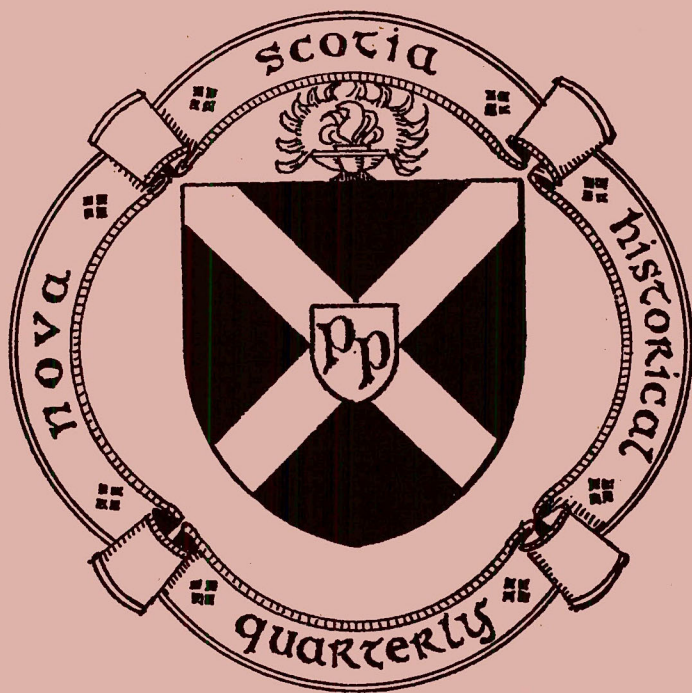


The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

Volume 5, Number 1, March, 1975



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Contents

Willie Goes To War—A. C. Dunlop	1
Treasure for the Taking—Elsie Churchill Tolson	21
Yarmouth Steam Packets 1839-1889—R. B. Powell	31
The Teacher's Reward: Alexander Forrester at Truro —R. P. Harvey	47
Publication of Genealogies of Nova Scotia Families	69
Tobin Genealogy—T. M. Punch	71
Contributors	83
Book Reviews—Lorna Inness	87
Notes on Nova Scotia—M. E. Franklyn	97

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"Willie Goes to War"

A. C. DUNLOP

Author's note:

The two letters which follow contain the impressions and reactions of William Johnston Tupper, youngest son of Sir Charles Tupper, to the formation and dispatching of the Halifax Provisional Battalion to the North West Rebellion of 1885. The excitement of military adventure, tempered by the realization of the delicate "political" position in which he found himself, bring to his correspondence a careful, circumspect and accurate portrayal of events. As such they represent one of the few surviving contemporary Nova Scotian descriptions of this crisis in our nation's development. With the exception of a brief introductory setting for the letters and a number of explanatory notes, the letters tell the story.

The Sunday sun seemed to float on the North West Arm as William Johnston Tupper, youngest child of Sir Charles and Lady Frances Amelia Tupper, excitedly penned the news to his mother in London. He was a member of the Halifax Provisional Battalion which might shortly be ordered to the North West to help put down the latest Riel Rebellion. The decision had not been easy. Finally, however, he had convinced his older brother, Charles Hibbert, Member of Parliament for Pictou, Nova Scotia, that a Tupper must go with the troops. The young

M.P. recognized the political merit of this argument; yet, he remained concerned about his wife, Janet, who had given birth to their third child, a daughter, in January. He would prefer to have "Willie" around "Armdale", the Tupper family home, until he could return from his parliamentary duties in Ottawa. Eventually, the in-laws prevailed. His wife's brother, James Alexander Macdonald, son of the Chief Justice and William's best friend was with the Battalion. His two sisters, Janet, Charles' wife, and Margaret, who eventually would marry William, had importuned Charles to give his consent and blessing to William. Finally, he surrendered.

Halifax too had agonized! The previous week had been hectic for James Crosskill Mackintosh, the forty-six year old city mayor. Municipal elections were only three weeks off, and now, seated in his outer office were ten very disturbed, not to mention very influential, Halifax merchants. The mustering of the Princess Louise Fusiliers for drills had virtually shut down some of the shops and factories in the city. The Mayor appreciated the problem but at the same time rebuked those who had threatened to dismiss any of their employees who reported for drill during working hours. Such a course was both stupid and disloyal. He waved before them the telegram which they had recently been received from the Mayor of Montreal—Montreal, of all cities—questioning the loyalty of citizens of Halifax. The Mayor conceded that their suggestion for a composite battalion made up from the 66th, The Princess Louise Fusiliers; the 63rd, The Halifax Rifles; and the Halifax Garrison Artillery made good sense. Even as agreement was reached between the Mayor and the delegation to request such a move, telegrams from both political and military authorities were carrying a similar message from Halifax to Ottawa. On Friday, April 3, it was officially announced that a Halifax Provincial Battalion would be formed from the three units in the city. The Mayor might yet have a quiet weekend.

At the Drill Shed on Spring Garden Road, Lt. Col. John Barton Taylor's problems increased. As Officer Commanding Military District No. 9, he would have to implement the compromise. Nothing had seemed to go smoothly from the first indications of trouble in the North West. Lt. Col. James John Bremner's remarks to the press had not improved Taylor's temperament. Ever since Bremner's misfortune in business, Taylor had noticed a change in the man. He had become fussy, nervous and cranky. Bremner's shilly-shally about bouncing the old surgeons, who refused to accompany the Battalion to the North West, had only aggravated the situation. For five days Taylor had tried, without success, to have Bremner relieved of command. Now his only consolation was in the knowledge that Major Charles John MacDonald, Halifax Post Office Inspector, would be accompanying the Battalion, despite the attempts of some incompetent who had initially ruled that civil servants would not be permitted to enlist. Soon the men would be going. The opposition of the business community had been overcome but a portion of the press remained hostile and antagonistic. It had indeed been hectic. Days when men appeared too drunk to parade; the absolute bedlam at the Drill Shed when the order to proceed came; and finally the departure delayed nearly three hours by the enthusiastic crowds which lined the snow filled streets of Halifax to see the men off. Sunday would indeed be a day of well earned rest.

In London, England, the weather had been typical for April, damp and foggy. For forty-eight hours Lady Tupper had been forced to bed with an annoying cold and even on April 5 she still felt weak although she had been up and about for the past two days. In the middle of April she and Sir Charles would leave the Canadian High Commissioner's residence at 9 Victoria Chambers for an official visit to Paris. On the 20th of the month she sat down and wrote a hurried note to William and, no doubt to his surprise, expressed anxiety about the troubles in the North West. She had only just posted her letter

when William's letter of April 5 arrived. The contents stunned her.

Halifax

April 5th, 1885

My dearest Mother,¹

You will no doubt be somewhat surprised to hear that I am likely to go to the North-West in a few days. You know I belong to the 66th "The Princess Louise Fusiliers"² and after much consideration I have concluded that it is my duty to stand up like a man and go if I am picked. There are a great many backing down and those who have the courage of kittens are coming to the front and behaving like men. Now I don't pretend to be very courageous, but I think I am as brave as a kitten. Therefore I shall not allow people to say that young Tupper funk'd his duty and is a coward etc. I could never live down the disgrace, if I showed the white feather now—Blake's son and nephews have gone to the front,³ and is your son to be put to shame by them—all the young men of Canada who have a spark of manly feeling in their nature are coming forward to show that they are true Canadians & not miserable skulking cowards.

I know that if Father were here and knew the exact state of affairs he would say, Willie I expect you to do nothing to stain the family name nor to fly when your country calls you.

I know that there is really nothing much to brag about as we are going to the North-West in order to show the world that Canada is a power & not a stripling, and to make a great demonstration and overawe Riel by the numbers we shall present to him.⁴

I may say here that I have not been egged on to this course by any one and I hope it shall never be necessary to drive me when the course of my duty is clearly defined before my eyes—Even Charlie cannot present any arguments which have a shadow of true weight, but they are all prompted by his affection for his younger brother, and if I was any other person but his brother he would say go and be a man.⁵

Every arrangement is made for the comfort of those who go and four hundred go from here, so I shall be among brave men and there is safety in numbers.

Col. McDonald⁶ P.O. Inspector has promised Charlie that I shall have every comfort and be the "white haired boy of the expedition."

I never felt stronger and the army doctor, who is rejecting many for slightest defects or weakness⁷ pronounces me fit & sound and says my lungs are all right—My appetite is first rate and I feel equal to any amount of work.⁸ To tell the truth the prospect of relief from office⁹ drudgery is seductive and I believe the climate which has so benefitted Father & Stewart¹⁰ will not have a different effect on me.

Everything possible is being done to secure the safety & comfort of the expedition & I am only afraid on one score and that is that we will get the orders "right about march" before we reach Winnipeg & that the miniature rebellion will have exploded as it did before. It certainly looks as if our force would only be used for exhibition purposes around Qu'appelle—Although Grits in Halifax are showing the white feather,¹¹ to Jones credit his son in Charlie's old regiment has turned up on parade and is waiting to be drawn. Father

must remember that if in future it will be said that a Blake¹² a Cartwright & a Jones ¹³ helped to sustain law & order in the Dominion when impudent rebels threatened "*to pull down the flag*" a Tupper was also to the front and as his father has often *boasted* on the floor of Parliament had the courage of his convictions.

After writing all this what a sell if I am not drawn!

You, dearest Mother, may think I have forgotten you, when I have remembered my country & my Queen whose authority I go to assert. Emma¹⁴ will, however being a gallant soldier's wife tell you that in doing my duty to my country & Queen I do not & cannot exhibit a lack of affection for you & all I hold dear.

Late reports from Qu'appelle are that spring is opening and the weather will be very pleasant there, if we get that far.

If I don't go I will cable to that effect.

If I do go Charlie will keep you constantly informed of my movements.

Don't worry about me or my health for I am confident that I shall come out stronger than ever if I go.

I am sure that the same God Who watches over you in your home will watch over me and bring me safely back to all I love. With love to all my loving relatives and a great deal for yourself I remain your own loving son

W. J. Tupper

1. Lady Francis (Morse) Tupper, b. 14 March 1826, daughter of Silas Hibbert Morse of Amherst, N.S.; married Sir Charles Tupper 8 October 1846 in Amherst. Their sixth and last child and third son, William Johnston was born 29 June 1862 at Halifax. Lady Tupper died 11 May 1912 at Bexley Heath, Kent, England. She is buried at St. John's Cemetery, Halifax, N.S.
2. The Princess Louise Fusiliers received that name on 5 November 1869. They were named after the consort of the Marquis of Lorne, Princess Louise. They were given the numerical designation, the 65th, on 14 November 1879.
3. Blake's cousin, S. C. Elliott, was killed in the clash at Duck Lake.
4. William, as a lad of eighteen, had been to the North-West in 1880 with a surveying party.
5. Charles Hibbert Tupper, born 3 August 1855 at Amherst, second son of Sir Charles Tupper. Obviously relieved when his father approved of William's course of action, he jokingly wrote his younger brother on 1 May 1885, stating, "You can get shot now!"
6. Colonel McDonald was born 4 April 1841. He articled with John S. D. Thompson. He was a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia from 1878 until his appointment as Post Office Inspector on 31 May 1879. He held that position until his death on 12 October 1903.
7. This may be exaggerated. Private Frederick Marwick of the 63rd who died on the trip out near Rat Portage had been discharged from the Royal Engineers due to a bronchial condition.
8. William was in sound physical condition. Among his papers is a report from McKay's Gymnasium, Sackville Street, Halifax which shows him as 5 feet 8¾ inches; 147½ pounds with a 35 inch chest.
9. At this time Tupper was articling with the firm of Graham, Tupper & Borden at the Hesslein Building, Hollis Street. Borden notes Tupper's participation in the rebellion in his memoirs.
10. James Stewart Tupper was the third child and eldest son of Sir Charles and Lady Francis. He was born 21 October 1851 at Amherst. He practised law in Winnipeg with Hugh J. Macdonald, son of Sir John A. Macdonald.
11. This is probably a figure of speech but it also might have been a very subtle reference to the fact that the regular Battalion doctors, Slayter and Trenaman refused to go to the North-West. Three white feathers were sent to one of them. Feelings ran so high that at one point Dr. Slayter assaulted Dr. Charles Rigby after the latter had questioned his courage.
12. A reference to the Liberal leader in Ottawa, Edward Blake.

13. Lt. Conway Edward Cartwright son of Sir Richard Cartwright, Minister of Finance in the Mackenzie administration. A junior officer was bounced to make room for Cartwright in the Halifax Battalion.
This is a reference to A. G. Jones one of the leading Liberals in Nova Scotia at this time. His son Guy Carleton Jones was born in Halifax on 28 December 1864 and no doubt the reference was to him.
14. Emma Tupper was the oldest of the Tupper children. She was born 23 July 1847 and married Captain Donald Roderick Cameron of the Royal Engineers on 12 July 1869 in Halifax. It is surprising that William would make reference to Emma for he must have known that the memories would upset his mother. The Camerons were in the North West at the time of the Riel Rebellion of 1869 and Donald Cameron was placed under arrest. Lady Tupper became so concerned about her daughter that Sir Charles left Halifax on 3 December 1869 and journeyed to Fort Gary in the dead of winter to bring Emma back to Halifax.

Brandon
April 24th 1885

My dearest Mother,

It is indeed a long time since I wrote to you, but the delay has been unavoidable as we have been travelling where posts are unknown. As soon as I reached Winnipeg I telegraphed Charlie of my safe arrival so I hope he immediately wrote you to that effect. I shall go back for the purpose of this letter to the Sunday when I wrote you from Halifax telling you that I had joined the noble band who were ready to perform their duty to their country.

We did not receive any orders to start until the Friday¹ following the Sunday on which I wrote you but we were on active service and were drilled three hours a day and received 90 cents a day without rations as pay. Well, I had given up all thought of our going to the front, when I was at tea on Friday evening I heard the three guns fired from the Citadel which was the signal for immediate muster and start from Halifax. On reaching the drill shed² we were informed that we would start at ten o'clock the following day namely Saturday and we were told of what our kit should consist. On the preceding Monday Charlie went around town with me before his departure for Ottawa and he insisted on providing me with everything he could imagine that would tend to make me comfortable and insure good health—He bought me a splendid pair of strong water-tight boots, which have defied the elements and have kept my feet dry and comfortable. I shall not enumerate all he did for me but will tell you when we meet and content myself with saying that Father with all his generosity could not have done more for me. Janet³ sat up

nearly all night working for me and mending and sewing and giving me all manner of things that she thought would contribute to my comfort.

On Saturday morning at seven o'clock Jim McDonald⁴ and I reached the drill shed with everything ready for our journey. We were inspected and I cannot begin to mention the number of people who shook hands with me, many of them people whom I did not know, nor can I remember the many complimentary things that were said to me. Mrs. Pryor⁵ came up with Geraldine Stewart⁶ and Mr. Murray, the Minister of St. Luke's⁷ to say good bye to me. Mrs. Pryor almost cried over me. However about 11 o'clock we started for the train—we numbered about 350 men & 32 officers, composed of two companies of artillery—3 companies of Princess Louise Fusilliers & 2 companies of Rifles—The band of the Royal Irish Rifles and many of the regular officers escorted us to the station besides our own bands. I never saw such a sight in my life as Halifax presented on that day. Every street was crowded so that we made our way with difficulty. There was no business done that day in Halifax, but everyone was beside himself with enthusiasm for the Hfx. Battalion. At last we started, after many of my friends saying good bye to me at the station,⁸ including Mrs. Graham⁹ who took the trouble to come down on purpose to see me. We were packed in second class cars and the officers had a first class car, so you see there was no luxury for anyone.

Like *all* soldiers a good many of the men were drunk and until we reached Truro, there were a good many rows on board. Two of the worst characters were placed in the city jail to be sent back to Halifax and the other men who were drunk were placed in the guard

car, and we were then more comfortable. We left Halifax about 1 o'clock and reached Truro about 4 p.m. where we had a good meal and you can rely on the statement that I did justice to the occasion as I had had nothing from half past six a.m. One of our lieutenants, Boggs¹⁰ by name took ten of us for a walk around Truro, while we were waiting and some of us bought biscuits etc. Our captain is a fellow named Humphrey¹¹ a very nice fellow and I could not wish for a better man. He is brave and a gentleman and takes splendid care of his men and roughs it with them. Boggs our first lieutenant is a nice fellow, but is a shade carried away with his position and inclined to put on side.

At all the platforms along the line crowds cheered us as the train flew past. We reached Moncton about one o'clock a.m. and had tea there. I was introduced to a number of people and they all spoke very nicely to me. We had breakfast at Campbellton¹² and a wash, and rattled on our way in good spirits—We got boards and placed them on the seats so as to make a bed and I slept first rate—In due time we reached Montreal and had a parade there, and the Mayor made a speech. They had prepared a banquet for us there but owing to some stupid mistake we were not permitted to stay longer than 15 minutes at Montreal and so had to go without anything and fly on to Ottawa,¹³ which we reached at 12 o'clock p.m. and then I saw Charlie and Stewart who came down to the train to see me. Stewart gave me some green veiling to protect my eyes from the sun while crossing Lake Superior and which proved invaluable. I had a very nice talk with Stewart and Charlie and enjoyed seeing them very much.

When Jim McDonald and I were trying to make ourselves as comfortable as possible on two boards laid

between the seats in the second class car on our first night after leaving Halifax Major McDonald (the Post Office Inspector) came to me and said that I might come into the officer's car and spend the night with them, but of course I refused and said that I had come as a *private* and that I intended to be a *private* and nothing more and I thanked him for his offer. He said he admired my pluck and that he thought I was wise.

I am now getting 50 cents a day and rations. I received \$5.50 for my week's drill at Halifax before starting, being 50 cents a day and 40 cents allowed for rations. About 2 a.m. we left Ottawa for Carleton where we were to have tea or whatever the meal could be called as it was 5 a.m. when we had it, and we had nothing but a cracker & cheese during the preceding 17 hours so you can imagine that we ate like horses at Carleton. The long fast was caused by stupid mistakes on the part of the Grand Trunk Ry. I received a very nice letter from Dr. Schultz¹⁴ at the station at Ottawa saying that everything that he possessed in Winnipeg was at my disposal & he hoped I could make use of his offer.

We got into very comfortable immigrant sleeping cars at Ottawa and had them right along to the end of the C.P.R. Tracks. They are just like Pullman's except they have no cushions or padding. At Pembroke we had a royal reception and the ladies of the town treated us to coffee and sandwiches, apples, cakes etc. and a man gave all the soldiers tobacco. A regt of volunteers received us and sent us off amid most enthusiastic cheers. In due time we reached the end of the track, having passed Mattawa, Biscuitassing and other small places and after we had been introduced to hard tack & coffee without milk or sugar and canned beef etc.—I

can just tell you that you can eat hard biscuits like lightening when you have a little roughing it with soldiers.

We reached the first gap at 5 a.m. and after breakfast off we started in sleighs, and the horses sank to their bellies in the snow & many of the sleighs upset. I went out once but escaped unhurt. A serjeant in my sleigh was nearly killed but is better now. It took us all day to make 25 miles & then we got on flat cars after building fires & having coffee & hard biscuits—We had blankets served out & make ourselves comfortable on open flat cars with a board railing around the sides—We were packed like sheep and I spent the night with one blanket over my head & back & the other around my feet—I had not room to lay down but had to sit up all night, but I was so tired that I slept in that position until daylight when my cold feet woke me up—At last we reached the end of the 60 miles of track over which we had gone at about 5 miles an hour and we had breakfast and off we started again over another gap of 25 miles.

Most of the men had to march and it took them all day to cover the distance but Jim McDonald and I were sent as guards on baggage sleighs, so we were lucky. There were about 100 men sent on sleighs as guards. The poor fellows who walked had a terrible time, the ice on Lake Superior was covered with water & their feet were wet & they sank in the slush—At ten p.m. all had reached the station and we had tea & the men dried their socks & boots before immense fires and at 12 p.m. we started on flat cars to go 120 miles. It was cold and I did not pass a very good night but I slept about 4 hours. About mid day we reached Jack Fish Bay. We all rested there until the following morning because we

had to wait for the luggage. We had good food there and slept in log cabins and had a good rest. We started off to drive 20 miles to the next piece of track, which we reached at 2 p.m. and took the flat cars again. We were going on first rate when the engine ran off the track and we had to spend the night there.

We had a miserable night, but got off again in the morning and reached the end of the track about 12 a.m. and we were conveyed over the last gap of seven miles in sleighs and at last reached the Winnipeg end of the C.P.R. We reached Prince Arthur's Landing or Port Arthur and had tea there and had breakfast on the train and reached Rat Portage for tea and last Wednesday at 4 a.m. we reached Winnipeg and at 7 a.m. we had a wash and were thinking of breakfast when in came Martin McDonald¹⁵ who had come down from Brandon to see Jim McDonald his brother. Martin McDonald insisted on my going with him & Jim to the Queen's hotel for breakfast. We got leave from the captain to go and off we went. We had a good wash and a splendid breakfast and Martin McDonald was very nice indeed. After breakfast we returned to the cars and found that the battalion had had a good breakfast in the C.P.R. dining room. In a few minutes Mr. McArthur came to the train and asked for me he said he wished me to dine with him as soon as I could get away & he said he would do anything I wished for me. I took a decided fancy to him. Next came Whealler the fellow who came out from England to go into Stewart office and asked me to dinner whenever I could come. Martin McDonald then went to the officers and asked them to allow Jim & me to go to Brandon and stay with him until Saturday as the Halifax Battalion were ordered to remain in Winnipeg for three days. My kind friend Major McDonald granted Jim & me the leave,

and as Martin McDonald was so nice and pressed me so earnestly to come that I accepted his kind invitation and that is how my letter is dated at Brandon.

I fell in the ranks and after a few preliminary movements we marched from the station down main street amid the gaze of large numbers of spectators to the roller skating rink, where the Halifax battalion is quartered. When I got there I was introduced to McClenan¹⁶ Editor the the Winnipeg Free Press a grit paper and I talked some time with him. Then Mr. Henderson¹⁷ came to see me and asked me to dinner. Next came Dr. Schultz's agent here, who said he had received instructions from Dr. Schultz to do all he could for me, and if I remain any time in Winnipeg I shall take advantage of Dr. Schultz's kind offer. It was so thoughtful and kind of Dr. Schultz, was it not?

As soon as we were settled in the quarters Jim McDonald and I passed the sentries and went to the Queen Hotel, where we got a room and I got my hair cut and had a glorious *bath*—the greatest luxury imaginable. I met Mr. Carman, Stewart's friend and he was delighted to see me and asked me to dine with him upon my return from Brandon. I was introduced to many other people, whose names I do not remember. The papers out here heralded my arrival and I overheard people at the Hotel talking about my coming out as a private in a complimentary way.

Last Thursday at 8 a.m. having spent the night at the Queen's Hotel Martin McDonald, Jim and I started for Brandon and we reached here at 3 p.m. and Mrs. McDonald gave me a cordial welcome. Last night I had a hot bath and a splendid sleep so that tonight I feel in splendid trim and thoroughly rested after the long

journey. Today (it is now 10 p.m.) I went down town & saw Brandon & was introduced to all the leading men & the conservatives gave me a great welcome. I went to the leading physician here Dr. J. A. Macdonald a graduate of Edinburgh Scotland and asked him to examine me. He examined my chest, lungs heart etc and told me I was in splendid health and that the trip up had not injured me in any way, but that I was strong and healthy. I went & consulted the doctor for your sake dear Mother so that you need not be anxious.

I have stood the hardest part of our trip. Crimean soldiers in my company say that we had a harder time on the trip up than they ever experienced in the Crimean and yet I am well & strong. We will not have anything like such hard work again, so you need not worry about my health dear Mother. God is watching over me and His will be done.

Tomorrow at 12 a.m. Jim and I start for Winnipeg, which we will reach at 6 p.m. and we will report ourselves at Barracks as our leave expires then. I am thoroughly rested and ready for action. We will likely get orders to go and garrison some forts in the North West, but I am afraid we will not see any fighting as the rebellion appears to have collapsed. We may start from Winnipeg on Monday or we may not start for a week. I do not know yet what the orders are, but whatever they are I am ready to do my duty. There are such vast numbers of troops in the North West, that there is no danger.

Mrs. McDonald had made me very comfortable here and had done everything possible for my pleasure. I like her very much indeed. She is very kind & nice. I shall never forget her kindness to me. I have left out

many things from this letter which I will tell you when we meet. Without any conceit I think I can say that I am a favourite with the mass of the company & they are all glad to have me with them and treat me splendidly.

And now dear Mother, don't be anxious but thank God that I am well and strong and that I have stood the most trying part of the campaign. Tonight the Halifax Battalion are being banqueted at Winnipeg. I have only attempted to give you an outline of the trip from Hx to Winnipeg, but shall tell you all about it when we meet. With love to all with you & especially to Father & with a great deal for your dear self.

I remain your loving son.

Private W. J. Tupper
Company No. 4
Halifax battalion

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1. The orders to proceed to the North West came on Friday, 10 April 1885.
 2. The Drill Shed was located on Spring Garden Road approximately where the Nova Scotia Technical College building is located today. It was used by the military until 1899 and torn down in May of 1907. It is two and one quarter miles from Tupper's home to the site of the Drill Shed.
 3. Janet was a daughter of Chief Justice James and Janet (Mortimer) Macdonald. She was born 6 June 1858 and married Charles Hibbert on 9 September 1879.
 4. Jim Macdonald—James Alexander Macdonald, son of the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia was born 17 March 1864. At the time of the rebellion he was a second year law student at Dalhousie Law School. He was one of five students at the university who were awarded their year as a result of their being in the North West at the time of the final examinations.
 5. Probably Mrs. Charlotte (McKie) Pryor, wife of Henry Pryor a former Member of the Legislative Assembly. In 1885 he was probably a Stipendiary Magistrate.
 6. Geraldine Stewart was born 15 August 1866, daughter of Lt. Col. Charles James and Amelia Isabella MacKay (King) Stewart. She was William's second cousin.

7. Rev. Frederick R. Murray came to Halifax from Heart's Corner, Newfoundland and served as Rector of St. Luke's Church, corner of Morris and Church Streets, from 1882-1888.
8. The station at this time was at Richmond in the North End of Halifax. The parade route was down Spring Garden to Barrington; along Barrington to Slater; down Slater to Hollis; along Hollis to George; up George to Granville; along Granville and Upper Water to Jacob; up Jacob to Brunswick; along Brunswick to North and down North to the Intercolonial Railway Station. (Jacob Street was eliminated in 1966 with the construction of Scotia Square.)
9. Mrs. Graham—Lady Annie (Lyons) Graham was the wife of Sir Wallace Graham. Graham was a partner in the firm where William worked.
10. Beaumont Thomas Frederick William Boggs was born in Halifax, 5 August 1863, the son of Thomas Boggs, hardware merchant. In 1885 he lived with this widowed mother, Charlotte Frances (Bullock) Boggs, eldest daughter of Rev. William Bullock, at 76 South Street.
11. Robert H. Humphrey was an accountant with Samuel Cunard & Co.
12. Breakfast was served at Campbellton, New Brunswick and included 800 slices of toast, 100 prints of butter, 800 boiled eggs, 800 cups of coffee and 400 pounds of steak. Apparently some of the men had still not sobered up as an attempt was made to mount an attack on a near-by Indian reservation.
13. At Ottawa the Halifax Provisional Battalion was presented with a flag by Mrs. Caroline (Metzler) McLellan, wife of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, on behalf of all the Members of Parliament and Senators from Nova Scotia. This flag can be seen to this day at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.
14. Senator John Christian Schultz was born 1 January 1840 at Amherstburg, Upper Canada. He went to the North West in 1861 and at the time of the first Riel Rebellion was leader of the "Canadian Party."
15. Martin Macdonald was one of the eight children of Chief Justice Macdonald.
16. McLennan—This is one of the few mistakes that William makes in identifying individuals he has encountered. He is referring to William Edward MacLellan, son of John MacLellan, J. P., who was born near Durham, Pictou County on 1 August 1855. Shortly after completing a law degree MacLellan went to the North West where he remained from 1882 until his return to Pictou in 1888.
17. Mr. Henderson had married May Stewart, a sister of Geraldine Stewart.

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UNPUBLISHED

The main source for this article are the William Johnston Tupper Papers at the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. I am indebted to Mr. Bill Yeo of the National Archives for calling these letters to my attention.

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Treasure For The Taking

ELSIE CHURCHILL TOLSON

Gold and silver bars, pearls, gems, and precious relics plundered from the temples of the Incas, of incomprehensible value in their time, enhanced in this day by antiquity, lie, covered in marle, in the white sands of a shallow sea.

During the 330 years since the treasure ships carrying the riches slithered down to oblivion, only two men, to my knowledge, have dipped into the lode; and neither were beset by spectral hauntings, nor the bad luck that seems to accompany such actions.

They scooped up fortunes with the greatest of ease, and with a remarkable demonstration of generosity, urged others to do the same.

The men, one each, of the 17th and 20th century, knew what they were after, and approximately where it was to be found. They helped themselves, and were satisfied. One returned home to resume life as it had been before the pleasant interruption. The life style of the first adventurer was completely altered, for his new found wealth swept him up to a position beyond his most ambitious dreams.

That man was Sir William Phips, the first to recover the treasure off Turks Island. This seems an appropriate time to recall the story, since now in 1974, interest has been caused concerning the Islands by the suggestion of a Canadian politician that they be incorporated as part of the Province of Nova Scotia. Also, Sir William Phips has some relevancy to Nova Scotia. Although today he is considered as having been an American, one must remember he was not. He was a native of New England, when that English coastal strip, and Nova Scotia, were considered as one colony, in the minds of the Lords of Trade, in England. As John Quinpool was wont to claim, New Englanders and Nova Scotians, loyal subjects of the Crown, were residents of one country, Acadia.

The second man who recovered some of the treasure in the 1950's is an American, Mr. Henry E. Riesberg. While doing historical research, he came across a journal written by Sir William Phips, and was astonished at the detailed information. One can imagine how convincing it must have been to have persuaded an apparently practical man to decide then and there that he would go look for the treasure himself.

He believed he could capture the mood of the first expedition by sailing to the Bahamas on a four-masted schooner, so he hired one, and made three trips, enjoying the best of two worlds, the environment of Phips' seventeenth century jaunt, plus the advantage of modern equipment. He would not have to depend on skin-divers, nor face a cut-throat crew.

An ultra modern diving robot was stowed on board, and once the site was established, it was lowered into the water, with an operator inside, who manipulated strong steel tong hands to grasp, and crunch off, junks of rock hard relics.

I have seen the photo showing part of the find, exquisitely wrought Incan artifacts of solid gold, and bars of gold and silver, stamped with Royal shield, and the letters: HISP ET ID.

Also, I have read Mr. Rieseberg's article, in which he affirms strenuously, "There is still plenty there".

The "Knight from Maine", as Mr. Rieseberg called him, was Sir William Phips, born plain William Phips, Feb. 2, 1651, one of the 26 brought into the world by James and Mary Phips, at Pemaquid, New England (now Bristol, Maine). They were poor English settlers.

William spent his first eighteen years helping his father at the hard work of making a farm in the wilderness, then he walked to the town of Boston to apprentice as a shipwright. He learned the trade well, and found employment in Boston ship-yards.

Thoughtfully he chose companions who might prove to be useful, and was considered to be "above himself", the country-man's summation of an ambitious man. One friend was Capt. Roger Spencer, whose daughter was the widow of John Hull, a famous shipbuilder.

Mary Spencer Hull became William's wife, and ever after he spoke of her as, "the gentlewoman, my wife".

William became Capt. Phips, master of a trading sloop. But carrying codfish and pine boards to the West Indies, returning with molasses and slaves, was not to his liking, apparently not because of pity for the helpless black cargo, but, as he confided to Mary, "I shall yet become captain of a King's ship, in command of better men than I now am, and I shall own a faire brick house in the Green Lane of North Boston."

During West Indian travels he listened to tales told by colourful ex-pirates who roved the Islands, his practical mind sifting evidence from their dreams, until he became convinced

that there was a fortune for the taking, if a man went about it the right way.

One story rang true. Ships had been wrecked only 40 years before, and the details were still fresh in the memories of old seamen. Stout-hearted Capt. William Phips, young, healthy, and ambitious, knew what he wanted!

He would need a ship and money. Who else to ask for both but the King? Off he sailed to England in the only thing that was going that way, a ship so old it resembled the one stamped on the first Dutch coin.

Once at Court, he discovered it was not easy to speak to the King, so enterprisingly, he cultivated "friends", through whom eventually, by some discreet bribery, he gained audience with His Majesty, Charles 2nd. His Majesty was intrigued. He provided Capt. Phips with a Royal Naval frigate, the *Rose of Algier*, 18 guns, manned by 95 tough sailors.

Off he sailed from London, Sept. 24, 1683, and after a stopover at Boston, reached the Bahama Sea, Feb. 9, 1684. It was in the southernmost tip of the Bahama Sea that Capt. Phips planned to find the wrecks of 16 Spanish galleons.

They had been carrying gold bullion, silver, gems, pearls, and artifacts from Incan temples. An entire plate-fleet, homeward bound to Spain, on Nov. 16, 1643, had been wrecked in a hurricane, two days out of Port do la Plata (Puerto Plata, Haiti).

Translucent waters revealed no signs of broken ships. The sailors dragged the hard white bottom for weeks, until the rowdy crew threatened mutiny. Phips was just the man to deal with that. Remaining severely in command, he sailed into Port Royal, Jamaica, kicked them all off, and picked up another crew, more piratical than the first.

The new crew became mutinous, but in a shorter time, so Capt. Phips sailed back to London. He needed provisions that were not procurable on the Islands, and he also hoped the King would advance more money.

But H. M. James 2nd had succeeded Charles, and the new Monarch was visibly bored with Capt. Phips and his project. In fact, he confiscated the ship, and told the Captain to get out of his sight.

Phips was not a man to plead. He went his way, selling himself and his plan, as a modern entrepreneur of today would do, but not acceptable evidently in 1684, for at one point he was jailed. A year later, he had managed to interest Christopher Monck, second Duke of Albemarle. That gentleman formed a Company. One tenth of found treasure would go to the Crown, one sixteenth to Capt. Phips, and the remainder to the shareholders.

Two frigates were purchased, the *Henry of London*, 55 tons, 10 guns, to be commanded by the former second mate of the *Rose*; and the *James and Mary*, 200 tons burden, 22 guns, to be commanded by Capt. Phips.

Early in 1687 they were in the Bahamas, this time with firm plans. Phips went ashore at Puerto Plata, cut a cottonwood tree, and from it hewed a light perigua. Such a canoe, he had learned from the former experience, was what was needed for shallow water. He also looked up a friend, an old Spaniard, to verify once more exactly what he remembered about the plate fleet.

Capt. Phips knew that the 16 ships had been two days out of Puerto Plata, perhaps blown off course by the hurricane. Because of valuable cargo they would probably have come via Windward Passage, to avoid pirates who were based on the

Islands. He decided the wrecks must be on the reefs of Ambrogian Shoals, nearly 100 miles from land, north of Haiti, between that island and Turks'.

On reaching the Ambrogian Shoals, the sloop was moored on the "Block", and the Haitian skin divers, in the canoe, paddled along the north edge of the reef (the boylers). After four discouraging days, one of the divers, for something to do, dived to examine an unusually large coral plant.

He came up shouting, "Greate Gunns". Hardly pausing, he dove again, and rose with 51 pieces of eight, broken silver plate, and two casts of silver, called "sows". Phips was jubilant, but merciless. He ordered the divers to search far and wide, but they never found the other 15 galleons, (nor, apparently, did Mr. Rieseberg, 260 years later).

What happened to the others? Are they there within that radius? Suppose one or two escape the storm, and knowing they would be considered lost, sailed north with their treasure to some uninhabited cove on the coast of Nova Scotia? Perhaps, as suggested by John Wallace Spencer in *Limbo of the Lost*, they, like many ships to follow, met their doom in another section of the "Atlantic Triangle".

For six weeks the Haitians dived. Capt. Phips recorded that all that could be seen were the great gun and some anklers, everything camouflaged by marle, "ye wrack lyeth within ye compasse of two reefs, wedgette fast atwixt ye twain, with no manner of masts, nay or stern castle nor poope remainyng, but sank to ye chayne plates in ye sands and merle. Not withstandinge that ye dyvvers did wearie of dyvvinge to 10 fathoms, yet they could not make entry into ye bellie of ye wrack wherein must be ye greatest of ye treasure."

The divers used a crude wooden, bell-shaped tub, inverted, to capture air in its descent. It was anchored, upside down, about a foot above the sea floor, and under that the divers crawled, then stood upright to gasp the air pocketed at the top.

How their lungs must have pained, for they dived continuously. In one morning, for instance, they brought up 2353 lbs. weight of coins, two silver casts, and one "dowboy". Nothing was easily picked up, all had to be chopped from the cement hard encrustations. Once on deck, the masses were crashed open in order to remove what was valuable.

Although there is doubt that the divers ever got in the hold, Capt. Phips recorded that four divers descended 10 fathoms, which took them into the hulk, where they saw ingots of gold, bars of silver, leathern bags of gold specie, chests of silver, and gold coins.

Treasure remained abundant, but provisions did not, so Capt. Phips was forced to return to London. There he refurnished, and returned. At the end of this second trip, he sailed back again to London, a hero.

The loot was weighed and evaluated by the Comptroller of the Mint. The Royal dues were weighed meticulously, to the last "dwt", and grain.

In coinage, there was 37,538 pounds pieces of eight, of which the King's tenth was 3753 pounds, 9 oz., 12 dwt. Of gold, there was, 25 pounds, 7 oz., 19 dwt, of which the King's tenth was 2 pounds, 6 oz., 15 dwt., 21 grains. The King's tenth of silver was, 2755 pounds, 7 oz., 12 dwt.

Capt. William Phips was knighted. Later, as Sir William Phips, he was appointed first Royal Governor of Massachusetts Colony, which post he held until his death, on Feb. 18, 1695,

at the early age of 44. The inscription on the stone in the churchyard of Church of Woolnoth, London, reads, in part:

“... the body of Sir William Phips, Knight; who in the year 1867 . . . discovered among the rocks near the banks of Bahama on the north side of Hispaniola a Spanish plate ship . . . out of which he took in gold and silver to the value of £ 300,000 sterling. For which great service he was knighted by His then Majesty, King James the 2nd . . .”

Sir William Phips and his gentlewoman wife had adopted a son, whom they named Spencer, after Mary's family. He in turn had a son, David. David graduated at Harvard at age 17, and took up civic responsibilities as Colonel of a troop of guards in Boston, and Sheriff of Middlesex County. His father, Spencer, had been a Lieutenant-Governor, and his grandfather, Sir William, had been the first Royal Governor of Massachusetts, under the charter of William and Mary.

So, after the upheaval of the Revolutionary War, when Colonel David had the choice of declaiming the Crown, or of abandoning the country in which his ancestors had been Governors, he, with heavy heart, chose the latter, and was subsequently disgraced in his own country.

Sabine records that David Phips “was an Addresser on three occasions; as his name is found among the one hundred and twenty-four merchants and others, of Boston, who addressed Hutchinson in 1774; among the ninety-seven gentlemen and principal inhabitants of that town, and among the eighteen country gentlemen who were driven from their homes, and who addressed Gage in October, 1775. He went to Halifax in 1776, and was proscribed and banished under the act of 1778. His house at Cambridge was confiscated.”

The historian, G. P. Quackendos, writing in 1857, dismisses Sir William Phips, as, "A native of New England, Phipps, was appointed governor of Mass. Colony. He had acquired a large fortune by raising treasure from the wreck of Spanish vessel in Hispaniola, but being ignorant and bigoted, did little to advance the Colony."

In defense of Sir William, 117 years after Quackendos, one acknowledges that if ignorant meant unschooled, well that he was, due to circumstances; but being bigoted may be questioned. Quackendos lived during the decades of a newly formed, fiercely independent Union of States, so in his eyes, Sir William, loyal to England, might have seemed to be a bigot.

Perhaps his great wealth made Sir William aware of the gold standard, because to him can be attributed a British Commonwealth first. The first paper money in North America, other than purely seasonal scrip, was issued by him, in 1690.

I came across a more kindly act, but it, too, has to do with money, in a way, as it concerns Capt. Kidd, the so-called pirate. I've always felt sorry for Capt. Kidd, because he was made a scapegoat, and did not have a fair trial, so I was glad to read that when William Kidd made sworn statement, accusing the Assemblymen "for the town of New York" of using bribery and "clubbs, etc" to win election, Sir William Phips took his side, and there was "a hot paper controversy" between Sir William Phips and the Governor. And that was the beginning of the Kidd legend.

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Yarmouth Steam Packets

1839-1889

R. B. POWELL

At one time in its history, the town of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia had more sailing vessels registered than any port of comparable size in the world. Although its fame was based on its sailing vessels, rather than on its steam packets, the steamers played an important part in the development of the seaport.

By the 1830's the business community of the town was sea oriented. The citizens had large investments in sailing-vessels and were aware of the importance of sea transportation to their town. Placed at the south-western tip of the Province, with roads almost impassable, it was necessary to use the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean for its highways.

In December, 1836 the first serious effort was made to establish steamship service out of the port of Yarmouth. At that time there were four sailing packets on regular runs between Yarmouth and Halifax. Two sailing vessels were on regular schedule between Shelburne and the Provincial capital. Three sailing packets plied between Liverpool and Halifax, each vessel making 30 round trips during the season. The Town of Barrington had four vessels, which made regular trips to the city.

It was upon these packets that normal traffic depended for its existence between the South Shore and the Provincial capital. It was impossible to carry freight over the roads between the committees.

Yarmouth also depended upon packets to carry on its trade with Saint John and New England towns and cities. A number of sailing packets carried on regular trade between Yarmouth and Boston before and after the steamboats began to service the route. This traffic continued until the 1870's. The last sailing packet on regular schedule between the two ports was the "Gladiator" under the command of Captain Joseph Parker and owned by Parker-Eakins Company of Yarmouth.

On December 23, 1839 a meeting was held in Yarmouth to promote a steamboat company. The meeting decided that if a steamboat were placed on the South Shore route, it would be profitable to extend the run from Halifax to Eastport, Maine, or some other port on the New England coast.

It is likely the meeting was prompted by a resolution which passed in the N.S. Assembly in March, 1839. It read:-

"That the sum of £300 be granted and paid each and every year for three years, to encourage the establishment of steam communication between Halifax and Western Sea Ports the same to be paid, on it being certified to the satisfaction of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor that a Boat has plied between Halifax and Yarmouth nine months in each year, touching at Lunenburg, Liverpool and Shelburne." The resolution passed 26 to 1.

The following year, since there were no applicants for the grant, the subsidy offer was raised to £500.

The move by the Yarmouth group to form a steamship company did not receive sufficient support to carry out the project two years later, in 1842, a second meeting was held. This time in the Yarmouth Court House between James Whitney, the steam boat promoter of Saint John, New Brunswick and the citizens of Yarmouth, James Whitney assured the townsmen that he would place one of his steamers on the South Shore run, if he received sufficient support for the project from the people of Nova Scotia.

To help awaken interest in his proposition, Mr. Whitney had his steamer "Saxe Gotha", a side-wheeler with two walking beams, and commanded by Captain Vaughn, arrive in Yarmouth Harbour on May 27, 1842. She was the first steamboat to enter the port.

On June 2, 1842 the "Saxe Gotha" returned to Yarmouth and sailed the same day en route to Liverpool, Lunenburg and Halifax. The Yarmouth Herald of June 2, 1842 recorded the event:-

"The 'Saxe Gotha', Captain Vaughn, arrived here yesterday morning from St. John, and in the afternoon proceeded to Liverpool, Lunenburg and Halifax. This is intended as an experimental trip, and should sufficient encouragement be afforded, Mr. Whitney is willing to place this beautiful boat immediately on this route regularly every week. We trust, therefore, that the inhabitants of these ports will give a prompt, spirited and liberal support to an enterprise so desirable—so important and attended with so many advantages."

The "Saxe Gotha" entered Yarmouth from Halifax on June 6th, and cleared the same day for Saint John. On the 9th of June the steamer cleared at Yarmouth for Halifax. This indicated that the "Saxe Gotha" was attempting a weekly schedule.

The Halifax Morning Post recorded the initial steamboat service on the South Shore and the Bay of Fundy route:-

"The steamer *Saxe Gotha*, Captain Vaughn, arrived at this port this evening, and moored at Binney's Wharf. She left St. John on Wednesday at 5 p.m., arrived at Yarmouth in a 12 hour's passage, remained there 12 hours and towed a barque out of the harbour; left Yarmouth at 5:30 a.m. on Thursday and stopped an hour at Liverpool and another at Lunenburg. The whole time consumed, from the time of her leaving Yarmouth till her arrival here, was 26 hours.

"The *Saxe Gotha* was loudly cheered by the people, who crowded the wharves, far more numerous than on the arrival of an English steamer. A strong interest is manifest by our citizens for the success of this line, and we hope—nay we are certain it will prosper.

"The owner of the steamer will become entitled to the £500 voted by the Legislature for this purpose, and the extra requisite for the service will be readily contributed by the interested. Already have the outports stepped forward.

Yarmouth will contribute	£ 62
Liverpool " "	£ 50
Lunenburg " "	£ 60
	<hr/>
	£ 172

"Leaving a deficiency for Halifax of about £80, and it will be hard indeed, if that cannot be made up through our citizens by way of passage money or contribution. With the good will, sympathy and support of the people, this project must succeed. As a slight instance of what its

advantages will be we need but mention that our last Tuesday's paper, which carried by mail, would not reach Yarmouth until Thursday next, was carried by the Saxe Gotha and placed in the hands of the Editor of the Yarmouth Herald on Thursday morning—more than one week earlier than by the mail route."

But apparently the service did not meet the expectations of all people. Murray Lawson in "Yarmouth Past and Present" records the statement of an old sea captain concerning the "Saxe Gotha":-

"The Saxe Gotha was a very crank boat and always has a list to starboard or port, and hard to keep on an even keel. These boats have no bells to communicate with the engine room. The captain walked a narrow bridge directly over the engine, giving orders by word of mouth to stop and go ahead; engines all open to the weather."

The venture was financially discouraging to Mr. Whitney. He estimated his first year, 1842, operation to have netted him a deficit of £ 5670s 9d.

The "Saxe Gotha" continued on the route during the 1842 season giving fair satisfaction to those who made use of her services. But there were those who gave loud adverse criticism. One person, in particular, made frequent complaint of poor treatment he received. On one occasion he claimed the steamer did not comply with her scheduled hour of departure from Halifax, and left him on the dock. This was countered by those in favour of the service. They contended that the individual became intoxicated and missed the boat through his own fault.

The "Saxe Gotha" started the 1843 season on the route, but during the summer suffered mechanical problems. She was

forced to remain in Saint John for extensive repairs. Whitney then placed the steamer "North America" on the route and extended the route from Yarmouth to Boston.

The initial arrival of the "North America" from Boston to Yarmouth was on August 9, 1843. Her first departure from Yarmouth to Boston took place on August 25. She was the first steamboat to attempt regular trips between the two ports. The "North America" also continued on the Halifax to Yarmouth and Yarmouth to Saint John. But her stay on these runs was of short duration.

On October 18, 1843, while on a trip from Boston to Yarmouth, the "North America" was severely damaged at sea by the 600 ton sailing vessel "Enchantress". The officers of the sailing vessel signalled the steamer to heave to. They requested knowledge of the whereabouts of the Lurcher Ledges.

The "North America" hove to and waited for the "Enchantress" to come within hailing distance. The sailing vessel continued to bear down upon the steamer. The captain of the "North America" ordered full speed ahead to avoid a collision, but too late. The "Enchantress" failed to change course and struck the "North America" amidships. The steamer was hit aft of the paddle-box. The ladies' cabin, the captain's office, state-rooms and lifeboats were damaged. The mizzen mast was carried away.

The damage to the "North America" was so extensive that it was necessary for her to proceed to Saint John for major repairs. She did not return to the route that season. In 1844 the "North America" was placed under contract to carry the mails between Halifax and St. John's, Newfoundland. The "Saxe Gotha" finished the balance of the season on the route. But considerable time was lost of the nine-month period required for the Provincial subsidy.

In March, 1844 a bill was introduced into the legislature to repeal the subsidy act, and was referred to the House Committee. The bill was prompted by the complaints against the irregularity of the service by Mr. Whitney's steamers. The following is part of the decision presented to the House by the Committee:-

“ . . . Mr. James Whitney, with the view of obtaining the grant allowed for Steam Communication by the Act, now sought to be repealed, commenced to run the steamer ‘Saxe Gotha’ on the 8th of May last between Halifax and Yarmouth, touching at Lunenburg and Liverpool and continued to run this boat weekly between these places for about two months to the satisfaction of the Public. That the steamer ‘North America’ was then substituted for the ‘Saxe Gotha’ and kept running until the month of October, extending her trips to St. John, New Brunswick and Boston, when in consequence of the injury received at sea, she was held in dock to be repaired. That the ‘Saxe Gotha’ was then again put on the line and run until the 16th of December last, embracing together a period of seven months. That with the exception of about two months in the early part of the season, neither of the boats performed their voyages; and while the Committee are of the opinion that the service has not been as efficiently performed as it ought to have been, they consider it would be unjust to deprive the proprietor of the full amount of the Legislative Grant, but recommend that the sum of £ 50 be deducted from the fee of £ 500 allowed by the Act, and that the sum of £ 450 be paid to him, in full compensation for the services performed. The Committee being of the opinion that a regular line of steam communication between the Capital and the Western Ports would be most beneficial to the People, do not deem it advisable for the House to pass the Bill to repeal the Act above alluded to inasmuch as the Public would

thereby be deprived of an accommodation to which, under the Act, they are entitled, and may enjoy for another year."

The "*Saxe Gotha*" returned to the Halifax-Saint John run in the spring of 1844. She was under the command of Captain Chisholm. The steamer continued on the route until November, 1844, when the steamer *Herald* took over the route for the balance of the season. The *Saxe Gotha* was held in Saint John for installation of a new boiler and other necessary repairs.

In 1845 the Legislature renewed the annual subsidy of £500 for three years for a steamer to ply between Yarmouth and Halifax. But James Whitney did not place a steamer on the route that year. His steamers were occupied elsewhere, where he thought that they would be more profitable.

On February 1, 1846 another public meeting was held in Yarmouth with the object of procuring a steamer to ply weekly between Halifax and St. John, touching at Lunenburg, Liverpool and Yarmouth. At that meeting the following resolution was passed:-

"Resolved that it is opinion of this meeting that the time has arrived, when we should unite among ourselves and with the people of Halifax, Lunenburg and other ports of the Province, endeavour to obtain a suitable steamboat to run round the south-western coast of Nova Scotia from Halifax to St. John, N.B. and if possible, touching at Eastport on the route."

It was proposed that a joint stock company be formed to effect the object of the resolution. Shares to be sold in the company were set at £25 each. A provisional committee of Honorable Stayley Brown, Thomas Killam, E. W. B. Moody and B. Brown was appointed to carry out the preliminary work of the enterprise. Apparently again the company did not materialize.

In December, 1846 the steamer "North America" en route from Saint John to Boston ran into a storm after leaving Eastport. The sea was heavy, and the steamer laboured in the storm, which caused a steam-pipe to break. The vessel was then without steerageway. A foresail, which was hoisted, was carried away by the gale.

The steamer began to leak so badly, that the pumps were unable to handle the water in the hold. The passengers and crew started bailing. But their efforts failed to keep the water under control. At daylight the anchors were dropped off Long Island, near Mount Desert. But by 10 o'clock the water was making so fast in the hold, that it was decided to slip the cables, and allow the steamer to be driven ashore. Spars and lines were floated to the land. In this way it was made possible to connect with the shore. With the assistance of the lines to reach safety, all except one man. A member of the crew, a fireman, was lost in his attempt to land. The steamer broke up shortly after the passengers and crew reached shore.

No record appears in the Yarmouth papers of steam packet service out of that port between the years 1845-1848. But on May 15, 1848 the following item appeared in the Yarmouth Herald:-

"The steamer 'Herald' arrived in our harbour on Tuesday afternoon, and left next morning for Halifax. We hope she will prove a boat as will entitle her to the allowance granted by the Legislature of this Province; and she will not be a 'floating grog-shop! thereby rendering her an improper conveyance for such passengers as have a regard for morality and temperance.'

The South-Western Shore steam packets did not re-appear until 1855. In that year, after two previous futile attempts, a Yarmouth company was organized, and it placed a steamer on

the Yarmouth Boston route, and the following year, extended the route from Yarmouth to Halifax.

The steamer "Eastern State" was purchased in Philadelphia in April, 1855. She left that city in May and arrived in Yarmouth on May 30, under the command of Captain Bowman Corning. It was with considerable pride that the new owners received their steamer. They were anxious to show her attributes to as many people as possible. On July 5, 1855 the "Eastern State" took 245 persons on an excursion to Westport, Digby County.

The Yarmouth Steam Navigation Company was organized and sold shares in the Company at \$440 each. The steamer was purchased for \$24,000. She was rigged as a three-masted schooner; auxiliary to her steam power. She was 383 tons gross and 261 tons net. The first year under the ownership of the Yarmouth Navigation Company the "Eastern State" made regular trips between Boston and Yarmouth. She laid up for the winter season and resumed operation on June 5, 1856. In that year, with the extended South Shore run, the steamer attempted a fortnightly schedule.

The following advertisement appeared in the May 25, 1856 issue of the Yarmouth Herald:-

“Halifax and Boston via Yarmouth
Steamer ‘Eastern State’

Bowman Corning, Boston

Will on the 5th day of June commence
running on the above named route and
continue until further notice.

Leaving

Boston—5th and 25th of each month at 6 a.m.

Halifax—19th and 29th of each month at 3 p.m.

(Except when the said day shall fall on Saturday when she will
leave the following day at the same hour)

Touching at Yarmouth to land and receive freight and
passengers.

Fare—Halifax to Boston and vice versa

Cabin passage \$10.

Yarmouth to Boston and vice versa

Cabin passage \$5.

Freight at current rates

The agents for the Company in Yarmouth were:- Thos. Killam and Company; Samuel Killam and W. H. Townshend, who were also directors of the company. The agent for the Company in Halifax was Thomas Bolton and in Boston Ladd & Hall.

In 1861 the Yarmouth Steam Navigation Company sold the “Eastern State” to Ryerson, Moses & Company for \$9,000 who, in the same year, sold the steamer to the United States Government for \$26,000.

The steamer *Relief* followed the *Eastern State* on the Halifax-Yarmouth-Boston route in 1862. In 1864 the *Relief* was followed by the steamer *Scotia* which ran on the route be-

tween Yarmouth and Boston until 1866. In that year the steamer *Palymra* took over this route and added the run from Yarmouth to Saint John. On her second trip to Saint John the *Palymra* ran ashore on Brier Island. She was floated and repaired after which she returned to Boston where she was replaced, on the route, by the steamer *Promethus*. The *Promethus* made four rough trips and then was taken off the run between Yarmouth and Boston. The last two named steamers were of American registry and ownership.

The Yarmouth business community again decided to purchase its own steamer. In 1866 the *Linda* was purchased for \$65,000 by a new group, which was incorporated under the name of Yarmouth and Boston Steamship Company. The *Linda* was 450 tons register and was, during the Civil War, a blockade runner. She started on the run with Captain Oliver Haley in command. The *Linda* made weekly round trips between Yarmouth and Boston and Yarmouth and Saint John.

On a trip from Saint John to Yarmouth the *Linda* ran ashore at Chegoggin, Yarmouth County. She remained high and dry for several months until N. K. Clements, a shareholder in the Company, bought out the other members of the firm, and gained sole ownership of the steamer.

Mr. Clements floated the steamer and took her into Yarmouth Harbour. There the *Linda* was repaired and again placed on the two routes in the spring of 1873. Mr. Clements ran the steamer under her original name of *Linda* during that year, and received a subsidy of \$1820 for the steamer service between Yarmouth and Western Ports in 1874.

In 1874 Mr. Clements changed the name of his steamer to *Dominion* and received subsidy for the steamer under her new name. The *Dominion* continued to entitle Mr. Clements for the subsidy until 1881. Upon his death, his son A. S. F. Clements received the Provincial Grant.

During the 1860's a Halifax citizen became interested in the steam packet service along the South-Western Shore. This promoter became prominent in the business circles of Halifax in 1856. In that year Mr. F. W. Fishwick incorporated the Fishwick Express Company in Halifax. Likely he took his cue from the express companies organized in the United States in the 1840' and 1850's.

The Fishwick Express Company contracted to deliver parcels from Halifax to Saint John and to Montreal. The route for the parcels was on the train to Windsor, then across the Bay of Fundy to Saint John on the steamers *Emporer* or *Empress*. At this port the parcels, billed for Montreal, were loaded on steamers bound for Portland. At Portland Mr. Fishwick routed his express on the railroad to Montreal.

In 1860 Mr. Fishwick decided to enter the coastal transportation business. He purchased the steamer *M. A. Starr*, and with her provided regular freight and passenger service between Halifax and Yarmouth. For a short period the steamer ran to Annapolis Royal, but the traffic on the expanded route did not justify the continuation of the service to that town.

In 1870 Mr. Fishwick received his first subsidy, a sum of \$3,000 from the Provincial Legislature for the Halifax to Yarmouth route. This subsidy continued until his death. In 1881 the Estate of F. W. Fishwick received the grant. In 1883 the subsidy was paid to Elizabeth Fishwick. She continued receiving the subsidy until and including 1886.

Mr. Fishwick purchased a second steamer, the *Edgar Stuart*. This vessel had a colorful history before being obtained by Mr. Fishwick. The *Edgar Stuart* was built at Gilford, Connecticut in 1869 as a yacht. She was eventually seized at Baltimore by the authorities, and her crew was charged and convicted of piracy off the coast of Cuba. She was put up for

auktion by the authorities. Mr. Fishwick purchased her and had her remodelled to fit the coastline trade. She was placed on the Halifax and Yarmouth route. With the two steamers Mr. Fishwick was able to service ports on the south coast of Nova Scotia, east and west of Halifax.

On July 15, 1885 the *Edgar Stuart*, under the command of Captain M. L. Forbes, ran ashore while steaming from Liverpool to Lockeport. Although the steamer was a complete loss, all the passengers and crew were able to reach shore safely.

In 1871 N. K. Clements and James King purchased the *Emporer* for the Yarmouth-Portland-Boston run. The *Emporer* had already seen plenty of adversity. During the Saxby Gale she was driven ashore and almost lost. After serving some time on the Bay of Fundy between Saint John, Annapolis, Digby and Windsor the steamer was leased to the United States Northern Forces for transportation of troops during the Civil War. While engaged in this work, the *Emporer* was released by the *Empress* on the Fundy routes. After the War Mr. Whitney had no special place for his veteran. She had served him well but became surplus to his activities.

The *Emporer* was fated to have a short time left to serve her new owners. In 1872, on her run from Yarmouth to Portland, the steamer ran ashore on the Maine coast and became a total loss. As in the case of the wreck of the *Edgar Stuart*, all the passengers and crew safely reached the shore. The steamer was insured for \$24,000.

The *Dominion* received a short period of competition on her Boston-Yarmouth route from the steamer *Commerce*. But this steamer ran ashore on her fourth trip. She was refloated and repaired. Ready for sea again the steamer returned to the

route, but after a couple of trips, she was withdrawn from the service. Likely she was of American ownership and registry. The steamer *New Brunswick* was placed on the route by the American company, International Steamship. At this time the International Steamship operated vessels between Saint John and Boston and intermediate ports.

The *New Brunswick* operated for a short period and was replaced by the International Steamship with the *Cleopatra* in 1883. The *Cleopatra* made two round trips per week between Yarmouth and Boston but soon shifted her Nova Scotian terminal to Annapolis Royal. At this port she made connection with the railway to Halifax.

F. Franklin Clements was not as dedicated to steamboat transportation as his father. In 1885 he sold his steamer to the Yarmouth Steamship Company, which under the skillful management of Honorable L. E. Baker, was incorporated with a capital of \$75,000. The new steamship company also purchased the wooden steamer *Alpha* and placed an order for the construction of a modern, steel propeller steamer to be built in Britain. The *S.S. Yarmouth* arrived at her Nova Scotian home port in 1887, and immediately went on the Yarmouth and Boston route.

Before the arrival of the *S.S. Yarmouth* the Yarmouth Steamship Company continued to operate the *Dominion* on the Yarmouth-Boston and the Yarmouth-Saint John routes under the command of Captain Robert E. Blaveldt. The *Alpha*, under the command of Captain Samuel Stanwood, also operated on the same route as a relief to the *Dominion*. The Company purchased the *City of Saint John* and under the command of Captain Forbes, placed her on the Halifax-Yarmouth route.

The arrival of the *S.S. Yarmouth* ushered in a new period in steamship service for South-Western Nova Scotia. The

steamers formerly on the routes were not dependable. They were built for less demanding conditions and trade, and were not suited for the traffic of that period. The *S.S. Yarmouth* was a departure in ferry service in Nova Scotia. With her arrival we can consider that the experimental stage of sea transportation from Yarmouth to New England was over. On the first *S.S. Yarmouth* passengers were assured of a fair degree of comfort and safety, equal to any ferry on the Atlantic Coast of North America. The town's first half-century in steamboat transportation had advanced to meet the demands of the period.

The Teacher's Reward: *Alexander Forrester at Truro*

ROBERT PATON HARVEY

Alexander Forrester, the first principal of the Truro Normal School and the second Superintendent of Education in Nova Scotia, was a man responding to a calling. It was a calling so compelling that it caused him to use both the institutions of the church and education in seeking a fulfillment. Forrester, Scottish born and of modest origins, educated at Edinburgh University, disciple of Thomas Chalmers the first moderator of the Free Church of Scotland, devotee of David Stow amateur educator and teacher trainer, arrived in Nova Scotia in 1848 to make a new start for himself and his family and to build in his chosen land, through religious and educational means, a society less troubled and less bitter.

Men of conviction had attracted the attention of the young Forrester as he worked and studied at Edinburgh during the 1820's. It was a man of conviction who presided over the opening ceremonies of the Truro Normal School on 14 November, 1855.¹

The Normal School was opened during a five hour ceremony, in the new building, during which we are assured the audience "exhibited no symptom of impatience."² It was the

culmination of a long struggle to gain public funds for the support of such an institution. It was the moment long awaited by the friends of the Normal School. A bill to found such an institution had been lost in 1851 and prior to that, recommendations for its erection had been heard from time to time in the previous decade.³

However, to Principal Forrester, the occasion was not for eloquent platitudes on the new institution being a panacea for the Nova Scotia's educational and social ills. No, to him, it was not the achievement of an end but more the beginning of a great work. He did not rest on the accomplishments of the moment but rather he pointed out the imperfections of the Truro institution and thereby gave no rest to the colonial politicians gathered on the platform. A Model School was missing from the educational complex at Truro and David Stow had written, "Every Normal Seminary must possess one or more model schools."⁴

The model school was the institution attached to the Normal School in Stow's system. It served not only as a place where the students observed teachers and pupils at work and received practical training, for indeed any public school would have served that purpose. The Model School, as Stow conceived it, was a special school where the best teachers possible carried out their art according to the educational methods or standard, or if one likes, *norma* of the larger institution, the Normal Seminary. In the case of Truro, it was the Stow Training System that was the *Norma* of the Seminary, and Forrester firmly believed in, and demanded a model school to carry out the practical aspect of the pupil-teacher training.

J. William Dawson, Forrester's predecessor as Superintendent of education, pressed for a Normal Seminary alone, allowing that the local schools would serve as practical experience centers. The Bill which passed the Assembly in 1854

stated as much in its sixth section: "The principal may enter into arrangements with the Trustees of schools in the place in which the Normal School shall be situated for the purpose of having such schools used as model schools."⁵ The name was the same, but model, meaning a local school used for practice, did not measure up to what Forrester required.

Five months before the Seminary was opened, Forrester was taking concrete steps to have the Model school built. At a June first, 1855, meeting of the Board of Commissioners of the Normal School, the following resolution was passed: "That for the first year the arrangements contemplated in section six of the Normal School Bill with respect to Model Schools, shall be left optional with the principal and that application be made to the Legislature at its next session for the sum for the erection and maintenance of Model Schools."⁶

On the platform of the school at Truro on November 14, Forrester devoted a good deal of his address to the need for a model school. Assembled on the platform among others were the Attorney General, William Young; the Provincial Secretary, Lewis Wilkins; and Normal School Board member, Samuel Creelman, who was also Financial Secretary of the Colonial Government of Nova Scotia. Even then, as some of the speeches were to indicate later in the afternoon, the feelings in the colony were not entirely favourable towards the new school and its location. Possibly conspicuous by their absence from Truro on opening day were the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Gaspard LeMarchant, the Lord Bishop, the Lord Chief Justice, Dr. Cramp of Acadia, Dr. Evans of the Sackville Seminary, and Mr. Tomkins of Goreham College. In such an uncertain public climate, one might have expected a tactful address with little mention of projects likely to incur large expenditures and political dangers.

But tactfulness was not Alexander Forrester's forte, and so he proceeded: "The Model or Training Schools have yet to be erected." Surely this was to be expected, as no provision had yet been publicly made for them. "The Normal School Bill passed by the Legislature in 1854 contemplated the connecting of the common schools of the place as Model Schools, but this arrangement I have all along disapproved of, as altogether impracticable."

Forrester went on to recount the failure of the system contemplated in the Normal School Bill, which had been previously tried at Framingham, Massachusetts. He concluded trusting that in this matter the Legislature would exercise "its usual liberality in the cause of common education". Attorney-General Young in his reply referred to the "grand designs" outlined by Forrester but he was not prepared to speak for the government or legislature. He trusted that the success of the Truro institution would "generate a kindly feeling on its behalf."

The matter of the Model School was pressed upon the Government and the Legislature in the months that followed. Forrester, of course, made much of the need of the institution in his report as Superintendent of Education. His words were reminiscent of his address at the opening of the Seminary at Truro, and we are told his predecessor as Superintendent, J. W. Dawson, now detached from the situation, found time from his efforts at McGill to write letters to the government of Nova Scotia on Forrester's behalf requesting that Model schools for practical work be constructed at Truro.⁸

In the early summer of 1856, the Minutes of the Board of Commissioners for the Normal School contain the sought after news that by a vote in the Assembly on the fourteenth of April, it had been "resolved that the sum of five hundred pounds be granted in aid of erecting three model schools in the vicinity of

the Normal School at Truro pursuant to the Report of the Committee on Education, to be paid when it shall appear to the satisfaction of the governor in council that two hundred pounds have been raised by subscription".⁹

The latter stipulation that the Truro area contribute to the fund for the building of the school was an important one. Truro would benefit most from the new schools, and therefore, to maintain fairness in relation to the rest of the colony, Truro had to contribute a substantial amount. It was agreed, however, that in case the government money granted to the Colchester Academy should remain in part unused, that portion remaining of the grant could be applied to the fund being raised in Truro by subscription.

The funds were raised and the model schools were opened in June of 1857. The training institution was complete, largely through the devotion of its principal to his ideals.

The structure, however, was not enough and Forrester set about to promote the required curriculum for his school and hence in a way to all Nova Scotian schools into which graduates would carry their profession. He looked, therefore, in the first year to the government to supply a grant of about forty or fifty pounds to cover the cost of a music teacher. He saw music as being of fundamental importance in schools and hence at the teacher training institution. It was essential, he believed, to the formation of national character and was generally needed in the development of the young into whole beings.¹⁰

The grant was continually refused until twenty-five pounds was received from the legislature in 1860. In the meantime, music instruction was provided and paid for from the fees of the paying pupils which amounted to less than six pounds a year, anything that could be saved from the current account of the school and the principal's own pocket.¹¹ A tea-

cher of drawing was as well provided for in a similar manner by Forrester. The principal now could claim a staff of five, more, as Forrester was quick to point out, than at the Toronto Normal School.

Art, music and model schools were not all that occupied the attention of Forrester. A model farm had not been forgotten. It was recommended in the first report of Superintendent Forrester on the grounds that agriculture was important to the colony, and as evidence of this he cited the inclusion in the curriculum of the schools by the Legislature of the subject, Agricultural Chemistry. Hence, by what seemed logical to Forrester, "vegetable and animal physiology as well as Agricultural Chemistry will be important"¹² at the Truro institution. For this one needed a model experimental farm. It was the same idea as the model school for the other training aspect. The proper agricultural principles would be seen in practice, and then later presented in the classrooms of Nova Scotia, and finally applied on the farm. The idea of such a farm being connected with the school at Truro was broached at the opening ceremonies in November of 1855. Here, in the presence of William Young, the Attorney General, Forrester proclaimed "our far-famed Agricola must become a living epistle".¹³

Some sort of farm was connected with the school at Truro as early as 1856 for Forrester made a report on it to the Board of Commissioners for the Normal School in that year. How to account for the farm was a problem, and the meeting resolved "that Dr. Forrester shall be considered as a tenant of the premises from the first of January A.D. 1856, paying a yearly rent of ten pounds to be expended as proposed by him".¹⁴ He proposed to spend it on improvements to the grounds and property in some useful way. But government encouragement was not forthcoming to aid this enterprise of Forrester's. He lamented this in his report of 1858 and concluded, "It need not be wondered at that in consequence only one agricultural student

has made his appearance".¹⁵ The Principal commented, "I have been endeavoring at my own expense to do a little towards the improvement and stocking of the grounds".¹⁶

Another major disappointment for Forrester in these early years was the discontinuance by the Legislature in 1858 of funds to provide scholarships to students who had high attainment at the end of a term to encourage them to continue with a second term. "Surely one hundred pounds a year given not in an eleemosynary way but as the reward of diligence and success in the prosecution of their studies is a comparatively small sum to appropriate to such an object".¹⁷

Forrester's frustration coming from his curriculum endeavors in the interests of music, art, and agriculture and the question of government scholarships serves to remind one of frustrations of J. W. Dawson, leading to his retirement before the Normal School was founded. Moreover, one is again made aware of the gulf that existed between the politicians who considered the act of providing a Normal School institution to be complete, and the educationists who hoped to provide a complete educational programme in keeping with their theories. However, the school had been achieved and it was fairly launched by 1860 on a course which continues today. It had taken five years of concentrated effort by politicians and educators to gain a Normal School in 1855. Another five years had been spent in establishing the institution.

Now the great issue became the establishment of a proper base upon which could rest the system of common schools. The Normal trained teachers could have no lasting effect for the good unless the schools received proper support. In this way only, would teachers' salaries be increased and proper schools built. The issue that had been allowed to slide in the 1850's had to be carried on with renewed vigor in the 1860's.

Alexander Forrester was the man who from the year 1855 to 1864 toured the country, published pamphlets and wrote reports firmly in favour of assessment for education. If Superintendent Dawson prepared the way for the Normal School, then Superintendent Forrester prepared the country to accept at last the principle of a tax on property to support public education. It was "Dr. Forrester who made the passing of the act possible, by lecturing all over the country from Cape North to Cape Sable".¹⁸

Support for the idea of free schools by property taxation grew gradually in the late 1850's. In 1858, in a pamphlet entitled *Nova Scotia as a Field for Emigration*, the writer made comment with regard to the issue under consideration that while the system of common school education in Canada West and parts of New England were superior, it could be expected that important changes were in the future, for "the plan of supporting schools free to all classes of children by a taxation of the whole property of the country has been in agitation for several years and is now so favourably regarded by all of the more intelligent classes that there is every probability of its soon becoming law".¹⁹

This was certainly premature as it was to be six years before such legislation became law, but it indicated a favourable climate existed at least in some circles from an early time. To convince the general population was the task of Forrester as he toured and then toured again through the province. As well Forrester continually recommended the implementation of assessment to the Legislature through the medium of his annual reports. Forrester in his report of 1859 made a strong appeal to the Legislature. "So strong and so decided are our views upon this point that every session of the Legislature that refuses the impost of such a tax is placing an arrestment on the progressive advancement of education, and is, thereby, in our opinion incurring a fearful amount of responsibility."²⁰ This

was putting it as strongly as it could be put for it implied a moral duty on the part of the Legislature to act.

In a year's time, the Committee of Education in the Assembly made a reply which quite well summed up the attitude of the legislature to the issue and the role of Forrester, when it stated that "Your Committee believe that the people of this country are from year to year becoming more alive to the necessity of resorting to this mode of supporting schools . . .". The Committee was not yet prepared to recommend action but it commended "the exertions of Dr. Forrester to create and diffuse this feeling and which have been attended with so large a measure of success . . .". In their view, he was to continue his "exertions to educate the people up to their true interests in this subject . . ." ²¹

A number of factors combined in the early 1860's to make the reality of property assessment to support schools possible: the evil of ignorance in Nova Scotia was abundantly clear with the census of 1861 which showed about five-eighths of the country were without the benefits of schooling;²² the work of Alexander Forrester in educating public opinion was fundamental; and not the least factor was the election of the party of J. W. Johnston and Charles Tupper in the election of 1863.

The bill Tupper introduced in February of 1864 in the Nova Scotia Assembly was essentially after the design of Alexander Forrester, and the way for it in the public mind had been prepared by him. But fate waited for the crusading Forrester, in the very bill to which he gave his unequivocal support and every energy. Speaking in the Assembly, while opening debate on the Bill, Tupper said:

It is also known that in order to perfect the system of education, there should be a Superintendent qualified to discharge the important duties of examining and reporting

upon the educational state of every locality in the Province . . . I am aware we have long had such an officer but everyone knows that he has been charged not only with the duties of Superintendent but combines with these the labourious Superintendence of the Normal School. With such a demand upon his time and talents it is impossible that he can devote that amount of consideration to the superintendency of education that is absolutely necessary he should. I therefore propose to separate the duties of Superintendent from those connected with the Normal School and to appoint him Secretary to the Council of Public Instruction.²³

Forrester fully expected to be continued as the Superintendent of Education, and was quite prepared to leave the Truro institution. John Calkin, the man who was to succeed Forrester in 1869, and who was on the staff of the Normal School in 1864, recalled half a century later: "In planning for the new regime under the Free School Law, Dr. Forrester had assumed that he would be Superintendent of Education, and that Dr. Rand who was then associated with him on the Normal School Staff would be Principal of that Institution".²⁴

Apparently, if we are to believe Calkin, Forrester had no idea that he was to be removed and not head the new system, and that the first he knew of it was from his newspaper in May 1864. On the sixteenth of May, the *Novascotian* carried the news this way in a list of government appointments taken from the *Royal Gazette* of May eleventh:

To be Principal of the Normal and Model School —
Rev. Dr. Forrester.
To be Provincial Superintendent of Education —
Theodore H. Rand.²⁵

If there be any doubt as to Forrester's mood, we need only look to a letter he wrote his friend, William Young, in 1864 the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. In 1855 Young had been the Premier who appointed Forrester. In party terms of the time, Young was a Liberal, and Tupper the Premier in 1864, a Conservative. The letter was dated May 17th, and Forrester makes his feelings clear. "I make no doubt that you have already noticed the gross injustice done me by Dr. Tupper in placing a subordinate over me as Superintendent of Education . . . My first emotion was instantly to resign. Two things in particular weigh with me in holding for a little. The first is the damage that my resignation would probably inflict upon the education views that I have been labouring to propagate for the last ten years and the second the danger of such a step rendering the Common School Education of the country a stone for politicians to pelt with."²⁶

It was a crushing and humiliating blow that Forrester withstood with great dignity and not a little heroism. But it was a blow very much in keeping with Forrester's career. He was opinionated and impatient. He was unable to compromise and thereby accommodate either the politician or the parishioner who was not consumed to the same degree by the fire of social reform. Hence he was never to receive either in the church or education the public accolades associated with success. In this case it was the single office of Superintendent of Education Act which eluded him.

Theodore Harding Rand must have entertained some serious thoughts as to what the relationship between himself and his new subordinate at Truro would be. He wrote Tupper from Truro on May nineteenth, somewhat relieved if not surprised at what was occurring. "Having intimated to you that Dr. Forrester seemed indisposed to countenance the friendly relations that have so long existed between myself and him. I hasten to

say that he sought an interview with me since my return and has placed himself in a befitting position in reference to myself."

Rand must have been uneasy about the whole affair that had removed Dr. Forrester from a place which to many seemed naturally his. The new Superintendent must have sighed with relief as he wrote these last words to Tupper. "He seems disposed to settle quickly into the position assigned him and will in short time I doubt not labour harmoniously in the educational field. I feel much gratified that affairs have taken this turn."²⁷ They did work harmoniously and when death removed Forrester from his labours at Truro, it was Rand who was named as executor of the late Principal's estate.

The indifference of the Press to promote the cause of the injustice done to Forrester or even to carry on a public investigation of the factors behind his demotion were fundamental. Here the possibility of raising a public outcry against the action of the Tupper government was lost. There are no doubt many factors to explain the attitude of the Press. The appointment of the former Premier, J. W. Johnston, to a judgeship overshadowed all other appointments. Indeed Alexander Forrester by his disposition and from his career may not have been a suitable personality around whom a great public issue could have been raised. Moreover, if we are to believe his letter to William Young, he would not have wanted his case to become a public issue in fear of damage being done to the cause of "Common School Education" for which he had laboured. For whatever the reason the occasion was lost to support Forrester, but the government did receive strenuous criticism over the Education Act in the mid 1860's which paralleled the controversy created by the great Confederation issue of the period. The *Presbyterian Witness* pronounced: "The education appointments are not what we anticipated. In our opinion Dr. Forrester should have been appointed to the office of Superintendent."²⁸

That was the end of the matter publically until debate on the Education Act of 1865. Speaking during second reading, Liberal opposition leader, Adams G. Archibald, charged the Tupper government with mixing the administration of education with party politics in the hasty dismissal of Forrester from the Superintendency of Education in the spring of 1864.

Should a change in administrations take place asked Archibald, "Could any government resist the pressure that would be brought to bear upon them to restore the gentleman [Forrester]?"

Tupper in reply stated that the 1855 appointment of a clergyman to the office of Superintendent had been to the "dissatisfaction of a large section of the people of Nova Scotia." Further there was "throughout this country a feeling of dissatisfaction in connection with his [Forrester's] administration of the department which went to the extent that the government would have been unable to carry the measure [Education Act of 1864] . . . if it had been supposed that the gentleman would continue in the position he then occupied."²⁹

What had made Forrester a liability to Tupper? Was it an unpopular administration of education or was it political considerations of a partizan nature?

Certainly Forrester had been obliged to defend the Normal School against charges that it was either a Presbyterian or Colchester institution. In his report for 1860 he went to some length to make it clear that during the summer session the most representative demonination was the Baptist. The fact was that the school was located in Presbyterian Colchester county and hence at first drew many students from that district. It was a universal characteristic that such institutions drew the majority of their students from the school's locality.

There is little or no evidence found to support the suggestion that Forrester's administration of education was ineffective or poorly received by the country. At the time of his removal he had completed nine years at the post. One reason for his appointment was that he was less involved in party politics and sectarianism than most men of his time. His chief rival in 1855 for the twin posts was also a clergyman in the person of Dr. John Mockett Cramp of Acadia.³⁰

What remains is that he was appointed by a Liberal government, served under the Liberal premierships of William Young and Joseph Howe, and was removed *after* the passage of the Education Act in May 1864 by a Conservative government which had been in office since the previous May. If Forrester was unpopular and a liability, why had he not been removed prior to the introduction of the Education Act in February 1864? Why indeed was he not removed during the Conservative administration of J. W. Johnston between 1857 and 1860?

Rather than a liability to the Education Act of 1864 Forrester appears to have been a necessity to getting it accepted in the country and ultimately passed in the Assembly. Once safely in port, for partizan political reasons, Tupper could safely remove the hand which had guided the tiller.

So it was that Forrester's final energies were to be concentrated during his last half decade of life on the Truro institution. Truro, a rural village, had by the early 1860's become something of an educational centre for the province. Besides the Normal School and its Model Schools there was also located in Truro after 1858, the seminary of the Seccessionist Synod of Nova Scotia. After a union between it and the Free Presbyterian Church in 1860 the theological school was removed to Halifax, and the final end came in 1863 when a revival of Dalhousie University called the head of the Truro Seminary, Dr. James Ross, to be its new president.

These Truro institutions may not have had the prestige nor the sophistication of a university but they represented a source of higher learning for many Nova Scotians who gathered at Truro to take advantage of the education to be found there. The village was styled the "Literary Metropolis" of Nova Scotia by Jeremiah Willoughby in the *Land of the Mayflower* published in 1860. A Seminary student wrote this account home to his uncle in Hants County:

You would almost be surprised if you was [sic] here at 12 o'clock when all the schools are dismissed, you would think the whole population of Truro and vicinity was out on parade, the Seminary students 40, Normalites 80 and the Modelites 200 literally fill up the streets. Truro may be called the literary capital of Nova Scotia.³¹

The railway reached Truro in 1858 and the village was enough of a showplace that the eighteen year old Prince of Wales, the future Edward VII, arrived in August of 1860 to visit the community as part of his North American tour of that year.

The students of the Normal School fitted their principal out in suitable garb for the occasion and Forrester received the Royal Party wearing "the Gown and Cap appropriate to the Doctorate."³² Fourteen of the students of the High School department of the Model School were examined by their teacher, J. B. Calkin, in mental arithmetic. Their skill brought forth "the highest encomiums" from the Prince, and his physician commented that he had never seen such efficiency in mental arithmetic. All of this caused the *Presbyterian Witness* to remind its readers that it had always considered the Normal School "one of the best ornaments of the Province."³³

It was then, just prior to Forrester's fall from office that the Truro institution and, ironically enough, Forrester's own career were reaching something of a zenith. The school was

being accepted by the province and recognized as something of value. Forrester himself was completely involved in the bringing forth of public opinion favorable to property assessment for education, a development which promised to make permanent the good that the Truro institution might generate in the common schools and thus the society of Nova Scotia.

The final years at Truro were carried out under the superintendency of Theodore Harding Rand. At once a blow was struck against the principles upon which the Normal School had been founded. Forrester must have been dismayed at the issuance of permissive licenses to ease the teacher shortage of that year. This shortage was caused in part by the increased enrollment in the common schools due to the coming of free schools.

This license valid for six months to a year and granted to "all applicants who gave evidence of being at all useful as teachers",³⁴ could only diminish the role of Truro to train a suitable body of professional teachers. Indeed in the summer term at Truro that year the regular number of sixty student teachers was reduced to just over forty.

Two purposes seem to have been in the mind of Principal Forrester in the late 60's. One was to raise the admission standing to the school, and the second to increase the practice aspect of the training. The two really went together. The higher the academic standing of the pupil-teacher on entering the institution, the more professional training could be imparted. He was able to write in his report of 1865-1866 to Superintendent Rand: "Students are now required to possess a third class license in order to gain admission to the Normal School, and the practice in the Model School is being confined to the more advanced candidates". He went on to hope that a second class license of scholarship would soon be required for admission and stated: "The longer I continue in connection with this

Institution, I feel all the more constrained to reduce the theoretical and increase the practical".³⁵ By confining the practical aspect of the course he hoped to lessen the importance of the second class certificate and thereby encourage students to stay on longer to work for a first class diploma.

The Model School was unsettled due to an increased attendance following the Free School Act in 1864 and the need for a new school in the Truro section of the Halifax road. The Model School since the School Act of 1865 was controlled jointly by the Truro trustees and the Principal of the Normal school. The attendance was nearly three hundred at the Model School in the summer of 1866. So desperate did the problem of overcrowding become that a temporary class was set up in an unfinished room of the Normal School. A student of the Model School who was away for two days without a valid excuse gave up his desk and seat.

During the summer term of 1868 Dr. Forrester was on leave due to ill health and his place was taken by J. B. Calkin. It was becoming clear that the buildings at Truro were too small. A whole new Normal and Model School complex was Forrester's recommendation for that year.³⁶ The Model School attendance was nearly four hundred by this time, although pupil-teacher attendance was down to about seventy in the winter of 1867-1868, and thirty-six in the summer of 1868.

A change occurred in respect to the licensing of teachers about this time. There were in future to be provincial rather than local examiners. The examiners would embrace all candidates for teaching licenses, both those from the Truro institution and other provincial schools. The Normal School would give its students an added certificate of teaching ability. This Normal School certificate would attest to the professional aspect of the student's development and hence Forrester felt Truro would at last be doing what it was supposed to do. Yet all teachers

would not have to come to Truro and surely this was not in accordance with the philosophy of Normal Schools. Surely the training they gave was of such importance that all who aspired to teach ought to be exposed to it.

In the long run the importance of Truro was not enhanced by the new licensing system and inevitably Truro became in the words of James Bingay, "a sort of superior rival to the secondary school of the Province."³⁷

Forrester had laboured for fourteen years to put into practice the tenets of his philosophy. As an idealist he failed as even David Stow had failed. The Normal School never achieved the stature its proponents envisioned for it. It was a victim of the society which it was created to improve. It was never the single professional funnel to the schools of the land, yet those who passed through it were better for it and many Nova Scotians benefitted from their superior teaching and the zeal for the profession acquired there.

Forrester was in failing health after 1867. The winter term of 1868-1869 was his last at the school. His final public address was in February to the Provincial Education Convention on the subject of "The History of the Common Schools", but as he wrote in January, "Somehow or other I feel an inclination of mingling my bones with those of my dear partner and awaiting the prospect of the resurrection."³⁸

In April, in hopes of recovering his health, he departed on the *City of Cork* for New York. He was able to visit for a few days with an old friend, the Reverend Doctor John Thomson of Fourth Presbyterian Church. At one in the morning of April the twentieth, he succumbed to what was called, "softening of the brain." His remains arrived in Halifax aboard the *Etna* on Thursday, April the twenty-second. On Friday, he was returned to his residence in Truro for burial on Saturday, April the twenty-fourth.

Even in death Forrester was the center of quarrelling and petty politics. Two months after his death, Superintendent Rand began to create interest in raising funds for a suitable memorial to his predecessor to be placed in the Robie Street Cemetery, Truro. The plan was for each teacher in the province to contribute one dollar and thus produce a fund of twelve hundred dollars to procure an eighteen foot obelisk of polished Peterhead granite which would stand on a solid base of Nova Scotian granite. As well each student was to be encouraged to contribute one penny for a fund to acquire a portrait of the great man for the hall of the Normal School.³⁹ Private enterprise entered the memorializing field and a Halifax photographer was offering a fourteen by eleven inch photograph of a drawing of Forrester suitable for framing at eight dollars each to Forrester admirers.⁴⁰

By December 1870 the fund raising committee for the major monument doubted if the twelve hundred dollars were likely to be forthcoming from the provincial teachers. It was now prepared to consider a suitable monument for six hundred dollars. However, T. H. Rand had been removed from office by the Liberal government of William Annand, elected after Confederation in November 1867. His successor, the Reverend A. S. Hunt was sensitive to the Forrester committee's continued communications with his predecessor who was now in New Brunswick.

By the Spring of 1872 the committee was in hope that a memorial of Nova Scotia granite with polished granite tablets costing six hundred dollars could soon be dedicated, free of debt.

Now the controversy centered on where the reduced monument could be placed. The cemetery location of Rand's original plan was forgotten and the committee's plan was to place the monument in the Normal School grounds. After ran-

corous argument among the committee, the Education Association and the government mainly in the person of A. S. Hunt, the monument was placed in Victoria Square, Truro, outside the school property in July of 1872.⁴¹

The large crowd which witnessed this event included no member of government nor prominent public official—not Superintendent Hunt nor even Chief Justice William Young who had first appointed Forrester in 1855.

But Forrester was oblivious to the unseemly conduct which deprived him of a memorial which could be universally regarded as a tribute to his work and beliefs. He reposed as he reposes now beneath fading granite, content in his own phrase that the teacher is rewarded with “the smiles of heaven.”

FOOTNOTES

1. For discussion of Forrester's career prior to his Truro appointment see by the same author, "From Pulpit to Platform" in *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, December, 1972.
2. *Presbyterian Witness*, Halifax, 24 November, 1855.
3. "Fourth Annual Report of the Central Board of Education", *Journals of the Assembly of Nova Scotia, 1844-1845*, Appendix No. 38.
4. David Stow, *The Training System and Moral Training School and the Normal Seminary* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1850), p. 322.
5. Alexander Forrester, *The Objects, Benefits and History of Normal Schools* (Halifax: James Barnes, 1855), p. 7.
6. "Minutes of the Commissioners and Directors of the Provincial Normal School". Truro, 1 June, 1855.
7. *Inaugural Services—Opening of the Provincial Normal School, Truro, Nova Scotia* (Halifax: James Barnes, 1856).
8. D. C. Harvey, "The Origins of Our Normal School" in *Journal of Education* (Halifax: King's Printer, 1937), p. 571.
9. "Minutes of the Commissioners and Directors of the Provincial Normal School", Truro, 1 July, 1856.
10. Stow, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
11. *Report of the Superintendent of Education—1859.*
12. *Report of the Superintendent of Education—1855.*
13. "Agricola" was the pseudonym of John Young, William Young's father, an early writer on agriculture and its improvements in Nova Scotia.
14. "Minutes of the Commissioners and Directors of the Provincial Normal School." Truro, 19 September, 1856.
15. This attempt by Forrester to add agricultural studies and a model farm to the Truro institution predates by thirty years the arrival at Truro of a lecturer in agriculture, the purchase by the government of a farm at Bible Hill in 1888 to form the nucleus of a school of Agriculture, and by half a century the creation of the Truro Agricultural College in 1905 which continues to flourish in our own day.
16. *Report of the Superintendent of Education—1858.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. David Allison, *History of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: A. W. Bowen and Company, 1916), II, 782.
19. P. S. Hamilton, *Nova Scotia as a Field for Emigration* (London: John Weale, 1858).
20. *Report of the Superintendent of Education—1860.*
21. *Nova Scotia House of Assembly Journal*, 1860, Appendix No. 39.
22. D. C. Harvey, "The Establishment of Free Schools in Nova Scotia" in *Journal of Education* (Halifax: King's Printer, December, 1939).
23. *Debate and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia*, February, 1864.
24. John Burgess Calkin, *Old Time Customs, Memories and Traditions and other Essays* (Halifax: W. & A. MacKinley Ltd., 1918), P. 178.
25. *Novascotian*, Halifax, 16 May, 1864.

26. J. P. McCarthy, "Strange are the Ways of Mortals—the Story of the Forrester Memorial" in **Journal of Education** February, 1964), p. 26.
27. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, "Correspondence of the Superintendent of Education", School Papers, 1864.
28. **Eastern Chronicle**, Pictou, 19 May, 1864.
29. **Debates and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia**, 23 March, 1865.
30. D. C. Harvey, "The Origins of our Normal School" in **Journal of Education** (Halifax: King's Printer, 1937).
31. J. Murdock Harvie, letter to Stephen Harvie, 19 November, 1859.
32. **Presbyterian Witness**, Halifax, 11 August, 1860. [It is believed Forrester held the D.D. degree of Princeton University—See **Presbyterian Witness**, 5 January, 1856. However, to date no record of the degree can be reported in the files of the University or the Princeton Theological Seminary.]
33. **Presbyterian Witness**, Halifax, 11 August, 1860.
34. **Report of the Superintendent of Education—1865**
35. "Semi Annual Report of the Normal—Model Schools" in **Report of the Superintendent of Education—1866**, Appendix A.
36. Truro built a new Model School in 1874 while the Province opened a new Normal School in 1878. The institution became the Normal College in 1908 and was replaced by the Nova Scotia Teachers College in 1962.
37. James Bingay, **Public Education in Nova Scotia** (Kingston: The Jackson Press, 1919), p. 58.
38. **Presbyterian Witness**, Halifax, 8 May, 1868. [Forrester's wife, Margaret Tweedle Davidson, had died 13 April, 1861, age forty-five, and their youngest child, Charles Dalrymple Hay, 12 May, 1861, age six.]
39. McCarthy, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
40. **Presbyterian Witness**, Halifax, 10 September, 1870.
41. The monument was finally moved to the Normal School grounds in September 1878, and in July of 1962, it was placed on its third site in the grounds of the new Nova Scotia Teachers College.

Publication of Genealogies of Nova Scotia Families

Editor's Note:

We are pleased to include genealogies of Nova Scotia families within our pages.

We wish to extend our appreciation to Professor Marble and the Genealogical Committee of The Nova Scotia Historical Society for their work on this material and for giving us the opportunity to provide a valuable addition to the recorded history of our province.

We would also like at this time to clear up any confusion resulting from the similarity between the names Nova Scotia Historical Society and Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly. The Quarterly is a publication of Petheric Press Limited. The Nova Scotia Historical Society is a completely separate organization.



Many residents, former residents, and descendants of early settlers of Nova Scotia, have compiled genealogies of their paternal and maternal ancestry. However, very few of these compilations are ever published and consequently are not available to the interested general public. Also the genealogies of many of the families of early prominent merchants, politicians, bankers, and judges of Nova Scotia, have either not been compiled or are not in published form.

The Genealogical Committee of the Nova Scotia Historical Society has been concerned about this problem for some time, and recently has been able to interest Mr. W. H. McCurdy, Editor and Publisher of **The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly**,

in allocating approximately ten pages in each issue of the **Quarterly** for the publication of the genealogy of a Nova Scotia family. In order to insure that the genealogies submitted are written in a style which meets the professional standards of the **Quarterly**, the Committee asks that the contributors follow the guidelines given below. Only genealogies which have not previously been published will be considered.

Style or Method: Authors are encouraged to use one of the three genealogical methods listed below when submitting a genealogy:

- a. Burke's Peerage Method.
- b. New England Historic and Genealogical **Register** Method.
- c. Arlington Method.

Anyone not acquainted with the above methods may wish to either contact a Committee member, or refer to a genealogical reference such as **Searching for Your Ancestors**, by G. H. Doane, at a local library. The genealogy which appears in the March issue of the **Quarterly** uses the Burke's method, whereas the one which will appear in the June issue follows the **Register** method.

Limitations: For economy of space, all ancestral data on the Nova Scotia Immigrant should be confined to an introductory paragraph. Only male lines should be developed in the submission. No photographs or Coats of Arms can be included.

Sources: No page footnotes should be included but a general list of sources should be included on the last page of the genealogy. Where important footnotes are required, such as supporting evidence for previously disputed records, these can be included on the last page of the genealogy.

Length of Manuscript: Ten pages of the **Quarterly** will be allocated for genealogy. This represents approximately 12 pages of double spaced typescript.

Corrections: The Committee welcomes corrections to genealogies published in the **Quarterly**. However, only brief corrections, and not lengthy additions, will be published in the **Quarterly**.

Submissions should be addressed to the following address:

Genealogy
Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly
Box 1102,
Halifax, N.S., B3J 2X1

An Editorial Committee made up of members of the Genealogical Committee of the Nova Scotia Historical Society will referee all submissions and reserve the right to accept or reject submitted genealogies.

Professor A. E. Marble
Chairman, Genealogical Committee
Nova Scotia Historical Society

Tobin Genealogy

TERRENCE M. PUNCH, F.R.S.A.I.

About 1759 the first Tobin in this line established his home in Halifax. He came from Newfoundland and probably, before that, from Ireland. It was a common enough route for Irish emigrants both then and later. Perhaps no other man came from Newfoundland to Nova Scotia who would, in his descendants, contribute more to Halifax and Nova Scotia.

It is perhaps a symptom of the difficulties plaguing researchers in history and genealogy that the family's place of origin in Ireland has not been pinpointed. The Tobins, at first **de St. Aubyn**, came from Norman origins to Ireland in the late twelfth century, and established branches in County Waterford and in Kilkenny. Later offshoots took root in Tipperary and Cork. Our Halifax family probably came from County Cork, although it is not entirely out of the question that they sprang from County Kilkenny. They would travel back and forth to Cork and two of the family died there during the mid-nineteenth century. It is safe to assume a connection in Cork, either by relationship and ancestry, or by trade and marriage.

"Trade" is the key word to describe the Halifax Tobins. The remarkable dispersion of the subsequent generations of the family marks the great breadth of commerce pursued by this family. They would prosper in Halifax, both in wealth and distinction, for just under two hundred years. Today, and for thirty years past, this city has been at last without her Mr. Tobin, from whom all other Tobins stood apart, as if paying court to the current representative of this fine family.

In religion the Tobins were generally Roman Catholics, but not in such a way that they offended the sensitivities of others. Therefore it need not surprise one to see an impressive list of non-Catholic families into which Tobins married. In the process their line lost much of its Celtic quality. The family retained

the best that was Irish—its wit and its charity—and brought to it the epitome of civilized virtue as practiced by Scot and Englishman.

The following few pages chronicle the barest genealogical outline of the Tobins as compiled from Church and cemetery records, census records, probate files, newspaper announcements, and by the kind cooperation of two living descendants of this family, one in California, the other in England. The persons have been left pretty much as names and dates, since lengthy exposition would necessarily have curtailed giving as many of the family as can be fitted into the space available.

At the Halifax County Probate Court there is record of the Administration of a Tobin estate in 1783. Charlotte Brennan, widow of the late Thomas Tobin, a tailor, applied for letters of administration, and her petition was granted, 17 Dec. 1783. Thomas and Charlotte seem to be the progenitors of this Tobin family. Tentatively, then, I derive the following genealogy from the Irish Newfoundlander, Thomas Tobin, and his wife. One final preliminary comment is in order. The well-known family in business as John Tobin and Company, tea merchants, were not of the present family, and neither of the present family members are aware of any relationship between the two old Halifax Tobin families.

Thomas Tobin, merchant tailor, died at Halifax late in 1783. By his wife, Charlotte Brennan, he had two sons:

1. Michael, of whom presently.
2. Thomas Tobin, merchant, who died 11 Sept. 1819, aged 63. He married Catherine Shortis, who died 27 Mar. 1833, aged 69, and had issue:
 - 1) Catherine Mary Tobin, b. 1790, d. 5 Nov. 1881; married (1st) 20 Mar. 1809, George **BROWN** of Huntly, near Aberdeen, Scotland. She married (2nd) 2 Oct. 1825, John **WITHAM**, widowed grocer at Halifax, who died in October 1834. By Witham she had two sons (d.s.p.) and two daughters.
 - 2) Michael Tobin, merchant, who died 27 Oct. 1831, unmarried.
 - 3) Thomas Tobin, merchant, b. 1795, d. 14 Dec. 1863, at Upper Prospect, N.S.; married 6 Feb. 1833, Mary Saul (b. 1817), daughter of Edward and Catherine Saul of Prospect. They had eight children:
 - 1a) Thomas Tobin, b. 15 Jul. 1837; fisherman at Upper Prospect, 1896.
 - 2a) Michael Tobin, b. 3 Feb. 1839; fisherman at Upper Prospect, 1914.
 - 3a) Edmund Tobin, b. late in 1840; was living at Upper Prospect, 1896.
 - 4a) Catherine Tobin, b. 17 Apr. 1842, living 1871.
 - 5a) Isabel Tobin, b. 7 May 1844, living 1871.
 - 6a) George Tobin, b. 12 Dec. 1746, clerk, living 1879; married 5 May 1872, Eliza (b. 1847), dau. of George and Emma Stansturn of Nfld. Issue:
 - 1b) George Thomas Tobin, b. Mar. 1873, d. 5 Dec. 1879.

- 2b) James Tobin, b. Feb. 1876, d. 15 Nov. 1876.
- 7a) Mary Ann Tobin, b. 16 Aug. 1849, living 1871.
- 8a) Eliza Margaret Tobin, b. 30 Jul. 1852, apparently died young.

Apart from a field known as "Tobin's Field", to the right and rear of the Catholic Church, nothing remains of this branch of the name at Upper Prospect.

- 4) Mary Tobin, d. 7 Jan. 1801, aged 3 years.
- 5) Mary Anne Tobin, bapt. 21 May 1803, d. 8 Feb. 1871; married 21 Feb. 1824, Duncan **McQUEEN** (bapt. 26 Apr. 1792, d. 22 Apr. 1837), Dockyard Accountant, eldest son of Duncan McQueen and Margaret Ann Fraser of Scotland and Halifax. They had three sons who all went to Australia during a gold rush. They had also three daughters, two of whom did not marry. The eldest daughter, Isabelle McQueen (1824-1898), married Douglas Marshall **STORY**, and had eight children.

We now revert to the elder son, Michael Tobin, a victualler, who died in Halifax in September 1804. He was a charter member of the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax, 17 Jan. 1786. Many of his descendants continued the tradition of membership in the C.I.S. His wife was Catherine Hannah Murphy (who died 15 Feb. 1844, aged 93), by whom he had five sons:

- 1. Thomas Tobin, living 1804, aged above 30 years. Of him, no further notice has been found.
- 2. James Tobin, of whom presently.
- 3. Michael Tobin, of whom later.
- 4. Patrick Tobin, merchant, d. Nov. 1813, aged 33; married 23 Apr. 1805, Catherine McDonald (1787-1848), dau. of John McDonald and Letitia Greenley of Halifax. She married secondly, 25 Aug. 1821, Joseph **MOORE** (1789-1843) of Synnott & Moore, canal contractors, Dartmouth, and had further issue. Her four Tobin children were:
 - 1) Johanna Tobin, bapt. 16 Aug. 1807; married 6 Nov. 1826, John **LYONS**, Esq., merchant of Halifax and Cork. He was a son of Thomas Lyons and Johanna Hackett of Cork City, and had at least one son by this marriage, Thomas James Lyons, who was a student at Freiburg, Switzerland, in 1846.
 - 2) Michael James Tobin, b. 1809.
 - 3) John Thomas Tobin, bapt. 14 Dec. 1810.
 - 4) Letitia Tobin, bapt. 19 Jul. 1812, died in infancy.
- 5. John Tobin, aged under 21 in 1804, living in 1813. A "John P. Tobin" died at Grand Ecore, Louisiana, 26 Aug. 1839, a native of Halifax. Identical?

For convenience, the two branches of this family which spring from the brothers James and Michael Tobin are treated separately from here.

The elder brother,

James Tobin, was baptised 19 Apr. 1774 (St. Paul's Halifax), and died 3 Nov. 1838. He was a highly successful West India merchant, a member of the Halifax Banking Company with Enos

Collins, Samuel Cunard, Joseph Allison, H. H. Cogswell, and John Clark, in the 1820's. He became the first Roman Catholic member of the Legislative Council in Nova Scotia, serving from 1831 until his death in 1838. He married, 25 Jan. 1800, Eleanor Lanigan (who d. 19 Aug. 1831, aged 54), dau. of Patrick Lanigan and Anne Jackman of Callan, Co. Kilkenny. They had six children:

1. Mary Tobin, bapt. 28 Oct. 1809, died young.
2. Eliza Tobin, bapt. 24 May 1802, d. 3 Dec. 1869; married 26 Oct. 1825, John James **SAWYER** (1799-21 May 1873), son of James Sawyer and Elizabeth Hough of Gloucester, Mass. He was sheriff of Halifax County, 1824-1871, and was Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod in the Nova Scotia Legislature. This couple had seven sons (four died young) and six daughters all of whom died in Great Britain).
3. Michael Tobin, Jr., born 1803, d. at "Brookhouse", Dartmouth, 3 Sep. 1883. He was educated in England and succeeded to the family business in 1831. Later in life he became the Hon. Michael Tobin, Jr., a member of the Nova Scotia Council. He married 17 Aug. 1830, Jean Theresa Grassie (bapt. 30 May, d. 8 Jul 1893), youngest dau. of George Grassie, M.L.A., and Mary Elizabeth Lawson. They had issue:
 - 1) Edmond Jerningham Tobin, government fisheries inspector, b. 6 Aug. 1831, d. Halifax, 10 Feb. 1877; married Wilhelmina Henrietta Major (b. 1840, d. Gary, Indiana, 9 Sep. 1908), dau. of F.W.A.C. Major, Deputy Commissary-General at Halifax. They had issue:
 - 1a) Francis Michael Tobin, b. 1861, living 1908 at Norwich, Conn.
 - 2a) James Edmond Tobin, b. 22 May 1863.
 - 3a) Annette Mary Tobin, b. 21 Mar. 1865, d. 17 Apr. 1865.
 - 4a) Wilhelmina Mary Tobin, b. 7 May 1866, living 1908 at Chicago.
 - 5a) Edmund Jerningham Tobin, b. 1867, living 1908 at Chicago.
 - 6a) Jean Grassie Tobin, b. 1869, living 1908 at Harvey, Illinois; married a Mr. **MacDONALD**.
 - 7a) Melita Mary Tobin, b. Sep. 1871, d. 31 Jul. 1873.
 - 8a) Charles Beamish Tobin, b. 19 Sep. 1873, d. 31 Jan. 1874.
 - 2) James George Tobin, b. 22 Nov. 1832, living in 1854; barrister.
 - 3) Elizabeth Mary Bland Tobin, b. 1 Aug. 1834, d. 21 Apr. 1836.
 - 4) Michael Tobin, b. 20 Dec. 1835, living 1898 at Lisbon, Portugal.
 - 5) Gregory John Tobin, b. 13 May 1837, d. Halifax, 23 Sep. 1896, unm.
 - 6) Eleanor Jane Tobin, b. 26 Aug. 1838, d. 6 Dec. 1850.
 - 7) Antoinette Tobin, b. 11 Aug. 1839, d. 23 Oct. 1858.

- 8) Arthur Richard Tobin, born at Poplar Grove, Halifax, 30 Oct. 1840, d. at Los Angeles, California, 11 Feb. 1919; married Annie Knox (1853-29 Dec. 1953), dau. of Isaac Knox and Elizabeth Brennan of Preston Road, N.S. They had issue:
 - 1a) Henry Arthur Tobin, b. Halifax, 9 Mar. 1874, d. Los Angeles, 30 Dec. 1956; served in the Boer War and Spanish-American War, as well as World War One; married (1st) 13 Aug. 1901 (St. Joseph's, Halifax), Martha E. Marryatt (d. Youngstown, Alberta, 8 Mar. 1937); married (2nd) Margaret O'Connor. He had nine children by his first marriage:
 - 1b) Anne Margaret Tobin, b. 9 Sep. 1902, d. Oct. 1951; married Philip **DURUS**, and had issue, four children.
 - 2b) Olive Marryatt Tobin, b. Brooklyn, N.Y., 10 Sep. 1904; married James **CONNELLY** of Calgary, and has issue, five children.
 - 3b) Florence Muriel Tobin, b. Corona, N.Y., 13 Aug. 1906; married Arthur **deYOUNG** of Los Angeles, and has issue, two sons.
 - 4b) Mary Ethel Tobin, b. Brooklyn, N.Y., 21 Jul. 1908 married 1937, Dr. M. W. G. **WILLIGAR** of Edmonton, Alberta. Five children.
 - 5b) Ida Grace Tobin, b. Calgary, Alta., 8 Oct. 1910; married Joseph **deYOUNG** of Los Angeles, and has issue, four children.
 - 6b) Henry Michael Tobin, b. Youngstown, Alta., 19 Sep. 1912; served in the R.A.C. (India) and R.C.A.F.; married and has issue, four children.
 - 7b) Ruth Elinor Tobin, b. Youngstown, Alta., 10 Nov. 1914; married Joseph **MURPHY** of Edmonton, and has issue, five children.
 - 8b) Clifford Francis Tobin, b. Youngstown, Alta., 20 Nov. 1916. An army lieutenant, he died in action in Italy in 1944, unm.
 - 9b) Edith Frances Tobin, b. Youngstown, Alta. 19 Sep. 1920; married Allen **BROWNING** of Long Beach, California, and has seven children.
 - 2a) Michael Vincent Tobin, b. Sable Island, 2 Aug. 1876; lived at Los Angeles in 1966; served in the Spanish-American War; married Ruby Lambert and had issue:
 - 1b) Arthur Tobin; married with children.
 - 2b) Richard Tobin; married with children.
 - 3b) Russell Tobin.
 - 4b) Marion Tobin; married Raymond **HAWKINS**.
 - 5b) Ruth M. Tobin, unm.
 - 6b) Dorothy Tobin; married Mr. **FLAVIN**.
 - 3a) Mary Theresa Tobin, b. Aug. 1878, d. 28 Jun. 1886.

- 4a) Mary Eva Tobin, b. Sable Island, 28 Feb. 1880; married 1902, James Andrew **BOWES** (1882-1958) of Cow Bay, N.S. They had four children.
- 5a) Anne Blanche Tobin, b. Sable Island, Sep. 1882, d. 16 Aug. 1886.
- 6a) Austen Francis Tobin, b. Sable Island, 24 Mar. 1884; married in 1915 at San Francisco, Agnes McLaughlin, and had issue:
 - 1b) Austen Tobin, b. 20 Sep. 1916; married with two sons.
 - 2b) Jean Mildred Tobin, b. May 1918.
 - 3b) Paul Tobin, b. 24 Jan. 1921.
 - 4b) Vera Tobin, b. 18 Oct. 1923.
- 7a) Elizabeth Jane Tobin, b. Sable Island; married Benjamin **HENNEBERRY** and had issue.
- 8a) Russell Bernard Tobin, b. Sable Island, killed at the Battle of Passchendaele in World War One. unm.
- 9a) Laura Ellen Tobin, b. Sable Island; married Edward **OLIVAS**.
- 10a) Jean Grassie Tobin, b. Sable Island, 21 Jan. 1892; married Harry Bernard **RICHARD** (1892-26 Dec. 1969), son of George Richard and Anne Hunt of Dartmouth. They had six children, one of whom was Peter Richard, who served a term as a Halifax alderman about 1964.
- 9) Theresa Frances Tobin, b. 2 Nov. 1841, d. 4 Apr. 1876; married 1866, Henry Wentworth **JOHNSTON** (1835-1901), eleventh child of Dr. Lewis Martin Johnston and Sarah Pryor. They had five children, the eldest of whom was Henry W. Johnston (1867-1946), Halifax City Engineer, 1918-1941.
- 10) Bartholomew Seymour Tobin, b. Halifax, 16 Mar. 1846, d. Ottawa, 29 Aug. 1883; an army paymaster. He married 9 Sep. 1875, Laleah Ann (b. 31 Dec. 1849), dau. of Rev. Edmund Albern Crawley, D.D., of Wolfville. They had issue:
 - 1a) Col. Henry Seymour Tobin, O.B.E., b. Ottawa, 12 Jan. 1877; married Jul. 1930, Lena Edna Margaret, dau. of E. O. TAYLOR.
 - 2a) Edith Charlotte Tobin; married Mr. **ROBERTSON**, Vancouver, B.C.
4. Catherine Tobin, bapt. 11 May 1896, d. 5 Apr. 1880 in Paris, France; married 29 Dec. 1835, James Finlayson **GRAY** (bapt. 23 Oct. 1803, d. 26 Oct. 1848), barrister, son of Rev. Archibald Gray and Martha Head, of Halifax. Issue included five sons and four daughters, one of whom, Catherine Lyons Gray, married her cousin, Michael S. Tobin (q.v., *infra*).
5. James William Tobin, bapt. Halifax, 11 May 1808, d. at Brompton, England, 24 Jul. 1881; member of the Council in Newfoundland from 1833 until after 1860; married at Cork, Ireland, 11 Feb. 1834, Emily Cecilia Bullen (bapt. 24 Apr. 1809 at Cork), younger dau. of Dr. William Bullen, M.D., and Catherine Quinlan. They had issue:

- 1) James Bullen Tobin, b. Cork, 2 Jan. 1835, d. Halifax, 18 Aug. 1852.
- 2) William Bullen Tobin, b. 1837, d. 24 Feb. 1895 at Brompton Square, London.
- 3) Arthur Weston Tobin, b. 1839, d. 14 Aug. 1859 at Paris, France.
- 4) Catherine Tobin.
6. Johanna Tobin, bapt. 8 Apr. 1810, d. 14 Dec. 1843; married 19 Sep. 1832, Hon. John Bayley **BLAND**, M.L.C., Nfld. (1792-4 Dec. 1870), and had four children, all of whom d.s.p.

We revert now to the younger brother, Michael Tobin, born Halifax 1776, d. 11 Apr. 1843. He was a merchant in the West Indies trade, and had extensive financial dealings in local business. Following his brother's death in 1838, he was named to succeed to his seat in the Council of Nova Scotia, where he served until his death in 1843. He married (1st) 7 Jan. 1804, Margaret (1783-26 Jul. 1816, dau. of Patrick Lanigan and Anne Jackman of Callan, Co. Kilkenny, a sister of his brother's wife. By her, he had eight children. He married (2nd) 25 Nov. 1820, Rebecca Catherine Dean (b. 1788), dau. of William and Jane Dean. She died at Richmond, Surrey, England, 6 Mar. 1880, having had issue four children. The twelve children of the Hon. Michael Tobin, Sr., were:

1. Anne Tobin, b. 25 Oct. 1804, d. 12 Jan. 1883; married 10 Aug. 1830, William **YOUNG** (1799-8 May 1887), eldest son of John Young, M.L.A. ("Agricola") and Agnes Renny of Falkirk, Scotland. William Young became Premier of Nova Scotia, Chief Justice, and made a K.C.B. They had no issue.
2. Thomas Stephen Tobin, merchant, bapt. 21 May 1806, d. 13 Feb. 1884; married at Mahone Bay, 5 Sep. 1833, Frances Agnes Donovan (b. Cork, 1808), dau. of Simon Donovan and Jane Gallwey. They had issue:
 - 1) Michael Stephen Tobin, b. 2 Jun. 1834 at Halifax, d. 8 Oct. 1905 at Montreal; Mayor of Halifax, 1867-70; 1878-81; M.P. for Halifax, 1872-74; married 23 Nov. 1868, his cousin, Catherine Lyons Gray (3 Dec. 1842-12 Jan. 1927), dau. of James Finlayson Gray and Catherine Tobin (*supra*) They had issue:
 - 1a) Thomas Finlayson Tobin, K.C., b. 28 Sep. 1869, d. 19 May 1945; married 1920, Ellen L. M. Stopford (d. Halifax, 6 Jun. 1958), dau. of George Evans Stopford and Alice Maud Milner of Fredericton, N.B. They had issue:
 - 1b) Norah Langton Tobin; married Arthur F. **BALDERS**, Halifax, son of Major Ralph Balders and Jean Agnes Labatt. They have issue.
 - 2b) Mary Finlayson Tobin married Dr. James K. **PURVES**, Halifax, and has issue, two children.
 - 2a) Stephen Lyons Tobin, b. 22 Jan. 1872, d. as a young man.
 - 3a) Mary Josephine Tobin, b. 9 Jan. 1882; married 20 Nov. 1907, Carl **GILLS** of Coronado, California, and issue, a daughter, Dorothy J.

- 2) Henry John Tobin, b. 2 May 1836, d. 10 Oct. 1872 at St. John's, Nfld.; married Mary ... (d. 6 Jun. 1906 at St. John's, Nfld.)
3. Stephen Tobin, bapt. 13 Mar. 1808, d. while a student in the Jesuit College at Stoneyhurst, Lancashire, 2 Jul. 1826.
4. John Michael Tobin, C.B., merchant, bapt. 20 Sep. 1809 at Halifax, d. 27 Nov. 1854 at Montreal; married 26 Feb. 1838, Catherine Lily, eldest dau. of Lt. Col. John Maxwell and Catherine Egan. They had issue:
 - 1) John Michael Tobin, b. 1838, d. 25 Nov. 1851.
 - 2) Anne Young Tobin; married 10 Oct. 1817, James (Capt., later Col. in the 17th Regt.), son of Major-General **CREAGH**, Westburne Park, London.
 - 3) Catherine Mary Tobin, b. May 1841 at Quebec, d. 19 May 1850 at Halifax.
 - 4) Margaret Cecilia Tobin, b. 5 Mar. 1843, d. Paris, 1910-1911; married 1869, Francis Albert Romuald **LANGTON** (1840-1917), private secretary to His Grace, the Duke of Norfolk, and son of Michael Theobald Langton and Mary Ryan of Dublin, Ireland. They had issue, six sons and a daughter.
 - 5) Michael Tobin.
 - 6) James Tobin.
5. George Tobin, bapt. 8 Apr. 1811, d. 3 Aug. 1861, at Halifax, unm.
6. Margaret Cecilia Tobin, bapt. 2 Nov. 1812, d. 25 Jan. 1849 at Cork, unm.
7. Mary Charlotte Tobin, bapt. 13 Sep. 1814, d. 24 Apr. 1829, unm.
8. James Tobin, bapt. 5 Apr. 1816, d. 28 Sep. 1822; youngest child of the first marriage.
9. Charles Jane Tobin, b. 3 Aug. 1822, d. 6 Sep. 1908 at Bridgewater, N.S.; married (1st) 22 Apr. 1846, Catherine (14 Jul. 1826-19 Jun. 1880), only dau. of William Henry Allison and Eleanor McHeffey of Cornwallis, N.S. They had four children. He married (2nd) 17 Oct. 1883 (at Chester, N.S.) Martha Alice Andrews of Bridgewater. His children include:
 - 1) Eleanor Rebecca Tobin, b. 1847; married (1st) 29 Jun. 1865, Benjamin **SMITH**, barrister, son of Benjamin Smith and Seraph Wiswell of Saint John, N.B. They had four children. She married (2nd) 4 Aug. 1888, Daniel F. A. **LAHEY**, D.L., J.P., Shanskiel, Co. Cork, second son of the late D. Leahy, and had one daughter, Alice M. K. Leahy.
 - 2) Laura Elizabeth Tobin; married 8 Sep. 1880, Hon. William Hopkins **OWENS**, Q.C., M.L.C. (1881) of Bridgewater (15 Aug. 1842-4 May 1928). They had three daughters.
 - 3) William Young Tobin.
 - 4) Mary Margaret Tobin married 24 Sep. 1893, Robert Hunter **FRASER** (1862-1936) of Bridgewater. They had one son, Ronald Fraser.

10. Jane Tobin, bapt. 22 Sep. 1824; married at Dover, England, 21 Mar. 1849, Bartholomew **SEYMOUR**, Esq.
11. Eleanor Rebecca Tobin, bapt. 16 Dec. 1826.
12. Michael James Tobin, b. 22 Jan. 1829, d. 5 March, 1870 at Gooderich, Ont.

Heraldic Note: Both Hon. James and Hon. Michael Tobin used heraldic devices on their Wills. There is evidence from these that the oak leaf was the principal charge of their arms. Since the oak leaves appear in threes in their usage by these Tobins, they probably used a version of the general Tobin arms: "Azure, three oak leaves argent." The Halifax Tobins used as a crest, "A lion rampant, couped," although wax and stone do not supply information as to the colours in the crest.

Sources

While no list of sources can convey adequately the researcher's diverse sources of information over several years, the following at least conveys a small sample of their variety. I have annotated slightly so that others may be aided in selecting the likeliest source should they ever turn to any of these for data. There is no comprehensive work of genealogy on Halifax County, such as one will find for Kings (Eaton) or Annapolis (Calnek-Savary). One must be prepared to work pretty well from scratch.

1. Cemeteries: Holy Cross R.C., Halifax (microfilm of registers in P.A.N.S.)—the only R.C. burying place in the city from 1843 to 1896. Registers show name, occupation, age, place of birth (not always accurate on the last two points).
St. Peter's R.C., Dartmouth.
2. Census Records (P.A.N.S. class R.G.1):
1838, 1851, 1861 (give only name of head of family, his occupational area, and a rough idea of sex and age of family and household members without distinguishing the two);
1871 (the first nominal census; gives names, ages, birth-place, religion, occupation, racial origin, etc., of **all** persons).
3. Church Registers:
Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Prospect, 1823-1897 (in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Halifax, Coburg Rd.)
St. Mary's Basilica, Halifax 1800-1856 (called St. Peter's until 1830; on microfilm in the P.A.N.S.)
St. Paul's Anglican, 1749-1845 (microfilm; P.A.N.S.)
St. Peter's R.C., Dartmouth, 1830-1863 (1830-1855 on microfilm at P.A.N.S.; balance in original at A.A.H.)
4. Correspondents:
Michael L. Griffin (England; provided much family information, esp. relating to his own lineage of Tobin ancestry).
Dr. John Tobin (England; not of this family, but was able to help me keep the various Tobins separated).
Miss Ruth Tobin (California; provided much recent family information to the late Dr. J. P. Martin, Dartmouth, who gave me the benefit of her correspondence).
5. Newspapers (of various dates):
Acadian Recorder (which I consider has the most comprehensive coverage of deaths and marriages, 1813-1900).
Morning Herald (originals at the P.A.N.S.)
The Novascotian (all on microfilm at P.A.N.S.)

6. Probate Records of Halifax County (1749-1914)
Original Estate Papers
Will Entry Books (most of these are on microfilm at the P.A.N.S. Because the indexes are to books or loose files, the finding of an administration at the P.A.N.S. can be extremely difficult to an inexperienced researcher. Those who can, would be well advised to go to the Probate Court file room in the new County Court House on Water Street, Halifax. There is a nominal fee for each estate produced, but the time saving is great.)
7. Vital Statistics (P.A.N.S. class R.G. 32):
Halifax County—Marriages, 1865-1875
Deaths, 1865-1875 (after this ten year period, such records as exist are held by the Registrar of Vital Statistics of the Province of Nova Scotia.)

Contributors

ALAN C. DUNLOP was born in Halifax. He obtained his early education at Bedford, Truro and New Glasgow schools. He continued his studies at Dalhousie University, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts followed by Master of Arts in Political Science. He has also received a degree in Archival Techniques from the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa under the sponsorship of the Canadian Historical Association and the Public Archives of Canada. Mr. Dunlop is a member of the N.S. Historical Society and the Association of Atlantic Historians. He is Research Assistant at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

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

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

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

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

ELSIE MARGARET TOLSON was born in Hantsport, Nova Scotia, and received her early education there at Hantsport Academy, then went in to study at Mount Allison University.

Mrs. Tolson has an extensive and authoratative interest in the restoration of early architecture. She restored and established the Sea Chest boutique on Dresden Dow in Halifax and restored her present home—originally the manor house of the Sackville Estate built in the 1700's.

She has been a very active member of the Heritage Trust of Nove Scotia for seven years and worked untiringly on the comittee compiling the Heritage Trust volume Founded Upon a Rock.

She has done a great amount of research on geneologies and the history of the Sackville area which she hopes to put in book form at a later date. She is also feature writer for the Bedford-Sackville News.

ROBERT PATON HARVEY was born in Chester, Nova Scotia. He attended Halifax Public Schools and Dalhousie University from which he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1966, Bachelor of Education, 1967, and Master of Arts in 1972.

Mr. Harvey pursues his interest in historical research as advisor to the Sidney Stephen High School History Club, Bedford. He is a teacher of History and Chairman of the Social Studies Department at Sackville High School, in Lower Sackville, where he resides with his wife and daughter.

TERRENCE MICHAEL PUNCH was born in Halifax and received his early education in Halifax public schools. He was employed by the Dept. of National Defence for several years, during which he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts and a Diploma in Journalism in the evening division, graduating from St. Mary's University in 1964. He received the degree of Bachelor of Education in 1965, and since that time his Master of Arts degree.

He is a member of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, the Irish Genealogical Research Society, the Historical Association, the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, and was elected a life Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in 1963. Mr. Punch was a member of the Centennial Committee of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union in 1967.

This is his first publication in his native Nova Scotia, although he has written a number of pieces of genealogical, biographical and demographic interest, which were published in Ireland and England.

He resides at Armdale with his wife and three children.

Book Reviews

LORNA INNESS

Nova Scotia, A Pictorial Record, 1605-1878, By Charles P. de Volpi

**Hardcover, 160 pages, illustrated, published November, 1974
Longmans Canada Ltd. \$28.75**

This striking picture history of Nova Scotia was en route from the publishers when the December 1974 issue of the *Quarterly* went to press so it was mentioned only briefly.

In compiling his "story of a province in picture form," de Volpi gives as the guiding point in making his selections from available material the desire to "show as much of the province as possible, with emphasis on the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries . . ."

"Wood, steel or copper engravings, aquatints, mezzotints or lithographs," all were grist to de Volpi's mill and the quality of reproduction is surprisingly good.

Moreover, the pictures are arranged chronologically and there are brief historical notes accompanying each illustration.

The book contains capsule histories of the artists—where information about them was available.

The early views of Halifax, Dartmouth and environs make interesting contrasts with today's views. The historical fragments accompanying the pictures draw attention to some interesting minor episodes in Nova Scotian history as well as the the major ones.

This volume is the ninth of a series of the iconography of Canada. Books about other provinces already published in the series are Newfoundland, Quebec and British Columbia.

The National Atlas of Canada
Hardcover, 254 pages, illustrated, published 1974
Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd. in association with the
Department of Energy, Mines and Resources and Information
Canada \$56.00

This massive work is more in the nature of a gazeteer illustrating masses of census material than it is the book of maps which the term 'atlas' usually brings to mind.

This is the fourth edition, revised, and it's a far cry from the first national atlas of Canada which was published by the federal government in 1906. The others were a second edition in 1915 and a third in 1957, with a French edition published the next year.

This latest work uses 1961 census figures, where they apply, for example, in sections dealing with population.

The range of the atlas is enormous. It's detailed maps show physiographic regions, runoff and drainage patterns, river profiles, glacial geology, soils and vegetation, climate, potential evapotranspiration; water deficit, snow, frost and the growing seasons, precipitation and temperatures, exploration, settlement, population, information about the labor force, incomes, agriculture, forestry, cattle, fisheries, fossil fuels and pipelines, minerals, railways, ports, shipping, communications, power and transportation.

In short, if it isn't in here, better give up.

The detail work in the maps is superb, but in many instances so small that a magnifying glass is a good article to have handy when using the book.

In the preface it is noted that there are "two poles of opinion as to the purposes" of such a volume. On the one hand, the atlas "is seen as a system of objective information whose compilation is justified by its direct contribution to utilitarian decision-making . . ." Planning is cited as an example. The other view sees the atlas as "refining and extending the reader's perception of the nation," and "contributing to national self-awareness and cultural evolution."

It is further noted that the two opinions "are not mutually exclusive, and in a sense coincide in formal education where the atlas becomes a utilitarian instrument for instruction that influences attitudes and behaviour and therefore culture."

This is a monumental work and not surprisingly is expensive—\$56. But it is a first-rate addition to any school library or university library. It is a treasure-house of information, designed to make the user more aware of the complexity of Canada as a nation and of the mosaic of national life.

The World Atlas of Food, Contributing editor Jane Grigson
Hardcover, 318 pages, illustrated, published 1974
Book Service Ltd.

This is a different concept of the role of an atlas. It is a glossy, colorful, epicurean traveler's guide to the foods of the world, plain and exotic.

Noted gourmet and author, James Beard, takes the reader on a gastronomic tour of the world. Leaving New York, where you can get, in addition to solid old American fare, most of the world's exotic dishes anyway Beard wines and dines through the Orient (a ragout of snake and Chinese wine in Hong Kong), on to Istanbul (ripe figs, chicken and lamb); to Italy (ham and pasta and scampi); to France (caviar and foie gras washed down with the "honeyed frappe sweetness of Chateau d'Yquem"); to Germany (with wild boar and wild berries); to Brussels and the fish markets of Bergen; to Scotland (crayfish and Angus beef); to London, Madrid, Casablanca. Returning to New York, it's "the end of a globe-circling trip . . . with much food for thought, tastes to be remembered, dishes to be reconstructed in the kitchen . . ."

Recipes for some of the main dishes of each country and region are included in the book, along with hints on reconstructing the dishes at home where some of the original ingredients may not be to hand.

The book is intended to be a gourmet's inspiration and it succeeds.

Colombo's Canadian Quotations, Ed. by John Robert Colombo
Hardcover, 735 pages, published October 1974
Hurtig Publishers, \$15.

Lest any Canadian be caught without a well-turned Canadian phrase or quotation, John Robert Colombo has produced this collection of sayings by people who might be connected, however remotely, with the Canadian scene at some point in history. It is truly a mixed bag.

Herewith a few things Canadians and others have had to say which have found their way, if not into the language, at least into the book.

Nova Scotia's Joseph Howe has a little more than two pages devoted to him. The best known passages are there, but I like the one taken from a letter to George Johnson, January, 1824: "My books are very few, but then the world is before me—a library open to all—from which poverty of purse cannot exclude me—and in which the meanest and most paltry volume is sure to furnish something to amuse, if not to instruct and improve."

Stretching a long bow, Colombo has included Herodotus with a reference to lands believed to have been the Canadian Arctic. (Arctic?) " . . . for eight months of the year the cold is intolerable; the ground is frozen iron-hard . . . Even apart from the eight months' winter, the remaining four months are cold."

And speaking of ice, that phrase which must be known in every household in Canada, "He shoots! He scores!", is credited to Foster Hewitt.

Sir Wilfred Grenfell made this observation in his Labrador Logbook: "The service we render to others is really the rent we pay for our room on this earth."

And in this International Women's Year, there is the remark by Aline Gregory, a defeated independent candidate in the 1972 general election: "A woman's place is in the House . . . of Commons."

And from the first woman to win a place in the House . . . of Commons, Agnes Macphail, this exchange:

Heckler: "Don't you wish you were a man?"

Macphail: "Yes. Don't you?"

And from Jack Miner, the bird sanctuary founder: "Only humans are wild."

The book contains some 6,000 quotations from 2,500 contributors, and they are listed alphabetically. The quotations are cross-referenced at the back of the book under subject headings.

One has the feeling that many of the quotations were added simply to add to the bulk of the book. In the 735 pages, however, no "Unaccustomed as I am . . ." speaker, no school student essayist need be without a quotation to garnish his subject.

British Columbia in Books, Compiled by Mary Lou Cuddy and James J. Scott

Paperback, 144 pages, illustrated, published 1974

J. J. Douglas Ltd. \$6.95

This unusual volume is intended to be a "browsing book" and a guide to the mass of books, pamphlets and periodicals about British Columbia. There are nearly 1,000 entries, covering a wide range of subjects.

The booklet's main purpose is to provide in one place ready reference to available material which "is frequently lost to all but the most intuitive, lucky or patient researcher." It is arranged alphabetically by author, with a sufficiently detailed index at the back of the booklet to be of use to someone starting from the subject angle only.

The larger part of the booklet is devoted to the annotated books and pamphlets. The provincial government publications are listed separately, as are periodicals and newspapers. Separate sections deal with organizations and associations and with city planning.

The book is illustrated throughout with charming sketches in black and white, most of them taken from out-of-print books in collections of the Vancouver Public Library and the Vancouver Island Regional Library.

The bibliography was compiled with the aid of grants from various library groups and the federal government's LIP pro-

gram. The first 1,000 copies of the booklet were given away by the publishers, J. J. Douglas, by way of saying "Thank you" for a Canada Council grant which could not at that time be returned.

The publishers welcome comments and suggestions and information regarding any publications which might have been overlooked. They hope to produce a revised edition every two years.

Quebec Calling, Text by Marie Ouimet, photography by Ted Czolowski

Hardcover, 96 pages, illustrated, published February 1974

John Wiley & Sons Canada, Ltd. \$5.95

This is one of the Canada Calling series of which eight are already on the market with more to come. This volume deals with Quebec City (a separate one on the province is in production), and includes L'Ile D'Orleans and the shrine at Ste.-Anne-de-Beaupre.

A brief text accompanies the color photographs and gives historical notes of interest to the tourist. But the principle attraction of the book is its photographs, some of them superb. They have been chosen to present a sort of man-in-the-street, tourist view of the principal points of interest and convey the sense of both ancient dignity, as in historic buildings, and modern vitality, as in the market and street scenes, particularly in the Old Town.

Toronto, Victoria, Montreal and Vancouver are other cities which have been subjects of volumes in this series. Forthcoming ones include the Maritimes (in both French and English editions) and Newfoundland.

People of the Deer, Death of a People, Vol. I, By Farley Mowat
Paperback, 318 pages, illustrated, reprinted 1974

The Desperate People, Death of a People, Vol. II, By Farley Mowat

Paperback, 271 pages, illustrated, reprinted 1974

McClelland & Stewart Ltd. \$5.95 each

These are new issues in paperback of the two Mowat books about the Thalmiut and the inland Eskimos of the Keewatin District, first published in hardcover in 1952 and 1959 respectively.

Vol. II, is somewhat revised in that Mowat has changed his attitude that assimilation was the only hope for Canada's Eskimos. He supports now their wish to "live free" and retain their own identity.

Both paperbacks have 16-page sections of photographs.

Canada: The Heroic Beginnings, By Donald Creighton
Hardcover, 255 pages, illustrated, published 1974
Macmillan of Canada, \$17.95

This fine volume by one of Canada's most noted historians tells the story of 51 of this country's historic parks or sites. The book was produced in co-operation with the department of Indian and Northern Affairs and Parks Canada.

In his preface to this work, Dr. Creighton notes that the aim of the study is to examine not one but several beginnings, at various points in the country, and to present the sites and parks against a brief historical backdrop. Moreover, the sites are connected, as they were in history, by battles, by plotting, by development or trade routes.

These sites, comments Dr. Creighton, "exemplify the heroic beginnings of many of the main themes in Canadian history . . . but to view a single site in isolation is to miss its historical associations and therefore its real meaning."

This book, for example, enables the reader with a casual interest in history to stand, figuratively, on the grassy mounds at Fort Anne and realize its importance strategically and historically in connection with Fort Beausejour and Louisbourg.

A reading of this book will impress one with the extent to which the little accidents of history have shaped Canada. The need for suitable shore bases for the drying of fish leads in time to the growth of settlements along the Newfoundland coast.

Cartier picks a spot on the St. Lawrence, "just below the heights that were to become Cape Diamond," where he can lay up his ships for the winter of 1535-36 and "unerringly" chooses "the future centre of the French effort in North America."

Explorers, frustrated at failing to find the riches of the Orient, did not appreciate the worth of what they found. Governments in Europe, indifferent to the welfare of settlers used the small forts and colonies as pawns in the larger struggle for control of North America.

Much of this book deals with the sites involved in the struggle between Britain and France for control of the land, but there are stories of fortresses along the American-Canadian border and their importance in the War of 1812. Other forts mark the trails, west and north, and have colorful stories of their own.

The book is well-illustrated, 58 of its photographs in color and 178 in black and white.

The book is a monument to the work of the government departments concerned in the preservation of this nation's historic places and their careful presentation to those who can visit them in person.

Dr. Creighton has visited almost all of the sites and parks in this book. *Heroic Beginnings* will serve as an excellent arm-chair guide for those who must content themselves with reading about these places.

Rivers of Canada, By Hugh MacLennan
Hardcover, 270 pages, illustrated, published 1974
Macmillan of Canada \$30.00

This is a different story of Canada, a story of the land as told by its major rivers. And not only by its rivers; there is a place here for streams, such as those in Cape Breton which held a great fascination for Hugh MacLennan in his boyhood and which he remembers fondly today.

MacLennan writes of the "old Canadian experience," an experience which was "literally dependent upon the rivers . . ." For the early explorers, the rivers led inland from the seas, and, in their turn, led other men outward to the Arctic seas, to the Pacific.

MacLennan's rivers are the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, the St. John, the Miramichi, the Niagara, the Red, the Saskatchewan, the Mackenzie, the Saguenay and the Hamilton. Other torrents and gentle streams, broad reaches and quiet backwaters are included as they flow into or near the main waterways.

In his catalogue of Nova Scotia's rivers, MacLennan writes of the Annapolis, "a brown river flowing gently through the most fertile land in the whole province," and Musquodoboit, "a brook-size river" which "enters a glacial scoop-out of the coast," and his "boyhood brooks" include the Baddeck River, the Middle River and the Margaree.

MacLennan has a feeling for rivers, and he describes them vividly, as with the Niagara, flowing along, collecting water from the creeks of Tonawanda and Chippawa . . . "Suddenly the Niagara turns into an allegory of a peaceful creature visited by a demon which drives him insane with pain and fear . . . it leaps suicidally over its cliffs on either side of Goat Island only to discover that the leap has not killed it . . . over the brink to the chaos below and then "the river is torn out of itself by the same invisible and relentless force of gravity until, as suddenly as its torment and madness began, they cease . . ." The river flows the rest of its short way and "slips into Lake Ontario as innocently as a quiet Victorian lady coming home from a tea-party."

But enthralling though the text may be, it must share equal billing with the camera artistry of John de Visser. The photos are sensitive in mood, many of them resembling the painter's wet wash technique. Some of them, particularly the cover photograph, give a haunting quality to the blending of sky and hills and water. They illustrate the observation made in the book that "renewal is promised in the shout of running water."

As well, there are old photographs showing life on the rivers—Canadians at work and at play.

Glimpses Into Nova Scotia History, By Bruce Fergusson and William Pope

Paperback, 96 pages, illustrated, published 1974

Lancelot Press, \$4.00

"Glimpses" is literally that—a collection of brief notes about major, well-known happenings and personalities in Nova Scotia's history. (And some, for that matter, not so well known. In the section containing biographical sketches of the province's government leaders there are names which, alongside Annand, Howe, Fielding, Macdonald, Stanfield and Regan, are hardly household words. Remembered here, for example, are Hon. P. C. Hill, Hon. S. H. Holmes, Hon. W. T. Pipes and Hon. Ernest Armstrong, all of them with brief administrations and none of them well-known to the average Nova Scotian.)

But the book contains more than the stories of politicians. The main founding peoples are included, and explorers and settlers of note. Historic buildings and churches have been included here, photographs and background notes giving enough information to catch the interest of the casual reader.

The book is the result of a long-time ambition of Lancelot Press publisher, William Pope, to produce an outline guide to important points in this province's past. Working in collaboration with Dr. Bruce Fergusson, the provincial archivist, and others, Pope has seen his ambition realized in this colorful, interesting look into the past. Pope has aimed this book at "the general reader" and has succeeded admirably in his purpose.

The illustrations range from sketches and prints, including some of the C. S. Jeffrys drawings, to modern photographs.

Prince Henry Sinclair, His Expedition to the New World in 1398, By Frederick Pohl

Hardcover, 230 pages, illustrated, published 1974

General Publishing Company Ltd. \$10.00 approx.

"In reading history one must always be impressed by the fact that our knowledge is only a collection of scraps and fragments that we put together into a pleasing design, and often the discovery of one new fragment would cause us to alter utterly the whole design . . ."

Morris Bishop (Champlain: The Life of Fortitude—1948), quoted in Colombo's Canadian Quotations.

A "pleasing design", one to excite the imagination and challenge the mind, has been put together by Frederick Pohl, a former teacher and still an enthusiastic "historical detective", from New York.

It is Pohl's theory that Nova Scotia was visited in 1398 by a prince of the Orkneys, Earl Henry Sinclair. Moreover, Pohl has put together an impressive case for his contention that Sinclair and some of his men travelled widely throughout the province and that Sinclair provided the basis for the legends of Glooscap.

Sinclair was born in 1345 to Sir William St. Clair of Roslin, a member of one of the most distinguished of the early Scottish families of Norman descent. (Members of the St. Clair family

accompanied William, Duke of Normandy, on his historic trip across the English Channel.)

Pohl has put together in this book a fairly detailed background for the young Henry, probably based in large part on what is known of the conditions of a Scottish lord's household of the time and its customs. At any rate, as the future head of a powerful family with vast estates, Henry was trained to lead, a leadership which Henry was to assume when he was only 13 years of age.

One of Henry's claims involved the Islands of Orkney then under the jurisdiction of the Norse king. After lengthy negotiations, Henry's right to the Orkneys was upheld and he became a virtual prince in power and influence.

Henry's love of adventure and the sea was given full reign in the course of his travels in his far-flung island realm. It was during the course of one of these visits that he met a Venetian captain, Carlo Zeno, and took him into his service. A younger relative of Carlo's, one Antonio Zeno, subsequently joined Henry's service and it is here that the story begins to touch this province.

In the 16th century, a member of the Zeno family and a descendent of Antonio, published a narrative based on what survived of letters reported to have been written home to Venice by those members of the family in Henry's service, notably Antonio. The narratives described in some detail voyages to the western ocean undertaken in the service of a great Prince. More particularly, they described voyages to Estotiland and Drogio, meetings with strange people there (some friendly, some hostile) and all kinds of natural wonders.

The letters aroused only modest interest at the time and subsequent voyages of discovery by Verazzano, Columbus and others eclipsed any achievements of the Zeno family.

Moreover, the identity of the great prince remained a mystery until in 1786, "the historian Johann Reinhold Forster came to the conclusion that 'Zichmni' (the name given in the narratives) was a muddled misspelling of 'Sinclair'." The identification of the name was accepted by the translator of the Zeno Narrative, Richard Henry Major, in the 19th century and by many others, although it has been disputed as well.

Henry's case remains strong, however, and Pohl has spent some 40-odd years trying to put the pieces together. He has travelled to Europe, to Nova Scotia, and elsewhere, visiting the main locales in the story in the course of his detective work, picking up, as he puts it, "a 600-year-old trail."

In this book, Pohl sets out his views that Guysborough Harbour was the landing place for Henry's expedition in 1398, that it was the "Trin Harbour" of the narratives.

Other geological factors are involved here. From the hills above their new-found harbour, Henry's men saw far off what appeared to be a smoking hill. A party of men sent inland to investigate returned and said they had found a spring of a burning pitchlike substance running into the sea and another good, safe harbour. They met groups of Indians and reported that they lived in caves in the area.

By extensive backtracking, Pohl has placed the burning spring of pitch at Asphalt, near Stellarton, and claims that the harbour in question must be Pictou. He has also pinpointed caves in the area along the routes Henry's men presumably took. There are caves in this area, but they are difficult to reach and their exploration remains to be done.

According to the Zeno letters, the prince (Zichmni/Henry) sent most of his expedition home as winter was approaching, and remained in the new land with a group of his men and the small boats. Henry is known to have returned to the Orkneys in 1399, and he died in 1400. It is suggested that members of Henry's family were not particularly interested in the expedition and the matter became largely forgotten.

In efforts to find traces of Henry's stay in Nova Scotia during the winter of 1398-1399, Pohl has come to the conclusion that Henry was the origin of Glooscap and that the legends of Glooscap provide clues as to Henry's activities and whereabouts.

Pohl finds some 17 points of comparison in a study of the various translations of the legends. He feels that Henry made his winter headquarters above Advocate, on a headland overlooking the Bay of Fundy, and that he cut timber from the surrounding hills to build the vessel with which he returned to the Orkneys.

Well, it all makes a fascinating story. Whether it can ever be established beyond any doubt is a good question. Yet, not that many years ago, stories of Norse voyages to "Vineland" were considered simply legends. Recent excavations in Newfoundland, for example, have led to revised opinions on this score. Who is to say that on-the-site proof of Henry's activities here might not lie waiting for discovery?

The book expands earlier work published several years ago. It also includes maps and sketches, and an extensive bibliography.





Notes on Nova Scotia

Halifax was the first British city in Canada to have a woman alderman, Mrs. M. I. Sullivan in 1936.

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Victoria Beach, Digby County was the end of the pony express line from Halifax, where the news from England arrived by ship and was rushed to Victoria Beach then steamed across the Bay of Fundy to the telegraph at St. John. The first run, February 21, 1849 was made in eleven hours and 19 minutes.

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Bear River gets its name from three possible sources Louis Hebert, Champlain's Apothecary, Capt. Simon Imbert, explorer who sheltered there from a storm in 1613 or from the Indian legend relating the death of three large bears at this point.

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The first chocolate factory in Canada was started by John P. Mott in Dartmouth 1834 and the John P. Mott & Company was organized in 1844.

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The first lighthouse in Nova Scotia and the first concrete fireproof building in America was built at Louisbourg in 1731. The light which showed for six leagues, was provided by coal burned in an iron pan.

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Sir John S. D. Thompson, a native Haligonian became a Prime Minister of Canada and is buried in the Holy Cross Cemetery on South Park Street.

