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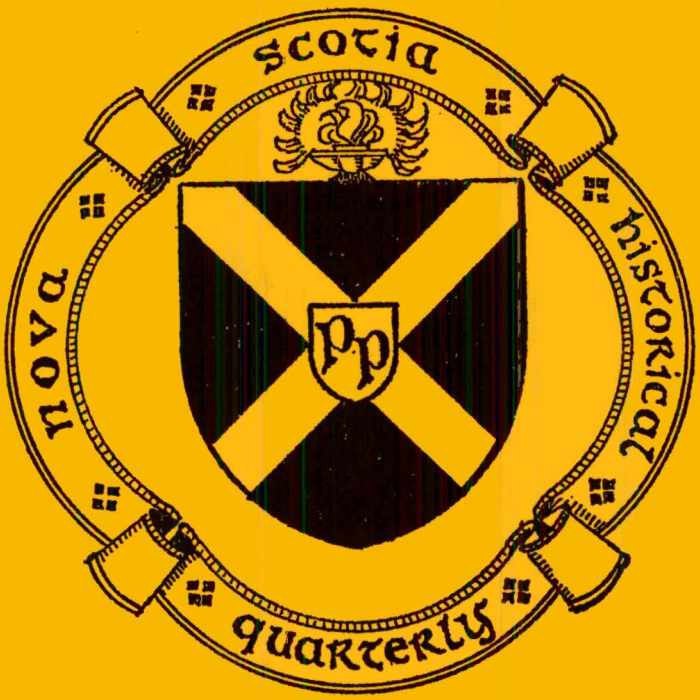

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A Voyage To Australia

EVELYN RICHARDSON

Ballarat in southern Australia and Barrington in Nova Scotia are about as far apart as any two places on the face of the earth, and in 1852 few Australians had heard of the tiny British colony clinging to the eastern bulge of North America. However, distance *by sea* was no obstacle to sons of that rocky peninsula, for they had early been pushed upon the great ocean routes and some of them, in their little home-made vessels, had visited the ports of the great island continent. News between the two places travelled by mail ship, via Melbourne, London and Halifax, and took months, but some tidings have always found wings. Although gold in Ballarat was not discovered until August 1851, the new year found a group of young Barrington men forming a company to share the riches of the far-off Golconda.

One of these young men kept a journal and, concerning the company's early inspiration, he wrote that southern Australia had always rated high as an agricultural area and "the glories of the country were now enhanced by accounts of vast quantities of Gold being found and of persons (not "rare instances but as a general thing) quickly making their everlasting fortunes."

To win *their* "everlasting fortunes" the group lacked only a vessel, provisions and crew. In seafaring Barrington the crew

presented no problem—the goldseekers themselves would work the ship. The leaders of the group were four Doane brothers. Seth, twenty-five, was already an experienced shipmaster; his brothers, Joseph and Arthur, were ship carpenters; eighteen year old Arnold, though more engrossed with music and books, was no stranger to decks and rigging, he would sail as ordinary seaman. Their wives (with the captain's baby daughter) would accompany Seth and Joseph. These young women were two of the several "winsome" daughters of Winthrop Sargent, Wesleyan minister and former M.P.P. A third sister, Elizabeth, later decided she could not bear the long separation from Arthur Doane, and a few days before he sailed she married him and set out undaunted on their "honeymoon cruise". The three sisters no doubt provided company and comfort for one another, as well as for their husbands, both on the long voyage and in the new land. (Of the three, only Elizabeth lived to return home.)

A cousin of the Doane wives, Daniel Sargent, agreed to act as Chief Steward and see to provisioning the voyage. His younger brother Willie would sign on as ordinary seaman. Norton Crowell, who had sailed under Capt. Seth Doane, would be first officer, with his cousin, Peter Coffin, as second mate. The other shareholders were Donald MacDonald, able seaman; David Gabriel, boatswain, and his brother John, second Steward.

This was a band of competent, self-reliant young people (the oldest, so far as can be ascertained, was Joseph Doane, at the ripe old age of twenty-nine.) Most of them were inter-related and "connected" in true Barrington fashion, and were bound not only by blood and boyhood friendships, but by common and active membership in Barrington's Wesleyan Chapel. They posessed great faith and indomitable spirit, much knowledge of the sea and ships—if none whatever of mining.

The acquisition of a suitable vessel was temporarily a problem. This was solved in June when yet another Doane brother,

Capt. Warren Doane, agreed to sell them his brigantine *Sebim*, 111 tons, of which Seth had been in command.

Provisions for a cruise half-way around the world demanded money. The group hoped paying passengers would provide most of this, but they found too few could be recruited locally. An advertisement in the Halifax paper (passage to Melbourne at £25 per head) brought an adequate response, for all over the world men were eager to reach the Australian El Dorado. The *Sebim* was taken to Halifax for refitting and provisioning and, on July 3rd, 1852, the Barrington passengers with the remaining crew members embarked on the coastal schooner *Flora* to join their ship.

Among these was first mate Jacob Norton Crowell, our journalist, whose "Pencillings on Sea and on Shore, or a Voyage to Australia" has survived in a copy he made after his return to Barrington, and which is now in the possession of Arthur Doane, grandson of the goldseeking Arthur. Norton's spelling and punctuation are not always orthodox, and he indulges in flowery language and moralizing of his day, but his notes convey the early high hopes of the argonauts; the monotony and dangers of the long voyage; the laborious sinking of shafts and the "washing out" at the mines; the griefs, as hardships took their toll of the band; the rough living and rougher company typical of goldfields, including that at the fabulous alluvial deposits east of today's Ballarat city.

Halifax was a familiar port to Barringtonians—and not too highly regarded—preparations for sailing were routine:

> We arrive at Halifax, everything is made ready for the voyage, the day to sail is set, the passengers and crew are called together, the flag for sailing floats on the breeze. We bid Halifax with all its inmates they're adeau. The word of command is given, the anchors weighed, the sails unfurled

> and spread to the faithless breeze, slowly we glide down the Harbour of Halifax, its lifeless city begins to recede from our gaze, but as we depart one effort is made by the inhabitants to rouse from the slumbers that enshroud them. From ship and skimming wherry the cry of *Hurrah!* breaks upon the ear, while from one of the wharves the sound of a cannon comes booming across the smooth water, and then all relaps again to their former inactivity. The friends of the *Sebim's* inmates leave to return to their homes, a hurried good by and God bless you falls upon the ear and we are left to our selves, to the long and tedious voyage.

This departure was on July 10th. Two weeks later Norton could record:

> We have furled the royal but once, and although some of the folks were accustomed to sea sickness, very few of them have been troubled with it, so smooth has it been. Mrs. Arthur Doane, who was poorly in health when leaving is improving very much.

They had seen many vessels and had "spoke" three, had "caught two dolphin which made a nice fresh mess, had service on Sunday and altogether had nice agreeable times." He lists the sixteen-man crew. Besides members of the company there are John Shiers, able seaman; two Bellemy brothers, cooks; and Wiseman, cook's mate. (The last three are not mentioned again, apparently they separated from the group on reaching Melbourne.) There is also Joe Rathburn, Captain's boy and general help.

The ten lady passengers included the Doane wives and baby Julia, with wives and children of some of the eighteen gentlemen passengers. There were forty-four souls on board.

> Then we have a goat, four pigs and some two dozen fowls, which are rapidly diminishing. The pigs are looking as if they would soon do to roast, but the goat's backbone is getting very prominent . . . however she gives a little milk which serves to flavour some of the ladies' tea nicely.

Throughout early August the voyage continued smoothly.

Norton mentioned "pleasant Sabbaths and moonlit evenings", and the fact that they were seeing and speaking other ships, "which makes it quite agreeable."

> Persons on shore always like to have company, let them be going where they will, so it is on the sea, you always feel better when a ship is steering on the same course as you are and sometimes gets near enough to exchange signals, to behold its inmates, to talk with them, yes it is truly a cheering cry when you have been sailing for sometime on the lonely trackless deep, to hear "Sail ho", and then in a few hours "Ship Ahoy" etc. It is like meeting with old friends and it cheers you up.

In mid-August the weather changed and the *Sebim* battled a succession of high winds and high seas. On August 23rd:

> We are now . . . dragging on towards the coast of Brazil, crossed the Equator on about 25½ West longitude and have made 12 degrees southing. The North star has disappeared. The Magellan clouds have risen above the Southern Horizon, and other clusters of stars met the wondering eye.

By September 4th they had passed between the Island of Trinidad and the South American coast. Although it was "rough and disagreeable for writing", Norton had "some incidents and accidents" he wished to record:

Just as September was coming in, about 10 min. past twelve (midnight) and we were staggering along at eleven knots, the wind fell aft, and all sail set, just as the port-watch had relieved the starboard, one of my men had taken the wheel and just as Capt. Doane was going down the saloon steps to his bed, the old craft gave a small hitch to windward and made a plunge into a cross sea, there was a crash aloft and we saw the mainmast head had broken off in the wake of the main gaff, and the topmast, staysails and all attached was going forward and down on deck as fast as they could get there. The mainsail came down by the run and in less time than I have taken to describe it everything aloft was flat on deck or hanging over the side. The lower and topmast studding sail being out, we expected to see the foremast go too, but fortunately it did not, and no one being hurt the cry soon arose "All hands to clear the wreck." It was a disagreeable sight and disagreeable working, for it commenced raining and those of us who had not on oilclothes were well saturated. It was near eight bells or four o'clock when all was made snug and then we squared the yards and put the ship before the wind, now blowing a pretty stiff gale.

The royal had been clued up and suffered to flap and tear to pieces, but after the other things were made snug Peter Coffin went aloft and in spite of expostulation even laid out on the yard to get the gasket, and suceeded in furling the sail. We expected to see him and mast and all going over the side when she rolled heavily, but he was determined at the risk of life to secure it. Such is boyish daring.

Peter's age is nowhere given, but since Norton never refers to eighteen year old Arnold as "young" or "boyish", Peter was probably a mere lad, one of the many Nova Scotian "teenagers" then filling a mate's berth on their swift climb to the command of windships.

Though the gale continued, the crew were able to make temporary repairs and spread some sail. Six days later a fair wind was bowling them along for the Cape of Good Hope. The journal hints that shipboard life was beginning to tell. Some of the crew had colds or sore hands, some of the ladies "now and then having little difficulties" and the gentlemen were "talking a little about the Cooks and Stewards for not having everything in ample and apple-pie order."

When they were three days' sail from the Cape and "all hands in a great hurry to see the land", they were surrounded by large numbers of sea birds—albatrosses, sea swallows, Cape Pigeons, petrels. For a long time they had seen no "fish", now there were large "shoals" of porpoises about them. A huge whale passed under the martingale with his back out of water, and Norton thought that if the monster had sensed his proximity to humans, he would have "shown his fluiks by turning a handsome somerset and giving us a slap in the teeth." The tedium of the voyage is revealed by the excitement of both crew and passengers in the birds and inhabitants of the sea.

One of the passengers shot an albatross and, the weather being moderate and the sea smooth, the captain ordered the *Sebim* brought to, and the boat lowered to pick up the bird. The mate and boatswain jumped in the boat, and soon returned with the retrieved albatross. Rowing back to the vessel, Norton was caught up in memories of another day, three years before, when he had been pulling for the *Sebim.* Not as one of her crew; he had sailed with Capt. Seth Doane, but on the schooner *Voyager,* while the *Sebim* had been on her maiden voyage, with her builder and owner, Capt. Warren Doane, in command.

The *Sebim* and her adventures were typical of Nova Scotia's windships and the age of sail. She had been named for Barrington's Great Lake—Micmac "Sebim"—whose shores had supplied lumber for her building. The first vessel launched from

Capt. Doane's shipyard, she was a product of Barrington hands, skills and ambition. For her first trip Capt. Doane had picked up a cargo of fish in Halifax for Jamaica. South of Bermuda she ran into a hurricane and was laid to overnight, awaiting a lessening of the storm. This came at daybreak, and in the early light a wreck, low in the breaking seas, was seen. By daring and great seamanship, the *Sebim's* crew succeeded in rescuing the eleven men from what proved to be a Spanish brig. Two days later they rode out a second gale. This time, as the wind slackened, one of the Spaniards sighted a ship's boat. Again the *Sebim* launched her boat and effected a rescue.

The *Voyager,* from Turk's Island to Philadelphia, had been hit by the gale, which shifted salt in her hold and hove her on her side, forcing the crew to abandon her. Norton recalled: "In this same boat (we) were pulling with might & main for the *Sebim,* striving to gain a better ship than the one we had just left, without masts, sails or rigging, having the Cabin stove to pieces, long boat stove, water gone, galley and cooking apperatus washed overboard, and other misfortunes too numerous to mention."

(Norton made no written comment on what must have been a dramatic and emotional scene as the brothers, rescued and rescuer, faced each other on the *Sebim's* deck.)

With the albatross delivered to the marksman, the *Sebim* squared away and on September 16th sighted Table Mountain. Two days later as they were working up False Bay for Simon's Town, they met "one of H.B.M. steam ships, outbound to Australia with troops." (Anything connected with Australia was of prime interest.) Then the pilot gave them a Cape Town paper and they learned "the Australian diggings was still in a flourishing state." This was reassuring. They had been two months at sea, without news; anything could have happened!

explore the countryside and attend church services, they also chafed at the delay. Norton pencilled interesting descriptions of the scenery, the natives and a mountain climbing expedition, but he was increasingly impatient with "drunken blacksmiths" and the following bad weather. They left on September 29th, taking six additional passengers for Melbourne. "They are labouring men but appear to be rather steady going fellows."

A week out, they ran into the worst storm of the trip, one of the Indian Ocean's sudden and savage rages. Sails were split before they could be furled or lowered. The tremendous seas threatened the jollyboat on the stern davitts, and while the crew were hoisting it over the toprail, the wheel chains parted and the brigantine broached to in the trough of the sea. It took a desperate hour to secure the jollyboat, reeve new wheel chains and get the vessel before the wind again.

> She lay under bare poles well indeed, and scudding behaved nobly. None of us on board had ever seen such a sea as there was at times. When running down off some huge mountainous wave, she was actually standing upon her bow, the water pouring in over each cat head and level with the head rail. I had heard of vessels pitch-poling, and now the thing was plain enough, for when on the top of one of these sharp, heavy seas, it required the greatest care with the helm and had she broached too when running down or near the hollow of the sea she would have no doubt capsized . . . During the height of the gale things in the saloon were in a desperate state, in the after cabin too. In the paint locker every thing was adrift and a pretty mess was made.

(If the crew feared for the vessel's survival, imagine the feelings of the helpless passengers.)

The gale abated, new sails were bent and set, and the *Sebim* plunged on her way again. Norton had expected mild

temperatures but the wind was piercing cold, while hail alternated with rain. For the first time, "owing to squalls and roughness of sea, the service was omitted today, which heretofore has been regularly kept up Sunday mornings." A welcome fortnight of fair winds eventually followed, but then:

> How everything seems changed when the wind hauls ahead. The speed of the vessel is retarded and the hilarity of the people is turned into wry looks and grumbling crossness of nature . . . Dissatisfaction in some of the passengers seems to be ripe enough for a break out, but the reason is plain, because being unaccustomed to such long voyages, they have become discontented with themselves and everybody around them, and are ready to find fault with every fancied defect in victuals etc and they wish to be again on shore their own lord and master.

His comments show commendable patience and understanding, perhaps partly because he had escaped death only a few hours before sitting down to his journal.

> I was as near getting a sea toss today as could be and miss. I was trying to unreave a rope at the main boom end, my feet were on the toprail and my body leaning with some weight forward on the boom. Suddenly she gave a pitch, the boom lifted and took me off my feet and sent me swinging out side or over the stern of the vessel, and as I was going I managed to clasp my hands around the boom, another jerk and my hands slipped down to the rounded sides of the boom and I thought, go I must, but some how or other as the vessel kept pretty still, I made a hitch, got a fresh hold of the boom and swung my legs in over the stern and succeeded in getting safe on deck again . . . had I fallen into the sea, it is likely it would have been the last of me, for I could swim but a very little. My time was not yet come, God was watching over me.

On Oct. 16th Norton recorded that they had been continuously plagued by calms and head winds and driven north by southerlies. The passage from the Cape to Melbourne which should have taken four weeks, might now take six, "which we shall have to pay dearly for by hard words and black looks. Perhaps by hungry mouths." Two days later, despite "a beautiful wind . . . and all sails set to the best advantage", the passengers came up from their noon meal "in a great rage about the victuals", each complaining about a different food. Norton admitted that everything was not as it had been at the start of the voyage; that although fresh provisions had been laid in at the Cape, some things had not proved to be what they were bought for; but he thought the passengers should consider that an unfortunate accident had meant a fortnight's delay at the Cape. "Therefore I am forced to say that persons who would make disturbance about such things are not gentlemen." Two weeks later he recorded that "grumbling and growling", along with quarrels and scuffles among the male passengers, were still prevalent, while "actions below the dignity of men are daily committed. But some of the company *are* gentlemen, whole men and behave as such."

By the time they passed St. Paul's Island, the passengers had become quieter, and "the most of us are on Speaking Terms."

The end of October saw growing hopefulness, "Already companies are being formed, handles to picks and shovels made, Pistols cleaned up, Bullets run, and all other little odds attended to, necessary for a *gold digger.*" (Norton himself wanted to be nearer land before he "fired up much.") The weather, which had hampered the *Sebim,* became favorable, and on November 4th:

> Everyone is getting ready to go on shore. Trunks, chests, clothes and all other like things are being put in order and

by the time our anchor is let go, I expect some will be for starting to the Diggings. Who would believe it, here we are at the Antipodes of Nova Scotia, feet to feet of our loved friends at home. Four months have fast sped away and a vast tract of water (15,000 miles) has been crossed. Yes here we are running down the coast of Australia and no mistake. At 6 p.m. our ears heard the joyous cry of "Sail ho", and then there was a general rush to the lee side to get a glimpse of what had not been seen for 35 days.—Night however soon set in, and she was lost in the surrounding gloom.

Five more days of sailing remained but on Nov. 9th:

"Sail ho", and shortly after "Land ho" was shouted out from the mast head about 6 p.m. and soon the outline of the coast could be seen from the deck. By sundown Cape Otway light was on our Port quarter and we were running along the land for the entrance of Port Philip Bay, having a fine wind and a beautiful night. What excitement. 116 days from home and then to behold the far famed land of Australia, the magnet of our attractions, the land of our most sanguine hopes.

"We Shall Conquer Yet!"

DOROTHY METIE GRANT

Spring 1832 brought citizens of Halifax, little comfort from the winter just passed. Day after day, the weather stayed bitterly cold and a constant dreary rain washed the cobblestone streets.

Inside the city's Poor House a physician closed a heavy door behind him and descended a flight of narrow steps. His calls to this institution always left him greatly disturbed and his thoughts returned to dozens of ragged men and women chained and caged in the building's damp, unventilated wards.

Like most of the world in the early 1800's, Nova Scotia considered its insane to be little better than animals. The treatment prescribed for such unmanageable creatures consisted of frequent blood-letting, induced vomiting and above all else, constant restraint. This particular doctor was inclined to disagree with these medieval concepts. He had been reading of social reformers in America and Europe who were attempting to improve conditions in mental institutions. Painfully conscious of the neglect suffered by inmates at the Poor House, he now decided to approach local authorities in an effort to alleviate the intolerable conditions existing there.

Later the same year, along with four of his collegues, he presented a petition to the Nova Scotia House of Assembly.

Their request was simple. They asked for the immediate construction of a hospital for the insane, or at the very least, for the erection of an additional wing at the Poor House so that the mentally ill patients could be segregated and treated.

The members of the House listened politely and stiffled yawns. After all, wasn't the government already providing funds to build poor houses and jails where lunatics and paupers could be sheltered and fed. The petition was duly recorded, the learned men thanked and their proposal promptly forgotten!

In 1844 Hugh Bell became mayor of Halifax. He had been a commissioner of the Poor House and was sincerely concerned about the obvious privation suffered by the insane housed there. On many occasions, he had visited the institution and seen its forgotten inmates crowded together in the most squalid surroundings. In one ward he had found 47 patients who were forced to share 18 beds. Nearby, in other small rooms 40 patients slept in less than half as many beds. The sight of naked men and women with arms and legs chained to the floors of tiny cells made him aware of a great social injustice.

Now, in the city's highest post, he began an active campaign to improve conditions at the Poor House. A petition signed by him and 61 prominent Haligonians (including Joseph Howe) was soon on its way to the House of Assembly. The petition urged the government to immediately allocate funds for the construction of a hospital for the insane. To demonstrate his deep interest in the matter, the Mayor donated his year's salary of 300 pounds towards a building fund.

The petition, with its influential backers must have impressed the government for in 1846 they appointed a commission of five men. Headed by Hugh Bell, they were to visit mental institutions in the adjacent provinces and the United States, with the understanding that a comprehensive report would be provided on their return to Nova Scotia.

It was in Massachuetts that Hugh Bell met the director of the famous Maclean's Hospital and was introduced to a new understanding approach to the management of the insane. It is also quite likely that it was through this same doctor that Bell was to meet Dorothea Dix.

Dorothea Lynde Dix might best be described as a 20th century woman living in an early 19th century world. Very early in life she had developed a deep interest in improving the lives of the sick and impoverished. She clearly displayed this involvement when at 14 she established a school for poor children in Boston. In 1841, while instructing inmates at a women's prison, she had discovered the appalling treatment of the insane also confined there. Soon newspapers were headlining articles by her in which she described the incredible plight of the insane. The shock and indignation of the public was to result in noticeable improvements in many local jails.

Hugh Bell recognized an ally in this dedicated woman and he invited her to visit his province. What she found there convinced her it was time to disturb the complacency of a great many apathetic public officials!

In 1849, writing from Montgomery, Alabama came her report to the Nova Scotian government. Anxious to illustrate the prevalent neglect of the insane but also eager to emphazise the benefits of humane treatment of these people, she described her travels in Upper Canada.

During a visit to a Toronto jail in 1843 she had discovered many insane men and women confined with hardened criminals. Both the Montreal and Quebec jails had revealed similiar conditions. At Three Rivers, Montreal and Quebec she found mental patients considered to be dangerous, under the care of several religious communities. Most were housed in tiny cells; often for their entire lives. For many it was a state of limbo,

their lives devoid of contact with other humans except for the daily visit of an attendant who shoved food in to them.

Miss Dix had gained the attention of authorities and as a result a temporary hospital for the insane had been built three miles from Quebec City. Then, from the surrounding jails and convents had come the pathetic shadows of men and women. Attendants opening the cell doors had been terrified, but, almost without exception, the dazed inmates had been led quietly to waiting carriages. To the amazement of everyone, there had been no signs of violence. Instead, the released men and women stared about them in utter disbelief; some seeing the sky for the first time in more than 30 years. For Dorothea Dix this was the proof that even the most violent patients could respond to care and understanding.

Her travels in the Maritime Provinces had also revealed few institutions designed for the care of the insane. In Prince Edward Island, near Charlottetown, she had found a small hospital trying valiantly to provide care for a few mentally ill patients but lack of funds made the task almost impossible. A hospital for the insane in St. John's, Newfoundland had shown considerable promise as a result of the great humanity of the city's people. The best institution, however, was located near St. John, New Brunswick but limited facilities made it impossible to provide care to any patients other than the province's own.

But it was with Nova Scotia that Miss Dix was now concerned and her own words best express the strength of her conviction:

". . . I have glanced at the inefficiency of a Poor House residence for the epileptic and the maniac. In imagination, for a short hour, place yourselves in their stead, enter the horrid noisesome cell, invest yourselves with the foul, tattered garments which scantily serve the purpose of decent protection; Cast

yourselves upon the loathsome pile of filthy straw, find companionship in your own cries and groans or in the wailing and gibberings of wretches miserable like yourselves. Call for help and release, for blessed words of soothing and kind offices of care. 'til the walls are weary of sending back the echo of your moans; then, if self possession is not overwhelmed under the imaginary misery of what are actual distresses of the insane, return to consciousness of your sound intellectual health, and answer if you will longer repose or delay to make adequate appropriations for the establishment of a Provincial hospital for those who are deprived of reason and thereby of all that can gladden life or make existance a blessing."

She made the following major recommendation: first, that a hospital be built using plans similiar to those employed in the construction of the recently completed State of New Jersey Hospital. And secondly, that this hospital be located on at least 150 acres of land of which 50 acres should be woodland. She also suggested that the ideal locality would be in the vicinity of Halifax or Truro. In selecting the site, she stressed the importance of choosing a picturesque setting near the harbour or on the outskirts of a town.

She ended her report with a searching question: "Shall Nova Scotia be last and least in responding to the loud cries of humanity—shall she be latest and alone in affording evidence of godliness, civilization and the improvement and great works which characterize the present age?"

Her harsh admonitions affected the consciences of many members of the Assembly. These perceptive men felt the Dix report had given an honest appraisal of the province's negligence in caring for its insane. Others disagreed with the American woman's opinions and objected to the idea of purchasing such a large tract of land for the use of a hospital.

In a subsequent visit to Halifax, Miss Dix was shown a piece of land on the outskirts of Dartmouth. It consisted of 100 acres and included land along the harbour's edge. For Miss Dix the search was over and she made it known that this was her choice as the site for the new hospital. Many commissioners were favouring the purchase of land at Birch Cove, but in the end, as always, Miss Dix won her point and the Dartmouth land was purchased.

The next few years saw Hugh Bell a discouraged man. His dream of a hospital designed for the care of the insane had almost seemed a reality. Now, the red tape of government had slowed progress to a snail's pace.

In April 1850, he wrote to Miss Dix and excerpts from the letter reveal his misgivings, "I am very sorry to inform you that the result of your efforts and high expectations of the action of our Legislature has ended in a mere compliment to you."

Then in July, 1853, "I thank you, my noble minded friend for your kind encouraging letter. Your vigourous, unwavering faith and your firm, unflinching resolution, shame away doubt and inspire confidence. With you by my side (like Minerva, in the shape of Mentor by the side of Telemachus) even I would become courageous. We shall Conquer yet!"

Later the same year came the heartening news, "The session of our Legislature closed yesterday and I hasten to inform you that something has been done for the object of our long and earnest effort. Fifteen thousand pounds, equal to $60,000 has been appropriated with the condition five thousand pounds more can be subscribed. They have made me, officially, the acting and chief commissioner. How strangely and unexpectedly are things brought about! I am bound in gratitude to be thankful that Providence has blessed my humble efforts in behalf of our afflicted fellow beings.—You always said it would be done. I confess that I had given up hope during my life time!"

On June 8, 1856 the cornerstone was laid for the new Provincial Hospital for the Insane. Hugh Bell's wife had suggested the name "Mount Hope" and it seemed to typify all the desires of those who had worked so hard to see the hospital built.

The brick building was to accommodate 120 patients and was constructed from plans donated to Nova Scotia by Miss Dix.

Local newspapers tell of the arrival of the first patients to the new hospital. They came from the city's Poor House and eventually, from all parts of the province. Some were in chains, others in strait jackets while many more arrived on the decks of sailing ships, where they had laid, sometimes for days, imprisoned in casket-like boxes.

There were rich and poor among them and the presence of the former indicated a striking change in attitude among the province's people. Before the construction of Mount Hope, those with the means had sent mentally ill members of their families to institutions in the United States or Europe.

The superintendent's first report gives one a clear picture of both the hospital's problems and its hopes. The building still lacked a wing designed for the care of the violent and there was no enclosed area where patients could exercise during inclement weather. But patients were improving and for the first time, being discharged, considered to be cured.

Miss Dix was delighted with the new hospital and had sent a collection of books and pictures and, remembering the expansive lawns, an added gift of two beautiful peacocks.

The erection of Mount Hope Hospital did not complete her work and for the remainder of her life she continued to fight for better treatment and care of the insane. It is rather interesting to note that years later she spent her last days in the New Jersey

Asylum. She had taken ill while visiting there and the staff, who deeply admired her, had insisted she remain at their hospital. There, among the people to whom she had dedicated a life of work and compassion, Dorothea Lynde Dix died.

Hugh Bell died one year after the completion of the Dartmouth hospital but for him there had been no greater reward than having lived to see it a final reality.

Today, Mount Hope since renamed the Nova Scotia Hospital has become one of Canada's leading psychiatric institutions. Hugh Bell's name may have melted into the blurred pages of Nova Scotian history but his legacy of hope lives on in the Dartmouth hospital he fought so hard to build.

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The Bay Of Fundy Ferry

R. BADEN POWELL

A ferry of sorts has been in operation between Saint John, N.B. and the Annapolis Basin for almost two centuries. The early services were provided by sailing packets, little coastal craft which risked the wrath of the Fundy. When the early colonies developed, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, at the present locations of Digby and Saint John, the Fundy packet plied between Annapolis Royal, Digby and Saint John.

These tiny vessels were ill-equipped to carry on the trade between the communities. Their dificiency was tragically demonstrated in the loss of the packet "Caroline" in 1831 as Fundy extracated a toll of fourteen lives.

In the early 1820's the steamboat "General Smyth" was purchased by John Ward, Richard Smith, Hugh Johnston and Peter Fraser of New Brunswick. The vessel was placed on the Saint John and steamed between Saint John and Fredericton transporting freight and passengers.

In 1826 the enterprising owners of the "General Smyth" built the steamer "St. John" at Deer Island, N.B. The engines of the "General Smyth" were taken from the river-boat and placed

in the new craft. The "St. John" was a small paddle-boat of 87 tons, length 89 feet and width 18 feet.

The proprietors of the "St. John" felt it was feasible to use their steamer on the Bay of Fundy crossing. But they were not ready to place all dependence in steam propulsion. The ship was frigate rigged with sails ready if the steam power failed. All the early steamers were so equipped if their routes took them beyond the confines of river banks.

The paddle wheels were driven by engines mounted on the main deck, open to the assault of the elements. A passenger, faced with a trip on early side-wheelers, had to be prepared for many discomforts. Added to the normal miseries of the sailing packet were the grime and the smoke with the use of steam power. With the creak and complaints of the ordinary sailing packet were the hissing of steam, the grinding of complaining gears and churning of the paddles in the water.

The "St. John" was placed on the route between Saint John and Annapolis in July 1827. The owners of the ship were convinced, after one season of operation, of two things. It was feasible to operate a steam packet during the summer months on the Fundy but at a financial loss.

On February 12, 1829 a petition was presented in the Nova Scotia Legislature on behalf of the proprietors of the "St. John". The petition was favorably received and an annual subsidy of £50 was granted to assist the steamboat to make regular trips across the Bay of Fundy during the milder seasons of the year.

Shortly after the granting of the subsidy, James Whitney of Saint John purchased the "St. John". Thus began the career of a man in steamboat operation which would last thirty years and have a profound effect on steamboating on the Bay of Fundy and the South Shore of Nova Scotia.

In 1830 the Nova Scotia Legislature offered a special grant to any party which would place a larger steamer on the Fundy route with an engine of not less than 50 horsepower. To meet this condition, Mr. Witney purchased the paddle-wheel steamer "Henrietta" which had these requirements.

A grant of £500 was offered providing that the steamer would operate several months of the year between Saint John and Annapolis, touching at Digby both to and from destinations. During the winter season sufficient sailing packets were required to carry on the mail service across the Fundy.

In a few years the "Maid of the Mist" joined the "Henrietta" on the Fundy and the service was extended to include the west coast of the Bay between Saint John, Eastport and St. Andrews.

The "Royal Tar", a steamer of 250 tons, began service on the Bay in the summer of 1834 between the ports of Annapolis, Digby, Saint John and Boston. She continued the service until October, 1836 when she caught on fire and burned in Penobscot Bay, Maine. Her burning claimed the lives of 32 persons and a cargo of circus animals.

The Annapolis County Steamship Company was incorporated in 1836. Though the company was refused a subsidy or grant from the Provincial Legislature, it built the steamer "Nova Scotian" and placed her on the run between Annapolis-Digby-Saint John and also between Windsor-Saint John. The service provided by the "Nova Scotian" gave active competition to the Whitney grant-assisted "Maid of the Mist".

Whitney's company extended its Fundy service to include the Windsor-Saint John route in 1833. Previous to this, in 1829, the Nova Scotia Legislature refused a subsidy to a proposed company in Windsor for this service.

A resolution presented in the Nova Scotia Legislature in February, 1840 read: "Resolved—sum of one hundred pounds be granted to James Whitney for running the steam boat between Annapolis and Digby and Saint John, for the present year, under the same regulations and in the same manner as heretofore, to be paid only upon its being certified to his excellency the Lieutenant-Governor or Commander in Chief, by the Post Master General that the Mail had been regularly carried in each week of the year." The resolution passed on February 20, 1840.

In 1841 the Whitney company replaced the "Maid of the Mist" with the "Saxe Gotha" followed by the "North America". The "Herald" joined the "North America" in 1843 on the Fundy routes while the "Saxe Gotha" was placed on the Shore route between Yarmouth and Halifax.

In 1846 the "Saxe Gotha" rejoined the "Herald" on the Fundy. Both of these steamers were replaced in the same year by a new steamer, the "Commodore". This vessel was joined in 1849 by the "Fairy Queen". Between these two steamers Annapolis, Digby and Windsor received a bi-weekly service with Saint John. In 1851 the service on the Annapolis-Digby-Saint John route was stepped up to three round trips per week.

The new "Herald" joined the "Commodore" and the "Fairy Queen" in 1852. The new steamer ran regularly between Annapolis-Digby-Saint John while the older steamers carried on the summer service for the Windsor-Saint John route. The new "Herald" was the first steamer to carry out a winter service across the Bay.

The steamers "Creole" and the "Forest Queen" replaced the "Commodore" and the "Fairy Queen" in 1853. The "Fairy Queen", decrepit and tired, was placed on the Northumberland Strait where, a few months later, she filled and sank with the loss of lives.

The "Maid of Erin", the "Flint" and the "Westmoreland", each ran for short periods on the Fundy routes. The "Westmoreland", after a brief run on the Bay was transferred to the Northumberland Strait, running between Pictou and Charlottetown.

In 1885 the King Brothers of Windsor and Saint John interests purchased the "Creole" from the Whitney company. The "Creole" was damaged near Annapolis in November 1857. She sank in the Bay while her crew was attempting to make the return trip to Saint John.

The "Emporer", a side-wheeler, was on the Fundy run in 1856 between Windsor, Annapolis, Digby and Saint John. At Saint John she connected with the "Admiral" and the "Eastern State." The last two listed gave passage to Portland on Monday of each week.

In 1863, King Brothers and others, proprietors of the "Emporer" were allotted a subsidy of $3,000 for the service provided by the "Emporer". But in the same year the "Emporer" was chartered by the United States Government to carry Northern troops south during the Civil War. Upon completion of the charter the steamer was refitted and returned to the Bay run between Saint John-Annapolis-Digby-Windsor.

In 1871 the "Emporer" was purchased by N. K. Clements of Yarmouth and J. King. She was placed on the Yarmouth-Boston route. In May, 1872 the "Emporer" was lost on the Maine coast in a dense fog.

The "Empress" was received from the shipyard by Small and Hatheway of Saint John in 1865. The vessel, a side-wheeler, was built at Carleton, N.B. She was 206 feet in length and registered 600 tons. She ran on the Fundy before the "Emporer" returned from her war services along the American Atlantic

coast. With the arrival of the "Empress" came new promoters of coastal steamers on the Fundy. The firm of Small and Hatheway replaced that of King Brothers.

The Provincial Almanac of 1866 records: "Annapolis-Windsor-St. John steamer "Emporer" replaced by the steamer "Empress". From the same source we are informed that the "Emporer" was placed, in the summer season, on the South Shore route.

The steamer "Empress" was badly damaged in the Saxby gale of October 4th and 5th, 1869. After being repaired she returned to the Fundy route where she remained in service until 1886. In the winter of 1885 the "Dominion" was placed on the Saint John-Digby-Annapolis route with a schedule of three trips per week. At this time the "Empress" ran on the Yarmouth-Boston route.

In November 1885 the "Empress" was replaced by the steamer "Secret" for the winter season. The "Secret" was operated by the Nova Scotia S.S. Co., and skippered by Captain Fleming. The "Empress" did not return for the summer season of 1886 but was sold to Boston interests.

The "Secret" remained on the Bay route until 1888 summer season when she was removed, leaving the public without service which brought on loud protest as exemplified by an editorial in the "Digby Courier" on November 30, 1888: "Ever since the 'Secret' ceased to ply between here and St. John, the communication between the two places has been of the most unsatisfactory character. Miserable tug boats running at irregular intervals are a poor substitute for what is required."

The Nova Scotia S.S. Co. ceased operating boats on the Fundy route.

A new steamer, the "Dorcas" was placed on the route in December, 1888 but soon proved unsatisfactory for the rough waters of the Bay of Fundy. She was removed from the service. In August, 1893 the "Dorcas" proved her unseaworthiness. She was caught in a gale off Shetland, 15 miles from Halifax, with a scow in tow. The steamer capsized and all hands, numbering 24 persons, were drowned.

The Federal Government recognized the seriousness of the vacuum in the Fundy transportation service and placed the Federal steamer "Landsdowne" on the route until arrangements could be made with a shipping firm to place a suitable steamer on the route.

In January, 1889 a new firm was incorporated, the Bay of Fundy S.S. Co., and it purchased the paddle-wheel steamer "City of Monticello" which was placed on the Bay run.

The "Monticello" started on the Fundy route in March, 1889 and received a subsidy of $10,000 per annum from the Federal Government for three round trips per week.

The "Missing Link"—the railroad between Digby and Annapolis was completed in 1891. This resulted in Annapolis being dropped as the Nova Scotian terminal of the ferry and substituted by Digby.

Railway developments at this time had great influence on the later course of the Saint John-Digby service. After the construction of the "Missing Link" the Western Counties Railway became, by an Act of Parliament, the Yarmouth and Annapolis Railway. In 1894 another act of Parliament authorized the sale of the Yarmouth and Annapolis Railway to the Windsor and Annapolis Railway and the name of the combined lines changed to the Dominion Atlantic Railway. The D.A.R. had its head

office in London, England and it was from there that capital came for the expansion to ferry service.

In 1895 the D.A.R. took delivery of the "S.S. Prince Rupert". She had been built on the Clyde for the C.P.R. and intended for the Canadian West Coast trade. However, a deal was made between the two companies and the D.A.R. obtained possession of the "Prince Rupert" to be used on the Fundy route. She was a paddle wheel ship, 260 feet in length and 1125 tonnage. On her maiden trip she attained a top speed of 21 knots per hour.

The competition presented by the faster and more comfortable service provided by the "Prince Rupert" proved too much for the aging "Monticello". She was removed from the Saint John-Digby route in 1896 and laid up in Saint John Harbour. In March 1899 the Yarmouth Steamship Co. purchased the steamer and placed her on the Saint John-Yarmouth run. On November 10, 1900 the "City of Monticello" sank off Cape Forchu, Yarmouth County with a loss of thirty-six lives.

The "Prince Edward" replaced the "Prince Rupert" in December, 1898 on the Bay route and continued the service until June 1899.

The "S.S. Yarmouth" was the first propeller iron vessel on the Digby-Saint John route. She started on the winter route, replacing the "Prince Rupert" in 1903. The "Rupert" was not as efficient in rough weather as the "Yarmouth". The "Yarmouth" had been built by the Yarmouth S. S. Co. for the Yarmouth-Boston route along with the "S.S. Boston". But in the conflict between the Yarmouth S.S. Co. and the D.A.R. in 1900 and 1901 the Yarmouth S.S. Co. was forced to sell its holdings to their opponents and the D.A.R. serviced both the Fundy route and the Yarmouth-Boston run.

Rumour concerning the sale of the D.A.R. to the C.P.R. were circulated through Western Nova Scotia in the early part of 1910. The rumours were spiced with stories of complete take-over of the D.A.R.'s holdings and extensive expansion of services in Nova Scotia. Hotels, according to the unofficial reports, were to be built in a number of towns, the roadbed of the railway was to be upgraded to accommodate heavier traffic and a car ferry would link Digby with Saint John, a ferry capable of transporting complete trains across the Bay. A direct line of steamers would stem direct from Digby to Boston.

The freight carriage demands between Digby and Saint John during the summer months of 1912 increased beyond the capacity of the "Prince Rupert" and the "Yarmouth" continued on the route throughout the year.

Although the rumours of 1910 concerning the take-over of the rail facilities of the D.A.R. by the C.P.R. were persistant, nothing official was given to the public. Evidence that the C.P.R. was controlling the D.A.R. appeared in certain phases of operation. But it was not until December, 1911 that the following notice appeared in the newspapers.

NOTICE

Notice is hereby given that an application will be made on behalf of the Dominion Atlantic Railway to the Board of Railway Commissioners for Canada, at the expiration of one month from the date of this Notice, or as soon thereafter as the application can be heard, for a recommendation to the Governor-in-Council for the sanction of a lease of the Dominion Atlantic Railway to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for a term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years from the first day of January, 1913 on the terms and conditions herein mentioned.

This notice is given subject to the provisions of the Railway Act.

H. C. Oswald
Sec. Dominion Atlantic Railway Co.
Dated at Montreal the 15th day of November 1911.

The C.P.R. also purchased the "Prince Rupert" and "S.S. Yarmouth", while the D.A.R. sold the steamships "Boston", "Prince Arthur" and "Prince George" to the Eastern Steamship Corporation. The latter operated the Yarmouth-Boston route as the Boston and Yarmouth Steamship Company.

In May 1913 the C.P.R. purchased the steamer "St. George" for the Bay route from the Great Western Railway Company of England. The "Prince Rupert" was removed from the Bay service on August 6, 1913. She was sold on September 5, 1913 to West Indies interests. The removal of the "Prince Rupert" marked the passing of the side-wheelers on the Bay route. The steamer had given good summer service between Saint John and Digby for eighteen years.

In September, 1913 the C.P.R. flag replaced the D.A.R. symbol on the "Yarmouth". The "St. George" flew the C.P.R. flag when she first went into service on the Bay.

The "S.S. St. George" was requisitioned for war service shortly after hostilities began in 1914. She returned for a brief period in 1915 and relieved the "Yarmouth" while the latter was undergoing a refit. Then she proceeded overseas and served as a hospital and troop ship for the balance of the war. After the war the "St. George" was sold to the Great Eastern Railway Company of England and placed in service as a passenger ship running between Harwick and the Hook of Holland.

The "S.S. Yarmouth" continued alone on the Fundy run during both the summer and the winter seasons of 1915 and never missed a scheduled trip during that period of time.

The "S.S. Empress" arrived at Digby on May 30, 1916 to start its tour of duty on the Bay run. She was an iron vessel of 612 registered tons, 235 feet in length, 34 feet in width and 20 feet in depth. She had twin screws and 365 horsepower engines. The "S.S. Empress" was built at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1906 for the Shediac-Summerside route.

As soon as the "Empress" came on the Fundy run the "Yarmouth" was laid up in Saint John Harbour until the C.P.R. sold her to the American Steamship Corporation and placed on the New Orleans and Vera Cruz run in 1917.

By 1929 the "Empress" was beginning to feel the results of her many conflicts with Fundy. Age had also taken its toll. Coupled with these factors was the new demand for transportation of automobiles across the Bay. An increasing need for a ship with expanded facilities to meet this demand became insistent.

On April 3, 1929 President Beatty of the C.P.R. announced in Toronto that his company would soon let a contract for a 22-knot steamer to replace the ferry "Empress" on the Digby-Saint John route. The tangible result of his announcement was evident to the residents of Digby in August, 1930 when the "Princess Helene" made her initial trip on the Bay route.

The "Princess Helene" was equipped to handle 500 passengers and 50 automobiles with double the freight capacity of the "Empress". She was approximately 4,000 gross tons and 342 feet in length and was built for the C.P.R. at Dunbarton on the Clyde.

The "Empress" was laid up in Saint John Harbour and in the summer of 1931 was gutted by a fire. She was latter sold and used in Saint John Harbour for a coal barge before she was junked.

By 1960 it was evident that the "Helene" was unable to cope with the summer demands of the traffic across the Bay. It was also apparent that she was beginning to show the effects of the numerous bouts with Fundy. Rumours were disturbing to the people of Western Nova Scotia. A fear was expressed that the C.P.R. was contemplating terminating its service in Eastern Canada at the port of Saint John. These fears continued until 1963 when it was announced that the "Princess of Nanaimo", which had been in service on the West Coast, would be transferred to the Digby-Saint John route.

On April 27, 1963 the "Princess Helene" made her last trip on the Bay route, after thirty-three years service. She was sold during the summer of 1963 to the Chandres Group of Athens, Greece and arrived in Greece August 4 of that year. She was used as a cruise ship in the Eastern Mediterranean under the name of "Helene" which was soon changed to "Carina II" by her Greek owners.

While the "Princess of Nanaimo" was being refitted and painted for the Digby-Saint John route she was renamed the "Princess of Acadia" to conform with the location of her new run. The "Princess of Acadia" was built at Fairfields Yards on the Clyde and, on being constructed, conformed with Lloyds specifications for Channel and Sound service. She is a 6,800 ton ship, 358 feet in length and 32 feet beam with a speed of 18½ knots. While on the Bay route she had accommodations for 1,700 passengers and capacity to carry 120 automobiles.

The "Princess of Acadia" was on the route but a short time before it was evident that she was hardly the ship to meet the needs of the period. True she was capable of transporting approximately three times the number of automobiles and passengers than had her predecessor, but she was unable to convey trucks across the Bay.

Once again the citizens of Western Nova Scotia were met with conflicting rumours. The C.P.R. was going to discontinue its service; the C.P.R. was going to place a rail-car ferry on the route; the C.P.R. and the Federal Government could not agree on the future of the ferry service; nothing could be done to carry either trucks or rail cars across the Bay due to the excessive range of tidal changes; the C.P.R. was going to withdraw from all its Nova Scotia services and terminate its eastern activities at Saint John.

Considering the importance of the ferry service to Western Nova Scotia, one readily understands the deep concern of the citizens which these rumours generated.

The fears for the future of continued Bay ferry service were dispelled when it was announced that a press conference would be held at the Admiral Beatty Hotel, Saint John for a news release of the plans for a new ship to be constructed for the route.

On February 4, 1969 it was announced that the C.P.R. had awarded a contract to the Saint John Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co. for the construction of a new vessel with bow and stern loading run-through facilities for a capacity of 159 automobiles or forty-45 truck trailers and seven tractors and a passenger capacity of 650 passengers.

The first scheduled trip of the new "Princess of Acadia" was made on June 1, 1971 when the service was increased to two trips per day.

The improved service on the Bay was brought about through a three-way agreement. The C.P.R. agreed to place a new vessel, built for the trade, on the Bay route. The Federal Government undertook the task of providing suitable docking facilities at Saint John and Digby with land-bridge installations

at each terminal to facilitate loading and unloading of vehicles. The Nova Scotia Government agreed to provide suitable approaches from the Digby terminal to the existing highways.

In a century and a half the Bay ferry service has progressed from the frigate-rigged paddle-wheel "St. John" to the modern carrier of heavy highway vehicles. Some of these vehicles have freight capacity about equal to that of the "St. John".

From the days of the Nova Scotian Father of Tourism, the Honorable Loran E. Baker, the ferries of Western Nova Scotia and the tourist trade of the area have been complementary.

The withdrawal of the Boston-Yarmouth S.S. from its route brought the tourist trade in Western Nova Scotia to the lowest level of the first half of the twentieth century. It was not until January 4, 1956, when the Canadian National "M.V. Bluenose" began operating between Yarmouth and Bar Harbour that a modern service was re-established between Western Nova Scotia and New England.

The "Bluenose" was built especially for the route. She is 346 feet long, 65 feet wide and 6419 gross tons. The vessel has a passenger capacity for 600 persons and 150 cars. She has two lounges, day cabins, cafeteria, bar, sun deck, duty-free shop and casino.

The "M.V. Bluenose", on her summer schedule, leaves Yarmouth at 4:30 p.m. daily and from Bar Harbour at 8 a.m. In the winter she has a tri-weekly schedule leaving Yarmouth on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 8:00 a.m. She leaves Bar Harbour on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 9 a.m. The trip one way takes approximately six hours.

The Lion Ferry A.B. (Ltd.) of Sweden, after a survey, decided there was a potential traffic to operate a second ferry

from Yarmouth to New England. The Province of Nova Scotia and the Greater Portland Chamber of Commerce each guaranteed a million dollars against financial loss over a period of five years.

The "M.S. Prince of Fundy" was especially built for the route between Yarmouth and Portland, Maine. The vessel is 387 feet long, 58 feet wide and 5,470 gross tons. She has a passenger capacity of 1000 persons, capable of carrying 200 vehicles. The 160 cabins provide berths for 525 persons. Other conveniences for the passengers are 2 complete dining rooms, sun deck, lounge, casino bar and tax-free shop.

The "Prince of Fundy" made her maiden voyage on June 20, 1970. On her summer schedule the "Fundy" leaves Portland daily at 9 p.m. and Yarmouth at 10 a.m. the following day. During the winter the vessel does not depart from Portland on Sunday and Yarmouth on Monday.

The "Princess of Acadia" started on the Digby-Saint John run on June 1, 1971 with two round trips per day, scheduled until September 17th. Unexpectedly the truck demand for transportation justified continuance of the daily double trips. It is likely that the "Acadia" will make three daily trips during the tourist season of 1972.

The three new motor vessels are modern in all respects and give the tourist a choice of three points of departure from the western side of the Bay and two ports of departure from the east. During the summer of 1971 the three vessels ran with capacity passenger lists.

Crosskill vs Kent

JAMES F. SMITH

A Case of Royal Revenge?

"On the 15th I was informed with the greatest delicasy by Sir John Wentworth, that it was not in his power to keep me any longer in the Earl of Moira as his Royal Highness had almost insisted, that no one could have the command of the vessel but a person immediately holding his Majesty's commission . . ."[1]

With these words, Captain John Crosskill of Halifax addressed British Secretary of State, the Duke of Portland, in an appeal against his (Crosskill's) dismissal as commander of the armed snow, the "Earl of Moira". The incident was long ago lost in seldom consulted files of various Public Archives. It was never an international sensation although it may well have fostered considerable gossip in the Halifax social circles of 1796. However, its relevance today is to provide a glimpse into life in the Nova Scotian capital during those remote colonial days.

Captain John Crosskill was said to have been born in the shire of Norfolk, England, in 1749. Following some childhood schooling, John obtained a position in the British Navy and, during the American Revolution, he "commanded an Agent ship" in which he transported German troops to fight for King

George III in the rebellious colonies. No doubt Crosskill made calls at the important British port of Halifax for it was there that he met and married a daughter of a locally prominent politician, merchant, and distiller named John Fillis. The attractive bride, Charlotte, may, as we shall see, have been partly responsible for the captain's troubles over the "Earl of Moira".

Following the conclusion of the war, the Crosskills settled on the island of New Providence in the Bahamas where the captain stated that he "enjoyed the Post of Harbour Master at Nasseau." While there, Crosskill was evidently engaged in the shipping trade as he spoke of losing "two ships in the Hurricanes of Sept. 1785, and August 1787 . . ."

The Crosskills returned to Halifax in 1793 to claim their share of the will of Charlotte's now deceased father. Again the captain turned to shipping as an occupation and one can assume that he took an active part in his work by sailing his own boat. That boat was a sloop which he used for trading with the West Indies.

It was in February 1795 that Captain Crosskill was summoned into the presence of Nova Scotia's Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Wentworth. In Crosskill's own words, he said that he "without any solicitation on my part was offered the command of the Earl of Moira." The captain considered the offer, decided to accept, and disposed of his current cargo in the West Indies but on its return trip his boat was burned by the citizens of Boston.

The "Earl of Moira" was an example of the type of 2-masted vessel known as a snow. This particular snow was "a craft of about 135 tons with 14 mounted guns"[2], was owned by the province, and was used for chasing privateers (usually American) or for transporting various officials. As commander of the ship, Crosskill became known as "a skilled pilot"[3] and as "an excellent officer".[4]

As an expression of his approval of Crosskill's services, Lt.-Governor Wentworth granted legalized piracy privileges to the captain in the form of the right to the King's share of any enemy vessels captured by the "Earl of Moira". Surely this was an indication that Crosskill's career was on the rise! However, a royal block stood in his way.

A little more than a year after Captain Crosskill had returned to the province, there arrived at Halifax a person of extreme interest to local society, indeed to Canadian society: His Royal Highness Prince Edward Augustus, Duke of Kent, fourth son of His Britannic Majesty King George III. The Duke was to take up residence in the town for several years and to leave behind a number of mementos of his stay. His official capacity was as commander of the Armed Forces in the region. Shortly after his arrival, he was joined by a lady of considerable beauty, Madame Julie de St. Laurent, his mistress.

No doubt the town was victim to shivers of excitement over the presence of these distinguished new residents. Halifax had hosted the Duke's brother, later King William IV, so the experience was not a new one. However, at least the social elite were anticipating a pleasant round of royal balls, parties, picnics, public displays, etc., and they were definitely not to be disappointed. Charlotte Crosskill's family belonged to this "social elite" so it was inevitable that she and her husband (who had become friendly with the Lt.-Governor, the Duke's host) should be included in the gay social whirl.

There were, nonetheless, those who cast disapproving looks toward the new goings-on. A number of the town's upper crust were quite scandalized by the presence of the Duke's mistress and their armor was too strong for her pleasant manners to penetrate. Even Chief Justice Strange refused to attend a Government House dinner if "Madame" were to be present. "Madame" stayed away.

It is likely that the attendance of the royal party at local entertainments resulted in an increased consumption of spirits and perhaps (or so some may have liked to think) a slight relaxation of moral standards. There is little question that, if nothing else, at least the gossip became spicier.

A portrait of Capt. John Crosskill hangs today on the second floor of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. He appears in the fashionable dress of his period and, beside his, his wife's portrait shows her in similarly stylish dress. She was evidently an attractive lady and would have been an asset to any gentleman of society. However, an old family anecdote told to me by the late Mrs. Frank Smith of Pugwash claims that it was Charlotte who was the socially-minded member of the family and that she was delighted to join in the ducal festivities. Her husband, on the other hand, was among those who were not in the least pleased with the social situation, and especially with Madame's presence. The captain exercised his marital rights and forbade his wife to attend any of the social functions held in honour of the Duke and his lady.

This homely story might be passed off as merely an old family tale but it does have some sort of support in the form of an article about Captain Crosskill which appeared in the August 31, 1922 edition of *The Morning Chronicle*. What the author of that article used as a source is not stated. It was certainly not Mrs. Frank Smith so this means that the story existed in at least two different locations.

At any rate, let us assume that the captain's domestic command was issued before he sailed off aboard the "Earl of Moira" on a government mission. The ship, under Crosskill's authority, set sail on 11 June 1796 for Boston. On Board were 17 seamen and 23 soldiers of the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment and under the command of Lt. Michael Purnett. Three days later, off the brief coast of New Hamshire, the "Moira" spied two ships and,

in consideration of standing orders to detain any American vessels, attempted to approach them. Just short of doing so, the area was enveloped by a fog and sight of the other boats was lost. Following a brief glimpse the next morning, the "Moira" was again wrapped in fog. Therefore, course was set for Boston where the "Moira" arrived on 17 June. About two hours later, Crosskill and company were mortified to learn that the two ships in the fog were a captured British prize in the tow of a French privateer which now had the impertinence to anchor near the "Earl of Moira" in Boston Harbour.

After giving several strict instructions to the chief mate, Mr. Galvin, Captain Crosskill ordered the guns to be loaded and a strengthened watch to be posted. Furthermore, the ship's launch, contrary to custom, was to be hoisted aboard whenever it returned from shore to the ship. Then, advising Lt. Purnett about the hoisting of the launch and warning him to be especially alert, Crosskill climbed into the launch and was rowed to shore by four men.

On Saturday morning (the next day), Captain Crosskill sent the launch back to the ship with supplies and orders to return with the passengers' baggage. Yet the launch came back without the baggage and so the captain "dispatch'd her again with a severe note to the mate for not complying with my orders, and with an additional caution to keep a strict watch to prevent Desertion . . ." Weather prevented the launch's return with the baggage until late that night and by then the Custom House was closed so the baggage had to be sent back once more to the "Earl of Moira". Mr. Clarke, the second mate, had the watch when the launch reached the ship and he gathered the baggage on board but, contrary to the captain's orders, he left the launch in the water beside the boat. It was about two o'clock in the morning.

Sometime thereafter, Mr. Clarke burst into Lt. Purnett's cabin with the news that some of the soldiers[5] had stolen the

launch and run off. Purnett, in his own words, "instantly sprung on deck and on getting out the remaining boat, went in pursuit of them . . ." but the darkness and the head start gave the deserters the advantage and they were never found.

This, then, was the situation which greeted Captain Crosskill when he returned to his vessel. The soldiers were gone and that was that. The chief mate, Mr. Galvin, who was in charge of the "Moira" during the captain's absence on business ashore, was dismissed for his misconduct in disobeying orders on the night of the desertions. On the return trip to Halifax, the "Moira" carried the men from that French-held British packet seen at the beginning of the trip. In the Bay of Fundy, the "Moira" seized a sloop whose cargo, in Crosskill's estimation, would be worth about 800 Pounds Sterling. The "Moira" sailed into Halifax Harbour on 8 July. The next two weeks were to be crucial for Crosskill's career.

According to procedure, the captain immediately submitted an account of the voyage to the Lieutenant-Governor. It was five days after the return before Crosskill heard anything further on the matter. In the meantime, however, there had been considerable activity. On 9 July, Lt. Purnett wrote his version of the affair at Boston to Lt. Col. Kearny. Purnett felt blameless in the affair because the ship's captain thought himself "to possess the sole exclusive authority on Board." A Court of Inquiry was held to examine Purnett's part in the matter but Captain Crosskill was not summoned. However, his discharged chief mate was; moreover, he was restored to his position! Evidently, the Court agreed with Purnett's feelings concerning his personal blamelessness.

It was on 13 July that Crosskill received a note from the Lt.-Governor's secretary who enclosed a copy of Purnett's letter. Crosskill responded the next day with his own detailed account of the affair and the comment that he was puzzled by

Mr. Purnett's remark concerning the captain's authority. Did Purnett think there should be two commanders with equal authority on board a vessel of war?

Here the Duke of Kent entered the affair.

On the 15th, Crosskill received the worst blow: Lt.-Governor Wentworth, at the Duke's insistance, relieved Crosskill of the command of the "Earl of Moira". Wentworth assured the captain that the action was no reflection on his conduct or activities.

The captain took up his pen once more and in a letter dated 16 July, he addressed the Duke himself. His purpose was not to beg for his job; indeed, he made no reference whatsoever in that direction. Instead, he asked for royal approval of his reputation! He would not believe that "though I loose my Bread, you will allow my character which is my chief resource to suffer a stigma generally attached to a dismissal from a public employment . . ."

Crosskill, not yet informed of his replacement's identity, kept command of the vessel but he was surprised that same morning when a soldier "who had behaved in a riotous manner on board and had been confined in the Guard house" was, without the captain's knowledge or evidence, ordered on deck to receive 200 lashes.

An hour before noon, Captain Jones Fawson, a military officer, arrived on board to take command.

A reply to the letter to the Duke of Kent came the next day from Capt. George Smyth, A.D.C. to His Royal Highness. He wrote that it was the Duke's opinion that the command should be changed because of "a conviction that proper discipline could not be kept on board a vessel fitted for War, unless the person commanding her held such a commission as would authorize him by the Laws of his Country to exercise Martial Law . . .

"His Royal Highness' opinion on this subject has been much strengthened by the recent Desertion . . . the person from whose disobedience this Desertion has happened can not otherwise be punished than by being dismissed from the ship . . .

(The Duke) "has acquainted the Lieut. Governor that He cannot place any of (his) troops in a situation where they may commit the greatest military crimes without His being able to make the Person having the charge of them answerable to Martial Law.

"His Royal Highness has directed me to assure you in the fullest manner that from the Lieut. Governor's choice of you (as a Commander on Board the Earl of Moira) as well as from the general attestation of all those who are acquainted with you, He has every reason to believe you merit his good opinion both as a man and a Seaman, and that the Desertion of the Soldiers . . . has not in the least altered the good opinion . . ."

(Here one might pause to note that the Duke was an ardent advocate of the strictest discipline among his troops, but the foregoing letter gives rise to these questions: why punish the captain when the chief mate was in charge of the vessel at the time of the desertion? Moreover, what kind of punishment was it to inflict on the disobedient person mentioned by restoring him to his position after the captain had dismissed him?)

July 18th brought Crosskill what amounted to being a letter of helpless apology from Lt.Governor Wentworth.

By 23 July, Captain Crosskill had accumulated some favorable documents and, adding them to a lengthy letter, sent them as an appeal for redress to the Duke of Portland (Secretary of State) and the British Government. The results were nil. The captain retired to his wife's lands in the Annapolis Valley and thereafter devoted himself to other matters.

This might be called the end of the affair except that I happen to agree with a comment made by the late Bridgetown historian, Dr. M. E. Armstrong, who said, "It seems a bit strange that it took two years to find out that Crosskill was lacking in naval papers when it is distinctly stated that he was 'a skilled pilot', and also an efficient navigator." In fact, I would suggest that the Halifax hearings might have been a "frame-up" to bring about Crosskill's dismissal. Why?

Mrs. Frank Smith's story plus that 1922 *Morning Chronicle* claim that the captain's disapproval of the social situation surrounding the Duke of Kent and Mme. de St. Laurent came to the Duke's ears, that he was annoyed, and that he used the "Earl of Moira" desertion case as a means to strike back.

Indeed, the newspaper proclaimed: ". . . it seems to have remained for our English naval officer, Capt. John Crosskill, to play the part of John the Baptist in reproving Royalty for its waywardness in the new and plastic society of Halifax . . .

"The Duke learned of this officer's criticisms, rebuked him for his temerity in true German fashion and phraseology and warned him if it did not cease he would take his commission from him. Our courageous Captain as promptly replied that His Majesty could have his commission at once, as he would not act longer in his services or be intimidated, and at once handed to His Royal Highness his resignation and left the service . . ."

This report is definitely exaggerated and inaccurate; not even Mrs. Smith went that far. However, I feel there may be grains of truth in the theory that the Duke was out to get Crosskill and the social criticisms attributed to the captain furnished the reason for the Duke's actions, for it was indeed he who demanded Crosskill's dismissal.

Here are some facts:

(A) There is no question but that Crosskill was a first-class captain. Murdoch's descriptions have already been quoted. Sir John Wentworth wrote to Crosskill: "I with great pleasure, acknowledge my full approbation of your conduct during your command of the said Snow, and not only to return you my best thanks for your continued services, which have exceedingly merited my Esteem and regard, but also to assure you that I shall gladly Embrace the first opportunity that may be in my power to promote your interest."

The Duke of Portland had conveyed to Wentworth an earlier expression of approval of the captain's conduct. Even the Duke of Kent was moved to admit that he had every reason to believe the captain merited his "good opinion both as a man and a Seaman . . ."

Therefore, it was obviously no reflection on Crosskill's skill or reputation that he was dismissed.

(B) Although Lt. Purnett chafed under Crosskill's total authority on the "Earl of Moira", the crew were behind their captain. Five witnesses including three Justices of the Peace heard sworn "the Strongest Expressions of Regard and Approbation . . . manifested by the Officers and Crew of the Snow Earl of Moira towards Capt. Crosskill."

A more personal display of evidence was described by the captain himself: "Martial Law will never answer with Seamen . . . on my quitting the vessel, and (what they term) a Soldier officer coming on board, they (the crew) were so alarmed, that all hands quitted the Ship, and it was not without considerable exertions on my part, that they would be persuaded to return, and for which I have since received the thanks of Captn. Fawson."

Thus it is evident that Captain Crosskill enjoyed the respect of his men and had no need to use Martial Law among them.

(C) The troops on board were under the command of a military officer (Lt. Purnett) who was, in turn, under the command of the captain while on board the "Moira". It was five of these troops—not Crosskill's sailors—who deserted at Boston. Also, Crosskill was ashore at the time of the desertion. Should not Purnett, as the superior military officer, have received a taste of the Duke's Martial Law for allowing five of his men to run away from under his nose? Yet, the Court of Inquiry exonerated him.

Captain Crosskill told the Duke of Portland: "With respect to the Soldiers, I will take upon me to say, that had I had the sole command of them I should have done much better:—The officers assigned me by the Regt. were constantly jealous of a superior commander on board, and I have had to combat the pride of one,—the licentious conduct of another, (who was sent on board, it being found impracticable to restrain him within bounds on shore) and in the last instance, little was to be expected from a Boy taken from the plough toil and whose ignorance of the world made him a subject of ridicule for the passengers in the cabin."

(D) If blame should have fallen on the person in charge at the time of the desertion, then why was that person, Chief Mate Galvin, restored to his position after Captain Crosskill had dealt the punishment of dismissal? The captain noted that, while he himself was ignored, Galvin was called to give evidence at the Inquiry "after having been constantly closeted by the Relations and Friends of Mr. Pernette for two days previous to it. . ." He concluded, perhaps somewhat bitterly, that Galvin "is since restored to his office, tho' his neglect was the chief cause of that disaster." This restoration directly contradicted the Duke of Kent's stated desire to be able to punish anyone responsible for disobedience of orders.

Thus, the entire set of circumstances surrounding Crosskill's removal from the command of his ship seems so fuzzy that

one feels there must have been another reason behind the dismissal.

The traditional family story of the captain's disapproval of royal festivities could well have been the "other" reason for the Duke's "revenge". It is true that traditional family stories are often exaggerated and unreliable. However, like legends, they are often founded upon some original truth. Perhaps, in this case, the captain made known his disapproval to his intimates and afterwards believed that the Duke had heard of his opinions and was thereby prompted to act against him. Factual proof will probably never be available although Crosskill was convinced that he was the victim of unfairness when he wrote the Duke of Portland for his "dismission by designing and malicious men." Since nearly everyone including the Lieutenant-Governor of the province was quite satisfied with Captain Crosskill's command of the "Earl of Moira", sole responsibility for his dismissal must be fastened on the Duke of Kent. Only the prince's reason remains uncertain.

What became of the principals in this story? Sir John Wentworth remained in office until 1808 and died in near poverty in 1820. The fates of Lt. Purnett and Chief Mate Galvin I do not know. Charlotte Crosskill died shortly after 1800, leaving the lands she had inherited from her father to be developed by her husband.

It was for the Duke of Kent and Captain Crosskill to leave behind historical memorials of a kind: Kent gave to the world his daughter, the most royal of them all—Queen Victoria; Crosskill founded a community called Bridgetown in his province's Annapolis Valley.

FOOTNOTES

1 All quotations, unless otherwise noted, are from pp. 113-158 of Manuscript Group 11, Nova Scotia A, volume 123, Colonial Office Records, The Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
2 **The Morning Chronicle**, Halifax, 31 Aug. 1922, p. 4.
3 **History of Nova Scotia**, B. Murdoch, volume 3, p. 140.
4 Ibid., p. 148.
5 Corporal Donnelly and Privates Richard Stallard, Duncan Bell, Robert Kell, and Benjamin Burton.

The 1821 Emigration of Black Nova Scotians to Trinidad

JOHN N. GRANT

During the 18th and the early 19th century Nova Scotia acted as a clearing house for thousands of immigrants. Scots, English and Irish poured through her gates, some of whom remained, but the majority of whom moved to the United States or to the opening frontier of Canada.[1] Immigrants from the westward arrived in Nova Scotia during the 1780's as thousands of Loyalists arrived in the Province following the American Revolution.[2] Many of these settlers remained, but many also left, going to the Canada's, to Britain or back to the United States.[3] During these historic years numerous Black immigrants joined the ebb and flow of this human tide.

Between 1785 and 1800 two major groups of Black immigrants came to Nova Scotia. Some of them remained while many moved on, notably to Sierra Leone in Africa.[4]

The third great immigration of Black persons into Nova Scotia was that of the refugees of the War of 1812. The refugees were escaped slaves, largely from the Chesapeake Bay area of the United States, who had crossed British lines seeking the freedom promised by the proclamation of Sir Alexander Colburne.[5] A number of the refugees formed the "Corps of Colonial Marines" and fought shoulder to shoulder with British forces during

the war.[6] Following their disbandment many of these soldiers were settled in Trinidad, where, paradoxically, they were invited to be the first line of defence in the event of slave uprisings. In Trinidad they "were settled in seven villages named after their companies in the Savanna Grande region."[7]

During and immediately following the War of 1812 many more of the Black refugees were landed in Halifax and by 1816 most of the 2000 arrivals were settled at Preston, Hammond's Plains and other nearby communities.[8] The years that followed their settlement were difficult ones. Eighteen sixteen was known as "the year with no summer," and crop failures were common all over the province.[9] The next year (1817) was called "the year of the mice" when hordes of rodents,

> devoured the seed grain in the fields. They ate the seed potatoes. They destroyed the growing crops. Their march was towards the seashore, where they perished in heaps and lay like lines of seaweed.[10]

These uncontrolable events, together with a marked post war economic slump that held Nova Scotia in the grip of depression for years,[11] forced many settlers into the cold arms of charity.

Despite the lack of economic opportunities, the hostile climate, and discrimination, the majority of the Black refugees seem to have chosen to remain in Nova Scotia. Some became tradesmen, others hairdressers, sailors, servants, woodworkers, and general labourers. Still others remained on their small lots and earned an often precarious living from the soil. As time passed, however, some became disgruntled and discouraged and by 1821 were anxious for the opportunity to begin anew.

From the time the first of the Chesapeake Blacks had arrived in Nova Scotia, there were those who believed that

settling them in a country which was climately and culturally completely foreign to them was not acting in the interest of either the refugees or the province. Further, the idea of aiding their emigration to Trinidad or other of the West Indies Islands was mooted from 1815 on. On November 10 of that year Lord Bathurst wrote to Sir John Sherbrooke,

> "As it appears from your dispatch that many Negroes from the southern parts of the United States have been conveyed to Halifax contrary to the intentions of His Majesty's Government—I fear that they may during the winter experience considerable inconvenience from the cold. Should this be the case, and should you be of opinion that they would prefer a settlement in a warmer climate, I will, upon receiving from you an estimate of the number to be provided for, take measures for their conveyance to Trinidad, where every preparation has long since been made for their reception, and where the means of procuring a subsistence will be immediately afforded them."[12]

Governor Sherbrooke informed the Colonial Office that he would "inform himself" of the number of refugees who desired to remove to Trinidad and report as soon as possible.[13]

On April 20, 1816, the Lieutenant-Governor advised Lord Bathurst that he had taken "considerable pains" to advise the refugees of the advantages that could be theirs if they took advantage of the Government offer. He wrote,

> "But I find on account of certain prejudices entertained by several of these people that they would prefer remaining where they are not withstanding the inconvenience many of them experience from the severity of this climate to being sent to any part of the West Indies."[14]

Later in 1816 Lord Dalhousie, the new Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, recommended that it might be better for the refugees to go to Sierre Leone or, if pardoned by the American Government, back to the United States but added, "to the West Indies they will not go."[15] By May, 1817, Dalhousie had revised his thinking somewhat. Reporting on the state of the refugees he wrote,

> "I have also to state that none of them are inclined to return to their masters nor to America—Many of them point out Tabago and Trinidad . . . I have no doubt as winter approaches, many more will desire to be sent there . . . "

Dalhousie requested further instructions on the point but nothing more transpired until after he had left the province.[16]

In 1820 the question of the relocation of the refugees was again brought to the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. On June 8 of that year the Lord's Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury directed Sir James Kempt to ascertain the number of Black people interested in emigrating to Trinidad, which information Kempt promised to communicate as soon as it became available.[17]

The Lieutenant-Governor accordingly instructed Richard Inglis to visit the Negro communities to make the offer of relocation known to the refugees. On August 20, 1820, Inglis reported that he had visited the settlements and that a total of 34 families from Beach Hill, Preston and Hammonds Plains had expressed interest in the plan.[18] He wrote, however, that many "still appear to be possessed with the idea that Government wishes to dispose of them there."[19] In January, 1821, the Lieutenant-Governor reported to the Colonial Office the steps he had taken on the matter. He wrote,

> "I have now to acquaint you for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury that it having been reported to me that about ninety of them were so disposed I caused notice to be given in the newspapers [December 11, 1820] that tenders would be received from persons desirious of contracting to convey them hither, and to victual them during the voyage."[20]

Nine tenders were received by the authorities with passage rates varying from £5.15.0 for men and women to £3.0.0 for children to £7.0.0 for the former and £3.10.0 for the latter. Of the nine, the lowest bid was entered by R. and J. Tremain, £5.15.0 and £3.0.0 respectively, and their vessel the Schooner *William* of 107 tons burden, was found to be fit and prepared for the voyage.[21] The Tremain bid was accepted and on January 6, 1821, "81 black men and women and 14 children sailed . . . under the care of an officer of the Commissariat, [Richard Inglis] . . . to see that they are properly treated and victualled during the voyage."[22]

On April 17, 1821, Kempt reported that he had received word from Sir Ralph Woodford, the Governor of Trinidad, that the refugees had arrived safely. The expense of the venture amounted to £542.19.2 Nova Scotia currency or £488.13.3 sterling, plus £30 given to Richard Inglis as payment for his extra services. The Lieutenant-Governor also reported that when they heard of the reception of the emigrant refugees in Trinidad, many of their fellows in Nova Scotia expressed an interest in following them. Kempt suggested that in the future it might be more economical to make use of vessels already in His Majesty's service rather than chartering ones specially for the voyage.[23] The Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury approved of Kempt's action and informed him that they would communicate with the Commissioners of the Navy to determine if Navy vessels could be used as suggested.[24]

In August, 1821, Richard Inglis was again sent into the Black settlements to inform the refugees of the opportunity to emigrate if any so desired. They were advised that they would receive grants of land and provisions until their farms would support them; but this would be their last opportunity to make the move under Government sponsorship.[25] In August two Navy vessels arrived at Halifax, one of which had instructions to proceed to Trinidad with any refugee Blacks who might desire to go there. Inglis was again dispatched by the Governor to ascertain the number who "might be so disposed", but was forced to report, in Kempt's words,

> "that not withstanding a great many of these people were extremely desirious, at the beginning of the year, to join their friends at Trinidad, it appears . . . that none of them are inclined to avail themselves of the opportunity now afforded them by Government of doing so."[26]

On November 22. 1821, the Treasury Board was advised that none of the refugees in Nova Scotia desired to join their companions in Trinidad.[27]

In 1823 it was reported that five of the immigrants from Nova Scotia had died but that the natural increase had more than maintained their numbers. There was a total, including those from Nova Scotia, of 876 Black American refugees settled in Trinidad.[28]

The efforts of Sir Ralph Woodford and the government of Trinidad to attract labourers to the Island did not end there. In 1823 he suggested to Lord Bathurst, that if more of the refugees could be sent from Halifax, "a good foundation would be laid for establishing a free coloured English population, very superior to any that I have yet seen in this part of the world.[29] Governor Woodford's desires were made known to Sir James Kempt[30] who replied, "I have in vain used every influence in my power

but these people entertain so great a fear of slavery that no persuasions can induce them to remove to any place where slavery exists."[31] Although none of the Nova Scotians who went to Trinidad became slaves there is no doubt that their hard labour on the sugar plantations or as share cropers had many resemblances to the dreaded slavery. Further efforts were made by the government of Trinidad to persuade the Nova Scotia Blacks to settle on that island but all to no avail.[32]

Sir James Kempt pointed to the fear that he felt had kept the refugees from taking advantage of the Trinidad offer. Referring to the 1821 emigration he wrote,

> "At first a considerable number expressed their desire of going thither; but, when the time for their departure approached many who had given in their names as being so disposed withdrew them in consequence of their having been made to believe by fanatical preachers interested in keeping them in the province that it would not be intended to send them to Trinidad, but to sell them to their former Masters in the United States."[33]

Thereafter, he reported, even when good reports of their companions' treatment in Trinidad were received, so strong was the influence of these "fanatical preachers" over their people "that they persist in believing that all their friends have been sold" a belief that Kempt feared would be very difficult to erase. Besides fearing for "their civil and religious liberty"[34] if they moved, it was reported after the Act of 1833 removed the fear of slavery, that "there are several of

> their numbers who have great influence among them, and being able to earn their own subsistance do not wish to leave the Province, and the rest, poor and miserable though they be, are unwilling to leave without them."[35]

Further, any who did have any interest in emigrating often found

that they would not be able to sell their land and did not wish to leave their improvements to be used by others. Also, it was reported "they seem to have some attachment to the soil they have cultivated, poor and barren as it is . . . "[36]

The Refugees of the War of 1812 were not the last Negroes to arrive in Nova Scotia, nor were the Trinidad emigrants the last to leave. However, the Refugees were the last large, government supported group to arrive, and the 1821 group was the last organized emigration, closing an interesting chapter in the history of Nova Scotia.

FOOT NOTES

1. J. S. Martell, "Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia 1815-1838," Publication Number 6, **The Public Archives of Nova Scotia** (Halifax, 1942) p. 8.
2. Wallace Brown, **The Good Americans,** (New York; Morrow, 1969) pp. 126-46, passim. Brown says that probably 100,000 Loyalists left the United States of whom 50,000 made their way to Nova Scotia. Of this number 14,000 went to what became New Brunswick. W. S. McNutt, **History of New Brunswick,** (Toronto: MacMillan, 1963) P. 41, supplies the same figure.
3. Martell, "Immigration", passim.
4. See Adams Archibald, "Story of Deportation of Negroes from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone", **Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society,** VII (1891) 129-153, and D. Brymer, "The Jamaica Maroons—How they came to Nova Scotia—How they left it", **Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,** 2nd. Series, 1, section 2, (1895), for interesting accounts of these earlier migrations.
5. C. B. Fergusson, .'A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia between the War of 1812 and the Winning of Responsible Government", (Halifax Publication no. 8, **The Public Archives of Nova Scotia,** 1948) passim.
6. J. N. Grant, **The Immigration and Settlement of the Black Refugees of the War of 1812 in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick,** (University of New Brunswick: Master's Thesis, 1970) pp. 35-38.
7. Donald Wood, **Trinidad in Transition,** (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) p. 38.
8. See Fergusson, **Establishment,** and Grant, **Refugees,** passim.
9. T. C. Haliburton, **An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia,** (Halifax: Howe, 1829), I, p. 297.
10. George Monro Grant, ed., **Picturesque Canada: The Country as it Was and Is,** II, (Toronto: Beldon Brothers, 1882) 1840. The author incorrectly gives the date as 1815.
11. Martell, "Immigration," p. 16.
12. Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter P.A.N.S.), vol. 63, doc. 21. Bathurst to Sherbrooke, November 10, 1815.
13. Sherbrooke to Bathurst, February 2, 1816, C.O. 217/98.
14. Sherbrooke to Bathurst, April 20, 1816, C.O. 217/98.
15. P.A.N.S., vol. 112, p. 6, Dalhousie to Bathurst, December 29, 1816.
16. Dalhousie to Bathurst, May 16, 1817, C.O. 217/99.
17. P.A.N.S., vol. 113, p. 9, Kempt to Harrison, August 16, 1820.
18. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 20.
19. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 30, Inglis to George, August 20, 1820.
20. P.A.N.S., vol. 113, p. 35, Kempt to Harrison, January 20, 1821.
21. P.A.N.S., vol. 442, doc. 26.
22. P.A.N.S., vol. 113, p. 35, Kempt to Harrison, January 20, 1821.
23. P.A.N.S., vol. 113, p. 38, Kempt to Harrison, April 17, 1821.

24. P.A.N.S., vol. 64, doc. 5, Harrison to Kempt, June 12, 1821.
25. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 29, George to Inglis, August 14, 1821.
26. P.A.N.S., vol. 113, p. 47, Kempt to Harrison, August 21, 1821.
27. Miscellaneous documents, Treasury Department, Co.O. 217/140.
28. P.A.N.S., vol. 64, no. 80, Return of American Refugees Settled in Trinidad, March 1821 to March 1823.
29. P.A.N.S., vol, 64, doc. 78, Woodford to Bathurst, April 30, 1823.
30. P.A.N.S., vol. 64, doc. 77, Horton to Kempt, July 31, 1823.
31. Kempt to Bathurst, October 16, 1823, C.O. 217/142.
32. P.A.N.S., vol. 65, docs. 23, 24, 25, 26, and 28. Also see Kempt to Horton, May 4 and June 7, 1825, C.O. 217/144.
33. Kempt to Horton, May 4, 1825, C.O. 217/144.
34. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 43, Deslinsay to George, March 9, 1837.
35. Nova Scotia, Journal of the House of Assembly, 1837, appendix 9, Guy to James, May 11, 1836.
36. Nova Scotia, Journal of the House of Assembly, 1837, appendix 9, Lowe to James, June 7, 1836.

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.

MILLERS AND MILLWRIGHTS

Milling, as an industry, goes well back into prehistoric times, when mankind learned how to make a crude flour from grain, by rubbing it between two stones. While the Egyptians used a mortar and pestle method, the Romans were the first to develop the idea of using circular milling stones, and thus are given credit for inventing what we know as a gristmill.

MILLING IN NOVA SCOTIA

The first settlers at Port Royal ground grain into flour by hand, but it proved to be very difficult, for half a dozen men

are recorded as having died from "over-exertion grinding". Within two years (1607), North America's first gristmill was established at the mouth of the LaQuille River, by Sieur de Poutrincourt, thus providing a great improvement over the hand method previously used. (The Nova Scotia Light and Power Company's plant, presently located on the Dugway Road in Lequille, is disguised as a gristmill in the same style as used many years ago in the same area.)

Over the years that followed, a few more gristmills were constructed, but they did not become common-place for almost 200 years. Many of the farms in operation during the 1700's and early 1800's were rather poor, and thus money was scarce to buy expensive imported flour. Most farms had some grain-crops (including a little wheat), but the grain was hand-sown, harvested with a sickle, frail-threashed to separate the grain from the straw, cleaned in the wind with a winnowing basket, and hand-ground with mortars and pestles or else with a small set of hand-turned stones (*quern*). By 1820, there were only about two dozen mills in operation within the province. At about the same time period, machines were being introduced into agriculture, thus the quantity of grain harvested increased rapidly. Over the next forty years, the milling industry grew to the point that there were over 400 water-driven mills (as well as several steam and wind powered mills), producing millions of bushels of food grains. (By 1895, the civilized countries of the world were producing 370 million tons of foodstuff, of which 299 million tons was grain.)

As the farmers made their way to the mills, "old mill roads" were formed, resulting in the beginning of part of our present land transportation system. As mills sprang up around the province, such place names as Mill Village, Harmony Mills, Whiterock Mills, Fisher Mills and McClures Mills appeared on provincial maps.

Today, there are but one or two gristmills still operating within the province. The best known is the "Balmoral Grist Mill", located in Balmoral Mills, Colchester County. This mill, first erected in 1830, was first operated by Alexander MacKay. Later, it was owned and operated by A. E. MacDonald, and later his son. In 1966, the Nova Scotia Museum purchased the mill and completed restoration. Today, the mill is still in operation, and open to the public for five months of the year, so that visitors may gain some insight into one of the oldest industries of Nova Scotia.

THE MILL

A *mill* was the machinery used to grind grain (or other substances, such as fruit), reducing it to a fine powder. The building that housed this machinery was also termed a *mill.* The most common type of grinding mill was the *horizontal-mill,* which had its surfaces acting in a horizontal plane, with the stones rotating on a vertical axis. The other, less common type, was the *edge-mill* (or *Chilian mill*), which had a horizontal axis.

MILLWRIGHTS AND MILLERS

A *millwright,* or *mill-wright,* both designed and supervised the construction of all parts of the mill, including the mill-pond, dam, water-powered wheel, and machinery. In addition, it was usually the millwright who undertook major repairs to the mill's equipment. The operation of erecting mills was termed *mill-work* (as well as applying to the machinery installed), and required considerable knowledge and skill. The building itself had to be carefully constructed, as the grinding process produced such strong vibrations that they "literally shook mills apart".

The grain to be ground in a mill was termed *grist,* while the edible part of the grain was called *meal. Flour* was the fine

powder of the ground meal, after the impurities had been removed. This resulting product of the grinding process (*milling*), less the miller's payment (*toll*), was also called *grist.* Thus a mill used for grinding grain was a *grist-mill.* The flour that was produced in such a mill had an aroma and flavour all of its own. The meal, warm off the stones, was said to be "like the underside of a settin' hen", and when baked, provided a taste that could never be duplicated.

The *miller* (also called a *mill-ward* or *grinder*) was the person who operated the mill. He was often the first banker and merchant to set up in any new community. In addition, the mill provided one of the main centres of economic life (as well as social) within the area it served. (The assistant who worked with the miller was a *mill-hand.*)

MILL-POND AND MILL-RACE

In order to raise the water level and build up a head of water (*mill-head*), to turn the mill-wheel, a *mill-dam* was constructed across a stream (often built of logs and hand-hewn planks). This formed a reservoir called a *mill-pool* or *mill-pond.* The head of water was then directed to the wheel. Sometimes this involved using a canal, called a *mill-race* or *mill-leat.* The discharging end of the mill-race was often a *penstock, forebay* or *sluice* (usually a trough made of boards or planks), which was provided with a *shuttle, floodgate,* or *sluice-gate,* to keep the water from the wheel when the mill was not operating. This also provided a means to control the flow when the wheel was in use. A *guide* or plate was used to direct the force of the water onto the water-wheel buckets, while the channel which was used to conduct the spent water away from the wheel was the *mill-tail* or *tail-race.*

MILL-WHEEL

The *water-wheel* or *mill-wheel* was used to move the machinery. The wheel was located in what was called the

wheel-race, while the side of the wheel that received the water was called the *shuttle-side.*

The most common types of wheels included over-shoot, under-shoot, breast, and horizontal. The *overshoot-wheel* had the water directed on or near the top of the wheel. The main force used to turn the wheel was gravity, although the water velocity, when it struck the wheel, also added to its turning capacity. Some overshoot-wheels had cogs located close to the outside rim, and used a pinion to transfer the circular motion of the wheel to the mill's machinery. The *undershoot-wheel,* on the other hand, was turned by having water pass beneath it. Several variations of buckets were used on the undershoot, including Poncelet's curvi-linear form, which had an open back so that the water would rise and fall into the next bucket, in succession. This method prevented any great loss of water-power as it passed through the sluice. The *breast-wheel* was formed so that the water struck the wheel almost level with the wheel's axis, and was confined against the buckets of the wheel by a *breasting, soleing* or *curb* (curved casing to prevent the slipping of water past the wheel). The buckets of this form of wheel were either radial or hollow. The *horizontal water-wheel* was similar to a turbine, in that it had a vertical axis. The buckets were often set spirally so as to be more effective, and a casing of planks or staves (called *staving*) forced the water around the wheel.

Other forms of water-wheels, many used less extensively than those already mentioned, included the *bottom-discharge water-wheel, curn (quern), double water-wheel, flutter-wheel, pitch-back wheel, scoop-wheel, tub-wheel,* and *volute-wheel.*

The boards of a water-wheel were called *floats, buckets, vanes, aws* (or *awes*), *float-boards, ladles,* or *ladle-boards.* The ends or sides of the buckets were called *shrouding,* while the back part of the bucket was the *sole-plate.* The cogs used to

transfer the power from the turning mill-wheel to the machinery were called *mill-cogs,* and were cut off in order to keep their circular form, with a *cockle.*

MILL-STONE

Millstones were made by a *millstone-maker,* and were usually local stones, quarried in the area (although the best stones were called *Burr* or *Buhr,* and came from France, South America and a few parts of North America). Millstones, used in Nova Scotia, were often granite.

A good size for a millstone was approximately 4 feet 6 inches in diameter, and at least 8 inches in thickness. A stone of this size weighed about 3/4 ton. The largest size stones were about 7 feet in diameter.

The two stones used were called the *bed* (or *bedstone*) and the *runner* (or *capstone*). The upper stone was usually the moving (runner) stone, with the lower stone being stationary (bed). Sometimes the order was reversed, or both stones were put into motion (upper and lower runners). A one-stone mill (one set of stones) could grind up to 125 bushels of grain per day (depending upon the stream's force), which amounted to about 50 barrels of flour (196 pounds of flour per barrel).

The frame which supported a run of stones was called a *husk,* while the inclosing case of the stones was termed a *hoop.* The runner itself was supported by a vertical shaft, or *spindle,* which had a cross-bar (called a *driver*) to communicate the motion to the runner. The end of the driver was received in sockets or *coffins* in the center hole of the runner. The spindle was supported on a beam called a *tree* or *bridge-tree.* This tree had a vertical adjustment (*lighter-screw*) so that the distance between the grinding surfaces could be varied by moving the runner closer to, or farther from, the bedstone. The actual mo-

tion of the mill was by means of shafts, wheels, gears, &c., all of which were termed the *mill-gearing*. These were usually made of hardwood (maple, birch, &c.), held together (when needed) with iron hoops, and maintained with linseed oil.

The surface of the millstones had to be prepared by *dressing*. This meant that level furrows had to be hand-chipped, running diagonally from the center to the outside edge or *skirt*. The arrangement of these furrows on the stone's grinding surface or face was termed *millstone-dress*. The hole in the center of the runner, through which the grain passed, was the *eye* or *mill-eye*. A recess space was chipped out around this eye, forming the *bosom* or *millstone-bosom*. Identical *stone patterns* were formed on the grinding faces of both stones, except that the patterns ran in opposite directions. Grooves or *furrows*, starting off-center at the eye and running to the outside edge, were carefully cut. These furrows, provided a shearing effect upon the grain. (The space between the furrows was the *land*.) A *quarter* or a section of a millstone consisted of a *leader-furrow* and its branches. The leader extended from the eye to the edge or skirt at whatever draft deemed necessary. (*Draft or millstone-draft* was the degree of deflection for the furrows from a radial direction, e.g., in a 7-inch draft, the track-edges were formed so that they are tangential to a circle of 7 inches.) The steep edge of the furrow was termed *track-edge*, while the edge that was more inclined was the *feather-edge*. The branch furrow, nearest to the eye was the *second-furrow*, while the last one (nearest the outside edge of the stone) was the *skirt-furrow*. If a furrow had a concave bottom, it was a *gauge-furrow*.

A miller, depending upon the amount of grinding done, often had to dress his stones weekly to keep them sharp. Fine flour could not be produced upon dull stones. The hand tool used by the miller, to chip the furrows, was called a *mill-pick*, a *millstone-pick* or a *millstone-hammer*. The straight edge, also needed in dressing, was a *tram-staff*.

GRINDING PROCESS

The sack used for carrying grain was a *draff-pock* or *draff-sack*. Depending upon the size of the mill, the grain would either be carried to the upper story, or moved by a traveling-belt (*elevator* or *grain-conveyor*) with cups or *buckets* attached to it. A *grain-scourer* or *smut-mill* was then used to clean the smut (or mildew) from the grain. The grain was then stored (usually in bins) until a revolving rake (*hopper-boy*) discharged the grain into a tapered chute, which led into a *hopper* (or *feeding-hopper*) above the runner. The hopper was an inverted conical (or pyramidal), shape and was shaken by a projection (damsel) on the spindle of the runner, so that the grain would be kept well down into the bottom or *throat* of the hopper. The spout beneath the hopper, leading into the center of the runner, was called the *shoe*. Once into the center of the runner, the grain was broken and ground into husks and meal by running out through the furrows by means of centrifugal force. A *border,* consisting of a rim or hoop was often used around the bedstone to prevent the ground meal from falling off (except at the spout). A wing, or strip of leather, was also occasionally fixed to the runner's edge so as to sweep the meal into the spout. A *clap, clapper,* or *clack* was a device that rang a bell when more grain was required from the hopper above the runner. As the grinding process often produced considerable heat, a blast of air was run through the runner's eye, and out the edge, by means of a *millstone-ventilator*. After the meal and husks were collected from the spout, they were cooled with a *flour-cooler,* then separated or *bolted* with the use of a *bolting-hutch, bolting-mill* or *flour-bolt,* which consisted of a silk, wire or gauze covered frame. The rate at which the meal was fed to be bolted was regulated by the *bolt-feeder*. After being cleaned from the husks, the flour was then taken to storage barrels (196 pounds each) or bags.

The miller's grinding fee (*toll*) was often paid in flour, and thus a *toll dish,* was used to measure his share of the grinding, as the flour was packed.

One of the chief problems in a grist mill was the danger of explosions. During the grinding operation, floating dust, called *stive,* could be iginited by a spark if the stones were placed too close together. Another source of potential danger was the ignition of the mixture of gases, given off during flour decomposition, with the air.

HAND AND MECHANICAL MILLS

A grist mill dealt chiefly with flour, but other forms of mills were used (many of these within the province of Nova Scotia):

barley-mill
bruising-mill
buckwheat huller
camp-hill
Chilian-mill
chocolate-mill
corn-mill
current-mill
cylinder-mill
drug-mill
flaxseed-mill
flour-mill
grain-mill
grinding-mill
hand-mill
horse-mill
oil-mill
post-mill
quern
poller-mill
smock-(Dutch) mill
snuff-mill
spice-mill
tide-mill
tread-mill
wind-mill

CURRIERS AND TANNERS

The leather-producing industries in Canada, including those of Nova Scotia, have always been an important contribution to our way of life. A hundred years ago, the products of Nova Scotia's own leather trade ranked as one of the major items being produced by the ever-increasing manufacturing industry. Even at the turn of the century, Nova Scotia was well known for the excellent quality leather that it produced, as ships carried it to such ports as Montreal.

There were many small tan-yards around the province, and no one area was responsible for producing a great deal more leather than another area. Factors such as transportation, availability of raw materials, and good markets were just as important as in any other industry, except that certain barks were needed to process the leather. The most common was hemlock, and as Gary L. Saunders pointed out in his book "Trees of Nova Scotia", hemlock was ". . . nowhere plentiful, growing mostly in local patches along rich northern slopes and ravines . . .". However, south-western Nova Scotia, as well as Annapolis County, did have the best areas.

It is often with mixed feelings that older residents recall tan-yards, for the swarms of flies attracted to the site, as well as the "pungent odor" which often lingered during warm weather, did not add to pleasant memories. Unfortunately, the local tan-yard is now a thing of the past, as are the men who worked in them. The industry has applied new equipment, new methods and more advanced technology to produce more leather, in a shorter time, at less cost.

TANNING

If the dry skins of animals were not treated, they would soon rot. Primitive man tried various methods to preserve ani-

mal skins, by smoking them, by rubbing them with oils or the brains of animals, and finally discovering the proper method, that is, soaking them in a solution containing astringent bark.

Various sources provided skins that could be treated and formed into leather, including cow-hide, eel-skin, fish-skin, hog-skin, ox-hide, porpoise-hide, seal-skin, and sheep-skin.

Leather was the tanned skin or hide of an animal, and was classed as skins, hides or kips. *Skins* were considered, in commercial terms, the pelts of animals such as sheep, goats, lambs, calves, &c., which, when properly prepared, were used for light uses, such as bookbindings, gloves, parchment, &c. *Hides* came from larger animals, such as buffaloes or oxen, and were used for heavy purposes, such as boots, harness, and machinery belts. *Kips* were medium forms of leather from yearlings or small cattle. The two sides of skins or hides were the *flesh side* and the *grain* or *hair side*. The center layer of gelatinous fibers was the part which was made into leather.

TANNING METHODS

It was the occupation of the *tanner* to convert hides and skins into leather. The trade was termed *tannery,* as was the place where tanning took place (another name for a tannery was *tan-yard*).

To preserve hides for shipment to the tannery, they were often salted or dried. This made them hard and inflexable. To make them pliable, they had to be soaked in water, and often kneaded. In order to remove all the fleshy parts, as well as any hair or wool, the hides were steeped in lime-water or milk of lime. This process was called *liming, graining,* or *unhairing.* After the hides had soaked in the lime-water, they were removed, washed, any lime adhering to the skins scrapped off, and then the projecting parts (such as ears) were cut off. A knife

used to remove the hair was a *grainer.* One method of giving the hides flexibility during the tanning process was to infuse pigeon's dung into the hide, also called *grainer* (or *bate*). Some forms of hides required the swelling of the pores so that the tanning liquor would penetrate easily, so they were steeped in dilute acid in a *raising* operation. This made them ready for the tanning vats.

The bark of the oak, larch, chestnut, hemlock, and a few other trees are impregnated with tannic acid (*tannin*), and were used to convert hides into leather that was both durable and, to some degree, impervious to water. Any kind of bark that was used in this process was called *Tanner's Bark,* and was usually peeled from the trees in early April or May. The instruments used to remove the bark from the trees was the *spud* (or *tan-spud*), the *barking axe,* or the *barking-irons* (also called *peeling-irons*). After the slabs of bark had been removed, and dried, they were stored in the *tan-house* or *barkery.* In order to convert the bark into a useable state, it was broken up in a *tan-mill,* then added to boiling water to make the tanning solution.

The *tan-vats, bark-vats,* or *tan-pits,* in which the hides were processed (for 4 to 12 months), were wooden-lined vats that were placed in the ground with their tops level with the ground. The hides were placed in the pits, with either the ground bark or the solution formed from the bark, usually in horizontal layers (although suspended vertical layers were sometimes used). The layers of bark between hides were termed *hats* while the bark solution (*liquor*) was called *ooze,* or *tan-pickle.* A *pooler* was a stick used to stir the vats.

The first part of the process involved a weak ooze, called *handler,* or *handler-liquor.* As the process progressed, the hides were successively transfered to vats containing stronger oozes. Occasionally, the skins were taken from the vats with long-handled, blunt-pointed hooks, placed one on top of another, on

a sloping rack fitted over an adjacent pit. This allowed the hides to drain for a couple of hours before being replaced into the ooze. The idea behind the draining was to equalize the action of the ooze.

As the tanning process neared completion, the hides were placed in a *layer-pit* or *bloomer-pit*, which contained strong *layer-liquor*. The object of this last stage was to provide the hides with a yellowish coating of a powder on the leather surface, which consisted of a deposit of surplus tannin.

After the ooze had been spent, it was used for making garden hotbeds, or pressed into *tan-balls* or *tan-turf*, to be used as fuel.

The above outlined process involved vegetable extracts, while another system utilized mineral agents (such as alum), producing white, Hungarian or alum leather. The mineral process was termed *taw*.

CURRYING

Currying was the process of shearing the green, tanned hides to a uniform thickness and dressing them so that they became merchantable leather. The dressing of the leather involved beating, rubbing, scraping and colouring. The man whose trade it was to curry, dress and colour the tanned leather was the currier. If he worked at a special branch of the leather industry, then he might be called a *coach-currier, harness-currier,* &c. The structure in which the currying trade was practised was called a *curriery*.

The sloping board on which the currier worked was called a *horse, stake, beam* or *currier's beam*. It was flat, about 4 feet long, and had a hardwood *beam-board* on the top half to act as a working surface.

Before starting to curry the leather, the grain side was stretched and straightened with a rubbing-tool called a *stock-stone.*

Inequalities were removed (and the surface polished) with a *slicker,* which was also used for washing the hide (called *beaming*) upon the beam. The most popular instrument used for removing the inequalities (*shaving*) was the *beam-knife, clearner, currier's knife, heading-knife, round-knife shaving-knife,* or *beamer.* This instrument was a large (about 12 inches long and 2 to 5 inches wide), two-handled knife with a recurved edge. One handle was straight, while the other was a cross handle. The edge (bur) of the knife was brought up by means of a whet-stone (sometimes a *clearing-stone* was used), and a wire edge was preserved with a steel wire which acted as a burnisher.

Leather-dressing (or *leather-dicing*) was the act of finishing tanned and curried leather to improve both its surface and its texture. The craftsman who practised it was a *leather-dresser.*

Dubbing (or *baubing* or *stuffing*) was a mixture of fish-oil and tallow (another mixture was resin, tallow and train-oil), which was worked into the leather to fill the pores so as to protect it against water. The main use was on leather to be used for boots, and on fire-engine hoses.

Graining (also *boarding* or *pebbling*) involved rubbing the leather with a board, so as to raise its grain. This was done after dubbing and drying, by rubbing the flesh side with a *pommel* or *crippler,* and meant that the leather acquired a granular appearance, as well as becoming supple. After this, the grain side was rubbed with the crippler, in what was termed *bruising.* (The crippler was a board which had a corrugated surface on

the bottom and a hand strap on the top so that it could be easily held.) The graining process was done on a *graning-board.*

Frizzing was used to produce chamois and wash-leather, and involved rubbing the leather with a blunt knife (or pumice-stone) until all appearance of the grain was removed, an even thickness obtained, and the surface of the leather rendered soft.

Before being shipped to commercial establishments which utilized the completed leather, they were often trimmed, the cuttings being called *tanner's waste.* Dealers in leather were called *leather-sellers.*

LEATHER-INDUSTRY MACHINES

As with all other trades, various forms of machines began to appear that were designed to take over the operations of man. And, as with other trades, even through this meant the loss of another hand skill, the introduction of these machines was an important development and a brief note concerning some would be necessary to make this brief outline on the leather industry complete.

BEAMING-MACHINE—currying hides upon a carriage.

BOARDING-MACHINE—rubbing leather to raise the grain.

BREAKING-MACHINE—broke dried hides before tanning.

GRAINING-MACHINE—gave goat or sheep skins the appearance of morocco leather.

HIDE-SCRAPER—scraped flesh-side of hides.

JIGGER—graining morocco leather.

LAP-SHAVER—shaving leather to equal thickness.

LEATHER-BUFFING MACHINE—produced smooth (but not polished) surface.

LEATHER-CORRUGATING MACHINE — crimped, fluted or corrugated leather.

LEATHER-GRINDER — reduced leather scraps into strips for washers, insoles, &c.

LEATHER-PEBBLING MACHINE — produced fancy surface on leather.

LEATHER-ROLLING MACHINE — compressed and hardened leather.

LEATHER-STUFFER — made hides supple and pliable.

SCRUBBER — washed leather after removal from tan-pits.

STAMP — softened hides by pounding.

KINDS OF LEATHER

The various kinds of leather were developed by using different sources for hides, by different tanning processes, or by using different means of dressing. Most hides listed below were made in the various tanniers of the province at one time or another.

BASIL — sheepskin, used for bookbinding and slippers.

BENT (or BENT-LEATHER) — thickened leather for boot soles, superior quality.

BUCKSKIN — yellow or grayish soft leather; originally deer-skin, but sheep-skin also used; treated with oil and smoked.

BUFF-LEATHER — (also BUFF-HIDE or BUFF)—used for saber, knapsack and carriage-box belts; oil-leather prepared from hide of buffalo, elk, or oxen.

CHAMOIS (or PLATE-LEATHER) — split hides of sheep, goats, deer, calfs, &c.; inferior type called WASH-LEATHER.

ENAMELED-LEATHER — glazed leather from kips, calfs, oxen or horses; used for boots, carriage upholstery, &c. Five coats of finish were applied over the treated leather, including linseed oil, ochre, ground chalk, lamp-black, and turpentine. Also called PATENT LEATHER.

GRAIN-LEATHER (GRAINED-LEATHER) — used for women's shoes; from blackened horse-hides (also goat, seal and several other sources).

HARNESS-LEATHER — blackened leather for harness.

HUNGARIAN-LEATHER — white leather, made in most countries.

MOROCCO — fancy leather made from goat-skin (inferior quality from sheep-skin) for bookbinding, shoes, furniture upholstering, &c.; tanned with sumach and dyed.

OIL-LEATHER — prepared by currying hides in oil.

PATENT-LEATHER — several varieties and qualities, used for boots, carriage upholstering, harness; varnished and dyed black (red, green and blue were also common). ENAMELED-LEATHER fell into this class.

RUSSIAN-LEATHER — goat-skins and sheep-skins used in bookbinding in either black or red colours; resisted moisture and insects due to birch-oil used in preparation.

SAFFIAN — goatskin, dyed red or yellow, and prepared with bran, lime and dog's dung.

SHAGREEN — softened leather or parchment prepared by steeping in water the hides of horses, camels, otters, seals, asses or sharks.

SKIVER — sheepskin prepared with sumach.

WASH-LEATHER — inferior form of CHAMOIS prepared with oil curred sheepskin.

WHANG — strong leather, usually calf-hide, used for thongs and belt-lacing; eel-skin also used.

Contributors

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Other books by Mrs. Richardson are *Desired Haven, No Small Tempest, My Other Islands,* and *Living Island.* Her articles have appeared in many national magazines and periodicals.

She is the recipient of the Governor-General's Award for Creative Non-Fiction for *We Keep a Light,* and the Ryerson All Canada Fiction Award for *Desired Haven.* She has also received the Certificate of Commendation, 1971, American Association for State and Local History and the Diploma de Honor, Officina de Accion Femenil Niecico, D.F.

She is the Past President of the Cape Sable Historical Society, Barrington, Shelburne County, where she resides, and is now Secretary.

DOROTHY ANNETTE GRANT was born and educated in Halifax, Nova Scotia. She graduated from the Halifax Infirmary School of Nursing in 1956 and pursued her nursing career in several hospitals both here and abroad. She is presently a housewife, mother and free-lance writer.

Since 1966 she has written numerous scripts of historical interest for the C.B.C. Radio productions "Maritime Magazine", and "A.M. Chronicle". In addition to book reviews, her work has been used on such radio programs as "Music Column", "Tempo", "Radio Information", "Assignment" and "Matinee", several of which were also of an historical nature.

Articles written by Mrs. Grant have appeared in such publications as *The Canadian Nurse, L'Infirmiere Canadienne, The Nova Scotia Magazine* (a government publication), *The Halifax Mail-Star, and The Maritime Farmer.*

Mrs. Grant is a past secretary of the Nova Scotia branch of the Canadian Author's Association.

ROBERT BADEN POWELL was born in Westport, Digby County, Nova Scotia. He attended Yarmouth Academy and went on to The Provincial Normal College, with further studies at Queens, Toronto, and Acadia Universities.

He served with the Canadian Survey Regiment from 1940-1945 and was mentioned in dispatches. He has taught school and was M.L.A. for the Digby constituency for seven years.

Mr. Baden Powell has written numerous articles and short stories for various magazines and periodicals and the book *Scrap Book, Digby Town and Municipality.* He has spent many years collecting material on Bay of Fundy Steamboats and Digby local history.

He is now retired and lives in Plympton, Digby County, Nova Scotia.

JAMES FRANCIS SMITH was born in Amherst, Nova Scotia, and attended school in both Truro and New Glasgow.

He graduated from Nova Scotia Teachers' College, Truro, in 1965, having won several scholarships and earning the Richard Gordon Memorial Award for literature.

He has done extensive research on the history of Cumberland County and has written several newspaper articles on this subject.

He is a member of the New England Historic and Geneological Society, the North Cumberland Historical Society, and Editor for the Association of Teachers of English of Nova Scotia.

Mr. Smith lives in New Glasgow and teaches Junior High School English.

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.

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

This past quarter has seen considerable activity in the publishing of books, new and old, about Nova Scotia. This is a healthy situation which will be welcomed by those who are concerned about the preservation by printed word of our historical heritage.

Seasoned Timbers, A sampling of Historic Buildings Unique to Western Nova Scotia, Vol. 1
151 pages, paperback, illustrated, $3.50, published August, 1972
The Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, printed by Petheric Press

Any organization which undertakes to compile and publish a book is taking on a mammoth-size problem. Unfortunately, there is more truth than humor in the old adage about a camel being a horse designed by a committee. When the people involved are located over a wide area and when most of them are already engaged in full-time occupations or leading busy lives, the successful completion of such a project is something of a miracle.

Such a miracle has been wrought, after several years of hard work, frustrations and delay, by The Heritage Trust, in particular by its book committee, in the publication of Seasoned Timbers.

As book committee editor and chairman Robert Buchanan expresses it, the book is the result of "tolerance and co-operation" on the part of many people "who gave generously of their time and energy." The volume of volunteer man-hours alone is staggering.

The book is, of necessity, a "sampling" of historic buildings in western Nova Scotia; space alone being a limiting factor. Five counties—Hants, Kings, Annapolis, Digby and Yarmouth—

are included and there is material for a further volume still to come.

Some will question certain parts of the book for accuracy, but generally speaking it is a fine record, a valuable record. Perhaps as important as getting information into printed form is a by-product of this activity, the generation of enthusiasm on the part of many people who either were not aware of the nature of the property they owned or who, at best indifferent to "historic buildings vs. progress and such", have come to appreciate what organizations like the Heritage Trust are trying to do.

The book, which was begun under the chairmanship of the late A. Mitchell MacDonald, follows the pattern of Founded Upon A Rock, drawing for its material on this rather large area of the province. It is to be hoped that as time, personnel and money afford, the entire province will be "catalogued" in the same way.

To avoid repetition, it has been necessary to limit the samples of certain architectural styles to perhaps two out of dozens. However, one hopes that the others, omitted from this volume, can be included in a later one or that, at the least, information concerning the buildings is on file.

James Tremills was chairman of the photography committee and has done a noble job with a difficult task. The photos, taken in all seasons (which is in itself a fitting touch), are for the most part of excellent quality.

In Seasoned Timbers the Heritage Trust has produced its best work to date.

History of the Nova Scotia Tartan, Marjorie Major
32 pages, paperback, $1., reprinted 1972
Petheric Press

The article concerning the development of the now famous Nova Scotia tartan which Mrs. Marjorie Major wrote for the June issue of the Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly has been reprinted as a separate pamphlet.

The tartan design which has come to be so closely associated with Nova Scotia in the minds of many—natives and tourists alike—is to be seen everywhere. Like a number of notable inventions, works of art or whatever, it was created to fill a need; in this instance, to cloth a figure of a shepherd in a wool mural designed by Mrs. Douglas Murray for a provincial handicraft exhibit in 1953.

In response to the problem of using a tartan and, at the same time, not offending anyone with strong preferences of their own for a beloved family tartan, Mrs. Murray "made something up", taking her inspiration from colors of the land and sea around her.

The publication of the history of this tartan in a small pamphlet will fill a need, as well.

This is Nova Scotia, by Will R. Bird
299 pages, paperback, $3.95, published July, 1972
McGraw-Hill-Ryerson Ltd.

In 1950 Will Bird wrote his "travelogue" account of a trip around Nova Scotia. "We motored into the peninsula," he wrote, "as if we were strangers, trying to view it as a visitor who had not been here before, and made our resolve to make a complete encirclement of the province, avoiding side roads and telling only of what we saw and encountered as we made the tour."

The book covers, therefore, the major sections of the province, areas made familiar to many in other parts of the continent by the large color photographs which grace railway stations, travel agencies and government offices. The Annapolis Valley, The South Shore, the Cabot Trail, form the basis of this book, with space given to brief summaries of what might be particularly noteworthy along other major routes.

This book blends history and humanity and has occupied a prominent place on booksellers' shelves since its publication. It is now available in a slightly revised, paperback edition which, as hard-cover editions become increasingly harder to find, will probably enable the book to maintain its position as one of the most requested volumes about this province.

Birds and Their Ways, by Robie W. Tufts
142 pages, paperback, illus. by John H. Dick
Published July 1972 by Robie Tufts, $3.

In the column, Woods, Water and Sky, which he wrote for The Halifax Herald for many years, Robie W. Tufts drew upon his experience as federal migratory bird officer for the Maritime Provinces. It is some of these articles, many written in response to some query from a bird lover, that form the basis of the book.

For example, Tufts maintains that, in spite of their reputation as "killers", hawks and owls "usually, if not always, kill to satisfy their immediate food requirements. I know of no exception to this rule."

Tufts discusses the behaviour of various species of birds; the nesting habits, how they survive the winter, the role predators play in maintaining the balance of species.

Most of the incidents, unless otherwise specified, took place in Nova Scotia.

The lore in this book will give the reader who "bird watches" a wider understanding of the feathered creatures who reside in or visit this province. Perhaps that understanding will go a long way to cutting down those incidents such as the one described in the first chapter involving a hunter who shot a bald eagle. Soon the summer visitors will be starting their long flights to warmer areas to the south. How many, blown off course perhaps by storms, will land on these shores only to be shot by someone "out of curiosity"?

Tufts' book should be a valuable addition to lists of nature books for school libraries.

The Whip-Handle Tree, by E. M. Deyarmond
117 pages, paperback, about $3.75, published 1972
Kentville Publishing Company

The Whip-Handle Tree is another collection of columns which once appeared in The Halifax Herald, but this time the locale is Stewiacke. The Whip-Handle Tree is "the lordly elm, spreading, guardian of the valley fair, . . . Rooted in the Stewiacke water, breathing in the Stewiacke air . . ."

The stories concern people and events in the area since the arrival in Middle Stewiacke in 1780 of William Kennedy and his wife who were the first white settlers in the area.

The tales have been compiled by the Deyarmonds and privately printed. The book has been popular with people in the Stewiacke area, or those whose families have their roots there.

There may be some difficulty in obtaining a copy, as the book is not generally available in book stores. Anyone with a connection with that area, however, will find the book of interest.

Atlantic Harbors, by Roland H. Sherwood
119 pages, paperback, $2.50 published June, 1972
Lancelot Press

Although he was born in Amherst, Roland H. Sherwood has come to be known as "the Pictou County historian". He is the author of two books on the subject, as well as numerous articles for newspapers and magazines. He was employed by the Maritime Telegraph and Telephone Company Limited for 32 years and now gives his full time to journalism. His 12 years of broadcasting on the CBC earned him the title, "Master Story Teller of the Maritimes."

In this book he retells some of those Maritime stories, mainly about people, from John Cabot to Granny Mag; places, Havre Boucher to Passamaquoddy; ships, from the Stormy Petrel to the giants of the Cunard Line.

There are tales of heartbreak, of superstition, of courage; Indian legends of Glooscap and tales of the Fundy tides and the toll Sable Island has exacted from the Maritime vessels which have found themselves within its grasp.

High adventure and good reading for anyone who loves the sea.

The Sea In Their Blood, by Frederick J. Pratson
141 pages, hardcover, $14.95, Published 1972
Houghton Mifflin Company

The Sea In Their Blood is a photo-documentary which records Pratson's passionate interest in the seacoast of Maine and the Maritimes.

The book looks at the life of the shore and the lives of the people who live along it and make their living from the sea.

From Maine to Nova Scotia, along the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the shores of Quebec province, Pratson has studied the people, their work, their aspirations, the qualities which enable them to lead the hard life which is their lot. And hard it is, whether it is in the more thickly settled, "tourist paradise", sections of Maine or on the "Razor's edge" of the far northern areas of Quebec, Labrador and Newfoundland.

Pratson interviewed the old: "This business of fishing for a living is a constant challenge . . . When the sea gets angry, it can destroy everything you've got, your boat, shed, wharf and gear. If that happens, you've got to make a decision to either go on or quit for good . . . I decided to stick with it. Maybe I was a bit off my rocker to go on, . . . but, I guess, I can't do anything else as well as fish for a living. Once you've got the sea in your blood, you're hooked to it for good."

And there are the younger ones, those not yet "hooked"; The lad who helps his father: "It's a lot of fun and I can earn a few extra bucks. I've learned a lot about the sea, boats, and about being a man from him . . . ", but still he's leaving for something with a "better future". There is the young girl: "I just can't wait until I'm old enough to leave this island . . . When you get older, well . . . it's different. It becomes the most boring place in the world because there's nothing to do. I just want to do more with my life."

There is the man, one of so many, who "is a man's man . . . one of a breed . . . who are rare in a more sophisticated society but who can be readily found along the rugged northeastern coasts. The survival of their families, communities, and way of life depends on their being what they are, and nothing less".

Nor are the women lacking in courage to match their men: "Every afternoon, while I'm peeling potatoes for supper, I stand by the kitchen window and wait for the first sight of his boat . . . Sometimes the time goes past when he said he would be home . . . and I get a terrible sick feeling that lasts until he comes in . . ." Then, speaking of a friend in another village who lost her man in a storm, "It happens to us people all the time . . . and I wonder, every time when he goes out to sea, if this is the time it will happen to us."

Pratson's book is not a nostalgic look at things past; it is concerned with today. He pinpoints the problems of the small coastal communities, the spectre of pollution, the failures of certain fisheries, the spread of "no tresspassing" signs and the parcelling of the coastline. His book is topical and down to earth because he has fashioned it from the interviews with residents of many communities, with people whose lives are bound to the sea.

Among the Nova Scotian communities included in the book are Neil's Harbor, Prospect, East Dover, Terence Bay and the Sambro area.

Pratson points to the ways in which the "changing patterns of marine life, economics, and technology" threaten the life style of the inshore fisherman. And he concludes: "Our world of various peoples and their special ways is like the different

shells on a beach. When they all exist, there is a great richness of diversity, some offering a greater sense of peace and beauty than others, all, nonetheless, are necessary to the spectrum of human life. If, one by one, they are removed or combined into one, we are left to ourselves and the loneliness of an empty beach."

A superb book, written with warmth and understanding.

For a long time some of the most sought after out-of-print books about Nova Scotia have been the various county histories, most of them written in the latter part of the 19th century. Prices for second-hand copies in good condition have soared to, for example, $60 for James F. More's History of Queen's County, first published in Halifax in 1873.

This spring Mika Publishing, a small firm in Belleville, Ontario, which had produced facsimile editions of out-of-print local histories of various towns and sections of Ontario, branched out and began work on books about the Maritimes.

The More History of Queen's County was the first Nova Scotian book to be produced by the Mika studios, and it has been followed by several of the better known county histories, as well as an Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Province of Prince Edward Island—1880, and an impressive list of reproductions now under way or to be available this fall.

The reproduction of the volumes which I have seen to date is first-class. The copies being used are clear and clean, most of them copies in the federal Archives. The books are all hardcover, with good stock.

Some of the books to look for within the next few months are listed below.

The History of Queen's County, N.S., by James F. More (1873)
250 pages, hardcover, $8.50 (Available)

The History of the County of Annapolis, by W. A. Calnek (1897)
680 pages, hardcover, $15. (Available)

New Brunswick with a Brief Outline of Nova Scotia and
Prince Edward Island, by Alexander Monro (1855)
392 pages, hardcover, $12 (Available)

A History of Pictou County, N.S.,
by the Rev. George Patterson, D.D.
480 pages, hardcover, $25. (Available)

A History of Newfoundland, by Daniel Prowse
904 pages, hardcover, $25. (In preparation)

A History of the County of Yarmouth, N.S.,
by Rev. J. R. Campbell
210 pages, hardcover, illustrated, $12.50 (In preparation)

Illustrated Historical Atlas of Pictou County, N.S. (1879)
102 pages, hardcover, $12.50 (In preparation)

History of the County of Digby, by Isaiah W. Wilson (1900)
471 pages, hardcover (In preparation)

History of the County of Lunenburg, by B. DesBrisay
585 pages, hardcover $15. (In preparation)

Historical and Genealogical Record of the First Settlers of Colchester County, N.S., by Thomas Miller (1873)
406 pages, hardcover, $12.50 (In preparation)

Readers of the Quarterly with a special interest in Ontario may care to write to Mika Publishing for its catalogue of facsimile editions of Rare Canadiana. It includes a number of illustrated historical atlases of Ontario; William Canniff's History of the Settlement of Upper Canada (1869); Canniff Haight's Country Life in Canada (1885); The History of the County of Welland, published by the Welland Tribune Publishing House in 1887 and Ontarian Families Genealogies, by Edward Marion Chadwick, 1894.

Most of these reproductions are in limited editions, ranging anywhere up to 1,000 copies.

Although it will deal through local book stores (at a substantially smaller trade discount than other publishing houses), Mika Publishing prefers to market its books by mail. The address is Mika Studio, 200 Stanley Street, Belleville, Ontario. (P.O. Box 536). Because of the considerable interest in this province in the reproductions of Nova Scotian books, however, most local book stores will be carrying some stocks.

Antique Potteries of Nova Scotia, by George MacLaren
27 pages, paperback, $2., published July, 1972
Petheric Press

In the last decade the interest in antique Nova Scotian furniture, bottles, glass and pottery has soared (so have the prices!) and there has been a growing demand for information about the history of these relatively unknown crafts.

Now George MacLaren, curator of the Nova Scotia Museum and an expert on antiques and their identification and restoration, has written a small pamphlet setting out what is known about the potters who practised their art in this province.

As MacLaren points out in his book, the number of such potters "can not have been too great." Pottery was readily available from Britain or the United States, the population was not large enough to support a commercial pottery of any size and "until the 1860s, we can assume that no pottery existed on a commercial basis in Nova Scotia."

It was not that the material was not here; good clays could be found in many parts of the province. But the men who could shape it into the everyday forms in use in the homes of the 18th and 19th centuries were not available in any quantity. Further, they seem to have been an unusually modest lot. Much of the pottery that has survived, either intact or in pieces un-

earthed at excavations, is innocent of any potter's mark which might identify its creator.

The booklet is illustrated with examples of pottery, mainly from items in the Nova Scotia Museum, including a set of delightful wall plaques by Henry Prescott of James Prescott & Son, Enfield, 1880, in terra cotta, depicting Nova Scotia Miners, a domestic scene in a Nova Scotia Home and, not forgetting the farms, a couple of frolicking Nova Scotia Asses.

This booklet is a companion to Nova Scotia Furniture also by George MacLaren, which was published last year by Petheric Press and, along with The Bottle Collector by Azor Vienneau, will provide the antique collector who wishes to learn more about collecting these items with a series of valuable guides.

Notes on Nova Scotia

Among the loyalist refugees who arrived at Digby in 1783 was John Edison from New Jersey. He was the great-grandfather of the famed inventor Thomas A. Edison, whose grandfather and father were both born in Digby, Nova Scotia.

* * *

The largest fresh water lake in Nova Scotia is Lake Rossignol, near the western border of Queens County, bordering on the Tobeatic Game Sanctuary and Kejimkujik National Park.

* * *

St. Mary's Church at Church Point, Digby County, is the largest wooden church in Canada.

* * *

"Cape Breton" is one of the oldest names in American geography. It is believed to have been given this name by Basque fishermen before the voyages of Columbus, after the place of the same name in their homeland.

* * *

The famous artist of bird life, Audubon, visited Halifax in 1833. His report describes the visitors' living accommodations as crowded, with most inadequate services.