The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

Volume 4, Number 3, September 1974

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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.

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

PETHERIC PRESS

The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

Volume 4, Number 3, September, 1974

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ISSN — 0300 — 3728

A Publication of Petheric Press Limited

Second Class Mail Registration No. 2554

Howe and Confederation

by DR. C. B. FERGUSSON

The fascination of Howe's attitude toward Confederation is still irrepressible. He was accused by contemporaries, in a time of stirring controversy, of being inconsistent and insincere, and in recent years a number of historians, perhaps in a context of their own making, have accepted those charges as proved. Ultimately moreover, when Howe, having obtained better terms, accepted the situation, he was regarded by former associates as the betrayer of the movement for repeal. For these reasons, as well as for his singular place in public life, the topic of Howe and Confederation is still a lively one.

Typical, and perhaps of special significance, was the comment made by Adams G. Archibald in 1866, for Archibald had been leader of the Liberal party in the Assembly and Howe's political heir. As the head of a delegation to England with the object of preventing the passage of legislation giving effect to the Quebec Resolutions, Howe had written a pamphlet entitled "Confederation Considered in Relation to the Interests of the Empire" and Tupper replied to it with "A Letter to the Right Honourable The Earl of Carnarvon, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies." Shortly afterwards Archibald, then in London, wrote:

. . . When the opponents of Confederation in Nova Scotia selected Mr. Howe as their representative on his side of the water, they should have thought of his antecedents; and Mr. Howe before accepting should have thought of the same. So far as talents and experience are concerned, the selection was happy, but to be an effective opponent of union Mr. Howe would have to wipe out the best and proudest parts of his history. Apparently he has applied the sponge. He seems to imagine that the record is erased . . .

. . . Every point that Mr. Howe made in a pamphlet extending over thirty-seven pages was a direct contradiction of solemn declarations made by himself on some former occasion. His speeches and writings contained a refutation of every argument he used, in language more glowing, more earnest, more eloquent, and apparently more sincere, than the language of the Pamphlet itself. All that was necessary was selection and arrangement, and Dr. Tupper, who undertook the reply, had no occasion to do much more than string the passages together, to select as many as he chose on each branch of the argument, and he had Mr. Howe's authority to prove the utter unsoundness of his present position . . .

. . . Mr. Howe's advocacy of isolation replied to out of his own mouth, may leave here some admirers of his ability and versatility—it leaves none of his consistency or political integrity . . .

What were "the best and proudest parts" of Howe's history to which Archibald referred? He must have meant more than the kindred ties which in 1832, in Howe's opinion, still bound Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to each other. He clearly had something else in mind than Howe's opinion in 1835 that the rumoured union of Nova Scotia and New Bruns-

wick would be hostile to the interests of both Provinces. It is more than likely that Archibald would have regarded that occasion when Howe first proposed a union of the colonies as one of the proud parts of Howe's history.

Perhaps Howe referred to that occasion in his speech on Canadian affairs on 16 April 1837. At that time he said: "The honourable and learned member for Richmond seemed inclined to advocate the establishment of a confederation of the colonies. I was almost charged with rebellion for broaching such a doctrine some time ago."

Whatever the precise details of that proposal may have been, Howe now recognized that for Nova Scotia union of the colonies might have disadvantages as well as advantages. "Respecting the confederation," Howe declared, "it must be admitted that benefits would occur;—the regulation of trade, a court of appeal for the colonies, and other good results might be expected; but the subject should be approached with great delicacy. The House should be careful how it places a recommendation which may be cited at a future day. Nova Scotia is one of the smallest of the colonies, and might suffer in the arrangement." "We might find," he added, "that a confederation, instead of leaving the Province with its present evils in connection with the Colonial Office, would establish an office in the backwoods of Canada more difficult of access than that in London." In the days of sail, prior to an intercolonial railway, that sort of possibility deserved consideration.

While urging caution in approaching the subject of confederation, Howe entertained strong opinions about the proposed junction of Lower and Upper Canada. "The effect of this," he said, "would be to give a territory of immense extent to the United Provinces and in a few years a population of two or three millions. If this should take place without a general confederation, that Province would be too powerful to pay

attention to the Colonial Office at home." "How should Nova Scotians look at such a state of things?" he asked. His answer was: "As a European state would look at a neighbouring power acquiring a large accession of strength; it would attempt to balance the power; and I would prefer the separation of the Canadas to the growth of such a gigantic power as their union would cause." "Supposing no general confederation were to occur," Howe added, "it would be more prudent to have two moderate Provinces than one great country in the rear of the lower Provinces, overbearing all opposition in any arrangements which it chose to make."

In *The Novascotian* of May 24, 1838 it was stated that an impression seemed to be gaining ground that a new system must be adopted if good and satisfactory government was to be assured in British America and comments favourable to a federal union were made. Although subsequently Jonathan McCully delighted in quoting those comments in Howe's newspaper, he did not point out that Howe was at that time in England.

A year and a half later—in a letter to a Canadian politician Christopher Dunkin, dated 23 October 1839—Howe described some of the doubts and difficulties which, in his opinion, would be encountered in a union of the colonies. "The question of a Legislative Union or Confederation appears to me," he wrote, "to be fraught with more of difficulty than that of local responsibility, and I very much doubt whether any act could be framed by the British Parliament that would be acceptable to the Colonists, and certainly none ought to be passed that had not been fully discussed and deliberately sanctioned by them." He then declared: "If once the whole of the Colonies were united under one Government, they would be practically independent, at least so it appears to me, and if they were not, the local, the general, and the imperial governments, would give us so much machinery that it would be difficult to

keep the whole in harmonious motion." Continuing, Howe stated: "Perhaps I may have [been] led to view this scheme with more indifference or with less favor from the vast extent of frontier in the direct protection of which Nova Scotia, which is nearly surrounded by water, would be involved, and from the fear that the Seat of government would be nearly as far from us as Downing Street now is."

Nearly three months later—on 12 February 1840—Howe declared that at first he had been pleased with the idea of the great country to which the Provinces might grow under a system of confederation, and that his imagination had been fired by Lord Durham's project of union. But further reflection brought him to the conclusion that it was fraught with dangers. "The advantages," he said, "would be, in regulating the Currency, the Post Office, the Commercial system, and internal Improvements." "The difficulties would be," he stated, "that there would be an immense frontier to defend,—that there would be a large body of population lying between Nova Scotia and the British part—which population, from peculiar circumstances, and its natural character, could not, in any confederation, offer advantages to the lower Colonies. They would be continually embroiled in difficulties which they should have nothing to do with . . . " His impression was that "if a confederation should be made, the lower Colonies were quite large enough for the object—but, perhaps, they need not even go that far for fifty years to come."

In June and July, 1841, Howe visited Canada in order to get information about that colony, and upon his return to Halifax he disclosed that he had been greatly impressed by the present condition and the future prospects of a portion of British America which might influence the destiny of Nova Scotia. "He is not a wise man for himself," Howe wrote, "who loses any opportunity of storing his mind with the varied, instructive, and often delightful impressions which travel only

can give. He is not a wise Nova Scotian who shuts himself up within the boundaries of his own little Province, and wasting life amidst the narrow prejudices and evil passions of his own contracted sphere, vegetates and dies, regardless of the growing communities and widely extending influences by which the interests of his country are affected every day, and which may, at no distant period, if not watched and counteracted, control its destinies with an overmastering and resistless power." To the question, What do you think of Canada?, Howe, in part, replied that it was one of the noblest countries that it had ever been his good fortune to behold. "Canada," he stated, "wants two elements of prosperity which the lower colonies possess—open harbours for general commerce, and a homogeneous population, but it has got everything else that the most fastidious political economist would require." "It is impossible," Howe added, "to fancy that you are in a province—a colony; you feel, at every step, that Canada must become a great nation, and at every step you pray most devoutly for the descent upon the country of that wisdom and foresight which shall make it the great treasury of British institutions upon this continent and an honour to the British name." "Canada," he declared, "is a country to be proud of; to inspire high thoughts; to cherish a love for the sublime and beautiful, and to take its stand among the nations of the earth, in spite of all the circumstances which have hitherto retarded and may still retard its progress."

In 1849, following the Governor-General's assent to the Rebellion Losses Bill, the Parliament Building in Montreal was fired, the Governor-General was pelted, and a league was formed which openly advocated annexation to the United States. These singular proceedings prompted Howe to pick up his pen and dash off a letter to the president of the league rediculing it for its actions and designs. His readers who had been startled by the events in Montreal were set to laughing by his ridicule. "A confederation of the colonies," Howe wrote, "may

be the desire of your convention. If so, the object is legitimate, but it must be pursued by legitimate means. Believe me, it can only be wisely attained by and through the Provincial Legislature, not by self-elected societies acting independently and in defiance of them . . . We are not indisposed to a union or a confederation, but we must know with whom we are dealing and have securities for the preservation of the blessings we enjoy." "We desire free trade among all the Provinces," Howe added, "under our national flag, with one coin, one measure, one tariff, one Post Office. We feel that the courts, the press, the educational institutions of North America, would be elevated by union; that intercommunication by railroads, telegraphs and steamboats would be promoted; and that, if such a combination of interests were achieved wisely and with proper guards, the foundations of a great nation, in friendly connection with the mother country, would be laid on an indestructible basis . . . "

Nova Scotians, Howe wrote, have heard a great deal about anglifying the French Canadians. On that point, he thought, they had better understand each other. "If the process of anglifying," he stated, "is to include any species of injustice to that large body of British subjects who already form at least one-half of the population of the United Canada, to such a design, no matter in what form pressed or by whom entertained, we will be no parties . . . We have no desire to form part of a nation, with a helot and inferior race within its bosom . . . "

By this time, however, Howe recognized the value of the union of Upper and Lower Canada. Being informed that that union worked badly and must be dissolved, he was emphatic in telling the president of the British American League in Montreal that their Canadian Union was worth something after all. "It makes you a nation with a nation's strength," Howe wrote, "rather than what you were—two weak Provinces to be played off against each other."

Hearing it said, in the course of a debate in the Assembly in 1850, that allegiance to the Motherland was weakened and that veneration for existing institutions had departed, Howe stressed the importance of the British connexion. "As a question, then of public policy, looking to the future tranquillity of our homesteads and our hearths," Howe declared, "I say it is the duty of every Nova Scotian to discontenance the idea of separation, as it is equally his duty to defend the constitution of his country, while confidently relying upon her resources."

At Southampton, in the following year, he reiterated the same sentiments. "In the British people," he said, "I have an abiding faith. I should regret it if it were otherwise, for I have an hereditary interest in these questions. During the old times of persecution, four brothers, bearing my name, left the southern counties of England and settled in four of the old New England States . . . My father was the only descendant of that stock who at the Revolution adhered to the side of England. His bones rest in the Halifax churchyard. I am his only surviving son; and, whatever the future may have in store I want when I stand beside his grave to feel that I have done my best to preserve the connection he valued, that the British flag may wave above the soil in which he sleeps."

Four months later Howe delivered a speech on railways and colonization at a public meeting in Mason's Hall, Halifax, in the course of which he referred to the formation of national character and national institutions. In his opinion, railways must come first. "Sir," he declared, "to bind these disjointed Provinces together by iron roads; to give them the homogeneous character, fixedness of purpose, and elevation of sentiment, which they so much require, is our first duty . . . Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are but the frontage of a territory which includes four millions of square miles, stretching away behind and beyond them to the frozen regions on the

one side and to the Pacific on the other . . . The Maritime Provinces which I now address are but the Atlantic frontage of this boundless and prolific region—the wharves upon which its business will be transacted and beside which its rich argosies are to lie . . . I am neither a prophet, nor a son of a prophet, yet I will venture to predict that in five years we shall make the journey hence to Quebec and Montreal and home through Portland and St. John, by rail; and I believe that many in this room will live to hear the whistle of the steam-engine in the passes of the Rocky Mountains and to make the journey from Halifax to the Pacific in five or six days." "I do not disguise from you," he asserted, "that I look hopefully forward to the period when these splendid Provinces, with the population, the resources, and the intelligence of a nation, will assume a national character. Until that day comes, we are safe beneath the shield of England; and when it comes, we shall stand between the two great nations whose blood we share, to moderate their counsels, and preserve them in the bonds of peace."

Later in the same year—1851—in speeches in New Brunswick and in Canada, Howe discussed the importance of railways and the desirability of elevating the British American Provinces to a far higher status in the scale of nations. He thought that it was now full time that they had higher objects in view than a mere transit traffic and that they should seek by union to elevate them all to a higher status than any of them separately could ever occupy. "I come not to propound any political scheme," Howe said to his Quebec audience, "nor have I formed in my own mind any theory for a more extended organization of these Provinces; but this I may say to those who have, that we must make the railroads first before any combination is possible." "Among all ranks and classes," he reported to his own government, "the railroads seemed to be regarded as indispensable agencies by which North Americans would be drawn into a common brotherhood, inspired with

higher hopes, and ultimately elevated by some form of political association which, when these great works have prepared the way for union, our half of this continent may fairly claim in the estimation of the world."

Eventually on 23 February 1854, J. W. Johnston, the leader of the Opposition, brought forward a motion designed to promote a union or confederation of the Provinces, and Howe, regarding this resolution as opening up for discussion the broadest field and the noblest subject ever presented to the consideration of the legislature, delivered a notable speech on the organization of the empire. Howe agreed with Johnston that great advantages would arise from a union of the North American colonies, but he was equally certain that there must be differences of opinion as to the various modes of accomplishing that object. "I am not sure, sir," Howe said, "that even out of this discussion may not arise a spirit of union and elevation of thought that may lead North America to cast aside her colonial habiliments, to put on national aspects, to assert national claims and prepare to assume national obligations." "Come what may," he added, "I do not hesitate to express the hope that from this day she will aspire to consolidation as an integral portion of the realm of England, or assert her claims to a national existence." After analyzing the elements of nationhood possessed by the North American colonies, Howe declared that they were entitled to form a nation, if so disposed. "North America," he asserted, "must ere long claim consolidation into the realm of England as an integral portion of the empire, or she will hoist her own flag." After discussing the various possibilities—annexation to the United States, the formation of a nation, and full incorporation with our brethern across the water in the British Isles in one great empire—Howe had no hesitation in expressing his preference. "Talk of annexation, sir! what we want is annexation to our mother country. Talk of a union of the Provinces, which, if unaccompanied with other provisions, would lead to separation! what we require is

union with the empire; an investiture with the rights and dignity of British citizenship."

Notwithstanding his decided preference for full consolidation of the colonies into the empire, Howe also made remarks which were construed as being favorable to a union of a federal nature and which were afterwards used, with other quotations, in an endeavour to show that Mr. Howe was the best witness against Mr. Howe. "By a federal union of the colonies," Howe said in the Assembly of Nova Scotia in 1854, and Tupper quoted in 1866, "we should have something like the neighbouring republic; and if I saw nothing better I should say at once, let us keep our local legislatures, and have a president and central Congress for all the higher and external relations of the United Provinces . . . Under a federal union we should form a large and prosperous nation, lying between the other two branches of the British family, and our duty would evidently be to keep them both at peace."

During the next few years the topic of union received intermittent attention in Nova Scotia and elsewhere, and in 1860 Tupper, in the opening lecture of the Mechanic's Institute in Saint John, delivered an address upon "The Political Condition of British North America," in which he suggested imperial patronage as a remedy for certain colonial grievances and advocated the union of the Provinces. Early in 1861 rumour had it that the Duke of Newcastle was formulating a plan for the union of British North America, and the subject was discussed in the newspapers.

On the last day of the session of 1861, Premier Howe moved a resolution inviting discussion of this important matter. It was worded as follows:

Whereas the subject of a union of the North American Provinces, or of the Maritime Provinces of British America, has been from time to time mooted and discussed in all the Colonies

And whereas, while many advantages may be secured by such a union either of all these provinces or of a portion of them, many and serious obstacles are presented which can only be overcome by the mutual consultation of the leading men of the colonies and by free communication with the Imperial Government

Therefore resolved, That his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor be respectfully requested to put himself in communication with His Grace the Colonial Secretary, and his Excellency the Governor-General and the Lieutenant-Governors of the other North American Provinces, in order to ascertain the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and the opinions of the other Colonies, with a view to an enlightened consideration of a question involving the highest interests, and upon which the public mind in all the Provinces ought to be set at rest.

Seconded by Tupper, this resolution passed without a division, but there seems to have been no burning urgency in acting upon it. Howe waited for over a year before advising the Lieutenant-Governor to proceed with the matter. On 21 May 1862 Lord Mulgrave transmitted a copy of this resolution to Newcastle, referring to the delay which had elapsed, to the diversity of opinion as to the character which union should assume, and to the growing feeling in favour of a union of some sort. He stated that the government was anxious for the Colonial Secretary to sanction such consultation between the different Provinces as would enable the important subject of a union of the Colonies to be considered in all its different branches with a view to deciding upon its practicability and the character of

the union which would be most conducive to the permanent advancement and prosperity of the North American colonies.

In his reply of 6 July 1862 Newcastle declared that no one could be insensible to the importance of the topics of Maritime Union and general union.

> They are [he wrote] of a nature which renders it essentially fit, that if either of them be proposed for adoption, it should emanate in the first instance from the Provinces, and should be concurred in by all of them which it would affect. I should see no objection to any consultation on the subject amongst the leading members of the Governments concerned; but whatever the result of such consultation might be, the most satisfactory mode of testing the opinion of the people of British North America would probably be by means of resolution or address proposed in the Legislature of each Province by its own Government.

On the strength of Newcastle's dispatch, Howe wrote to the Provincial Secretaries of Canada, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island asking whether they were ready to discuss the question of union and appoint delegates to meet at a central place about the middle of September. The Reform governments of Canada and New Brunswick sent favourable replies, but the Conservative government of Prince Edward Island did not react in the same way. At the conference which was held in Quebec in September, the chief topics were railways and trade. There was only slight discussion of the subject of union. Meantime, taking note of the views of Goldwin Smith, who advocated cutting at once the tow-rope connecting mother country and colonies, Howe, who regarded British Americans as only Englishmen on the wrong side of the Atlantic, declared that if they were driven to separation from the land that they loved he could only say sad and sorrowful would he be when that hour came, but when it came he feared not for the destin-

chief opponents of the proposed union were the leading bankers and merchants, the wealthiest farmers, and the most independent gentlemen in the Province. Before long, however, Howe's talents in writing and speaking, his ability to make a case for a cause, and his capacity for leadership caused him to be widely recognized as the leading anti-Confederate.

Even before the end of 1864, however, the Imperial Government had strongly endorsed the Quebec scheme. It suggested in a dispatch dated 3 December 1864 that the Governor-General and the Lieutenant-Governors take immediate measures for submitting the project to their respective legislatures and promised to render every assistance in its power for carrying it into effect if those legislatures sanctioned and adopted it.

In "The Botheration Scheme," Howe assailed the Quebec scheme. In the first article he declared that if Nova Scotians surrendered their powers of self-government and provincial independence for the precious mess of pottage brought hither from Quebec, we would forever be held in reserved contempt even by those by whom our birthright was enjoyed. "The Quebec Constitution," he wrote, "was framed in a fortnight, amidst exhausting festivities, to which not a few of the delegates, if report speaks true, succumbed before all was over, and it is now presented to us in a spirit so presumptuous that any respectable person who questions its wisdom is brow-beaten as though he were about to commit a crime." "Is this wise, is it decent," he asked, "when all that we have is to be swept away by its adoption?"

He opposed the Quebec scheme itself and the mode by which it was proposed to put it into effect. "Though I have never proposed any scheme of union," he wrote, "I have no invincible objection to become a unionist provided anybody will show me a scheme which does not sacrifice the interests of

the Maritime Provinces." "I resist the Quebec scheme of government," he added, "because I do not like it, and the plan for sweeping away the institutions of my country, without the consent of the people, because it is an atrocious violation of legal rights never abused or abandoned. "In a letter dated 19 January 1865 to Lord John Russell, Howe stated that the project had been discussed at public meetings and in the newspapers for the last six weeks, "and there is now no doubt that there is a large majority in most, if not all, the Provinces against it." "The feeling of opposition has been intensely aggravated," he added, "by the declaration of the delegates that they intended to attempt to press the measure through the existing Legislatures elected for no such purpose, without submitting it fairly to the constituencies," "If any attempt of this kind is made," he continued, "I think, in this Province it will fail even in the present House; if the measure is sent to the country it would, in my opinion, be rejected by an overwhelming majority; indeed I doubt if one county out of eighteen can be got to sustain it." If this judgment was correct, it is an admission by Howe that most Nova Scotians were opposed to the Quebec scheme before he himself had become directly involved, for his letter to Russell was written just eight days after his first anonymous article of "The Botheration Scheme."

Further progress toward Confederation was delayed when the government of New Brunswick was defeated in March 1865 in an election on the question of union. To avoid greater embarrassment in Nova Scotia, Tupper now moved a resolution proposing a renewal of negotiations for Maritime Union. A year later there was a reversal of opinion on union in an election in New Brunswick, and on 10 April 1866 Tupper moved a resolution asking the Lieutenant-Governor to appoint delegates to arrange a scheme of union with the Imperial Government which would "effectually ensure just provision for the rights and interests" of Nova Scotia. After a debate of

several days, this resolution was passed in the House of Assembly by 31 to 19. Later in the year delegates from the Provinces convened in London to arrange for Confederation.

Meantime the Anti-Confederates in Halifax formed the League of the Maritime Provinces, and Joseph Howe was its president. He made a speaking tour of the western counties of Nova Scotia. Early in July 1866 his fellow-officers asked Howe to go to England to ascertain whether the Imperial Government intended to entertain the idea of union and to find out how much time there would be for the people of Nova Scotia to review the measure and, if found objectionable, to petition against it. Howe left immediately for London and by August 3rd he was in possession of petitions from Nova Scotia bearing 18,000 signatures. In all, petitions bearing about 40,000 signatures were sent to England, where for nine months Howe laboured to prevent the passage of legislation giving effect to the resolutions of the Quebec Conference.

Two pamphlets published by Howe in 1866 were *Confederation Considered in Relation to the Interests of the Empire* and *The Organization of the Empire.* In one he drew attention to the mode in which confederation was being promoted, in these words: "Had the Maritime Provinces been permitted to organize themselves first, and then to unite with Canada, they might have acted together and had a chance to guard their interests; but, disunited, it is plain that they must be a prey to the spoiler; and having but forty-seven representatives, all told, it is apparent that the Government of the confederacy will always rest upon the overwhelming majority of 147, and that even when close divisions and ministerial crises occur, the minority can easily be split up and played off against each other for purely Canadian purposes." In the other, Howe advocated the continuance of the empire. "The idea to be cultivated, instead of that of the parental relations, with its inevitable termination at the close of a very limited period," he wrote, "should

rather be that of a partnership, which may last for centuries, and need not terminate at all, so long as it is mutally advantageous."

Notwithstanding the efforts of Howe and his associates, the British North America Act was passed. In his opinion, there were now three possible courses of action. One was "to rescue our country from the control of the men who have betrayed us." Another was to get the British North America Act repealed. The third was, should the effort to repeal the Act fail, to endeavour to modify and improve it.

Calling upon the electorate to inflict a crushing defeat upon the thirty-one "traitorous" Assemblymen who had "sold" Nova Scotia into Confederation, Howe did his utmost to achieve that objective. His confidence in the electorate was vindicated on 18 September, 1867, when Nova Scotia gave the Anti-Confederates a resounding victory, 36-2, provincially, and 18-1 federally.

Howe was the leader of another delegation to England in 1868 to demand repeal of the Act of Union. This mission also failed: all they could obtain was the Colonial Secretary's request that the Canadian Government review its trade, fishery, and fiscal policies with a view to accommodating the peculiar interests of Nova Scotia.

Before leaving England the delegates had concluded that their only hope was to arrange a union of the Maritime Provinces. But when they returned they found that such a union was then impracticable.

Early in August 1868 an Anti-Confederate Convention was held in Halifax, and Sir John A. Macdonald and several of his associates visited Halifax in the hope of arranging an accommodation. Howe was appointed chairman of a committee

to confer with Macdonald and his colleagues. By this time Howe no longer had any faith in a further appeal to England. When it became apparent that the new British Government, under Gladstone, would not even order an inquiry into the complaints of Nova Scotia, Howe, who had already tested the sincerity of the Canadian Government by engaging in an exchange of correspondence with Sir John A. Macdonald, by that time considered that Nova Scotia had "no alternative but to negotiate with the Canadian Government, or to keep screaming for repeal, with about as much chance of a profitable result as dogs when they howl at the moon."

Howe and his colleague A. W. McLelan entered into negotiations with Sir John Rose, the Dominion Minister of Finance, and an arrangement for "Better Terms" was made. With these better terms, Howe accepted the situation and agreed to become a member of Sir John A. Macdonald's government. He was appointed President of the Council on 30 January, 1869.

The story of Joseph Howe and Confederation has been told and retold. Interpretations range from those persons who say that Joe Howe said or that somebody said he said, that he would not play second fiddle to that damned Tupper, to others who assert that Howe's action was strictly in defence of the principle of responsible government which he had so much helped to establish. It is not always easy to explain motivation with precision, and perhaps here it was rather a case of mixed motives. A contemporary of Howe who had previously described Howe as the Beau ideal of a popular political leader made this comment at the time of the election of 1867: "Altogether this was a fine opportunity for Howe to regain the popularity which he loves, and which Tupper apparently was taking from him. No man ever yet born in Nova Scotia knows, so well as Joe Howe the best mode to improve such an opportunity for his purposes, and this time he has improved it very strikingly.

Whether right or wrong, consistent or inconsistent, he has improved it very strikingly. Whether right or wrong, consistent or inconsistent, he has come back from partial retirement, (for Howe had not been in the legislature since 1863 when he was defeated in Lunenburg), on the top of the wave, and whether he ever does anything more or not, at present he and his friends can boast that after all Joe Howe is the Man of the People."

Various reasons have been given for the victory of the Anti-Confederates of Nova Scotia in the elections of 1867. It has been said that the Conservative party in Nova Scotia had become reckless and wasteful as all governments are sure to become after being prosperous and successful. It has also been said that much attention was focussed on confederation to the neglect of other matters. It is alleged that the School Bill also made the government unpopular, for among the masses ignorance is preferred over taxation. Many of those who favoured union theoretically opposed the Quebec scheme, and many objected to having the Quebec scheme crammed down their throats. "The clamour that the Country had been sold," Jonathan McCully stated, "was a war cry that was perfectly irresistible—In the rural districts people were made to believe that they were to be called upon to pay Canada 80 cents a head, man woman and child in all time coming *yearly*. In other places, children's heads were patted &c. And then a dolorous Exclamation 'just think that such a dear fellow should have been sold for 80 cents'—And then the mother would sob & cry —and the canvasser pretend to wipe his own eyes!" "The cuckoo cry of having sold the country," Archbishop Connolly wrote, "the dread of increased taxation and conscription for wars to be fought towards the end of next century, bribery on an anexampled scale, mammoth lying and misrepresentation the unaccountable inertia and bungling of the ins and the 'Up guards and at them of the hungry outsiders with Howe at their

heads and last and perhaps most disastrous of all not allowing the people a voice on Confederation are the causes of our overwhelming defeat."

After Howe accepted the situation or, as some persons said, covered his retreat, one of his contemporaries made the following observations:

> The great political event of the last month has been the defection from the Repeal party of the Hon. Joe Howe. Of course it has raised a storm, but apparently Joe loves a storm! After heading up the Repeal Movement, inflaming the people with his violent speeches—going on delegations to Britain—writing "patriotic" protests appealing to Heaven to befriend his country, and so forth, Joseph has been the first to succumb to what he now is pleased to consider the inevitable.

It is perhaps easy to praise unduly or to condemn unstintingly Joseph Howe for his part in the history of Confederation. Our duty is to attempt to understand him.

Musquodoboit Remembers Fondly Illustrious Neighbour, J. Howe

by NELLIE R. STEWART

Recent publicity, and renewed interest in the life and colorful career of Joseph Howe, have again aroused interest in the so-called "Joe Howe House," and many wonder if any tangible evidence of this interesting spot remains. It is regrettable that this historic and beautiful mansion is gone, and all that remains of the once stately home, and lawns, is a slight indication,—the basement which once was a well stocked wine cellar.

Possibly a few broken bricks from the great chimney may be scattered in the dirt, and in a few homes, doors, and mantels which had been salvaged from the house are still in use. It is said that every room in the Joe Howe House had a beautiful mantal and doubtless a fireplace with it.

Built by Annand

This home was built by Sir William Annand, founder and owner of the Novascotian, and this was the home he occupied for many years. Now, with trees rapidly filling in the grounds of the old estate, there is nothing to mark this historic spot, and soon all that will remain will be memories for this one-time hospitable home.

During the hectic years of Joseph Howe's political fight for responsible government, Sir William Annand moved to Halifax. In need of a quiet place for rest and study, Mr. Howe moved his family to Upper Musquodoboit in 1845, and here they lived until the fall of 1847, in the Annand house, later known only as the Joe Howe House. From here his great fight was carried to a successful conclusion in the August 5th, 1847 election, when for the first time in the history of Nova Scotia all votes were polled on the same day, and the voters gave their sanction to responsible government.

Hero's Welcome

In the books, "Speeches and Public Letters" published by Sir William Annand, we read this stirring account of the welcome the Musquodoboits gave to Mr. Howe following his tremendous victory, this account having appeared in "The Sun" newspaper. "Mr. Howe reached the Red Bridge, about twenty miles from his home, in the afternoon of Wednesday. Here he was met by a great number of inhabitants of the Middle Settlement (Middle Musquodoboit), in wagons and on horseback, who escorted him, with banners flying, and every demonstration of affection and respect, some miles on his road. When the cavalcade reached the rising ground near the Episcopal Church, a still larger body was discovered awaiting its approach. This included the leading men of the Upper Settlement (Upper Musquodoboit), and the flower of its youth, who had come a distance of fourteen miles to welcome their representative. A wagon, with raised seat, handsomely festooned with flowers, and drawn by six horses, was in waiting for him. Having taken his place in it, a line of horesmen and carriages, extending for nearly half a mile, was formed, and moved forward in good order, a banner with the inscription—"Welcome Howe—The Victory is Yours," fluttering above his head.

Triumphal Dinner

As the cavalcade passed along, flags and handkerchiefs were waved by the women from the houses on the road and these demonstrations were answered by cheers. About three o'clock the procession halted in front of Kaulbach's Inn, where dinner had been prepared. Addresses by Middle and Upper were read and Mr. Howe happily responded. "Three Cheers for the Queen, and three for the Liberal majority were given, and the company sat down to dinner."

"About six o'clock the carriages were ready, the horsemen mounted, and the party drove off towards the head of the river, flags, handkerchiefs and every outward sign of rejoicing greeting them on the way. It was dark before Mr. Howe reached his home, but his approach was told by clear notes of the key bugle, and the merry cheers, which could be heard for miles down the valley he was ascending. At his door he was met by his family, and the gushing forth of full hearts was not to restrained by the prescence of spectators whose hearts were also full. After spending an hour or two in innocent mirth and mutual congratulations, the company retired to seek those tranquil homes in the bosom of which unostentatious piety and sound political principles flourish side by side."

"Happiest Years"

The Howe family moved back to Halifax somewhat later, and in January 1848, when the House met, the Reformers had a majority of seven. Writing of his sojourn in the Upper Musquodoboit community later, Mr. Howe said: "They were the happiest years of my life. I had been for a long time, underworking my body and overworking my brains. Here I worked my body and rested my brains. We rose at daybreak, breakfasted at seven, dined at twelve, took tea at six, and then assembled in the library, where we read four or five hours almost every evening. I learned to plough, to mow, to reap, to

cradle. I knew how to chop, and pitch hay before. Constant exercise in the open air made me hard as iron. My head was clear and my spirits buoyant. My girls learned to do everything that the daughters of our peasants learn, and got a knowledge of books which amidst the endless frivolities and gossiping of city life, they never could acquire. My boys got an insight into what goes on in the interior of their own country, which should be of service to them all their lives."

"I read the Edinburgh Review from the commencement, and all the poets over again; wrote a good deal, and yet spent the best part of every fine day in the fields or in the woods. My children were all around me and in health, and although I had cares enough as God knowns, and you know, I shall never perhaps, be so happy again."

Hospitable House

The Howe family entertained considerably while here, and mingled with the people endearing themselves to all, and among the strongest admirers of Howe were Musquodoboit Tories. Great admiration was felt for him in his amazing libel defence trial, where for many hours he spoke, and won his own case. While here he was an ardent hunter, and lover of the great woodlands of Musquodoboit. Among the heirlooms in the home of the late Joseph Parker, now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Parker, and known as Parker's Inn is a poem written by Joseph Howe while on a hunting trip with friends. Written on a heavy, roughly finished paper, the poem is in the Howe handwriting and was written over 96 years ago.

"The Moose in the Jardins des Plantes"

Wild native of the western woods,
I grieve to see thee here,
Far from the hills, and groves and floods
To both of us so dear.

What evil stroke to bondage gave
That gaunt but agile frame?
Curse on that mercenary slave
That sold thee to this shame.

Wast thou in full career o'erthrown,
Wounded, but not to die,
Or, lured by notes adroitly blown,
Dids't read the sylvan lie?

Or wast thou caught in tender years,
And brought from o'er the sea,
To grow in agony and tears
The idler's sport to be?

Poor captive! Wouldst that we had met
Upon our native hills,
But hero to see thee thus beset
My soul with sorrow fills.

The tiger roars within his cage!
The lion shakes his mane.
And tries the bars with baffled rage,
Then sinks to sleep again.

In far off scenes I never scanned
These monsters pant to roam,
But thou art from my own fair land,
And speak to me of home.

We've roamed beneath the same tall trees,
Plunged in the same bright streams,
Both hear the murmured tones of these,
And see them in their dreams.

Thy thoughts, like mine, are far away
By western lake and grove,
Where, free as air, we loved to stray,
Where now our kindred rove.

I go once more those scenes to thread,
But thou, a prisoner here,
Must heave the sign and droop the head,
And feel the captive fear.
Be mocked by idlers every hour
That dare not, in the wild,
Unarmed, attempt to show their powers
Or check the forest's child.

Farewell, poor moose, I would my hand
Could set the captive free,—
But often, in our own dear land
My thoughts shall turn to thee.

"I write these lines in here, because the memory of Janet's son and father, and my worthy friend, Thomas Ellis, is, and always will be associated with my recollections of moose hunting, and Nova Scotia scenery. I shall never forget his cheerful conversation, old hunting stories, or the simple and fervent prayers which he used to address to the Throne of Grace before we laid down to sleep in our camps at night."

Jany. 1860 (Signed) Joseph Howe.

Mr. Howe and the Musquodoboits were deeply woven into the Political life of the province in those earlier years, and

although, according to a rather slighting remark made by a commentator on Television recently, Howe may be considered by some to be 'not so great,' the Musquodoboit people will never be convinced of this. Self educated, and following through his life from 1828 when he became editor of the Novascotian, writer, powerful speaker, premier of Nova Scotia, and Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia at the time of his death, Howe showed qualities which are the assets of great men only.

Melville Island

by MARJORIE MAJOR

Indian encampment, naval prison, modern yacht club

Melville Island, named for the First Lord of the British Admiralty, Viscount Melville, is a tiny dot of land nestled in a small cove about two miles inland from where the North West Arm curves in like a river from the entrance of Halifax Harbor to make a peninsula of Nova Scotia's capital city.

Its history, though, seems worthy of a more impressive area than Melville Island's scant four acres—some of which is over a causeway and on the mainland a few yards distant.

Under various names, this little island, humped up on the Arm side and as flat as a prairie behind, was first used as a camping and fisheries base for the native Indians, then as a naval prison and finally, as this is written, as a flourishing yacht club. It has also had a seccession of owners, the chief of which was the British Navy, under whose control most of the significant and certainly the most colorful events took place, some of them affecting individuals only, and others which had national and international implications—quite a range of influence emanating from this bit of western world geography!

When Halifax was founded in 1749, the North West Arm, like all Nova Scotia waterways, was teeming with fish. Long before the founding the Indians in the province came from many miles around to engage in fishing there and to build their camps on and around Melville Island.

This was one of the few areas along that craggy western side of 'Sandwich River'—as it was once known—where there was low and reasonably level ground.

One historian says: "In fancy one can see the mirrored surface of the Arm broken by a thousand paddles, and the steep slopes of the containing hills clothed with the primeval forest right down to the water's edge . . . The memory of the red man; it lingers like a spell."

And 'spells' are not far removed from folk tales and traditions. Long ago, it is said, the Indians in what is now Nova Scotia, celebrated a feast, thought to have originated with another branch of the MicMac Indians in the New England States, known as St. Aspinquid's Day. Some say the custom was brought north by the Loyalists. In any event, this Indian is supposed to have been born at Mt. Agamenticus, in New Hampshire, near the Maine boundary. The town of York once known as Agamenticus was settled in 1624 and in 1641 re-named Georgeana. Converted to Christianity, St. Aspinquid became a missionary to his people, thus attaining sainthood.

The Halifax Gazette of June 1770 reports that: "On Thursday last, being the 31st day of May, the festival of St. Aspinquid was celebrated at Northwest Arm at Nathan Ben Saddi Nathan's and at Captain Jordan's, both fishermen, when elegant dinners at both places were provided, consisting of various kinds of fish, 'etc' ". Twelve Indian chiefs were among the guests and the feast was followed by the usual rounds of toasts. Curiously, St. Aspinquid's Day appeared in the Nova

Scotia almanacks from 1774 to 1786 and the festival was celebrated on the seventh day after the first new moon in the month of May.

The demise of the observance in Nova Scotia is said to be connected with an incident in which the Union Jack was hauled down and replaced by the Stars and Stripes—temporarily of course, and under the influence of quantities of wine.

The first known owner of the land was a Robert Cowie who "bought Melville Island from its previous owner, along with the 'granite ridge' " thereafter known as Cowie Hill (and in the late '70's the site of a huge housing development truly built upon a rock!) Robert Cowie is listed in Aikens history as a member of the Grand Jury in 1759. He was a baker by trade and he took contracts for baking for the Army, including the time General William Howe's army was in Halifax. He was mistakenly identified with the famous Silver Spoon case in which a poor wretch, accused of stealing a silver spoon was hanged for his 'crime'—while the missing silverware was later discovered frozen in a sink where it had been dropped. Cowie had nothing to do with that, but at the same time and in the same record a servant of Cowie's was arrested for stealing a boat and he, too, was hanged. Death was the penalty in law for larceny beyond 5 shillings!

In 1784 John Butler Kelly signed a deed of conveyance to James Kavanagh 'of an undivided moiety (half, share or part) of a tract of land later known as the Melville Island lot—for the munificant sum of £65. Kavanagh promptly erected a house on the island, along with huts for the storing of fish and boats. And for a space of time the islet was referred to as Kavanagh's Island, which indeed it was.

year. The immediate result was something of a Watergate, in that a heated discussion arose, involving both friends and enemies, over the decision whether to impeach or bring him to trial. Proceedings for impeachment were commenced in April 1806 but at the end of the fifteen day trial the peers reassembled and declared unanimously for acquittal on all charges. Reports of the incident seem to indicate that while Melville was not himself guilty of either the intention or the fact of embezzlement, and therefore merited acquital, he had shown negligence and acted contrary to the 1785 Act.

Melville had already acquired the reputation of being completely indifferent about money in his private life. He was also known to be frank and straightforward, who made friends too, and unquestionably he was the most powerful man in Scotland for nearly thirty years. In his private life he was said to be a man lacking in grace and polish with no literary taste whatever. On the other hand he was known to be steady in debate, possessed of great political sagacity and tireless energy.

It seems evident the impeachment proceedings struck deep for he refused to accept any public office afterward, preferring to live quietly in his native Scotland until his death in 1811.

Meanwhile, back in Nova Scotia, the rather make-shift prison building on Melville Island was in thoroughly bad shape. 'Severe winters' were characteristic of Halifax so with the meagre heating arrangements the prisoners, and those in charge of them, had a pretty miserable time of it. Inevitably there was a lot of sickness too. In December, 1806, Major General Hunter was 'pleased' to grant an additional 'half-room's allowance of fuel' for use in the kitchen. The records larconically state: 'the prisoners continued to be cold'!

There seem to be two schools of thought about the conduct of the French prisoners. "An orderly and polite class", say some but others say they were "so turbulent a bunch in 1804 they even pelted those who came with fuel and in the course of this exercise broke a number of windows in and around the officers quarters."

Apparently the French prisoners were allowed considerable freedom and could wander over the Island and across to the mainland in the adjacent woods. Many were employed on farms and in town. Several of them completely forgot to come back!

British soldiers, short of such supplies as soap bought this and other commodities from the prisoners. How *they* happened to possess soap isn't reported but the Lt. General Commanding said a firm 'No' to such purchases. Cleanliness, it seemed, did not take precedence over discipline. Furthermore disobedience, even for so worthy a cause, won the purchaser, if caught, from 500 to 700 lashes. Deserters, by the way, were generally branded with the letter 'D', up to the year 1820.

Melville Island was remote from Halifax in terms of time and travel facilities and the effects of this were varied. For example, one subaltern of the 60th Regiment, cut off from the merry life so dear to him in town, enticed friends to come to him to help create a bit of conviviality. His talents for persuasion extended to the civilian boatmen employed by the Royal Navy, to transport service personnel, so they provided his friends with a similar service. When the Lieut. General got wind of this caper he issued a General Order in November 1803 which amounted to a public reprimand; the subaltern was accused of repeatedly sending boatmen from their posts 'with company he had kept with him, even so late as one, two or three o'clock in the morning'! In effect the Order sternly required the officer concerned to attend to his duties and to restrict use of the Civil Department of the Navy to service needs.

Many of the prisoners turned to crafts to while away the long hours and some of them were quite skilled. Visitors to the prison offered to buy and in a very short time it had become the custom of the townsfolk to make the trek a social occasion, summer and winter, Sundays and holidays, to chat with the prisoners and to buy the articles they carved from wood, bone or whatever other materials came to hand. At one period there was a special place set up for this prisoners' "bazaar" at one end of the high-ceilinged prison. There were fancy boxes for trinkets, dominoes, exquisite models of sailing ships and even hand-carved toothpicks. The tiniest ships had riggings made of hair. At its most flourishing period there was also a wheel of fortune made and operated by one of the prisoners, with prizes for everyone, while another enterprising prisoner devised a puppet show. It all came to an end with the 1812 war and was never resumed.

From the capture of Louisbourg by the British in the struggle for what was to be Canada, through the Napoleonic Wars, the war of 1812 between Britain and the United States, the Crimean War and the American Civil War Melville Island —through its succession of prisoners—shared with Halifax the multiplicity of nationality, the population ups and downs, the excitement and the hardship of constant unrest.

The war of 1812 brought large numbers of American prisoners to Melville Island. In 1814 an expedition invaded Maine and took Castine, along with money and store. The money later made possible the founding of Dalhousie and the Garrison Officers' Library. The American officers were accommodated at the Citadel. Meanwhile British forces sent against Washington were also successful so "British officers ate the elaborate dinner which had been prepared by a somewhat over-confident President of what were to have been his victorious leaders". Slaves from the plantations along the Chesapeake and Potomac flocked to the Union Jack, so when the

transport and Brig '*Jasper*' arrived in Halifax that September, it had a large number of black refugees. Most of them were quartered in sketchily built settlements in Preston and Hammonds Plains. Unused to such a harsh climate and with scanty food and poor shelter they were easy prey to the smallpox epidemic which broke out in the town in the Spring of 1815. A group of these blacks were brought to Melville Island and given shelter, special food rations and clothes.

The Admiralty had recoznized by now that the need for a prison at Melville Island was going to continue for some time and that existing buildings had to be replaced. The cornerstone of a large wooden structure, to serve as the main prison building was laid in 1808. It was later destroyed by fire and replaced by a block of 30-odd stone cells with hefty iron bars, for which the original 1808 cornerstone was used. A sturdy house was erected on the knoll overlooking the Arm, to serve as the Chief Warden's quarters. This structure with its great hand-hewn laths and wood-pegged roof timbers was restored to form the nucleus of the imposing structure which now houses the Armdale Yacht Club.

The clothes consisted of whatever could be found that would provide warmth. Someone has said 'it was a Bluenose trait to pick up anything around that might be of value and wasn't in use', so now the Government profited by Bluenose frugality and broke open the cases of the disbanded York Rangers' uniforms—green with red facing—and the blue and yellow uniforms from Castine. So here was a warm and useful union of military uniforms of Canada and the United States, serving and comforting people of an African race.

In town the cannon were constantly 'playing'—in farewell to departing ships and in greeting to others. The youth of the town could think of nothing but the services for careers. Bands and parades contributed to seething activity. It is indicative of

the time that RUM was always spelled in capital letters! It was a status symbol—and the junk, or case bottle was on almost every table. Orators frankly depended on 'good old Jamaica' to sweeten their oratory. Every function had endless toasts so that it was customary at one point, to hire a boy 'to go around loosening neckcloths of those who reclined under the table as a result of too deep potations'. No wonder public dinners of the day took up to 10 to 12 hours! Small wonder lads sent to Melville Island on guard duty tended to pine for the bright lights (?) of the town.

Far from being televised, battle news then was desperately slow. Intelligence from abroad came by way of man-of-war and understandably these vessels frequently followed circuitous routes, and six to ten months was the rule. A foreign newspaper was a rarity. When one did arrive it was taken to the principal coffee house to be displayed for all to see. And the name most frequently seen? That of Napoleon—who else?

There were escapes from Melville prison of course, but none so colorful, nor so ambitious as that told by Ben Myers, one of the United States prisoners taken in the war of 1812-15, to take Halifax! Among other things Myers claims to have been a shipmate of Fenimore Cooper in 1806-7 in the *Sterling,* out of Wescotte, Maine. Ben Myers was taken prisoner in the naval fight in Lake Erie, one of the group, of which a Mr. Crownshilds, of Salem, Mass. was the leader. He had been an officer on a privateer. But that was nothing unusual for there were many other privateer officers in the prison too. But they were berthed above the war prisoners. Being resourceful folk the privateers simply lifted up some of the floor boards and thereby established communication with the men below. The conspiracy for escape was a natural outgrowth and simplicity itself.

Ben Myers who took a leading role in the incident also related the story. He was the son of an officer of the Duke of

Kent's Regiment in Halifax who had run away to sea when he was eleven and never saw his parents again. He boarded the schooner *The Driver* in Halifax and hid himself in the potato locker until the vessel arrived in New York where he left the ship, little knowing the next time he was in Halifax he would be a prisoner of war as another country's national.

This is his story: "The black-hole cells were directly beneath the prison and we broke through that floor into one of them. A large mess chest covered that space in daytime. There were about 800 of these U.S. prisoners, but only fifty in the conspiracy group. They worked in gangs of six—"digging and passing up the dirt into night tubs which we were permitted to empty every morning in the tide's way, and there we got rid of the earth. At the end of two months we had a passage wide enough for two abreast for some 20-30 yards. We were nearly ready to come up to the surface." At this point the main consipra-tors began to recruit other prisoners, swearing each man to utter secrecy. They had about 400 before disaster struck. They planned to escape, then to go in force to Citadel Hill. They assumed they would have been success-ful in this surprise attack from a quarter against which no great precautions had ever been deemed necessary. They, of course, would be armed, having acquired them when they had stormed the knoll on Melville Island. Once they had Citadel Hill, which commanded Halifax, "we'd have given John Bull a great deal of trouble." But alas for their plans. "One day", says Myers, "we were all turned out, then military forces entered the barracks and went almost directly to the spot where the mess chest concealed our exit, removed the chest and surveyed the dig with thoroughness." The aftermath was swift. "A draft of 600 of the prisoners was sent out from Melville that very day, to be shipped to Dartmoor prison in England. By the end

of that week the whole number was reduced to only three or four hundred. "Our plan was defeated by that great enemy which destroys so many similar schemes—treachery." One of the 'Judas crew' was sent in the draft, but the rest were kept. Needless to say, vigilance was increased thereafter.

Myers was not a man to give up easily and the attempt that succeeded, at least partially, involved fewer confederates —Johnson, a privateer on *Snapdragon,* an Irishman called Littlefield; Barnet 'the Mozambique man' and Myers himself.

The windows at the prison were perpendicular and narrow with long bars of wrought iron with no cross bars. There was no glass either, but outside shutters which could be opened or closed at will. Sentinels were posted just outside the windows and two rows of pickets were erected between the prison and the shoreline. The escape was originally planned so a crossing of the Arm could be made on ice but the night chosen for the attempt it was raining and so cold and dark the sentinels were driven into their boxes for shelter, "and we knew we would have to swim."

"At 'lights out' (8 p.m.) we got the lanyards of our hammock around two of the window bars and with a piece of firewood as a lever got them apart so there was room for the four of us to squeeze through. We had a few friends in on the plan who couldn't join us—they couldn't swim—but they came along and straightened the bars back again. We'd cut through the pickets in the daytime so it was easy now to remove them quickly and soundlessly. We reached the shore of the Island in two or three minutes and all four plunged into the icy water. A few rods from our landing place Johnson cried out: "I'm drowning!" A guard heard him and commenced firing and it wasn't long before Johnson was back in the hands of the guard. However, this kept the guard occupied so the three left were able to make land without being detected."

They did have some money. Myers had about $60 in crowns in a belt around his waist and foresightedly provided himself with another belt of skin which was filled with RUM, to serve a double purpose—to buoy him up on the water and for comfort on shore. The others followed the same procedure only with less funds.

The trio hid in a granary near Black's Mill until daylight. Then they headed for Bedford, skirting the north side of the town. "We had some bread and a few herring in our hats, and the rum cheered us up so that we each had a good sleep, two at a time. The rain had stopped but the cold was bitter."

When they reached the Bedford Road and passed Prince's Lodge, Myers confessed to a wave of nostalgia—he'd had many a happy day there in childhood. They stopped about a league from the town at a tavern kept by a man named Grant where they bought more bread, cheese and other supplies. At the Sackville River they saw two Indians spearing for salmon, who also saw them. So they parted with some of their precious supplies to win silence for it was obvious the Indians were suspicious. "We told them we were deserters from the *Bulwark 74"* and bribed them with some of our rum to be silent—and they were. On the road to Windsor they had to spend a thoroughly uncomfortable night in the bush. "Then, avoiding Fort Edward and the party of soldiers there, we crossed the Avon River on the way to Kentville, and toward Annapolis where we put up in a farmer's haybarn until daylight. Then I heard a commotion of some kind outside. It was a party of soldiers who had already entered the barn. There was nothing for it but to surrender to handcuffs, which we did. Back we went to a series of 'dreary days' at Melville prison"—and these included ten days in the 'black hole' with nothing but bread and water!

A postscript to this story is Myer's second attempt, with a couple of selected companions. But whereas the first time out he had found rum one of life's greatest blessings; this time it proved one of its greatest evils, for while waiting to board the privateer whose captain had said he'd take them they went to a nearby tavern where they thought to pass the time 'constructively' but instead got caught *again* and sent back to Melville and its 'black hole' accommodation.

In 1817, after peace had been established, Melville Island was the scene of great bargains for speculators of whom there were a fair number. All the beds and bedding and sundry other stores belonging to the prisoners of war, and to the Transport Department, were sold at public auction, under the supervision of William Millers, Resident Agent for Transports and Prisoners of War. Here are some of the items:

1,170 hammocks
1,387 beds
1,743 blankets
538 shoes (one hopes pairs!)
924 stockings "
36 rugs
2,387 pillows
27 cots
1,054 shirts
128 hats
76 paliasses
616 jackets
371 trousers
600 waist coats
539 caps

Hospital bedding and clothing, most of all this in good condition. It was suggested to the Resident Agent that the clothing would be useful to 'people of color' (It was!)

About the same time some Halifax lads were staging their own 'auction', trying to pass spurious American half dollars, buying inexpensive items, then making off with the change. But that was evened up on another occasion when an American prisoner at Melville was caught making counterfeit money.

Old records can tell interesting stories, but so can legends and the best known one in connection with Melville Island is at least partly a love story. It concerns a young soldier whose sweetheart was the daughter of the colonel of the regiment to which he was attached. John Dixon, although in the ranks, was said to have come of good family. He was, of course, handsome, and the colonel's daughter, beautiful, a lass of eighteen years. Her father went into a proper rage when he discovered she had been having secret trysts with John for some time. The young man was promptly sent back to the duties of a private soldier and shortly after that a trumped up charge of theft from a comrade was brought against John Dixon. He was tried by court-martial, found guilty and sentenced to serve his sentence at Melville prison. Chafing at the injustice of his fate, pining for his sweetheart, in the cold environment of the prison he finally lost all hope and took his own life. On a little strip of land near the mainland, called Deadman's Island, a headstone was erected to the unfortunate young man buried there:

Sacred to the Memory
of
John Dixon
of Sydney C.B. who
died on the 6th August 1817
erected by the
VIII Kings Regiment
Renewed by the 1st Royal
Berkshire Regiment 1895

It has often been said others were buried there but no headstones confirm this; possibly French prisoners and perhaps a poor unfortunate whose body was found floating in the cove.

There was also a yarn told that the prison officials kept a shark swimming about the waters of the Island and regularly fed it, and circulated this story among the prisoners to prevent escape attempts.

Between the war of 1812 and the Crimean war things must have become a bit dull on the North West Arm. At any event a sham fight took place in 1853, at the head of the Arm, with the objective of 'capturing' Melville Island. Participating were the 72nd and 76th regiments Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, Royal Marines and sailors from ships in harbor. Melville Island 'fell' to an attacking party from the land side of the Arm when the victors promptly ran up the British ensign on the old naval and military prison, then in disuse.

Under an Act passed by the British Government entitled "Foreign Enlistment Act", the government of Nova Scotia in 1855 offered inducements to foreigners to enlist in the British army.

Newspapers in the United States teemed with articles about the British being recruited in New York. And small wonder!! Nova Scotia's Joseph Howe was in the middle of this furore; in fact he could be said to have been the cause of most of it!

At the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Russia, the United States promptly declared neutrality; so when the Foreign Enlistment Act became known in the United States, early in 1855, the British Minister at Washington, John F. Crampton, was put in a decidedly awkward position. Many persons, especially those who had recently come from Europe, had strong sympathies, and they began to bombard the British Minister for more information on how to 'join up'.

When he finally received a copy of the Act from the Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon, with its covering letter to the effect that 'due respect' be paid to the laws of the United States as a neutral power, his dilemma was nothing short of ridiculous—a veritable 'mission impossible'—until Joe Howe arrived on the scene.

Back in Nova Scotia, the Lieut. Governor, Sir Gaspard le Marchant, also received a copy of the Act, from the Colonial Secretary—Sidney Herbert, with a similar covering letter. He consulted with the Hon. Joseph Howe, as a prominent House member, as to how to proceed. Howe suggested that some responsible person should consult with Crampton. Nobody volunteered so Howe was asked to go. His mission was to investigate the situation and report back to Sir Gaspard—and that was all! But Joseph Howe was not the kind of man to be bound by such instructions. Crampton was duly informed of Howe's appointment and the latter arrived first in Boston on the brig *Africa,* then to New York where he discussed matters with the British Consul, Mr. Barclay, before going on to Washington and to Crampton's home in Georgetown where a prolonged meeting took place. Out of it emerged a plan whereby Halifax would serve as a recruiting depot that could mop up eager recruits in the United States, presumably without upsetting diplomatic applecarts. Somehow they had arrived at the conclusion that if the campaign was conducted from Nova Scotia under the authority of the Lieut. Governor, everything would be legal (if not entirely ethical!)

As it happened both the premise and the conclusions based on them were entirely wrong for under the United States declaration of neutrality there could be no form of recruiting activity whatsoever by any foreign agent. So here was Howe, an accredited but officially unrecognized agent of the British government attempting to buy recruits without a penny of authorized money, through the agency of alien citizens of the

United States—a nation officially neutral but in point of fact virulently pro-Russian and anti-British! Like something out of a cloak and dagger melodrama, the persistent Howe persued his anything but merry way; constantly changing his address, riding in New York cabs with the blinds tightly drawn, drinking bad whisky at all hours with highly dubious characters. He even got involved in the sale of small arms, after visiting a United States factory and then advising the British to buy from it, rather than from their then current supplier.

Meanwhile, back on the Nova Scotia front, anyone of a mind to serve as a private got $30 in hand. Up to $5 of this was deducted for passage to Halifax and a half dollar for 'certain commissions, etc.'

Melville Island was placed at the disposal of the military authorities for the accommodation of these 'foreigners', by the respective officers of the naval department in Halifax. The recruits also received "victuals' and equipment and $8 a month and bound themselves to serve from three to four years as British soldiers.

Joseph Howe, when a lad of 16, wrote a poem about Melville Island, which had then been abandoned as a naval prison for a matter of 10 years following the exile of Napoleon:

Although a prison, yet the little isle
Was not a common jail for culprits vile
No felons its genial soil impressed
No frightful dream here broke the murderer's rest
The only crme which 'round the confine moved
Was nobly daring in the cause they loved.
We cross the bridge where erst the cannon stood
To guard the narrow passage o're the flood.
The guardhouse there with fissures well supplied
To point the ready gun on every side.
Where walked the watchful sentry day and night
Lest some might strive to make a desparate flight.

There is a causeway now, where that old bridge once crossed the water to the Island from the mainland.

March, 1858 brought another kind of bombshell in the announcement that the Admiralty wrote the War Office that "The Lord Commissioners had never heard of any transfer of Melville Island to the Army—except for the temporary purpose of serving as a depot for the reception of men under the Foreign Enlistment Act,' but the Army was plainly under the impression such a transfer had taken place. However, after much official verbiage back and forth across the ocean between the two services it was all straightened out and the Army took over officially and remained with them.

When the Army took over, the only two buildings on the Island were unoccupied. A plan of 1860 shows also a stable, shed, cookhouse, wash house and a well. There were also two wells on the mainland and several gushing streams nearby. The guardhouse was built on the mainland. The establishment was worth £2800 when the transfer from the Navy to the Army took place in 1856.

There was little of anything on Melville Island to interest most people during the years between the late 1800's and the outbreak of the First World War when the old prison was re-activated and from which, again, there was an escape or two. What the Army used it for after that has little interest either, until the little island was given a completely new 'image' when it was leased to the Armdale Yacht Club in the mid-nineteen forties. Since then it has changed in many ways, but it has retained the original association with the lore and enchantment of the sea, and the craft that makes it 'home', are peaceful in their comings and goings as was the case in the beginning with the canoes of the Indian fishermen.

Sources include: Items from 'Occasional' in the Acadian Recorder

Sketches & Traditions of the Northwest Arm by John W. Regan

An address by Major H. Meredith Logan

Private papers

The Strathbeg Reading Society 1866-1869

by D. M. SINCLAIR

In an article on "Early Public Libraries" in Nova Scotia, published in the "Dalhousie Review" of January 1935, Dr. D. C. Harvey states that the first public library in Nova Scotia was organized by the Rev. John Sprott in 1821 in the village of Newport. A year later libraries were established in Amherst, Truro, Yarmouth and Pictou. A circulating library was set up in Merigomish in 1827 with the aid of the Glasgow Colonial Society of the Church of Scotland which sent over some 300 books. Strong encouragement was given by Dr. Thomas McCulloch of Pictou for the formation of such libraries throughout the county. Commenting on this suggestion a writer in the "Acadian Recorder" stated that "There is not a village in the whole extent of Nova Scotia which presents any obstacle to the institution of a library". It is noted by Mr. J. M. Cameron in his recent publication "Pictou County History" that a debating society was organized in the village of Springville on the East River in the winter of 1837 in the home of Peter Grant and that six years later Springville had a Literary Society which met in the school house.

In the year 1866 a further literary venture known as "The Strathbeg Reading Society" was launched in Springville by the newly inducted minister, Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair. Strathbeg is a Gaelic word meaning "little strath" and was frequently used by Mr. Sinclair when referring to Springville. Fresh out of college, this must have been one of his first projects in encouraging education, a subject dear to his heart. The Society held its first meeting on October 30, 1866 and elected the following as officers; President, Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair; Vice-President, James Grant Esq. Elder; Secretary, Mr. Peter Grant. Committee members: Mr. A. Robert Grant, John MacPhie, Esq. and Mr. John Grant. Office bearers were elected by ballot. It was agreed to pay the Secretary a yearly salary of fifteen shillings. Other charter members were Lauchlin MacLean, Robert D. MacLean, Alexander Calder. Alexander Grant, John W. Grant, James MacIntosh, Blacksmith; Alexander MacPhie, John MacIntosh, Alexander R. Grant, John P. MacDonald, Angus MacKenzie, William McGilviry, William MacKay, and William Fraser, Simon's son. Descendants of these men are to be found in many parts of the world, while a few still choose to live in what Dr. Harold Scammell delights to describe as "The Happy Valley".

The object of the Society was stated to be "the advancement of its members in Religious, Literary, and Scientific Knowledge, by means of a Library and Lectures". An annual fee of seven shillings six pence was charged for membership, and a fee of three pence for admission to lectures. Any young man who could not pay the full amount of the annual fee might have the use of the library upon the payment of a sum not less than one third of the admission fee. A family rate of nine pence was set for lectures.

As a nucleus the President purchased fifty-three books for the Library at an average cost of three shillings six pence per volume. Fifteen books were related to theology, three to

Church history, six to history in general, eight to biography, four to science and two to poetry. There was not a novel in the lot. Judging from the books taken out by members, the most widely read were "The Apostle of the North", Kennedy; Alleine's "Alarm"; Josephus; "History of the Church"; "Great events of History"; "History of Rome"; "Life of Luther"; "Cruise of the Betsy" and "Tales and Legends of Scotland". Of the fifty-three books in the library to begin with, over forty were taken out at least once during the year. The average number of books taken out by a member was six.

From time to time speakers were secured to give lectures in the Springville Presbyterian Church. Among them were: Mr. Sinclair on "The Utility and Advantage of Education"; Rev. John Mackinnon, Hopewell on "Geology"; Rev. Mr. Philip, Albion Mines on "Books, their origin and use"; Mr. Daniel MacDonald, Headmaster of the New Glasgow Academy on "The English Language, its rise, progress and present state"; Rev. Mr. Watt, New Glasgow on "Wayside Thoughts on Intelligent Life"; Rev. Mr. MacGregor on "James Montgomery and Religious Poetry"; Rev. Donald Stewart, Acadia Mines, Londonderry on "Mary, Queen of Scots"; and Rev. A. J. Mowatt, a class-mate of Mr. Sinclair's, on "Social Work". These lectures were given during the winter months of 1866, 1867, and 1868. Receipts from the lectures amounted to £13:10:1, which would indicate an average attendance of about 150 persons. Expenditures of the Society included £8:17:6 for the purchase of books; £1:15:8 for light and fuel, and ten shillings for "transportation of lecturers".

The "Reading Society of Strathbeg" lasted about two and a half years. No explanation is offered for its closing. The minutes of April 1, 1869 read in part; "It having been publicly intimated from the pulpit on the preceding Sabbath that a meeting of the Society would be held on this day for the pur-

pose of taking into consideration the selling of our library, the Society met and was opened with prayer by Rev. Mr. Sinclair, chairman pro tem. The Society unanimously agreed to sell their library to the Young Men's Christian Association at its present value, the sum received from it being equally divided among its present members". The secretary was paid fifteen shillings and the meeting closed with prayer.

"The Boston Tarbaby"

by DR. ALEXANDER YOUNG JR.

Chronologically, Sam Langford's development can be described as black, Nova Scotian, American and boxer. On a short list of internationally renowned Nova Scotia-born, black prize fighters, Sam Langford's name is prominent. Others include the immortal George Dixon, Roy Mitchell, Tiger Warrington, Al Sparks, Stu Grey, Lenny Sparks and Dave Downey. George Dixon was world bantamweight champion around the turn of the century and is still considered by most boxing experts as the best bantamweight of all times.

Recent research supports the choice of Langford as the subject whose career seems to exemplify most explicitly, the social tribulation of his era, and the sometimes unsurmountable problem of race discrimination in North America in the early 1900's.

World-wide fame came to the man who fought in all weight classes ranging from featherweight to heavyweight. In spite of Langford's earned fame, it remains impossible to truly assess Langford and his black contemporaries, who were all victims of the racial situation, in terms of the success they might have achieved in an open society.

Studies abound describing the appalling racial situation in the United States around the turn of the century. In spite of the troubled conditions Langford was nevertheless motivated to immigrate. Study reveals that his is a story of success marred by a return to abject poverty. What then is the significance of such a study?

Sam Langford was Nova Scotian by virtue of his birth on a farm near Weymouth on March 4, 1886. He became famous as "The Boston Tarbaby" after leaving the Province in 1899[1] and establishing himself as a world caliber pugilist in and around the Boston area.

Frequently, the same newspaper article would refer to Langford as both Nova Scotian and American.[2] This dichotomy did nothing to dampen the enthusiasm of his Nova Scotian fans. In one Weymouth homecoming he was carried on shoulders down the main street; and in another instance, enthusiastic Cape Breton miners came out to cheer him and his success.[3] In another approving gesture in Weymouth Falls, there was a school named after him.[4]

Although all Nova Scotians seemed ready to claim him as their own, some were not willing to grant him special status. A *Truro Daily News* editorial took exception to the *Digby Record* which confessed a particular interest in watching the career of the "Weymouth negro." In the editorial Langford was described as a "disgusting 'mill'," who might have gone otherwise unnoticed, if not for the *"Record"*. The *"News"* further expressed the hope that Langford get a "bruising" which would keep him in bed for weeks so that he would neither interest young men in boxing nor condemn "ever-inviting" Digby to the disgrace of being the home of the "champion heavyweight 'bruiser' of the world."[5] Digby was spared that disgrace. Canadian Press once labeled Langford as the "fighter of the half century.[6] Though ranked by Nat Fleischer, renowned authority

on boxing and long-time editor of *Ring Magazine,* as the seventh best heavyweight in the history of boxing,[7] Sam Langford never fought for the Heavyweight Championship of the World. His full ring record is not available. Biographers credit him with anywhere from 250[8] to 642 bouts.[9] He received his initiation into professional boxing at the age of sixteen in 1902. He fought all willing opponents for the next twenty-one years.

His death on January 12, 1956 came just ten weeks after his being admitted to Boxing's Hall of Fame. As late as 1952, fond memories brought one thousand friends to a mass gathering at the Old Mechanics Building in Boston to pay him tribute.[10]

In his twenty-one year career, Langford fought in the light, welter, middle, light-heavy and heavyweight divisions. At seventeen, he beat Joe Gans, the lightweight champion of the world; but was refused the title because he was eight ounces overweight.[11] As he matured he fought through the other divisions until he reached his best fighting weight of 172 pounds. In 1910, he managed to get a six-round, no decision fight with the famous Stan Ketchell, middleweight champion of the world. In a move to get a later chance at the title, Langford was told by his manager to "go easy." He proceeded to win the first three rounds by a shade and then blocked punches for the remainder of the fight, attempting no blows himself. Six months later, Ketchell was shot and killed.[12]

In 1906, four years before Jack Johnson won the world's heavyweight championship, Langford, at 146 pounds, fought Johnson, who then weighed 185, and lost the fifteen round decision.[13] He tried unsuccessfully to get a return match for the remainder of his years in the ring. Langford, Harry Wills, Sam McVey and Joe Jeanette were probably the best threats to Johnson's heavyweight title; but each, ironically, was refused a fight because he was black.

At the suggestion of Joe Woodman, his manager for nineteen years, Langford tried incessantly to embarrass Johnson into a fight. He publicly bet $3,700 that Jeffries would win his fight with Johnson.[14] Johnson, incensed, was purported to have posted $10,000 for a winner-take-all fight with Langford after his own win over Jeffries. In the interim, between Johnson's challenge and his fight with Jeffries, Johnson proposed to back Joe Jeanette for $2,500 against Langford.[15] In another instance Woodman and Langford met Johnson in the sports department of the *Boston Globe* at which time the champion agreed to fight Langford if Langford would put up $10,000. The next morning Langford and Woodman returned to sign the agreement. Johnson did not.[16]

As late as 1923, there was an attempt to arrange a Johnson-Langford fight; but for unknown reasons, this bout too, went the way of the former arrangements.[17] Johnson evidently made no excuses. He frequently mentioned that he had nothing to gain by fighting black boxers.[18] He is reported to have admitted that Langford just might beat him and he expressed a reluctance to risk defeat when in fact the gate would be insignificant.[19] The *Chicago Defender* wrote in 1935 that Joe Louis was the first "race athlete" who was able to draw "race fans" in proportion to whites.[20] Georges Carpentier, though white, refused to risk his light heavyweight title against Langford for the same expressed reasons as Johnson's.[21]

Langford had no choice but to "do business" in order to get fights with white boxers, who in many instances were not good enough to stay with him even though he was trying to carry them for several rounds. The so-called army of "white hopes", including such names as the "Dixie Kid",[22] Jack Lester[23] and "Gunboat" Smith[24] were exposed to ridicule by sports writers after poor showings against Langford.

Stories which are difficult to prove, but nonetheless delightful to consider, include Langford's agreement to carry Jack Gordon through a six round fight. It seems Gordon stung him with a good blow at the end of round three. At the beginning of round four, Langford came out of his corner and touched gloves with Gordon. Gordon informed Langford that they shouldn't have touched gloves because it wasn't the last round. Langford, of course, informed him that it was and knocked him out.[25] Another describes him positioning Jim Flynn just right so that he knocked him directly into the lap of H. M. Walker, a writer who had written that Flynn should stop fighting "clowns" like Langford and get on to serious opponents.[26]

In 1910, Langford refused to fight Jeff Clark of Joplin, Missouri, unless they cut the ring size down to sixteen feet because Joplin had run around so much in earlier fights. Langford won a second round technical knockout in the smaller ring.[27] He knocked out one man in two minutes of the first round, hoping to gain some publicity because he was trying to build a gate for his upcoming fight with Jim Johnson.[28]

Other stories include accounts of various descriptions of the menacing black fighter. A *New York Times* reporter described Langford and McVey as being far superior to the "best of the white boxers of the present ring generation." He described Langford as a "Nubian Giant,"[92] but must have had girth rather than height in mind since Langford was 193 pounds at the time, and stood at only 5′ 6″. A San Francisco reporter once described him as being "gnomelike."[30] He did have a cauliflower left ear and despite his short stature fought in a crouch. He purportedly had an enormous reach and could hit hard with either hand.

His inability to find opponents at his best fighting weight was probably the reason he gained until he weighed about two

hundred. Frequently he still spotted his adversaries twenty to forty pounds.[31]

His best fights, and probably the best to be seen anywhere at the time, were his numerous fights with the forementioned hapless title hunters, Jeanette, McVey and Wills. His fights with each of these men serve to exemplify his scheduling problems. Between 1905-1917 he fought Joe Jeanette fourteen times. He fought Sam McVey fifteen times between 1911 and 1920.

Harry Wills, the man who chased Jack Dempsey through the twenties with the same lack of success that Langford had with Johnson, served as Langford's opponent eighteen times between 1914 and 1922. Wills won eight of these, Langford, two and ten were rendered "no decision."[32] Harry Wills was fifty pounds heavier and seven inches taller than Langford.

In the most famous of the Wills-Langford fights, Langford knocked Wills out in the eighth round of a scheduled twenty round bout after having been knocked down by Wills, four times in the first two rounds.[33] His other victory over Wills came in a nineteenth round knockout after he had been knocked down nine times in the first two rounds.[34] All of their encounters were described as unbelievably brutal. None of these could have been as brutal as his fight with Jim Flynn, another hapless "white hope." When the fight was over, it was discovered that Flynn's nose was broken in two places and his jaw in three. He remained unconscious for twenty minutes after the end of the fight.[35] Langford probably fought "in and around" more titles than any man in modern boxing history.

In 1907, he beat the Welsh middleweight champion of the world, Tiger Smith, in a non-title fight by knocking him out in the fourth round. The purse was two thousand dollars.[36] This proved to be one of many close brushes Langford had with world championships. While on this same three month tour in

England, he was fighting before an audience which included British royalty when he knocked out Jeff Thorne in the sixth round.[37]

In 1908, Langford challenged any man in the world for a side bet of $5,000.[38] In 1910, he challenged anybody in the world except Jim Jefferies, (a move probably encouraged to appease racists). When no one accepted this challenge he embarked on an international tour in search of opponents.[39]

The year before this embarkation he had wrested the English heavyweight championship from Ian Hague with a fourth-round knock out. He held this honour as late as 1912.[40] In Philadelphia, in 1911, Langford beat the reigning light heavyweight champion, Jack O'Brien. He was never actually considered to be the champion for when he left for Australia shortly after the fight, the title was given to Jack Dillan.[41] Ironically, many of his overseas opponents were Americans. He twice beat Jim Barry of Chicago in fights held in Brisbane and in Melbourne, Australia.[42]

In Paris, December 1913, he fought an American challenger in what the French felt was a fight for the heavyweight championship of the world.[43] Langford won the twenty-round decision. In England, early in 1914, he knocked out Patrick Curron, another American opponent.[44] It might even be said that he earned more distinction while away from North America than he did at home.

Langford eventually added the Spanish and Mexican heavyweight championships to his list of international titles. He won the Spanish title before 20,000 people in Mexico City when Andres Balsa broke his hand in the fifth round and was unable to continue. The *New York Times* was quick to point out that the fight doubled the drawing ability of the majority of Mexican bull fights.[45] In a return bout, Langford knocked out

Balsa before 12,000 people.[46] On July 28, 1923, Langford lost his Mexican championship after both his eyes had been swollen closed. He had lost every one of the thirteen rounds before he admitted an inability to continue.[47]

The relative merit of any sports figure from the past is never easy to assess. Sam Langford had his supporters as does any athlete who wins world acclaim. From reports of these supporters comes the material on which relative merit is determined. Hype Igoe, in the old *New York Journal,* described Langford as the "greatest fighter, pound for pound, that ever lived." In 1955, Joe Williams, of the *New York World Telegram,* described him as the best the ring ever saw. Even the dean of American sportswriters, Grantland Rice, said he was the "best fighting man" he had ever seen.[48]

By applying the monitary measuring rod of the seventies to his record it can be said that he was very successful. His largest purse was probably the $24,000 he won in his fight with Jim Flynn in 1910. In 1909 he won $10,000 when he beat Ian Haig (sic). For most of his fights he received a few hundred dollars. Alan Morrison, who wrote a short biography of Sam Langford for *Ebony Magazine,* estimates his total winnings to be in the neighborhood of $300,000. A quick look at *New York Times* advertising for the period helps put this figure in perspective. In 1902, gloves were one dollar a pair, shoes, $2.50 - $4.00; overcoats, $5.50; a suit was $7.50; you could buy a "fine hat" for one dollar. A silk neckerchief cost a quarter and a new piano could be bought for one hundred and fifty dollars. In 1914, eggs were twenty-three cents a dozen, newspapers were a penny and a Ford Runabout was four hundred and forty dollars. Prices had rocketed in 1923 to where shirts were $1.65, Florsheim shoes were $8.88; cigarettes were eight cents a pack and it cost fifteen hundred dollars to go around the world for a four-month cruise. Langford, not unlike most successful boxers of his era, lived the "high life" during his career, was broke shortly after it ended, and died an indigent.

Influences

In trying to discern the major influences of Sam Langford as man as well as athlete, consideration must be given to social conditions of his day. Included among these are: Black society in Canada, particularly in Nova Scotia; Black society in the United States; the colour-line in boxing, both in the United States and internationally; and the overall Nova Scotian social situation during the years of his childhood. A cursory look at each might provide a feeling for the kinds of things that were likely to have had influence of major proportions on the life of Sam Langford.

Nova Scotian Black roots go deep into North American history. There seems to be general agreement that the first Black to live in Nova Scotia was Oliver Lejeuen, a slave who arrived in New France in 1628. Slavery grew in Nova Scotia through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but never reached major proportions. The reasons for its lack of expansion are many.[49]

Lejeune serves not only as the first Black but also as the first persecuted Black in Nova Scotia. Though he died a free man, it seems he was once slapped in chains for a day for saying "nasty things" about a white man.[50] By the start of the nineteenth century, slave sales disappeared from the Halifax newspapers, and most slaves were being freed. In 1774, census numbered slaves in lower Canada at 304.[51] When England abolished slavery in the colonies in the 1830's, there were probably only about fifty slaves in all of Canada.[52]

This act served to end immigration for the purpose of slavery to Nova Scotia.[53] The percentage of Blacks in Canada has never grown to more than two to two and one-half percent of the total population.[54] While this percentage figure negates the major "Black problem" as far as White-Canadians are concerned, it has done little to help the Black-Canadian.

White-Canadians frequently assume an air of superiority on the "Black issue" because they are often not bothered by it.[55] While it is true that the Black man's fate is improving in Canada as it is in the United States; Canada, and in particular, Nova Scotia, cannot be proud of their history in this regard. It is difficult to study actual practice during Langford's time in Nova Scotia, because biased practice doesn't make itself known in print until someone feels confident enough and has the outlet to complain about it. If it is safe to assume that things are slowly improving for the Black, then it becomes an easy task to start with the beginning of public complaint and assume that practice before this time was at least as bad.

As late as 1949, Sociologist, Ruth Wilson, described Canadian prejudice against Negroes as varying in the same degrees as the patterns emerging in Mississippi and New York. She pointed to Nova Scotia as the Province with the greatest concentration of Negroes and also the one which suffered the most discrimination.[56]

She specifically deliniated overt practices such as refusing entrance to hotels, imposing a ten dollar poll tax which kept the poor from voting, having a lack of decent jobs to the point where there were no Negroes in civil service, designating special Negro sections in theatres and limiting Negro teachers to find work only in Negro high schools.[57] Nova Scotian life had to be at least as full of prejudice in the 1890's. It's quite likely that Nova Scotia and Massachusetts, the state to which Langford moved, provided an equally poor environment for the black man in the 1890's.

In his entire career, Langford made only one professional appearance in Canada. This occurred when he met Peter Jackson in Toronto on October 18, 1921. The *Toronto Star* of October 19, 1921, after earlier referring to him as the "king of Smokey Swat," had this to say about the bout:

> They say Langford trained on pork chops.
> Well! if he did he done gobbled up
> Mistah Y. P. Jackson in two bites like any
> other pork chop.

The condescension in this write-up does little to defend the supposition that Langford would have been treated better had he remained a Canadian.

Nova Scotia never fell to the level of Saskatchewan which had 10,000 "Kanadian Ku Klux Klan" members in 1929;[58] but it appears quite safe to say that prejudices ran rampant and Langford could not have helped but to be affected in some ways.

While the "manly act of self defence" had its modern roots imbedded in artistocratic society, with the rules still being modifications of those formed by John G. Chambers and the Eighth Marquis of Queensbury in 1866;[59] it seems that crowd pressure has forced boxing into something quite apart from this original conception. In North America, it is now, and has been for some time, much more akin to a bull fight or gladiator contest.[60]

The reasons modern boxing is replete with Black participants are so numerous that this number defies delineation. An 1879 article in the *Halifax Morning Chronicle* describes two roughs going to the "colored settlement" and having a "pugilistic encounter" with each other. The *Chronicle* was happy to say that both were hurt.[61] An occasional article like this lends some credence to the thought that "colored" neighborhoods were

also "rough" neighborhoods. For one reason or another Nova Scotia has always been known as a boxing stronghold.[62] Perhaps a quote from "The Wooden World," an historical prospectus of Nova Scotia by Neptune Theatre in Halifax can help set the environment that Sam Langford left when still a young teenager:

> Oh the spruce lasts here . . . and the
> waves and the people, But nothing fancy
> in the line of dreams. The sea wind
> strips 'em neat as a bone.[63]

The circumstances surrounding his migration to Boston are described in so many conflicting ways, it appears that even Sam Langford could not remember the specifics.

It is known that he did not box for at least two or three years after his move. In 1902, he agreed to fight under the direction of Joe Woodman who served without a contract as his manager for nineteen years.[64] The treatment of Blacks at this time led to many frustrations.

The first Black to win an American boxing championship did so in 1805. By 1890, Blacks were recognized as world champions in most weight divisions.[65] John L. Sullivan is given the dubious distinction as being the first boxer of note to draw the color-line when he refused to fight Peter Jackson, a Black from Australia.[66]

It was rumored that black boxers of Langford's era frequently had to agree to lose before they were given a bout.[67] The whole question of Blacks in boxing in the United States probably started when plantation slaves first became involved. The most blatant racism came to a head during Jack Johnson's reign as heavyweight champion from 1910 to 1915. This period, of course, falls right in the middle of Langford's career.

The "white-hope" era, at least in part, brought on by Johnson's belligerence at a time when Blacks were expected to "behave", died a natural death when Johnson lost the championship, because no Black was given a chance to win it back until Joe Louis did so in the late thirties.

The extent of the bitterness which resulted when Johnson beat Jefferies in 1910 exemplified not only the racial situation at the time, but also the importance of sport in society in the beginning of the twentieth century. Within the hour, a black man was lynched in Charleston, Missouri; another was dragged from a Harlem streetcar and beaten to death; a white man was shot in Arkansas and a white physician had to hold off his neighbors at gun point to save the life of a black man who was hiding in his home.[68] Though this type of passion subsided when Johnson lost his title in 1915; the "white supremacy" policies continued for more than twenty years. The April 12, 1935, *New York Post* ran an editorial warning of a "Black Threat in Amateurs", in which it described the St. Louis Championships being dominated by Negroes.

This prevailing condition controlled Langford's career. At a glance, it would appear that boxing did nothing for Langford but leave him sightless and indigent. To Sam Langford, whose sense of humour and kind disposition stayed with him until his death, it provided him with the fondest of memories and "no regrets."[69] This says something for Sam Langford but it also says something about the viable alternatives to one of his station and time.

Conditions

Early in his career, he fought three fights in the same night in three different rings around Boston.[70] He frequently appeared in the Armoury Athletic Association in which billiard tables were removed and bleachers were made from boards placed on boxes.[71] In one of his fights with Sam McVey.

McVey complained of body punching in the clinches. Policemen climbed into the ring to make sure no serious trouble would start.[72] Through most of his career, Langford's matches had to be chosen carefully because boxing was illegal in many places. It wasn't until 1920 that New York provided leadership by setting up a state boxing commission. The National Boxing Association was formed shortly after, thereby legalizing boxing in most states.[73]

Difficult though it may be to speculate on what boxing did for Langford or for the black man in general, it becomes even more disconcerting to try to discern what Langford or again, his contemporaries, did for boxing. With the exception of Rocky Marciano and the brief stint of Ingamar Johanson, the heavyweight championship has been dominated by Blacks since it has been reopened to them in 1937.

Sam Langford seems to fit the norm described by Weinberg and Arond in their 1952 study, "The Occupational Culture of the Boxer." In it they speak of nearly all boxers coming from a low socio-economic background. They also describe the relatively few who do succeed, as earning their money while young, squandering it while in their "up" years and immediately descending on the economic ladder upon cessation of their careers.[74]

While the relativity is immediately apparent, boxing, for some reason, opened to Blacks sooner than did other sports. In so far as boxing led the way in the break-down of the "color-line" in sports it appears that Langford certainly had a positive image and therefore must have had some effect on the dissolution of this "color-line". Joe Louis, long after the color-line was dropped in professional boxing, stated his belief that sports could help tremendously in the fight for equal rights in other segments of society.[75] The *Negro Handbook* of 1942 hailed boxing as "Open Sesame."[76] Early black boxers like Langford, must logically, have had an effect on this eventual outcome.

Langford's record is not without blemish in the "clean image", "nice guy" department. He once butted Jim Johnson and then kicked Joe Walcott, one of Johnson's seconds;[77] but this wasn't considered "important" because Johnson was also black. For the most part, Langford was described as showing the "utmost good nature." He once admonished an opponent for tickling him during a clinch.[78] He is described by those who met him in later years as happy, positive and in no way seeking sympathy.[79]

Certainly, he was accepted by the black community. Black newspapers have been quick to credit boxing with the "renaissance in sports.[80] In 1947, Baltimore, Maryland's *Afro-American* printed a cartoon of several major league Negro athletes straight arming a Jim Crow figure.[81]

Langford produced the effect of neither Joe Louis nor Jack Johnson; but inasmuch as he was popular, publicized and had a positive image, he undoubtedly also wrought positive change.

If it were feasible to compare Sam Langford with another Black, born into abject poverty in 1886, virtually uneducated in the poor schools of Weymouth; one who left home for another country shortly before being left without parents at the age of fourteen and without vocational skills of any sort; it would be possible to assess the degree of the success he achieved.

Significance

In his first professional fight he won a watch which he pawned for thirty dollars.[82] Even this paltry sum might have been more than he had ever had in his hands before. Historical hindsight seems to place a certain inevitability on his eventual return to the "Harlem diet" Langford once described to a reporter as a glass of water, a toothpick and a good imagination.[83]

While the inevitability can hardly be denied, it is also true that his premature retirement was directly attributable to his loss of eyesight. He lost the sight of his left eye in 1917 in a fight with Freddie Fulton. It is at this point that Joe Woodman told him to quit and refused to arrange any more fights.[84] Langford went on to fight under seven different managers. *Time* magazine wrote that shortly after the 1917 tragedy, he developed cataracts in his right eye. Six years later he won the Mexican heavyweight championship in a fight in which he reportedly struck at the sound of his opponent's feet.[85]

Two major operations brought partial recovery and he remained partially sighted until 1942. For most of the last fourteen years of his life he was a familiar sight on the streets of Cambridge, Boston where he could be seen walking with a white cane.[86]

In 1924, a year after he won the Mexican championship, the National Sports Alliance held a boxing carnival for the benefit of indigent boxers. Moneys from this fund went to help pay for Langford's first eye operation.[87] Joe Louis donated all moneys made from the sparring sessions before his fight with Primo Carnera to help pay for Langford's second major operation in 1935.[88]

Langford travelled to Nova Scotia in the 1930's as part of a side show in which he offered to take on anyone for a few dollars.[89] Mayor Fiorello La Guardia appointed him as a city hall custodian in 1937.[90] During much of the second world war he was on relief and received a small amount of money from the Foundation for the Blind. Al Laney, a sportswriter for the *New York Herald Tribune,* traced him to a Harlem tenement, publicized his destitution and initiated a drive which culminated in a trust fund worth $10,892.[91] Among the 705 contributors to the fund were: Jack Dempsey, Count Basie, Beau Jack, Fritzie Zivic, Westbrook Pegler, Toots Shore and Eddie Rick-

enbacker.[92] The trust fund gave Langford $49.13 a month for life.[93] Gene Tunney was one of several contributors in 1952 who added another sixty dollars a month toward living expenses. An ex-pug and long-time admirer of Langford, Phil Barbanti, provided him with his last employment in early 1953. His duties ran from 4:00 to 10:00 p.m. and demanded that he be present at Barbanti's Cambridge Street Bar during which time he spoke to customers about the old days in boxing. For this he received meals, all he cared to drink and ten dollars a week.[94]

After a short stint in a mental institution in 1953, he lived with his sister until her death in 1954. He lived out his last two years in a Boston rest home run by Mrs. Grace Wilkins.[95] Visitors, without exception, found him gentle, soft spoken and content. He expressed no bitterness toward the treatment he had received throughout his career and later life.[96] Two statements made a few months before his death set the scene:

> Don't nobody need to feel sorry
> for old Sam. I had plenty of
> good times. I been all over the
> world. I fought maybe five,
> 600 fights, and every one was
> a pleasure.[97]

To Alan Morrison, he said, "I feel fine, only thing wrong is I can't see and my legs bother me. Except for that I'm a champion."[98]

Mrs. Ralph Jarvis, a relative still living in Weymouth, has recently placed a Sam Langford plaque in the Weymouth Community Centre.[99] Sydney Hook, in his book, *The Hero in History,* provided what might be an apposite inscription for this plaque when he wrote, "History watches hands, not lips.[100]

Reuel Denney, in *The Astonished Muse,* credits sports and entertainment with "responding sensitively to the moral pressure for freedom and equality." "Sports", said he, "have established community between the races before other social institutions would or could."[101] Sam Langford's major contribution would be ridiculed if placed in the modern setting; but taken in its time and place, it remains steadfast. He presented the Black Man as a worthy competitor in the world of sport. It's quite possible that without him, and many others like him, North American society would be even further from its intended equality than it is now.

FOOTNOTES

1. Morrison, p. 101.
2. **Acadian Recorder.** June 4, 1907; 1910, and others.
3. Frayne, p. 64.
4. Foley, p. 47.
5. **Truro Daily News,** February 6, 1909, p. 8.
6. **Halifax Chronicle-Herald,** January 13, 1956, p. 14.
7. Mullin, p. 319.
8. Henderson, p. 32.
9. **Halifax Chronicle-Herald,** January 13, 1956, p. 14.
10. **Halifax Chronicle-Herald,** January 13, 1956, p. 14.
11. **Time,** January 23, 1956, p. 41.
12. Frayne, p. 64.
13. **Acadian Recorder,** April 17, 1906.
14. **Acadian Recorder,** July 28, 1910.
15. **Acadian Recorder,** February 1, 1910.
16. Frayne, p. 63.
17. **New York Times,** April 9, 1923, 20:4.
18. Morrison, p. 101.
19. Frayne, p. 63.
20. May 4, 1935, p. 9.
21. Frayne, p. 64.
22. **Acadian Recorder,** January 11, 1910.
23. **New York Times,** October 28, 1913, 9:2.
24. **New York Times,** October 21, 1914, 9:5.
25. Morrison, p. 102.
26. Scully, p. 36.
27. **Acadian Recorder,** November 12, 1910.
28. **New York Times,** March 24, 1914, 7:6.
29. February 18, 1916, 8:5.
30. Frayne, p. 64.
31. **New York Times,** March 28, 1914, 11:8 and **Acadian Recorder,** April 14, 1910.
32. Young, p. 227.
33. **New York Times,** November 27, 1914, 9:1.

34. Frayne, p. 63.
35. Frayne, p. 64.
36. **Acadian Recorder,** April 23, 1907.
37. Frayne, p. 66.
38. **Acaidan Recorder,** September 2, 1908.
39. **Acadian Recorder,** January 5, 1910.
40. **Acadian Recorder,** February 12, 1912.
41. Morrison, p. 103.
42. **New York Times,** March 17, 1913, 9:2.
43. **New York Times,** December 21, 1913, IV 1:4.
44. **New York Times,** January 25, 1914, IV 4:1.
45. April 9, 1923, 20:4.
46. **New York Times,** May 7, 1923, 11:2.
47. **New York Times,** July 29, 1923, I, 4:5.
48. Frayne, p. 28.
49. Overstreet, lecture.
50. Grescoe, p. 4.
51. Burkholder, p. 52.
52. McKenzie, p. 200.
53. Chapin, p. 147.
54. Winks, 1971, p. 479.
55. Chapin, p. 148.
56. p. 77
57. p. 77.
58. Grescoe, p. 3.
59. Reed, p. 224.
60. Lower, p. 322.
61. May 5.
62. Foley, p. 44.
63. Lubka, p. 213.
64. **Chronicle Herald,** January 13, 1956, p. 14.
65. McPherson, p. 2.
66. Frayne, p. 63.
67. McPherson, p. 2.
68. **New York Post,** February 19, 1941.
69. Foley, p. 47.
70. Morrison, p. 101.
71. Frayne, p. 64.
72. **Acadian Recorder,** April 9, 1912.
73. Frayne, p. 64.
74. 452.
75. Louis, p. 9.
76. p. 232.
77. **Acadian Recorder,** September 16, 1914.
78. **Acadian Recorder,** April 15, 1910.
79. Foley, Morrison, Frayne.
80. **The Afro-American,** September 11, 1937, 20.
81. October 18, 1947, p. 4.
82. Frayne, 64.
83. **Time,** January 23, 1956, p. 41.
84. Frayne, 64.
85. **Time,** January 23, 1856, p. 41.
86. **Halifax Chronicle Herald,** January 13, 1956, p. 14.

87. **New York Times,** May 22, 1924, 13:6.
88. **Literary Digest,** May 14, 1935, p. 35.
89. Foley, p. 46.
90. Morrison, p. 1903.
91. **Halifax Chronicle Herald,** January 13, 1956, p. 14.
92. Morrison, p. 103.
93. **Time,** January 23, 1956, p. 41.
94. Morrison, p. 105.
95. Frayne, p. 64.
96. Henderson, p. 29.
97. **Time,** January 23, 1956, p. 41.
98. p. 105.
99. **Halifax Chronicle Herald,** April 8, 1972, p. 18.
100. p. 17.
101. p. 98.

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"The Halifax Riot of April, 1863"

by A. JEFEREY WRIGHT

Halifax was founded as a garrison town and has remained as such, in part, even to this day. In 1863 the army of the Empire still constituted a large portion of the city's population and provided much of its revenue. Under the circumstances, one would think that the civilian and military factions would have accepted each other as co-residents of this area. However, this does not appear to have been the case. The history of Halifax is dotted with incidents of strife between the two groups and this study deals with one of the clashes.

The evidence seems to indicate that relations between the two factions were becoming very taut and tempers were just waiting for the proper trigger to be set off. The celebration of Tuesday, April 14, 1863 seems to have acted as this overdue catalyst.

The occasion was the marriage of Edward, the Prince of Wales. The Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia declared April 14th a public holiday in honour of the event and the City immediately set about making extensive preparations for the festivities; in fact, the City Council set aside the sum of $400.

to meet expenses.[1] The planned events included artillery salutes, a parade, speeches, games on Parade Square, band music, a dinner for the City's elite at the Halifax Hotel followed by more salutes in the evening. Besides the streets being decorated and well lighted with lamps, there was to be a torch light parade. Another part of the celebration "was the liberating of [some] prisoners from the Provincial Penitentiary."[2]

Two days later, the *Morning Chronicle* reported,

> Tuesday was a gala-day in Halifax, The marriage of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was celebrated in this city in a manner that reflects credit upon the citizens, and the order and decorum which characterized the entire display affords an evidence of good management on the part of those who were entrusted with the control of the proceedings upon this occasion.[3]

However, it is difficult to account for this euphomistic editorial by the editors of the *Chronicle*. During the celebrations at the Parade Square a sovereign had been placed atop a greased pole and was to belong to anyone who could climb up and claim it. A young soldier made it part way up the pole but was pulled down "by someone in the crowd."[4] This same soldier eventually did gain the sovereign but the incident did not help relations between the civilian and military population.

Later that same day a fight broke out between soldiers and civilians at the notorious Blue Bell Tavern on George Street. Following a report that one of their number had been beaten in the tavern a group of soldiers went to investigate. When the ensuing fight had ended, "they left the interior of the house a complete wreck."[5] A few hours later the tavern was set on fire and had to be closed down because of the damage. There was also a threat that the building would be lighted again on the Wednesday.[6] Much of what went on at the tavern that

day was learned from "some of the females" that were there at the time.[7] The context in which this is stated in the paper seems to add weight to the report in some papers that the Blue Bell was indeed a "house of ill-fame."

As a result of these actions on the part of the soldiers and patrons of the Blue Bell over one-hundred special constables were sworn in to patrol the streets on Tuesday night. There was also a report that another one-hundred and twenty were summoned to report the next day; there was to be a fine of $8 if they did not report for duty.[8] However, the rumour that the rowdy who had pulled the young soldier down from the greased pole during Tuesday's celebrations was himself appointed as a special constable served to worsen relations in the city rather than promote their recovery.[9]

Following the fight at the Blue Bell, the tavern keeper, Michael Hines,* was charged with common assault. When the case came to trial in May, it was heard along with a number of other cases stemming from clashes between the military and civilian populations. These other cases included four soldiers for assaulting a civilian on April 17th, five civilians for assaulting a soldier on April 18th, and a soldier for assaulting a civilian on April 16th.[10] Hines' defence stated that earlier in the day a soldier had struck a woman in the house with his fist and had therefore been forcibly removed. When the other soldiers came to the tavern later in the day they were refused service because, as they were told, the bar was closed. When the soldiers threatened Hines both sides grabbed weapons and the fight followed. The *Morning Sun* reported that the soldiers had been "apparently inflamed with drink,"[11] but at the trial "all the witnesses . . . swore that they were perfectly sober at the time."[12] In finding Hines guilty of assalting the soldier with a hammer, the

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* The name appears as either Hines or Hoines in a number of instances but the former appears to be the proper spelling.

judge "expressed regret concerning the ill feeling that had arisen between a number of civilians and some of the soldiers."[13]

There were more disturbances on April 15th. This report from the Roman Catholic *Evening Express,* which was very anti-military, explains the actions of the soldiers after they were once again turned away from the Blue Bell:

> Thwarted in their efforts to create a riot, in this part of the city, the soldiers proceeded North, and smashed in the windows of many shops and dwellings in Brunswick, Creighton, Gottingen and Cornwallis streets, much to the dismay of our quiet and orderly citizens.
>
> The damage done was quite considerable.[14]

The next morning, the Garrison included the following notation, "Each of these Picquets will be accompanied by a Non. Comd. Officer and 6 men without arms . . . Picquets of similar strength will be held in readiness . . ."[15]

> But the crowning scene occurred on Thursday evening . . . About six o'clock a body of soldiers . . . about three hundred in number, rushed in a body down George street at the top of their speed. Nearly all of them were armed with stick and stones, and several had their belts, a formidable weapon, in their hands . . . putting to flight all citizens in their course. [They continued throughout the area of the central city] . . . shouting like so many deamons . . . uttering defiant yells and driving the people in a mass before them . . . [The soldiers] made a stand before the City Court House . . . completely demolishing all the glass [in the building] . . . they again organized and rushed up George street and made a temporary stand on Barring-

> ton street [then continued throught the city] . . . apprehensions existed that the mob intended to carry out their work of distruction on an extensive scale . . . The authorities . . . proceeded to the spot with the view of devising means to quell the riot, which bid fair to assume a serious character, as a crowd of civilians were arming themselves with all sorts of missiles . . . The riotous soldiers took up a position at the head of George Street, where they were kept at bay by a large body of civilians . . . The soldiers then commenced firing stones down upon the crowd and the civilians retaliated in the same manner . . .[16]

The military picquets were then successful in arresting some of their mob but a great many rushed off and "secreted themselves in the grogeries."[17] As the *Acadian Recorder* described the scene, "Officers on horseback were galloping in every direction, the fire bells had called out the whole city, the bayonets of the picquets were flashing in the setting sun . . ."[18] There was a fear that those of the military mob who had not been captured would reunite to continue their actions and special constables were sworn in to be ready for them. Nevertheless, "a body of them came in contact with a number of civilians on Spring Garden Road, and a serious fight occurred."[19]

The newspapers of the city expressed themselves concerning these actions of Thursday the 16th in vivid language deep with a feeling of indignation:

> This is the first time in the history of Halifax, or any other civilized place, that a lawless soldiery attempted to defy the laws of the land, to insult the entire body of citizens, and to ride roughshod over those whom they were sent to assist in defending the colony against the enemies of England.[20]

> One of the most disgraceful scenes ever enacted in Halifax was witnessed last evening . . . A perfect recklessness was exhibited by the soldiers.[21]
>
> This outrageous ruffianism of a military mob excited the citizens of all classes to a degree beyond what we have ever before witnessed, and every body began to look round for the means of defending himself and his property.[22]
>
> I trust the respectable portion of the community will not rest till public peace is secured, and the licensed blackguards that crowd at corners at night and loaf about the wharfs all day are treated as they should be.[23] The worthy Aldermen stood shoulder to shoulder, and those poor feet planted against the door successfully resisted the combined attack of 300 soldiery! wonderful feet! Thermopyle [sic] eclipsed!! . . . If the city authorities license and authorize, yea! and protect the *halls* and sinks of iniquity, barvarity and pollution, license rowdy factories in our almost every street—they must expect *the effect of the curse* to recoil upon themselves.[24]

The civic and military authorities were credited by many for their prompt action in attempting to deal with the situation. Most of the people seemed to realize that it was only a small element on both "sides" who were causing the problems in the city. Although most of the people did not agree with the description of their city portrayed in *Halifax: Its Sins and Sorrows,* released just a year before, they did recognize that there was a problem within the city with regard to the taverns and houses of ill-fame. When the *Evening Globe* of Saint John went so far as calling the riot a mutiny, the *Acadian Recorder* replied that Halifax was "one of the most orderly communities in the world" and "God forbid that the dreadful word mutiny should

ever be associated or used in connection with the British Army;" Even the author of *Sins and Sorrows* had not used language as strong as that of the *Globe*. [25]

The troops were all immediately confined to their barracks. On the 19th the soldiers were moved from the Gottingen Street barracks to confinement either in the Citadel or on George's Island. It was hoped that "when the term of their probation expires they will return to the city more orderly men and better soldiers."[26] While they were confined in their barracks, the men enjoyed themselves with games and sports, however, there was a rumour that all was not yet quiet; "Is it true that after the soldiers had been confined in the citadel crowds of blackguards, men and boys, were allowed to assemble outside the citadel and to insult the soldiers by challenging them to come out and fight &c.?"[27]

There were no major incidents after the Thursday night but there were a number of assults. On April 23rd five young men were charged with throwing stones at the sentries stationed at the dockyard but they were later acquitted for lack of evidence. During the month of May a soldier reported that he had been assaulted and left tied up with a rope on the dockyard but this was later found to be a fabrication. On April 17th it was reported that a corporal and four or five other soldiers came out of a grogshop and attacked an engine-driver. "The city was greatly excited when the news was passed about; civilians were procuring side arms, and great commotion existed until the facts of the case became known."[28]

> Since the riot on Thursday last, we learn that several acts of rowdyism have been perpetrated by blackguards who call themselves citizens. Unoffending soldiers have been set upon in the streets, by numbers of rowdies and in one or two instances they have had actually the af-

> frontery to attack sentinels. Some of them have been captured, and it is hoped they will receive such punishment as their dastardly conduct deserves.[29]

The military authorities desired to apprehend their own offenders who had taken the law into their own hands. The Garrison Orders of April 20th stated:

> As ample time has now been afforded, Officers Commanding Corps will send into this Office by 9 A.M. Tomarrow, [sic] the Names of any men whom they may have discovered to have been participated in the disturbance which took place in the Town on the night of the 16th instant.[30]

Both the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Evening Reporter* were displeased with the city authorities for the way in which they had handled the situation. The *Evening Reporter* stated that "Mayors, are not only expensive, but useless luxuries now-a-days" and, when referring to the aldermen that had been chosen to lead the special constables, said they "will drink till dooms day at the people's expense."[31] The chief complaint of the *Morning Chronicle* was with the organization of the force of special constables:

> 'Much ado about nothing,' is, in spite of the 'ungracious' talk of the *Sun,* the sum of all this parading of special constables of late . . . they have called out the most respectable of our citizens, who neither provoked nor shared in the riot . . . this unnecessary fussiness, after the event—this locking the stable after the steed is stolen.[32]

By April 23d it was felt that the soldiers could be let out of the barracks; not without some feeling of apprension on the part of the Garrison Commander however:

> . . . thinks it necessary to observe that strong and irritated feelings exist against them on the part of a considerable number of the lower Class of People in the City.
>
> He hopes that the Soldiers will abstain from frequenting the streets in the upper part of the town, and from entering the small Public Houses to Drink, where advantage would be probably be [sic] taken of, and the same acts of violence towards them be repeated.
>
> He would advise them not to walk about singly, two or three together will always be a protection, but he positively forbids them from carrying sticks to defend themselves with.
>
> Patrols will be established for their protection which will be accompanied by Police . . .[33]

The disturbances had caused a great deal of concern within Halifax during the week of April 14th-18th but had lost much of their appeal by the next week. The special constables' patrols were suspended within a few days and on April 25th the most important order of the day for the Garrison stated that "A Board of Officers will assemble at the Commissarial Stores at 11 A.M. on Monday next the 27th instant to report upon the weight and condition of a supply of Candles received from a Local Contractor."[34]

Probably the best conclusion to a study of this riot is the note which appeared in the *Morning Sun* on April 27th:

> To Correspondents—We have received a number of communications in reference to recent occurrences between a portion of the military and a few of our citizens. We decline them all.—There were faults on both sides. We have no doubt the experience of the past will

> teach a useful lesson. We are pleased to find the military and civic authorities uniting to prevent any further infringement of the peace of the city.[35]

What this incident portrays about Halifax in the mid-nineteenth century is difficult to ascertain. It seems that tension existed between members of the military and the "lower orders" of the town on a more or less continuous basis. The Garrison of Halifax at the time was much larger than usual because of the Civil War in the United States of America and this would certainly have to be a contributing factor with regard to relations between the civilian and military factions within the town. Whether or not this tension had been present before the war between the states and grew because of the increase in troops or was something that had come about solely because of the great numbers of extra soldiers within the city is not really known as no complete examination of the period has yet been conducted. From a political standpoint the period has been studied in such depth that the social aspects of the period have been largely ignored.

Halifax in the 1860's was a city undergoing tremendous changes within its social system. This was the time that the police and fire departments were completely reorganized, public health was undergoing drastic revision and municipal services such as water, lighting and transportation were first thought of as being in any sense necessary services to be provided by the city. The American Civil War and the feelings that it elicited, for both sides, within the City was also an important factor affecting the social organization of Halifax.

FOOTNOTES

1. Halifax **Novascotian.** Monday, 6 April, 1863.
2. Halifax **British Colonist.** Thursday, 16 April, 1863.
3. **Halifax Morning Chronicle.** Thursday, 16 April, 1863.
4. **Novascotian.** Monday, 20 April, 1863.
5. **Morning Chronicle,** Thursday, 16 April, 1863.
6. Halifax **Evening Express and Commercial Record,** Saturday, 18 April, 1863.
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8. **Halifax Morning Sun,** Wednesday, 22 April, 1663.
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10. **Novascotian.** Monday, 11 May, 1863.
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12. **Novascotian.** Monday, 11 May, 1863.
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28. **Novascotian.** Monday, 20 April, 1863.
29. **Morning Chronicle,** Tuesday, 21 April, 1863.
30. Headquarters Records, p. 274.
31. **Evening Reporter.** Saturday, 25 April, 1863.
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Anonymous, **Halifax: "Its Sins and Sorrows."** Halifax, 1862.

This pamphlet is believed written by a local clergyman but no positive identification has yet been discovered.

Contributors

CHARLES BRUCE FERGUSSON was born in Port Morien, Nova Scotia and received his early education there and in Glace Bay.

He attended the Provincial Normal College in Truro, Nova Scotia where he won the Governor General's Medal. He continued his education at Dalhousie University, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts with Great Distinction, and was designated Nova Scotia Rhodes Scholar.

After further study at Oxford University, he was granted the degrees of Bachelor of Arts with Honors, Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr. Fergusson is the recipient of the Centennial Medal.

As Archivist of Nova Scotia and Assistant Professor of History, Dr. Fergusson has a vast knowledge of our province and wide writing experience; being the author of books, articles, pamphlets, papers, reviews, etc., too numerous to mention here.

He is actively involved in several historical associations and committees including past President of the Nova Scotia Historical Society and a member of the Nova Scotia Historic Sites Advisory Council. Dr. Fergusson is also a member of the Editorial Board of the Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly.

MARJORIE V. MAJOR was born and received her early education in New Hampshire. She attended university in Maine and furthered her education in Halifax, Nova Scotia, at the Maritime Business College and with university extension courses in Newspaper Advertising.

She has held office as President of the Canadian Women's Press Club, Nova Scotia Branch; Canadian Author's Association, Nova Scotia Branch, is a founding member of the Business and Professional Women's Club, and is a member of the Landmarks Commission for the City of Halifax.

Mrs. Major resides in Halifax and is a freelance writer of long experience. She has been associated with the Halifax Mail-Star for over twenty-five years. She has been Editor of The Commercial News, the Halifax Gazette, and written many feature articles for such magazines as Chatelaine, Saturday Night, Atlantic Advocate, and others. She has also done extensive work in public relations, radio and television.

DONALD MacLEAN SINCLAIR was born in Prince Edward Island and received his early education at Pictou Academy, Pictou, Nova Scotia.

He was granted the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts from Dalhousie University, Doctor of Divinity from Pine Hill and did post graduate work in Theology at Edinburgh University and New College, Edinburgh, Scotland.

He served as Chaplain in the Royal Canadian Navy during World War II and was awarded the C.D.

He was minister of Fort Massey United Church for twenty-two years and has compiled it's history.

Dr. Sinclair has written numerous papers and articles for the Dalhousie Review and the Nova Scotia Historical Society and is well known for his knowledge of the Gaelic language.

He is Past President of the North British Society and the Nova Scotia Historical Society, and has served on the Board of Governors of Dalhousie University and the Senate of Pine Hill.

This year marks Dr. Sinclair's fiftieth year in the ministry.

ALEXANDER J. YOUNG JR. is an American citizen, born in New York City. He atttained the degree of Bachelor of Science from West Chester State College, Pennsylvania, the degree of Master of Arts and Ph.D from the University of Maryland.

Dr. Young has held the post of Professor of Physical Education and Coach at several State Colleges and Universities in the United States and is now Associate Professor of Physical Education and Coordinator of Graduate studies and research at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

He has vast writing experience and is the author of twenty-two published articles in the field of sport—many dealing with the historical aspects of different athletic activities.

A. JEFFREY WRIGHT was born in Hamilton, Ontario. He received his early education in Burlington and later attended Humber College in Rexdale, Ontario.

Mr. Wright is the recipient of an award for scholastic merit as well as a scholarship.

He is presently a fourth year Honours Student of History at Dalhousie University and will enter the Masters degree course at the University of New Brunswick this fall.

As his academic record shows, Mr. Wright is deeply interested in history. He has done some writing in this field concerning the history of local business in Hamilton, Ontario.

He is a member of the Canadian Historical Association.

Book Reviews

LORNA INNESS

The Bride of Loch Bras d'Or, Margaret MacPhail
Paperback, 94 pages, published July 1974
Lancelot Press, $3.95

A romantic novel about the adventures of a Cape Breton heroine, Mary Ann Cummings, as she travels, goes to work in Boston, finds romance and happiness. Old customs and stories about pioneer days and ways in Cape Breton are woven into this narrative.

The novel is written in the warm, folksy style for which the Marble Mountain storyteller has become known and which has built up such a large following for her books.

The Sea and the Supernatural, By Edith Mosher
Paperback, 52 pages, published July 1974
Lancelot Press, $1.50

A collection of strange and supernatural tales based on "actual cases" and including everything from ghosts at sea to ghosts on land, to haunted houses and other places and a ghost ship.

Referring to her collection as "a sampling of the historic, the tragic and the amusing", Mrs. Mosher points out that "mysteries have never failed to stir the interest of human beings", even though seen "through a glass, darkly."

Cape Breton Vignettes, By Claribel Gesner
Paperback, 60 pages, published July 1973
Lancelot Press, $1.50

This is a collection of brief stories about Cape Breton, originally radio talks by the author of Cape Breton Anthology. The author states that the stories fall into three categories: "true stories, not-true stories and might-have-been-true stories."

The range is pretty wide. There is the story of Boularderie Island and the assaults on the fortress of Louisbourg; golf and how a course was laid out at Lingan with a tape measure and nine empty tomato cans; how people once reckoned time by the sea's bounty — the "year of the flour" when barrels of flour drifted in, etc. how early communities got their names; ghost stories; and how Nicholas Denys ran the first "chain stores" in the province.

Something for everybody, particularly if they come from the island.

Sable Island, By Lyall Campbell
Paperback, 104 pages, illustrated, published July 1974
Lancelot Press, $2.95

Sable Island, always a subject of mystery and fear, the "Graveyard of the Atlantic", has been the subject of renewed interest in the last few years as the search for oil has given it front-page prominence.

Something as matter of fact and down-to-earth as oil on Sable? Well, it's almost like saying Oak Island could be a coal mine instead of a possible source of buried pirate gold! Yet, there is the essence of romance in the oil search; in its way it is as much men against the sea as a tale of shipwreck and adventure.

It has not only centered attention on the tiny sand bar in the ocean, it has created a greater awareness of the priceless attributes of the island, of its fragile ecology and of the creatures dependent upon it for survival.

Lyall Campbell points out in this book that the wind-driven, sand-blasted, crashing seas image of Sable does not hold true all the time. "Too much," he writes, "has been written about the extremes of Sable weather . . . On numerous occasions people stranded on Sable Island were able to survive through the worst winter months with no outside help at all . . . "

The perils which beset some of Sable's visitors and their reactions to them are dealt with in the chapters of this book, beginning with Sir Humphrey Gilbert and including La Roche's settlement, the Acadians and the New Englanders.

Shipwrecks have their place in this book, as do the ponies of Sable.

Campbell is critical of government policy, or the lack of it, regarding the island in the past and he notes that the federal government is "clearly committed to the commercial exploitation of the island. Yet, the government has poured money into scientific research there." The scientists have been able to use

some of the oil companys' facilities. "A lot of the scientists," notes Campbell, "are opposed to any sort of commercial exploitation" of the island, and so it goes on.

Campbell suggests that the oil companies are proving to be the real conservationists where the island is concerned.

He notes of Sable that "Only Nova Scotia can actually give it up, willingly surrender her past to the twentieth century and call it progress. She might do just that, making Sable into an ecological and cultural graveyard, instead of the birthplace of an ideal as revolutionary as her original establishment which created the tradition of continuous humanity at Sable Island."

Campbell, who was born in Halifax, received his Masters degree in history from Dalhousie University and his Bachelor of Library Science from the University of Toronto.

Studying Nova Scotia, compiled by Robert Vaison
Paperback, 123 pages, published August 1974
Mount Saint Vincent University, $2 per copy postpaid; $1.50 post-paid for 10 or more copies.

This is a spiral-bound mimeographed type of book, a bibliography and guide for those particularly interested in studying the history, politics and economy of this province.

The book endeavors to be a guide to the published books, monographs and periodical articles on these subjects. It is pointed out by Professor Vaison that some "writings obviously overlap categories". Noting also that there are bound to be omissions, Professor Vaison asks users of the guide to bring them to his attention.

Explaining the cut-off system used in gathering material, Professor Vaison notes that material later than 1973 has not been included, nor have "local histories of limited interest", personal correspondence, government documents not publicly available, unpublished academic papers, brief notes and "writing not in English" although one sub-section under the heading "Social and political history" deals with the French in Acadia.

Other sections are concerned with politics and government - provincial through to municipal; and the economy - history, regional policies and practices, and the economy today. There are special sections dealing with such topics as offshore oil, coal and steel, Maritime union, fisheries, agriculture and land use.

Current periodicals of value in supplementing this bibliography are acknowledged, including a nod in the direction of the Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly.

The job of selecting and weeding out material to be listed in the guide must have beeen an enormous one; there are nearly 1,000 entries as it is.

Professor Vaison is assistant professor of political science at Mount Saint Vincent University.

Explore Canada, The Reader's Digest/CAA Illustrated Guide
Hardcover, 436 pages, illustrated, maps, published August 1974
Musson Book Company, $25.

This is a travel book about Canada done in the style of a gazetteer, with notes of historic interest for places large and small. Toronto follows Topsail, Newfoundland, and precedes Trail, British Columbia and Trenton, Nova Scotia, which gives an idea of the range of the book.

All told, there are 1,200 cities, towns and places of interest. There are brief chapters dealing with the geological formation of the Canadian landscape and with the effect of immigration in building the Canadian mosaic. There is a guide to pre-20th century styles in houses, churches, municipal buildings, etc. There are 23 maps coast to coast, with regional maps, as well.

The book arrived as the Quarterly was going to press and is mentioned briefly here as a matter of interest. There has not been time to check the historical material in it as far as Nova Scotia is concerned, so no claim is made for its accuracy.

Among the local sites included in the book are the Old Meeting House at Barrington, the replica of the old mill at Lequille, St. Ninian's Cathedral at Antigonish, the tombstone of Jannet McDonald (supposed to have been related to Flora Macdonald) at Hackett's Cove, the Indian pictographs at Kejimkujik national park, and of course, Peggy's Cove.

The book contains some striking color photography and will provide a good armchair tour of the country, if you can't visit all the places in person.

The Sea Chart, By Derek Howse and Michael Sanderson
Hardcover, 144 pages, illustrated, published 1973
David & Charles, Newton Abbot, England, £5.95 (U.K. only)

"Columbus found a world, and had no
chart,
Save one that faith deciphered in the
skies; . . . "

— George Santayana

This book is sub-titled "An Historical Survey based on the Collections in the National Maritime Museum", Greenwich, England.

It contains an introduction, in reality a brief history of the development of navigation and charts, written by Rear-Admiral G. S. Ritchie, CB, DSC, hydrographer, and president of the directing committee of the International Hydrographic Bureau, Monaco.

The earliest chartmaker, it appears, was one Marinus of Tyre, about 100 AD, who "began drawing maps for the use of seamen based on a cylindrical projection forming a grid of parallelograms centred on Rhodes, the marine focal point of the known world." Were it not for the writings of Ptolemy, Marinus would be unknown to us today.

The early maps showed the Mediterranean in some detail; that was home ground and fairly well traversed. Ptolemy notes the existence of England and Scotland in his maps, and there are distorted representations of Africa, India and, China.

Through what Admiral Ritchie calls "the long dark ages of cartography," however, the maps of Ptolemy were neglected but by the 13th century "portulan charts", drawn on vellum, were in use in vessels trading in the Mediterranean.

The magnetic compass had developed from a needle floating in water in a bowl to "a system of thin magnetized metal rods secured beneath a pivoted circular card on which was painted the wind rose with its eight rhumbs, and later their halves and quarters, making thirty-two points in all. . . ."

Gradually Italian mapmakers were joined by those from Spain and Portugal. And, in the early 15th century, Henry of Portugal developed the passionate interest in exploration and mapmaking which was to earn him the title of Henry the Navigator.

Cartographers now had the assistance of explorers of considerable talent, Vasco da Gama and Magellan among them, to help them unravel the mysteries of the unknown coastlines. Progress in printing and engraving resulted in the production of more sophisticated maps and charts and the publication of collections of such maps, or Atlases.

In 1569, Gerard Mercator published his "world chart of eighteen sheets, for which he used a latitude and longitude grid system, Mercator's 'projection' as it is known today." The Dutch led the world in mapping and chartmaking at that point, to the extend that the British relied upon Dutch charts of their own coasts until Samuel Pepys, in 1681, set an English naval officer to survey the coastline of the island.

The work of Joseph Des Barres and Capt. James Cook is noted in this outline history of cartography. Included in the map reproductions is one of Sable Island, drawn by Des Barres in 1779 when he was surveying parts of the province's coastline. Of this chart, it is noted that it took Des Barres two years to survey the island: "Two barrs here, (The North East and North West Barrs shewn on the chart) overwhich the surf broke often mast high, were strewn with wrecks for seven leagues, and could not be approached without the greatest risk. . . ."

Among charts included in this book is Emeric Vidal's chart of Boston harbor (1780) with its precise directions for sailing through the "best channel" between the many shoals and islands.

The earliest North American map shown in the book is one attributed to Girolamo Verrazano (1529, corrected to 1540), in which it is noted that the "North American coast seems to trend ENE-WSW instead of the real NNE-SSW, because magnetic instead of true bearings were used for laying down meridians." Places noted on the map include "R. Grande (Bay of Fundy, shown with a Spanish flag), baccaliaio (Nova Scotia), terra delle Mollie (Cape Breton I.), and, north of the Cabot Strait, terra laboratoris inuenta pro Regam anglie (Newfoundland)."

The book ends with a British Admiralty chart (1971) of the English Channel to the Strait of Gibraltar with the soundings and heights given in metres.

The 60 charts reproduced in whole or in part in this book have been taken from the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, where Derek Howse, a former Royal Navy navigating officer, is head of the department of astronomy. Dr. Michael Sanderson is librarian at the museum.

British Maps of Colonial America, By William P. Cumming
Hardcover, 114 pages, illustrated, published 1974
The University of Chicago Press, $10.95 (U.S.)

This rather beautifully designed book presents in published form a series of lectures in the history of cartography given at the Newberry Library, Chicago, in 1970. The lectures were entitled British Cartography of Eighteenth-Century North America and were accompanied by the showing of some 200 slides and the exhibition of maps in the Newberry Library.

The author, Professor Cumming, limits this survey of colonial cartography to the eighteenth century, noting that while British cartography was "brilliantly active during the Revolutionary War Years," it "slowed almost to a stop (at least south of the Canadian provinces) after the treaty of peace of 1783." Professor Cumming has included in this survey mapmakers who were not British themselves but who were employed by the British, and colonial settlers who were British subjects.

The book is divided into four sections: Mapping the Southern British Colonies, Mapping the Northern British Colonies, Charting the Coast and the Cartography of Conflict, the last section dealing with maps as they relate to the French and Indian and Revolutionary wars.

The work of two old friends, Cook and Des Barres, appears in this book. It is noted that Des Barres, on completing his surveys of Nova Scotia's coasts in 1774 went to England to prepare his charts. Cummings notes that while at first a half-dozen assistants were adequate for the task, the outbreak of the Revolutionary War created an urgent need for charts for the Royal Navy. "From 1776 to 1779 Des Barres crowded two houses with twenty assistants."

Professor Cumming notes that the total number of plates which were produced under Des Barres supervision is unknown, that Des Barres has mentioned 257 plates, but that it is thought that the New York Public Library alone has perhaps 30 not mentioned by Des Barres, "possibly because he discarded those charts and views that did not come up to his standards," and the Library of Congress has 250, although there may be others. And, of some of the charts in The Atlantic Neptune, "there are ten or more variants or issues."

Included among the illustrations in this book are the Des Barres map of Port Royal, South Carolina (1777); a detail from Chebucto Head (1779) and The Harbour of Halifax (1779).

Professor Cumming also discusses the survey of Quebec made under the direction of Brig. General James Murray on the orders of Lord Jeffery Amherst in 1760.

Professor Cumming states that "The individual contributions of important mapmakers like Des Barres and of half a

dozen others . . . need thorough examination that they have not received . . . insufficiently known are the methods and instruments used by the surveyors and mapmakers of colonial America . . . ", the training given to military mapmakers and the use of journals, newspapers and magazines as sources of such information.

Although Des Barres has been mentioned here, many other mapmakers and explorers — some famous, others not — march through the pages of this book, their contributions to eighteenth century knowledge of North America duly recorded to the extent that information is available.

The bibliography lists major American map collections by regions and, under a brief note concerning Canada, the first volume of Men And Meridians, by Don W. Thomson, published in 1966 by the Queens Printer, is given as a reference work.

Professor Cumming is Irvin Professor Emeritus at Davidson College, Davidson, North Carolina. He is the author of The Southeast in Early Maps and co-author with R. A. Skelton and D. B. Quinn of The Discovery of North America.

Invisible Immigrants, By Charlotte Erickson
Hardcover, 531 pages, illustrated, published 1973
University of Miami Press, $17.50 (U.S.)

In a book which represents a staggering amount of research, Dr. Erickson has traced the lives of members of 25 immigrant families, English or Scots, who came to make their homes in the new world.

The immigrants in question crossed the Atlantic during the great wave of settlement in the nineteenth century. Discontent at home and the search for better economic conditions prompted the settlers to break with what was familiar and build new lives in a young country.

Dr. Erickson's material comes primarily from the private letters which such immigrants sent back home to their families. She disputes the generally held theory that letters back home were handed around in communities and provided the information which often prompted others to go to the United States. Such letters home, she states, were intended to be personal, and if it was intended that they should be read by others than the recipients, it was so stated.

She notes that British immigrants felt responsible for the welfare and support of others if they had been invited to make the journey. Some, notably those engaged in agriculture, welcomed the arrival of relatives as a source of labor, but hospitality generally was offered specifically or not at all.

Writes Dr. Erickson: "The English and Scots people knew how to discount puffs in published lettters. Only the private letter was important in the process of distributing immigrants to American agriculture. Here was where the planning was undertaken, the advice given as to what to bring, when to leave, what to provide on shipboard, how to avoid runners, how to get to one's precise destination, how much to save for freight of luggage inland. Such letters have not been reproduced but they are numerous and typical."

Dr. Erickson also points out that, again mainly in agriculture, the family provided the network for distribution. "Uncles kept the migration option open in a family from one generation to the next. Emigrants were expected to accept and to assist nieces and nephews who might want to emigrate . . . "

The book deals with three facets of life in North American; agriculture, industry and in the professional, commercial and clerical backgrounds. Correspondence from various families is studied under each section, and there is background information, where available, covering both the time in Britain and the years following immigration.

Take, for example, the Fisher series of letters - 1830-1838. John Fisher left a small Suffolk village to join other members of his family in New York State, only to find that they had made a second move, as did many others, farther inland, in this case to the farming country of Michigan. On July 12, 1832, he wrote to his mother in England stating that he had "bought 80 acres for 23£ in a wild state. It is mixt soil partly timbered and part openings and look like a gentlement's park. I found hay in great abundance on the marshes in a wild state. I plough with cattle, horses being very dear in this country . . . As we have nothing to pay to the parsons or poor, for the industrious poor man is not known in this country, for here labour has its own, and the rigours of taxation are unknown . . . "

Regarding his way of life at Bachelor's Hall, Fisher wrote to his mother: "I think I want a wife but see no chance of getting one in this country as I do not like the Yanke girls. I esteem my books a great treasure, for though I live alone I can converse with a Milton, a Young, and many more excellent writers which adorn my library . . .

On November 19, 1831, Andrew and Jane Morris wrote from Germantown, Pennsylvania, to the folks at Chorley, Lancs., who had apparently heard "bad accounts" of America: "My Father wants to know whether this country would do for brother William and him or no, to which I answer Yes, it will do for every person that is willing to work for a living as there is plenty of work and good wages. . . "

The letters are filled with the problems of adjusting to the new land, although some found it easy and vastly prefered it to Britain. Family problems are aired in the letters; there are quarrels over money and wills; there are notices of births and deaths, accounts of illness and strife. Loneliness is found some, while many indicate a longing to see loved ones from whom the writers have been separated for many years.

There are accounts of life in the new communities; Henry Petingale, writing to his sister in August 1859, recounts having seen Blondin do his high-wire walk across Niagara Falls on "a rope two inches in diameter."

And, at least one writer, Ernest Lister, was intrigued by American politics. Writing in 1884(?) of a forthcoming presidential election he said: "It is a great time they have praids every night . . . every thing to make a show. For the Republicans &

Democrats & teetotlars have there men to run for office & the arguments in great paper print & libel one another & call the opposite parties thieves & liars without restraint &c . . . . Republican we are . . . "

This is a remarkable study of a wave of immigration during a particular period in American history in that it enlivens cold statistical social history with the warmth of human emotion. We learn not only how much land, how many cows, these settlers had, what they earned in the coal mines or on the railroad. We learn of their private feelings, hopes, loves, fears. It is to have not only a glimpse into the past, but to see into the minds and hearts of those settlers.

Dr. Erickson who is Senior Lecturer in Economic History at the London School of Economics, and Secretary of the British Association for American Studies, is also the author of American Industry and the European Immigrant, 1865-85.

Fogo Island, By Clive Marin
Hardcover, 85 pages Illustrated, published August, 1974
Dorrance & Co. Inc., Philadelphia, $4.95 (U.S.)

This is in a sense a diary of 10 months in the life of Clive and Frances Marin who spent that time living with a fisherman's family on Fogo Island off the north coast of Newfoundland. The island is 16 miles long and nine miles wide and gives shelter to a few small villages, such as Seldom-Come-By and Joe Batt's Arm.

The book, which covers the months from September through to June, is a chronicle of outport life as seen through the eyes of the Marins who taught in the local school — built in 1954 and at that time a model by Newfoundland standards.

The Marins' adjustment to the rigours of their new and temporary way of life provides an interesting insight into old ways which are steadily threatened by a changing economic structure on the one hand and "progress" on the other.

"Could you," they ask, "blame a man for wanting to earn more than $1,000, the average annual wage of the inshore fisherman — even if he could get an extra $400 from the government in winter?"

The dilemma persists and no one seems to have found the answers. But the book is written with warmth and understanding and the admiration of the Marins for the Island people shines through.

Clive Marin is now teaching in Ingleside, in Eastern Ontario. He has studied history at McGill, Edinburgh and Queen's Universities.

Mountain People, Mountain Crafts, By Elinor Lander Horwitz
Paperback, 143 pages, illustrated, published 1974
McClelland & Stewart Ltd., $3.40.

This is a look at the traditional crafts as they are practised today by the people who live in the southern highlands of Appalacia; an area that includes parts of Maryland, the Virginias, Kentucky and Tennessee, the Carolinas, Georgia and Alabama.

The people, descendents of the English and Scots-Irish settlers, are clannish, uncertain of "foreigners" — those not born in "the hills." They follow traditions developed by the first settlers working with the woods, fibres and dyes, the natural things to hand.

The author looks at the making of musical instruments ("There's no notes to a banjo, you just play it"), dulcimers banjos and fiddles; dolls and other toys. The decorative arts — woodcarving, cane and coal craft — and the domestic arts — wooden ware, baskets, pottery, spinning, dyeing, quilting and rug-making — are studied in a rambling interview style, as the author discusses their work with the individual craftsmen.

Many of the crafts in this book are found here in Nova Scotia and a comparison of the methods and techniques is interesting.

Notes on Nova Scotia

Camp Hill Cemetery in Halifax is reputed to be the only Cemetery in Canada to have traffic lights within it's confines. They service the Robie Street and Jubilee Road intersection.

* * *

Captain Housten Stewart, later Sir Housten Stewart and an Admiral, introduced the game of curling to Halifax in 1825. It was played on a pond known at the time as Smith's mill-dam, east of Tower Road.

* * *

No gun has even been fired from the fort on Citadel Hill in Halifax, excepting the noon gun, various curfews and salutes. Two men were killed when the July 1, 1868 salute was discharged and the gun backfired.

* * *

Champlain visited Chebucto (Halifax) in 1607.

* * *

Malachi Salter, a Boston businessman, was trading at Chebucto in 1746. He became a settler here in 1749. Salter Street is named after him.

* * *

Dunvegan, Inverness County, with a present population of about 175 is the birthplace of the late Hon. Angus L. Macdonald, former Premier of Nova Scotia. The Angus L. Macdonald Bridge over Halifax Harbour is named in his honour.

Minutes of Council

Commencing February A. D. 1848.

Lieutenant General Sir John Harvey K.C.B.
& K.C.H.
Lieutenant Governor

The Honorable James B. Uniacke
Michael Tobin
Hugh Bell
Joseph Howe
James McNab
Herbert Huntington
William F. Desbarres
Lawrence O'C. Doyle
George R Young
Members of Her Majesty's Executive Council.

The Honorable Joseph Howe
Clerk of H. M. Executive Council
