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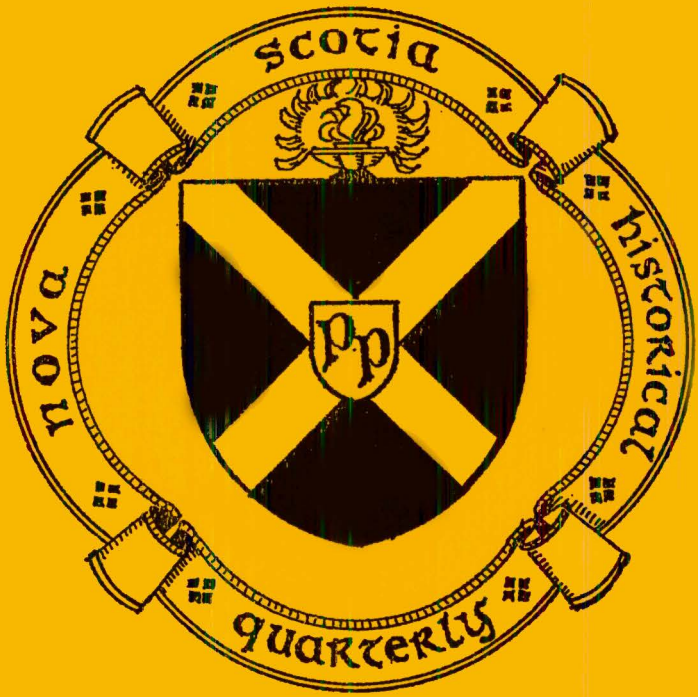

Papers for publication are solicited on any topic relating to the history of Nova Scotia. Manuscripts of approximately 2500 words, or approximately 5000 words, should be submitted to The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly, P.O. Box 1102, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

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A Typical Hornbook.

As an added feature in this issue, we are pleased to include this interesting picture of a typical horn book. We hope that it may lead to the discovery of an existing example and perhaps add further information on its use in Nova Scotia.

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The Development of Sherbrooke Village To 1880

JOHN N. GRANT

The eastern part of Nova Scotia was largely unsettled until after the Loyalist immigrations that followed the American Revolution. Even then the valley of the St. Mary's River was practically ignored, except by fishermen in search of a haven and the migrating Micmac Indians.

This was not always so. About 1655 the French trader LaGiraudiere built a fur trading post, Fort Sainte Marie (named after the river), "at three leagues" above the entrance of the river at the head of the tide.[1] Here, at the present site of Sherbrooke they built, traded with the Indians and, as the remnants of dykes suggest, cultivated the soil, growing wheat and vegetables to supplement their staples of game and fish.[2] Nicholas Denys wrote that all "the buildings of LaGiraudiere were enclosed by a fort of four little bastions, the whole made of great pickets or stakes. There were two pieces of brass cannon and some swivel guns, the whole in a good state of defence".[3] Despite these preparations, Fort Sainte Marie was captured in 1669 by an English force which had been sent in the autumn of 1668 to expel the French from Port Royal. The fort was put to the torch and the inhabitants driven away.[4]

More than one hundred years drifted by before the next settlers arrived in the area. However, the valley was not completely forgotten. On October 31st, 1765, one hundred and fifty thousand acres in the vicinity of Sherbrooke were granted to Jonathan Binney, Benjamin Green Sr., Alexander McNutt, James Lyon, Arthur Vance, John Dennis, Thomas Brown and James Fulton.[5] Some of these men were only interested in the salmon fisheries while others were purely land speculators, and none made any attempt to open up the country or to cultivate the land. In 1784, a large part of their land was escheated because of their failure to comply with the conditions of the grant and also to provide land for new settlers.[6]

About the year 1800, the first English speaking settlers arrived in the area. Most were from Truro and Pictou[7] and perhaps had become interested in St. Mary's by their association with the Rev. James Lyon and Colonel Alexander McNutt. Some of the early settlers included still familiar names such as MacLean, McKeen, Archibald, Cumminger, MacDonald and other names no longer closely associated with the locality. Life for these pioneers, like that of most pioneers was not easy. They had had to drive their cattle nearly forty miles through the woods from either Pictou or Musquodoboit "without a road" and to transport their families and baggage to Halifax, and from there by sea up the St. Mary's River to the Head of the Tide, and on up the river to their homes located on the rich intervale lands.[8]

The development of Sherbrooke Village from a turn in the river to the bustling, prosperous community it was during the 1860-1880 period was a slow and gradual one. By the beginning of the second decade of the 19th century the site at the head of navigation was becoming increasingly the center of the locality. In 1814, David Archibald 3rd of Truro built a saw mill, a grist mill and a store[9] there and other merchants and tradesmen acquired nearby sites for their businesses. In 1815, the name

"Sherbrooke" came into general use, named in honor of Sir John Cope Sherbrooke, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia from 1811 to 1816. By 1817, according to Anthony Lockwood in *A Brief Description of Nova Scotia,* Sherbrooke contained two saw-mills, a grist mill, and about twenty houses.[10] T. C. Haliburton in his *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia* wrote:

> Sherbrooke is situated at the extreme head of the navigation of the river and is accessible by vessels of fifty or sixty tons burden. In the years 1824-1825 and 26, fourteen cargoes of timber were shipped at Sherbrooke for the British market, amounting in the whole to 4,155 tons of timber 63,460 feet of three inch pine plank, and 76 cords of lath-wood, besides spars, oars, handspikes, etc. and it is probable that during the three preceding years, a similar quantity was exported. In 1827, 400,000 feet of sawed lumber, and 100 head of horned cattle were sent from this place to Halifax and during the last seven years, ten vessels of from 50 to 100 tons burden were built here. A new road has been opened to Musquodoboit, a distance of thirty miles, and an excellent and substantial bridge erected over the west branch with a span of 90 feet. The Township of St. Mary's possesses many important natural advantages, and only requires population and industry, with an addition to its capital, to render it one of the most populous and thriving settlements in Nova Scotia.[11]

As suggested by the above, the timber trade occupied a very important position in the economic life of Sherbrooke. The early settlers may well have come looking for land to farm but many soon turned to the tall stands of virgin timber for their livelihood. Indeed in 1831, Joseph Howe commented that "the Village is a creation of the Timber Trade"[12] and John McGregor wrote that the timber business was the chief pursuit of the people of St. Mary's. [13]

The timber was cut on the banks of the St. Mary's River and its smallest tributaries and driven down the river to the Stillwater where it was held until needed by the Sherbrooke mills. As early as 1819, the inhabitants had petitioned the Legislature for permission to place booms in the river at Stillwater and to authorize the magistrates of the county to "regulate and repair the booms"[14]. On December 14, 1819, the Court of General Sessions for the County of Sydney laid down the regulations for the booms and the rates of boomage.[15] The Nova Scotia Assembly also supported the industry by voting sums of money to blow up rocks in the river that were a hazard to both timber rafts and boats.[16]

One of the principal saw-mills in Sherbrooke was built in 1829 at the southern end of the village, located beside a wide bend in the river which provided a convenient pond to hold timber. It was built by William Thompson Archibald, the son of David Archibald 3rd, and his partner Henry Cumminger. To provide the necessary water power, they had a canal, or race, hand dug from the lake above to the mill cove. The race was 850' long, 10' wide and from 8' to 15' deep and was rock walled for the majority of its length. It was dug in such a way that the major part of the "race" was an extension of the lake itself, the run-off to the mill wheel being in its last section. This mill later became the property of Alexander N. and David A. McDonald and operated on that site for approximately 60 years.[17]

The trade in wood, deal, planks, boards, lathes, shingles and even fire wood, was the single most important industry of the community. Although continually affected by the rate (or later by the lack of rate) of British preference,[18] the export figures show that while there was a considerable fluctuation in the value of the trade, it remained quite healthy and retained its importance.

For example, lumber, spars, timber, and staves, to the value of £1,957 were exported from the port in 1852. In 1855, the

sawn lumber, hardwood and softwood timber, and wood exported was valued at £8,991, but in 1859 the value of the laths, pickets, lumber, spars, knees and timber exported fell to £1,358. During the 1860's wood export values fluctuated from $5,127.00 in 1860 to $1,068.00 in 1863 to $8,265.00 in 1864.[19] Moreover during the 1860's with the boom of Goldenville and other nearby gold mining communities, the internal market for lumber increased greatly.

There was also another use to which the lumber was put. This was in the building of wooden ships. Ship building was a means of transporting cargoes of lumber to their market. It also was a considerable impetus to the local economy, providing work for wood workers, saw mills, blacksmiths, sailmakers, ship wrights, skilled tradesmen, and unskilled laborers.

When or where the first ship was built on the St. Mary's River is not known, but by 1813 Elisha Pride and Robert Dickson, who lived at the present site of Sonora, reported that they had built a schooner and "followed the Labrador fishery".[20] In 1830 Captain William Moorsom reported that "during the year 1828 six vessels of that description (under 100 tons) were built between Sherbrooke and the sea."[21] During the 1840's and 50's the industry occupied an increasingly important position in the local economy. Although John Cumminger and the McDonald Brothers had the busiest yards, others, apparently less permanent, also existed.[22]

In 1855 six ships were built and two totalling 217 tons valued at $2,200.00 were sold. In the following year six additional vessels were built and all six were sold.[23] By the 1860's the ship yards were capable of producing larger and larger vessels. In 1863, Alexander N. McDonald built the 499 ton barque *Nancy Ann* valued at $19,960.00. He built the 536 ton barque *British America* in 1865 and in 1874 completed the 749 ton barque *Glen Grant*. John Cumminger built the 284 ton barque *Nova*

Scotia, in 1865 and in the next year the *Regina* of 599 tons, also a barque. Both these yards, and the others in Sherbrooke Village, built numerous other vessels, both for the carrying trade and for the fishing industry.[24]

As was the case in most of Nova Scotia's sea coast settlements early communication was restricted to the sea. However, by 1815 the inhabitants of Sherbrooke had requested that the Lieutenant-Governor provide "a good road from Dorchester [now Antigonish] to the tide water at St. Mary's River".[25] Trails were cut through to Dorchester and later over the Blue Mountain to New Glasgow but not until 1854 and 1856 respectively did the Legislature grant funds to improve these roads.[26]

By 1837 clamor for an inland route from Halifax to Guysborough had reached such a level that in its April session the Assembly passed a resolution favouring the project and later voted money to build the "Great Eastern".[27] In the following decade demand from the costal fishing villages prevailed and the "Harvey Road" along the shore was begun, and by 1853 the distance between Dartmouth and Ship Harbour was declared a "great road".[28] Thus by the mid-1850's passable roads had been established from Halifax to Guysborough, branching off to the St. Mary's River valley to Sherbrooke, to Antigonish and to New Glasgow and another going at least part way up the Eastern Shore towards Halifax. In 1870 the first bridge was built across the river at Sherbrooke[29], and residents no longer had to travel to the ferry at St. Mary's River to make connections with the Halifax road.

The new roads greatly facilitated communication. Where, until 1842 "there was not a carriage in Sherbrooke . . . when Hugh McDonald Esq. obtained an old fashioned fly".[30] By the 1860's there was convenient public transportation. About 1861 a semi-weekly stage coach service was established from Halifax to Musquodoboit, Guysborough, St. Mary's, Country Harbour

and Port Mulgrave by an Archibald. By 1865 Nelson's ran a semi-weekly coach through the Musquodoboit Valley and on to Sherbrooke and Goldenville daily and Kirk's stage left Antigonish for Glenelg twice weekly making connections with McDonald's stage which ran between New Glasgow and Sherbrooke.[13] Transportation was also available from the stage services of McQuarrie and Sargeant.

Despite the improved road conditions travellers still had to face some of the difficulties described by Hiram Hyde several years before:

> The Mail Coach sank into the mud so deep that the axle dragged the earth in front of it, the Driver was obliged to unload the Mail, and raise the Coach with leavers to get along.[32]

Writing of land travel on the Eastern Shore one writer stated that parts of the road were so bad that "any means of locomotion except that known as 'shank's mare' would be ridiculous." He explained that even along the better of the paths, that "sometimes his horse carried him, and sometimes he carried his horse.[33]

A later traveller, journeying to Sherbrooke from New Glasgow, "after being jolted over 60 miles of horrible road" wrote philosophically:

> But beware, unfortunate traveller; don't blame the inanimate coach, or the toiling horses, or the luckless driver, for your misfortunes. They say that travelling is pleasure; but remember, Pleasure's ever bought with pain;[34]

Mail services also improved immeasurably during these few years. A "Way Office had been established in Sherbrooke by the Post Office Department in 1829.[35] Until 1842, when he began to use a horse.[36] The mail carrier walked between Antigonish and Sherbrooke with his load and for many years mail arrived only once a fortnight.[37] The Way Office was elevated to the rank of a Post Office in 1849 and by the 1860's mails were received and dispatched three times a week.[39] By this date the mails were transported by the stage coaches.[40]

Throughout these years a packet service was maintained during the suitable seasons, with Halifax and other points.[41] This service also became more sophisticated. Following the discovery of gold:

> so great was the rush to the "diggings" during June and July 1862 that three small steamers were kept plying between Sherbrooke and Halifax, carrying men and material to the mines. The Relief Steamboat Company's steamer *Neptune* . . . left J. M. Watson & Company Wharf at Halifax every Monday and Thursday at 5 a.m. for Tangier and Sherbrooke, and returned the following day. The fare from Halifax to Sherbrooke, was $2.00. This schedule was not always adhered to because on one voyage in May the *Neptune* was delayed by dense fog and smoke from fires in the woods near Owl's Head, and took six days to sail from Sherbrooke to Halifax.[42]

The summer of 1861 proved to be a turning point in the history of Sherbrooke Village. In that summer Nelson Nickerson of Sherbrooke, while making hay, took particular notice of the quartz rocks scattered over the land. Nickerson, who had visited Tangier where gold had been discovered earlier, was curious, and "by examining and, breaking quartz he found gold". Although he managed to keep his source a secret for a while, he

was watched closely by his neighbors until about the 15th of October, when he was discovered by the sound of his hammer.

The news soon spread. "A surveyor was sent in, areas were laid off, and soon the district was a live and energetic mining camp." Gold mining companies, as many as nineteen in 1869, flocked in to wrestle the earth's treasures from the ground. The companies included Messers. Cumminger and Company, the New York and Sherbrooke Company, the Grape Vine Company, the Wellington, the Eldorado and many others. Sherbrooke's was one of the earliest gold discoveries and it

> "Rose almost immediately to the rank of an important producer and for twenty years continued to make large returns, several years exceeding 7,000 ounces and one year, 1867, reaching the high-water mark of 9,463 ounces. The district passed through a period of comparative quiescence during the eighties and early nineties, after which it again became the scene of renewed mining activity and rose to the first rank among the producing districts."[43]

With the discovery, Sherbrooke boomed. In 1862, 130 miners were employed at the Sherbrooke Mines, or Goldenville, and by the end of that year 166 dwellings, stores, and other buildings had been constructed, and four crushers were erected at the cost of $16,000.00.[44] The merchants were busy supplying the mines while blacksmiths, builders, harness makers and all manner of skilled and unskilled laborers were fully employed. Miners and mining engineers arrived from all parts of the province, as well as from the United States and elsewhere.

Effects were felt outside of the economic field as well. The Presbyterian minister, because of the increase in population and his advancing years, confined his ministerial activities to Sherbrooke. Funds were found to build or complete the manse, Jail

and Court House. In 1864 the Masonic Lodge was formed and by 1868 it was necessary to increase the size of the school.

All the changes were not considered beneficial. In 1862 the House of Assembly received a petition from members of the strong local Temperance Society and others "now here for the purpose of mining for gold". It read:

> That owing to the early progress of temperance principles, and the refusal of the Court of Sessions, to licence the sale of alcoholic beverages, this district has for a long period been saved from many and great evils. That recently owing to the number of visitors to this place in search of Gold attempts have been made to establish the traffic in Intoxicating drinks and enough has occured within a few weeks to alarm those who have the best interests of the community at heart.

The petitioners further complained that it is difficult to convict "parties engaging in the traffic in ardent spirits without licence", under the law as it then stood. They suggested that a law be passed that would offer,

> greater facilities for the conviction and punishment of those who may attempt to set it at defiance [so that] the character of the District for Sobriety and Temperance which we value more than gold might be preserved.[45]

However, dispite the reservations of some of its citizens, gold was the economic stimulus, just as timber was the economic base of Sherbrooke. The two decades following its discovery were, in more ways than the obvious, the "Golden Age" of Sherbrooke Village.

The passing years had also seen political change in the Sherbrooke locality. Chapter 5 of the Acts of 1784 had brought

Sydney County, named in honor of Lord Sydney, Secretary of State for the Colonies in the British Government, into existence.[46] As the settlements along the St. Mary's grew, they were settled by people who were accustomed to managing their own affairs, and on their request St. Mary's Township was established on March 28, 1818. [47] However, because the river was the boundary line, the township was in both Halifax and Sydney Counties. Petitioned for an alteration, an Order-in-Council was passed on October 22, 1822 annexing to Sydney County the part of St. Mary's Township which had been in Halifax County.[48].

In 1836, because of the increase in population and the difficulties of travel in the far flung administrative area, Sydney County was divided into two parts. The Upper District, now Antigonish County, retained the name of Sydney County while the Lower District became Guysborough County with two seats in the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia.[49] On January 1, 1841 the Township of St. Mary's was re-organized as the District of St. Mary's[50] with its own Court of Sessions, Custos Rotolorum, Sheriff, Clerk of the Peace, and other, what now would be termed Municipal, Officials. Sherbrooke also contained the Registry of Deeds and the Court of Probate.

In 1857 a petition, signed by 442 persons, requested the Legislative Assembly to elevate the District of St. Mary's into "St. Mary's County". Similar requests were received from other areas of the proposed new county, including parts of Halifax and Antigonish Counties.[51] But they were not acted upon by the Assembly. However, despite their lack of success in this venture, the attempt was perhaps indicative of the type and strength of leadership that was available in the community. In 1879 the District of St. Mary's[52] was reorganized as the Municipality of St. Mary's, this being, to date, the final step in the development of the local government.

Politically Sherbrooke Village, in conjunction with the County as a whole, elected a mixed bag of Reformers and

Tories, Liberals and Conservatives.[53] It supported Joseph Howe in the responsible government dispute and most of her citizens, although divided on the question, opposed Confederation in 1867, hanging yards of black crepe on their buildings as a sign of their mourning "for the death of Nova Scotia".[54]

By 1860 Sherbrooke Village was without question, the industrial, commercial and business center of the locality with a population of approximately 1,200 persons (predominately Scottish Presbyterians) during the 1860's and 1870's.[55] It was easily the largest center as well. It supported several churches, a new jail, a new Court House, a school, a bank, and many private businesses, and several "grand" private residences.

Socially, life was centered in the Presbyterian Church; the Masonic Order, the Volunteer unit; the "Sherbrooke Guards" and later the 4th and 5th Battalions of the Guysborough County Militia; the Temperance Society; and the Young Men's Christian Association. In winter sleigh rides and skating parties, and in summer picnics and swimming, were sources of entertainment. These amusements, together with church bazaars, concerts, lectures, church going, tea drinking, writing and receiving letters, and visiting and receiving friends[56] were likely their chief social deviations from the routine of day to day life.

> Thus the picture of [Sherbrooke Village] emerges [as] an administrative and trading centre for lumbering and shipping operations and for the gold mines nearby with various general dealers and merchants to handle lumber and supplies, saw mills, a tannery, harness makers for horses used in lumbering, blacksmiths to shoe horses and also to do iron work for ships, carriage makers, carpenters and shipwrights, a doctor, two ministers, a druggist, hotels and boarding houses, officials such as post master, comptroller of customs, surveyor of shipping and deputy gold commissioner, and a few luxury items such as tailors, a watch maker, and a photographer.[57]

This was Sherbrooke Village 1860-1880, still a small town in the small, proud old province of Nova Scotia. In some areas, such as gold mining, it differed from the majority, but in most aspects it was a typical small Nova Scotian shiretown, aware of its past, confident of its future, suspicious of the centralizing tendency of government, and as proud as it was jealous of its independence.

However the years were to bring nothing but decline to Sherbrooke as its hinderland up the river failed to develop and its people left. Emigration was accelerated "as the best stands of timber were cut, the farms failed to live up to their promise, and the young men left to work in the mill towns of New England or to homestead in Western Canada . . . [where] . . . their sweethearts joined them".[58]

But this was all in the future. In the 1860-1880 era Sherbrooke Village was one of the shiretowns of Nova Scotia which had

> copied much of the improvements and progress of the city, but were distinctly the centre of their own universe, conscious of and acting with a great deal of autonomy, proud of yet impatient with the status they had achieved [and] anxious for the improvements and progress they might yet achieve.[59]

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicholas Denys. **The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia)** (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1908) p. 158.
2. Denys, **Coasts,** pp. 157-159.
3. Denys, **Coasts,** p. 158
4. P. Blakeley. **The History and Development of Sherbrooke in Guysborough County, Nova Scotia** (An Unpublished Report for the Government of Canada, 1969) p. 2.
5. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Crown Land Papers, Book 6, p. 482, reel 100.
6. Blakeley, **Sherbrooke**, p. 6. Lots of John Dennis, Thomas Brown, Arthur Vance and Alexander McNutt—Nos. 1, 2, 5, 7, 10 & 12 were escheated 24 March 1784 No. 69D; shares of Alexander McNutt & Lots 2 & 7 escheated 2 Nov. 1810 No. 174; share of Benjamin Green No. 9, 20,000 acres escheated 28 Nov. 1811 No. 179 see Crown Land Index Sheet No. 101.
7. Sherbrooke's Women's Institute. **A History of the Village of Sherbrooke and Vicinity.** (A paper written for the national competition of "Tweedsmuir Village Books", 1947) sec. "History and Pioneers".
8. Nova Scotian. (Halifax, N.S.) July 13, 1825.
9. Women's Institute, **History** sec. "History and Pioneers".
10. Anthony Lockwood. **A Brief Description of Nova Scotia.** (London, 1818) p. 37.
11. T. C. Haliburton. **A Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia,** (Halifax: Howe, 1829) Vol. II, pp. 97-98.
12. **Nova Scotian** (Halifax, N.S.) July 28, 1831.
13. John McGregor. **British America,** II, p. 140.
14. P.A.N.S. Assembly Petitions: Trade and Commerce, 1819.
15. Court of General Sessions, Sydney County, 1819.
16. P.A.N.S. Assembly Petitions: Communications 1826, **Journal of Assembly of Nova Scotia,** 1826, p. 627.
17. See Agreements, Deeds, Etc. in St. Mary's Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, N.S.
18. C. B. Fergusson. "Lumbering in Nova Scotia", **The Canadian Institute of Forestry, Atlantic Section, Second Annual Report,** (1955) p. 60
19. **Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia,** 1852-1866.
20. P.A.N.S. Land Papers: Ungranted land petitions 1814.
21. William Moorsom, **Letters from Nova Scotia** (London, 1830) p. 341.
22. The Sinclairs and Weirs were also building ships at Sherbrooke.
23. **Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia,** 1850-1860.
24. These are part of a list compiled from the various Nova Scotian, Canadian, British and American registries.
25. P.A.N.S. Assembly Papers, Vol. XIII, Received from Wentworth Taylor and Others on February 16, 1815.
26. **Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia,** 1850-1880.
27. W. R. Bird, "The Story of Nova Scotia's Highways". An Unpublished paper presented to the Nova Scotia Historical Society, (January 7, 1944) p. 10.

28. Bird, **Highways**, p. 26.
29. **Eastern Chronicle** August 18, 1870, p. 2, col. 5.
30. H. C. Hart. **History of Guysborough County** 2nd ed. Published by permission of King's College, Windsor, 1897).
31. R. D. Evans. "Stage Coaches in Nova Scotia, 1815 to 1867". **Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society,** vol. **4,** (1938) p. 111-130.
32. C. M. Jephcott, et. al. **The Postal History of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick 1754-1867.** (Toronto: Sessions, 1964) p. 143.
33. J. S. Thompson. "The Eastern Shore, A Report to a Committee of the Grand Division, Sons of Temperance, of Nova Scotia, concerning a Temperance and Educational Mission to the Eastern Shore of Halifax County." (Halifax, 1860)p.13.
34. **The Eastern Chronicle,** September 15, 1869 p. 2, Col 2.
35. P.A.N.S. Post Office Papers, 1829; also see Women's Institute, **History,** sec. Post Office.
36. P.A.N.S. Post Office Papers, Petition to the House of Assembly, 1841.
37. P.A.N.S. Post Office Papers, Petition to the Deputy Post Master General, 1839.
38. P.A.N.S. Post Office Papers, Correspondence, 1849.
39. **Belcher's Farmers Almanack** 1868.
40. Jephcott, p. 148.
41. P.A.N.S. Archibald Papers, W. McKeen to S.W.G. Archibald, May 10, 1830.
42. **Halifax Evening Press,** June 20, 1862, p. 2, col. 3, as quoted in Blakeley, **Sherbrooke,** p. 51-52.
43. W. Malcolm. **Gold Fields of Nova Scotia.** (Ottawa: Kings Printer, 1929) pp. 172-184 passim.
44. **Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia.** 1860-1867.
45. P.A.N.S. Assembly Petitions, 1862.
46. A. C. Jost. **Guysborough Sketches and Other Essays.** (Kentville, 1950) p. 184.
47. C. B. Fergusson. "The Boundaries of Nova Scotia and its Counties". **(Public Archives of Nova Scotia,** Halifax, N.S., Bulletin No. 22) p. 18.
48. Fergusson, "Boundaries", p. 18.
49. Fergusson, "Boundaries", p. 32;; also see Jost, **Guysborough** p. 196.
50. **Nova Scotia Laws 1840,** Chapter 29, "An Act for Setting off Part of the Township of Saint Mary's in the County of Guysborough, as a Separate and Distinct District".
51. P.A.N.S. Assembly Petitions, 1857.
52. **Nova Scotia Laws 1879.** County Incorporation Act.
53. C. B. Fergusson (ed.) **Nova Scotia M.L.A.'s, 1757-1957.** (Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1957) p. 500 contains a list of Guysborough County Members.
54. Blakeley, **Sherbrooke,** p. 58.
55. **Government of Canada,** Census of 1871.
56. N. J. MacKinnon. **Nova Scotia from Reciprocity to Confederation: A Social Study of the Period.** (M.A., Dalhousie, 1963) pp. 351-386, passim.
57. Blakeley, **Sherbrooke,** p. 50.
58. Blakeley, **Sherbrooke,** p. 65.
59. MacKinnon, **Social,** p. 380.

The General Store

MARIE NIGHTINGALE

An old Journal with records of a General Store in the years 1876 and 1877, can tell an interesting story. Only the entries are there, but in reading through one can gain a fairly accurate picture of the day, and an insight into the important role played by the general store in the community.

Groceries then consisted mainly of the staples that could not be raised on the farm or in the garden. Molasses by the gallon, flour and oatmeal by the barrel, spices, tea, sugar, butter, and salt were predominent items. Eggs were also very much in evidence, supplied by those who kept hens, and purchased by those who did not.

What a wonderful thing it is to be reminded of the value of a penny! Pennies were important then, and dollars were BIG money. A gallon of molasses could be bought for fifty cents, whereas nowadays, it will not buy a quart, but quantities of this commodity were purchased since it was the popular "sweetening". Sugar was expensive at ten cents a pound, while brown sugar, at this particular date, seemed to be a luxury item. Only twice did the sale of brown sugar appear on the books during a period of two years, and on both occasions a quarter pound was

purchased for five cents. By this time, too, maple sugar wasn't as cheap as in the early days, as this entry bears out:

To 13 lbs. Maple Sugar @ .18 — $2.34

Butter, on the other hand, was cheap by today's standards, bringing twenty cents a pound. Usually sold in tubs, butter played another role. It was used as money, or barter, when merchandise was traded for produce. On one occasion, I noted that $3.09 was credited to the account of Wallace Sergent for 16½ lbs. butter @ 19c per pound. But I wonder a little about this entry:

Archibald & Co.

To 9 tubs Butter 99½ lb. @ 20c $19.90

3 tubs Ditto (Old) 89 lb. @ 18c 16.02

Eggs too, were traded and not necessarily by the dozen, but rather by the willingness of the hens. One entry told of 1 5/12 Doz. eggs @ 12c a doz., which gave a Debit of 17c to one account, and another credited to the account of Watson McCurdy:

By 4 3/12 Doz. eggs @ 12c Dr. 51c

In March, eggs sold for twenty cents a dozen but by May and June the hens appeared to be more prolific, and the old story of supply and demand brought the price down to ten cents or twelve cents a dozen. Eggs were also sold by the barrel, as shown in this entry:

To 1 Barrel Eggs — 54 Doz. $9.72

Livestock, too, was traded:

Septt 1/77 William Sedgewick

By 1 steer (yearling) $11.00

But it was better, financially, to wait until the animals were full grown:

Jas. B. Higgins — By 2 cows		$38.00
By 1 Pair Oxen		$86.00

Poultry also figured in trade:

By 5 prs. chickens	@ 30c	$1.50
2 Geese	@ 45c	.90

Hides were valued, but not too highly:

Dec. 17/76 R. Rhodes

By 1 hide	54	@ 5½c	$2.97
20½ lbs. beef		7c	1.44
Cash			1.00
			$5.41

All of which was credited to Mr. Rhodes' account.

Livestock was also purchased through the General Store:

Sept. 1/77 Matthew Guild:

To 5 Lambs	@ $1.90	$9.50

Several accounts throughout the pages were either "Settled in oats" or "settled in butter". And meat was inexpensive in those days, if we can go by this record:

To 18 lbs. veal	@ .05	$ .90
1 Pr. Partridges		.20
10 lb. steak	@ .10	1.00
14½ lb. beef	@ .07	1.02

While a cow on the hoof cost $26.00

Turkey must have been a treat at sixteen cents a pound as compared to beef at seven cents. One ten pound turkey at sixteen cents a pound was noted at $1.60.

And then there was fish. Herring sold by the barrel, or more usually, the half barrel, at $3.75. Codfish cost 6½c a pound as per this entry:

To 17 lbs, Codfish @ 6½c $1.10

Other staples frequently listed were flour which ranged, probably because of quality or color, from $7.75 to $9.50 a barrel; oatmeal cost $8.00 a barrel, while white meal was only $4.25 a barrel.

Tea was the favoured hot beverage of the day and sold for 22c the half pound or 43c a full pound. Coffee was noted twice through the two year period, at the lesser cost of 15c a half pound. Tea pots cost 32c each.

Beans were sold by the peck for 75c or by the pound for 5c. Salt cost 35c for half a bushel and rice, though only seldom mentioned was 18c a pound.

In the spring, after personal supplies of apples had run out, dried apples could be purchased for 15c a pound. Raisins were 16c a pound but were seldom sold in that quantity—half pounds were usual. Ginger and pepper were both 8c for the quarter pound and soda, cream of tarter, baking powder (though less frequently) and other spices were among the staples. Vinegar cost 30c for half a gallon and regular soap was 5c a cake, while soft soap sold for 9c. Only once in a long while did I notice candy, at quantities of 5c or 10c worth. This speaks of an infrequently offered treat for the children.

And while on the subject of children, I was amused to see, scribbled on one page in childish handwriting, these words:

"Garnet is a donkey". This was a refreshing relief from today's more colorful expressions.

The General Store carried more than groceries in those days. It served also as the local haberdashery. A suit of boys clothes cost $5.50, while boots were of varying prices. In June of 1876, the Rev. Meadows must have taken his entire family to be shod:-

To 1 Pr. Boots	$1.50
1 Ditto	1.65
1 Ditto	.90
1 Ditto	1.40
1 Ditto	3.00

The total for five pairs of boots came to $8.45, but I wonder who received the expensive ones.

A pair of drawers cast $1.15, which indicates that this was too expensive for what we might call drawers today so the term was more likely applied to men's trousers. For the ladies the occasional parasol sold for 75c, while corsets, being of a more necessary nature, cost 65c. Gloves ranged from 20c to 30c a pair, caps and hats from 20c to 40c, while handkerchiefs (no Kleenex then) were 13c each. A man's vest cost $2.50, a cardigan sweater sold for $2.25, a pair of Brogans $2.50, and a box of collars 25c. Stockings were noted at 15c a pair, a necktie at 45c, an overcoat at $12.00, a pair of Braces 38c and a pair of Gaiters $2.75.

But the women usually made their own clothes. In spring, then as now, women's thoughts turned to the spring bonnet:

To 1 yd. net 50c, ¼ yd. Illusion 5c, 1 yd. ribbon 7c

Elastic 2c.

The total amount for this new bonnet was 64c. Hat shapes sold for 25c, and Thomas Nelson's wife must have made a beauty!:

To 1 hat shape 25c, ½ yd. velvet 18c

2 yds. Ribbon 54c, 1 Flower 20c

All of this making a rather expensive hat for the times, at $1.17.

Many different kinds of yard goods were mentioned throughout the Journal—gingham, flannel, shirting, muslin, lining, homespun, lustre, cotton print, crape (note the spelling), and ribbon and flowers were popular. The following entry might indicate that variety in color and material was not important, for at times the entire family was dressed in homespun:

52½ yds. Twilled Homespun	@ 35c	$18.29
3½ yds. Plain Ditto	@ 25c	.87

making the total $19.16, a large amount to spend in those days.

But color did appear:

To 1½ yds. Turkey red cotton .13

There were other materials too, for the Sunday-go-to-meeting dress, as is evident in P. R. Clarke's account:

To 3½ yds. Italian cloth	.45
1 yd. Hair cloth	.40
Braid	28c
Buttons	7c
1 yd. Twist	4c
Reel (of thread)	5c
2 doz. Buttons	5c

And I think this dress must have been very stylish:

June 6/77—David Pearson

To Bal. on goods .63

2 hats, 40c 1 ditto 30c

1½ yds. Ribbon 21c

7¾ yds. French Merino @ .62 — $4.80

2 yds. Lining 26c, 1 doz. Buttons 15c

Silk Reel 6c

While at the very end of this purchase, we are jolted back to stark reality:

1 shovel — 45c

A new coat or a man's suit might have been in the offing:

7½ Yds. Tweed @ 1.30 9.75

Trimmings 2.52

and reality sets in again with:

1 Bottle olive oil .55

Labour also paid the bills:

John Annand:

By chopping	9½ acres	@ $5.00	$47.50
Piling Poles	420		4.20
Piling wood			2.00
10 Posts			1.00
		Dr.	$54.70

Sept. 1/77 Robert Leck

By 28 Days Work $28.00

W. H. Gladwin's son

By 1 month's work—Gilbert $10.00

(Wages weren't high for Gilbert).

Robert Leck

By 8 Days Work 90c 7.20

Poor Robert didn't come out with much after his eight days of work. His account follows:

A. Mitchell

By 2 weeks board — R. Leck 5.00

John McKeen

To Pd. Repg. Watch .50

April 23rd William Annand

By Work at Maple Sugar .50

There was no need for a bank, so long as the General Store was there to handle all the high financing that these entries reveal:

Alex Taylor:

To a Barrel Flour $7.50
(If paid in 1 month to be $7.25)

To 1 Barrel Flour $9.25
(If paid in 1 month to be $9.00)

George Higgins 2nd

By cash out of Olive Higgins' money $6.00

Wm. Logan
By settled with A Mitchell $10.75

A. Mitchell
To Pd. Wm. Logan $10.75

And sometimes it took a while to pay the bills:

Jos. Slake
By Cash $2.00
Allowance for paper in 1874 .54

No item was too small to be charged, and here again, the value of the penny is realized:

To Balance on Goods 8c
or
To Balance on Slate 3c
or
To 1 Darning Needle 1c
or
To 1 Pr. Shoe Laces 2c

Nor did one have to go to the store to settle one's account. whether the store keeper tracked down his non-paying customers at social affairs, or whether it was convenient on the customer's part to pay his debts in this way, it is interesting to note the following:

P. A. Logan
To cash at Jas. Murphy Auction $1.00

Dec. 1/77 John Ogilvie
By cash at Agriculture Society Meeting $5.00

It seems that even church money was handled by the General Store:

June 21/77 Mrs. P. Logan
To Pd. Church Subscriptions $2.00

As well as other business:

Serving summons on J. McDonald .90

Mrs. A. Seeton

By cash per letter by Rev. Mr. Mosher $20.00

Through the entries were noticed other regular activities such as the snaring of rabbits: To Rabbit Wire—10c, and hunting was done, not necessarily restricted by season: To Gun caps — 17c, powder 8c, Shot 10c.

Could a quilting party be coming up?:

Feb. 19/77 — 6 Rolls Batting @ 12c .72

In December, materials for new dresses, and boots were often mentioned, perhaps as Christmas gifts, or in anticipation of getting decked out for the Holiday Season. And perhaps there had been a wedding, leading to the setting up of a new home:

To 1 Bed Stead	$4.50
1 Rocking Chair	1.50
¾ gal. Kerosene	.33
Salt	.10
	$6.70

Another likely new home:

To 10 Plates	$1.15
1 Chamber Set	2.50
1 Chamber	.37
½ Mustard	.15
	$4.17

Reubin Miller's account noted:

To 3 chairs, $3.00; 1 Rocking Chair $1.50	$4.50
2 gal. Molasses $1.10; Table Cloth 55c	
Scissors 45c	2.10
	$6.60

Robert McGuragle might have been putting the finishing touches on a new house, for on Friday, Sept. 1/76, he bought 9 Panes Glass 8 x 10 @ 5c each.

It is obvious that the men enjoyed their smokes and tobacco. One plug of tobacco cost 5c, while one fig of tobacco was 8c. Loose tobacco sold for 55c per pound, and a box of matches cost 12c. Clay pipes were popular and could be had for a penny a piece.

One entry had me puzzled. I wondered if the bottle of brandy which sold for ninety cents, was going to find its way into fruit cakes. But since the entry was made in July, this was unlikely, unless it was for a wedding cake. Could it have been used for "medicinal purposes"?

April showers were as prevalent then as now, for during that month several pairs of rubbers were sold at 65c a pair. It was the time too, when ladies would start sewing their spring dresses and cotton print and lustre were popular materials. Mathilda Higgins was getting herself completely fitted out:

To 13½ yds. Dress goods @ 40c	$5.40
1 Pair Boots, $1.40; Rubbers 65c	2.05
Buttons 17c, Reel 2½ yds. Insertions @ 25c	.47
4 Yds. Lace @ 5c	.20
	$8.02

During the month of May, the men were busy with their planting. P. R. Clarke bought 2 ounces of carrot seed for 12c and another entry showed ¼ pound of turnip seed sold for 10c.

By August school was being anticipated. There were no free school books then and a little learning was a costly item:

To 1 No. 6 Reader	45c
1 Spelling Book	17c
1 No. 2 Reader	12c
1 Slate	17c

The General Store was also the Pharmacy, and more than that—if the pills didn't work, tombstones could be purchased on time:

By cash Paid on Tombstone $12.00

June 22/76 To ⅛ Amount of Tombstone $10.00

The Doctor's bill might have been settled by the General Store, being charged in turn, to the patient's account:

Sept. 8/76 George Archibald

To Paid Dr. Pearson $10.00

But sad to say, the good doctor failed to revive Mr. Archibald for the next entry on that account was:

To Freight on Tombstone $1.00

Medicines were not the grand and glorious prescriptions of our day, nor were the long pharmaceutical names in appearance:

Dec. 1st	To 1 box Worm Lozenges	25c
	1 box Pills	25c
	1 Btl. medicine	$1.00

Minard's Liniment was a popular item, especially at haying time, and the poor had their own problems:

Overseers of the Poor:

To 1 Btl. Cherry Balsom	25c
1 Fine tooth comb	25c

While those who had failing eyesight could purchase their spectacles for 30c or 90c.

The General Store has left the rural scene in Nova Scotia. It has been replaced by the supermarket, the meat market, the fish market, book store, tobacco store, pharmacy, optometrist, the bank and a dozen other establishments.

And we wonder about rising costs?

The Ox Case

R. E. INGLIS

(NOTE: This story of three years in the life of an ox had unusual features. It began with the issue of a warrant to distrain for school rates alleged to be owing by one Isaiah Hill. His ox was seiged by a constable, Mr. Warner on September 5, 1930, but on the 12th it was returned to Mr. Hill as directed by a replevin order. As will be noted, litigation proceeded first to trial in the Supreme Court, then on appeal to the court *en banco*.

A few years ago, the facts as gathered from the records were written up as a pastime and also for the purpose of listing human adventures in court as centered on a period in the career of an ox.)

HILL vs. WARNER

THE OX CASE

The ox plodded steadily homeward. The setting sun, showing like a golden coin over Digby neck, indicated that his work for that day was done. He was a large ox but not over size as he boasted a bust measure of less than eighty inches, red hair with some white spots though he had celebrated only four birthdays.

He was a steadily moving chap, accustomed to living an easy life, moving slowly as his master guided him in doing his farming chores.

His master was an elderly man, edging towards ninety, who lived quietly in a farm house shared with his daughter and her husband.

As the ox approached the barn this evening, his eye caught the forms of men in the barn yard. This sight did not perturb him as he had seen strangers about the farm on previous occasions. Even if he knew that lurking in the pocket of one of the new comers was a warrant under the terms of which he might be arrested and that the next few days of his career would be a matter for consideration before the highest courts of this Province for three years, it is doubtful that he would have flicked an eye lid. Anyway, his master led him to his stall where he calmly began to chew his cud, perfectly oblivious to the events that followed.

The scene was not so calm in the barn yard. One of the strangers proved to be a constable who was armed with a warrant to collect school rates from his master who, on failing to pay up, might have to part company with his dependable ox. The master informed the constable that he was not in arrears regarding his school rates and a noisy argument ensued.

The constable may have been over-loud in pressing the claim for the taxes mentioned in his warrant as he had not been feeling well that day and due to his sickness had to visit the barn in the midst of the argument. On returning, he was asked not to talk so loud as there was a sick woman in the nearby house.

This leads to the humanizing element of which neither the ox nor the constable, to this time, was aware. The night before, a grand child was born to the master who did not wish the

baby's mother to be disturbed by noise in the barn yard. Anyway, their tones were lowered and with that came a mellowing atmosphere, permitting master, constable and friends to enter the house and for two hours or so to enjoy a brew of tea or whatever viands were available to celebrate the presence of the new born baby.

During this period of good cheer, the purpose of the constable's visit was again broached but in a more genial manner. Now there was talk of settlement at Mr. Taylor's office in Digby and it was arranged that they would meet there the next day. However, their preoccupation with neighborly gestures caused some vagueness in their minds as to the details for the next day's meeting.

Bright and early next morn, the master of the ox set forth for Digby on his own as he understood the constable wanted to collect three dollars from him for the drive to town. The constable's recollection of the arrangement was that the tryst was to be at a spot called Warner's Corner at 10 a.m., and he alleged that he went to this place at the said time but the master was not there.

Fearing that he had been outwitted, the constable hied back to the barn yard of the previous evening's meeting. He was armed with his warrant and as the ox was the most mobile piece of property there abouts, he decided to distrain on the ox for the amounts set forth in his warrant, totaling $8.50 for taxes and $3.50 for costs.

When the constable tried to interview the ox to inform him that he was to be a substitute for money claimed as school rates levied against his master, he found that the door to the ox stable was pad locked. As the master was not in evidence, the constable approached the house where the new born infant lay. At the door, he was met by the nurse who informed him that the

master had gone to town. The constable then told her of his design on the ox but that he was ineffectual without a key to the pad lock which he asked her to give him.

In the presence of an officer of the law, the nurse felt that her only course was to comply with the request. So with key in hand, the constable went to the barn, unlocked the door, stepped in front of the spreading horns of the ox and duly informed him that now he was to consider himself as coin of the realm for the support of a school which he never did nor never could enter.

The ox did not respond very quickly to the commands given by strange voices but after a few prods, he was induced to leave his comfortable stall and move out into the barnyard. For the next three years, this event in the life of the ox provided a central theme for many arguments.

The constable turned the ox over to a young man to escort him to the constable's home. At this point, the serious nature of the situation became apparent to the nurse and the young mother. The latter turned on her side to look out the window and to utter a sorrowful farewell as the ox moved unwillingly from the barn yard.

As he hoofed along the highway, the ox wondered why he was forced to tread on the hard, rough road instead of going to work on the grassy fields. On arrival at the house of the constable, he was satisfied with his new surroundings as he was given hay to chew and water to drink without having to bear a yoke. This idyllic existence lasted for nearly eight days.

In the meantime, little did he realize that notices posted in the area indicated that each hour was moving him closer and closer to a time when he would have to mount the rostrum and have a voice extol his virtues, then a price put on his head, and terrifying thought—it might be by a butcher.

His master, on returning from Digby that morning, learned that the ox had been removed by the constable and, in his turn, felt that he had been out witted. So he hied to a lawyer, one O. S. Miller, of Bridgetown. This lawyer was a real individualist. There was no one in the profession just like him. He was a stout man, with a short, thick neck, a voice with a range of tones often running to the higher pitches, an original manner of expression at times giving an impression of aggressiveness or even discourtesy. On one occasion, he had written a letter to the Chief Justice regarding a case in which he was involved. Some remarks in the letter led to his being charged with contempt of court. The result was that on February 19, 1921, he was fined $100.00 and costs of $75.00 to be paid forthwith or spend thirty days in the County Jail in Halifax. His knowledge of the law was more extensive and practical than many of his court appearances would indicate. For his law, he relied on the American and English Encyclopedia of Law, an excellent series and a parent of the first edition of Corpus Juris.

When instructions were duly received, Mr. Miller issued a writ to replevy the ox. With the writ in hand, the sheriff hastened to the constable's home as at 2 p.m. that day, September 12, 1930, the ox was scheduled for sale at public auction. Before the hour set for the sale, the ox was swinging homewards and at day's end was resting comfortably in his own stall, without knowing the meaning of the events of the past week or having any prophetic vision as to their results during the next three years.

On October 1st, Mr. Miller delivered a Statement of Claim to Mr. Frank Jones who was acting for the constable, a Defence was delivered on the 24th. This was followed by a lull in the proceedings as a Reply was not delivered until April 16, 1931. However, a month later, on May 15th, the issues came on for trial at Digby, before Mr. Justice Carroll.

Witnesses at the trial included the master of the ox, Mr. Hill, the plaintiff, his daughter and her husband, the plaintiff claiming that he did not owe the school rates in question when the warrant was issued. Those called for the defence were the defendant, the constable, Mr. Warner, his brother and sister, the secretary to the school trustees and his wife. Exhibits included the collector's rolls, the affidavit leading the warrant and the warrant.

Mr. Justice Carroll found that the taxes in the schedule to the warrant were due by the plaintiff and had been unsuccessfully demanded, that the affidavit for the warrant was proper and that everything was regularly done; and dismissed the action.

Mr. Miller was not satisfied with this result regarding the holiday of the ox and the loss during that time of his services by his master; so he entered an appeal from the decision and the order based thereon. With that move began the ups and downs of a legal battle which only a matter of much greater importance deserved. Mr. Miller was never dismayed by defeat and his perseverance in this case illustrates a quality that may be termed,—stubborn as an ox.

Next, the scene moved from the County of Digby to the capital city. Here on January 19, 1932, by consent and on motion of Mr. E. Hart Nichols, K.C., the case of Hill v. Warner was placed at the foot of the docket, of the Supreme Court *en banco*. This spot was reached early in the afternoon of January 27th. Mr. Miller, and counsel with him, argued that the proceedings on which the warrant under which the ox was seized did not meet the statutory requirements and that he was illegally removed from his stall by the defendant. Mr. Nichols argued to maintain the judgment of Mr. Justice Carroll. Apparently the point that it is not necessary to give notice before action to a constable in a replevin action was not argued as this was admitted by Mr. Jones, for the defence at the close of the

trial (See Wilson v. Reed, 21 N. S. R. 318) The hearing before the Court *en banco* was concluded on the 28th.

A decision was delivered by the Court on March 12, 1932. This gave a ray of hope to the plaintiff's solicitor but it instantly dropped below the horizon. It held that the warrant had been issued on insufficient grounds but dismissed the appeal, saying—"that the judgment appealed from is right" without further indication or reason for this statement except as noted in the next sentence. The Court apparently failed to note the admission of defence counsel at the trial by indicating that lack of such notice was a ground for dismissing the appeal. The failure to note this admission may have been the chief cause for this case to be kept before the courts for another eighteen months.

On Saturday morning, March 19, 1932, Mr. Nichols entered a motion on the docket of the Court *en banco* for an order dismissing the appeal. Mr. Miller was unable to be present but counsel, acting for him, cautiously and with diffidence suggested to the Court that the latter part of the decision of March 12th was not in line with other Nova Scotian cases, citing inter alia Wilson v. Reed.

Mr. Justice Paton quickly responded to the correctness of the suggestion and, following a remark by him, the Court decided to hold the matter over for a week. In substance, the plaintiff's contention, as argued on the appeal, was sustained. (The prothonotary's memo on the docket shows that Mr. Hart's motion was granted—but this was not so.)

On March 26th, Mr. Miller appeared before the Court to press suggestions regarding the said decision. Mr. Flavin opposed any change. On April 13, 1932, a decision was given in respect to the hearing on March 26th. This held that the warrant was issued on insufficient grounds and should not have been issued, so the trial judgment could not be maintained. The ap-

peal was allowed with judgment for the plaintiff on the replevin claim but dismissed the claim for damages. The reason for this dismissal is not clear as it is understood that on the argument the Court seemed to lean towards the view that damages should follow and the sum of $5.00 was mentioned by a member of the Court as being sufficient compensation.

The next step was on April 16, 1932, when Mr. Miller moved for an order for judgment. His motion was opposed by Mr. Nichols. Just what happened at this hearing is not clear but it appears that Mr. Miller was still standing on his ground claiming damages and suggested an order not only removing the yoke of distraint from the ox but also allowing his master the sum of five dollars as damages for loss of his services.

The case was again taken into consideration by the Court and on April 30, 1932, a memo was handed down directing that the case might be re-entered for hearing on a new point at the November session of the Court. By this time, the whole area from collector's rolls to the homeward march of the ox had been so often canvassed that it seems uncertain as to what was new to argue.

The summer of 1932 slipped by with the ox performing his usual chores for his aged master and in the courts no voice was heard regarding his past career. However, as the November term of the Court approached, the matter of his removal from his stall by strangers was ordered to be heard at the foot of the docket.

In the meantime, Mr. Daniel Owen, K.C., of Annapolis Royal, had been briefed to appear and defend as legal the eight day visit of the ox with the defendant. Argument was heard on December 16, 1932, before a court comprising Chief Justice Sir Joseph Chisholm, Justices Mellish, Graham, Ross, and Hall. Mr. Justice Hall had not been present at the former hearings of this case.

Mr. Miller, with an associate counsel, presented arguments along the same line as at the January hearing, definitely referring to the admission of Mr. Jones at the trial. Mr. Owen argued for the validity of the warrant and proceedings thereunder. The Court reserved decision in the matter.

It appears that Mr. Justice Graham was assigned to write the decision of the Court as some time later, he requested a copy of the briefs used on the December hearing. His decision is not on file at the Prothonotary's office, Halifax, but the order dated June 19, 1933, quite surely follows the terms of the decision.

On that date, Mr. Miller moved for the final order in the Court, *en banco*. Mr. J. J. Power, K.C. appeared on behalf of the defendant. The order of June 10, 1933, recites arguments before the Court in this case on January 27, 28, March 12, 19, 26, April 16, 30, and December 16, all in 1932, and that of June 10, 1933. Under the terms of this order, the appeal of the plaintiff was allowed and the trial judgment set aside and the ox declared free from the grip of the law. Then adding:- "and it is further ordered that by reason of the plaintiff failing on some of the issues raised in his pleadings and of succeeding only on a point not pleaded by him, there will be no costs to any of the parties either on the trial or the appeal."

As far as Mr. Miller was concerned, this order was for him winning the battle but losing the war. It left him as it were between the horns of the ox; on one side was a horn banded with a rosette, on the other horn a black band which appeared as if ready to unclasp but for some reason remained firmly attached as a really disturbing eyesore.

Mr. Miller realized that this dark band represented his costs in the matter and that only his client could assist in giving a touch of gold to this band. However, the aged man was not in a mood to cooperate in what seemed to him to be such an unnecessary part in the drama.

On July 18, 1933, the ox may have found his master giving him more than the usual number of prods. If he could have understood his master's voice, the ox would have learned that during the morning of that day, Mr. Miller and his master who was accompanied by Mr. Daniel Owen, K.C., had appeared before Judge Grierson on a hearing as to the costs his master should pay Mr. Miller, when taxed on a solicitor and client basis.

Judge Grierson gave a decision on August 11, 1933, allowing Mr. Miller $172.50 for briefs and $157.00 for counsel fees on all the hearings.

Mr. Owen considered these amounts too generous and entered an appeal which was heard in Halifax, before Mr. Justice Carroll on August 21, 1933. His decision was dated September 6, 1933, and reduced the above amounts to $95.00 and $100.00, respectively.

The court record of the ox case, at the office of the Prothonotary at Halifax, ends at this point. It is not known how Mr. Miller fared as to recovery of his costs. It is understood that the several solicitors who appeared at times for the defendant were in a stronger position as to costs having been briefed by the Municipality of Digby County.

The final decision was given by the same Judge, Mr. Justice Carroll, who presided at the trial and gave the first decision in the matter. It may also be that this decision was given almost three years to the day after the ox began his forced march to the constable's home. It might also be noted that Mr. Justice Carroll is the only Judge still (1964) alive of the Judges connected with the case, and so also regarding all the lawyers except the one who at times gave Mr. Miller some help by appearing with him.

King's and Dalhousie: An Early Attempt at University Consolidation in Nova Scotia

JOHN LEEFE

Although founded in 1789, King's College did not become a degree granting institution until 1802. Its character through the first thirteen years is difficult to assess although indications are that it was primarily oriented toward theology. Bishop Charles Inglis saw the need of a seminary for the training of Anglican clergy as essential to the survival of his diocese and there can be little doubt that he influenced the early development of King's to this effect.

> "There shall be established from this time One College the Mother of an University for the education and instruction of Youth and Students in Arts and faculties to continue Forever."[1]

With the granting of the "Royal Charter" in 1802 King's became a degree granting University. Despite the open character indicated in this excerpt from the Charter, the College rapidly took on the guise of an exclusive institution. Bishop Inglis, the Chief Justice, Samuel Salter Blowers, and the Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, Alexander Croke, were charged with the task of framing the university's statutes. The first two were Loyalists refugees with unpleasant memories of the role played

by dissenting clergy in the Revolution, the third "a man of strong prejudices—a Tory of the old School."[2] The Board of Governors had instructed the committee to base the statutes on those of Oxford University and Judge Croke, being a graduate of Oriel College, was in a prime position to put forward his own views with some authority.

He insisted on including restrictive statutes which would not subscribe to the XXXIX Articles and the faculty was to close to all but communicants of the Established Church.[3] His views were upheld by both Judge Blowers and Bishop Inglis. The latter is popularly credited with balking at the restrictions but this in fact was not so. He did protest against the statutes but only on the grounds that they gave him lesser powers as Visitor of the University than those held by his counterparts in England. Nowhere in the protest does he mention the exclusion of dissenters.[4] The intent of the statutes seems to have been to cajole dissenters who wished a higher education into the arms of the Church of England. The results were the abject failure of the college to appeal to the population at large and the eventful establishment of rival institutions.

In 1806 the Bishop wrote the Archbishop of Canterbury asking authority of all the statutes until he could further investigate the matter.[6] Two months later the alterations were complete[7] and the College was opened to dissenters[8] although they could not be candidates for degrees[9] nor could they join the faculty.[10] The Bishop acquiesed and the subject was closed for the next decade. It was not to be altogether unexpected that Judge Croke sent a written protest over the change.[12] Strange to say, the amended statutes were never circulated to the public or even to the Governors.[13] Whether this was by design or oversight must be left to speculation.

In 1816 Nova Scotia received a new Governor, the Earl of Dalhousie. During his four year tenure in the Province he in-

volved himself in every facet of the colony's life, not the least of which was education and, as the governor, he automatically became the President of the Governors of King's College.[14] Historians generally do not view Dalhousie as being particularly friendly toward King's. In fact there seems to be little proof to support this contention. His major complaint against King's was its exclusive character[15] (though he was misinformed on the subject) which is not surprising, taking into consideration his adherence to the Church of Scotland.

Probably as a result of Dalhousie's prompting, the Governors reopened the subject of expunging the restrictive Statutes and on May 8, 1818, the proposed alterations were laid before the Board. The only test which was to be required of the students was the Oath of Supremacy. All degrees other than those in Divinity were to be open to people of any religious persuasion and attendance at any Church was to be allowed at the written request of the students' parents.[16] Accordingly, Lord Dalhousie and Chief-Justice Blowers petitioned the Archbishop of Canterbury to give his Approbation.[17]

To say that the Archbishop's reply was less than satisfactory is an understatement. He stated that early in his archepiscopate he had allowed a considerable alteration to the Statute but that he could go no further.[13] "To this proposition I cannot consent. This College was founded for the purpose of educating the Youth of Nova Scotia in the principles of the Established Church; and the degrees confirmed by it must be confirmed in support of such principles."[19] It is significant, however, that he does not close the subject completely, for he goes on to say, "if any further indulgence be necessary to those who differ from the Established Church during the residence in College, I shall be very much disposed to concur with the Governors in granting it, so far as shall be consistent with the discipline of the Institution."[20] In other words, his decision is based on his interpretation of the Charter, not on any specific desire to exclude dissenters.

It was probably the failure of this petition which led Dalhousie to proceed with the plan to found a non-sectarian College in Halifax. Contrary to popular belief, Dalhousie did not lose interest in King's. In December 1819 he asked L. Nutting to arrange a meeting to the Governors to deal with the sad condition of the College building at Windsor. "I think that building is in a state nearly to be called alarming—I would most earnestly hope that some plan may be adopted for its thorough repair."[20]

Lord Dalhousie also wrote to the Earl of Bathurst bringing to his attention the plight of the College.[23] The most significant observation that he makes is that the principle object of King's is to educate and prepare the clergy of the Established Church. This indicates that he no longer saw King's as playing the major role in higher education in the Province. "I will therefore wish your Lordship's favourable consideration of the subject on behalf of the Province, and especially of that portion of inhabitants who are members of the Church of England, and who look to this College as an Institution of vital importance to the welfare and prosperity of the country.[24]

The Governor's relationship with King's should be viewed in a new light. In retrospect he may be seen as a friend and active supporter of the College in its role as an Anglican institution as opposed to a public one. Even after its failure to purge its Statutes he took an active interest in its affairs. Indeed, it must be concluded that the birth of Dalhousie College was more the result of the governor's frustration than a movement to eclipse King's.

During the period 1822-24 an attempt was made to unite King's and Dalhousie in Halifax. Largely as a result of this, a motion was made by the Governors in 1824 to study repeal of the restrictive Statutes.[25] Copies of the revision were to be given to each Governor and one sent to the Earl of Dalhousie in Quebec.[26] On February 8, 1827, the Board agreed to repeal.[27]

William Cochran, the Vice-President, wrote to James Cochran, one of the Governors: "I am personally pleased with the proceeding of the Board, and very particularly so with the repeal of the exclusive Statute, of Croke's precious legacy to our College."[28] He goes on to add, "If His Grace knew as much of the country as you and I, he would easily see that it would have been the best policy never to have had such a thing, and the next best to get rid of it as soon as we can."[29]

A further alteration was proposed in 1828 to the effect that the prerequisite of subscription for degrees be dropped. The Visitor, Bishop Inglis, and the Chief-Justice were asked to approach the Archbishop of Canterbury for his approval.[30] Canterbury agreed to repeal the test for degrees (except divinity) but insisted that the faculty should continue to be restricted to Anglicans.[31] Joshua Watson, the Archbishop's spokesman, related, however, that if this was insufficient the Archbishop "will at a future period be more disposed to listen to any further representation upon the subject."[32] Although the door to negotiation was not altogether closed, the Bishop agreed to drop the part of the petition which did not meet with his superior's approval.[33] Subsequently, Joshpa Watson confirmed the Archbishop's approval in a letter to James Cochran.[34] Finally the necessary documents arrived and King's became an institution open to all students no matter what religious persuasion.[35] Not until 1884 was repeal of the proscription against non-Anglican faculty realized.[36]

The founding of Dalhousie College in Halifax in 1818 and of Pictou Academy by the Presbyterians in 1816 was undoubtedly a severe blow to King's for no longer was Windsor the focal point of higher learning in Nova Scotia. Within three years of Dalhousie's birth, a not altogether unexpected proposal was made that it and King's should unite, preferably in Halifax. The Governors agreed that the removal of King's to Halifax was not thought "to be an insuperable objection thereto . . . provided the

Union can be effected in other respects."[37] The Ecclesiastical Commissary, Dr. John Inglis, and the President, Dr. Porter, were appointed a Committee to meet with the Speaker of the House and the Provincial Treasurer to discuss the issue,[38] the latter two forming the Dalhousie committee.[39] The object of the clerics was "to report to the Board their joint proceedings with a sketch of the principal regulations and alterations of the statutes proposed to be adopted."[40] On the surface the proceedings seem to have been positive in nature and a union desired by both parties.

On January 3, 1824, the committee presented their report to the Board. They observed that King's primary object was the instruction of candidates for Holy Orders. Dalhousie's object was the literary instruction of all who dissented from the Established Church. Furthermore, sacrifices would be required from each but the result would be an end to rivalry which could only succeed in impoverishing both.[41]

The original plan for union[42] was altered considerably to meet the expediency of compromise. The Vice-President, Dr. Cochran, disagreed with the removal of the Seminary from Windsor but concurred with the need for union.[43] Possibly he saw in union the chance to take immediate control of a Divinity faculty in Windsor as the united Halifax campus would undoubtedly be under the direction of the President who would of necessity live in the urban area. Chief-Justice Blowers entirely disagreed with leaving Windsor. He felt this would be tantamount to a breach of trust by the Governors with respect to the "Royal Charter".[44] Despite these protests, the majority of the Governors, including Inglis, felt that a move to Halifax was a small price to pay and would accomplish three things:

> "the Institution would be open to all religious persuasions without any distinction whatever; the advantages of open lectures would be obtained . . . funds of the two would be united.[45]

Consequently, Dr. Inglis and Dr. Porter were invited "to make such alterations in the Statutes of King's College as may be necessary in conformity with the foregoing suggestions."[46]

A copy of the proposed union was sent to the Earl of Dalhousie at Quebec. In a letter to Sir James Kempt, Dalhousie observed, "if these proposals be finally approved, I think the very character and name of Dalhousie College should alone be known and looked up to".[47] The Governor wrote to the Colonial Secretary putting forward the proposed union, stating the rationale behind it and relating that the idea originated with Dr. Inglis and Dr. Porter.[48] This was as far as union progressed. In a subsequent letter both Dalhousie and Kempt reported to Bathurst that union negotiations had been curtailed as the Archbishop of Canterbury deemed the basis of union to constitute too closely a breach of Royal Charter.[49] The Archbishop's implication is, that the institution was intended to be peculiarly Anglican in character, an implication which is not compatable with the Charter.

Unwittingly the Archbishop had sabotaged what most certainly would have been one of the greatest coups engineered by the colonial Church. It is not an insignificant fact that Inglis and Porter were the originators of the plan. The design for the united college was entirely Anglican in character. There was to be no diminishment of the Visitor's role, the administration and faculty were to be within the Established Church, and the granting of Divinity degrees was to be an Anglican prerogative. The Church was to be dominant. The only major concessions were to adopt the Scottish idea of a non-residential college and to have an open door policy on admissions.

The united college would have been the provincially supported institution and as such would not only receive substantial grants from the government but would be virtually in control by the Established Church. Furthermore, dissenters would have little choice other than to send their children to Halifax where

the Church could proselytize with impunity. The President and the Commissary must have been more than slightly discomfitted when their plans were spurned. Never again would such a golden opportunity present itself to the Church and hence King's to dominate education in Nova Scotia.

The second attempt to unite King's and Dalhousie commenced in 1829 and was signalled by a dispatch from Sir George Murray to Sir Peregrine Maitland. The contents suggested that the causes for Dalhousie's foundation had ceased to exist (King's no longer excluded non-Anglican students) and there appeared to be no reason why it should not unite with King's. This was further enlarged with a proposed plan of action for establishing a united college in Halifax.[50]

In 1831 Lord Goderich at the Colonial Office advised the Lieutenant-Governor to encourage union with all expediency, to move King's to Dalhousie's building, and to establish a non-residential college. This initiative appears to be the result of the Imperial Government's policy of fiscal restraint.[51] Both Goderich's and Murray's despatches were laid before the Governors without comments.[52]

At a meeting of the Board of January 13, 1832, the follow-lowing resolution was adopted: "that in making the arrangements which may be necessary for effecting this measure (of union) it is desirable to have as much regard as possible to the original and primary objects of both institutions."[53] A design for union was promulgated which appeared to open a united college to all religious persuasions except of President and candidature for degrees in Divinity. The Speaker of the House, D. G. W. Archibald, declined to give an opinion on the subject (due to his position in the Assembly and as he was a Governor of both institutions) except to say he doubted the Assembly would concur with an institution so denominational in character.[54]

In a letter to Sir Peregrine Maitland, Bishop Inglis suggested that the subject of union be brought before the Legislature. He reminded him that Kempt, Dalhousie, and Bathurst had all been in favour of such a merger providing that primary objects of both institutions were met. He saw the choice of a site as the only problem.[55] He was still trying to play power politics but in a slightly less advantageous position than in the previous decade.

Later in the year Lord Stanley wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor suggesting that in any union the office of President should be open to all denominations.[56] On this note Sir Colin Campbell urged the entire subject of union be dropped for fear the Assembly might attempt to collect the 5,000 pounds debt owed it by Dalhousie and ruin it in the process.[57] The assembly needed no prompting for it brought up the subject on its own initative. The Governor subsequently suggested that the Dalhousie endowments be used to pay the debt and the balance be given to King's. The Colonial Secretary balked at this suggestion, declaring that King's would not have public support. He further instructed Campbell to have the Houses prepare a union bill divested of all tests and "to convey to the Governors of King's college the earnest recommendation of His Majesty that they should surrender the Charter which they at present hold. [58] Lord Stanley could have done nothing more prejudicial to union.

Clearly union had become a threat not just to King's relative position but to its very survival and the subsequent steps taken by the Governors were worthy of the most astute politician. The Council first issued a denial that the surrender of the Charter had ever been given "full consideration in the House or in the Council until the present session, and any controversy respecting it (was) totally unknown in Nova Scotia."[59] Witness the fact that almost all the Governors sat on the Council and those who did not were prominent members of the Assembly.

The Governors appointed the Visitor, the Judge of Vice-Admiralty, the Solicitor-General, and Mr. Jeffery (Collector of Customs) to frame a reply to the Colonial Secretary. In it they stated that the Imperial Government had, in effect, severed its ties with King's by withdrawing the Parliamentary grants from which it had received its scholarships. The most significant point made was a reminder to the Secretary that the Archbishop's consent as Patron was necessary before the Charter could be either altered or relinquished. Any attempt to do otherwise, explained the Bishop, was tantamount to infringing on Canterbury's prerogative.[60] The intent of the reply is masterful. In an era of pending reform the government was little likely to risk a confrontation with an already harassed prelate over a rather inconsequential colonial college. Similarily, His Grace was sure to see this and use his steadily diminishing prerogative whenever the chance presented itself.

The Archbishop was informed of the situation and proved himself to be a politician of no mean calibre. He retorted that he could not possibly venture an opinion unless the Governors made application to him. The likelihood of such a request was remote in the extreme. The Colonial Secretary retired and drafted a despatch to the Lieutenant-Governor instructing him to ensure that in any measure adopted "due regard be had to the rights which His Grace may possess as Patron of the College."[61] Canterbury later wrote to Bishop Inglis asking for confirmation of the healthy state of the College and promising support if this was done. On March 6, 1837, the Board complied with this request and the subject of union with Dalhousie was dropped.[62] It was to be almost fifty years before the union was to be seriously entertained again by King's.

A study of the restrictive Statutes and King's attitude toward union with Dalhousie clearly illustrates that the institution retarded intellectual development in Nova Scotia prior to 1836. Every effort was made by the establishment to impose its direc-

tion on higher education and diffuse its influence throughout the system, alienating the college from the people, and depriving non-conformists from an opportunity to avail themselves of a higher education. The Council viewed it as an extension of the political domain, the Church viewed it as a bulwark against dissent. And yet its administration was incapable of coping properly with even the education of its own adherents.

Initially the Statutes prevented anyone who was not an Anglican from assuming any role in the College, whether it be as student or President. This can only be construed as intentional and as such constituted a direct threat to the ambitions of the dissenting majority in Nova Scotia. It is true that the Statutes were relaxed from time to time but always it seems to have been of too little, too late, and always reform under duress. King's as an extension of the establishment and political reaction must have been almost synonymous to those who held more liberal tendencies in the province.

The Established Church was hardly popular when remote. In an issue of such importance to the province it must have quickly reassumed the old guise of the episcopal ogre. Surely the Church did not believe that the mental ability of dissenters was inferior to that of Anglicans. Rather, it appears that restriction was an attempt to drive skilled intellects within the perimeter of the Church. If so, the design failed miserably. The College languished, and with it the intellectual development of the outcasts.

The matter of unification must be seen in a similar light. The total failure of the Governors and the Church to come to grips with the needs of the colony is obvious. The self-interest of the group and the self-importance of the individuals with the group, particularly the bishops, are amply reflected in both attempts at union. The vacillating policies of successive Colonial Secretaries, the failure of King's to negotiate in good faith, and

the reactionary attitudes of its mentors, all deferred the development of higher education in Nova Scotia for some time.

Even the eventual success of Dalhousie proved a failure for Nova Scotia. Although theoretically a non-denominational College, it rapidly developed into a basically Presbyterian institution which in turn led to the founding of Acadia and others.

FOOTNOTES

1. Royal Charter, May 12, 1802, King's College Papers.
2. Hind, **op. cit.** page 32.
3. Ibid., page 33,
4. Bishop of Nova Scotia's Protest, September 13, 1803, Quebec Diocesan Archives, Series C. Mountain Papers Vol. 4, No. 76.
5. Bishop Charles Inglis to Brenton Haliburton, November 28, 1803, King's Library.
6. Archbishop of Canterbury to R. J. Uniacke, July 8, 1806, King's Library.
7. Archbishop of Canterbury to the Governors of King's College, September 8, 1806, King's Library.
8. **The Statutes, Rules and Ordinances of the University of King's College, 1807,** Book 1, Titles 16 and 17 p. 17.
9. Ibid., Book IV Title 6, pages 32-33.
10. Ibid., Book 1 Title 7, Chapter 1, pages 12-13.
11. Bishop Charles Inglis to Brenton Haliburton, December 15, 1806, King's Library.
12. Protest of Alexander Croke to the altered Statutes, March 2, 1807, King's Library.
13. Hind., **op. cit.,** page 42.
14. Royal Charter, **op. cit.**
15. Hind, **op. cit.,** page 50.
16. Proposed alteration to the Statutes relating to subscription to the XXXIX Articles, May 8, 1818, King's Library.
17. Lord Dalhousie and Chief-Justice Blowers to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1818, King's Library.
18. Archbishop of Canterbury's proposed alterations of the Statutes, September 8, 1806.
19. Archbishop of Canterbury to Lord Dalhousie, January 1, 1819, King's Library.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Lord Dalhousie to Nutting, December 7, 1819, King's Library.
23. Lord Dalhousie to the Earl of Bathurst, January 16, 1820, King's Library.
24. Ibid.
25. No. 2, Minutes of the Governors of King's College, 1815-1835 January 7, 1824, page 90.
26. Lord Dalhousie was appointed Governor-General of Canada in 1820.
27. Minutes of the Governors of King's College, **op. cit.,** February 8, 1827, pages 112-113.
28. William Cochran to James Cochran, February 16, 1827. King's Library.
29. Ibid.
30. Minutes of the Governors of King's College, **op. cit.,** December 8, 1828, page 119.
31. James Cochran to the Bishop of Nova Scotia and the Chief-Justice. July 17, 1829.
32. Ibid.

33. John Inglis to James Cochran, October 19, 1829, King's Library.
34. Joshua Watson to James Cochran, June 22, 1830, King's Library.
35. James Cochran to the Bishop of Nova Scotia and Chief-Justice, July 1, 1830, King's Library.
36. Hind, **op. cit.** page 106.
37. No. 2 Minutes of the Governors of King's College, 1815-1835, September 22, 1823, page 80, King's College.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., September 23, 1823.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., January 3, 1824, page 84.
42. Ibid., pages 84-85.
43. Ibid., page 88.
44. H. Y. Hind, **The University of King's College, 1790-1890,** New York, Church Review, 1890, page 62.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Duncan Campbell, **Nova Scotia,** Montreal, John Lovell, 1873, page 241.
48. 113 1/2 Letter Book, 1821-1828, Sir James Kempt to the Earl of Bathurst, June 28, 1824, pages 45-46, Public Archives.
49. Ibid., Lord Dalhousie and Sir James Kempt to the Earl of Bathurst, no date, pages 49-50.
50. Manuscript Documents—Nova Scotia: King's College 1816-1853, #6 Sir George Murray to Sir Peregrine Maitland, August 31, 1831, page 1.
51. Ibid., #9, Lord Goderich to Sir Peregrine Maitland, July 31, 1831, page 12.
52. No. 2 Minutes of the Governors of King's College 1815-1835, December 7, 1831, page 170.
53. Ibid., January 13, 1832, page 181.
54. Ibid., January 13, 1832, page 182-184.
55. Manuscript Documents of Nova Scotia: King's College 1816-1853, #11 John Inglis to Sir Peregrine Maitland, 27 March, 1832.
56. No. 2 Minutes of the Governors of King's College, **op. cit.,** April 30, 1835, pages 215-221.
57. No. 2 Minutes of the Governors of King's College, **op. cit.**
58. Hind. **op. cit.,** page 75.
59. Ibid.
60. Reply to Lord Glenelg's Despatch of April 20, 1835, King's Library.
61. Hind, **op cit.,** page 77.
62. Ibid., pages 78-80.

The Horn Book

M. V. MARSHALL

The Horn Book (also spelled Hornbook and Horn-Book) was a primitive type of reading book used in Great Britain and the Colonies during the period 1450 to 1800.* In 1896 Andrew White Tuer published a comprehensive study of this popular device and in his research discovered 150 old Horn Books still in existence.

By far the commonest type was made of wood of some durable species like oak but specimens exist that were made of lead, silver and ivory. The size approximated two and one-quarter inches by three and one-half inches. The basic content was the alphabet in both upper and lower case forms. In addition to this there might be included the vowels, syllables, the Lord's Prayer, the blessing (In the name of the Father, etc.) and the sign of the cross. The paper on which these contents were printed was covered by a piece of horn scraped thin and was fixed to the oaken board, about three-eighth inches thick, by a brass strip with screws or tacks. The board had a short handle in which was commonly found a hole for a cord so that the youngster could

* Tuer, A. W. History of the Horn Book. 1896. 2 vols., Illustrated. London: The Leadenhall Press, 50 Leadenhall St., London. New York, Chas. Scribner & Sons. Pages 5-7.

carry it about his neck. The sheet of horn that gave the article its name was thin enough to see through yet protected the paper from dirt or damage.

The period when the Horn Book was in common use was a turbulent and expansive time. Western Europe was passing out of mediaeval attitudes and mode of life into modern times. The arts of reading and writing had been preserved by the monasteries and church schools throughout the Middle Ages, but few people could read or write. The sermon and the priest told the populace all they needed to know.

Radical changes were coming about in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Man's world was rapidly expanding, both the inner world of his intelligence and the outer world of his culture. From the fixed world of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Western Man was to be propelled into a world of science, of increasing democracy, of freedom, and of challenge. He had to learn to read, for ideas are framed in words, and words are embalmed in writing or printing.

The transition to modern times was forced by such developments as: the rise of universities where discussion and debate, study and abstract thought were fostered; by the rise of a burger class and the development of guilds of craftsmen, or in other words by the coming of the citizen; by the growth of nations and the feeling of nationality; by the use of the local language in songs and stories so national literatures came about; by the invention of the printing press which made books, pamphlets and newspapers; by the revolution against the domination of the Church with its fixed ideas and preoccupation with sin; by the crusades and by geographical discovery which brought the expansion of man's concepts and contacts; by the founding of libraries and humanistic schools; by the evolution of a new type of man who had respect for himself and his powers and who was more concerned with the joy and beauty of this world than with

cringing before the prospect of hell in the next world; by the development of science and the industrial revolution.

So children had to be taught to read. But this seemed to be completely impossible. There were so many children and so few teachers and schools, so little material to work with, so little money. The long hard road to a literate citizenry for democratic states was entered upon however, and the Horn Book was one of the inventions that helped to reach that objective. Cowper describes it:

> Which children use, and parsons—when they preach.
> Neatly secured from being soiled or torn
> Beneath a pane of thin transparent horn,
> A book (to please us at a tender age
> 'T is called a book, though but a single page)
> Presents the prayer the Savior deigned to teach,
> Which children use, and parsons—when they preach.

Another helpful invention was the monitorial school. Two men can claim properly to have invented this system whereby a single teacher, by using older children as assistants or monitors, was able to control and teach one hundred pupils: Lancaster and Bell. So we have the Lancastrian schools and the National schools (Bell) or Madras System (Bell tried it first as a missionary in Madras). A great variety of efforts or types of schools arose: church societies like the S.P.G., the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the Church of England), endowed schools, charity schools, philanthropic schools, private adventure schools, "hedge" schools.

The dame school wherein some housewife who possessed a little learning took a group of children into her kitchen and while she pursued her household tasks taught them the alphabet and how to read and write. This opening of the door to knowledge was found in many places in England and the Colonies. Shenstone writes

In every village marked with little spire,
Embowered in trees, and hardly known to fame,
There dwells, in lowly shed and mean attire,
A matron old, whom we school mistress name,
Who boasts unruly brats with birch to tame.

Material for reading that was easily available was religious: the Bible, the Psalter, the Testament, and the Catechism. Two birds were thus killed with one stone: the child was instructed in the keys to knowledge, reading and writing, and at the same time received information leading to the saving of his soul. Frequent references to Horn Book and Dame School in literature reflect their widespread use and indicates no doubt that they were antecedents to the universal elementary school.
As Crabbe says:

Not I alone, who hold a trifler's pen,
But half our bench of wealthy, weighty men,
Who rule our Borough, who enforce our laws;
They own the matron as the leading cause.

The Horn Book appears not only in literary references but also in pictures and on church brasses. In an illuminated picture in the 1508 edition of *Margarita Philosopgica* of Gregory de Reisch the figure of Wisdom holds a Horn Book before the child as she unlocks the door to the temple of knowledge. And a brass formerly in the chapel of Queen's College, Oxford, now in the bursary, shows a child with a Horn Book. The Greek inscription says, "It shineth in Darkness". The Brass is a memorial to Henry Robinson, a former Master of the College, who died in 1616.

The Horn Book was widely used and highly regarded for three centuries and more. It was not only an "implement of virtue", as the Greeks used to describe school tools, but it had other good qualities. It was durable. It was a very helpful

teacher. It was very convenient to give an unruly or inattentive child a rap on the head or backside. It made an admirable battledore in the days when "Battledore and Shuttlecock", now called badminton, was popular. Indeed the Horn Book was the predecessor and model for a real rash of children's books called "Battledore Books". They were sold as children's toys or playthings and were the antecedents of the ABC books given to children today. The South Kensington Museum (Victoria and Albert) in London has a numerous collection. Three of them are described thus:

(1) A newly invented Horn Book (containing Lord's Prayer, Alphabet, syllabarium, etc. Cuts. 2 pp. Newcastle. c. 1775) Mounted on gauze.

(2) Hornbook of coloured (red) ivory with engraved alphabet and floral design. (English, late 18th or early 19th century)

(3) Hornbook (Containing Lord's Prayer, alphabet, syllabarium) Mounted on a wooden board, with handle, and covered in horn, right side damaged (English late 18th or early 19th century)

Another Battledore is a leather covered oaken horn book, in Roman letters, stamped with the effigy of George II on horseback. Still another smaller one, one and five-eighths inches by three and one-half inches, shows only the alphabet in capitals and the back has a floral design.

"The alphabet was taught by means of Horn Books, which lingered on into the 19th century, and had their lives prolonged by the 'battledores', single sheets of alphabets shaped like the horn books themselves to enable them to be used for propelling the shuttlecock. They have little intrinsic charm, except for the silver ones, which are not books anyway".#

Muir, Perry. English Children's Books. 1954. Batsford. pp. 240. Page 218.

The Battledores went on from the alphabet and the Lord's Prayer to pictures with words. One, for example, has wood cuts to illustrate Apple, Bull, Cat, Dog, Egg, Fish, Goat, Horse, Jug, King, Lion, Mouse, Nightingale, Owl, Peacock, Queen, Rod, Squirrel, Top, Unicorn, Whale, Xerxes, Youth, Zany (Rod refers to the instrument used for whipping bad boys. A zany is a jester.)

The famous New England Primer was of this genre with a string religious and Puritan influence. It began with the rhyme, "In Adam's fall, We sinned all", which has the accompanying picture of an apple tree being robbed of its fruit. The *Orbis Pictus* of John Amos Comenius falls into this class, combining the use of pictures with both Latin and vernacular words.

Was the Horn Book ever used in the fourteenth American Colony, Nova Scotia? Tuer* tells of the reply he received from a correspondent in Edinburgh at the time he was carrying out the research for his study. In reply the correspondent had said: "My eldest brother and I learned our letters from an ABC Horn Book sixty years ago in Nova Scotia. And the venerable relic—for it was old even them—was used as a plaything by us for many a day. Although called a Horn Book it was made of ivory, and had the capital letters and the vowels in small letters on one side". Tuer's book was published in 1896. His correspondent used the Horn Book while in Nova Scotia 60 years previously, that is about 1836. The Horn Book was old at that time. So putting the time when this particular Horn Book was in Nova Scotia at 1800 would not be far out.

My own search for information about the Horn Book may have some interest. In teaching a course on the History of Education I had seen pictures of the Horn Book and had, in fact, made a reproduction. But I wanted to see an actual Horn Book.

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* Tuer, A.W. Op. Cit. Page 122.

The visit to the British Museum came first. It was a real adventure. One signs a book and gives one's address. One checks brief-case, coat, hat, umbrella, etc. to minimize any possibility of something valuable disappearing from the museum. Finally one is conducted through halls, through rooms, and through rooms within rooms to a confrontation with the person in charge of the artifact under inquiry. This gentleman showed the three actual Horn Books which they possessed. They were not in the best condition for they were very old and had obviously been used a great deal. One was made of what appeared to be pewter but which I now know was silver, considerably tarnished. The attendant said he had no claim to being a specialist in Horn Books, but very obligingly gave me a short bibliography and upon inquiring suggested that I visit the folk museum at Reading University and also the Geoffrye Museum in London.

The museum of Reading University is chiefly a research museum, but it has a small and very interesting display area. That is where I first laid my eyes upon a genuine old Horn Book. This university was founded as a centre for the study of agriculture and its museum has carried out a great deal of inquiry into the history of rural life and arts. Authoritative information is available in their publications about such things as the history of breeds of cattle and other animals, about farm implements over the centuries, crops, farming practices, and many related topics from rural life. For example, in the display area I first saw a "straw dolly", so when, later in the summer, I met a lady who produced them as a hobby and for sale I brought an elementary knowledge to our interview. The straw dolly is a doll made of plaited corn straw and has a long history as a symbol of fecundity.

Upon return to London the Geoffrye Museum was visited. Geoffrye was once Lord Mayor of London and upon retirement he gave about a dozen small houses, *en bloc,* to the City of London as almshouses, or living quarters for people from London

who were both old and poor. The buildings, or rather the building for they are under a single roof, have now been joined with a long hallway and each small room is now fitted out in the style of a certain half-century, e.g., first half of the 16th century. One sees the furniture, floor covering, wall covering, amusements, books, toys, heating, dishes, pictures, etc., of that period. But, alas, although they knew of it, they had no Horn Book. But they, like most of the museums that I visited were well patronized by groups of school children under the supervision of their teachers.

I was sent on to the Bethnal Green Museum, a short mile away. This was a tremendous building that had been set up for an exposition of some sort and later presented to the city for a museum. It had a great variety of exhibits: glass, children's toys, costumes etc. The Director knew his business. They did not have a Horn Book but the South Kensington Museum had such and he made an appointment for me.

The South Kensington Museum, now called the Victoria and Albert, goes on and on, and its many rooms have many thousands of items on exhibit. But it also has a research library and two reading rooms with numbered places at the big tables. They were most kind and obliging. And so I came to learn about the Horn Book. They have eleven, the British Museum has three, and the Bodley Library has three.

Here I had no difficulty in obtaining and reading the references in my bibliography on the Horn Book. And here I encountered the Battledore Books and a gracious lady who had specialized in a knowledge of them. And here I encountered Andrew White Tuer's thorough study later I found out that the library of the Institute of Education of London University, where I was an honorary fellow, also had a copy).

Tucked away in pockets at the front and back of Tuer's *de luxe* publication were three actual old Horn Books. He had

collected 150. One wonders if there is a battered old Horn Book to be found in the dusty attic of some mouldering old house somewhere in Nova Scotia.

Forgotten Trades Of Nova Scotia

DAVID E. STEPHENS

Editor's Note:

When the Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly began publication it was hoped that we would present an Anthology of Nova Scotia books in serial form, and this may still be possible sometime in the future.

Meanwhile, we are happy to announce that we have found a suitable and very interesting alternative in the work *Forgotten Trades of Nova Scotia* by David Stephens. This will appear in a series, rather than serial form, with a group of trades in each issue. On completion, this series will be published in book form with illustrations.

WHEELS AND INDUSTRY

The wheel was man's greatest invention, for it brought him from the life of a savage to the civilized age.

Up until the early 1900's, wagons and carriages were the most important land transportation vehicles. The types of wagons were classified by their size and use, as well as the number of wheels (either 2 or 4). The first part of this century still saw many Nova Scotian companies in the production of carriages and wagons.

The most famous company in the province was located in the town of Kentville. It started as a small rural repair shop, and then grew, by 1897, into the 4th largest carriage company in Canada. It was called the Nova Scotia Carriage Company, Limited. By 1900, it was employing over 50 workmen and turning out about 1000 carriages per year (plus about 600 sleights).

WHEELS AND WHEELWRIGHTS

Wheels, as used on wagons and carriages, had a wooden *hub* (or *nave*), a wooden *rim* covered with a *tire,* and wooden *spokes* connecting the hub and rim.

Every company that manufactured wagons or carriages employed many well-trained and skilled craftsmen. Various terms were used to describe their trades, depending upon their particular work or the type of vehicle they built (such as cartwrights, coach-builders, or wagon-wrights). Although the *wheelright* (or *wheeler*) was also considered a builder of wheeled carriages, his main trade was that of making wheels. And a highly skilled trade it was, requiring both considerable knowledge and a vast amount of experience.

The tools and equipment used by the wheelwrights were basically those of any carpenter or jointer of the day, plus a few special tools and fixtures designed for special operations.

HUB OR HOB

The hub was the central portion of the wheel, which was placed upon the arm of the axle, and the spokes were set into the hub radially. Hubs tapered towards both ends, and the bulge or middle of the hub was called the *bream.*

Hardwood (usually oak) was used for making hubs, cut from a tree having a diameter a little greater than the size of hub required. After cutting into 1½ foot lengths, they were

allowed to season (dry) with the bark on, for several years. After the hub had seasoned, it was shaped or formed on the *hub-lathe,* which was a modified wood-turner's lathe. It was then placed in a special fixture called a *cradle,* which held it secure for cutting the mortise holes (to receive the spokes). The holes were cut by first using two auger holes at each end of the cut, then removing the sides of the holes with a firmer chisel. The ends of the holes were cut square with the square mortise chisel.

SPOKES

The radial arms of the wheel which connected the hub with the outer rim were called *spokes.* The wooden spokes consisted of several different parts: the *foot* was fitted into the mortise hole in the hub; the *shoulder* of the foot came in contact with the surface on the outside of the hub; the *tenon* (or *tongue*) was inserted into the rim sections; and the *body* was all the visible part of the spoke between the hub and the rim. The contracted part of the spoke, which was thinned towards its outer side, and placed near the hub, was called the *throat.*

The best wood for making wheel spokes was oak (although ash and elm were also used), which was dried for several years (like the hub), to prevent splitting and thus give longer life. The spokes were usually larger at the hub (throat section) and tapered down as it neared the rim. Spokes were rounded either by hand or on a lathe. When shaped by hand, either a *drawing-knife* (straight blade with a handle on each end) or a *jigger-knife* (a blade curved on one end and straight on the other, also with a handle on each end) was used. The hand method was usually done on a *shaving-horse,* which allowed the wheelwright to sit down and use either form of knife on the spoke, which was held securely in place for working. When turned down on a lathe, a special *spoke-lathe* was used, as it was designed for turning irregular forms.

After being turned down, the spokes were smoothed with the spoke-shave (called *chaveling* or *shavelin* by some wheelwrights), which was a form of hand plane with a handle at each end. If the tenon of the spoke was to be rounded, it was cut with a hollow *spoke-auger.*

RIM

The circular, wooden portion forming the outside of the wheel was called the *rim* (or *apse*), and it was attached to the hub by the spokes. The rim was made up of short, curved sections of hardwood. Each section, called a *felly* (or *felloe*), was joined to the next section by dowel-pins or joints. The holes for the spokes were usually cut all the way through the felly. The instrument used was the *felly-auger,* which was a pod-auger (i.e. it had a straight groove). A smaller felly-auger was used to bore the holes for the dowel-pins, in the ends of the felly.

TIRE

The *wheel-tire* was the wrought-iron or steel band which encircled the rim of fellies. The wheel-tire was also called the *tread, wheel-band,* or *rim-tire.* If the tire was for a cart-wheel, then it was called either a *cart-tire* or *cart-band.* A tire without a flange was called a *blank-tire.*

The carriage- or wagon-making shop usually had at least one blacksmith to make the tires and other iron work for vehicles. If he specialized completely in the manufacture of wheel-tires, then he was called a *tire-smith.*

The continuous tire was a North American invention, for in Europe (until about 1900) the tires were made in sections, the same length as each felly, and arranged to break-joint with the fellies. The European style of tire was not as satisfactory as the continuous North American tire, as it relied completely upon the tire-bolts, while the continuous tire was held secure both by bolts and pressure.

WHEEL ASSEMBLY

The hub was secured in a special box-style bench called the *pit,* and the pre-formed spokes were driven into the mortise holes with a large wooden mallet. To ensure that the spokes were all properly placed, an adjustable *spoke-set* or *spoke-gauge* was used to test the set of the spokes. Once the spokes were in the hub, the unit was placed onto a bench equipped with a heavy, threaded rod (which usually had its lower end hooked onto the floor to hold it steady). A wooden, circular *hold-down* was then placed over it, and both were then secured tightly by means of a large screw which was turned onto the top of the threaded rod. The fellies were then attached, each one being fitted into the spokes and also the connecting dowel joints.

Once the wheel was assembled, it was then planed smooth, before the tire was put around it.

The tire was not cut from the stock until the outer circumference was measured with a little handle and wheel device known as a *measuring-wheel,* a *tire-measure,* a *circumferentor,* or a *travelor.* The wheel on the tire-measure had a known circumferential measurement, and it was divided off into inches (and fractions of an inch). By running the tire-measure completely around the outside of the wheel, the resulting circumference could then be given in the total number of revolutions (and fraction of a revolution). This number could also be read in inches, and measured off on the tire stock, and the tire cut to proper length.

Holes for the bolts were drilled with a *tire-drill,* and the tire then bent to a uniform circular curve with a *tire-bender.* The circular piece of metal was then heated in a forge called a *tire-furnace* or *tire-heater,* causing it to expand with the heat. After heating, the tire was then placed around the rim (this assembly step was called *ringing*), bolted with tire-bolts (nut and washer

on the inside of the fellies while the bolt head was countersunk into the tire), then cooled quickly to cause the tire to contract. This contraction placed a considerable amount of pressure on the whole wheel, thus helping to hold it securely together.

Dishing was when the tire projected outward beyond the plane of the intersection of the spokes and the hub. This meant that it was concave on one side while being convex on the other. If the spindle of the axle was cylindrical, dishing was not required. However, when the spindle was tapered, it was necessary to give a *gather* and *swing* to the spindle, and a dish to the tire. Gather was the setting forward of the spindle end, so that the wheel was not pressing too much inward or outward, and thus run freely. By setting the end of the spindle downward, with its lower edge horizontal to the ground, it gave the spindle a swing. By tipping the top of the wheel slightly outward, it enabled the bearing upon the wheel to be completely vertical. The dishing allowed the spoke to be vertical as it came down into a working position (i.e., taking the weight of the vehicle), and allowing the tire to be flat on the ground.

After the wheel was assembled, the hub was bored out with a special *hub-reamer,* which was about 3 feet long and weighed approximately 25 pounds. It was turned by one man using both hands, or else by one man on either end of a long wooden handle. The iron bushings (called *boxes, axle-boxes, nave boxes* or *bushels*) were used to prevent the hub from wearing. They were set into the hub, perfectly true, by means of a *driving-bolt* of a *box-setter.*

Before the wheel was placed on the spindle of the axle, some grease was placed on the spindle for lubrication. The wheel was then given a few revolutions before it was lowered to the ground. This allowed the grease to collect in grooves in the boxes (called *chambers* or *lubricators*), then to pass back down onto the spindle as it gradually wasted away.

HOOP-SPLITTING (or HOOP-RIVING) MACHINE—Rived hoops from prepared stock.

ROUNDING-MACHINE—Gave circular form to cask-heads.

SETTING-UP MACHINE—Set up staves and held them for hooping.

TRUSSING-MACHINE—Drove on truss-hoops to bring staves together.

BARREL SIZES

Gauging or *gaging* was the art of determining the capacity or measure of a cask, usually performed by a *gauger* or *gager*, using a *gauging-rod*.

Various terms were used to describe the units of measure, including *bickerfu'* (as much as fills a bicker) and *barrel-bulk* (capacity of a barrel). However, units of measure differed by country or even areas within a country.

Barrel (Canada—Imperial Standard)

Wine	26¼ gallons
Ale	31½ gallons
Beer	36½ gallons

Barrel (English—⅛ ton, ¼ pipe, or ½ hogshead)

Wine	31½ gallons
Ale	32 gallons
Beer	36 gallons

Barrel (other commodities)

Herring	32 gallons (1000 fish)
Salmon	42 gallons
Eels	42 gallons
Oil	50-53 gallons
Soap	256 lbs.
Flour	196 lbs.
Beef	200 lbs.
Pork	200 lbs.

In 1915, the United States decided to make the barrel, as a measuring unit, a standard. Under the law, the staves were to be 21½ inches long and not more than 4/10ths of an inch thick, while the heads were to be 17⅛ inches in diameter. The standard barrel, to be considered a measuring unit, was to contain a volume of 7,056 cubic inches. A barrel which did not match the dimensions of a standard barrel, but which still held the same volume, could be considered as a standard barrel. The law also provided a punishment of $500 fine (or 6 months), if anyone was convicted of selling a barrel of goods with less than 7,056 cubic inches.

Butt

Wine	126 gallons
Beer	108 gallons
Currants	15-22 cwt.

Hogshead (named for the ox-head originally branded on the cask)

United States hoghsead	100-150 gallons
Wine hogshead	63 gallons
Imperial hogshead	52½ (52.485) gallons
London hogshead	54 beer gallons or 48 ale gallons
English (outside London)	51 gallons
Rum hogshead	45-50 gallons
Brandy hogshead	45-60 gallons
Tobacco hogshead	750-1200 lbs. (as used in the U.S.—depended upon state as to size

Keg

Beer	4½, 9 or 18 gallons

Pipe (½ tun)

Wine-measure	105 Imperial or 126 wine gallons
Pipe of Madeira	110 wine gallons

Pipe of Sherry ..... 130 wine gallons
Pipe of Port ..... c. 138 wine gallons
Pipe of Lisbon ..... 140 wine gallons

Runlet (or Rundlet)

Varried from 3-20 gallons usually 15 gallons.

Tub

Tub of tea ..... 60 lbs.
Tub of camphor ..... 56-80 lbs.

Tun

Tun of wine (Old English) .... 252 gallons (4 hogsheads)

Vat

Netherlands ..... 22 Imperial gallons

SPECIAL TYPES OF COOPER-WORK

Barrels and casks

Beer-barrel—contained beer
Churn—for the making of butter
Coop—for liquor
Gang-cask—drinking water storage (on a ship's deck)
Harness-cask—salt meat for ship's use
Hogshead—any large cask (U.S. usage)
Leaguer—a large cask
Light-barrel—held tarred shavings to light up breach (ships)
Oil-cask—held whale oil
Polishing-cask—polishing any articles (including gunpowder)
Potting-cask—used in sugar manufacture
Tub—a barrel used by smugglers
Tun—any large liquor cask
Water-barrel—a water cask
Water-butt—reservoir for rain or pump-water
Water-cask—storage of water on ships
Wine-cask—for wine storage

Tubs and vats

Bicker or Biquour—held liquor, brose, broth &c.
Bolting-tub—flour bolted (sifted) into it, in mill
Bowie or Bowy—small wash-tub
Brewing-tub—used for brewing beer or ale
Cleansing-vat—fermentation of beer concluded
Coodie or Cudie or Cottie—small tub with upright handle
Cooler—cooler for beer (broad and shallow)
Half-tub—cask cut in half (e.g., deck-tub or gun-sponges)
Harness-tub—storage of salt meat on ships (immediate use)
Kit—flaring-bottom tub for butter or fish
Leach-tub or leaching-vat—dissolving materials
Leach-tub—letching of ashes
Mash-tub or Mash-tun or Mash-vat or Mashing-vat—steeping malt
Mashing-tub—holding mash in a brewery
Meal-tub—used to hold meal
Meat-tub—for holding pickled meat
Powdering-tub—used for holding meat to be corned or salted
Shaving-tub—used beneath cutting press to catch shavings
Spike-tub—held fat of bears, seals &c. before being added to blubber in hold of ship
Tun—fermenting vat in a brewery
Wash-tub—used for washing clothes

Buckets and pails

Bowie or Bowy—milk pail
Coodie or Cudie or Cootie—barrel-shaped bucket
Well-bucket—used to draw water from a well

WHEEL-MAKING MACHINES

In addition to the hand-made method of constructing wheels, which has just been described, there were several machines designed for making wheels in large quantities. Most of them were designed by the wheelwrights themselves, for special work during wheel construction. As carriage-making shops developed and expanded, more advanced pieces of equipment were added, doing away with many of the hand skills.

FELLY BENDING-MACHINE — This machine had a circular former, around which the fellies were bent to the curved shape. The machine would hold them in position until the wood had cooled and dried, thus keeping the material in its formed shape.

FELLY BORING-MACHINE — This device (also called a BORING AND TENONING MACHINE) had an adjustable, vertical boring machine and a clamp which held the felly in the correct position for boring. It was also used to cut the tenons on the ends of the spokes.

FELLY-DRESSER - This was used to dress or prepare the surface of the adjacent edges of the fellies.

FELLY SAWING-MACHINE - This machine was used to saw the stock into properly shaped fellies.

HUB-BORER - This was used for boring the hub holes, either for the boxing or the spokes.

HUB-CENTERING MACHINE - The hub was chucked on this machine, while the axle-box was reamed out concentric with the outside of the hub. A similar machine, by the same name, was used to hold the hub while setting the iron bushings or boxes.

HUB-MORTISEING MACHINE - A stake on this machine held the hub so that a reciprocating chisel could cut the spoke mortise holes. To prevent rotation while the holes were being cut, the hub was clamped, being allowed to rotate a determined number of degrees only when the next hole was to be cut.

TIRE-ROLLERS - The tire-roller was a form of rolling-mill for tires. The rollers were designed to overhang their bearings and to be moveable, thus allowing the completed hoop of the tire to be placed between them the rollers.

SPECIAL DEVICES

A few special devices were used in conenction with the completed wheel:

TIRE-SHRINKER - This device was for shortening the tire after it became loose (this was usually caused by shrinkage of the wheel).

SPOKE - Apart from its regular meaning, a spoke was also a fastening for the wheel of a carriage or wagon to lock it while decending a hill. Other similar devices included *skids, lock-chains, drags, chocks,* and *carriage-locks.*

WHEEL-JACK - A wheel-jack (or *lifting-jack*) had a low toe so that it could catch beneath the tire of the wheel to raise it for removal of the wheel. Various forms were used, such as the *carriage-jack* (which raised the axle) and the *wagon-jack.*

TWO AND FOUR WHEEL VEHICLES

One of the major means of classifying the various types of vehicles was by the numbers of wheels it had, either two or four. Several of the main types of vehicles are listed below, under these two groups:

FOUR WHEEL		TWO WHEELS	
Barouche	Play-wagon	Cab	Dray
Britzska	Rock-a-way	Calash	Gig
Buck-wagon	Sailing carriage	Cariole	Hand-cart
Buggy	Stage-coach	Cart	Night-cart
Coach	Stage-wagon	Chaise	Pony-chaise
Coachlet	Truck	Coop-cart	Sling-cart
Diligence	Victoria	Curricle	Sulky
Drosky	Wagon	Dennet	Truck
Hackney-carriage	Wagonette		
Landau	Wain		
Landaulet			

COOPERS AND INDUSTRY

It was a well-respected trade, that of a cooper. If he was well skilled, a cooper could earn good wages, for he was usually paid by the number of pieces produced. It was part of his trade to make (and sometimes repair) any form of wooden container, such as tubs, pails, churns, and most important, barrels or casks.

McAlpine's Maritime Provinces Business Directory for 1880-81 lists less than 100 coopers for the province of Nova Scotia. About twenty percent of them worked on the waterfront of Halifax, while at least half of the remainder worked on Nova Scotia's South Shore, mainly in Chester, Liverpool, Lockeport, Lunenburg and Mahone Bay.

Today, wooden barrels are still made in Nova Scotia (using more modern methods), such as the factory located at Chester Basin. The old trade of hand-made barrel-making, however, only lives in such places as "Nova Scotia's Museum of Agriculture: ROSS FARM", located in New Ross, Lunenburg County.

COOPERAGE

The trade or business of a cooper was called *cooperage, coopery* or *coopering*. Two of these terms—cooperage and coopery—also referred to the actual building or shop in which the work was done. Generally speaking, the cooper's work centered around the manufacture or the repairing of barrels and tubs. However, his work usually included any form of circular wooden container which was bound together by the use of hoops.

If the container was to be used to hold any form of liquid (such as beer, wine or water), then the cooper was called a *wet-cooper* or *tight-cooper.*

Containers used to hold non-liquids (flour, dry fruit, &c.) were manufactured by a *dry-cooper.*

The experience, knowledge and skills of both the dry- and wet-coopers were combined by the *white-cooper.* It was his job to turn well-seasoned hardwood (softwood gave a disagreeable taste) into butter churns, tubs and pails.

A *cooper-in-general* was mainly an unskilled jobber who was chiefly concerned with mending containers produced by other coopers.

Another term used to describe a cooper's trade, although little used, was *girder.* The over-worked term, cooperage, also referred to the money paid to a cooper for his work.

COOPER-WORK

TYPES

A *barrel* was any circular wooden vessel, with a bulge in the middle, made of staves and held together by hoops. The normal size of a liquid barrel was 30 to 45 gallons.

Cask was another popular term, which meant the same thing as barrel, except that a cask was generally assumed to hold liquids only.

A small barrel was termed a *cag* (or *keg*), and was used for such things as nails and beer. For convenience, beer kegs came in several different sizes.

A *tub* was a small barrel or cask, formed with staves, hoops and one head (bottom), open at the top, such as a wash-tub or a mash-tub.

Vats were usually large tubs (i.e., those made of wood), and used in brewing, distilling and many manufacturing operations.

BREWERIES AND DISTILLERIES

One large area of employment for coopers was the brewing industry, for all forms of beverages were made and shipped in wooden containers.

It was the custom in breweries to give the coopers a set portion of porter and stout each day. The coopers were in the habit of mixing, in equal proportions, the two drinks before consuming it. This gave rise to a popular beverage of the age, consisting of stout and porter, and called *cooper.*

NAUTICAL

Casks were very important to the shipping industry, for they were used to carry the valuable water supply, as well as other liquid refreshments. Sometimes a cask was too large to fit through a hatchway, so it was then cut into two sections, lengthwise. This was known as *cradling,* and it involved uniting the two sections later, as well as re-hooping.

Water-casks were stored with a wedge-shaped piece of wood placed under the bulge to prevent rolling (*chocking*), while the space between stowed casks was termed *cont-line.*

Whalers took the pre-cut parts for oil-casks out to sea with them, in a package containing 60 loose pieces. Each package was termed a *shook,* a *shock,* or a *pack,* while four shocks (240 pieces) made up a *ring.* The casks were re-assembled as the catch required their use.

Cask-hoops were often straightened and used to keep the tarpaulins tight over the hatches during a storm, and were referred to as *Battens of the Hatches.*

One type of nautical buoy was the *cask-buoy,* made from a water-tight cask.

Butlerage was a hereditary duty paid to the crown, the proceeds of which were given to the king's butler (collected in England). The duty was mentioned in the Great Roll of the Exchequer in 8 Richard I, and consisted of taking two tuns of wine from each vessel importing 20 (or more) tuns into England. Edward I commuted the duty to a tax of 2 shillings per tun being imported by "merchant strangers". The tax was also called *Prisage of Wines.*

BARREL PARTS

A barrel consisted of three basic parts, the *staves* (sides), the *heads* (top and bottom) and the *hoops* (which held the staves tight against the heads).

The bulge of the barrel was caused by making the staves narrow at each end. This bulge added to the space necessary for shipping and storage of the barrel, however, it did add considerable strength to the vessel.

The top and bottom pieces, called heads, were circular in shape and fitted into grooves at the ends of the staves.

The hoops used to bind the staves together, were made of either wood or metal.

HAND-MADE BARRELS

STAVES

Staves were dressed strips of wood which made up the sides of the barrel. The staves were called *clapboards,* and for most barrels and casks, were a minimum of 3 feet 2 inches in length.

The first construction stage was termed *list,* and involved chopping the block of wood, from which the staves were to be cut, to form a taper on each end. To cut the individual staves

from the block of wood (or *juggle*), a cleaving tool was used, called a *froe* (or *frow*), but also referred to as a *cleaving-knife* or a *riving-knife*. The sharp edge of the froe was slightly curved, shaped like a wedge, and the handle was set at right angles to its length. It was used with a mallet, called a *froe-club*, which was used to hit the opposite end of the blade (from the handle), splitting off the roughly tapered staves. A more modern method of cutting the staves was with a cylindrical saw, known as a *drum-* or *barrow-saw*.

After being roughly shaped, the staves were dressed to finished size and shape. One method of doing this was with a *drawing-knife*, which was used to shave the stave while it was being held secure on a shaving-horse. However, the most common method was with jointer-planes, especially designed for the operations concerned. The edges were smoothed on what was called a *Cooper's plane* or *stave-jointer*, which was from 5 to 6 feet long, and used with its sole upwards. One end of this stationary plane was supported on a prop, with the lower end on the ground. The staves were then moved over the 3½ inch straight blade. Most Cooper's planes were up to 6 inches in width, and some had both a blade for coarse cuts and a blade for fine cuts. The backs of the staves were dressed with a jointer having a concave-edge blade, and called a *backing-jointer, side-jointed* or *over-shave*. The inner surface of the staves were planed with the *inshave*, which had a convex-edge to its blade.

HEADS

The heads (also called *barrel-heads* and *cask-heads*) were made up of *headings*, which were three segments of wood jointed together with dowel-pins. The center piece was termed the *middle*, while the two side pieces were *cants*. The circular shape of the heads were formed with a hatchet, or else a special tool called a *Cooper's adze*. A chamfer was put on the outside of the head, generally with a *heading-knife*.

In large cooperages, coopers often worked at one operation, such as making staves, hoops, heads or worked at assembly. If the cooper did nothing but head casks, then he was referred to as a *Header.*

HOOPS

The staves were held securely in place by driving strips of wood (later metal) down over the barrel. The *hoops* (also termed *girds* or *girrs*), which had their ends joined, were cut from *hoop-poles* of ash or hickory into strips of desired shape and thickness. The hoop nearest the top was called a *chine-hoop,* a *chime-hoop* or a *head-hoop.* The hoop nearest the bulge or swell was called the *bulge-hoop,* while the hoop (or hoops) between the bulge and chine was called a *quarter-hoop.* A strong wooden hoop that was made by using half the hoop-pole (the undressed exterior of the pole was on the outside) was called a *half-round hoop,* while a thin, flat hoop was called a *flat-hoop.* The ends of the hoops were joined by using interlocking notches, called *hoop-locks.* If the ends lapped over each other, they were sometimes joined with the use of a *ring-clutch, hoop-clamp* or *hoop cramp.*

Iron hoops were made from thin pieces of bar-iron, called *hoop-iron.* The iron hoops were flared and driven onto the staves with a narrow-peen *Cooper's hammer* or *flue-hammer,* which also had claws for use with wooden pins or pegs.

If a cooper's job was mainly dealing with making or fixing hoops, then he was a *Hooper,* and his job was *hooping.*

ASSEMBLY

A *gathering-hoop* or *truss-hoop* was used to strain the stave ends together so that the hoops could be placed on. An aid to help fit the staves together, while setting them up, was the *raising-knife.* The hoops were forced onto the barrel with the

use of a *driver* or *hoop-driver,* which was a special form of hammer. The ends of the staves were then leveled with a circular type of jack-plane (with a flat sole and blade), called a *sun-plane.* Then a groove was formed just below the ends of the staves to receive the barrel-head or cask-head, two if the vessel was to be closed. The groove was called a *croze,* and the same name was applied to the gauge-like tool used to cut it. The head of the instrument was nearly semi-circular, and the ends terminated in two handles. The large stem was wedged into place, while the 3 or 4 saw-tooth cutter was followed by a hooked router, which swept out the groove bottom.

The part of the staves that projected out beyond the barrel-head was called the *chine, chime* or *chimb.* This part of the barrel was chamfered to allow the barrel-head to be fitted into place. This was usually done with the curved-blade *hollow-adze.* The chines of the barrel could be leveled with the *whisk,* which was a special cooper's plane. The inside of the barrel was smoothed off with a convex-soled *howel* plane, the *butt-howel* (a howeling-adze), or the *hollowing-knife* (which was a form of drawing-knife). Often the finished barrel or cask was marked with a scoring tool called a *scribing-iron.*

BUNG

The tight-cooper had to provide a hole so that the cask could be filled, or the liquid removed. This was on either end (or else at the bulge). The hole was called a *bung-hole,* was reamed out and flared with a conical auger called a *bung-borer,* and stopped up with a tappered plug (usually of wood) called a *bung.* If the bung had to be forced out, a mallet (often bat-shapped) was formed from a stave (*bung-starter*), and applied to both sides of the bung.

BARREL-MAKING MACHINES

By the end of the 1800's, the use of machinery in the cooperage almost ended a fine old trade requiring great skill and

knowledge. Except for a few rural areas, most barrel-making companies started to add "labour-saving" devices by the turn of the century.

Although these machines did away with the hand-made barrel, they are still an important part of the barrel-making industry, and thus are listed here:

BUNG-CUTTER—Annular borer, lathe, cylindrical saw, or tubular knife.

CHINEING-MACHINE—Chamfer stave ends to form chine.

CROZING-MACHINE—Cut the croze or groove to receive the head.

DOWELING-MACHINE—Bored the dowel-holes in heading material.

HEADING-CIRCULAR—Cut, trimmed and dressed heads.

HEADING-MACHINE—Cut and beveled heads.

HOLLOWING AND BACKING MACHINE—Rounded staves (outer and inner surfaces).

HOOP-BENDING MACHINE—Curved hoops.

HOOP-COILING MACHINE—Stored prepared hoop material for use or shipment.

HOOP-CRIMPING MACHINE—Made hoops tractable.

HOOP-PLANING MACHINE (or HOOP-DRESSING MACHINE)—Dressed hoop poles.

HOOP-RACKING MACHINE—Bent riven hoops.

HOOP-SAWING (or HOOP-CUTTING) MACHINE—Cut hoops from stock.

HOOP-SPLAYING AND BENDING MACHINE—Spread and curved hoop-iron.

Contributors

JOHN NORMAN GRANT was born in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. He attended school in Guysborough and went on to receive a Bachelor of Arts degree from St. Francis Xavier University and the degree of Master of Arts in Canadian History from the University of New Brunswick, where he was the recipient of several fellowships. He is now working toward a Bachelor of Education at Dalhousie University.

Mr. Grant has had works accepted by the Atlantic Advocate, the Humanities Bulletin, is working on a history of the Negro in Nova Scotia and has contributed to the Nova Scotia Museum Quarterly.

He is a member of the Nova Scotia Historical Society and is also a consultant on the Sherbrooke Village Restoration Commission, Sherbrooke, Nova Scotia. He is recently married and lives in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia.

MARIE A. NIGHTINGALE (Mrs. L. A.) was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia and received her education in Middleton and Halifax.

She is the author of a history of The Halifax Children's Hospital and "Have a Happy Stay", a summer tourist column in the Halifax Chronicle-Herald. She has also been a radio commentator for stations CFAB, Windsor and CJCH, Halifax.

Mrs. Nightingale is perhaps best known for her recent cook book "Out of Old Nova Scotia Kitchens", published locally in soft cover through the facilities of Petheric Press and internationally in hard cover by Charles Scribner's Sons.

Mrs. Nightingale, her husband and children, make their home in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

ROBERT E. INGLIS was born at North Lochaber, Antigonish County. Here and at Pictou Academy, and later at Dalhousie University, he received his education, graduating in Arts and Law. He served in France during World War I as a gunner with the 9th Canadian Siege Battery. He was admitted to the Bar in 1920, and has served since 1939 as a Provincial Magistrate. He resides in Halifax.

JOHN GORDON LEEFE was born in Saint John, New Brunswick, and pursued his early studies there. He continued his education at the University of King's College and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the degree of Bachelor of Education at the University of New Brunswick and Master of Arts from Dalhousie University, where he earned a Graduate Studies Scholarship and a Graduate Studies Research Grant.

Mr. Leefe is a member of the Board of Governors of the University of King's College. He is also a member of the Queens County Historical Society and the Nova Scotia Teachers Social Studies Association.

He has held teaching positions in Saint John, New Brunswick, and Halifax, Nova Scotia, and is now residing in Liverpool with his wife and two children and holds the position of Head of the Social Studies Department, Liverpool Regional High School.

MORTIMER VILLIERS MARSHALL was born in Central Chebogue, Yarmouth County, Nova Scotia and received his early education at Yarmouth County.

Dr. Marshall served with the Canadian Signal Corps in the First World War in England, France and Germany. On his return from duty, he attended Acadia University where he received the degree of Bachelor of Science in 1921, and Bachelor of Arts the following year. He continued his studies at Harvard University and was granted a Master of Education in 1927 and Doctorate in 1930. He is the recipient of several scholarships and fellowships, as well as a D.Litt. which was conferred upon him at Acadia University in 1966.

He is an experienced writer, especially in the field of education, with five books, over seventy articles, numerous pamphlets, standardized tests and surveys to his credit. He is the author of "A Short History of Acacia Villa School" as well as a newspaper column "Professor on the Loose" which appeared in The Wolfville Acadian and Yarmouth Vanguard.

He is a member of the Wolfville Historical Association and a Life Member of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union.

Dr. Marshall is the former Head of the Department of Education at Acadia University. He is presently retired and resides in Wolfville.

DAVID ERNEST STEPHENS was born in Truro in 1946 and received his education there at the Colchester County Academy. He studied Industrial Arts Education at the Nova Scotia Teachers College and received two scholarships during that time. Following graduation he received three scholarships for further study from the State University of New York.

Mr. Stephens collects Nova Scotia relics and publications as a hobby and does extensive historical research and writing.

He has written numerous educational and historical articles for several Canadian and American publications, is a regular contributor on local history to the *Dartmouth Free Press*, and has previously contributed to the Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly.

Mr. Stephens is presently instructor in Graphic Communications at Eastern Shore District High School. He is married with two daughters and resides in Musquodoboit Harbour.

Book Reviews

LORNA INNESS

There is not much to report in the line of new books about Nova Scotia in this mid-season for the publishing industry with the spring catalogues just beginning to arrive. There was, however, one major breakthrough prior to Christmas and that was the publication of a revised edition of Thomas H. Raddall's classic work—Halifax, Warden of the North.

Halifax, Warden of the North, Thomas H. Raddall
343 pages, illustrated, hardcover, published 1971
McClelland and Stewart Limited, $7.95.

This history was first published in 1948 and it won a Governor-General's award, one of several Raddall's books have earned. It went into a second edition and then out of print. In recent years it has become such a collector's item that hard-to-come-by second-hand copies were selling for as much as $20.

Now it has been republished by McClelland and Stewart Limited, and the text has been brought up to date by Raddall to cover the period since 1948.

Raddall wrote two historical novels about Nova Scotia; His Majesty's Yankees, set at the time of the American Revolution, and Roger Sudden, before tackling the story of Halifax. In his forward to this revised edition, he writes: "Very soon I found that the great difficulty in writing an historical novel about Nova Scotia was the very richness of the material. It was a struggle to keep the history in the background where it belonged, for it had an insistent way of intruding upon the story . . . "

"The insistence of history", however, had its way and Raddall succumbed to the urging of his publishers and others and wrote his definitive history of this province's capital.

Along with other historians, amateur and professional, he acknowledges the value of assistance received over the years

from the late Dr. D. C. Harvey, former provincial archivist; Dr. C. Bruce Fergusson, the present archivist; Dr. C. L. Bennet and others of the staff of Dalhousie University, and "many others who in various ways have contributed their help and knowledge." He also cites the value, "despite its imperfections", of the History of the Settlement of Halifax by Thomas Beamish Akins to historians and others interested in research involving this province.

It is true of a work of this kind that behind the author's talent, flair, style—whatever makes a work successful, popular valuable—there lies the help of many, frequently anonymous, people upon whom every writer depends.

Since its publication late last year, Halifax, Warden of the North has remained near the top of the local best seller list, outnumbered only by Pierre Berton's The Last Spike. Booksellers report that many people who own copies of the original edition have bought copies of the revised version. It is good to see a classic of this type once more readily available.

Mr. Minister of Finance, Dr. C. Bruce Fergusson
paperback, published December, 1971.
Lancelot Press — $3.95

It must be a tremendous temptation for achivists, with so much material at their fingertips, to keep bursting into print. Limitations on time undoubtedly prevail and this must be frustrating indeed.

Dr. C. Bruce Fergusson, the present provincial archivist of Nova Scotia, already has several papers and books to his credit, either as author or editor.

Dr. Fergusson has had the good fortune to have access to the papers of the Rt. Hon. William Stevens Fielding, another Nova Scotian who distinguished himself not only on the local political scene but on the federal one, as well. He followed what appears to have become a well-beaten path. Born in Halifax in 1848, he received his education in this city, joined the staff of a local newspaper which he served for 20 years, entered politics and was elected to the Legislature in 1882. In 1883 he became premier and held this post until, in 1896, he went into federal politics and became minister of finance in the cabinet of Sir Wilfred Laurier.

After suffering political defeat in 1911, he returned to journalism, but re-entered federal politics in 1917 and in 1921 became, once again, federal finance minister, this time in the cabinet of Prime Minister MacKenzie King.

Fielding passed away in 1929 and his personal papers were left to the keeping of the Nova Scotia Archives. Dr. Fergusson picked up work begun by the late Dr. Harvey and left uncompleted at his death. Despite the demands of other projects, Dr. Fergusson was able to produce the first volume of a two-part biographical series late in 1970. It was called The Mantle of Howe. Now the second volume, Mr. Minister of Finance, is available. I have not yet seen a copy, it is simply mentioned here to indicate that it is now available. Further comment will appear in the next issue of the Quarterly.

Canada's Five Centuries, From Discovery to Present Day,
W. Kaye Lamb, Canadian Heritage Library,
326 pages, hardcover, illustrated (color and black and white),
Ryerson Press/McGraw-Hill, Canada—$22.50

Another archivist and historian with a tremendous amount of material at his fingertips is Dr. William Kaye Lamb, who served from 1948 to 1962 as dominion archivist of the Public Archives of Canada, and from 1953-1968 as National Librarian of Canada.

It is small wonder, then, that he chose to record the vast scope of Canada's history century by century. Dr. Lamb has used the following historical divisions: Canada to 1713 (Discovery and the First Century of Settlement); 1713-1783 (The Struggle for Possession); 1783-1867 (Expansion and Consolidation); 1867-1919 (The first Half Century of Confederation), and 1919-1970 (The second Half Century of Confederation.

There is nothing of a traditionally dry historian's approach in the book's style. The reader whose interest in history is only mild will find the book absorbingly interesting.

The use of illustration in the book is magnificent; covering such wide territory as a water color of Trout Falls and a portage on the Hayes River, done in 1819 by Robert Hood, to some fabulous photos of early trains and of dry docks still catering to both wooden ships and the early steam vessels; a photograph of the Bluenose, autographed by Capt. Angus Walters; photos of early days at station CNRO, Ottawa, in 1925; and power logging in 1890, using donkey engines. There is a section dealing with Canada's role in the two Great Wars.

The book also contains some brilliantly colored aerial photos of urban Canada, some of the nation's major cities. Halifax is included (its South End partially masked by the two plumes of smoke from two tall stacks near the Ocean Terminals).

This book provides an all-over view of the development of Canada, where the emphasis has been not on the early days of discovery, but on the continuing development of a modern technological nation.

Official Automobile Road Guide of Canada, 1912
352 pages, paperback, reprinted 1971,
Musson Book Company, $2.98

The current wave of nostalgia about "the good old days" has brought about some interesting reprints of books and periodicals published at the turn of the century. They provide not only a source of information for anyone doing research on an area or life style, they furnish an intriguing look at how things were then and provide a comparison with today.

Such a book is this reprint of the Ontario Motor League's 1912 road guide. A forward to this reprint notes that when the 1912 (the eighth) guide first appeared, there were 46,604 registered cars in Canada. Saskatchewan had the best showing with one car for every 94 persons, while Ontario had one car registered for every 156 persons. In the United States, where freeways were as

yet unheard of, California led the other states with one car per 20 people.

"It was only 14 years since the very first gasoline-powered car had entered Canada—a one-cylinder Winton that looked like a buggy minus traces . . . ," notes the forward.

Nor was everyone a car enthusiast in the years that followed as more and more automobiles began to appear. "Any citizen could arrest a tourist caught breaking the highway regulations . . . En route from Toronto to Barrie, the guide advised: 'Drive moderately through Aurora. The villagers are very particular.' " "Moderately", it is noted, meant 15 mph in municipalities and 20 elsewhere.

In New Brunswick, licensed drivers were obliged to wear a badge "pinned conspicuously" on their clothing while they were operating vehicles on the public highway. Also in New Brunswick the speed limit was "one mile in eight minutes" in the city and one in four in the country.

The first concrete highway in Ontario was built in 1911-1915, and it connected Toronto and Hamilton. In 1912 there were 16 motor clubs, from Saint John (strict speed regulations apparently didn't curb enthusiasm for motoring) to Victoria.

The district covered in this guide is mainly southern Ontario, from its borders southwest to Detroit, east to Quebec, south through Buffalo and other parts of New York State.

The notes on the regulations, fees, responsibilities, etc., are interesting and the guide is filled with maps, detailed routes, and ads for various hotels and garages. There are some interesting photographs of cars of the 1912 era.

There is also a guide to "symptoms and causes of breakdowns", covering such things as knocking or tapping in engine, "start, failure to," ignition, water in gasoline, carburetter empty and broken connecting rods.

Some things, at least, don't appear to have changed.

CANADIANA REPRINT SERIES:

The Edmonton publishing firm of M. G. Hurtig Ltd., has been reproducing some early accounts of exploration and discovery of the Canadian north and northwest. These editions, by the way, are printed in Japan. Four of them are listed below:

A Journey From Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean, Samuel Hearne
512 pages; illustrations and maps, hardcover,
published November, 1971
M. G. Hurtig Ltd.—$20.

Samuel Hearne was one of those interpid English explorers and adventurers who was to carve his niche in history in the Arctic. Born in 1745, he entered service with the Royal Navy when he was 11 years old. In 1766 he began sailing aboard Hudson's Bay Company ships but within a few years left the sea

to begin the series of explorations which form his major contribution to the development of Canada.

In 1770-1772, on his third major expedition, he travelled to the mouth of the Coppermine River and became the first white man to reach the Arctic Ocean overland from Hudson Bay. Two years later, he led the expedition to found Cumberland House on Pine Island and in 1776 he was put in command of Prince of Wales's Fort where he remained until the post was captured by the French in 1782.

Some years later, Hearne established a trading post at Churchill. In 1787 his health forced him to retire and he spent the remainder of his life in England, much of that time working on the above journal which was published in 1795, three years after his death.

In his original dedication to work, Hearne set out to relate his adventures for the benefit of the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company "in a plain and unadorned style," and along with other chroniclers, he left no stone unturned when it came to noting and describing what he saw and did.

He describes in detail the Indians and Eskimo people he encountered in his travels. He witnessed a massacre of Eskimo by the Indians of his party and was so shocked at the brutality of the scene that "It was with difficulty that I could refrain from tears . . ." He describes their customs with the sick and dying, the leaving of dying companions alone in the wilderness while the rest of the party went on, and notes that in the circumstances, the necessity of some of those practices made them seem less barbarous than they might to one accustomed to European ways.

He describes the habits of the animals "a good hunter can kill 600 beaver in one season", and the birds. Again, as in other accounts by early explorers, a striking feature is the prevalance of game, in some instances, a sheer over-abundance of it which strikes the reader more forcibly now in these days when conservation and extinction are household words.

Hearne's account is that of an epic journey, with hardship and death close companions. The maps and diagrams in the book are of particular interest.

Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the years 1825, 1826 and 1827, by John Franklin, Capt. RN, FRS.
320 pages, well-illustrated with etchings and contains a separate map compartment inside the back cover.
New edition published in 1971.
M. G. Hurtig Ltd., $25.

Here again, hardship and heroism walk hand in hand out of history's pages in this account of one of Sir John Franklin's surveying expeditions in the course of which he mapped over 1,000 miles of Arctic coastline. It is Franklin's last, ill-fated voyage in 1845 for which he is mainly remembered, the one in which he discovered the Northwest Passage, paying for the privilege with his life. And in the closing remarks of his account of this second

expedition there is a sense of that drive which was to take him eventually to the long-sought fabled route: "In concluding this narrative, I feel it incumbent on me to offer a few remarks on the subject of a North-West Passage, which, though it has not been the immediate object of the enterprises in which I have been engaged, is yet so intimately connected with them, as to have naturally excited in my mind, a strong and permanent interest . . ." Franklin then sets out his views on how such a passage might be explored, adding that it would "add to the confidence and safety of those who undertake" such expeditions if the Hudson's Bay Company would provide provision depots where they might be readily accessible.

"Arctic discovery," concludes Franklin, "has been fostered principally by Great Britain, and it is a subject of just pride that it has been prosecuted by her from motives as disinterested as they are enlightened . . . Each succeeding attempt has added a step towards the completion of northern geography; and the contributions to natural history and science have excited a general interest throughout the civilized world . . . And it is sincerely to be hoped that Great Britain will not relax her efforts until the question of a north-west passage has been satisfactorily set at rest, or at least until those portions of the northern shores of America, which are yet unknown, be laid down in our maps . . ." Franklin was another Royal Navy veteran, trained in a hard school.

The volume includes in the appendix the topographical and geological notices by John Richardson, surgeon and naturalist, as well as his meteorlogical tables, observations on solar radiation and the Aurora Borealis.

Many others since Franklin's time have found their way through the frozen wastes of the Northwest Passage: the tiny RCMP vessel, St. Roch, and only a few years ago, the massive supertanker Manhattan, so large she had to be built in three sections, threaded her way gingerly through the route, guided by Canadian icebreakers. With the ever-increasing demand for the oil resources of Alaska and the search for fast, economical means of transport, it is possible that the Northwest Passage may yet become as well known to mariners as the English Channel or the Panama Canal. But few who sail through it and gaze out at that frightening, lonely yet challenging frozen vista will do so without a thought for the almost super-human courage and initiative of such men as Franklin and his companions.

Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Lawrence Through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in the years 1789 and 1793, by Alexander Mackenzie.
568 pages, maps, hard-cover, published November, 1971.
M. G. Hurtig, Ltd., $20.

This volume is a facsimile reproduction of the first edition in 1801. Mackenzie's main interest was commerce and he saw the northwest through the eyes of a fur trader. In his introduction, Professor Roy Daniells points out that to a Highlander "hazards of travel in rough water and over rocky hillsides, sus-

tained exertions on a varying diet and self-reliance in all the affairs of daily life would be nothing new or unusual. No reader of the Voyages can escape the impression of monotony, of long successions of days unvaried except in the incidence of greater or less hazard from natural obstructions."

"What this signifies . . . ," adds Professor Daniells, (and it applies to the other journals, as well) "is that, as the history of Canada is underlain by its geography, so the geographic pattern in turn rests on the geology of the northern half of the continent. It is not surprising that geology was the first science to take flourishing root in Canada.

"Mackenzie's story may be taken, as he presents it, as a story of discovery arising out of the necessities of the northern fur trade. Or, in greater depth, it can be seen as the tale of how Canada's western boundaries were roughly determined. Or, in the context of Canada's whole history, it can be seen as a paradigm of inevitable attitudes, understood aims and persisting preoccupations, all enforced, exacted and perpetuated by the inexorable demands of the land . . ."

Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857, and of the Assinniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858, Henry Youle Hind.
472 pages, sketches and maps, hard-cover, published November, 1971.
M. G. Hurtig Ltd., $25.

The northwest, or what was known of it, had been almost from the beginning of the white man's ventures into it the prerogative of the fur trader and, in time, the domain of the Hudson's Bay Company. Having in mind the expiration of the Bay Company's trading license in 1859, the British and Canadian governments commissioned expeditions to survey the territory along the rivers with a view to the possible value of the land for settlement.

Hind's observations convinced him that the prairies had tremendous potential for settlement and farming and his optimistic and glowing reports influenced the British government to refuse to renew the Bay Company's exclusive rights to the territory.

Hind was concerned with the settlements and farming, with the crops and the potential of the land. He, too, was a careful observer, recording his impressions in minute detail, writing with the approach of a scientist—a geologist influenced "by the inexorable demands of the land."

These Hurtig facsimile reproductions are handsome volumes, providing not only a solid foundation for a collection of Canadiana but attractive additions to any library.

The Ra Expeditions, Thor Heyerdahl
341 pages, hardcover, illustrated, published 1971,
Doubleday & Co. Ltd. — $10.95

The origin of the first inhabitants of this continent remains one of the absorbing mysteries of all time. Where? Who? Why? When? Scholars and scientists continue to seek answers to these questions. The development of new techniques peculiar to the nuclear age helps throw light on the past. In some instances, however, scientists warn that the rapid spread of development and "progress" may damage forever valuable sites as yet untapped or may put a halt to exploration and leave closed forever certain chapters of the world's history.

The story of the Ra expeditions is an instance of men, highly trained for their task, armed with the latest in technical equipment, yet trusting their lives to a fragile reed boat built in the ancient style and set out upon the Atlantic. (The story of how Heyerdahl tracked down men with the ancient skills to build these boats, travelling into the heart of Africa, to Lake Chad, in his quest is a fascinating one.) Ra I was built in the shadow of the Pyramids; the craft was then launched from a Moroccan shore and set out on its journey across the Atlantic.

The mishaps and brushes with disaster which Heyerdahl and his companions encountered remind us that in spite of computers, space travel, and the like, adventuring and exploring in today's world still carry risks and hardships as deadly as those encountered by Hearne, Franklin and others of their time.

As in the case of three men in a disabled space craft trying to return to earth, so with the men aboard the Ra in times of peril. Then it is that qualities of courage, enterprise, daring and initiative take precedence over "gadgetry". After it was necessary to give up and start again, one of the crew remarked on the second voyage: "It's getting quite boring . . . Not like Ra I, nothing to repair, no breaking timber, no ropes to splice."

The story of Ra I and Ra II will provide the reader with plenty of adventure. In his postscript, Heyerdahl writes: "I had only made a fumbling experiment in building two (reed ships), with the aid of a scant handful of lake people and sailed some six thousand nautical miles in four months, the second time landing in America. By building a hundred Ra's, we, too, like Hanno, might have learned to sail safely up and down off the dreaded Cape Juby. But in the meantime, how often would we have run the risk of breaking the rudder-oar and landing in America?

"I have no theory but that a reed boat is seaworthy and the Atlantic is a conveyor. But I would hereafter consider it barely short of a miracle if the multitude of active maritime expeditions during the millennia of antiquity never happened to break their rudder-oars off Lixus, or be swept off course while struggling to avoid shipwreck in the dreaded currents around Cape Juby. Did we drift to America because of unprecedented stupidity in handling wooden steering oars, or because of unprecedented skill in sitting on reeds?

"Here I do have a theory: Perhaps we got across because we sailed on the ocean and not on a map."

Notes on Nova Scotia

Bear River, Digby County, noted for its champion log rollers, was the home of Viola Paul, the only known woman to have made a living at log rolling.

* * *

The tallest woman born in Nova Scotia was Anna Swan, 1846-1888. She was born at New Annan, Colchester County, and grew to a height of seven feet eleven inches.

* * *

The first policewoman in Canada, Rose Fortune, lived in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia.

* * *

When New Ross, Lunenburg County, was first settled, Mrs. Wells the wife of the postmaster rode on horseback twenty-seven miles to Kentville, over the first rough trail. When this accomplishment was reported, the government provided funds to build a road.

* * *

The square nails used in the construction of the old church in Lismore, Pictou County, were made by a woman blacksmith.

* * *

Martha Delesdernier, age thirteen, married Richard John Uniacke, age twenty-one, in 1775.