 4 Oct. 1842, John Lewis HUTT, detective (1820-3 Oct. 1882), son of Michael & Joanna (Francis) Hutt of Halifax. Issue.

CREAMER

Michael CREAMER of Clonmeen, County Cork, had two sons to come to Halifax; or whose issue came here:

1. William Creamer, remained in Ireland; m. Mary COLLINS. Issue:
   (1) Johanna Creamer, b. 1790, bur. 14 June 1826; m. (1) Thomas HOLAHAN. Issue. She m (2) 13 Aug. 1825, Richard MORRISSY of Clonmel, County Tipperary.
   (2) Daniel Creamer, b. 1795, d. 19 Jan. 1862 at Halifax; m. 14 Apr. 1825, Mary (1805-5 Mar. 1893), dau. of Gerard & Margaret (Burnett) HARVEY of Halifax. Issue:
      (1a) Michael Creamer, b. 20 Aug. 1826, d. Young.
      (2a) John Creamer, b. 7 May 1828, d. 9 Oct. 1831.
      (3a) Dr. Joseph Creamer, Deputy Coroner of Brooklyn, N.Y., b. 10 Feb. 1830, d. Jan. 1893 at Brooklyn; m. Helen TUTTLE. Issue:
         (1b) Dr. Alexander D. Creamer, surgeon, b. 19 May 1855, d. 23 July 1878, the day he married Alice K. McTEAGUE.
         (2b) Mary Frances Creamer, b. June 1863, d. 26 Jan. 1865 at Mount Stewart, P.E.I.
         (3b) Mary Regina Creamer, b. 8 Dec. 1865 at Brooklyn, N.Y.
      (4a) Daniel Creamer, clerk, b. 6 Dec. 1831, d. 16 Apr. 1886 at Boston.
      (5a) Francis Creamer, b. 16 Sep. 1833, d. 6 July 1864.

(6a) Mary Martha Creamer, b. 29 July 1835, d. 3 Sep. 1838.
(7a) John Creamer, b. 3 July 1837, d. 28. Aug. 1838.
(8a) Mary Creamer, b. 9 Apr. 1840, d. infancy.
(9a) Mary Agnes Creamer, b. 13 Mar. 1843, d. 9 Apr. 1899; m. 1868 as his second wife, Henry PETERS (1825-14 Mar. 1890), contractor from Quebec. No issue.
(10a) Anne Ellen Creamer, b. 7 May 1845, d. 8 May 1846.

2. Michael Creamer, shipwright, b. 1767 at Clonmeen, d. 12 Apr. 1840 at Halifax; m. (1) Mary TURNER. Issue:
   (1) Mary Anne Creamer, b. 1803 at Clonmeen; m. 13 Feb. 1820, William, son of John & Mary (Meagan) McSWEENEY of Cork. Issue.
   (2) Margaret Creamer, bap. 4 Oct. 1806 at Halifax; m. 12 Nov. 1825, Samson, son of Nathan & Hannah (Murphy) HATFIELD.
   (3) Joanna Creamer, bap. 7 Oct. 1808, d. 8 July 1821.
   (4) Michael Creamer, bap. 27 Oct. 1811, living 1840.
   (5) Francis John Creamer, bap. 21 Nov. 1813, d. young.
   (6) William Coughlin Creamer, bap. 27 Nov. 1814, living 1840.

Michael Creamer m (2) 5 Sep. 1831, Rebecca PETERS. No issue.

CULLERTON

Martin CULLERTON of Co. Wexford, d. ca. 1835; m. Margaret WALSH of Co. Wexford. They emigrated to Halifax ca. 1833. Margaret m (2) 17 Sep. 1837, William DUNPHY of Co. Tipperary. Issue.

1. Martin Cullerton, b. 4 June 1834 at Halifax, killed in the American Civil War while serving in the Union forces; m. 28 July 1856, Mary (b. 1834, living 1898), dau. of Michael & Mary LAHEY of Dartmouth, N.S. Issue:
   (1) Margaret Cullerton, b. 1857, d. 1946; m. 9 Apr. 1882, Thomas COURTNEY (1849-1933), and had issue.
   (2) Philip Robert Cullerton, b. 1860, d. 9 Mar. 1883, unm.

(3) Mary Anne Cullerton, b. 1862, living 1925; m. John O'HEARN, farmer at Dartmouth, N.S. Issue.

DOYLE

James DOYLE and Catherine CAVANAGH of Ross, County Wexford, Ireland, had a son,

1. Lawrence Doyle, merchant, b. 1772 at Ross, d. 30 May 1835 at Halifax, where he had lived for about 35 years; married 30 May 1803, Bridget (1783-21 Nov. 1871), dau. of Constant and Margaret (Cody) O'CONNOR from County Waterford, Ireland. Issue:
   (1) Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, M.L.A., b. 27 Feb. 1804 at Halifax, d. 28 Sep. 1864 at New York City. This man became the first Roman Catholic member of the bar of Nova Scotia, and was a noted orator, wit and Reformer.He served in the first Cabinet under responsible government; m. Oct. 1833 at Isle Madame, Sarah Ann (1814-1 Feb. 1841), dau. of Lt. James DRISCOLL. R.N. Issue:
   (1a) Mary Doyle, b. 1839, d. 28 Feb. 1844.
   (2) Bridget Doyle; m. (1) Edmond DOYLE of Co. Carlow. She m. (2) 22 Feb. 1830. Michael CASHIN of Ballingarry, Co. Tipperary, Ireland.
   (3) Mary Anne Doyle, bap. 16 June 1806; m. Dr. William POWER of New York City.
   (4) Louise Colclough Doyle, bap. 24 June 1807; m. 11 Sep. 1827, Bernard McMAHON, Esq., son of Patrick & Winnifred McMahon, and lived at Hallowell, Upper Canada. Issue.
   (5) Susanna, bap. 11 June 1809, d. 21 July 1834 at Longueuil, L.C.
   (6) Dudley Cavanagh, bap. 10 Apr. 1811, d. 19 Sep. 1825 at Antigonish, N.S.
   (7) Caroline, bap. 17 Mar. 1815, d. 28 June 1865; m. 24 May 1845, Michael BURKE, lawyer at New York City.
   (8) Constantine James Doyle, barrister at Guysborough, b. 17 June 1817, d. 12 Oct, 1854; m. Eleanor LLOYD (Dec. 1828-9 June 1854) who d. at Charlestown, S.C.
   (9) Ellen Doyle, b. 22 Oct. 1819, d. 3 Oct. 1897, unm.

EUSTACE

Alexander EUSTACE and Catherine KAVANAGH of the Parish of Myshall, County Carlow, had two children to come to N.S.:

1. Mary Eustace, b. 1804, d. 17 July 1867; m. Patrick SWAYNE, and had issue.
2. Edward Eustace, truckman, b. 1806, d. 20 July 1856 in Halifax; m. 1 May 1832, Hannah (1809-17 Dec. 1883), dau. of Andrew & Mary (Cottelon) DARCY of County Carlow. Issue:
   (1) Alexander, b. 18 Mar. 1833, d. 15 Sep. 1868.
   (2) Thomas, b. 18 Dec. 1834.
   (3) James, b. 22 Nov. 1836.
   (4) Edward, b. 1 Dec. 1838, bur. 22 Jan. 1840.
   (5) Mary b. 13 Oct. 1840, d. 16 June 1897; m. 5 June 1859, William SULLIVAN, butcher from Co. Kerry (1838-1 Sep. 1893), and had a very large family.
   (6) Catherine, b. 28 Nov. 1842; m. 13 Sep. 1868, Daniel McINTOSH.
   (7) Ellen, b. 1 Dec. 1844, d. 28 Aug. 1849.

FLANNERY

Michael FLANNERY of Thurles, Co. Tipperary, married Joanna WALL (1790-17 Jan. 1850) and had issue:

1. Thomas; m. 14 Nov. 1841, Mary, dau. of John & Anne (Byrnes) O'BRIEN of Halifax. Issue:
   (1) Michael, b. 30 Apr. 1843.
2. Joanna; m. 21 Nov. 1839, Thomas, son of Patrick & Mary (Casey) BUCKLEY. Issue.
3. Catherine, b. 1824, d. 29 June 1871; m. Thomas LEAHY, gardener (1820-29 Oct. 1892) from Lismore, Co. Waterford. Issue.
4. Elizabeth, b. 1829, d. 13 May 1913; m. 11 Feb. 1851, Thomas HAYDEN and had issue.
5. Mary, living 1884; m. 25 Jan. 1853, Timothy BYRNES. Issue.

FOX

John Rodger FOX and Mary QUINN of Kilcormick, Co. Longford, had issue:

1. Francis Fox, farmer, b. 1790, d. 6 June 1860 at Halifax; m. 18 Sep. 1826, Bridget Frances SCULLY (1795-8 Dec. 1871) of Rathcline, Co. Longford. Issue:
   (1) Mary Fox, b. 1 Oct. 1826, living 1871; m. 12 Sep. 1843, Patrick, son of Michael & Mary (Darmody) HOLDEN. Issue.
   (2) Margery Frances Fox, b. 17 Oct. 1828, living 1871; m. 5 Feb. 1856, Charles D. RONAN. Issue.
   (3) Bridget Fox, b. 2 Nov. 1830, d. 21 Feb. 1897, unm.
   (4) James Fox, b. 1 May 1832, bur. 6 Nov. 1832.
   (5) Anne Fox, b. 10 July 1834, d. 16 Apr. 1848.
2. Bridget Fox, b. 1807, d. 22 Jan. 1846, unm.
3. Anne Fox; m. 16 May 1841, Edward, son of Thomas FARRELL.

GULLY

John GULLY, truckman, b. 1803 in Co. Waterford, d. 17 Oct. 1889 at Halifax; came to Halifax in 1833; m. Mary CONNORS (1808-14 May 1884) of Co. Waterford. Issue:

1. Mary Ann Gully, b. 1832 in Waterford, d. 1 May 1871 at Halifax; m. John CORBETT, mason (1830-1871) and had issue.
2. Catherine Gully, b. 5 May 1834, d. young.
3. John Gully, painter, served with the 63rd. Rifles, b. 5 Aug. 1836, d. 31 Dec. 1913, unm.
4. Thomas Gully, b. 27 Sep. 1838.
5. Edward Gully, bap. 4 Apr. 1841.
6. Johanna Gully, b. 3 Mar. 1843, d. 3 Mar. 1914; m. Michael GRIFFIN. Issue.
7. Catherine F. Gully, b. 16 June 1845, d. 1926; m. 29 Oct. 1872, John, son of Patrick & Bridget JOYCE of Co. Carlow. Issue.
8. Mary Ellen Gully, b. 12 Aug. 1848, living 1916; m. 14 Dec. 1880, James GODWIN, Customs Officer from Dorchester, N.B. Issue.
9. Margaret Gully, b. 1850, living 1913.
10. Honora Gully, b. 16 Feb. 1854, d. 17 Apr. 1888; m. 3 Oct. 1882, Daniel P. SULLIVAN, plumber, and left issue.

HAYES

Richard HAYES and Anastasia BUTLER of Co. Kilkenny had a son who emigrated to Halifax about 1830:

1. Michael Hayes, b. 1800, d. 6 Feb. 1864; m. 14 Feb. 1831, Joanna DUNN (1809-25 Oct. 1877) of Co. Kilkenny. Issue:
   (1) Anne Hayes, b. 18 Mar. 1832, d. 31 Mar. 1914; m. 3 Oct. 1859, Capt. Albert G. LANGENBERG (1832-20 Jan. 1911) of Hanover, Germany
   (2) Capt. Richard Hayes, marine surveyor, b. 25 Apr. 1834, d. 2 Feb. 1911 at Baltimore, Md.; m. Bessie DRILLIO of Nova Scotia, d. 1910. Issue:
   (1a) Anita Hayes, living 1919.
   (2) James Hayes, b. 11 May 1837, d. 3 Jan. 1877, unm.
   (4) Catherine Hayes, b. 12 Jan. 1840, d. 29 Mar. 1918, unm.
   (5) Mary Hayes, b. 18 March 1843.
   (6) Margaret Hayes, bap. 8 June 1846, d. 17 May 1920; m. 29 Aug. 1876 John LANE, contractor (1846-1911). Issue.
   (7) Agnes Hayes, bap. 29 Oct. 1849, d. 13 May 1918, unm.

JOYNT

Robert & Hannah (Ferris) JOYNT of Co. Mayo had four children who emigrated to Nova Scotia between 1823 and 1840:

1. William Joynt (ca. 1790-ca. 1840); m. (1) ——— and had a son:
   (1) Andrew Joynt, b. 1820 in Co. Mayo, bur. 18 Dec. 1899 at Halifax; m. Margaret ——— (1825-26 Dec. 1867). No issue.

   William Joynt m (2) 8 Aug. 1824, Esther WILCOX (1791-8 Dec. 1871), widow SPEARS. Further issue:
   (2) Hannah Joynt, b. ca. 1826, d. 30 Aug. 1871; m. Martin GILFOYLE, truckman, b. 1808 in Ireland. Issue, named GILFOY.
   (3) Christopher Jones Joynt, bap. 28 Nov. 1830, d. ca. 1841.
   (4) John Jackson Ferris Joynt, b. 10 Aug. 1833, living 1844.
   (5) Esther Joynt, b. 3 Dec. 1835, d. 10 Aug. 1873, unm.
   (6) Mary Anne Joynt, b. 11 Aug. 1838, living 1873; m. 18 July 1858, David (d. ca. 1870), son of David P. and Margaret (Wilrich) FENNER of Sheerness, Kent, England. Issue.

2. Mary Joynt, b. 1799, d. 18 Aug. 1847; m. John McALLISTER. Issue.
3. Anne Joynt, b. Westport, Co. Mayo 1797, d. 16 Aug. 1871; m. William JONES, brewer (1795-24 Oct. 1865) from Westport, Mayo. Issue.
4. Christopher Joynt, b. 1803, d. 1 Oct. 1880; m. 24 May 1841, Catherine (1816-21 July 1856), dau. of Matthew & Eliza (Needham) FERGUSON of County Mayo. Issue:
   (1) Matthew Joynt, b. 20 Feb. 1842, d. 5 Jan. 1846.
   (2) Robert Joynt, b. 14 Dec. 1843.
   (3) William Joynt, b. 29 Aug. 1845.
   (4) Christopher Joynt, b. 30 Nov. 1848, d. 18 Mar. 1849.

KEVILLE

Alexander KEVILLE was a stonemason from County Leitrim, b. 1796, d. 11 Sep. 1856 at Halifax, where he had lived from ca. 1834; m. Mary DUKE (1811-8 Aug. 1852) of Co. Leitrim. Issue:

1. George Keville, stonecutter, b. 1829, d. 12 June 1851, unm.
2. Alexander Keville, stonecutter, b. 15 July 1836, d. 26 May 1871; m. Ellen (1840-1920), dau. of Michael & Mary MORRISCEY from Ireland. Issue:
   (1) Alexander Michael Keville, b. 8 May 1858, living 1916.
   (2) Henry Keville, b. 1 Nov. 1860, d. 23 May 1861.
   (3) William Keville, b. 11 Dec. 1861, living 1916.
   (4) Michael Stephen Keville, b. 3 Aug. 1863, d. 22 Feb. 1864.
   (5) Henry Victor Keville, b. 12 Apr. 1865, living 1916.
   (6) Mary Elizabeth Keville, b. 19 July 1866, living 1937; m. 22 July 1890, Charles (1852-ca. 1921), son of Walter McSWEENEY. Issue.
   (7) George Keville, b. June 1867, d. 4 Feb. 1868.
   (8) Helen Frances Keville, b. 21 Aug. 1869, living 1932.
   (9) Francis Burk Keville, b. 9 Oct. 1871, living 1916.
3. Teresa Keville, b. 12 Jan. 1839.
4. Mary Anne Keville, b. 30 Apr. 1841.
5. Elizabeth C. Keville, b. 22 Apr. 1843.

LAFFIN

Michael LAFFIN of County Kilkenny married Bridget GLANDON (d. 13 Oct. 1824, age 75), and had three children who emigrated to Nova Scotia about 1805:

1. Peter Laffin, b. 1773; m. 30 Jan. 1806, Elizabeth, dau. of Francis & Sarah (Andrews) WATSON of Falmouth, N.S. Issue:
   (1) Sarah Laffin, bap. 20 Feb. 1807, d. 7 Jan. 1827.
   (2) Bridget Laffin, bap. 19 Sep. 1808.
   (3) Peter Laffin.
2. Mary Laffin, b. 1775; m. (1) William RYAN. She m (2) 2 June 1808, William, son of Nicholas & Alice (Flinn) POWER of County Waterford, Ireland.
3. Edward Laffin, b. 1777, d. 4 July 1833; m. 4 Oct. 1810, Catherine (1788-23 Jan. 1861), dau. of Christopher & Jane (Sutherland) ROAST of Halifax. Issue:
   (1) Bridget Laffin, b. 1810; m. 5 Aug. 1826, Edward, son of Edward KELLY of Clonmel, Co. Tipperary. Issue.
   (2) Mary Laffin, b. 1813; m. 14 Jan. 1834, John, son of John & Sarah (Meagher) HICKEY from Co. Tipperary. Issue.
   (3) Jane Laffin, b. 23 Feb. 1821; m. 29 Apr. 1840, Thomas, son of Patrick & Elizabeth KEATING.
   (4) Eleanor Laffin, b. 2 Mar. 1823, d. 6 Mar. 1823.

LYNCH

Peter LYNCH was a hatter from Ireland, and lived in the Thirteen Colonies before the American Revolution. By his wife, Christiana —— (1760-9 Feb. 1792), he had a son.

1. Peter Lynch, merchant, b. 1781, d. 8 Sep. 1848 ;m. 12 Oct. 1811, Sarah HAWTHORN (1786-17 Apr. 1839), and had issue:
   (1) Peter J. Lynch, Q.C., barrister, bap. 25 Oct. 1815 d. 14 Feb. 1893; m. 9 June 1841, Charlotte Emma CREIGHTON (1819-18 June 1888) and had issue:
      (1a) Emma Creighton Lynch, b. 17 Dec. 1842, d. 13 Feb. 1893; m. 4 Sep. 1877, Major James Edward CURREN. Issue.
      (2a) Peter Lynch, b. 7 Apr. 1844, d. 10 June 1864.
      (3a) Harriet Lynch, b. 15 Sep. 1845, living 1893; m. 20 May 1872, Arthur Edward WILBY, 61st.

Regt., b. England 1847. Issue.

(4a) Alexander Creighton Lynch, b. 24 Mar. 1850, d. young.

(2) Alexander Hawthorn Lynch, bap. 15 June 1817, d. young.

(3) Agnes Davidson Lynch, bap. 6 Sep. 1818.

(4) Margaret Lynch, bap. 8 Nov. 1820.

(5) Sarah Hawthorn Lynch, bap. 10 Sep. 1823; m. 3 Oct. 1844, James William HARRIS of Horton, N.S. Issue.

McGORY

Daniel McGORY of Magherafelt, Co. Londonderry, Ireland, married Catherine DONAHERTY and had issue:

1. Bridget McGory; m. ——— QUIN.
2. Thomas McGory, b. 1757, d. 6 May 1832; m. Jane ——— (1770-24 June 1827), and had issue:
   (1) Robert McGory, R.N., b. 1787, d. May 1809 at Yarmouth, England, unm.
   (2) infant son.
   (3) Catherine, bap. Feb. 1793.
   (4) Jane McGory, bap. 30 Sep. 1795; m. 14 Oct. 1812, Peter SUTHER, R.N., surgeon. Issue.
3. Margaret McGory; m. ———KEARNEY.
4. Mary McGory; m. ———McQUADE.
5. Bernard McGory, b. 1764, d. 8 Aug. 1820; m. Mary McIVER. Issue:
   (1) Sarah McGory, b. 1791/2 in Co. Derry, bur. 18 Feb. 1834 at Halifax; m. (1) 2 Nov. 1820, Michael HOWARD (d. 13 Oct. 1831, age 40), and had issue. Sarah McGory m (2) 10 June 1833, Pierce, son of Pierce and Mary (Meagher) SULLIVAN of Waterford City, Ireland.

RAWLEY

William and Mary RAWLEY of County Tipperary had issue:

1. William Rawley, grocer, b. 1810, d. 30 Dec. 1876; m. (1) 13 Nov. 1845, Catherine MURPHY (1816-28 Nov. 1845). He m (2) 16 Jan. 1850, Mary Anne GOGGIN (1823-16 Aug. 1885) of Co. Longford. Issue:

(1) John R. Rawley, druggist, b. Jan. 1851, d. 10 July 1912; m. 20 June 1881, Mary (1852-17 Nov. 1929), dau. of Hugh & Catherine (Cody) BROWN of St. John's, Nfld., and had issue:
   (1a) William P. Rawley, druggist, b. 1882, d. 1955; m. Helen Theresa (d. 18 June 1968), dau. of Daniel & Hannah (Spears) MacGINNIS of Sheet Harbour, N.S. No issue.
   (2a) Catherine Paula Rawley, b. 1884, d. 18 Dec. 1965; m. 23 July 1907, George Joseph LYNCH. Issue.
   (3a) Mary Rawley, b. July 1886, d. 7 Sep. 1886.
(2) Elizabeth Anne Rawley, b. 10 Dec. 1851, d. young.
(3) Mary Frances Rawley, b. 1856, d. 12 May 1914; m. 21 June 1886, Lewis Alfred GRAVES, cooper (1854-29 Nov. 1913). Issue.
(4) Elizabeth Anne Rawley, b. 19 Oct. 1857; m. 30 Apr. 1882, Thomas H. ORMON. Issue.
(5) William Kenny Rawley, b. 15 Sep. 1863, d. 1 Sep. 1865.

2. Michael Rawley, b. 1812, d. 26 Dec. 1896; m. Johanna CORCORAN (1820-5 June 1852) of Co. Tipperary. Issue.
   (1) John, b. 1840, d. 8 Mar. 1871, unm.
   (2) Mary, b. 14 May 1844, d. 24 May 1846.
   (3) William, b. 22 June 1824, d. 22 Aug. 1882; m. 8 Aug. 1871, Winnifred (b. 1843), dau. of Thomas RYAN. Issue:
      (1a) Mary Anne, b. 17 May 1872; m. 24 Apr. 1893, Walter ARTHUR.
   (4) Daniel, b. 16 Feb. 1848.
   (5) Mary Anne, b. 19 Jan. 1851.
   (6) Michael, b. 17 May 1852, d. 5 Apr. 1853.
3. Catherine Rawley; m. 20 Apr. 1845, Philip MAHER (1809-10 Jan. 1859) from County Tipperary. Issue.

ROONEY

Owen or John ROONEY (1801-8 Feb. 1859) and his wife, Margaret ——— of Co. Carlow, had four children who emigrated to Nova Scotia about 1842:

1. Mary Anne Rooney, b. 1826, d. 31 July 1882; m. 28 Nov. 1845, Lawrence RYAN (1816-18 Sep. 1898) from Co. Kilkenny. Issue.
2. Patrick Rooney, carpenter, b. 1830, d. 25 Jan. 1856, unm.
3. Jane Rooney, b. 1832, d. 17 Nov. 1847, unm.
4. Johanna Rooney, b. 1840 in Co. Carlow, d. 25 Feb. 1913 at Halifax; m. 15 May 1870, Roger O'BRIEN, widower (1812-24 Oct. 1878) from County Armagh, Ireland. Issue.

SHELLY

Edward SHELLY, labourer, b. 1800 at Dingle, Co. Kerry, d. 4 Sep. 1880; m. Johanna ——— (1800-22 Aug. 1847) of Dingle. They came to Halifax about 1844 with ten children:

1. Timothy Shelly, clerk, b. 1822, d. 1 June 1899, unm.
2. Mary Shelly, b. 1823, d. 24 May 1847; m. 31 Mar. 1845, John HOLOHAN.
3. Elizabeth Shelly, b. 1824, d. 2 Oct. 1879; m. 11 May 1852, James WHALES.
4. John Shelly, b. 1825, d. 19 July 1846.
5. Denis Shelly, b. 1830, d. 29 Mar. 1848.
6. Edmond Shelly, b. 1836, d. 20 Mar. 1847.
7. Michael Shelly, b. 1838, d. 16 Oct. 1855.
8. Honora Shelly, b. 1840, d. 17 June 1870, unm.
9. Thomas Shelly, b. 1842, d. 11 Oct. 1856.
10. Catherine Shelly, b. 1844 in Dingle, d. 5 May 1880 at Dartmouth, N.S.; m. 1 May 1871, Michael (1844-22 Dec. 1880), son of Patrick & Mary McKENNA from County Kerry. Issue.

SHORTIS

Thomas SHORTIS, b. 1814 in Co. Tipperary, d. 20 Feb. 1878 at Halifax; m. Ann POWER (1820-11 Jan. 1879) of Co. Kilkenny. Issue:

1. Mary Shortis, b. 1839, d. 14 Mar. 1915; m. 20 Apr. 1858 at Boston, Capt. Edward GIFFIN (1832-18 May 1896). Issue.
2. Catherine Shortis; m. William JOHNSON.
3. Ann Shortis, b. 22 July 1843, d. 8 Jan. 1846.

4. Edward Shortis, mariner, b. 26 Nov. 1845; m. Elizabeth LANE. Issue.
   (1) Annie Shortis, b. 1867.
   (2) Mary Jane Shortis, b. Oct. 1870. d. 4 Aug. 1871.
5. Margaret Shortis, b. 16 Mar. 1848; m. 5 Nov. 1872, Andrew ADAMS, plumber, b. 1848, son of Jacob Adams of Halifax.
6. Patrick C. Shortis, world-renowned banjoist, b. 9 June 1854, d. ca. 1935.

SULLIVAN

Thomas SULLIVAN of Co. Wicklow m. Mary RILEY (1781-19 May 1874) from Dublin, and had issue:

1. Catherine Sullivan, b. 1810 in Co. Meath, d. 19 Apr. 1881 at Halifax; m. Robert J. FOLEY, armourer and gunsmith from Dublin (1799-9 June 1883). Issue.
2. James Sullivan; m. 12 Jan. 1840, Catherine, dau. of David & Mary SHEA of County Tipperary. Issue:
   (1) John Sullivan, b. 12 Dec. 1842.
3. Hannah Sullivan, b. 1814 in Co. Wicklow, d. 1 Sep. 1891 at Halifax; m. (1) 18 Nov. 1836, John (1805-11 May 1852), son of John & Honora (Morrisey) O'FLAVIN of Aglish, Co. Waterford. Issue. She m (2) 23 Sep. 1855, James BARRETT (b. 1810 in England, living 1871 at Maitland, N.S.). Further issue.
4. Thomas Sullivan of New Bedford, Mass.
5. Philip Sullivan, carpenter, b. 1822 in Co. Wicklow, d. 6 Oct. 1871 at Halifax; m. 10 June 1850, Catherine DONEGAN (1824-7 May 1893) from Ireland. Issue:
   (1) Mary Sullivan, b. 16 Mar. 1851, d. 3 Sep. 1852.
   (2) Margaret Sullivan, teacher, b. 14 May 1853, living 1916.
   (3) Thomas Sullivan, carpenter, b. 13 May 1855, living 1871.
6. Mary Sullivan, b. 1825 in Co. Wicklow, d. 12 Apr. 1897 at Halifax; m. 28 Sep. 1846, Timothy DOHERTY (1819-1878) from Dublin. Issue.

TROY

Thomas TROY of Ballycreen, Parish of Dungarvan, Co. Waterford; m. Susan ——— (1803-30 May 1878) of the same parish. issue:

1. Bridget Troy, b. 1838; m. (1) 10 June 1856, Michael ORMAN (1827-1 July 1867) from Co. Waterford. Issue. She m (2) 15 Nov. 1871, Charles ANDERSON, b. 1837, son of Anders Anderson, Norway.
2. Catherine Troy, b. 1840, d. 11 Apr. 1892; m. Patrick KILEY (1823-11 Apr. 1889) from Co. Tipperary. Issue.
3. John Troy, b. 1842 in Co. Waterford, d. 26 Sep. 1875; m. 31 Jan. 1871, Catherine, b. 1852, dau. of Ephrem & Mary (LaPierre) ROMA of Chezzetcook, N.S. Issue:
   (1) Thomas Troy, b. 1 Aug. 1871, d. 19 Aug. 1871.
   (2) Mary Troy, b. 2 Aug. 1872, d. 16 Aug. 1872.
   (3) Michael Frederick Troy, b. 10 June 1874, d. 30 Jan. 1875.
   (4) George Troy, b. Feb. 1876, d. 5 June 1877.

Contributors

TERRENCE MICHAEL PUNCH was born in Halifax and received his early education in Halifax public schools. He received degrees in Arts and Journalism from St. Mary's University in 1964, and the degrees of Bachelor of Education and Master of Arts since that time.

He is a member of the Canadian Historical Association, the Irish Genealogical Research Society, the Historical Association, the Nova Scotia Historical Society, the Charitable Irish Scoiety, and was elected a life Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquarians of Ireland in 1963. Mr. Punch was a member of the Centennial Committee of the N.S. Teachers' Union in 1966-67, and was winner of the first prize in the historical article section of the literary contest held in 1975 by the Nova Scotia branch of the Canadian Authors' Association and the Department of Recreation.

He is the author of *Genealogical Research in Nova Scotia,* a comprehensive reference work on genealogy.

He lives in Armdale with his wife, Pam, and three young children.

LEONE BANKS COUSINS was born and received her early education in the Annapolis Valley. She graduated from the Nova Scotia Provincial Normal College and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in history from St. Mary's University.

Mrs Cousins has an avid interest in local histories and genealogies and has done much research in these fields, traveling extensively and residing in Europe for several years.

She has written many newspaper articles and currently writes a column for a valley weekly newspaper.

She is now retired following a teaching career of twenty years in Halifax city schools and resides in Kingston, Nova Scotia.

MRS. ELIZABETH STEVENSON was born in Londonderry, Nova Scotia. She graduated with a B.A. from Queen's University. Mrs. Stevenson is the granddaughter of Robert Murray, whose letters in the Presbyterian Witness are contained in the article, which she edited.

YASHDIP SINGH BAINS was born in Mihilpur, India. He received his B.A. and M.A. from Panjab University and his Ph.D. at Syracuse University, New York. Dr. Bains is interested in the theatre and has completed a book, entitled Canadian Theatre 1765-1825. Dr. Bains is married and is a college professor.

Book Reviews

LORNA INNESS

Colchester County: A Pictorial History, S. F. Creighton
176 pages, paperback, illustrated, published 1979
Municipality of Colchester Recreation Department,
P.O. Box 697 Truro, B2N 5E7

The above county history is one of those published last year to mark the centennial of municipal government in Nova Scotia. It is the most attractive of the ones I have seen.
The old photographs reproduced well, given the difficulties involved in using such pictures, and the layout is compact and appealing.

Colchester's story begins in this book with a brief outline of what is known about the early peoples who travelled through the area hunting and fishing, and building their campfires where houses stand today. Colchester is singularly fortunate in having the Debert area with its rich finds of early peoples providing an important background to part of the past which to date has remained unknown.

From the opening pages of this book one gets a sense of the movement of peoples, of the Anbaniakh and the Micmacs moving through Debert and along the Salmon River, to be followed in time by the Acadian settlers who, in their turn, were swept away by the fortunes of war and replaced by English settlers.

Some detailed background is given to the development of transportation, education, agriculture and industry in the county generally, particularly since the turn of the century to the 1970s.

Since the book is a commemorative one prompted by the centenary of municipal government, it follows that many of its pages have been devoted to the development of the municipal structure. In addition, there is a list of the Wardens of the municipality since the first to hold that post, Eliakim Tupper Jr., of Middle Stewiacke; the membership of municipal

committees in 1979, county employees during the centennial year and various centennial events and programs.

There is a four-page bibliography, as well, which will be of interest to those anxious to read more about the county.

Publication of this centennial history was made possible "in part by assistance from the Nova Scotia Department of Culture, Recreation and Fitness and a Canada Works grant."

Crabs Wear their Skeltons on the Outside, By John Hennigar Smith
Paperback, illustrated, published December 1979
Nova Scotia Museum $3.

This is a bright little booklet illustrated by Nancy Stobie and designed to teach young readers about crabs (and lobsters and shrimp) and how they live inside their skeletons.

Using pictures and diagrams, the artist and author show how a crab develops, lives, moults its skeleton, grows new legs, avoids its enemies and generally adapts to life in the sea.

The booklet has been published by the Nova Scotia Museum under the Education Resource Services Program of the provincial department of education.

Now that they have found a good format and produced one book of this type, it is to be hoped that the author and illustrator and/or other members of the museum's staff will produce similar books about other creatures of the sea, land and air.

The Captain, the Colonel and Me, By Elsie Churchill Tolson
paperback, 264 pages, illustrated, published December 1979
The Tribune Press Ltd., Sackville, New Brunswick — $10

This book is the result of Elsie Churchill Tolson's love affair with a house and how it led to the research which in turn led to the story of Bedford and vicinity.

The author describes how, after a lengthy period of sorting our claims and ownership, the house now known as Fort Sackville House was reclaimed. It is the classic story of a house, "old and sagging, needing paint and shingles", which yet retains enough appeal to catch the mind and heart of a prospective owner. Churchill's offering of "blood, toil, tears and sweat" is as nothing to what lies in wait for the person who finds and restores such a house. Yet few people who have had this experience would trade it for an easier way.

Throughout the years of raising a family, the drive to research the history not only of the house but the area remained with Mrs. Tolson. Finally, the opportunity came and, with inspiration from the Captain (Capt. John Gorham) and the Colonel (Col. Joseph Scott), Mrs. Tolson has compiled an assortment of items on topics ranging from early happenings at Fort Sackville to a 1786 Cobequid roadhouse, from roads and stagecoaches to mills and ships, gold and paper.

Mrs Tolson has not confined herself to dates and places, but has built her story around people — some remembered, some forgotten, all of them people who contributed in some way to Bedford's story.

The book contains old photos and maps giving an interesting look at other times.

Mrs Tolson's book made its appearance the same week that Bedford's first mayor and council were sworn into office. It was a timely publication.

Nova Scotia, The Lighthouse Route and the Annapolis Valley, By Sherman Hines.
79 pages, hardcover, illustrated, published January 1980
Oxford University Press, Toronto $12.95

Sherman Hines already has one book of colour photo studies, entitled simply Nova Scotia, which is becoming a classic. This latest collection, however, is devoted to one of the most scenic highways of this province, giving the reader a range of impressions found by a traveller following the Annapolis Valley route to Yarmouth and along the southwestern coast route to Halifax. In the course of the journey, scenery of just about every variety except mountain views (and they exist in some areas) has been photographed by Hines.

Here is land settled by the Acadians, the Germans, the United Empire Loyalists, land, indeed, where the Viking ships are said to have come to rest centuries ago, land known for thousands of years to the native peoples. It is at once fortunate and awe-inspiring when you consider that some of the views in this province are not much changed from those which greeted the early settlers — in spite of the pace of change.

There are familiar subjects in the 80 colour plates; and therein lies much of their appeal for the reader. It is not entirely the photograph — but what the photo does to unlock the reader's memory that gives a special quality to books of this kind.

The Complete Log House Book, by Dale Mann and Richard Skinulis
175 pages, paperback, illustrated, published November 1979
McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., $9.95

While the text is the important part of this book, it would be remiss not to cite the splendid photography of Nancy Shanoff, remarkable both for its descriptive quality where the photos are used as an example of style or method as well as for its beauty, especially in the colour photographs or exteriors and interiors. The quality of the photos is such as to capture the imagination and stimulate the desire to build or own such a house.

In line with the current "Back to the woods, back to the past and the old ways" enthusiasm, it is natural that there should be a re-kindling of interest in log houses and similar dwellings. The desire to build such a house, however, is only the beginning.

To build a log house, however, it is not enough to march off into one's wooded lot and start chopping down trees. A log house can be both aesthetically pleasing and functional if it is properly constructed.

In this guide, the authors have set out to show the various styles of design and what is required in the planning in hewn house log construction and building with round logs. The sections dealing with construction methods are accompanied by detailed photographs.

Dale Mann, a professional log builder, began by reconstructing old log houses in the Ottawa Valley and the book includes information on renovation and mixing modern and antique fittings. Richard Skinulis has worked with Mann in building log houses in parts of Ontario.

As Richard Skinulis points out in the book's preface. "The craft of log building has become so eclectic that no single book could encompass all there is to know about log building." The authors invite readers to share knowledge and experience with them.

As Richard Skinulis points out: "We do not attempt to 'sell' any particular style of log building here. We have tried to explain as objectively as possible the drawbacks as well as the obvious strong points of the various building methods..."

Anyone thinking of building a log structure would find this book particularly helpful.

The Canadian Wood Heat Book, By Gordon Flagler
295 pages, paperback, illustrated, published January 1980
Deneau & Greenberg, Publishers, 305 Metcalfe Street, Suite 206, Ottawa, Ont. $8.95

Billed as "the book Canadian woodburners have been waiting for," this is the first all-round guide to the use of wood for heating and the current range of wood burning devices of the market today.

The increasing attention being paid to the energy crisis, especially in the area of home heating, has led to an unprecedented interest in the use of wood. More and more Canadians are installing one of the assortment of new stoves designed to burn wood exclusively or with other fuels. It is in this "instant success story", as Flagler points out, that the dangers exist.

Hundreds of the new woodburners, states Flagler who remembers tending the woodpile in his boyhood home, have had no previous experience with woodburning. It is these people, in particular, that Flagler wants to reach with this book.

As the use of wood has increased, so has the number of tragedies involving loss of people and homes. Flagler's aim is to set out clearly in this book the ways in which wood can be used wisely and safely. It is not long, he concludes, before there will be stiffer regulations concerning the manufacture, installation and use of wood stoves and furnaces.

Flagler discusses in his book how to choose the right stove or furnace, chimneys and smokepipes and their installation, maintenance, as well as starting a fire and keeping it going, and cutting and storing wood.

His book contains, as well, a catalogue listing separately the five categories of wood-burning appliances: cookstoves, fireplaces, furnaces, heaters and accessories. The catalogue gives particulars of individual items, measurements, prices, and suppliers.

The Canadian Wood Heat Book, aside from being the only contender in the field at present, will prove an invaluable guide to anyone contemplating switching to this method of heating.

World Atlas of Railways, By O. S. Nock
223 pages, hardcover, illustrated, Published 1979
Mayflower Books Inc. New York (Collins in Canada) $39.95

This is a beautifully designed, well-illustrated catalogue of railway development throughout the world which will appeal to any railway enthusiast and be a useful source of information generally.

The book was prepared by a team of authorities under the general editorship of O. S. Nock, a retired planning manager and a past president of the Institution of Railway Signal Engineers. Nock is also the author of some 90 books on the history of railways, engineering and travel.

The book is divided into six main sections, including the Atlas. The first part deals with the development of railways, from 1700 to today, with particular emphasis on the various stages of locomotive development.

How railways work now covers everything from motive power to laying track, the building of bridges and tunnels, signalling and the science of freight handling.

Great routes around the world, such as the London to Glasgow, the Paris-Lyon and the routes across North America are featured along with such legendary trains as the Orient Express, imortalized in story and film; the Irish Mail, the Chief, South Africa's Blue Train and Canada's own transcontinental.

Nor have the Trans-Siberian, Trans-Asian or Trans-Australian stories been ignored.

The Atlas section contains area maps, but the section devoted to railway systems, with its maps, charts and showing location of various industries, ports, railyards, and tourist centres, and its statistics about road classes, rolling stock, lines, intercity passenger services, etc., is the heart of the book.

There is an extensive bibliography, a glossary of railroading terms, and a chronological chart with footnotes giving an outline history of railroad development.

The book will provide an answer to most basic questions about railroads, even considerable details in some instances. Students of Canadian railway history will seek other volumes, but as an international summary, this book would be hard to beat.

Native Trees of Canada, By R. C. Hosie
Paperback, 380 pages, illustrated, published (8th edition) 1979
Fitzhenry & Whiteside Ltd., Cloth — $16.95; paper — $9.95

The value of this basic handbook to the trees of Canada's fields and forests has been recognized for a long time and this eighth edition will be welcomed. The book now includes basic information and photographs of some 140 species of trees — coniferous, deciduous in all their rich variety.

There are sections dealing with the principal forest regions of the country; boreal, coast, subalpine, montane, Columbia, deciduous, Great Lakes — St. Lawrence, Acadia and the grasslands.

Additional material covers how trees are named, the arrangement of species, and tree terminology.

The pages devoted to information about particular trees include distance and close-up photos of each tree in its natural state, bark, branches, cones or leaves, etc., as well as a silhouette, and a map showing the general areas in which the particular type of tree can be found.

The text covers form, habitat, size, leaves, cones, twigs, bark, wood, and general importance as well as notes as to use.

The book is limited to discussion of native trees, i.e. "a single-stemmed perennial woody plant growing to a height of more than ten feet and which is indigenous to Canada." Ornamental and shrub trees are not included escept as occasional references.

The book is published by Fitzhenry & Whiteside Ltd., in co-operation with Canadian forestry Service (Environment Canada) and the Canadian Government Publishing Centre, Supply and Services, Canada.

The Child Celebrated in Illustration, By Peter Bennett
Paperback, illustrated, published 1979
Penguin Books, $9.95

This book is a journey back to childhood for readers who may find in it illustrations familiar from much loved children's classics. Drawings

which date from the 16th and 17th centuries are, however, given in this book to illustrate attitudes of the times.

Using examples from their works, Peter Bennett has studied the ways in which illustrators have caught the minds of children, both in stories which have fallen into obscurity and in the classics, such as Alice and the Hans Anderson tales which survive into our own time.

Illustrators whose work is included in this collection are Edward Caldecott, Edmund Dulac, Maud and Miska Petersham, Ernest Shepard, Mafield Parish, and, more recently, Norman Rockwell and William Kurulek.

The illustrations are reproduced in colour and in black and white.

For each copy of the book sold in Canada, Penguin Books Canada Limited will make a donation to the Canadian Save the Children Fund.

The Trees Around Us, A manual of good forest practice for Nova Scotia
Hardcover, 206 pages, illustrated, published February 1980
Government of Canada/Province of Nova Scotia $8.

This forest manual is a new publication prepared "on behalf of the Provincial Forest Practices Improvement Board in co-operation with the Canada Department of Regional Economic Expansion and the Nova Scotia Department of Lands and Forests." No individual author's name appears in what is basically a text in the principles of forest management.

Such a book has been needed for a long time and the departments concerned are to be praised for their foresight in preparing the manual.

While the book is comparatively basic in the wording of its text, each chapter contains a list of supplementary reading at a more technical level.

The first few chapters are designed to give a basic understanding of the nature of the forests and how they have developed to their present state. Individual chapters discuss forest management planning, woodland roads, harvesting practices, logging for market, planting and growing a forest, sugarbush and Christmas trees, woodlot and wildlife. Forest protection is dealt with and the Forest Improvement Act is reproduced along with guidelines to the Act.

The pictures and diagrams are especially valuable in gaining an understanding of woodlot practices. The reproduction and explanation of the various forms and contracts is equally valuable.

The book also includes useful tables of measurement and a glossary of terms.

Some material already published by various government departments and institutions involved in forestry has been used in the compilation of this handbook.

The book was compiled by a project team with W. S. Pollock, F. Eng., Timmerlinn Limited, Ste. Agathe Des Monts, Quebec, as consultant. The art work and design was the responsibility of Paul Clarke, a Nova Scotian artist, who has succeeded admirably in setting a high standard for the illustration of government publications.

Gwen Guiou Trask, **Elias Trask, his Children and Their Succeeding Race. 206 pp., illustrated.** Available from the Author, Box 33, Hebron, N.S. (B0W 1X0), for $10.00, postpaid.

This is the story of a New England family that removed to Yarmouth and Digby counties in the late seventeen hundreds. That New England background is rather well developed in the opening section of the book. Here and there throughout the book, narrative passages augment and amplify the names and dates, while Mrs. Trask has thoughtfully left a number of blank pages interspersed at the end of each section. Her intention is to allow readers to jot their additions in at the proper places.

Not only the Trasks get coverage. There are more than generous pieces about the Trask relations, such as the families of Bain, Cann, Crosby, Denton, Frost, Harris, Montague, Perry, Pirrie, Roberts and Spicer, to mention a few.

The book has one unique characteristic. It uses the New England method for enumerating family groups, but the family groups appear in the order one would find them in a book using the Burke method. In the New England method, all the third generation from a founder of a family is traced before any of the fourth or subsequent generation is done. Here, however, each line is followed to extinction or modern date before the next is followed through to a similar conclusion. This may cause a reader little trouble, because there is an excellent index. It will disturb those who are concerned with stylistic purity. At a time when family history is being so widely undertaken, this latter consideration does have a claim to attention by authors of family histories.

Having noted the difficulties in numbering, it would be less than fair to imply that such a technical problem outweighed the valuable and interestingly-presented material. If you have any sort of links to the Trasks in Nova Scotia, you will probably find it mentioned here. Mrs. Trask has done her utmost to make her account of her family-by-marriage complete and easy to read. She has succeeded admirably.

—Terrence M. Punch.

The Irish in Cape Breton, by A. A. MacKenzie. Available from Formac Publishing Company Limited, P.O. Box 1688, Antigonish, N.S. (B2G 2M5), 130 pp. for $5.95.

Some will wonder what anyone could possibly find to say about the Irish in Cape Breton and take 130 pages in which to say it. Others will marvel that so much could be said inside so small a compass. Dr. Tony MacKenzie is both an academic and a son of the soil, and comes to the task well qualified. This work, like most, is really the result of much labour by many people over quite a few years. Despite his evidently Scottish ancestry, Dr. MacKenzie's judgements on the Cape Breton Irish are neither harsh nor patronizing. For that, we, the descendants of the "fir aniar", can be pleased.

Dr. MacKenzie sets out to tell the story of a people in transition, of Irish immigrants who are surrounded by a Scottish majority at a time when both groups were trying to stabilize their lives. In the telling, numerous genealogical clues and historical details emerge. For many general readers, these will provide the "pegs" on which to develop understanding of the Irish participation in the making of Cape Breton. In his three chapters 4, 5, and 6, Mackenzie takes us on a tour of "The Island", and locates many of the Irish firstcomers, while chapter 7 gives sketches of some men of Irish origins who have made a mark in life. Some readers will be surprised at the size of the Irish colony within French Louisbourg.

The findings of the author corroborate those of researchers into the Irish in Halifax and Newfoundland. The Irish came from a band of southern counties — Wexford, Kilkenny, Waterford, Tipperary and Cork — before the Famine of the 1840's, though the latter event made such a profound impact on Irish people that even those who had no experience of it somehow acquired a kind of "race memory" of the tragedy. Many of the Irish came first to Newfoundland and later moved along in pursuit of the fisheries, arable soil or the chance at an easier life. Their religion was source of national identity, as was the persistence until quite late of intermarriage within their own ethnic-religious group.

Misprints are few and blunders fewer. The only one that should be drawn to everyone's attention in a review is that which occurs on page 64. There, the Hon. R. J. Un-

iacke is confused with his son of the same name. R. J., Sr., came to Nova Scotia in the 1770's, while R. J., Jr., was attorney-general of Cape Breton in 1814.

This is an important book, at least to anyone who considers Irish-Canadian history significant. It has been a neglected field for far too long. The public is at last beginning to discover that the Irish were more numerous and more essential in Canadian history than was supposed. In promoting that awareness and doing it both intelligently and sensitively, Dr. MacKenzie and his team have done our province and the country a good turn. Let us not be ungrateful.

(Taim buioch diot
Irish for
"I thank you")

T. M. De ponnr
(T. M. Punch — in Irish our
French origin shows
T. M. De Ponns)

Beyond the North West Arm, and **On the Road from Freshwater Bridge,** both by Heather Watts, 19 Wyndrock Drive, Halifax, N.S. B3P 1R8 for $3.50 each, 38 and 42 pp., respectively.

These are small books, but they deal with relatively small areas now within the limits of Halifax City. The former is a history of Williams Lake, and the profits from its sale will go to the work of the Williams' Lake Conservation Company. The latter is a history of the house at 5500 Inglis Street, and the profits in this case go to the maintenance of the house in question, long associated with the Tremain family.

Ms. Watts is a thoroughly competent researcher and writer, and one does not find reason to revise that estimate after reading these two little gems. If you are a Haligonian, now or ever, or if you have a love of heritage preservation, these books are for you.

Beyond the North West Arm is the history of an area that was long rural, then suburban, and now is part of an urban centre. The tale runs from the first grantees

through George McIntosh, Robert Letson, Richard Dingle, the Lawsons, the Jollimores and the Boutilliers, the Yeadons, various industries into the twentieth century and the subdivision era.

On the Road from Freshwater Bridge tells the story of the lower end of Inglis Street. We meet the Tremains, Enos Collins, John Bayley Bland, Joseph Seeton, the Chipmans, and the Universalist Church. Both books are implicitly and explicitly pleas for heritage conservation and the Halifax historical environment. As such, they merit my approbation and your support. Even as an out-and-out gift $7.00 is not much nowadays. When you see the maps and plans in the little books, and read the crisp text, you will join us in singing Heather Watts' praises.

T. M. Punch

Census of Nova Scotia, 1827; Census of District of Pictou, 1817 compiled by Allan C. Dunlop. Available from the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Coburg Road, Halifax, N.S. (B3H 1Z9), for $5.25, postpaid. Map, 152 pp.

It has been several years since the Nova Scotia Archives has produced a book of such evident genealogical importance. Its compiler is a member of the Genealogical Committee of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society. The 1827 portion of the present volume appeared serially in the Genealogical Newsletter between 1975 and 1978. Now the parts have been arranged into a unified whole, and the 1817 return for the Pictou area has been added. The results are pleasing and presented in a spiral-bound book 8½ x 11. To the Archivist, Mr. Hugh Taylor, and the compiler, Mr. Allan Dunlop, our thanks for this welcome addition to the growing shelf of Nova Scotian resource books.

The 1827 census lists the heads of families, religion, occupation, residence, number of servants, number of either sex in the family, and the total persons, as well as births, deaths and marriages of females in each household in the twelve months ending 1 October 1827. The 1817 return (erroneously called 1818 on the title page and cover) gives the heads of families by name, then the age and sex composition of the family, and the total in the household.

The returns for 1827 include portions of Cape Breton Island, Queens, Shelburne, Yarmouth, Digby, Annapolis,

Cumberland and Halifax counties. The District of Sydney (Antigonish and part of Guysborough) was presented as an appendix to the **Report of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia,** 1938, pp. 23-67. Altogether rather more than half of the census is thus available to everyone, though one feels that the portions published forty-one years ago are not easily accessible to all and might profitably have been incorporated in the present work. The remainder of the 1827 census has almost certainly perished forever.

At the request of the P.A.N.S., readers are asked to correct page 56, left-hand edge. The beginning two letters ("HO") were cut off, and should be read at the beginning of all entries on the page. Thus, "LMES" is really "Holmes". This error exists in all copies, so it is useless to return a copy to seek a "correct" replacement. As a final small observation, users might like to know that the parenthesized (B) after some of the names means that the person thus indicated was black. Despite these oversights, the book is so fine a product that for $5.25 it is among the best bargains to appear in 1979.

Terrence M. Punch