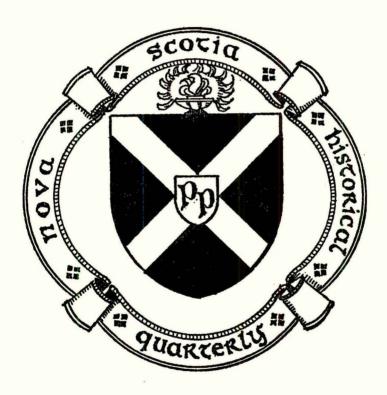
The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

Volume 3, Number 4, December 1973



EDITORIAL BOARD:

Chairman: W. H. McCurdy

Members: Phyllis Blakeley

Dr. Helen Creighton

Shirley Elliott

Dr. C. B. Fergusson

J. L. Martin

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

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

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

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

The copyright contained in all articles in this volume is the property and responsibility of the authors. Petheric Press Limited holds the copyright on the format only of the Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly.

Printed at Halifax, Nova Scotia by McCurdy Printing Co. Ltd.



PETHERIC PRESS

Copyright 1973

The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

Volume 3, Number 4, December 1973



Contents

Some Notable Achievements of Native Nova Scotians —A. E. Marble	259						
Yarmouth and Argyle 1814-1851—M. V. Marshall							
The 'King's Bastion Barracks' in Louisbourg —Blaine Adams	303						
Crossing to Catastrophe—James F. Smith							
Dr. Adamsons' Cholera Cure—Geoffrey Bilson							
The Bounty Hunter—John Leefe							
Contributors	341						
Book Reviews-Lorna Inness	345						
Notes on Nova Scotia-M.E. Franklyn	353						

A Publication of Petheric Press Limited

© Petheric Press Limited 1973

Second Class Mail Registration No. 2554

The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly gratefully acknowledges assistance given by The Canada Council.

Some Notable Achievements of Native Nova Scotians

PROFESSOR A. E. MARBLE

During the fifteen years which I have been reading Nova Scotia history, I have become very impressed with the remarkable achievements of *native born* Nova Scotians. Every province or state has produced individuals who have attained fame, but it would be difficult to find another part of the continent, of similar area and population as Nova Scotia, which has produced as many noted personalities as has this province. In this paper I will attempt to convince you that the above statement has merit. I will mention those Nova Scotians who have successfully persued careers in Politics and Government and Judiciary, Education, Religion, the Military, Business and Industry, Athletics, Music, Literature, Painting, Sculpture, Drama and Science. The Nova Scotians cited as being successful represent my personal selection, and I do not pretend that the selection is complete.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Nova Scotians have held political and government positions in Canada as well as in other Countries and Colonies of the world. The highest office attained has been that of Prime Minister of Canada, a position which has been held by Sir John S. D. Thompson¹ (1894-1896), Sir Charles Tupper² (1896) and Sir Robert L. Borden³ (1910-1921). All three of these gentlemen became Imperial Privy Council members as did William S. Fielding4 and James L. Illslev.5 Both Sir Charles Tupper and Sir Robert L. Borden were Federal opposition leaders around the turn of the century. Robert L. Stanfield6 is the third Nova Scotian to hold that office. At least forty federal cabinet ministers7 were born in Nova Scotia. Nine have been Minister of National Defence or the equivalent. Their terms total thirty years. Frederick W. Borden⁸ held the office for 15 vears, and James L. Ralston^o held the office on two different occasions (1926-1930, 1940-1944). No less than seven Nova Scotians have been Minister of Finance. Their terms of office total twenty-eight years of which William S. Fielding held office for 19 years. Seven natives of this Province have been Secretary of State for Canada covering a period of twenty years. Sir Robert L. Borden held the office for eight years (1912-1920). Sir Charles Tupper held six different cabinet posts including President of the Privy Council. James L. Illsley and Robert H. Winters¹⁰ held four Federal cabinet posts. Edgar N. Rhodes¹¹ was the only Nova Scotian who held the office of Speaker in the Commons (1917-1922).

A total of 221 Nova Scotians have been elected members of the House of Commons ^{12, 13}, representing every province of Canada. Sir Frederick W. Borden was a member of Parliament for thirty-two years. Two Nova Scotia women have sat in the Commons; Mrs. Margaret Rideout of Bridgewater representing New Brunswick, and Margaret M. MacDonald of Halifax representing Prince Edward Island. A total of seventy-four Nova Scotians have been appointed to the Senate^{12, 13}. Thirteen of this number, including Edward B. Chandler, a Father of Confederation for New Brunswick, represented provinces other than their native one. William Miller of Antigonish sat for forty-five years in the Senate and was speaker of that house

1883-1887. Lawrence G. Power of Halifax spent forty-four years as a senator and was speaker 1901-1905.

All of the twenty Premiers of Nova Scotia since Charles Tupper¹⁴ took office in 1864 have been born in this Province. George H. Murray ¹⁵ held the office for twenty-six years (1896-1923), and Angus L. Macdonald¹⁶ held it for a total of sixteen years (1933-1940), and (1945-1954). William A. Smith¹⁷, or more popularly known as "Amor de Cosmos", was born in Windsor in 1825, and was the second Premier of British Columbia (1872-1874). Allan E. Blakeney¹⁸ of Bridgewater became Premier of Saskatchewan in 1971, a post which he still holds.

At least 168 Nova Scotians have been members of Provincial Cabinets^{13, 19}. Outside of Nova Scotia, Thomas J. Bentley of Dartmouth was Minister of Public Health and Social Welfare for Saskatchewan (1949-1960). Allan E. Blakeney was Minister of Education for that Province 1960-1961. Edward T. Kenney of Clark's Harbour was Minister of Lands and Forests and Public Works for British Columbia. Wendell W. Meldrum of Simpson Corner, Lunenburg County was Minister of Education for New Brunswick. James G. Taggart of Parrsboro was Minister of Agriculture for Saskatchewan and Frank Putnam of Truro was Minister of Agriculture for British Columbia. In Nova Scotia, James W. Longley of Paradise was Attorney-General for nineteen years (1886-1905). Alexander S. MacMillan of Upper South River was Minister of Highways for fourteen years (1925-1927), (1933-1945), S. G. W. Archibald 20 of Truro spent fifteen years in the cabinet as Solicitor General and Attorney General covering the period 1826-1841. Ernest H. Armstrong of North Kingston was Minister of Public Works and Mines for fourteen years (1911-1925). Stephen T. Pyke of Springhill was Minister of Labour and Public Works for twelve years (1956-1968). Donald MacLean of Cape Breton was leader of the opposition in the

Saskatchewan Legislature 1918-1921. Archibald B. Gillis was Speaker of the North West Territories Legislature 1902-1905, and David W. Higgins was Speaker of the British Columbia Legislature 1890-1898.

At least 705 Nova Scotians have been elected members of the Provincial Legislatures 13, 19. I have found records that twenty-one were elected to the New Brunswick Legislature, fourteen to the Saskatchewan Legislature, twelve to the British Columbia Legislature, eleven to Alberta, seven to Manitoba, two each to the Quebec, Ontario, and the North West Territories and one each to the legislatures of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. Prior to confederation Andrew W. Cochran²¹ of Windsor was a member of the cabinet of Lower Canada (1827-1841), Norman F. Uniacke²² was Attorney General of Lower Canada, as was George Pvke23 of Halifax and Robert Christie²⁴ of Windsor was a member of both the Upper and Lower Canada Parliaments. S. G. W. Archibald of Truro and Joseph W. Comeau of Comeauville were members of the Nova Scotia Legislature for thirty-five years. Edith Cox of Upper Stewiacke, and Gladys M. Porter of Sydney are the only Nova Scotia women who have been elected to Provincial Legislatures.

Nova Scotia has produced twenty-seven men who have been appointed Lieutenant Governors²⁵ of provinces of Canada. Sir Adams G. Archibald of Truro was Lt. Governor of two provinces: Manitoba (1870-1873), and Nova Scotia (1873-1883). Of the remaining twenty-six, eight were Lt. Governors of provinces other than their native one. Edward B. Chandler of Amherst was Lt. Governor of New Brunswick 1878-1880, as was Jabez B. Snowball of Lunenburg 1902-1907. Thomas R. MacInnes of Lake Ainslie was Lt. Governor of British Columbia 1897-1900. John K. MacKay and William D. Ross were Lt. Governors of Ontario from 1957-1963 and 1927-1932 respectively. William J. Tupper, son of Sir Charles Tupper,

was Lt. Governor of Manitoba 1934-1940. Henry Newlands of Dartmouth was Lt. Governor of Saskatchewan 1921-1931, and Philip C. H. Primrose of Halifax was Lt. Governor of Alberta 1935-1937.

Nova Scotians who have served in the office of Ambassador for Canada include: Loring C. Christie of Amherst who was Ambassador to the United States 1939-1941; Charles A. Ritchie was Ambassador to Germany 1954-1958, to the United Nations 1958-1962, and to the United States 1962-1966; Herbert F. B. Feaver of Glace Bay who was Ambassador to Denmark 1956-1958, to Switzerland 1961-1964, Mexico 1964-1967, and Greece 1967-; Arthur J. Andrew of Pictou who was Ambassador to Israel 1962-1965, and to Sweden; Thomas B. Wainman-Wood who was appointed Ambassador to Czechoslovakia and Hungary in 1968; Blanche M. Meagher of Halifax who became Ambassador to Sweden in 1969, and James MacDonald of Goldenville, Guysborough County who has been Ambassador to Brazil, Yugoslavia and Austria.

Outside of Canada, Nova Scotians have become members of many governments. David Armstrong, Philip Campbell, William Connell, Charles Eaton, William Eaton, David Harvey, and Daniel Sutherland became members of the United States Congress. 26 Colin Cameron of Kenzieville became a member of the Massachusetts State Legislature. Arthur Eaton of Cornwallis became a member of the Connecticut State Legislature 27. William Eaton, born in Pugwash, was a Senator in the Colorado State Legislature 28. Thomas Fraser of Rogers Hill was a Senator for California. 29 Donald Kellaher of Liverpool was a Senator for Oregon 30, and Ebenezer McPherson of East Jordan became a member of the Massachusetts Legislature. 31 In Britain, Thomas C. Haliburton, 32 Sir Fenwick Williams, 33 Peter D. MacDonald 34 and William T. Aitken 35 became members of the British House of Commons, and Arthur Haliburton

of Windsor became a member of the British House of Lords.36 Sir Simon Fraser³⁷ of Lorne became first a member of the Legislature Assembly of Australia and then a member of the Senate of that Country, James Cochran of Windsor was Attorney-General of Gibralter.38 Charles H. Darling39 of Annapolis Royal was Governor of Newfoundland, Jamaica, and Victoria, and Lt. Governor of St. Lucia and the Cape Colony. Sir Fenwick Williams was Lt. Governor of Gibraltar, and William Winniett was Governor General of the Cape Coast District.40 James Angel of Halifax, A. M. MacKay of Pictou. Sir Alfred Morine of Port Medway, Sir Edward Archibald of Truro, and James Tait of Wallace were members of the Newfoundland Government, Sir Gilbert Wainwright of Halifax was a member of the Legislature Council of Jamaica.41 George P. MacKenzie of Malagash was Commissioner of the Yukon. 42 Alexander Howe was Commissioner General of Isle St. John.¹⁹ Richard J. Uniacke was Attorney General of Cape Breton.¹⁹

When we think of the achievements of Nova Scotians in the field of government we immediately think of Joseph Howe, Charles Tupper, William S. Fielding, Robert L. Borden, Angus L. Macdonald, or Robert L. Stanfield. As we have seen a remarkable number of Nova Scotians have served not only their native province but other provinces of Canada, and other countries of the world as well.

JUDICIARY

At least sixty-three Nova Scotians have become Judges of the Supreme Courts. John E. Read of Halifax became Judge of the International Court in 1946. William T. Ritchie of Annapolis Royal became the second Chief Justice of Canada. Samuel G. W. Archibald and Thomas Cochrane became Chief Justices of Prince Edward Island. Aulay M. Morrison of Baddeck was Chief Justice of British Columbia, and Albert C. Killam of Yarmouth was Chief Justice of Manitoba. Maynard

B. Archibald of Manganese Mines was Judge of the Exchequer Court of Canada as was George Burbidge of Cornwallis. James Cochran was Chief Justice of Gibraltar for thirty-six years. T. Dickson Archibald of Truro became a Justice of the Court of the King's Bench in England in 1872.

EDUCATION

One of the most remarkable exploits of Nova Scotians has been the record that they have established in the field of education. No less than fifty-three native sons have become Presidents of degree granting Colleges and Universities. Twenty-nine of these men have been Presidents of institutions outside of Nova Scotia. Probably the most prominent of these was Sir John W. Dawson of Pictou, who was President of McGill 1855-1893. Rev. George M. Grant of Stellarton was President of Queen's 1877-1903, and was succeeded by Rev. Daniel M. Gordon of Pictou 1903-1917. Senator Norman A. M. MacKenzie of Pugwash was President of the University of New Brunswick 1940-1944, and of the University of British Columbia 1944-1962. Rear Admiral Desmond Piers of Halifax was Commandant of the Royal Military College. Sidney E. Smith of Port Hood Island was President of the University of Manitoba 1934-1944, and of the University of Toronto 1944-1957. Henry M. Tory of Guysborough was the first President of Carleton University 1942-1947. He was also the first President of the National Research Council of Canada. David Allison, Newport, was twice President of Mount Allison University 1868-1877, 1891-1910. Three Nova Scotians have been President of McMaster University: Theodore Rand of Cornwallis, Oates Wallace of Canaan, Kings County, and Howard P. Whidden of Antigonish.

Within Nova Scotia, John Forrest of New Glasgow was President of Dalhousie University for twenty-six years. H. P. MacPherson of Cloverville, Antigonish County, was President of St. Francis Xavier University for thirty years, 1906-1936. Dr. Clarence MacKinnon of Hopewell was Principal of Pine Hill Divinity College for twenty-eight years, 1909-1937. In the United States, George B. Cutten of Amherst was President of Colgate University as was Melbourne Read of Berwick. Albert R. Hill of Five Islands was President of the University of Missouri 1908-1922. Avery A. Shaw was President of Denison University 1927-1940. Kenneth C. N. Sills of Halifax was President of Bowdoin College in Maine for thirty-four years. George C. Kenney of Yarmouth was Commandant of the United States Air Force Academy in Alabama. Outside of the continent, Howard P. Outerbridge of Yarmouth was President of a Japanese University. J. W. Hart of Granville Ferry was Director of the College of Agriculture at Sao Paulo, Brazil. William Boogs of Lower Stewiacke became President of a Theological Seminary in India.

Over sixty Nova Scotians have been Deans at degree granting colleges and universities. Twenty-eight of these have been in institutions outside of Nova Scotia, Roland Richardson was Dean of the Graduate School at Brown University. Earl Bill of Billtown was Dean at Dartmouth College. John Finlayson of Merigomish was Dean at the University of British Columbia 1936-1950, as was Geoffrey Andrew 1953-1962. Albert Hill of Five Islands was a Dean at the University of Missouri 1903-1907 and at Cornell 1907-1908. Joseph C. Blair of Truro was a Dean at the University of Illinois 1938-1939. Annie L. MacLeod of Economy was Dean at Syracuse University 1949-1963. W. R. Morse of Lawrencetown was Dean of Medicine at Union University in West China. R. Ian MacDonald of Sydney, Alexander Primrose of Pictou and John B. Sisam of Springhill were Deans at the University of Toronto. Robert Wilson of Lunenburg and Walter C. MacKenzie have been appointed Deans at the University of Alberta

At least 500 Native Nova Scotians have held the appointment of Assistant, Associate, or Full Professor at degree grant-

ing institutions. Raymond C. Archibald of Stewiacke, Roland Richardson of Halifax, Harold Bigelow of Spencer's Island, and Cyril Harris of LeHave have been Professors at Brown. William Barss of New Germany and Edward Cameron of Yarmouth were Professors at Yale. Walter Clark of Digby, John D. Logan of Antigonish, Henry Munro of Pictou, Kenneth Webster, Keith Porter, and Ralph Wetmore of Yarmouth, and Benjamin Rand of Canning became Professors at Harvard. James A. Doull of New Glasgow and Simon Newcomb of Wallace became Professors at Johns Hopkins. In the United Kingdom, J. Gordon McGregor was a Professor at Edinburgh 1901-1913. John B. Corston was a Professor at St. Andrew's, and Reginald R. Gates of Victoria Vale, Annapolis County was a Professor at the University of London.

At least 300 Nova Scotians have earned the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) or the equivalent. Probably the first to earn the degree was Colin F. MacKinnon of Antigonish who received his Ph.D. from Urban College in 1837. At least forty Nova Scotians received Doctorates from Harvard, twenty-eight from Yale, twenty-five from McGill, twenty-one from the University of Toronto, and fifteen from Cornell. Fourteen native sons from Eastern Nova Scotia received Doctorates in Rome, and eleven native sons received their degree at Johns Hopkins.

In the development of teacher training and common school education we are indebted to such people as: John B. Calkin of Cornwallis who was Principal of the Normal College 1869-1900, Henry F. Munro of Pictou who was Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia 1926-1947, and President of the Canadian Education Association 1936-1938, Theodore Rand of Cornwallis who was Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia 1864-1870, and of New Brunswick 1871-1883; and Alexander H. MacKay of Glenburn who was Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia 1891-1925. Alfred

Fitzpatrick of Millsville organized the Frontier College in 1922. Moses M. Coady of North East Margaree was President of the Canadian Association for Adult Education 1949-1951, and his work led to the founding of the Coady International Institute in Antigonish in 1959. Henry M. Tory of Guysborough organized the Khaki University in England in 1917.

THE MILITARY

No less than fifteen Nova Scotians have reached the rank of General in the Army. Also fifteen native sons have been promoted to the rank of Admiral in the Navy. Clarence R. Dunlap of Sydney Mines was an Air Marshall in the Royal Canadian Air Force, Chief of the Air Staff and Commandant of the National Defence College of Canada. George Kenney⁴³ of Yarmouth became a General in the United States Air Force, and commanded the United States and Allied Air Forces in the Pacific in World War II, and was Commander of Strategic Air Command 1946-1948. Benjamin Hallowell-Carew and Provo Wallis became Admirals of the Fleet in the Royal Navy. William Wolseley of Annapolis Royal attained the rank of Senior Admiral of the Red in the Royal Navy. Phillips Cosby, born at Annapolis Royal, became the first Nova Scotian to become an Admiral, which he did in 1819. Sir Fenwick Williams, also of Annapolis Royal, and Hero of Kars in the Crimea, was promoted to full General in 1868. Ralph E. Allan and Edwin M. Reyno, both of Halifax became Lt. Generals in the British and Canadian Army respectively. General Reyno is Deputy Commander of the North American Air Defence. Harold T. W. Grant, born in Halifax, and George C. Jones of Halifax were Chiefs of the Naval staff. Ransford D. Bucknam of Hall's Harbour was promoted to a Vice Admiral in the Turkish Navy by Sultan Abdul Hamid.44

Nova Scotians have won their share of military honours. Four native sons have won the Victoria Cross.⁴⁵ William Hall of Horton Bluff won the V.C. at Lucknow in 1857. John C.

Kerr of Fox River won the medal at the Somme in 1915. James P. Robertson of Stellarton received the award for bravery at Passchendale in 1917, and Philip E. Bent of Halifax won the V.C. at Polygon Wood in 1917. Harry and Willard Miller of Noel Shore were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honour by the United States Government for bravery in the Spanish American War.⁶⁴ George U. Hill of Pictou shot down sixteen German planes and won the Distinguished Flying Cross and two bars in W.W. II. Frederick H. Wilkinson of Dartmouth won the military medal and two bars in W.W. I. Eric W. MacDonald of Amherst win the Distinguished Service Order and two bars in W.W. I.

RELIGION

This province has produced at least five Archbishops and twenty-one Bishops. Joseph Bourg of River Canard was the first Acadian to be ordained and was made Vicar General of Acadia in 1774. Neil MacNeil of Mabou was Archbishop of Vancouver 1910-1912, and of Toronto 1912-1934. Moses E. Kiley of Margaree was Archbishop of Chicago. Edward J. McCarthy and James M. Haves are native Nova Scotians who have held the post of Archbishop of Halifax. John H. McDonald of Maryvale was Archbishop of Edmonton 1936-1964. Michael Power of Halifax was the first Bishop of Toronto 1842-1847. Hibbert Binney of Sydney was Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia 1851-1887, Patrick J. Bray of Springfield was Bishop of Saint John, New Brunswick 1936-1953. James Boyle of Merland, Antigonish County, was Bishop of Charlottetown 1944-1954. Henry P. A. Abbott of Halifax was Bishop of Lexington, Kentucky.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

An extraordinary number of Nova Scotians left the farm or fishing village to move into very important positions in business and industry. One of the earliest was Enos Collins of Liverpool who engaged in the West India Trade and was reputed to be the richest man in North America at one time.47 Samuel Cunard⁴⁸ of Halifax founded the largest steamship enterprise in the world in 1840. Edward P. Morse⁴⁹ of Clementsport founded the United Dry Docks in New York and left an estate worth forty million dollars when he died in 1930. Alfred C. Fuller of Welsford, Kings County, founded the Fuller Brush Company in Somerville, Mass, in 1906. Stanley Beveridge⁵⁰ of Yarmouth founded the Stanley Products in 1931. His company sales exceeded \$100 million in 1956. Duncan W. Fraser⁵¹ of Churchville became President of The American Locomotive Company in 1940. George L. Jennison of New Glasgow was appointed Chairman of the Toronto Stock Exchange in 1953. Lawrence Killam of Yarmouth became President of the British Columbia Pulp and Paper Company in 1926. Charles M. Carson⁵² of Scotsburn held the position of General Superintendent of the Cadillac Motor Company. Brenton McKeen of Glace Bay was Director of Product Engineering for the Ford Motor Company. Michael O'Brien of Lochaber built many of the railways of Canada. William Robson of Windsor was President of Otis Elevator, John Patton of Oxford was President of Petrofina, and Martin Murphy of Halifax was General Manager of Northern Electric. Charles F. MacKenzie of Halifax became President of Canada Permanent Trust in 1964, and C. P. McColough of Halifax became President of the Xerox Corporation in 1968. business prominence of such men as Izaak W. Killam, Charles MacCulloch and Frank Sobey is well known to all.

In the newspaper and printing industry, Robert McConnel of Meadowville became Editor-in-Chief of the Montreal Herald. Charles Tuttle became Managing Editor of the Boston Daily News. Blair Fraser of Sydney was Ottawa Editor of MacLean's Magazine. Alfred Shaw of Hantsport founded and edited the Red Book Magazine⁵³, George Munro, benefactor of Dalhousie, was a millionaire book and periodical publisher in

the United States. Charles Bruce of Port Shoreham was at one time General Superintendent of the Canadian Press.

In banking, Sydney G. Dobson of Sydney became President of the Royal Bank of Canada, and Kenneth Sedgewick of Middle Musquodoboit was General Manager of the Royal Bank. Marsdon Blois of Hants County and John Rovinsky of New Glasgow became Vice Presidents of the Bank of America. Sydney Logan of Debert became the General Manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce in 1926. Morris Wilson of Lunenburg became President, and Managing Director of the Bank of Canada in 1934. In insurance, Morris Robinson⁵⁴ of Wilmot became the first President of the Mutual Insurance Company of New York in 1842. Frank D. Mac-Charles of Middle River became General Manager of Great West Life in 1938. Milton Grant of Hopewell was President of Sovereign Life Insurance in 1948. Walton Crocker of Plymouth was President of John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company.

In government service, George F. Davidson of Bass River was President of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation until 1972, and is now Under Secretary to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Cecil S. Parsons of Springhill was Director of the Atomic Energy of Canada. Edward D. Sutherland of Sydney held the position of Auditor-General of Canada. Charles E. S. Tompkins of Florenceville was Inspector of Banks for Canada, Walter P. Archibald of Truro was the first Dominion Parole Officer. Carlyle S. Beals of Canso was Dominion Astronomer 1946-1964, and Malcolm B. Davis of Yarmouth was Dominion Horticulturist. George M. Dawson was Director of the Geological Survey of Canada. Samuel Dawson of Halifax was Queens Printer for Canada, George D. Finlayson was Superintendent of Insurance for Canada, and George Johnson of Annapolis Royal was Dominion Statistician. Edgar S. Archibald of Yarmouth was Director of the Dominion

Forms in Ottawa 1919-1950. In the United States, Edward Young⁵⁵ of Falmouth was the first Chief of the Bureau of Statistics.

ATHLETICS

In sports, the winning of a medal in the Olympics is high recognition. From Nova Scotia, J. Garfield MacDonald and Douglas Rogers of Truro competed in the Olympics and won silver medals for Canada. 56, 57 At least twenty Nova Scotians have played ice hockey in the National Hockey League.58 The most successful of these was probably William "Flash" Hollett of Sydney who was a defenseman for the Detroit Red Wings. He placed on the All-Star team many times and held the record for goals scored by a defenseman until Bobby Orr broke the record. Allister MacNeil of Sydney coached the Montreal Canadiens to the Stanley Cup in 1971, and coached the Nova Scotia Voyageurs to the Calder Cup in 1972. Five native Nova Scotians played in the major baseball leagues⁵⁹. One of these. Frederick L. Lake was the Manager of the Boston Red Sox in 1908-1909. Johnny Miles⁶⁰ of Sydney, Fred Cameron⁶¹ of Advocate and Ronald MacDonald62 of Antigonish have been winners of the Boston Marathon. In boxing, George Dixon of Halifax was both bantamweight and featherweight champion of the world.⁶³ Nat Fleischer in his encyclopedia of boxing, rates Sam Langford of Weymouth as the 7th best heavyweight boxing champion of all time. Both Dixon and Langford are members of the Boxing Hall of Fame. Roy Mitchell of Bridgetown was heavyweight boxing champion of Canada, and George Brown of Herring Cove was champion oarsman for America.

MUSIC

Probably Nova Scotia's most well known personality in music has been baritone Earle Spicer of Berwick. Portia White of Truro became well known as a contralto and Nita Carriette⁶⁴ of Halifax sang opera in many European centers. Ingram Rice⁶⁵

of New Glasgow composed the song "Mademoiselle from Armentieres" during the first World War. P.C. Shortis⁶⁶ of Halifax, "The Banjo King" introduced the banjo into Europe and Asia. Louise Burchell of Sydney was an accomplished organist and pianist. In the field of Country and Western music, Wilf Carter of Port Hilford, and Clarence "Hank" Snow of Milton, Queen's County, are well known. More recently, Anne Murray of Springhill has been Nova Scotia's representative in the Popular music field.

LITERATURE

A Nova Scotian who became internationally known for his writings was Thomas C. Haliburton. He has been called "the father of the American school of humor." Nova Scotians who have become nationally known as authors include: Will R. Bird of East Mapleton, Cumberland County; William C. Borrett of Dartmouth; Ernest A. Buckler of West Dalhousie, Annapolis County; Lawrence J. Burpee of Halifax; Hugh MacLennan of Glace Bay, Margaret Saunders of Milton, and Helen Creighton of Dartmouth. Hugh MacLennan, Evelyn Richardson, and Charles Bruce have won Governor General's Awards for fiction and Robert Dawson twice won the award for non-fiction. In the United States, Frank Bond⁴⁸ of Halifax was a member of the Pulitzer Award Committee in the 1930's.

A number of Nova Scotians have become known as poets: Robert Norwood of New Ross, George Cameron of New Glasgow, and John McPherson, "The Bard of Acadia", of Liverpool are some of the more well known. Nova Scotians who have contributed to the documentation of our history include Thomas Akins of Liverpool who wrote a history of Halifax city in 1847. Thomas C. Haliburton, Beamish Murdock, and David Allison wrote histories of Nova Scotia. Robert Christie⁶⁹ of Windsor wrote a history of the late provinces of Lower Canada in six volumes. Frank Schofield⁷⁰ of Black River wrote The Story of Manitoba in three volumes in 1913.

PAINTING71 AND SCULPTURE

Gilbert S. Newton of Halifax was probably the most accomplished Nova Scotian in the field of painting. He became a member of the Royal Academy in 1835. Maria Miller of Halifax is well known for her water colours of native flowers. Jack Gray of Halifax has won fame for his sea scenes. Earle Bailly has, while under an extreme handicap, caught the admiration of many with his paintings, John Wilson⁷² of New Glasgow is probably the most prominent sculptor to come from Nova Scotia.

DRAMA

In drama, Peter Donat of Kentville, and Ruby Keeler of Dartmouth are probably the best known Nova Scotians. Harold Russell, of North Sydney won two Oscars for his performance in "The Best Years of Our Lives". Nathan Cohen of Sydney was a well known theatre critic and entertainment editor.

SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING

Our most noted native son in the field of science is Simon Newcombe of Wallace who wrote over 500 scientific articles, and has been acclaimed as the greatest American Astronomer of the 19th century. Charles B. Huggins of Halifax won the Nobel prize in Medicine and Physiology in 1966. In the medical field George Stewart of Malagash, Walter MacKenzie of Glace Bay and Walter Chipman of Wolfville became Presidents of the American College of Surgeons. James A. Doull⁷⁴ of New Glasgow became a world authority on leprosy, and Reginald Gates⁷⁵ of Victoria Vale, Annapolis County wrote eight books and over 350 papers on genetics and anthropology. In geology, John W. Dawson of Pictou published over 500 scientific papers, and Abraham Gesner of Cornwallis invented a method of extracting kerosene from coal. Charles Fenerty of Springfield Lake invented a method of making paper from wood pulp. Arthur McCurdy of Truro invented methods of developing photographic plates and films which are used by Kodak. Raymond Archibald of Stewiacke was Editor-in-Chief of the Bulletin of the American Mathematical Society. John Hagen⁷⁶ of Amherst was Director of the United States "Vanguard" satellite project. L. G. Elliott of Clarence was Director of research at Chalk River Atomic Energy. Perry Borden⁷⁷ of Pugwash is credited with sixteen United States patents in electrical engineering. William Ross of River John obtained thirteen United States patents in Soil Chemistry. Keith Porter, Hubert Vickery, and Colin McLeod are members of the National Academy of Science of the United States.⁷⁸ Twelve Nova Scotians have been Fellows of the Royal Society of England, and at least seventy-two have been elected Fellows of the Royal Society of Canada. Eight of these Fellows have been Presidents of the Royal Society.

HONOURS AND AWARDS

Many Nova Scotians have been honoured by the United Kingdom. Andrew L. Haliburton of Windsor was made a Baron in 1898. Samuel Cunard, Charles Tupper and Fenwick Williams were made Baronets. Seven Nova Scotians were made Knight Commanders of the Order of the Bath (K.C.B.). Nine native sons became Knight Commanders of the Order of St. Michael and St. George (K.C.M.G.). Fourteen became Knight Bachelors (K.B.). Five became Knight Commanders of the Order of St. Gregory the Great (K.S.B.) and one, Peter MacDonald was made a Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire (K.B.E.). Other countries have honoured Nova Scotians, and probably the most celebrated recipient was Cyrus Eaton, who received the Lenin Peace Prize from the Russians in 1960.

ADVENTURERS, EXPLORERS, AND INNOVATORS

Some of our native sons who have become well known because of individual exploits include: Joshua Slocumb⁷⁹ of Wilmot who made a little noticed solo voyage around the world

(40,000 miles) during the years 1895-1898; William Stairs⁸⁰ of Halifax who is considered as one of the discoverers of the Nile River: Walter Callow81 of Advocate who started a wheelchair bus system which has brought joy to many invalid citizens; Daniel Fraser82 of Lorne who was Director of Relief after the San Francisco earthquake of 1906; David Fraser⁸³ of New Glasgow, the "King of Whalers" who sailed the arctic seas for twenty-five years. Robert Henderson⁸⁴ of Big Island, Pictou County who is credited with making the first discovery of gold in the Klondike in 1896; Alexander McLean⁸⁵ of East Bay. Cape Breton who is considered as the sea captain who Jack London used as the subject for his novel "Sea Wolf": Edmund Horne 85 of Enfield who discovered the Noranda copper and gold mines in Quebec; Sidney Gilchrist87 of Popular Hill, Pictou County who was a missionary in Angola for over thirty years, and wrote the book "Angola Awake". Finally, John Beckwith88 of Halifax, was a Hero at Waterloo and a Major General in the British Army and gave up his military career to become a missionary in the Alps.

In this paper I have attempted to show that native born Nova Scotians have been able to make their mark in all fields of endeavour. I would like to suggest that the two main reasons for the remarkable success of our native sons have been: Religion and Education. We have been fortunate in that men like Thomas McCulloch, James McGregor, Charles Inglis, Edmund Burke, and Edmund Crawley, came to this province and provided leadership in firmly establishing religion among the first settlers. These men, assisted by some of our native sons, were instrumental in setting up the educational institutions which have provided the start for most of the successful men I have mentioned.

Bibliography

Hopkins, J. C.: Life and Times of the Rt. Hon. Sir John Thompson, United Publishing House, London, 1895. Longley, J. W.: Sir Charles Tupper, Oxford Press, London,

2.

1927.

- Allison, D.: History of Nova Scotia, Bowen and Company, Halifax, vol. 3, p. 150.
 Fergusson, C. B,: Mr. Minister of Finance, Lancelot Press, Windsor, Nova Scotia, 1971. 3.

Encyclopedia Canadiana, 1970.

- Haliburton, E. D.: My Years with Stanfield, Lancelot Press,
- Windsor, Nova Scotia, 1972.

 Guide to Canadian Ministries Since Confederation, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, 1957, Supplement 1966.

Encyclopedia Britannica, 1967.

- 10.
- 11.
- Allison, op. cit., p. 131.

 Lonn, G.: Canadian Profiles, Pitt Publishing Company Ltd.,
 Toronto, 1965, vol. 1, p. 255.

 Wallace, W. S.: The MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian
 Biography, 3rd edition, MacMillan, Toronto, 1963.

 The Canadian Directory of Parliament 1867-1967, edited by
 J. K. Johnson, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, 1968. 12.
- Canadian Parliamentary Companion and Annual Register, and Canadian Parliamentary Guide. 13.
- Saunders, E. M.; Three Premiers of Nova Scotia, Toronto, 14. 1909.
- Morgan, H. J.: The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, Briggs, Toronto, 1912. 15.
- Hawkins, J.: The Life and Times of Angus L., Lancelot 16. Press, Windsor, Nova Scotia, 1969. Wild, R.: Amor De Cosmos, Ryerson, Toronto, 1958.

17.

18.

- Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1966, p. 800. A Directory of the Members of the Legislative Assembly of 19. Nova Scotia 1758-1958, The Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, 1958.
- 20. Longworth, I.: Life of S. G. W. Archibald, Huestis, Halifax,
- Morgan, H. J.: Sketches of Celebrated Canadians, Hunter, 21.
- 22.

23.

24.

25.

- Morgan, H. J.: Sketches of Celebrated Canadians, Hunter, Rose and Company, London, 1862.
 Wallace, W. S.: The Dictionary of Canadian Biography, MacMillan, Toronto, 1926.
 Wallace, 1963, op. cit.
 Morgan, 1862, op. cit.
 Encyclopedia Canadiana, 1970.
 Biographical Directory of The American Congress 1774-1961, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1961.
 Eaton, A. W. H.: The Eaton Family in Nova Scotia, Murray Printing Company, Cambridge, Mass., 1929, p. 145. 26.
- 27. Printing Company, Cambridge, Mass., 1929, p. 145.

28. Eaton, op. cit., p. 186. MacPhie, J. P.: Pictonians at Home and Abroad, Pinkham Press, Boston, 1914, p. 9.

30.

Morgan, 1912, op. cit. Robertson, M.: The Family of Donald McKay: The McKays 31. and McPhersons, Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. 37, p. 181. Chittick, V. L. O.: Thomas Chandler Haliburton, New York,

32. 1924.

33. Morgan, 1862, op. cit.

Roberts, G. G. D. and Tunnell, A. L.: The Canadian Who's 34. Who, Murray Print, Toronto, vol. 2, 1936-1937.

Who's Who in Canada, 1958-1959, International Press Ltd., 35.

Toronto, 1958, p. 828. Morgan, H. J.: The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, Briggs, Toronto, 1898. 36.

Ross, D. K.: The Pioneers and Churches, Hector Publishing 37.

Company Ltd., New Glasgow, p. 58. Eaton, A. W. H.: Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia, Americana Magazine, 1915-1919, p. 81. 38.

Encyclopedia Canadiana, 1970.
Harvey, D. C.: Nova Scotia and the Canadian Naval Tradition, Canadian Historical Review, vol. 23, 1942, p. 257.
Roberts and Tunnell, op. cit.
North Cumberlandians, North Cumberland Historical Society, Publication No. 2, 1965, p. 57. 40.

42.

43. Kerr, J. E.: Imprints of the Maritimes, Christopher Pub-

lishing House, Boston, 1959.
Borrett, W. C.: Down East, Imperial Publishing Company 44.

Ltd., Halifax, 1943. Machum, G. C.: Canada's V.C.'s, McClelland and Stewart 45. Ltd., Toronto, 1956.

46. Atlantic Advocate, August, 1960, p. 38.

47. Encyclopedia Canadiana, 1970.

Grant, K.: Samuel Cunard, Pioneer of the Atlantic Steam-48. ship, Abelard-Schurman, Toronto, 1967.

49. Halifax Chronicle Herald, July 1, 1972, p. 6.

50. Kerr, op. cit.

51. Kerr, op. cit. 52.

- Kerr, op. cit. Kerr, op. cit. Kirkconnell, W.: The Acadia Record 1838-1953, Kentville Publishing Company, Kentville, N.S., 1953. 53.
- 55.

56.

Rose, G. M.: A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography, Rose Publishing Company, Toronto, 1888, vol. 2.

Mezo, F.: The Modern Olympic Games, Pannonia Press, Budapest, 1956.

Halifax Chronicle Herald, August 26, 1972, p. 12.

Hollander, Z. and Bock, H.: The Complete Encyclopedia of Ice Hockey, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1970. 58. Ice Hockey, Jersey, 1970.

The Baseball Encyclopedia, The MacMillan Company, 59.

Toronto, 1969. 60. Atlantic Advocate, May, 1970, p. 32.

Prominent People of the Maritime Provinces, Canadian Publicity Company, Saint John, 1972.

Nova Scotia Medical Bulletin, July, 1926, p. 38 and 1947, 62.

63.

64.

Pictonians in Arms, University of New Brunswick Press, Fredericton, 1969. 65.

66.

Morgan, 1972, op. cit. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1967. 67.

Who's Who in Canada, 1958-1959, op. cit. 68.

69.

Wallace, 1926, op. cit. Long, R. J.: Nova Scotia Authors, 1918. 70.

71. Piers, H.: Artists in Nova Scotia, Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. 18, 1914, p. 145.

72. Kerr, op. cit. 73.

Kerr, op. cit. 74. Nova Scotia Medical Bulletin, 1963, p. 158.

75. Halifax Mail Star, May 2, 1958

76. Atlantic Advocate, February, 1958, p. 71.

77. North Cumberlandians, op. cit.

- 78. McGraw-Hill Modern Men of Science, McGraw-Hill, 1966.
- 79. Slocum, J.: Sailing Alone Around the World, Century Company, 1900.
- 80. Atlantic Advocate, October, 1960, p. 17.
- 81. Atlantic Advocate, February, 1958, p. 137.

82.

Ross, op. cit., p. 59.

MacLaren, G.: The Pictou Book, Hector Publishing Co. Ltd., New Glasgow, N.S., 1954, p. 259. 83.

84.

MacLaren, op. cit., p. 258.
MacNeil, N.: The Highland Heart in Nova Scotia, Saunders, Toronto, 1958, p. 170.
Halifax Chronicle Herald, March 16, 1953. 85.

- 87. Archibald, F. E.: Salute to Sid, Lancelot Press, Windsor, N.S., 1970.
- Meille, J. P.: General Beckwith, his Life and Labours Among the Waldenses of Piedmont, Nelson and Sons, 88. London, 1873.

Yarmouth and Argyle 1814-1851

M. V. MARSHALL

The Grand Jurors Book for the District of Yarmouth and Argyle, 1814-1851, contains a record of local government for those areas. Twice a year, usually in April and October, the Jury, under their foreman who in the earlier years also acted as secretary, addressed the conclusions from their deliberations to "The Worshipful Magistrates of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace". This book is a record of their minutes.

The minutes for the May Term in 1838 are the first ones to be headed, County of Yarmouth. Until that time the minutes are headed, District of Yarmouth and Argyle, but both before and after 1838 the Grand Jury nominated the officers for the Township of Yarmouth and the Township of Argyle. Of course there were no incorporated towns at that time.

The Grand Jury performed services much like those carried out now by the Town Councils and Municipal Councils, but in addition they played a part in the administration of justice. For example, they considered indictments and ruled on them as True Bill and No Bill, they dealt with the apprehension of criminals, the provision of jails, the holding of inquests, and so on. Instead of legislating, however, they made recommendations to the Worshipful Magistrates regarding needed legislation.

The same man served as foreman of the jury at both April and October meetings each year but the personnel of the jury usually had some changes. At first the foreman acted as secretary but in April, 1817, the Grand Jury recommended that a "clerk be appointed to attend the Grand Jury and that he be allowed for his services Per Day 0-7-6 and said Person is Obligated to take Charge of the Grand Jury Book without any further reward". Judging from the handwriting which varied from copper plate to practical illegibility this appointment was delayed some years. Skill in spelling also varied widely and was frequently phonetic. French names in particular gave difficulty (Dowset, Amero, Surat for Doucette, Amirault, Surette).

From the first there were French men among the jurors. In 1815 Charles Belliveau was Foreman. In the 59 years that had elapsed since the expulsion in 1755 the French people had evolved from settlers whose loyalty was not trustworthy to citizens who occupied positions of responsibility.

COMPOSITION OF THE GRAND JURY

Year	April 7	Гerm	10	French	October	r Ter	m	French
1814	Foreman	plus	17	2	Foreman	plus	16	4
1814	"	"	20	7	"	"	13	6
1816	,,,	"	15	1	"	"	18	2
1817	"	"	16	2	"	"	13	1
1818	"	"	19	4	"	"	13	2
1819	"	"	17	1	"	,,	14	

This table shows the number of members of the jury and the number who had French names during the first six years that are recorded. It is interesting to find names that have disappeared from the area except being found on tombstones, and on the other hand to find names that have always been found in the area to the present day. For example:

April Term District of Yarmouth and Argyle 1814

GRAND JURORS NAMES

Thomas Dane Foreman Reuben Clements John Crosby Johathan Horton Aboses Addott
Abraham Lent Junr.
Thomas Crosby
Lohn Manager Crocker
Jacob Spinney
Elias Trask
George County John Muse Senr. James Lent Junr.

James Larkin John Nickerson Junr. John Trask Senr. Daniel Crocker George Gavel Joseph Weston

It is the Opinion of the Grand Jury that the Bill of Indictment Preferred against Joshua Boyd by Rebecca Hobs (Alias Frost) for a violent attempt to ravish the fair Rebecca Hobs (Alias Frost) is a True Bill.

Indictment Traversed

Thomas Dane Foreman

Thomas Dane was a good Foreman-Secretary. His handwriting is clear. His spelling is almost without error. His grammar is flawless. The jury's thought is neatly formulated, their action is categorized, and each minute is signed by the foreman. The record for April, 1814, will be given in full for it shows the general pattern stated in as good or better form than will be found later.

The Grand Jury agree to allow Jacob Tedford the sum of thirty-eight pounds in consideration of having a road through his land as per agreement in writing dated June 5th, 1812.

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

Account of Benjamin Barnard Esgr. Treasurer rendered and approved of with regard of license money and a ballance left in his hands ten pounds one shilling and nine pence.

Passed by the Court

Account of Benjamin Barnard Esqr. for repairing Haskells Bridge is approved by the Grand Jury.

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

Andrew Butler Clerk of Licenses Approved and a ballance in his hands Seven Pounds Sixteen Shillings and six pence.

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

It is the Opinion of the Grand Jury to allow George Pan Dy Shaff the Sum of Four Pounds for Summoning the Grand and Petit Jurys for October Term 1813 and April term 1814.

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

It is the Opinion of the Grand Jury that David Larkins bill of two pounds License Money laid out on the roads is correct.

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

Nathaniel Rickers bill of two Pounds five Shillings Licence money laid out on roads the Grand Jury believes to be correct.

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

Miner Huntingtons bill for 3 days attendance to examine survey and lay out road commencing from Henry Sanders and running on the west side of Cape Forchu River and ponds North Easterly to the head of the third pond thence to intersect the road leading to Wentworth, amounting to one Pond is Approved.

Passed by the Court

Miner Huntington and Wm. Sanders bill for running out a road through Jacob Tedfords farm and drawing plan etc. amounting to one Pound twelve Shillings and Six pence. Approved.

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

John Kinney Joshua Trefrey Andrew Barrow Miner Huntington bill for Exploring and running out a road John Purdys land to the main road near the head of Jebogue marsh. Two Pounds and three Pence. Approved.

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

Account of Cornelius Van Norden rendered and Approved with regard of Licences and a ballance in his hands Seventeen Pounds ten Shillings & two pence.

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

Account Cornelius Van Norden Treasurer Approved and a ballance in his hands Six Shillings and three pence.

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

The Grand Jury Recommends to the Consideration of the Honourable Court the many bad effects of the arrival of the Postman from Digby on the Lord's Day and that they take such measures as they in their wisdom may think proper to remedy this great evil.

Order Made by the Court

Persons Recommended by the Grand Jury to Sell Spirituous Liquors in the Township of Yarmouth

> Nathaniel Corning free license Cyrus Perry Horace Baker Jacob Tedford Nathan Lewis John Killam Job Smith Wm Brown Lydia Richan David Rose Thos. Crowell George Hunter Nehemiah Patch Joseph Tooker Robert Kelly Benjamin Bingay Comfort Haley Robert Thurston Silas Clements James Bond Thos. W. Crowell Rufus Robbins Gabriel B. Van Norden John Kinney

> > Thomas Dane Foreman

Persons Recommended by the Grand Jury to Sell Spirituous Liquors in the Township of Argyle

Widow Brown free licence

David Larkin David Van Norden Wm. Goodwin Tunis Blauvelt Job Hatfield

Nat. Ricker Cornelius Van Norden

Peter Muse Seth Jonston James Lent Esqr James Larkin

John Porter James Van Emburg Paul Babine Soloman Rider Junr

Thomas Dane Foreman

It is the Opinion of the Grand Jury that Andrew Butler should be allowed the Sum of Nine Pounds for his Services as Clerk of the Peace and Stationery

Passed by the Court

The Grand Jury Allows twenty shilling to Purchase a book for the use of the Clerk of the Peace

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

The Grand Jury Recommends to the Honourable Court to make such Regulations for Horses Sheep and Swine as they in their Wisdom may think proper

Regulations Made by the Court Thomas Dane Foreman

It is the Opinion of the Grand Jury that H. G. Farish's bill for Examination of Nickerson and Rogers be allowed for fifteen Shillings

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

The Grand Jury Allows Seven Shillings and Six pence to make up the deficiency for the Grand Jury book

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

It is the opinion of the Grand Jury that Tenis Blauvelt's bill of Ten pounds is just for keeping His Majesty's Jail within the District of Yarmouth & Argyle for the year Past

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

It is agreed by the Grand Jury to allow Five Pounds of the License money to be laid out on the road between the turn of the road and Wm Goodwin

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

It is agreed by the Grand Jury to allow the Remainder, Twenty Pounds, of the License Fund of Argyle be laid out on roads beginning at the line between Yarmouth and Argyle to Tusket Bridge and up the road to Jacob Hatfield Junr to Lander's North line

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

Daniel Frost account as Clerk of Licenses is approved and it appears he has paid into Cornelius Van Nordens hand Twelve Pounds Ten Shillings, and Two Pounds Seventeen Shillings and three pence in his own hands

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

The Grand Jury Recommends to the Honourable Court that a pound be built in each Township and that the Sum of Ten Pounds be allowed for the building of each Pound. The Grand Jury also recommends that one be built in Yarmouth near Killams mill, the other in Argyle at Tusket Village

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

The Grand Jury Recommends that the District be Assessed in the Sum of Sixty five Pounds to defray the expenses of said District

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

The Grand Jury allows Col. Cornelius Van Norden a ballance for boat hire for the District Guard the Sum of three Pounds Sixteen Shillings

Passed by the Court

Thomas Dane Foreman

The Grand Jury allows the bill of fees between the King vs. MCKinnon the Sum of One Pound Thirteen Shillings and nine pence

Passed by the Court

This record for the April Term, 1814, is clear, well organized and expressed, and apparently quite complete, so certain items in it may be noted.

There were Clerks of the Peace and Clerks of License in both townships, and the latter paid over monies received for licenses to the former. Each township also had a Treasurer.

The charge against Joshua Boyd of "a violent attempt to ravish the fair Rebecca Hobs (alias Frost)" was a True Bill. Throughout the record of the years there is quite a number of cases of violence, of persons found dead including children, and of inquests.

Consumption of alcohol is frequently associated with violence. Cases of assault, breaches of the peace, and cases of persons found dead may in many instances have been related to easy access to liquor, as the large number of licenses to retail spitituous liquors indicates. Twenty-three were issued in Yarmouth and seventeen in Argyle in 1814. On each occasion one or more persons was given "free license". This may have been an act of charity, or of patronage. Women were sometimes given a license.

The establishment of roads was a dominant concern so there is compensation for land expropriated for roads, expenses for surveying and laying out, construction expenses, and expenses for bridge construction and repair. Incidentally, Herbert Huntington who stood with Joseph Howe in the successful fight for Responsible Government in 1848 was a member of the family referred to in these minutes.

"Desecration of the Lord's Day" was a serious matter in 1814, serious enough to justify a recommendation to the Honourable Court. At present it is doubtful if most people know what "the Lord's Day" means.

Wandering animals, horses, sheep and swine, were a problem until roads, boundaries and fences were settled. Two pounds were built where loose animals could be held until the fine was paid was provided for.

Physicians named Farish were prominent in Yarmouth through several generations. H. G. Farish's examination of Nickerson and Rogers may have been an inquest or a case of assault or an accident. He was frequently called on for inquests.

Mr. Blauvelt, the jail keeper, had a first name whose spelling was found difficult. It is spelled in various ways by different foremen: Tunis, Tenis, Theunis. The Blauvelts and the Lents (originally van Lunt) were of Dutch descent from New Amsterdam (now New York) and came as United Empire Loyalists to Shelburne, then moved on to Tusket. The Van Nordens and Van Emburgs moved to Argyle.

Public expenses were met by an assessment each year. How it was levied is not clear. The writing of the word, assessment, using the old-fashioned "s", seems interesting to us in 1972. The use of capital letters was more or less optional (Shillings always received a capital). Apostrophes, commas and periods appeared only occasionally.

The "boat hire for the district Guard" is understandable since the War of 1812 with its privateers was so recent an event. Anyway Col. Van Norden made three pounds sixteen shillings out of it. Many of the Loyalists were familiar with the emoluments of government patronage. It would be interesting to know more about the McKinnon case. A redoubtable McKinnon family in Argyle is mentioned by Ricker in his history of Argyle. They attained local distinction by chopping down a "Liberty Tree" at the time of the American Revolution.

The October minutes are brief. The names of the Grand Jury are listed, but the list is not identical with the April jury. There are only three entries, two of them recording monies paid out from the license fund for road construction. The third records the payment to Thunis Blauvelt of One Pound Seventeen Shillings & Sixpence to him as Gaoler for boarding the prisoner, Joshua Boyd, for three weeks. In 1815 the jury carried on the routine business of naming the vendors of liquor, paid bills, received the reports of treasurers, passed on indictments as True Bills or No Bills, allocated money to individuals to lay out on the roads, and received and passed on petitions.

The petition of Harris and Rose was allowed, "provided they make the fence at their own expense". The jury allowed "George Hunter the Sum of One Pound fourteen Shillings and Six Pence for Inspecting the Body of Patience Darling", and then approved his "bill of attendance on the Court and Summonding Jury, etc. Six Pound". Another body! A True Bill was found against "Paul Doucette by John Marie for a violent abuse". Theunis Blauvelt got ten pounds for keeping jail. Job Hatfield's bill "for building Stocks—nineteen Shillings Seven pence half Penny". And the jury recommended the sum of six pounds "to be laid out on two Jury Rooms" (presumably one each for Yarmouth and Argyle)

One entry is puzzling: 'the Grand Jury recommended to the Honourable Court that the Districts of Yarmouth and Argyle should be Immersed in the Sum of Eighty Pounds". In later minutes this word is spelled "Emarsed" and "Amerced". Webster defines "Amerce" as "to fine, or inflict an arbitrary punishment upon", or "to impose a legal pecuniary punishment". One wonders if "reimbursed" was not intended, or perhaps "assessed".

In April, 1815, the two treasurers, Benjamin Barnard and Cornelius Van Norden, reported their balances, and other

routine business was carried out. George Hunter held an inquest on the body of John Gervis. Shackles and handcuffs were purchased for two pounds fifteen shillings. Benjamin Barnard rendered an account for "Office Room for special sessions".

Roads were a matter of great concern. One minute reads: "The Grand Jury presents to the Worshipful Bench that complaints have been made to them, that the road through Pubnico is obstructed to the Great Prejudice of Said Road, they wish some person may be appointed to run the Course of Said Road as soon as possible". And two more "presentments" are made;

To the Worshipful Magistrates in General Sessions

Presentations of Grand Jury for Yarmouth and Argyle Complaint has been made to Grand Jury that two or three Surveyors of high ways has Neglected there duty in the District of Argyle letting the Labour be done out of season to the prejudice of the public highway We are in hopes this public Presentation to the Worshipful Bench will have the Desired Effect on the minds of the Surveyors in Future; Expecting it had been done in a Great Measure By they Being Ignorant of the Laws, as we trust there is none that would violate their Sacred Oath (and Public Trust).

To the Worshipful Magistrates in General Sessions

Appeared Before the Grand Inquest Mr. Jacob Tedford Complaining of Different Persons on Bever River Road obstructing said road by Building Fences to the prejudice of the Public Labor/the Grand Jury Further Presents to their Knowledge the said Road is very much obstructed By Timber and Logs of different Kinds to make it unsafe for Travellers—

At the October Term, 1816, True Bills were found in the indictments against seven men but the offenses are not record-

ed. "The cost for Apprehending & Comiting Henry Stafford for Petit Larseny" was twelve pounds, eighteen shillings and three pence. A presentation is made:

To the Worshipful Magistrates in General Sessions

Presentments of Grand Jury for Yarmouth and Argyle

The Grand Jury recommends to the Worshipful Bench that a House of Correction may be Established at Yarmouth as soon as possible as they think it Requisite to Keeping Good order—Besides saving the Districts Considerable Sums of Money— they Likewise recommend that the Sheriff be allowed the sum of Fifty Shillings For the purpose of providing Two Births and other Conveniences for the use of persons Committed to Gaol, the Grand Jury assess the Districts of Yarmouth and Argyle the sum of Ten Pounds For the use of A House of Correction & Keeper.

Among routine matters in April, 1817, there was an "Inquest on Two Bodys", in the case of "George Hunters Trouble for an Alphabet for the Use of Yarmouth & Argyle Districts" an allowance of twenty shillings was made, two stoves were to be procured for the Court House and Grand Jury room, a Clerk of the Grand Jury was to be paid seven and six a day, and "Apprehending Hurley" cost two pounds and nine pence. Each session shows a number of True Bills under the "Kings Act" but the charges are not shown. The October Term in 1817 has only two entries, both indictments for assault.

March, 1818, shows two assaults. Cape Forchu is written as Caper Chu. Tax collectors were paid on a commission basis. The Treasurer received money from fees for licenses and the taxes, as levied, from the collectors.

Lydia Richan was paid a pound for board for Hurley, a prisoner, at the October Term. Chebogue is spelled Gebogue. "The Grand Jury recommends that the District be "immersed" two Hundred Pounds for the purpose of building a Court House in Yarmouth.

Two cases of assault were reported in March, 1819. A bill for taking "Black man to jail" was presented. Sums of money were allowed for Counsel in the case of Sypher, a prisoner, and to pay Constable and assistants for apprehending Negroes. Appraisal of Court House and Jail at Tusket was authorized, and a report that certain sums were not accounted for by the collectors is recorded. The man named Sypher was imprisoned for debt. Two men are recommended as consultants "with one of the Magistrates in Building & Planning a new Court House and Jail". Money had been given to Mr. Anthony Landers to procure a set of standard weights and measures but they had not been obtained. Complaint had been made of disorderly conduct on the Lords Day at a place selling liquor.

Because of space limitations only exceptional matters will be presented for the remainder of the article. Enough of the original document has been given to show its style and other characteristics. The routine has been seen: passing on indictments, reports of officers, payment of bills and officers, much concern with roads and bridges, granting licenses to retail liquor, and concern with crime and criminals.

April, 1820. Lydia Richan allowed two pounds for "House Room last October Term and two trials since". The Richan Tavern was rented. "burying and other Expenses the Bodys" of two men. Charges by Gabriel Van Norden "for rum and ranging Timber" in connection with repairing a bridge not allowed. A Very Unruly and Dangerous Bull at Large on Roberts Island is reported. Much setting of fires in the woods—advise limiting this to between May 20 and September 10.

October, 1820. "Inquest and burying Mary Grunfield and Child". "Inquest on John Patch's child. "Indictment of J. T. Porter for assaulting Coroner and Jury". Bill for surgery "on dead body of dead child". Vessels dumping ballast in fairway.

For the first time a complete list of the officers appears: Overseers of the Poor (5 people), Constables (9), Assessors (3), Collectors (3), Treasurer (1), Clerk (1), Clerk of Market (1), Clerk of Licenses (1), Sealers of Leather (3), Hog Reeves (3), Overseers of River Fishery (3), Pound Keeper (1), Cullers of Fish (3), Measurers of Salt and Grain (3), Inspectors of Barrels (2), Surveyors of Hoops & Staves (1), Guager of Casks (1), Inspector of Pickled Fish (1), Surveyors of Cord Wood (2), Fence Viewers (2), Weighers of Hay (2), Surveyors of Lumber (3), Surveyors of Highways (38). These are the Yarmouth Town Officers for 1821 and the list appears each October subsequently.

In October, 1821, the Jury declare that seven shillings a day is sufficient wages for a carpenter, the same for masons, and two and a half per cent is enough commission for treasurer.

April, 1822, eight men bound to keep the peace. An inquiry is suggested into why District Collectors have not paid tax in to Treasurer. Recommend that "no other use be made of the Court House and Jail in Tusket Village but what might be necessary for His Majesty's Courts and the detention of prisoners".

April, 1823. "Petition of the Inhabitants of Argyle to Prevent a Bridge Being Built Over Abuptic River at Narrow's. Agreed to. No Bridge.

May, 1824, "Reject Ebenr. Porters bill for warning the assessors and advertising for Town Meeting'. Inquest on body of a child, also on body of Wm. Oliver, also on Body of

Rebecca Boyds Child. In Sept., 1824, the Ferryman at Argyle and Narrows was paid two pounds. Disinterring the body of William Oliver cost ten shillings. And opening his body cost twenty-three shillings and four pence.

Oct., 1825, "County" is first mentioned. "The Debtor Room" is mentioned.

May, 1826, Inquest on body of Darius Doane. Inquest on dead child. "Farthings" are mentioned. Sept. 1826, Inquest on body of Samuel Foot's wife. Pay John Bingay for conducting criminals from District Gaol in Yarmouth to County Jail in Shelburne.

May, 1827, Setting fires in the woods. Furnish jail with a bucket. Sept., 1827, Forty six pounds to finish new Court House at Yarmouth. Pay Ebenezer Porter and others four pounds for arresting Charles Goodwin, Nathan Goodwin, Senr. and Nathan Goodwin, Junr.

May, 1828, "The Jurors of Our Lord the King Upon Their Oaths Present—that they recommend the following persons and only the following persons as Suitable to receive Licenses", (five names only.) "that no Brush underwood or refuse of any kind be burned on uncultivated land or any land whatever from the Thirtieth of May until the twentieth day of September following". That no horses be permitted to run at large. That the law respecting swine be enforced at Yarmouth. And that the bye law in Argyle Respecting Horses, Black Cattle, Sheep, Swine, etc., remain in full force. Necessity for having Several Collectors Accounts Inspected. Indictment against Jedediah Goodwin and others for riots. State to the Court that the House on which Jedediah Goodwin and others committed the Trespass was a very disorderly and Bad House. Argyle Town Officers: Overseers of the Poor and Surveyors of Lines and Bounds (5 names), Constables (9), Assessors, (3),

Treasurers (1), Clerk (1), Clerk of the Market (1), Clerk of License (1), Measurers of Salt, Grain and Coals (3), Surveyors of Hoops and Staves (2), Guagers of Casks (1), Surveyors of Lumber (2), Fence Viewers (5), Weighers of Hay (3), Sealers of Leather (2), Surveyors of Highways (35), Hog Reeves (7), Overseers of River Fishery (14) Collectors (3).

Sept. 1828, allocate thirty-five pounds to build a House of Correction (under the Court House); necessary to have it finished as soon as possible "there being no fit place for a criminal to be confined in when the Weather becomes inclement".

Sept., 1829, Allow Sheriff one pound for "attending Court and summoning Jury & floging Josiah Cranford".

May, 1830, "The Grand Jury will thank their Honours to Make a Statement of All Property Subjected to a tax by Law of this Province". Horses running loose in the streets of Yarmouth will bring a fine. "Also that a fine be levied on Swine running within one mile South one mile East & Three Miles North of Trinity Church".

May, 1832, Burning brush etc.

Sept., 1832, The Grand Jury recommend the appointment of a Clerk of License for Argyle. "Several persons rather than come to Yarmouth from the Lower part of Argyle will not apply for License whereby the District is Curtailed in an important fund".

Sept., 1833, Child found dead. Body found in Harbour. "Recommend that Clerk of Market procure the measures necessary to complete his set in place of those decayed and present the sum of thirty shillings for that purpose". Child found dead at Argyle. "Sum of thirty Shillings be paid the High Sheriff for

feeding Patrick Russel while confined in Jail—an Insolvent Debtor". They cannot "recommend any particular persons to have license not seeing any good that may arise therefrom."

Sept., 1834, the Foreman of the Grand Jury, James B. Dane, recorded the names of the jurors present, but after that a new handwriting that is more neat and legible than any appearing before is seen, and this handwriting continues to be found to the end of the minutes in 1851. John Tooker was paid ten shillings for registering the proceedings of the Grand Jury.

The Town Officers for Yarmouth and Argyle are listed. There are several new offices, e.g., Fire Warden. There are now two Surveyors of Highways for each District in Yarmouth.

Office	Yarmouth	Argyle		
Guager of Casks				
Surveyors of Cord Wood	6	4		
Fence Viewers	12	12		
Weighers of Hay	7	6		
Sealers of Leather	6	4		
Clerk of Market	2	2		
Surveyors of Lumber	10	12		
Hog Reeves	. 26	15		
Pound Keeper	2	2		
Cullers of Dry Fish	. 10	8		
Constables	22	18		
Mearsurers of Salt, Coals & Grain	4	6		
Overseers of the Poor	10	13		
Assessors	. 10	7		
Collectors	4	10		
Treasurer	2	2		
Clerk of License	2	x		
Fire Wardens	7	x		
Surveyors of Highways	118	72		
for 59 districts				
Town Clerk	x	2		

Surveyors of Hoops	and Staves	X	4
Guagers of Casks .		x	4

May, 1833, Liquor licenses are fewer: 4 in Argyle, 2 in Beaver River, 3 in Yarmouth.

Sept., 1835, The passage for fish at Raynard's mill is to be examined. In nominating persons "fit to act as Treasurer" three names were presented, and to avoid any one name as first or last the six names are arranged as the diagonals of a six-pointed star.

May, 1835, A License may be a Tavern License, a Shop License, or a Wine and Beer License, with a reduced fee to some applicants.

Sept., 1836, Four assault cases for trial. Necessity for having a fire engine. One can be bought for ten pounds, and Fifteen more pounds will buy leather buckets and build a shed. Apparently this move carries out "a late Act" and is urged on the Court because of the "increase of Houses and stores in the principal business part of the Town". Also a Public Well should be dug near Moody's Corner. Unrestrained Hogs, Sheep and Cattle are a problem.

Sept., 1837, Number of liquor licenses increased. "County of Yarmouth Ss."

May, 1837, "The Grand Jurors for Our Lady the Queen".

May, 1838, Request that the Regulations for fishing in the Tusket River be extended to both sides of the Channel respecting "Sett Nets and Salmon Nets".

Sept., 1838, "Bed Clothes for Criminals Room". One pound to Huestis for erecting Pillory. "Registering proceedings

of Grand Jury". Seven pounds ten shillings "for taking Census of Township of Yarmouth"; same for Argyle. Two pounds to "Clerk of the Peace for forwarding the Abstract of Census to Secretary's Office". "A Strolling Vagrant apparently of unsound mind is a Public Nuisance and should be sent to his Parish. His name is Brown".

May, 1839, Last May Term.

Sept., 1839, Letitia Robbins charges Nathan Andrews with Assault, and Zilpha Robbins charges Mary Andrews with Assault.

May, 1840. Recommendation that fish in Tusket and Salmon Rivers have two days in each week to pass free from Obstruction.

Sept., 1842. Advertize in Yarmouth Herald. Need regulation regarding geese.

May, 1843. "Supreme Court holden at the Court House in Tusket".

Sept., 1843. Walter Larkin paid two pound seven Shilling and penny halfpenny for funeral by Argyle Township. The gate across the post road leading from Widow Frosts to new Bridge must be moved. Dr. Webber has leave to sink a well on Main Street.

Sept., 1843. "County of Yarmouth, Ss." Why Ss.? (Signed and Sealed)

Sept., 1844. Recommend Sheriff rent dwelling rooms in the Court House.

Sept., 1845. For several years past there have been brief minutes of the Supreme Court giving the Jury and the Indictments. The Court whose minutes have been given in full is the Court of General Sessions of the Peace.

Sept., 1845. There seems to be considerable expense on one or both Court Houses. Each year now the complete roster of town officers is given, for both Yarmouth and Argyle.

Sept., 1846. Edward Porter a/c for Board poor Debtor.

Sept., 1847. "On this day only five jurors being in attendance the Court adjourned until Tuesday next 28th at 10 o'clock it was then further adjourned until immediately after the rising of the Supreme Court". "The Grand Jury state to the Worshipful Court that having received a number of applications for Tayern and Shop Licenses have declined to recommend any". "The Grand Jury having examined the claim of Mr. George Goudey as one of the Overseers of the Poor in 1845 & 1846 for extra services performed by him (amounting to ten pounds) have unamimously deemed it inexpedient to vote or assess the Township for this sum, considering that if his fellow Overseers see fit to throw the whole burthen of their office upon one of their body that they, not the Township, should recompense him for it". The jail, upon inspection, was found to be in a filthy state so a committee was set up to cleanse and repair it.

Sept., 1851. The Sheriff was paid two pounds seven shillings and sixpence "for sending Prisoners to Penitentiary".

It is somewhat of a shock to learn that a century and a half ago this part of the Province of Nova Scotia had many violent or unexplained deaths, stocks, a pillory, debtors prison, and frequent cases of assault. Pounds were necessary for wandering animals. There were forty places selling alcoholic liquor.

The 'King's Bastion Barracks' in Louisbourg

by BLAINE ADAMS

One of the techniques in research is the development of a healthy skepticism, and another is the knowledge of when to apply it. Yet there are times, every researcher will agree, when chance is the main element in uncovering the truth. Such was the case with research on the "Château St-Louis," the main barracks building in Louisbourg which has been reconstructed as part of the restoration of the Fortress.

Research of the type done on the "Château" is very specific, seeking every possible detail from the overall dimensions of the building to the kinds of hardware on the doors. Various researchers, including myself, had worked on specific topics relating to the construction of the building, and in 1969 I sought to bring these findings together in a report which would describe the history of the construction of the building as well as its architectural details, and give an account of its occupation and use.

I thought it would be appropriate to quote the first time the name "Château St-Louis" was used. To my surprise, could not locate a single reference to the name in the documents. Could it be that the term had never been used in the eighteenth century? My search had obviously just begun. I went back over every likely document dealing with the con-

struction to see if there was a reference. There was none. Where, then, did the term come from, since it had been used from the beginning of the reconstruction?

A survey of early works indicated that the only time this term was used was in J. S. McLennan's history, Louisbourg From Its Foundation to Its Fall (London, 1918). On pages 85 and 86 he used this name for the barracks while giving a general description of the town, although elsewhere in the book he used the more common term "citadel." Other historians of the Fortress, both before and after this time employed, without exception, the term "citadel", and McLennan in his earlier work A Notable Ruin, Louisbourg (1909) also used only the word "citadel."

In the eighteenth century several expressions were used for the building, and by far the most common was "casernes" (in English, "barracks"). On the plans of the building it is called the "barracks" and even on the famous Verrier view of 1731, with the building dominating the town, that area is identified as "The Barracks and the King's Bastion."3 In the documents a variety of terms are used. Formal correspondence dealing with work accounts for the construction use "barracks" when they do not specify a particular part of the building: often a distinction was made between the barracks and the wings.4 In documents not dealing specifically with construction, other terms are used. The word "Fort" usually refers to the bastion as well as the barracks, with at least one reference to the "barracks of the fort."5 The word "Château" is used in a few documents, especially those dealing with the paying of homage to the governor for land grants; it is obviously a word used in a formula for this procedure, since it was employed even before the building was constructed.6 "Château" also appears in trial records as a term used by some people. The word "Citadel" appears in a number of ways. One plan is entitled "King's Bastion serving as a Citadel." Another reference is to the "principal fort or Citadel." That term was used almost exclusively by the English when referring to the building and bastion during their periods of occupation in the town.

Which of these terms is most appropriate for the building? A survey of contemporary texts gives some indication of the meanings of these expressions in the eighteenth century. A "fort" is considered in two senses; one as a tower at the end of a jetty for the protection of a port, and another as a strategically placed outpost, either square or pentagonal. "Château", all the sources agree, refers to earlier turreted fortifications, and one of the sources reports that if the "château" is enclosed in a town, it can serve the function of a citadel or redoubt. A "citadel", we are told, has from four to six bastions and is usually on a height of land. It has the dual function of protecting the town from the enemy as well as controlling the town in case of revolt, and is hence fortified on both sides.

None of these terms adequately defines the peculiar arrangement of barracks and bastion which was found in Louisbourg. The barracks in Louisbourg did not contain just sleeping quarters, but housed various other functions as well. Throughout the entire French period a large chapel was in use in the building, and the governor occupied the south wing for all but six years. Two of the basement rooms served as a bakery until 1732, an armoury was utilised until 1733, and guard-rooms until 1740. Two functions were added to the building after construction: a prison in 1741, and a school for canoneers in 1739.

Barracks were still a relatively new feature of French military life in the eighteenth century. A royal ordinance of 1716 is among the first documents to mention them, and a program of construction began only in 1719. The latter was not a success and was halted in 1724, so that rented dwellings remained the most common type of military housing for soldiers.

The texts cited in the bibliography merely give a general definition of "barracks", saying that they served as residences for officers and soldiers; some refer only to this function,13 while others state that barracks could also contain a hospital, workshops, boutiques, storerooms, a school room, bakery, "discipline" room laundry, and even a rehearsal room for music.14 In the Louisbourg documents the terms "corp de casernes" and "casernes" are both used for the building; a distinction between the two is only made in James' English dictionary which says the former is the "range of buildings called barracks" and the latter are "large buildings for soldiers of the garrison to live in." The first term seems to be more inclusive. References in Louisbourg documents use both terms: Governor Saint Ovide de Brouillan, "M. le Verrier a fait mettre en estat le Pavillon du Corps des casernes . . . ", "Le Pavillon des Cazernes que j'habite . . ."; Governor de Forant, "renformé dans les casernes.": Governor Desherbiers, "officiers logés dans les casernes"; and a Memoire au sujet du Conseil Superieur, "le gouverneur loge dans les Casernes . . . "15

Why did McLennan use the term "Chateau St-Louis" for the barracks? It may be that he came across that name in his research, but more likely he extrapolated the name from that which had been given to the chapel, so that the "Chappelle St-Louis" grew to become the "Château St-Louis", a Louisbourg counterpart to the Château St-Louis in Québec City.

FOOTNOTES

McGregor, Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Maritime Colonies of British America. (1828), p. 103; Bourinot, Historical and Descriptive Account of the Island of Cape Breton, (1892), p. 27; Edwards Louisbourg an Historical Sketch (1895), pp. 19-20; Brown, A History of the Island of Cape Breton (1903), pp. 34, 51; Almon, Louisbourg—The Dream City of America, (1934), p. 31; MacLennan, A Notable Ruin—Louisbourg, (1909), p. 10.

Louisbourg map collection, ND 21, ND 87, ND 88, 720-1, 724-1, 725-3, 730-5 Plan 731-1.

Archives des Colonies, Series C11B, Vol. 9, fols. 210-229; Vol. 12, fols. 122-143; vol. 12, fols. 145-147 (work accounts of 1727 and 1731).

AC, C11B, vol. 33, fol. 224v, "Etat des Personnes logees dans les dts Batiments," 9 octobre 1753.

AC, C11C, vol. 8, fols. 93-94, Brevet de concession, Paris, 20 may 1719.

Plan ND 87.

10.

Pichon, Letters et Memoires, p. 7.
De Forest, Louisbourg Journals, pp. 38, 70, 79, 125.
Le Blond, Elemens de Fortification, p. 369; La Chesnaye des Bois, Dictionnaire Militaire, p. 241; James, Military Dictionary in French and English, (no pagination).
Le Blond, Elemens de Fortification, p. 358; James, Military Dictionary in French and English (no pagination); L'Admiral, Le Petit Dictionnaire p. vi; De Guignard, L'Ecole de Mars, II, p. 273 11.

Mars, II, p. 273. Le Blond, Elemens de Fortification, p. 359; Trincano, Elemens de Fortification, p. 384; La Chesnaye des Bois, Dictionnaire Militaire, p. 143; James, Military Dictionary in English and French (no pagination); L'Admiral, Le Petit

13.

English and French (no pagination); L'Admiral, Le Petit Dictionnaire, p. viii.
Belidor, La Science des Ingenieurs, p. 72.
Bibliotheque du Genie, M.R. 124.
Saint Ovide to Minister, AC, C11B, vol. 8, fol. 71, 1 december 1726; Saint Ovide to Minister, C11B, vol. 12, fol. 40v, 25 november 1731; de Forant to Minister, C11B, vol. 21, fol. 63, 14 november 1739; Desherbiers to Minister, C11B, vol. 29, fol. 57, 5 november 1750; Memoire au subject du Conseil Superieur C11B, vol. 9, fol. 260, 1727.

Bibliography

Almon, Albert, Louisbourg—The Dream City of America, (Glace Bay, 1934).

L'Admiral, Le Petit Dictionnaire du Tems, pour L'Intelligence des Nouvelles de la Guerre, 2nd edition, (Paris, 1747).

Belidor, La Science des Ingenieurs dans la Conduite des Travaux de Fortification et D'Architecture Civile, (Paris, 1720).

Bourinot, J. G., Historical and Descriptive Account of the Island

of Cape Breton, (Montreal 1892).

Brown, Richard, A History of the Island of Cape Breton with some account of the Discovery and Settlement of Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, (London, 1869).

Corvisier, Andre, L'Armee Française de la Fin du XVII Siecle au Ministere de Choiseul, (Paris 1964).

Edwards, Joseph Plimsoll, Louisbourg an Historical Sketch, (Nova Scotia, 1895)

de Forest, Louis Effingham, Louisbourg Journals 1745, (N.Y. 1932).

de Guignard, L'Ecole de Mars, ou Memories Instructifs sur toutes les parties qui composent le Corps Militaire en France, avec leurs origines, et les differentes maneuvres ausquelles elles sont employees, (Paris, 1725) 2v. Charles, A New and Enlarged Military Dictionary, in

French and English in which are explained the Principal Terms, with Appropriate Illustrations of all the Sciences that are, More or Less Necessary for an Officer and Engineer. 2v. (London 1810) 3rd ed.

La Chesnaye des Bois A., de, Dictionnaire Militaire ou Recueil
Alphabetique de tous les termes propre a l'Art—de la
Guerre (Geneva, 1743).

Le Blond, Elemens de Fortification Contenant la Construction

Raisonnee de Tous les Ouvrages de la Fortification: les Systems des plus Celebres Ingenieurs; la Fortification Irreguliere, ETC., (Paris 1744) 5th edition.

McGregor, J., Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Mari-

time Colonies of British America (London 1828).

Pichon, Lettres et Memories Pour Servir a l'Histoire Naturelle. Civile et Politique du Cape Breton, (London 1760).

Trincano, Elemens de Fortification de l'Attaque et de la De-

fense des Places, (Paris, 1748).

Vernon, C. W., Cape Breton Canada at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century, (Toronto, 1903).

Crossing to Catastrophe

JAMES F. SMITH

The Maritime area is a natural home for stories of the sea, be they fantastic, heroic, or tragic. In the last category is the disaster of the "Fairy Queen", a passenger steamer that plied under P.E.I. Government contract from Charlottetown to Pictou to Shediac, N.B., in the command of Master W. R. Belyea. The following account has been reconstructed from the personal accounts of several passengers and crew members as reported in various editions of *The Novascotian*, the *British Colonist*, and the *Eastern Chronicle* of Oct. 1853.

On 7 Oct. 1853, the weather was not the best. Rain squalls and a strong northwest wind were churning the North-umberland Strait so heavily that Captain Belyea delayed his scheduled departure from Charlottetown for Pictou until something after 11 a.m. By then, the tide and wind had become more favorable but, in the interval, part of the crew had sought to make the time pass more easily by drinking. Consequently, there was some fuss in rounding up the men; indeed, two were left ashore.

As the passengers boarded the steamer for the crossing from Charlottetown to Pictou, Henry Gesner Pineo, Jr., of Pugwash, then 23-years old, observed water on the floor of the passengers' cabin. To his inquiries, he was told that the water would disappear as soon as the steamer got under way.

Captain Belyea was confident of his ship's safety although it was later described as a "rattleship" and a "rotten old tub" while its owner and the Prince Edward Island Government were censured for allowing the steamer to operate in such condition. There were certainly enough rumors circulating (albeit they were denied) about the ship's state of repair. One story ran that only a week earlier the steamer was leaking so badly that the fires were damped out. The second engineer was to eventually testify that the boilers were leaky and that the ship had suffered in a rough trip to Shediac before its final and fatal voyage.

While the "Fairy Queen" cut into the waters of Hillsborough Bay as it headed towards Nova Scotia, the 15 passengers settled themselves for the hours ahead. The group included some persons of distinction: Mr. Martin I. Wilkins, M.L.A. for Pictou Township, was there, as was Henry Pineo, Jr., already mentioned, the son of the Hon. H. G. Pineo, Sr., M.L.C. It is ironic to think that the younger Pineo and Wilkins worked so desperately together for simple survival on the "Fairy Queen" but later became bitter opponents over the Confederation question.

Other passengers included Dr. McKenzie, a widely-known Halifax army surgeon, Mr. Edward L. Lydiard, Esq., a prominent Charlottetown resident, and the Misses Arabella and Alice DeWolf of Wolfville who were returning from a visit with their uncle and aunt, the Hon. Charles Young and wife.

At work on the steamer were 12 crewmen plus the master. The mate, Patrick Treanor, has signed on just twelve days before. Captain Belyea felt that his deckmen were not all "competent" although the rest of the crew were reliable.

Although the weather remained squally and the wind continued in healthy gusts, the "Fairy Queen" crossed Northum-

berland Strait quite comfortably. As the steamer passed Gull Rock, near Caribou, the sea was very heavy. Someone noted that it was 5:15 p.m.

Fifteen minutes later, it happeneed. The tiller rope snapped. Most of the crew, including the fireman, left their jobs to examine the situation. The steamer, its steering mechanism now out of order, was battered about by the raging waters and serious leaks began to develop. Moreover, in the absence of the firemen, the fires went out. Male passengers joined the crew in trying to rebuild the fires while Henry Pineo helped the mate in steadying the ship's wheel. Suddenly, the vessel's clerk appeared in the wheelhouse to announce that they were running out of fuel. Pineo immediately dashed downstairs where he found some of the men standing idly so he told them to smash doors, planks, etc., for the furnaces. The men went to work as Pineo returned to the wheelhouse.

With the tiller rope repaired, the "Fairy Queen" began to move slowly, encumbered by insufficient steam, open leaks, and a still wilder sea. Conditions were developing to such a critical stage that Edward Lydiard suggested to the mate that he should try to run aground on Pictou Island. However, the mate told him that a reef prevented them from trying that. The ship continued to be tossed about like a kite.

Back in the wheelhouse, the mate turned over the wheel to Henry Pineo who protested that he could not steer alone so a man was sent to assist. Meanwhile, the mate found Captain Belyea and asked about dropping anchor right there. The captain gave the mate a shove and informed him that when he wanted his advice, he would ask for it. Belyea was, no doubt, suffering from considerable anxiety for he had just found water on the engine room floor. The steamer was not only listing, it was sinking!

Water was rising rapidly below deck. Because the pumps were not working, the captain ordered his men to begin bailing. Many of the passengers joined the crew. Hoisting the jib sail failed to aid in the ship's movement. As the waves roared around the "Fairy Queen", its lee side (away from the wind) fell below the water so Captain Belyea ordered the dropping of the anchor. Twenty-eight people would have to fight for survival on those very waves which were gradually consuming the steamer.

From this point, most of the labor was done by the passengers. They bailed furiously, trying to persuade the crew to do likewise. Some helped, unlike others whom Edward Lydiard later described as being "in an undisciplined condition" with "the captain having no command over them".

There was a great deal of confusion, the captain, it would seem, being incapable of coping with the situation. Martin Wilkins and Henry Pineo decided to examine the condition of the two lifeboats on board. They found one had no oars so HGP located a pair and placed them in the boat which the two men began adjusting for probable use. However, the clerk appeared and ordered them to replace the lifeboat despite the men's protests that every effort should be made to prepare to abandon ship.

Wilkins and Pineo returned to help with the bailing, a job at which they continued until forced to stop from exhaustion. Captain Belyea allowed the bailing to cease around 10 p.m., although some of the passengers still strove with the buckets but even they surrendered when the water reached the deck on which they were working. One passenger's suggestion to the clerk that a signal light be hoisted was ignored.

It was about then that Pineo met Captain Belyea on deck. From him, HGP learned that, on the advice of the clerk, he was ordering the lowering of the lee lifeboat so as to lighten the low side of the steamer. A rope was to be the boat's connection with the "Fairy Queen" but, because the sea was so wild, the captain allowed the mate and the clerk to go with the lifeboat to prevent its being smashed against the parent vessel. Thus, one of the lifeboats, capable of holding up to 15 people, was lowered with only two occupants but was to stand ready to receive more. This boat also contained the steamer's mail bags, packed in carefully by the captain.

Meanwhile, Pineo was indignant that two of the chief crewmembers had left in the first lifeboat. He rushed to the stern to hail the mate and clerk with words to the effect that it was "disgraceful for strong, able-bodied men to leave the passengers to do all the work." He received no reply.

Shortly thereafter, Pineo, his temper rising, again met the captain and demanded to know why he, as master, was failing to encourage his men to work at the bailing by setting a personal example. Captain Belyea retorted that he had been working, then proceeded to empty two or three buckets before disappearing once more.

Out in the lifeboat, the clerk was becoming very cold so he approached the steamer to reboard. However, before he could do so, the ship's two engineers jumped into the boat and the clerk was destined to stay close to the frigid waters. Desertion was beginning to grip the crew.

Back on board, Messrs. Lydiard and Wilkins quizzed the captain about the second lifeboat. Belyea ordered it to be brought over to the low lee side for a safer drop into the churning waters. He then went to the passengers' cabin where the ladies had been sheltering all along. Some were praying; others were dressing to meet the chilling ordeal ahead. Belyea told the five of them to prepare to enter boat #2 once it was lowered.

Yet, as soon as the boat was in the water, one of the seamen, the two firemen, and a male passenger named McKinnon leaped into it, broke loose from the steamer and would have drifted away except that the men in boat #1 caught the second boat's rope.

Captain Belyea shouted orders for boat #2 to come back alongside the steamer but his commands were ignored. A rope was thrown out to #2 to pull it in but the seamen refused to secure the tie. Therefore, the captain drew boat #1 close enough so that he could drop in and thereby see more closely to this mutinous situation. Pineo foiled the attempt of another man to jump at the same time because of the obvious probability of drowning.

The hour was now about 11:30 p.m.—time for the most foul deed of that terrible night. The mate let loose the rope that connected both lifeboats to the steamer! He said later that his action was to prevent boat #1 from being swamped. To the horror of the 19 people still on board the "Fairy Queen", the lifeboats began drifting away as the captain wailed that he was "only one man against all the rest of the crew."

At this point, the story of the "Fairy Queen" takes on two sides. The crew later maintained that they tried to row back to the steamer but the tide was so strong that they were helpless. The passengers claimed that they saw no effort whatsoever from the boats, that their calls were ignored, and that the only movements seemed to be those required to steady the boats.

Captain Belyea was heard to shout to the passengers to mount the hurricane deck in case the "Fairy Queen" should sink. Thereon would lie the best chances for survival. Henry Pineo went to the cabin where he advised the ladies to prepare to go up and then he returned to the gentlemen outside. In a combined effort, Pineo and Edward Lydiard hailed the boats

with an entreaty: come back for the ladies only, but, if there was more room, lots would be drawn by the men to determine who would remain on board the sinking steamer. Although both men believed the captain was genuinely concerned about the passengers' safety, their proposal received no response from the lifeboats. Even though some of the males still aboard the "Fairy Queen" believed they could reach the boats by swimming, none would leave before the ladies. As the grim reality of it all struck Edward Lydiard, he rushed to the rail and bawled, "You are then leaving us? I can not curse you. I hope you may live to repent of your guilt but if God, in his Providence, should preserve my life which I feel assured he will, I will meet you again!"

By now, the two lifeboats were drifting farther from the steamer. Moreover, the water was so rough that the "Fairy Queen" was visible to the men in boat #1 only when their craft rode the tops of the waves. Captain Belyea could hear the cries of the passengers not wanting him to leave and he called back his assurances. This may have prompted the mate to say, "You may be devilish glad you got on board at all for we were just going to leave you . . ." Before long though, boat #1 lost sight of the wreck and eventually made land near Pictou Lighthouse. Boat #2 also reached land safely.

Around 1 a.m. Captain Belyea's group stumbled ashore and ran to a local farmhouse where the captain paused in exhaustion. "I was so sick and fatigued with excitement and cold that I could go no further." Belyea sent his men on to Pictou to raise the alarm for the "Pluto" to go to the stranded passengers.

It was 3 a.m. by the time the clerk arrived at Pictou—too late! Before the captain left the sanctuary farmhouse at daylight, he spied the wrecked ship floating inshore.

Once the group on board the "Fairy Queen" realized that they had been deserted to fend for themselves, certain steps were initiated. Dr. MacKenzie prepared a list of those on the vessel, corked it inside a bottle, and threw it into the sea in an attempt to at least preserve the names of those still on the steamer.

One of the male passengers (maybe Wilkins) later wrote that everyone "generally behaved exceedingly well and resigned to their fate." The entire group collected on the upper or hurricane deck to await the end: the two boys—Edmund and Edward Inglis; the DeWolf sisters, cold in spite of the extra clothing they had donned for the lifeboats; Martin Wilkins, in a state of near exhaustion; James Wadham, a deckhand who had not deserted, now standing with his two comrades, Hugh O'Hara, the cook, and the steamer's steward (name unknown); and 11 others who were securing themselves to various objects in the hope that they might float when they were finally tossed into the swirling deep.

Arabella and Alice DeWolf clung together for both comfort and warmth. Mrs. Andrew McKay thought about her husband who was in far-away Australia. Then, to everyone's alarm, they saw two men suddenly swept off the deck by a smashing wave. Henry Pineo darted toward the stern with a piece of rope to pull back Mr. Parker of Musquodoboit. Next, the same piece of rope was used by another passenger to rescue Dr. McKenzie from the sea. Pineo reclaimed the rope and he, with Parker on the other end, returned to the stern to make their final stand. The remainder of the chilled, frightened, and wet human beings aboard the doomed "Fairy Queen" clustered in a knot farther forward.

The climax burst upon them at 2 a.m. in the form of one last disastrous wave that rocked and smashed the vessel so that it threw its contents into the ocean and turned over. Mercifully,

though, part of the hurricane deck floated onto the waves like a raft but only Pineo and Parker, joined by the rope, managed to stay on top of it. Pineo saw one man, who was lashed to a beam, blown off the deck and into the water where he drowned. He also witnessed the steward go over with a plank and immediately sink.

The others had all been in a group before they were sent sprawling into the pitiless waves that surged at once over their heads. One man (I presume Martin Wilkins) had been holding a piece of rope tied to the deck's rail. The force of the impact on the final break-up swung him around so that he did not see the others go over. As he managed to raise his head above water after having been submerged two or three times, he was conscious of heads near him and of at least one, maybe two persons clutching his legs under water but their grasps soon loosened. He finally succeeded in reaching the floating section of the hurricane deck and was the last of eight people to make it onto the raft. There was no sign of anything around him except wreckage.

Peter Cameron, like the others, was tossed into the deep but he and another man crawled onto the bottom of the wreck once the vessel had turned over. His grip unstable, Cameron was washed off within a few minutes, grabbed at a small piece of wood, found it useless, and finally struck out for a smaller portion of the hurricane deck. Much exhausted, he struggled onto his private raft and gazed about his surroundings. On one hand, he saw three ladies, two clinging together, and all trying to reach pieces of wreckage. Cameron's attention was diverted by Thomas McGuigan of Charlottetown who was searching for help. As he tried to reach out to McGuigan, a great wave rushed past and Cameron saw neither the man nor the ladies again. He could, however, see the group of eight people on the larger piece of the hurricane deck but, after ten minutes, the two were

parted from sight. Cameron drifted about six miles before being washed to shore and safety.

The group on the larger raft included Messrs. Lydiard, Parker, Pineo and Wilkins, the two Inglis boys, Mrs. Marsh, and Wadham, the crew member. For almost eight hours, heavy seas and gale-force winds buffeted the party until they finally floated ashore at Big Island around 10 a.m. on Saturday morning, about 23 hours after having left Charlottetown.

This collection of miserable individuals were received into local homes to which news of the disaster had already spread. Having been kindly treated and refreshed, the eight set out for other parts. Once Messrs. Lydiard, Pineo and Wilkins reached New Glasgow, they hurried to the telegraph office to send a wire to Pictou: arrest the captain and crew whose "despicable" conduct had brought about the recent tragedy.

As the first word of the tragedy of the "Fairy Queen" reached public eyes and ears, people were dumbfounded. Initial newspaper reports under such headlines as "Awful Catastrophe!" and "Terrible Disaster" stated that everyone had perished in "one of the most lamentable events that has ever occurred within our Province." Then, as first the fleeing crew, and thereafter some of the deserted survivors turned up, the true story was revealed. Grief turned to incredulity, then to indignation and horror.

Pictou became the focus for attention because authorities there arrested Captain Belyea and company on the basis of the Lydiard-Pineo-Wilkins telegram. A Magistrate's Inquiry was convened at the Court House and it was there that several of the surviving passengers related with some emotion the details of that dreadful crossing.

The more the public learned of the events, the more intense became the general excitement. Feelings that bordered on fury were ignited by such defence statements as that of the mate who said that he would not have taken 500 Pounds to go near the sinking steamer once he had found a seat in a lifeboat. People latched onto words like these to elevate the victims, especially the lovely DeWolf sisters, to martyred sainthood, such was the depth of public shock and grief.

Unusual press coverage employed every descriptive adjective to underline the general reaction to the conduct of the captain and crew. Exaggerated rumors about the heartlessness of Captain Belyea circulated everywhere; it was even said that some of the deserting crew members had looted the passengers' trunks before they abandoned ship. Joseph Howe's Halifax newspaper, *The Novascotian*, drew the line at this point and refused to print any more details for fear of prejudicing public opinion against Captain Belyea and his crew. The paper also rapped its counterparts for continuing to publish impassioned editorials and rumors. The *British Colonist* responded:

Unlike some of our contemporaries however, we have none of that mawkish sentiment that would deter us from censuring the acts of men whose conduct has shewn them to be deaf to the appeals of perishing women and insensible to the common feelings of humanity.

On Oct. 19, the enraged citizens of Charlottetown held a public meeting at which a series of resolutions were passed. They ranged from motions of public thanks to the residents of Pictou for their kindness in caring for the "Fairy Queen's" survivors to a round condemnation of the steamer's owners and crew. Feeling at the meeting was reported to have been high.

The Charlottetown Advertiser carried a lengthy poem based on the tragedy. The concluding verse of the poem summed up the public's verdict.

Let indignation, scorn,
Well merited disgrace,
And desecration, hate,
That time can ne'er efface;
Let infamy and lasting shame,
Forever rest on BELYEA'S name.

The affair as it unfolded at Pictou came to a conclusion on Oct. 28. The Supreme Court, which had been sitting on the matter since the Magistrate's Inquiry, received the verdict of a Grand Jury. To the satisfaction of the Chief Prosecutor, the Hon. J. W. Johnstone, Q.C., the jurors brought in a true bill for manslaughter against Captain Belyea and every crew member who had left the steamer with him. Released on bail, the men were to appear at the 1853 Michaelmas session of the Supreme Court at Halifax.

Within the next few days, the stern section of the "Fairy Queen" broke up in the tide and was seen floating down the coast until it finally washed ashore at Malignant Cove in Antigonish County.

Two Merigomish men reported the last grim event in this story of misfortune. On Nov. 4, they boarded the remainder of the wreck near their homes and, while examining the ruin, they recoiled at the discovery of a body dressed in plaid trousers and lying under the wreck. It was Dr. McKenzie.

Human curiosity will probably stir the reader to wonder what happened to Captain Belyea and his crew at their Supreme Court trial. Unfortunately, there seems to be no record of their fate. No court proceedings can be found and

those newspapers that continued to report on the affair carry no report of the case or men during the period of the Halifax Court's sittings. Indeed, the Michaelmas session of the Supreme Court at Halifax concluded at almost the same time as that at Pictou. Moreover, the same sources produce nothing about the matter during 1854 sittings of either the Pictou or Halifax Courts.

Consequently, a conjectural conclusion might be allowed. A few newspaper reports of the Pictou Court's October findings indicate that proceedings may not have been entirely in order. The Grand Jury, it seems, was a little hasty in preparing its verdict and, perhaps carried along by the rush of public feeling, both the judge and jurors evidently did not comply with all of the required legal niceties.

Therefore, although no statement to the effect has been uncovered, it is possible that the charges against Captain Belyea and his men were dropped because of the violation of certain legal technicalities.

Passengers on board the "Fairy Queen" (7 Oct., 1853):

Edward L. Lydiard of Charlottetown,

Martin I. Wilkins, M.L.A., of Pictou,

Henry G. Pineo, Jr., of Pugwash,

Mr. Parker of Musquodoboit,

Mrs. Marsh,

Edmund Inglis, and his younger brother-

Edward Inglis, all of whom survived on the larger raft (a portion of the steamer's hurricane deck)

Peter Cameron, who survived on the smaller raft,

Hector McKinnon, who escaped in lifeboat #2 with the crew.

Dr. McKenzie of Halifax,

Arabella DeWolf of Wolfville, and her sister-

Alice DeWolf,

Jane Young, an Irish servant with the DeWolfs, Mrs. Andrew McKay of Roger's Hill and

Thomas McGuigan of Charlottetown (first reports gave his surname as Hammil), all of whom were drowned.

Crew of the steamer "Fairy Queen":

James Wadham, deckhand, who survived with the six passengers on the larger raft,

W. R. Belyea, captain,

Patrick Treanor, mate,

James D. Turner, clerk,

John Christie, first engineer, and

James Webster, second engineer, all of whom survived in lifeboat #1,

William McKenna, seaman,

William Mills, fireman, and

John Donolly, fireman, all of whom survived in lifeboat #2.

Hugh O'Hara, cook,

the steward, name unknown, and

two other seamen, names unknown, all of whom were drowned.

Dr. Adamson's Cholera Cure

GEOFFREY BILSON

An incident in the history of the Nova Scotia medical profession

In 1828, an effort was made to restrict the practice of medicine in Nova Scotia to the skilled and to "exclude ignorant and unskillful persons from the practice of Physic and Surgery".1 Qualified persons were those who had won a diploma or its equivalent at a College or public institution or who were licensed by the province after an examination by judges appointed by the lieutenant-governor. The only punitive provision was that unqualified practitioners could not be paid for medical services. This was the first attempt in the province to form medical practitioners into a closed group. While the Act served the interest of a particular group of Nova Scotia's medical men it did not serve the interests of many Nova Scotians. Protests were soon heard that the rigour of the act was working against "many useful practitioners" and less than a year after its passage, it had to be modified to exclude from its provisions anyone who had been settled and practising medicine for seven years before the Act passed.2

After 1829, there were two kinds of practitioners in Nova Scotia and the possibility of friction between them was very great. Those who qualified under the 1828 act would naturally tend to condescend to those who did not or to regard them as affronts to the dignity of the profession. Lacking legal means to prevent their practising the regularly trained physician could resort to social pressures and exclude informally those whom the law allowed to practise.

Dr. John Adamson suffered this form of exclusion from a group which he desperately wanted to join. He had come to Halifax in 1817 and practised as a surgeon, offering to treat "all . . . who may stand in want of medical assistance".3 His headquarters were the New Drug Store, on Water Street, which he appears to have run with the active participation of his wife Ann. It was she who signed a number of advertisements published by the store during the cholera epidemic of 1834. The Adamsons prospered and acquired some farms outside Halifax but Dr. Adamson was not a happy man. His relationship with the physicians of Halifax was difficult and he complained that they did not "... treat him with that professional courtesy to which he feels himself entitled . . . "4 He believed himself to be entitled to that courtesy because he was a professional by training and experience. He paraded his education and his testimonials. He claimed to have matriculated at Edinburgh University in 1811 and to have studied there until 1816. He could show tickets of admission to courses of lectures given by nineteen professors and he had two testimonial letters (which said little more than that he had attended their classes) from two of the Scottish faculty. He had walked the wards of Edinburgh hospitals and had continued to study the medical classics since coming to Halifax. Adamson claimed to be a product, if not a graduate, of the leading medical school of his time.5 As the majority of psysicians had been trained by apprenticeship, his lack of a degree did not set him apart from those he regarded as his fellows. Under the Act of 1829, he was a qualified medical practitioner.

Something set Adamson apart from the better established members of his profession. If what he said of his training was true, he was not measurably less well trained than many colleagues. At a time when the medical profession was struggling to define its place in Nova Scotia society, Adamson behaved in ways that were "unprofessional". His connection with the drug store and its advertising must have aroused

memories of the historic struggle between physician and apothecary in England and invoked the resentment physicians felt towards drug sellers who claimed to be doctors. Adamson was also a man of short temper and precipitate action, quite prepared to interfere in the relationship between a doctor and his patient without invitation. These "unprofessional" characteristics ended Adamson's career in Halifax during the cholera epidemic of 1834.

When cholera came to Halifax it killed over four hundred people in a city of 14,000. The disease was heavily concentrated in the centre of the city amongst the poor and wretched inhabitants. To the surprise and horror of wealthier citizens, who had hoped that cholera would be confined to the unclean and the intemperate, it also spread into the homes of the "better sort".6 Common humanity and self preservation demanded action and the city of Halifax tried to check the disease with a clean up programme. The filth and garbage sweltering in the sun was picked up and carted away, pools of stagnant water were drained from the streets, slaughter houses inside the city which left blood and offal to rot in their yards were closed down. The houses of the poor were whitewashed, lime was spread in gutters and thrown down drains and tar was burned to purify the air.7 No one knew what caused cholera or how it was spread but all agreed that a clean city was healthier than a dirty one. Despite their efforts, cholera raged on from late August until mid September, when it began to slacken in intensity. Not until October 11 was the Board of Health able to issue clean bills of health.8

As sanitation failed to check the disease the city had to provide some sort of medical aid for the poor. That was something which the medical profession rarely did in normal times. The poor of Halifax could go to the Halifax Dispensary, which was open for an hour at mid day and usually handled twelve to thirty patients at a session. The city spent an average of 8d for

each patient and the institution functioned through the voluntary efforts of two of the city's doctors.9 The majority of the poor in Halifax treated their own ills or looked to the drug store for help. When the authorities opend a cholera hospital at Dalhousie College, the poor refused to go and given that over sixty per cent of those admitted died, perhaps they were right to do so. 10 To overcome the resistance, punitive measures were taken by the government against those who resisted when ordered to hospital by the Health Wardens acting on the advice of a physician. 11 The justification for that was that only in hospital could the sick poor get the attention they needed. The effect of it was to make the unfamiliar physician a figure of threat in the homes of some of the poor. What looked like a home devoid of basic necessities to a man making his first visit there might look above average to someone more familiar with the poor of Halifax.

Dr. Adamson was probably more familiar with the poor of the city than many other physicians.¹² It was against the background of the epidemic and in a dispute over a poor man that Adamson showed the full nature of his lack of "professionalism" and was finally squeezed out of practising in Halifax. Ironically, it was his pride in his professional knowledge that laid the basis for his fall. Adamson believed that cholera was caused by a "malaria" produced by a peculiar condition of the atmosphere combined with the filth of the streets. The "malaria" made it impossible for the body to purify the blood which consequently turned black and cool and in turn darkened the body to the hue characteristic of cholera victims. To overcome the failure of the blood it was necessary to restore heat and moisture and to balance the circulation. This was done by allowing a free circulation of air around the patient and by applying powerful stimulants. To this end, Adamson insisted on opening the doors and windows of patients' rooms and he administered a stimulating draught that his wife prepared.13

When the surgeon urged the opening of doors and windows he went against the majority opinion of his colleagues. Most doctors feared the effect, especially of night air and the air of early morning, not only on the sick but also on the healthy and warned that windows should be firmly shut. Under Adamson's own analysis it made sense to keep the windows shut and the "malaria" out, except that experience of the sickroom had convinced him that the air there was invariably "unfit for respiration". Given contemporary ideas, his colleagues believed that he was killing his patients by opening the windows. Then there was the matter of the draught. The Adamsons advertised it as a cure for cholera and claimed over three hundred successes, one hundred and fifty-four of them in a single week. Toward the end of September, Mrs. Adamson announced that "I now consider myself perfect mistress of the disease". She went farther and urged people not to take other advice. She claimed that the only patient she had lost in the third week of September was the wife of a man who "sought other aid, neglected mine, lost his wife the mother of six children".14

Thus the Adamsons committed a serious professional fault. They advertised heavily and they tried to win patients away from their colleagues. The cure that they advertised was considered by doctors to be as dangerous to the patient as the open window. All doctors, including Adamson, agreed that immediate treatment was necessary if cholera were to be checked. Because Adamson's draught did not cure the disease, those patients who took it and waited for it to work lost the time essential for the success of conventional remedies. When they turned from the draught, it was too late. Is In the eyes of his colleagues, Adamson stood accused of following dangerously ineffective methods of treatment and of encouraging people to ignore conventional treatment. While there was something of the quack in Adamson, it should be remembered that the conventional treatment was no more effective against cholera than

was the draught. Lesser charges against the doctor included misreporting figures to the Board of Health, abandoning hopeless cases and deluding the poor. On at least one occasion he interfered while another doctor was treating a cholera patient. Adamson entered the house "... without being called. Immediately he said the man was dying for want of air. Took his whip and broke the windows. This man did not take any of Dr. Adamson's medicine yet he afterwards charged him three guineas."¹⁶ The weeks of the epidemic threw into sharp relief the "unprofessional" qualities of Dr. Adamson.

All the qualities of the doctor's character were seen in a struggle over a poor patient whom the Health Warden wanted to send to the hospital and Adamson wanted to treat at home. Health Warden Snelling found the patient, Asbury, seriously ill with cholera at 7:30 one September morning. He sent for his son, Dr. Snelling, who advised Asbury to go to the hospital "... as he was without any of the necessary comforts ... " while father and son consulted, Dr. Adamson arrived having been called to the case. The two doctors discussed the case. Snelling said Asbury was dying, Adamson claimed that he had seen others " . . . nearly as bad who had recovered" and took Asbury as his patient, administering the draught. He then told Mrs. Asbury to send for him if he was needed and left. In striking contrast to Snelling, Adamson believed that Asbury could be treated at home, he had medical assistance "... was in an airy bedroom, had good bedding and had his wife to nurse him".17

When Adamson left, the Health Warden sent for the Hospital Cart. Someone went to tell Adamson and he returned to Asbury's house to find the cart there with the hospital man (or men, the evidence is unclear) and a gentleman whom the doctor thought to be "interfering as the friend of Mrs. Burrows, the landlady of the house where Asbury lived." The gentleman, in fact, was Mr. Edward Cunard, a Health Warden who had

ordered the removal of the patient. Cunard does not seem to have identified himself but stood quietly by while a grand row broke out between Adamson and the hospital man. The doctor admitted that he "did express himself somewhat warmly" but denied using violence in defence of his patient, whom he said could not be moved after having taken the draught without fatal results.¹⁸

The hospital cart went away empty and Edward Cunard withdrew. He sent for Dr. Nesbitt from the flagship and when he arrived some hours later Asbury was beyond help despite the fact that Adamson had administered the draught again. ¹⁹ Cunard summoned Adamson for interfering with the Health Wardens and he was fined £5. The doctor moved the case to the Supreme Court by certiorari and his conviction was quashed. ²⁰

Adamson then made a curious decision which reveals another part of his complex personality. It had cost him £9-0-2 in lawyers' fees to overturn his conviction. He was therefore financially worse off than he would have been under the original conviction. He petitioned the House of Assembly for remuneration. He was a regular medical practitioner, his status had been recognized by the Board of Health which had invited him to send in daily returns of patients. Despite his seniority he had not been put in charge of a medical district as he felt he deserved to be and thus deserved some other compensation for his "exertions in the cure of cholera . . . " He did not get even a halfpence. Instead, the house committee produced a file of witnesses both professional and lay, who condemned his methods of treatment in general and his handling of Asbury in particular. The committee reported that Adamson deserved no remuneration but rather was "a fit subject for reprobation".21

For some months in 1835, the new Drug Store continued to advertise in the Acadian Recorder. Then on April 11,

Thomas Forrester announced that Dr. Adamson "...has assigned to me his Real Estate and Personal Property, in trust for those who may have legal claims upon him..." The farms were put up for sale. A week later, there was a notice of an auction sale of "Drugs, Medicines, etc., without any reserve," which may have been Adamson's stock. Presumably, the doctor had left the province and the cholera epidemic had claimed its last victim.

Dr. Adamson was not an especially admirable man, but his career shows something of the nature of the Halifax medical profession of the time. He was a victim of the profession's desire to set standards which would define its place in society. Under the law, Adamson belonged to the profession but in the eyes of his colleagues he did not. Despite the years of service he had given in the province, he was refused the informal recognition that he demanded and thought should be his. In the crisis of the cholera epidemic all his "unprofessional" qualities were revealed and he ended up in court. It was his appeal for remuneration which gave the opportunity to condemn him and he gave up medicine in Nova Scotia. It is obvious that Adamson had good qualities. The kind of treatment he offered was not sharply removed from the regular doctors, who knew very little in 1834. He was popular among the poorer people who sent for him in the Asbury case to defend him against the hospital men. He seems to have sympathised with the poor and to have had rather more experience of them, to judge by his assessment of Asbury's situation in contrast to that of Snelling and Cunard. Seen from one point of view, the public health measures of the epidemic weeks permitted raids by unfamiliar men who tore the sick from their families out of self interest. Those raids, and the ones in support of sanitary laws, were resisted. If public health measures were to be successful, the medical men would have to combine their growing sense of professional status with a more permanent footing amongst the poor. That alone would overcome popular suspicion of doctors. Health Wardens and hospitals. When Dr. Adamson left the province, it was a small gain for the new professionalism but it may have snapped a link between the profession and the poor.

DR. ADAMSON'S CHOLERA CURE

The laws of Nova Scotia, 9 George IV Cap. 5.
The laws of Nova Scotia, 10 George IV Cap. 10.
Advertisement, Acadian Recorder, August 16, 1834.
Information on Adamson may be found in his affidavit of October 23, 1834, before the Supreme Court, and his petition to the House of Assembly, December 10, 1834. The committee report on his petition, December 31, 1834, is accompanied by statements from witnesses on Adamson's behaviour. All documents are in PANS RG 5 Series R, Vol. 20.

Adamson, petition.
Winthrop Bell, "A Halifax boyhood of one hundred and twenty years ago", Collections N.S. Historical Society, 28 (1949) p. 128.

Acadian Recorder, September 6, 1834.

Ibid, October 11, 1834.

Report of a committee of the House of Assembly, December 31, 1834, PANS RG 5 Series R, Vol. 29.
Based on the returns of the Board of Health. The death

rate was affected by the fact that a large percentage of the admissions were desperate cases. Minutes of the Council, September 6, 1834, PANS RG 1, Vol.

11.

214½C.

12. This assumption rests on a list of patients he treated for cholera, enclosed with his petition and on his connection with the drug store.

Adamson, petition.

Acadian Recorder, September 6, 1834, September 23, 1834.

Evidence of Dr. James C. Hume, committee report on 15. Adamson petition.

Ibid. 16.

17. Adamson, affidavit.

18. Ibid.

19. Edward Cunard, evidence, committee report on Adamson petition.

20. Adamson, petition.

21. Committee report on Adamson petition.

The Bounty Hunter

JOHN LEEFE

Biographical Note: A native of Plymouth, Sylvanus Cobb first came to Nova Scotia during the siege of Louisbourg in 1745. After a period of service with Gorham's Rangers he purchased the armed sloop York and was employed by the government to act on its behalf throughout the province. Not the least of his roles was that of a sort of commando extraordinaire. From the time of his arrival until his death during the siege of Havanna in 1762 he took part in virtually every major event which occurred in Nova Scotia — the founding of Halifax, building of Fort Lawrence, founding of Lunenburg, siege of Beauséjour, expulsion of the Acadians and the 1758 Louisbourg expedition are but a few. Although he himself cannot be considered responsible for altering the course of our history, he was one of a fairly large group of New Englanders who in total played a significant role in the building of Nova Scotia.

If the winter of 1754-55 had been mild in Nova Scotia, it had been particularly so on the Isthmus of Chignecto. The ice which usually jammed onto the shores of Cumberland Basin until well into March had cleared sufficiently by late February to allow normal sea communications to be reopened with the other Fundy outports. Among other things this meant that the risk of losing despatches to the French through the use of an overland route to Halifax was eliminated. Captain Hussey, the commandant of Fort Lawrence, must have been well pleased by this kind act of providence for he was anxious that

Governor Lawrence should receive the reports on negotiations with the Indians as well as be informed of the machinations of the Abbé Le Loutre in trying to rupture them.

It was convenient too, that the governor had ordered Sylvanus Cobb and his sloop York, to Piziquid, (Windsor) for two birds could be killed with one stone. The reports could be delivered safely by sea and the three deserters who had recently been returned by Hussey's counterpart at Beauséjour, Sieur de Vergor, could be delivered into the hands of the authorities. Two of the prisoners were from Cobb's old company of Goreham's Rangers. Cobb could even carry his own request that he be given leave to enclose a piece of land in the vicinity of the fort to sow barley and wheat. Hussey had agreed to the grant, but Cobb wanted some sort of confirmation from the governor as well. The weather being favourable, he sailed for Minas Basin on February 25th.

Sylvanus was not long at Piziquid before he was ordered to Halifax. On or about March 1st he was instructed by Governor Lawrence to "stop all vessels carrying on a Clandestine Trade or carrying out Provisions from this Province." He must have put to sea almost immediately, cruising the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia in search of would-be smugglers. It seems likely that he restricted himself to the South Shore for the pack ice of the Gulf of St. Lawrence would have made navigation in the Canso-Cape Breton area most dangerous.

On the 8th of April, while cruising off Cape Sable, he put into the East Passage where he overtook a schooner laden down with merchandise and trading with the Acadian inhabitants of the place. She proved to be the Wolfe sailing out of Plymouth. Her master, William Clark, could produce neither a register nor clearance papers which more than suggested some sort of subterfuge. Cobb carefully interrogated the Wolfe's crew only to solicit the response that they were on a fishing

voyage. Jeremiah Hows, the York's mate, boarded the schooner and soon found ample proof that a purpose other than fishing had brought them to Nova Scotia. Her Salt room was full of corn and there were several hogsheads in the hold. Clearly the governor's interdict had been transgressed.

The vessel was arrested and taken to Halifax where she was brought before John Collier, the judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, and condemned. The prize was ordered sold at public auction with all her "tackle, apparrel, and furniture" at 10 o'clock in the forenoon at Malachi Salter's storehouse. Despite the appraised value of £70.7.10 Cobb received only £16.4.6 as the informer and siezer plus £2 for piloting the vessel from East Passage to Halifax. The difference was lost to bureacracy.³

Cape Sable must have seemed a ripe plum for Sylvanus wasted no time in returning there probably within a week of capturing the Wolfe. On the 19th he stopped a fisherman off Cape Sable Island and was informed that there was a schooner cast away up the bay. Cobb was afraid that the boat might prove to be the government vessel Warren and consequently worked up the bay and into the East Passage. Here he commandeered the services of two of the Acadian inhabitants whom he ordered to the head of the bay to search for the schooner. Their failure to return converted worry into suspicion. A boat was ordered over the side and Sylvanus went ashore to quiz the French on the origin of the schooner. They further aroused his suspicion by telling him that in fact there was no such boat in the vicinity and that the fisherman had lied to him. Seeing that nothing could be accomplished for the moment, the New Englanders returned to the York for the night.

The morning of the 20th was damp and foggy. Cobb again went ashore to determine if any French goods had been

landed. This time the Frenchmen seemed uneasy and he overheard them say that some schooner was indeed cast away. This is rather an interesting statement on Cobb's part for it implies that he himself spoke sufficient French to be able to pick information out of what must have been a somewhat veiled conversation. The prospect of his being bilingual is not altogether unlikely considering that he had been dealing with the French in war and in peace since the fall of Louisbourg in '45.

He returned to the York and beat down to Port LaTour where he discovered the masts of a vessel and heard a fuzil fire. This was promptly answered with a shot from the York's swivel to seaward. Cobb went in as far as he dared and then proceeded to land with his boats. Not only did he find the schooner to be French but she appeared to be laden with supplies of war, trading goods, and other merchandize. A great number of shot were piled on shore, probably in an effort to lighten her load and prevent her sinking as a hole had been stove in her hull.

Apparently without taking any punitive action, the York sailed for Halifax where Sylvanus informed Governor Lawrence and the Court of Vice-Admiralty of his discovery. He was subsequently ordered to return to Port LaTour to ensure that the vessel did not escape. Captain Kensey was ordered to follow in H. M. Sloop Vulture and effect the capture of the schooner.

After the rendezvous off Port LaTour the *Vulture* put her boat over the side and, accompanied by the *York*, proceeded up the harbour to the stricken schooner. The stranger was taken without a fight along with her crew of fourteen or fifteen men. She proved to the "Marguritte" (sic.) of 100 tons burthen. Her master, Captain Lassenne, had sailed from

Louisbourg and, possibly hitting a reef along the coast, had put into Port LaTour where there were likely to be Acadians sympathetic to their cause.

The French schooner carried a most interesting cargo. In her hold were found six cannons and carriages as well as two spare carriages. As previously mentioned, a great number of shot were piled on shore. These supplies were very likely on their way to the Sieur de Boishebért who had been carrying on a clandestine warfare against the British north of the Bay of Fundy since 1750.

Cobb and Kensey determined that the *Marguritte* (sic.) could be made seaworthy. She must have been unloaded and careened in order to make the necessary repairs. Two-thirds of her cargo was reloaded, one-third placed on board the *York*, aand a prize crew picked from Cobb's men was put on board the schooner. The three vessels then weighed anchor and made for Halifax. This whole operation must have lasted three or four days for it was not until April 26th that the *Marguritte* (sic.) was brought before the Court of Vice-Admiralty and judged forefeit.

Judge Collier ordered her tackle, apparel, furniture, stores, boats, and appurtenances, stores of war, goods, wares, and merchandize sold at a public auction on May 5th at 10 a.m. The site was likely Malachi Salter's warehouse. The total value of the schooner and her cargo was appraised at £788.15.8 excluding her guns. After the marshall's fees and other standard charges were deducted, a total of £622.4.2 was left to be divided between the Crown, the Governor, and the informer and siezer. Much to Cobb's chagrin, he was named only as informer while Kensey was named as the siezer.

The two captains not unexpectedly came into open conflict over the issue. Kensey requested William Nesbitt, His

Majesty's Advocate-General, to settle the dispute. He agreed and began an unsuccessful search for Cobb which took him all over Halifax. Finally he went to the home of Charles Morris, the Registrar of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, where he remained until Cobb was found. Sylvanus subsequently arrived at Morris' house to hear Nesbitt's cause.

On behalf of Kensey, the Advocate-General offered Cobb either half the money to be fetched at the auction or half the assessed value of the prize. The irate New Englander refused, stating uncategorically that he had made a previous offer to Kensey which had been declined. Nesbitt then played his trump. He informed Cobb that he had discussed the matter with Governor Lawrence who had agreed that Kensey's offer was an equitable one. Morris and Malachi Salter, who was also present, pressed Cobb to accept the proposed settlement. Still intractable, Sylvanus left Morris's determined to further discuss the matter with the governor and friends. A short while later he returned in a rather different frame of mind, agreeing that in order to re-establish amiable relations he would accept Kensey's offer.

Poor old Kensey did not long enjoy the fruits of his labour for sometime during the night of the 29th-30th he passed on to glory. On May 5th Judge Collier, deliberating on the case, ordered the prize money and costs to be shared equally by Cobb and Kensey's estate. Sylvanus left shortly thereafter, having been posted to Chignecto where he took part in the siege of Beaséjour.

The two incidents related here are minor when fitted into the mosaic of the times. Despite their relative unimportance several factors can be deduced, which shed light on the character of Sylvanus Cobb, who like many other New Englanders, served the King in a somewhat unorthodox manner. Cobb had sufficient insight into Nova Scotia's affairs to realize that there was potential in the province for anyone wishing to settle there. He likely deduced that the French position on the mainland was in the long run untenable and that good land was to be had for the asking. He was also wise enough to choose a site which was not only on some of the best agricultural land in the province, the old Beaubassin of the Acadians, but also under the immediate protection of a British garrison.

His prudence is further testified to by his actions at the time of the *Marguritte's* (sic.) discovery. Rather than rushing in blindly and attacking the Frenchmen, he determined their inability to escape and then sought support from the Royal Navy in effecting the siezure. In view of his experiences in Nova Scotia he likely realized that the French vessel might be supported by local Acadians and Indians who could wreck havoc on his smaller crew if they were engaged. Allowing another to take the risks for his profit does not seem out of keeping with Yankee business acumen.

Sylvanus was apparently on familiar terms with the higher crown officials. This is testified to by his personal request to Lawrence for land at Chignecto and by his visit to the governor during the settlement of the dispute. It is also possible to deduce that he was not on as friendly terms with Morris and Nesbitt or with Salter. While Lawrence had served with and seemed to respect the New Englanders, the other officials true to an already established pattern, took up the side of the establishment. Salter likely supported Kensey in order to curry favour with the crown upon which he depended for fat victualing contracts.

Finally Cobb showed himself to be sufficiently astute to know when he was defeated. Rather than risking the displeasure of the governor and an almost assuredly unfavourable decision from the Court of Vice-Admiralty he agreed to Kensey's offer. In a similar vein, he must have realized that his livelihood depended to a high degree on his ability to cooperate with naval officers. He could literally not afford to be in their disfavour so he ate crow and yielded in the name of amiability.

Sylvanus Cobb may be seen as a shrewd business man. He recognized an opportunity for investment when it presented itself. He avoided unnecessary risks when he was able to inveagle someone else to run them for him and he was capable of drawing the fine line between pride and pocket when events did not turn in his favour. In fact, he seems to be just what he was, a Yankee opportunist in an opportunist's world.

FOOTNOTES

John C. Webster, Thomas Pichon, Tribute Press, Sackville,

2.

John C. Webster, Thomas Pichon, Tribute Press, Sackvil 1937, P.A.N.S., pp. 91-95.

James More, The History of Queen's County,
Nova Scotia Printing Company, Halifax, 1873, p. 136.

"Vice-Admiralty Court Proceedings", 1751-1756, P.A.N.S.,
pp. 204 - 209.

Ibid., pp. 210-229.

John C. Webster, Diary of John Thomas, Tribune Press,
Sackville, 1937, P.A.N.S., p. 15 3.

Contributors

ALLAN EVERETT MARBLE is a native Nova Scotian. He was born in Truro and attended school there and in Dartmouth. He continued his studies at Dalhousie University and Nova Scotia Technical College where he was awarded four scholarships and an Honours Bachelor's Degree.

He has written numerous scientific abstracts and papers pertaining to medical research and is the author of a book on

Geneology, published in 1966.

Mr. Marble is chairman of the Geneology committee, Nova Scotia Historical Society and is a member of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science and the Royal Philatelic Society of Canada. MORTIMER VILLIERS MARSHALL was born in Central Chebogue, Yarmouth County, Nova Scotia and received his

early education at Yarmouth Academy.

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

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

He is a member of the Wolfville Historical Association

and a Life Member of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union.

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

BLAINE JOSEPH ADAMS was born in Timmons, Ontario. He received his early education at Elliot Lake High School and later attended the University of Toronto.

Mr. Adams is a teacher and has taught in Africa, northern British Columbia and is now in Missassauga, Ontario. His previous occupation was historical researcher with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development at Louisbourg.

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 Pictou County Historical Society,

United Empire Loyalist Association of Canada, the North Cumberland Historical Society and a provincial director of the International Reading Association.

Mr. Smith lives in New Glasgow and teaches Junior High

School English.

GEOFFREY BILSON was born in Cardiff, Wales. He was granted the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the University of Wales and Ph.D from Stanford University, California. He is the recipient of a Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship. Dr. Bilson is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

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

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

Social Studies Association.

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

Book Reviews

LORNA INNESS

Silversmiths and Related Craftsmen of the Atlantic Provinces, by Donald C. Mackay Hardcover and paperback, 133 pages, illustrated, published October 1973. Petheric Press, hardcover \$14.95, paperback \$9.95.

This is a long-awaited book which gives the results of Dr. Mackay's research into the early gold and silversmiths and watchmakers of the Maritime Provinces. The book represents some 25 years of work on Dr. Mackay's part and he acknowledges earlier work done by the late Harry Piers, Curator of the Nova Scotia Museum, which provided a base upon which to build.

Dr Mackay places the beginning of the development of these crafts in Nova Scotia at Port Royal with the craftsmen who accompanied DeMonts. Dr. Mackay suggests that it is quite possible that one of the earliest pieces of jewelry made in this province was the badge of office worn by the stewards of the Order of Good Cheer.

A few early church pieces survive, probably from the 1630s. One of the book's illustrations shows the Turk's Head and St. Matthew Apostle spoons found at the site of the Recollet Monastry Chapel at L'Equille.

And throughout the story there is the frustrating problem And throughout the story there is the frustrating problem of unmarked pieces with uncertain history. Louisbourg, for example: "A small beaker shaped cup on base, evidently an XVIII century missionary Chalice has been presented to the Museum of the Fortress. Although it had associations with the missions to the Indians, it is unmarked and there is nothing to indicate that it was made in Louisbourg..."

Richard Walker, silversmith, and Isaac Gandon, goldsmith, accompanied Cornwallis to Halifax in 1749; they were later joined by others. James Butler and Jacob Hurd were two of the silversmiths who come to Halifax by way of Boston. They were

followed by Loyalists who fled to the colony and whose artistry was a valuable contribution to the life style of the day. As the hand of progress softened the rigors of settlement there was more time for the gracious aspects of living, more money to afford them. There was a growing market for the products of the silver and goldsmiths and they flourished.

Loyalist craftsmen also contributed to the development of gold and silversmithing in New Brunswick. Little is known of the early history of silver in Prince Edward Island; the first record of a craftsman there being an advertisement placed in the Recorder in 1813 by a John Jury, "Watchmaker". In 1786 a watch and clockmaker from London, William Marsters, settled

in St. John's, Newfoundland, and appears to have been the earliest known craftsman of this type on record there.

Much of Dr. Mackay's research has involved the use of old newspapers and much of the information has come from advertised to the second seco

tisements which gave the name of the craftsman, his place of business and something of the scope of his work.

The book is illustrated with some of the finer examples of silver and gold vessels, trophies, snuff boxes and jewelry made

in the Maritimes.

The book also contains an alphabetical, chronological list of the craftsmen, province by province, with such details of their lives as are known and, where possible, reproductions of their hallmarks.

This book is a valuable contribution to Nova Scotiana.

Joseph Howe, Poems and Essays, Introduction by M. G. Parks, Hardcover and paperback, 341 pages, published 1973 University of Toronto Press, \$15 (hardcover), \$4.95 (paperback)

We've just finished celebrating the first Joseph Howe Festival and all summer and fall the best-known pieces of Howe's writings have been quoted extensively. This collection gives readers a chance to study some of the lesser known works. For example, how many are familiar with the following and can place the work from which it is taken and the occasion?

"But, divide the nation by households, and under every roof you will find, let national pride be ever so strong, that family pride, the interest in the narrower circle that bears a common

name, is quite as active . . .

That is the sentence which follows the most quoted one about "A wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments (so frequently misquoted as monuments), etc . . . " And the source is an address delivered at the Howe Festival at Framingham, Massachusetts, on August 31st, 1871.

This edition is a reprint of the Poems and Essays which Sydenam Howe assembled and had printed in 1874, the year

following Howe's death.

The essays include Shakespeare, Eloquence, The Moral Influence of Women, The Locksmith of Philadelphia, and an address given to the Young Men's Christian Association at Ottawa in February, 1872.

In evaluating the quality of Howe's poetical works, Parks writes that " ... it soon becomes clear that this is minor poetry bearing the recognizable stamp of a colonial culture . . . a definition of Howe's weakness as a poet might well be built around the idea that far too often in practice he drove each valid principle to excess—the universal and typical to the obvious and stereotyped, morality to moralizing, elevation to pomposity, emulation to imitation, feeling to sentimentality. He tended to be satisfied with, indeed to aim at, verse rhetoric . . . rather than what is more properly called poetry . . ."
Part of one of the poems, To The Town Clock, follows:

Thou grave old Time Piece, many a time and oft I've been your debtor for the time of day; And every time I cast my eyes aloft,
And swell the debt—I think 'tis time to pay. Thou, like a sentinel upon a tower, Hast still announced "the enemy's" retreat, And now that I have got a leisure hour,
Thy praise, thou old Repeater, I'll repeat . . .

How many curious scenes and odd displays You've gazed upon, since first you took your stand; How many sad, how many brilliant days, You've had a hand in — Oh! that you could hand

Your knowledge down-You Log— your Album—all your observations, Jokes and remarks, on what you've heard and seen; If besides "note of time," your cogitations
On all the doings that in time have been recorded You had recorded. No book would sell so well About the town, Nor any author be so well rewarded . . . "

The Valley of the Remsheg, by Harry R. Brown, Hardcover, 225 pages, illustrated, published 1973 North Cumberland Historical Society, Pugwash, N.S.

This book is subtitled "A History of Wallace Bay and a genealogical record of the descendants of six founding families" and it is publication No. 4 of the North Cumberland Historical

Society.

In an introduction to the book, John R. MacQuarrie writes of Harry Brown that he was a "prime mover in founding the North Cumberland Historical Society", that his life has been devoted to various agricultural interests (and that interest is shown in the sections of the book devoted to early farming methods in the area), and that he has been active in the movement for cemetery care in the Wallace Bay section. The latter interest is one which comes naturally to many people interest. ed in genealogy who find their efforts frustrated on occasion by

headstones and markers which have lost their value as records

through years of neglect.

(Indeed, this is possibly not the best place for it, but an appeal should be made to all those with an interest in the history of their province to make it a point to inspect the conditions of old cemeteries, to check the details on markers, to take rubbings where practicable, to ensure that there are written records as complete as possible, and that these records are lodged where they will be available to people doing research on old families. The Archives would be an ideal repository.)

Mr. Brown's credentials established, he writes of the early history of the area beginning with what is known of the days of the Micmacs and the Acadians. Brown writes particularly of that area known as the "Remsheg grant", comprising "all of Malagash Point and the south side of the harbour and bay to a point somewhat west of the Thompson Road, so called, as well as on the north side all of the present North Wallace and up the bay to a point somewhat east of the writer's homestead... The Brown family helped to settle the area and their family connections are among those of the six founding families discussed in this book.

Agricultural methods are discussed in detail—plowing, harrowing, threshing and the use of "horse power". Of particular interest is the section dealing with the marshs and the gathering of marsh grass and hay. Mills, arts and crafts are explored, as are the religious and social customs of the area since the early days of settlement. Transportation, communica-

tion and schools are discussed in other chapters.

One interesting feature is a map with several pages of notes about the location and history of old cellars and homesites.

The second part of the book consists of the genealogical tables of the six founding families—Brown, Peers, Tuttle, McKim, Wells and Forshner—linked by a rather intricate code. General historical details of their lives, where known, have been included.

There is an index of the Christian names of the members of the founding families and a further index of the surnames of

connected families from Adams to Zwicker.

Wake of the Great Sealers, by Farley Mowat, Prints and drawings by David Blackwood, Hardcover, 159 pages, published October 1973 McClelland & Stewart Ltd., \$16.95

This is truly as epic book about a way of life which has found its way into Canadian folklore, where tales, poems and songs about "swilin" " have given an air of romance to a grisly,

grubbing business.

The men who hunted the seal up until about a decade ago weren't worried about the effect of the hunt on the seal herds only that there might not be enough seals another year and one should get all one could while one was on the ice. No heart-tugging pictures of pup seals about to be slaughtered on the ice provoked a great public outcry. While many of the men may not have had much taste for the bloody work, it represented a job in a time and area where what might be called "steady work" and the security resulting from it were unknown.

Farley Mowat has taken the sealing industry, coated it in the language of the outports, and garnished it with tales of the people involved—those risking their lives in the hunt and those waiting at home, watching on the shore for the men to come

"It was the annual visit of these mighty herds (harp and hood seals) that, as much as anything, led my forebears to make their homes on the bleak coasts of Newfoundland's north-

"Tis often said, and a good many believes in it, as codfish was the whole backbone of Newfoundland. Maybe 'twas so for some parts, and maybe 'tis mainly so these times, 'twarn't always so . . . They was only after cod; but back two hundred years ago some of them fell into the seal fishery, and once they had it they never let it go. They took to staying in them little places in the north right through the winter so as to be handy to the seals, and in the end 'twas the seal fishery as built up all them places right round from Cape Bonavista clear to Cape St.

And, in the 18th and 19th centuries, long before the hue and cry of conservationists, "Once or twice in every generation the pans of whelping ice, laden with new-born 'whitecoats', would be driven by nor'east gales into contact with the land. Then men, women, children, even dogs, rushed pell-mell out over the raftered ice to reach the nurseries where they made fantastic slaughter of the young seals. They still tell of one such foray over the shorebound ice of Bonavista Bay that yielded 140,000 whitecoat sculps

whitecoat sculps . . .

The lure of the seals led men in the 1790s to build boats better adapted to the ice conditions than the customary fishing craft so that they might venture farther out in search of the

In the next century "thousands of vessels were built all along the northern and eastern coasts . . . brigs of 150-tons were being built for the ice-hunt. The top of it all came in 1884 when 350 sailing vessels carrying nearly 11,000 sealers . . . went to the northern ice and brought back 700,000 seal sculps . . ."

If the profits for those who met with success were high, the losses were equally as great. "Between 1810 and 1870," writes Mowat, "more than 400 sealing vessels were sunk at the ice, and, although nobody bothered to keep account of how many men were lost, there must have been well over a thousand drowned, crushed, or frozen to death . .

Describing the seal fishery as "a lottery where all is risk and uncertainty," Mowat points out that the merchants waiting

in St. John's for the catch, trading the oil and the pelts, risked money, whereas the sealers risked their lives.

And the fate of men lost in the icy seas, in the dark, in storms, adrift from their ship, stranded on foot on the floestheir lot was one of indescribable suffering. Mowat includes in his book the story of the loss of the men of the Newfoundland, in the great sealing disaster which was so well told in Death on the Ice, by Harold Horwood and Cassie Brown.

It was an unbelievably hard life. When they started a fishermen's union in 1914, Capt. Abraham Kean, one of the hardest, most successful and most ruthless of the sealing skippers, commented: "Now sealing's a pure luxury, with engines to do the work and bunks and hot food . . . it ain't a man's game any more!" But until then the ships had been unheated and a man's grub consisted of black tea and hardtack with a generous supply of weevils.

Mowat has conveyed in his story of the seal fishery the starkness and savagery of the hunt and the warmth, courage, strength of the outport people. It is a moving book and the stark illustrations, so many of them depicting lost men stranded on the merciless ice, are a fitting accompaniment to the text.

"Away far out on the Northern Floe Labour the men of our Isle, And they fight the grim Boreal blasts With their cheerful native smile.

And when the Storm King reigns supreme, They honour their native land, And give their lives on the stormy floe, Those heroes in heart and hand

Sawtooth Harbour Boy, by Jean Hayes Feather Paperback, 128 pages, published September 1973, Thomas Nelson & Sons (Canada) Ltd.—\$2.50

This is a tale for juvenile readers. It's hero is Billy Harding, a young lad living in the Newfoundland outports in 1919. It was a time, writes the author, when "each spring dozens of families moved from their Newfoundland homes to a harbour on the coast of Labrador, where everyone helped in making the salt fish'

The author's father and uncle spent nearly 60 years fishing and coasting from St. John's or Halifax to the outports, and through their tales of those early years of this century the

author has been able to visualize outport life.

Huronia, by Conrad Heidenreich, Hardcover, 337 pages plus additional section of maps and pictures, published 1973 McClelland & Stewart Ltd. \$14.95

This book was originally prepared as a doctoral thesis when Heidenreich was taking his Ph.D in geography at McMaster University. In this study of the Huron Indians, Heidenreich has explored the full range of geography, not dealing solely with the territory covered by the Hurons, but with the wider aspects—population, settlement patterns, economics, culture,

trade and politics.

Taking what is known from early journals of explorers and priests, and adding what has been found by archaelogical study, Heidenreich explores the position and extent of Huronia, according to Champlain (1615-1616), to Sagard (1623-1624) to the Jesuits (1634-1650), the location and delimitation of Huron villages and Huronia, the physical geography of the area, tribal socio-political organization, village sites and the factors governing their location, the long house and the life within it, the subsistence economy of the Hurons, their relations with other peoples, their system of trade.

A painstaking, exhaustive study. One is inclined to wonder

if the early Micmacs have been studied to this extent.

The Blind Horn's Hate, by Richard Hough Hardcover and paperback, 336 pages, illustrated, published 1971, paperback edition 1973 Arrow Books, \$5.95 (paper)

"It's north you may run to the rime-ringed sun,

or south to the blind horn's hate . . . "—Kipling In all the stories of the sea, the most gripping tend to involve passages around the Horn, ... "one of the least known, the most hostile and yet most beautiful areas in the world,

writes Hough.

"For days on end, summer or winter, drizzle, sleet or snow obscure everything, and the wind screams between the antarctic ... and the crags ... For even in its mildest moods the uttermost south is untrustworthy, and the hate of the blind Horn has a special satanic quality unsurpassed anywhere in the world."

Hough traces the history of "rounding the Horn" from the days of the early explorers seeking a way to the riches of the East to the time of the clipper ships making a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, racing against time and the capricious

weather at the Horn.

Those were the times when the men were separated from the boys. A man lived in wet clothes for perhaps weeks, depending on how long the ship might be caught in the area. He went aloft on icy spars, fought to keep a footing, observed the sailor's maxim "One hand for the ship and one for yourself" or fell into the raging waters below with no chance of rescue. Men climbed ladders, hauled ropes and pounded canvas with hands cracked

and split. The slightest miscalculation could send a ship on the rocks. And for those luckless survivors of a wreck, the native tribes of the area were less than friendly.

The book contains stories of many passages through the Strait of Magellan, as well as a number of illustrations, some in color, some showing the Horn in rare peaceful mood.





Notes on Nova Scotia

The millstones for the mill built at Earltown, Colchester County, were dragged fourteen miles through the forest to the mill by thirty-six highlanders.

Sydney, Nova Scotia, was named in 1785 by Col. J. F. W. DesBarres, first Governor of Cape Breton, in honour of the Colonial Secretary, Lord Sydney.

The first president of the Canadian Medical Association was Sir Charles Tupper M.D. in 1867.

St. Francis Xavier University was founded in 1853 in Arichat and moved to Antigonish in 1855.

St. Peters Canal, at the south end of the Bras d'Or Lakes is the site of Nicholas Denys fort and trading post 1650.

The first Acadian member of the Nova Scotia Assembly was Simon d'Entremont in 1837.