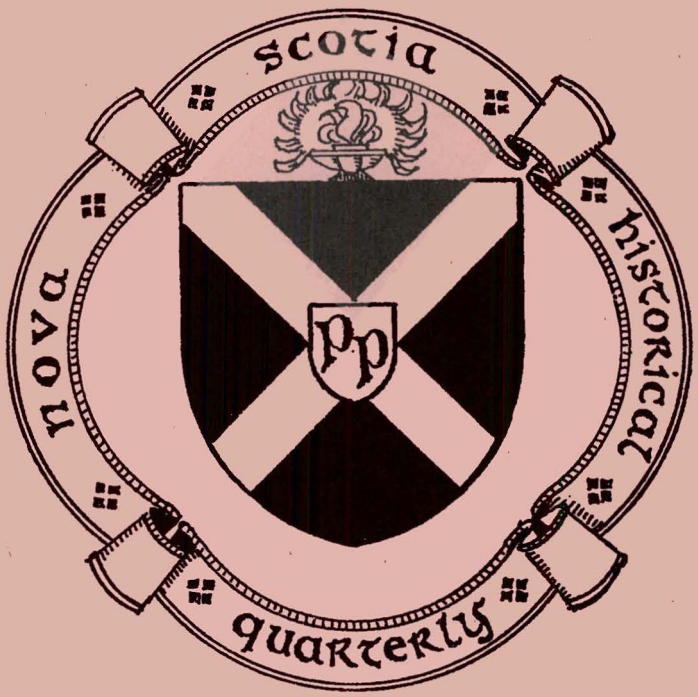
The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

Volume 5 Number 2, June 1975



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

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

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

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

PETHERIC PRESS

The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

Volume 5, Number 2, June 1975

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ISSN — 0300 — 3728

A Publication of Petheric Press Limited

Second Class Mail Registration No. 2554

The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly
gratefully acknowledges assistance given
by the Nova Scotia Museum

The Historical and Social Setting of the Antigonish Movement

JIM LOTZ

The Antigonish Movement is universally recognized as a significant Canadian contribution to the theory and practise of social change. It was an adult education, co-operative and credit union movement that arose in Eastern Nova Scotia in the 1920s, flowered in the 1930s, and became part of the social and economic fabric of the whole of the Maritimes in the 1940s and 1950s. It was based at the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. A great deal of attention has been paid to the achievements and techniques of the Movement, but little to its historical and social context. An article in *Maclean's Magazine* of June 1, 1953, claimed that 'SFX has put new life into a dying fishing industry, restored idle farms and stamped out Communism in industrial Cape Breton, once a hot-bed of radical activity.'[1] The first contingent of the Company of Young Canadians was trained at St. Francis Xaxier University. A journalist who later joined the Company wrote, 'Antigonish had a fantastic history of social action . . . it was here that Moses Michael Coady walked out of the Margaree Valley to found the co-op movement that spread throughout the world.'[2]

The Antigonish Movement was the creation of the thought and action of a group of strong minded leaders and dedicated followers. It was an indigenous social movement; all the leaders came from Nova Scotia. Social movements usually appear in periods of stress and uncertainty, and they follow a well defined course, from initial agitation to eventual institutionalization or eradication. The Antigonish Movement had the three typical leaders of a social movement, who appeared in succession. The prophet, Father Jimmy Tompkins, who cried out for years in the wilderness, came from the Margaree. The messiah was Father Coady, a cousin and protegée, of Father Jimmy, and a man of great physical presence. The organizer was Angus B. MacDonald ('A.B.') who did the careful planning and administrative work that every successful social movement needs to succeed. The Movement developed in response to certain universal social trends (urbanization, industrialization, rural depopulation), as part of the social action movement of the Catholic Church, and as an alternative to the left wing and right wing ideologies that arose in the 1920s.

The roots of the Movement lay in the social, economic and historical conditions of Eastern Nova Scotia. This area was settled mainly by Highland Scots who established themselves on small farms carved from the thick Acadian forest. Here they lived a subsistence life during most of the nineteenth century, secure in the ownership of their farms, and relying on a system of self-help and mutual aid in times of crisis. In some parts of the area, however, even the hardest labour returned only a meagre living. The Highland Scots had no tradition of trading. In the close-knit, self sufficient economy, it was usually an outsider who became the merchant or the middleman. This person bought the surplus of the production, and supplied the manufactured goods. In the Acadian settlements of Chéticamp, the Jerseymen moved in after the French left, and occupied the trading niches in the economy.[3]

Eastern Nova Scotia was—and still is—a land of small, one family farms. These farms could not provide an adequate living for the children of the original settlers, even if these young people wanted to stay. After the middle of the nineteenth century, when most of the good farming land had been occupied, extensive migration took place from Eastern Nova Scotia. The young people moved to the 'Boston States', and to Upper Canada. They also found wage employment in the coal mines, steel mills, and the factories that were built in New Glasgow and industrial Cape Breton at the end of the nineteenth century. Many of the people of Arichat left the community when St. Peter's Canal was completed in 1869, and steamships replaced the sailing vessels that once crowded Arichat Harbour. Between 1891 and 1931, the population of the seven eastern counties of Nova Scotia dropped from 131,886 to 105,279.

It was the plight of those who were left behind that engaged the attention of the reformers. They saw how farmers and fishermen were being pushed deeper into debt, poverty, and dependency. Slowly, the rural areas were moving from a subsistence-based to a market-based economy. Improvements in communications led to the centralization of population and the decline of rural communities. The small country stores began to disappear, and so did many of the services that were once located in rural areas, including doctors and lawyers. The improvement in roads, and the arrival of automobiles and trucks in the region accelerated the processes of rural decay. The sense of community declined. The ambitious and restless young kept leaving. The social and economic structure had few niches in which they could use their talents, even if they decided to stay. As Coady noted in 1945:

> The bright child who gives signs of intelligence in school is immediately picked for a different career from that into which he was born. Rural people will mortgage their

> farms and workers will contribute their savings to the last cent to see that a favoured boy or girl gets a so-called chance in life . . . In our present educational procedure—which is essentially a skimming process—we are robbing our rural and industrial population of the natural leaders.[4]

A community based social order suddenly began to experience the demands for individual achievement, with all that this meant in the way of competition.

The favourite son or daughter required family resources in order to escape to a better life. With the onset of the depression, incomes dropped and resources became scarcer and scarcer. Many of the residents of Eastern Nova Scotia were Catholics, and the concern about rural depopulation was communicated to the parish priests who preached to a dwindling population of old people in their churches. Rapid urbanization created slums around Sydney. Each coal company had its own town, and here the miners lived in a state of economic dependency. The farmers and the fishermen owed their souls and their livelihood to the middlemen who brought their products, extended credit, and supplied them with such little luxuries as tea and sugar. The miners owed *their* souls to the company stores, the infamous 'pluck-mes'. No matter how hard the miners worked, they saw very little cash. Their earnings were checked off for purchases by their wives at the pluck-mes. The coal companies ran hospitals and health insurance plans, and owned most of the housing. Added to this was the antagonism of companies to unionization, absentee ownership and management by outsiders. It was little wonder that the miners were radical, considering their lack of control over their own destinies.

At certain times in history, individual discontent fuses into group and community action. Action—any action—seems to be preferable to living under conditions of uncertainty and deprivation, always waiting for 'something' to happen. But

action by the minority is usually accompanied by apathy and inertia among the majority, who wait to see if things work before jumping on the band wagon. The genius of the organizers of the Antigonish Movement lay in the way in which they helped to channel frustration and excess energy at the grassroots level into channels that resulted in both individual and structural change.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Catholic Church struggle to come to terms with the new world of factories and cities. In 1869-70, the First Vatican Council was held. In 1891, Pope Leo XIII issued his encyclical *Rerum Novarum* on labour questions, and the social and economic attitudes of the Church. This dealt with the responsibility of employers, and the role that the Church could play in reconciling class interests. Pope Pius XI (1922-1939) opposed communism in all its forms. His encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) stated:

> Free competition, though within certain limits just and productive of good results, cannot be the ruling principle of the economic world. This has been abundantly proved by the consequences that have followed from the free rein given to these dangerous individualistic ideas.

The Antigonish Movement worked in the middle ground between the excessive individualism of the right, and the mass approach of the left. It represented an option for action and identification for those who rejected a purely 'political' approach to social and economic problems. The Movement built on the individualism of the people of Nova Scotia, but showed them how to act for mutual benefit, and how to use local talent. Part of the development problems was that the people had a poor self-image of themselves. The believed that they were losers and failures. At the same time, they envied the successful merchants who controlled the trade, and set the prices for produce, fish, and manufactured goods.

Croteau, in his book on the adult education, co-operative and credit union movement on Prince Edward Island, is one of the few writers who pointed out that the merchants were as much victims of the economic system as were the fishermen and the farmers. He noted:

> There is no doubt that the farmers and fishermen have been exploited both in their buying and in their selling. But blame tends to fall upon the end product of the system, the local merchant, rather than where it should fall, upon the monopolistic and absentee control of finance and manufacturing in Canada . . . A few local merchants have amassed comfortable fortunes, but not too many. For the ordinary merchant, his livelihood requires a lot of hard work, and not a little shrewdness. But the merchants who have made a success of their stores are envied, especially by the class who are in a chronic condition of debt . . . '[5]

This writer also notes the kinds of tricks that the fishermen used to play—getting credit from one merchant, and selling their fish to another, poaching lobsters, operating bootleg canneries that produced tinned lobsters that caused sickness and even death, and taking undersized lobsters. He also notes that, at least on Prince Edward Island, few of the merchants opposed the creation of co-operatives.

The arrival of Father Jimmy Tompkins to teach at St. Francis Xavier University in 1902 probably marks the formal beginning of the Antigonish Movement. Father Jimmy was a small man, with a tremendous thirst for knowledge, and a desire to see it applied to solving the problems of ordinary people. Like the others in the Movement, he was a pragmatic intellectual. Activist priests were a common enough phenomenon in the Maritimes. In the parish of Rustico on Prince Edward Island, the Abbé Belcourt organized the first 'people's

bank' in North America in 1862, the Farmers Bank of Rustico. At Chéticamp, the redoubtable Père Pierre Fiset organized economic endeavors between 1875 and 1909. Both Tompkins and Coady taught school in Chéticamp before they were ordained. But the efforts of these priests began and ended with the individual. Above all, Father Tompkins stressed the importance of education in social change. Initially, he hoped to inspire students at the university to stay in the region, and to help it grow and develop. He did manage to inspire some students. But the majority passed through the university and joined the ranks of the 'big wigs', Father Jimmy's term for those whom he saw as the oppressors of the 'little people'. Or the students left the region. Father Tompkins had a magpie mind. He synthesized the bits and pieces of knowledge that he picked up on his travels and in his reading, and tried to determine their relevance to the local scene. He was influenced by the British Worker's Educational Association, by Bishop O'Dwyer's thoughts on how the university could solve the problem of rural poverty in Ireland, by the Danish Folk School concept that had sparked a rural revival in that country, and by the Swedish Discussion Circle approach. In 1921, Father Tompkins published and distributed a pamphlet called: *Knowledge For the People—A Call to St. Francis Xavier College*. He saw the university as his base for social action.

This small and rather undistinguished Catholic college was the creation of the Diocese of Antigonish. Dr. Hugh MacPherson, the Dean of Engineering, had done some pioneering co-operative organizing work in the region. He started out by helping the farmers to grade and market their wool and their lambs. In 1914, the Province passed the Agricultural Instruction Act, which provided for the hiring of field workers. In 1915, MacPherson, who was a priest, joined the Department of Agriculture as an Extension Worker. little attention has been paid to the role of the Department of Agriculture in the field of rural development in Nova Scotia in the 1920s and the

1930s. Their field workers co-operated closely with the people involved in the Movement. Dr. W. V. Longley, Director of Extension at the Department's station at Truro was a staunch supporter of the sort of grassroots approach that the Movement used.

Various attempts had been made to get farmers to co-operate in marketing their produce. Co-operative creameries were established as early as 1894. In 1907, the Bedwick Fruit Company was formed as a marketing body. Alex D. McKay did excellent work among the farmers of Pictou County, helping them to buy supplies (especially fertilizer) in bulk, and to sell their products the same way. His efforts led to the creation of a regional co-operative called the Pictou and North Shore United Farmers. In 1916, the Maritime United Farmers Co-operative was chartered in New Brunswick. Branches in Antigonish, Truro, Tatamagouche, Amherst, Springhill and Windsor were established between 1917 and 1921. This organization got into trouble. In 1922, a Special Act was passed in Nova Scotia allowing each local branch to be incorporated separately. This move did not save the system, and only the branch in Antigonish survived.

The reasons for the failure were poor management, the control of co-operatives by one individual, and the careless use of credit. Basic to this failure was the absence of an educational component in the co-operative movement. Farmers and fishermen are notoriously difficult to organize. Even after the Movement got under way, some ventures, such as the Cape Breton Island Producers' Co-operative collapsed. It was easier to organize co-operatives in the towns. The first co-operative store in Canada was organized at Stellarton in 1861, only seventeen years after the Rochdale pioneers opened their store in Toad Lane, in the north of England. The act of the Rochdale pioneers in 1844 is usually taken as the beginning of the modern co-operative movement. In 1906, the British Canadian

Co-operative Society Ltd. was established by miners from Great Britain. This seems to have been an exceptionally well-managed undertaking.

The idea of co-operative action, therefore, was not new in Eastern Nova Scotia. What was new was the way in which adult education and co-operative organization went together, hand in hand. The Provincial and Federal Government had limited resources, but they did what they could to help the work of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University. They were a bit loath to support the idea of consumer co-operatives, because of the possible complaints from the merchant class. But in the area of marketing, the Department of Agriculture gave plenty of backing. The Federal Government provided grants for work among the fishermen, but the Movement seems always to have been in a condition of financial crisis. Even as late as 1938, for example, a report stated that, 'it will be difficult for the University to continue carrying the burden of the Extension Department.'[6] In that year, the Extension Division received a Federal grant to organize the fishermen of the Maritimes.

Social movements seem to be able to operate on relatively small sums of money. They rely on commitments from like-minded people who are willing to give of their time and their talents for the common good. They tie together scattered efforts, and so achieve economies of scale and effort. The region around Antigonish was blessed with many able and dedicated priests, clergymen, and laymen who provided a decentralized network of willing workers. Father Tompkins was the most visible and articulate of these people; others were Rev. Michael Gillis, Rev. John R. MacDonald, Father D. R. Rankin, Rev. J. D. Nelson MacDonald and many others. Throughout the Twenties there was steady pressure on the university to get into the field of adult education. At that time, adult education was neither recognized nor academically

respectable. The idea of teaching ordinary people how to read and to write, to use a set of books, to organize, and to set up co-operatives and credit unions was totally foreign to any university in the Maritimes. Two groups—the University Alumnae Society and the Scottish Catholic Society—apparently indicated that they would get involved in adult education if the university did not. Rev. Michael Gillis was a leading spirit. He had gone through the First World War as an army chaplain, studied at the London School of Economics, and was known for his advanced social ideas.

In 1921, the University put on its first 'People's School'. This brought fishermen and farmers on to the campus for six weeks to discuss their problems. In 1924, the clergy held their first rural conference on campus. This Conference raised $2,500 a year for five years to send young men from the farms to take short courses at Truro Agricultural College. The slow ferment built up, and pressures for using the university as a force for social action became stronger. But Father Tompkins was ejected from the university in 1922, and began to substitute action for exhortation.

The ostensible reason for Father Jimmy's rustication was his support for the idea of Maritime university amalgamation. This was a project of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which they were willing to fund. The Bishop of Antigonish opposed the idea, and so Father Tompkins went out as Pastor of Star of the Sea Church in Canso. This was a poor, isolated area, and Father Jimmy set about stirring up the local people, making them aware of their problems, and suggesting what they could do about them. He was seen as a revolutionary in his day, although he was basically a reformer. Blumer notes:

> . . . the reform movement accepts the existing mores; indeed, it uses them to criticize the social defects which it is attacking. The reform movement starts with the prevailing

> code of ethics, and derives much of its support because it is well grounded on the ethical side . . . a revolutionary movement always challenges the existing mores and purposes a new scheme of moral values.[7]

Father Tompkins was an extremely abrasive individual, forever prodding people to read a book, discuss a pamphlet, take some action. He probably saw his role as that of carrying out the social mandate of the Catholic Church. He did not do things *for* people. He suggested how they might tackle problems, and got information and some of the resources they needed. He was a typical prophet, a truly holyman who prayed a lot, and took little account of hardships and human frailties.

What Father Tompkins did at Little Dover has been documented in detail.[8] He 'animated' the people, got a road built, lent the fishermen money to build their own lobster plant, and in general helped the community to renew itself by its own efforts. He continued to read and to travel. In 1924, for instance, he was in New York to attend a meeting of the Carnegie Corporation to discuss adult education. The Carnegie Corporation provided much of the financial support for the Movement over the next fifteen years. At the meeting, there was talk of the use of co-operation and credit unions as vehicles for putting local energy and capital together for economic development. Credit unons were introduced into Canada by Alphonse Desjardins, who opened the first 'people's bank' in Lévis, Québec, in 1900. When it came time for the Nova Scotians to find out about credit unions, they invited Americans in to help them to organize. Roy Bergengren, Director of the Credit Union National Association, made nine trips into Nova Scotia at the invitation of Coady and his colleagues.

The official beginning of the Antigonish Movement at St. Francis Xavier University came in 1928, when an Extension Department was opened. Before this, an event took place on

July 1, 1927, that had much to do with getting social action moving in Nova Scotia, and in the Maritimes as a whole. On that day, the Sixtieth Anniversary of Confederation, the fishermen of Canso were all ashore, complaining that they had little to celebrate. In the latter part of 1926 and the winter of 1927, "weather conditions on the Atlantic coast were paricularly favourable for fishing."[9] A large quantity of fish were landed, more than the market could absorb. Steam trawlers landed larger catches than usual, and prices slumped. Father Jimmy organized a meeting, to which forty fishermen came. A week later he organized another meeting in Antigonish, this time of priests from fishing communities. The press was called in, and the general uproar resulted in the establishment of a Royal Commission on the Fisheries of the Maritime Provinces and the Magdalen Islands. The MacLean Commission was appointed on October 7, 1927, and reported on May 4, 1928. Among other things, it recommended the establishment of co-operatives among the fishermen of the Maritime Provinces. From this time onwards, Father Moses Michael Coady dominated the Movement. He was a charismatic figure, a big, rough hewn man with a transcendental vision of the good life. He was an impressive speaker, and no one who met him ever forgot him. In 1928, he was asked by the Federal Government to organize the fishermen of the Maritimes. On June 26, 1930, he brought together 208 representatives of fishermen's groups and helped them to create the United Maritime Fishermen. Technological changes in the fishing industry and improvements in transportation resulted in the decline of small communities. Large fish plants were built in key locations, and larger fishing vessels employed to get economies of scale. While a number of communities established co-operative canneries, the improvements in transportation after 1930 meant that inshore fishermen could send their lobster to market live, and get a better price.

When the Extension Department was created in 1928, Father Coady was named its first Director. He spent six

months looking at adult education in central and western Canada, and in the U.S.A. Then his assignment for the fishermen took him away from Antigonish, as he travelled around and visited communities in the Maritimes. But from 1930 onwards, the Extension Department took all his time. The first credit union in Nova Scotia was officially incorporated in 1933. Small communities swung into social and economic action, backstopped by the workers from the university. There was nothing miraculous about the methods used by the people involved in the Movement. Social movements do not persist unless they show that their methods work, and what happened at Little Dover was proof that adult education could change communities. Father Tompkins and Father Coady could stimulate, inspire, talk, teach. They could present a new vision of a better life, talk of social justice, and educate people. But neither was a very good organizer. To help him to set up the network of study clubs, Coady called in A. B. MacDonald. 'A.B.' was from Heatherton, and had studied at Ontario Agricultural College in Guelph. He worked first as an agricultural representative, and then became Inspector of Schools in Antigonish-Guysborough, 'A. B.' had doubts about exchanging the security of government for the uncertainty of a new venture in adult education. He agreed to take the job only if the clergy of Cape Breton would back him. R. J. McSween, an agricultural representative, met with the 'hard headed old Scotsmen' in Sydney, and convinced them that the Movement was a genuine attempt at social change. 'A.B.' did most of the detailed work of organization, following up after Father Coady had generated interest in the idea of community action. He also went to communities to tell them about the Movement.

There was nothing new, startling, or radical about the methods used by the Antigonish Movement. What was new was the development of a network that linked together scattered individuals and groups with Common goals, and provided them with access to the information and resources they needed. The

Movement operated in a decentralized manner, and complemented other efforts at social change in the region. Croteau was working in adult education, co-operative development, and credit unions on Prince Edward Island during the Thirties. At the same time, McEwen was building up the co-operative wholesaling organization that eventually became Maritime Co-operative Services, based in Moncton. The Movement used a variety of techniques. First a community meeting was held to air problems and issues, then small study groups were formed. Then the study groups came together, a credit union was established, and usually a co-operative formed. Buying clubs, grading of produce, co-operative marketing, publication of brochures, the use of radio, lobbying—all these complemented the efforts at the local level. Paid and volunteer leaders were involved. People were taught how to organize, how to identify problems, and how to get and use needed resources. It was hard and demanding work, but everyone seems to have enjoyed it, and there were no formal qualifications for entry into the Movement. One significant factor was that, after 1930, many young people began to come home from the United States during the depression. The Antigonish Movement provided them with an outlet for their skills and talents.

The Movement probably reached its peak in 1938-39. In 1938, the Movement received official Papal approval. In its Annual Report for the year ending April 30, 1939, the SFX Extension Department noted that staff totalled 11 full time members, 7 part-time, and 30 additional staff in the fishing communities.[10] The Annual Rural and Industrial Conference in August, 1938, had attracted 1,000 people. A Co-operative Institute held after the Conference brought together 200 educationists, clergymen, social workers and others from thirty states in the U.S.A. and from every Province in Canada. Rev. J. D. Nelson MacDonald, a United Church Minister, had lectured at the University of British Columbia to Pacific Coast Fishermen. In the three Maritime Provinces, 19,600 people

were enrolled in 2,265 study clubs. At the Annual Extension Course, held in February, 1939, 136 people from the region had participated. In all, 342 credit unions had been established, and 162 other forms of co-operative organization. In 1939, Father Coady's book, *Masters of Their Own Destiny* appeared, and in this he articulated the philosophy of the Movement.

The Antigonish Movement was basically a populist one, and it worked from the ground up, rather than from the top down. Coady was 'for' the rural people, co-operation, and grassroots action, and 'against' centralized power, absentee owners, cities, and the outside forces that kept Maritimers in a state of bondage. The Second World War brought employment, prosperity and income to the region. It also stripped the Movement of many of its leaders and workers. A number of the priests associated with the Movement went on to become Bishops. After the War, many people visited Eastern Nova Scotia to see the achievements of the Movement, and to study its methods. If the Movement was successful in human terms, it was perpetually having financial problems. In the Early Fifties, the Extension Department was $155,000 in the red. 'A. B.' died in 1952, Father Jimmy in 1953, and Monsignor Coady in 1959. In the year in which Coady died, the Coady International Institute was established to train students from developing areas. In 1973, the Institute was combined with the Extension Department of SFX.

The Antigonish Movement was successful as a social movement. It brought about a great deal of individual and structural change in the region, helped people to handle social economic tensions and showed communities how to identify economic opportunities. Dr. Alex Laidlaw, who was deeply involved in the Movement and is still extremely active in the co-operative field, summarized the Movement's achievements as economic uplift of the poor; the implementation of a philosophy of adult education that focused on ordinary people in

group action; helping labour to get organized; making the university relevant to everyday life; and supporting the social teachings of the Catholic Church.[11] To this might be added the fact that the Movement created a new opportunity structure for local people with ability. It provided them with the chance of upward social and economic mobility where competitive individualism had previously restricted opportunities for advancement.

Co-operatives and credit unions in the Maritimes are now big Business. In 1973 Maritime Co-operative Services had total sales of $63,953,170.[12] In the same year, United Maritime Fishermen had sales of $19,046,111.[13] In 1973, the credit unions in Nova Scotia had a membership of 120,000 and assets of $90 million.[14] The Movement has acted as a model and a stimulus for grassroots organization elsewhere in Canada and throughout the world. It shows that Nova Scotians can be leaders and not just laggards in the field of social and economic development.

FOOTNOTES

1. 'How FX saved the Maritimes', **Maclean's Magazine,** June 1, 1953, p. 25.
2. Daly, Margaret, **The Revolution Game.** Toronto, New Press, 1970, p. 44.
3. Chiasson, Pere Anselme, cap. **Cheticamp: Histoire et Traditions acadiennes.** Moncton, Edition des Aboiteaux, 3rd Ed., 1972, p. 31.
4. 'The Social Significance of the Co-operative Movement', **Brief** to the Royal Commission on Taxation of Co-operatives. Halifax, March 5, 6, 7, 1945, p. 12-13.
5. Croteau, T. J. **Cradled in the Waves.** The story of a people's co-operative achievement in Economic Betterment on Prince Edward Island. Toronto, The Ryerson Press, March 1951, p. 23.
6. Cited in Laidlaw, Alexander Fraser, **Campus and Community; the Global Impact of the Antigonish Movement.** Montreal, Harvest House, 1961, p. 90.
7. Blumer, Herbert, 'Social Movements' p. 8-28 in McLaughlin, Barry (Ed.), **Studies in Social Movements. A Social Phychological Perspective.** New York, The Free Press, 1969, p. 21.
8. See, for example, Bertram B. Fowler, **The Lord Helps Those . . .** New York. Vanguard Press, 1938, p. 37 ff.
9. **Report** of the Royal Commission investigating the Fisheries of the Maritime Provinces and the Magdalen Islands. Ottawa, King's Printer. 1928, p. 9.
10. Reprinted as part of **We Learn by Doing,** a series of fifteen short articles published by the Extension Department **circa** 1940.
11. Laidlaw, **op. cit.** Chap. IX 'What it adds up to.'
12. **The Maritime Co-operator.** Vol. 42, No. 4, April, 1974.
13. **Ibid.** Interestingly enough, it was only in 1974 that this organization added the word 'co-operative' to its name, to comply with the Canada Co-operative Association Act.
14. 'Credit Unions reported record breaking year.' **Halifax Mail-Star** May 24, 1974.

NOTE: The co-operative and credit union movement in Nova Scotia and the Antigonish Movement have never been the subject of a single book. Instead they have been documented in bits and pieces. Coady's book and Laidlaw's book are the best sources, but they treat the Movement in isolation, and pay little attention to the historical context, and to the Movement as a social movement. Father Tompkins has been the subject of a biography, but the biographies of Father Coady and A. B. Mac Donald have never been written. Coady-Extension at St. Francis Xavier University is gathering material on the Movement, and the University Archives also has a section on it. The movement is receiving that ultimate accolade of **academia**—at least one Ph.D. thesis is being written on it in Sociology. The Public Archives of Nova Scotia has a box of pamphlets and other

material on the Movement. The Carnegie Corporation of New York has a file on its involvement with the Movement.

In doing the research for this paper, I made contact with a number of people who were associated with the Movement, and wish to express my appreciation of their help. They include Mrs. Ellen Arsenault, Antigonish, Dr. Alex Laidlaw, Ottawa, Mr. 'Sandy' McLeod, Halifax, Sister Marie Michael, Toronto, and especially those two stalwart co-operators, now living in retirement—Dr. R. J. McSween, Halifax, and Rev. J. D. Nelson Macdonald, Dartmouth. Dr. McSween wrote an extremely valuable and detailed report on the co-operative movement in Nova Scotia; a copy of this is now in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

At Saint Francis Xavier University, Dr. R. Cujes of the Department of Sociology was extremely helpful and so were Professors L. A. Pluta (Economics) and W. J. Kontak (Political Science), who sent me a copy of their paper; 'The Philosophy and Approach of the Antigonish Movement to the Problems of Development', presented at the Annual Conference of the Canadian Association of Latin American Studies, Queen's University Kingston, May 28-30, 1973.

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Cumberland County Hatchet Murder

J. F. SMITH

Lizzie Borden took an axe
And gave her mother forty whacks;
When she saw what she had done
She gave her father forty-one![1]

The Lizzie Borden case has become practically a legend in the United States but the Pugwash-River Philip area of Nova Scotia had its own version of murder-by-hatchet fifty-five years before the Borden affair.

During the winter of 1837-38, Abraham Seaman and his son Stephen of Pugwash had two men working for them as loggers and farmhands. They were William Hussey of River Philip and Maurice Doyle, a wandering labourer.

Around the end of February, 1838, Doyle appeared at the Pugwash store of Henry G. Pineo where he bought 32 shillings' worth of goods. He told Pineo that he would be working for the Seamans until June and that Stephen Seaman

(Pineo's brother-in-law) would pay his bill. (Such payment, plus bed and board, would presumably have accounted for most of his wages.)

Later that day, Pineo learned that Doyle had just left his employment with the Seamans. Doyle was arrested at once for debt and was ordered to pay 39 shillings, the extra amount being required to cover costs arising from his attempt at fraud. Because he had nothing with which to pay his account, Doyle became the cause of some consternation.

However, a farmer from River Philip named John Clem agreed to hire Doyle as a labourer and to assume responsibility for his debt. On 7 March, Pineo's clerk (Fuller) gave Clem a statement of Doyle's account.

John Clem lived in a rather secluded spot near the mouth of a little stream that emptied into the west side of the River Philip. Clem had no family. His housekeeper, Mrs. Elizabeth Pipes, a widow, described the setting as "a lonely house"[2] where few visitors came with the exception of an occasional neighbor. However, members of her family usually visited about once a week.

The Clem house was quite small and evidently consisted of only two rooms. One room was used by Mrs. Pipes as her bedroom while Clem slept in the main room near the fireplace. His most valuable possession was a locked trunk which was positioned at the head of his bed and the key to which was carried by Mrs. Pipes. Clem had once admitted to John Winsby, a neighboring farmer, that he had about 40 Pounds in his trunk and he had been willing to lend some to Winsby.

Maurice Doyle worked for Clem throughout the spring of 1838 and until the 27th of June. To all outward appearances,

the two men had maintained a friendly relationship during these months although Doyle gained a reputation for excessive drinking and having little money.

On 27 June 1838, there were two guests visiting the Clem house. They were both young daughters of Mrs. Pipes.

Doyle had evidently given his employer previous notice that he wished to move on so both men left separately that morning to go to Pugwash. The reason was to settle Doyle's account (presumably with Pineo). Clem was the first to go, with Doyle following sometime thereafter. The labourer chatted with John Winsby after crossing the river with ferryman John Sentorius. Both Winsby and Sentorius discussed Doyle's departure and account settling with him.

During the afternoon, an unusual number of callers stopped at the Clem house. William Hussey came by because Clem had promised him some seed when he was finished with his planting. Mrs. Pipes suggested that he come back when Clem was at home.

Later, when two men named Cutten and Wetherby paddled up in a canoe, Mrs. Pipes dispatched one of her daughters with them for the return trip home.

Shortly after the supper hour, John Clem stopped at the home of John Winsby on the east side of River Philip. He had carried a bag of barley on his back from Pugwash and wanted a brief rest. The conversation turned to Maurice Doyle and Winsby later recalled Clem's having said that "Doyle was not faithful and he did not like him."[3] Winsby thought of accompanying Clem across the river but Mrs. Winsby was concerned about the tide. Therefore, Clem went alone in his own boat but Winsby kept the barley, promising to deliver it the next morning.

It was around sunset when Clem arrived home. Mrs. Pipes saw him go to bed before she joined her 12-year old daughter for the night. The outside door was not bolted.

Meanwhile, John Sentorius, the ferryman, had a visitor until about 8 o'clock that evening. Maurice Doyle asked, when he first came, if he could borrow a boat but Sentorius did not answer. The conversation thickened as Doyle told Sentorius that he owed 25 Pounds to Mills Emerson of Pugwash whom he could not pay. Therefore, he was compelled to go away in order to escape his creditor but he wanted to visit a Mulroy girl up the river before departing. Once again Doyle asked for the use of a boat to take him to the Mulroy home. This time, Sentorius consented. Doyle bent to the oars and Sentorius retired to bed around 8:30.

The Mulroy house was on the east side of River Philip and opposite John Clem's dwelling. Two hours later, when Doyle arrived at the Mulroys, he found part of the family in bed but Mrs. Mulroy talked with him in the kitchen. There was no meeting with a daughter. Moreover, he told Mrs. Mulroy that he had just come from Pugwash and was going to return there. About half an hour after, he bid good night to the Mulroys.

Within another half to three-quarters of an hour or so, Doyle returned to John Sentorius with the boat. Sentorius had been asleep but he rose to meet Doyle and to take him to the highway. Before leaving, though, Doyle changed his shirt in the Sentorius kitchen, leaving the discarded one on the kitchen floor.

It was about midnight. Although he seemed neither upset nor in a hurry, Doyle made an unusual request of Sentorius. He asked the ferryman not to divulge where he went. Tell any questioners, he said, that he had gone to Pugwash to find passage to Sydney. "All my dependence lies in you not telling

which way I go."[4] Doyle then asked for information about roads and distances before turning down the one leading to the Head of Amherst.

Sentorius returned to his home but, before climbing back into his bed, he found Doyle's soiled shirt on the floor. Picking it up, he noticed it was damp as he stuffed it into a table drawer.

Thursday, 28 June 1838, was Queen Victoria's Coronation Day.

At 5 a.m., William Hussey took Mrs. Pipe's advice of the previous afternoon and returned at a time when he should find John Clem at home. However, to his surprise, Hussey found that no one had risen as yet. Standing on the gunnel of Clem's boat, he tried to see through a window. His attention was caught by a noise which he took to be a sheep's bleating. That impression was instantly altered when he heard Mrs. Pipes moan: "Lord have mercy on me."[5]

Swinging open the door, Hussey stepped into the dark interior. Lying on the broad of his back on the bed by the fire was John Clem. The senseless man's hands were crossed on his chest, his face was bloodied, one ear was nearly sliced from his head, but he was still gasping for life. Hussey bent over the man and tried to shake some words from him. Clem was beyond words.

Hussey then approached the inner room. More blood and disheveled bed clothes grasped his gaze there. On the bed lay Mrs. Pipes with a wound in her forehead. At her feet, her daughter was sprawled with a tooth hanging from her mouth and her head dried onto a pillow.

Shaking Mrs. Pipes, Hussey tried to discover what had happened. In response, he heard something about a nightmare so he turned to arouse the daughter. This young girl asked for water and Hussey moved to get it. He saw the passage of a shadow and quickly discovered the arrival of John Winsby.

Winsby had journeyed across-river to bring the bag of barley left behind by Clem the evening before. Upon entering the house, he saw what Hussey had seen earlier. Clem was still breathing convulsively. The others were in a little better condition but were, nevertheless, seriously injured. Mrs. Pipes could tell nothing about what had happened.

About twenty minutes later, John Clem died. One can imagine the words that may have passed between Hussey and Winsby as they examined the situation. In the main room, they saw that the chest had been broken into. Clothes within it were rumpled, a paper of tea and the grant to Clem's land lay on the floor, and a hat box was tossed aside. Near the hearth, Winsby picked up some leaves from a pocket book. The pocket book itself was missing.

As William Hussey dashed from the house to raise an alarm, he spied an axe on the ground. However, he pursued the half-mile crossing to the Mulroy house before examining that clue. On his return he, of course, brought help and a certain Mr. Peel was with him when he investigated the discarded axe. It had a long handle like that used by Maurice Doyle and there was blood on the blade "too clear to be mistaken."[6] The instrument was lying in the direction of the ferryman Sentorius's house.

It was now about 6:10 a.m. John Winsby made a speedy departure for Pugwash to summon the surgeon and the coroner.

Just when suspicion of Maurice Doyle dawned upon those gathered at the Clem house is uncertain. Perhaps it was not until Mrs. Pipes was carried unconscious down to the Sentorius house for, when John Sentorius first heard about the terrible goings-on nearby, he must have recalled at once the lie that Doyle had asked him to tell regarding his whereabouts. Sentorius drew Doyle's discarded shirt from its receptacle to examine it. On one sleeve was a spot of blood.

The surgeon, Samuel Patterson, had arrived from Pugwash at Clem's house around 7:30 a.m. Upon examining the deceased victim, he found several marks of violence, the worst being a two-inch deep wound that had penetrated the brain. There were also injuries to the left shoulder.

Later in the day, the county coroner, George Bergman of Pugwash, held an inquest at Clem's house. The axe, the shirt, and the loose pocket book leaves were all examined. The result of the inquest was an obvious one: John Clem had met death my murder with a heavy instrument, possibly an axe.

And what of Maurice Doyle?

George Glendenning lived near the Head of Amherst. Early on the morning of 28 June (between 5 and 6 a.m.), he saw a man coming down the road toward him. A closer look told him that the man's "trowsers were muddy and he appeared to have been walking far."[7]

The man approached Glendenning and introduced himself as Hales. He said that he had jumped ship at Pugwash and was trying to reach Saint John to meet his brother, another seafaring man. The stranger then offered 5 shillings to Glendenning to drive him into Amherst because his feet were too sore to keep walking. Despite his wife's protest, Glendenning agreed to the deal and they departed. However, Glendenning's dog refused to be turned back and so it also made the journey.

At Ferguson's Hotel in Amherst, the stranger once more made a bargain with Glendenning, this time to drive him on to Jolicure. Upon reaching that settlement, the two men arrived at a third agreement. Glendenning would continue the trip as far as Easterbrooks. However, they accidentally bypassed that location but Glendenning was determined to go no further. Therefore, he set the stranger down at an inn and ignored the effort to persuade him to continue the travels as far as Dorchester.

At one point, the stranger had asked if the dog would protect Glendenning if he were attacked. Glendenning recalled this question when he learned later that his passenger, the so-called Hales, was none other than Maurice Doyle.

*

News of John Clem's murder spread rapidly. In Amherst, a warrant was issued for the arrest of the missing Maurice Doyle and was taken up by Joseph Avard, Jr., a Justice of the Peace for the County of Westmorland in New Brunswick. Mr. Avard had been in Amherst on business.

Avard was joined by Asa Fillmore of River Philip in the hunt for the prime suspect. The two detectives pursued him through Westmorland County and toward Saint John. It was about 2 a.m. on Friday morning (29 June) when they overtook Doyle at a roadhouse near Sussex. They found him walking around a stage coach.

"I seized him pretty roughly,"[8] said Avard in later testimony. The arrest was an easy one with Doyle making no resistence and Fillmore holding a pistol to him while others tied the prisoner with ropes. Doyle appeared to be confused at first when Avard told him of his right to remain silent. Yet, when he was informed of the charge against him, he was said to have exclaimed: "My God, is Clem killed?"[9]

Then Avard removed from Doyle's possession a pocket book with account statements and money. Doyle meantime babbled his story about travelling to meet his brother at Saint John. When asked where the pocket book and money had come from, Doyle declared that he had acquired both in the United States.

Then why were the bills in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick currency, Avard wanted to know. Doyle responded that he had had them exchanged at St. Andrews.

Asa Fillmore continued the questioning. How much money did Doyle have? Doyle thought there were 8 or 9 Pounds. Upon checking in the pocketbook, there was found to be in excess of 25 Pounds. What was his explanation for such a difference between the estimate and the fact? Doyle said he had spent quite a bit in travelling and he hadn't realized there was so much left.

Fillmore wanted to know how Doyle had learned that his brother was at Saint John. Doyle replied that he had received a letter from him.

Where was the letter? Doyle had read it and burnt it.

Later, Fillmore asked Doyle to tell the diffrence between a 20-shilling and a 5-Pound note. He could not. Why? Doyle could not read.

How, then, had he read his brother's letter? He had asked a man at Pugwash to read it to him.

Who was that man? Doyle did not know his name.

Doyle further told Avard and Fillmore that the last time he had seen John Clem had been near Abraham Seaman's. Clem had been carrying a bag of barley on his back, he said.

Doyle made no comment when he was first confronted with the news about his blood-stained shirt. However, he later denied there had been any blood on it before he had removed it at Sentorius's house. Moreover, he denied ever having changed his name to Hales, saying that others had changed it and he had merely gone along with them.

Doyle was returned to the authorities at Amherst on Saturday afternoon at which time the pocket book, accounts and money found on his person were turned over to Robert M. Dickie, the local magistrate. Doyle's trial took place almost three months later.

*

The streets of Amherst were reported to have been crowded with people coming in from the surrounding countryside on 26 September 1838. The Supreme Court was due to sit that morning at 10 a.m. to hear the case against Maurice Doyle. One lawyer commented on the great excitement that the matter had stirred up. Such commotion was not likely to aid in sober deliberation at the trial.

The day before, a Grand Jury had brought in an indictment against Doyle, charging him with the capital offence of murder. His plea was one of not guilty.

A very biased newspaper columnist described Doyle:

> The prisoner is considerably above the common height, a strong built muscular man with large course features, dark hair and eyes, shaggy eyebrows and a down look, although his appearance was strongly indicative of the mixture of brutality, ignorance and low cunning which were exhibited in the circumstances developed in the trial.[10]

Before the session of the 26th could be opened, the Chief Justice had to struggle through the throng around the Court

House. The public prosecutor, Mr. Gray, delivered his initial remarks, noting that this crime was the first of its type in the county's history. He then called a series of witnesses.

(1) George Bergman, the county coroner, reported on the proceedings of the inquest into Clem's death on 28 June. He would not swear that the stain on the axe was blood but it certainly looked like it.

(2) William Hussey described how he had discovered the victims of the assault and added details about his acquaintance with Doyle.

(3) John Winsby gave testimony similar to Hussey's. He also produced the leaves of a pocket book which he had found near the hearth of Clem's house.

(4) Samuel Patterson, the surgeon, outlined the medical facts regarding Clem's injuries.

(5) John Sentorius, the ferryman, told of his meetings with the accused on the days around the murder. He also reported that another examination of Doyle's discarded shirt showed a speck of blood on the second sleeve. He produced the shirt, pointed out the marks and allowed it to be introduced as evidence. On cross-examination, he had to admit that if Doyle had wanted to escape the area unseen, he could have found a spot other than at the Sentorius house.

(6) John Mulroy told of Doyle's visit to his parents' home the night of the murder. He had been lying in a bed in the kitchen only three or four yards from where Doyle had been standing.

(7) Thomas Johnson answered questions about the inquest into Clem's death. He had been present and had seen blood spattered on the wall near the deceased's body.

(8) George Glendenning related his experiences with Doyle, alias Hales.

(9) Robert M. Dickie, J.P., told of how he had collected and cared for various statements and pieces of evidence.

(10) Joseph Avard recounted his part in capturing Doyle near Sussex.

(11) Asa Fillmore detailed more about Doyle's arrest and return to Amherst.

(12) Henry G. Pineo, the Pugwash merchant, discussed his experience with the prisoner and added that he (Pineo) had, about a year before, delivered into Clem's own hands an account with some figures on the back. The prosecution drew attention to the fact that this same account had been found on the person of Maurice Doyle.

(13) Winsby was recalled to fit the leaves he had discovered into the pocket book removed from Doyle at the time of his apprehension. The leaves corresponded exactly.

(14) Abraham Seaman testified that he had repaired John Clem's pocket book several years earlier. Because he had had no red leather like the original, he had used black leather to make a new strap for it. With his penknife he had checkered the strap. " . . . I am convinced in my own mind that this is the same pocket book,"[11] he said when questioned about the one removed from Doyle's person at Sussex.

(15) Mrs. Elizabeth Pipes (her summons likely caused a buzz of sympathetic comments) described the movements of Clem and Doyle before the murder but she could tell nothing about that terrible night. She did add, though, that Clem's money had been wrapped in a piece of special paper brought home by Clem from the Bay of Chaleur.

(16) Josiah King recalled how he had accompanied Clem to the Bay of Chaleur where Clem had been paid in four 5-Pound notes, New Brunswick currency, which had been wrapped in a piece of paper. King was not sure if the paper found on Doyle was the same as that from the Bay of Chaleur.

The counsel for the defence, Mr. Haliburton, called no witnesses.

The Judge instructed the jury before it retired. Within ten minutes, the jury returned with a verdict of guilty. *The Novascotian's* reporter observed that Doyle

> who appeared to have entertained hopes of acquittal to the last, sank on hearing the verdict. He buried his face in his hands and falling back in his seat with his face and hands resting on his knees he remained in that position sobbing occasionally until he was removed from the Court.[12]

Maurice Doyle was sentenced to death, a penalty he paid on the gallows.

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Pictou Island

ROLAND H. SHERWOOD

PICTOU ISLAND is like many other small islands along the Atlantic coast, except that it has a known, but lost treasure buried in the sands of the island's east coast. The treasure is a not inconsiderable liquid loot in kegs; kegs of Demmarra Rum no less.

Residents of this little island in Northumberland Strait know of this hidden liquid treasure, and, in the years gone by, several fishermen have uncovered a stray keg or two of the hastily buried contraband.

Such finds are now few and far between, and nothing like that first finding of rum which resulted in the greatest spree Pictou Island ever knew.

Lobster fishing has always been the livelihood of the island people, mixed with a little farming, but in the two hectic months of May and June of each year, absolutely nothing is allowed to interfere with the fishing. And nothing ever has, except that memorable occasion when no fisherman looked a lobster in the face for days on end. On that one period in 1930, boats put out from the island every day, but not to haul their lobster traps. There was a more profitable catch on the waters of the Strait.

Lobster packers pleaded frantically for the fishermen to attend to their fishing in order to supply the lobster factories, but they pleaded in vain. The Islanders were having themselves a high-ho time, joined by fishermen friends from the mainland, as together they celebrated a rum-runner's misfortune.

That event is past history on Pictou Island, but is remembered, laughed over and talked about as if it had happened but yesterday. It did happen yesterday. The yesterday of the 1930's, those highlighted, adventerous days of rum-running along the Atlantic coast, which, in one instance, caused loot to be buried on Pictou Island and gave fishermen an all-time spree.

In the gray dawn of a May day in 1930, when the lobster-fishing grounds of Northumberland Strait was pock-marked with hundreds of fishing boats whose owners were seeking the succulent lobster from the extensive fishing grounds, a hard-pressed, high-powered rum-runner raced in among the lobster boats, closely followed by a government revenue cutter.

As the lobster fishermen watched, the rum-runner dumped her cargo of illegal rum overboard and went racing away down the Strait. The revenue cutter followed. The chase led off toward Prince Edward Island, and the surprised fishermen went to work. But not the regular work of pulling lobster traps. Forgotten was the good price for lobsters as the laughing, shouting lobstermen set about harvesting the liquid windfall from the Strait.

The fishermen knew what they were harvesting, and as soon as the first kegs came aboard, they were tapped. The samples were good—and potent. The first to salvage and sample, waved and shouted their fishing mates in to the floating kegs of liquid cheer, and the entire lobster-fishing fleet, from Pictou Island and the mainland went into the salvage business.

Practically everyone sampled the contents of the kegs fished from the Strait. But there was just too many kegs and too much rum for even the lobster fisherman, so, like the buccaneers of old, they began to take the kegs ashore and bury them in the sand, and return to secure another load.

Word of the unusual harvest spread quickly over the island. Those on shore watched the hiding of the kegs of rum, and highjacked them as soon as the salvagers were out of sight.

In the excitement and haste of recovering the kegs of rum; excitement over the unusual find, and haste for fear the revenue cutter would return and claim the floating cargo; the burial of the kegs was done quickly, the hiding places not clearly marked, or remembered.

Most of the kegs, which weren't high-jacked, were later recovered from the initial burial places, and buried again with more care further inland. Much of this was done at night, and with the continual burying, high-jacking and re-burial that went on, a large number of the kegs of rum were so safely hidden that some haven't been located to this day. At the present day liquor prices this unwatered rum is there for the lucky finder.

But the rum keg burials haven't been forgotten, and even to this day fishermen often bring their boats close inshore along that section of the island where kegs of rum were known to have been buried. They still hope that the tides will have uncovered a keg or two. If any has been found, only those who made the recovery know for sure.

For many months after that first salvage and spree, it was common knowledge among fishermen that they could go to a dozen different marked buoys, pull up the lobster traps, each of which contained a gallon of strong rum, and help themselves. By some strange system, known only to the fishermen, there was always a full gallon of Demmarra Rum in each trap.

Pictou Island, a fragment of Pictou County, lies ten miles out in Northumberland Strait by boat from Pictou Town. It is a low-lying Island, important as a navigation point, five miles long from the East to the West lights, and two miles at its widest point. At one time 35 families lived along the gravel road that winds up the center of the island, which was settled in 1802 by emigrants from the Isle of Barra, Scotland. Today, the number of families have dwindled, many coming to the mainland to take jobs in the new industries. Others forced to leave because of the closing of the school, with their students having to attend the larger schools at Lyons Brook, 4 miles from Pictou Town. But many who spend the winter in Pictou, return to the Island when the lobster fishing season of May and June opens each year.

The single road up the center of the island is unlighted, except from the stray gleams of light from the fishermen's homes near the road. On the North, the tall spruce cluster in black stands close to the road, and the open pasturelands on the South sweep down to the water's edge.

At night, the moaning of the surf is amplified by the darkness, and the close-packed trees seem to push in upon the road, making it an ideal spot for the rise of such tales as "The Woman In White", the ghostly female that the islanders claim to have seen more times than just the occasion when they salvaged the rum from the waters of the Strait.

PICTOU ISLANDERS are individuals on an island that is known for its individualism. They are a people apart, clanish to the utmost degree. Their manner of speaking is different from any other place in Pictou County. It is a quick slurring of words with a rising inflection in which such a word as "Pictou" becomes "Picta".

Here on Pictou Island the MacDonalds, MacCallums, MacLeans and MacMillians have always been numerous enough to be separated by nicknames to distinguish one from the other with identical names in the different families. Thus, "Little Duncan" six foot tall, is set apart from "Big Duncan" who is a bigger man still. And when they speak of "Jack Happy" it is known the particular Jack MacDonald that is meant.

Glover, Hooper, Patterson, Rankin and Turple are island names among the Macs, and all with "something different" from those on the mainland.

Pictou Islanders are so different that you can tell an Islander as far as you could throw him. But you won't throw him very far, and you won't tell him much. Every Islander believes there are no people like Pictou Islanders, and no place like Pictou Island. And they may be right. Ordinarily, a Pictou Islander is a peace-loving fellow, but he'll knock your teeth out if you speak belittling of the "Island" and its people. If he gets his own teeth knocked out in the process (which is highly unlikely!) it won't bother him a bit. He'll wear his brother's false teeth and brag about it!

There's Scotch in the Pictou Islander's background, and quite often in his pocket. While he doesn't talk much about his forebears, and doesn't delve too far into the past, he'll talk about anything under the sun in the present.

As a composite, the Pictou Islander is an honest fellow, hard working, hard-headed in an argument, and the greatest teller of tall tales outside the Island of Cape Breton.

Credited by Islanders as the kingpin of them all in the tall story department was the late 'Punch" Patterson. Short, stocky and friendly, Island born in a family that stemmed back to the first settlers, Punch was a born story-teller. In his dead-pan

way, he would confidently say, and be ably backed by other islanders, that he was the only man in Pictou County who ever caught a ghost, or sailed right through the Phantom Ship.

"A bunch of us fellows" Punch would say, "was coming home one night from Lauchie Dan's. It was mighty dark and dismal, and we got talking about the Woman In White. She'd been seen on this road, and once she knocked at Eddie Glover's door. I was telling the boys that if I saw her I'd chase her and find out who and what she was. And right then, I'll be darned, if there wasn't the Woman In White flitting ahead of us on the road. Well, sir, I took after her, slow like at first, then at a faster walk, but she always kept ahead of me. Then I lit out after her on the run, and you can strike me if I wasn't gaining on her. I had to run pretty fast 'cause a ghost can flit some, you know. Her long hair was blowing straight out behind, so I reached out and caught hold, just to stop her. But darned if her whole head didn't come off. And there I was, holding the head of the Woman In White and her running blind up the road. Now what was I to do with the head of a ghost? I couldn't carry it back to the other boys, it'd scare them half to death, so I just swung it around my head a couple of times, and then let it go, and that head went screaming away in the darkness. I know I caught a ghost that night, 'cause the Woman In White ain't been seen since on the Island. Maybe she can't find her way around now, what with the loss of her head."

The humour of a Pictou Islander is down to the water's edge, and like his fishing boat, rises with the current of his telling, and swings with the wind. An islander can be bitterly brutal in his direct remarks, or he can be slyly cynical, especially in his political beliefs, which he takes as seriously as his religion.

The Islander himself is small stuff on a small island, but only to others than Pictou Islanders. He'll jump in where main-

landers fear to get their feet wet; in the political waterhole, that is. At the drop of a hat, or the rise of the tide, he'll take the local political bosses over the hurdles, just by picking up the telephone and telling them what he wants . . . for his island. And they listen too!

At election time the island is split by the two major political parties, but in between all work for the good of "Their Island."

A Pictou Islander can look and act as dumb as a duck, but he's a pretty shrewd fellow in a county of shrewd Scotsmen. He knows how to make money because he knows how to work hard. He's also a free-spender and as happy-go-lucky a fellow you'll meet anywhere. He'll hang onto a dollar bill 'till his hand sweats, if he doesn't want to spend it. On the other hand he'll think nothing of laying out twenty five dollars for a small plane to take him to the mainland, just for a visit.

They call their home, "The Island", and when they say it they look at you with an expectant glint. They know you're going to say, "What Island?", and you do. Promptly they come up with the standard and time-worn answer, "Why Pictou Island, of course. What other island is there?" You'd never know from their expressions that they are engaging in a bit of leg pulling, and they play that gag to the limit.

There are other islands, they know. Bigger, more important, more economically sound. But this is their island, and they are clannishly attached to it.

Many of them have spent their whole lives on the island, visiting the mainland for only short periods, to grow homesick in a few days, to take the first boat back and breath a sigh of relief as they step on the soil of their home island.

The islanders farm on a small scale, the main business being lobster fishing, and from the first of May to the last of June they work the season hard. Up early, out on the Strait waters, haul, take the catch, bait the trap and reset, until late in the afternoon, despite wind, rain, cold and wet, they take their catch to the lobster factory, and head for home. In the months between the fishing, they spend in the daily routine of preparing, repairing and checking gear for the fishing season ahead, and the overhaul of their boats. Long hours, cold, wet and danger are all part of their rugged life.

Once they had the choice of the best fishing spots on the lobstering grounds of Northumberland Strait. But of late years, fishermen from "that other island", meaning Prince Edward Island, have been cutting into what areas the Pictou Islanders considered their own.

Between Pictou Island and the mainland lies the unpredictable waters of Northumberland Strait. Sometimes calm as a millpond, but more often an expanse of turbulent water. But even in its worst moods the Strait has never been as turbulent as the controversay over the Phantom Ship. The sighting of which has been the basis of plenty of arguments, both loud and long. Those who have seen the Phantom Ship know they have witnessed something unusual upon the dark waters. A flaming ship that rises from the Strait and goes scudding before the wind. Those who haven't seen it declare it is nothing but a figment of the imagination.

There are few Pictou Islanders who have not seen the Phantom Ship. What it is, they never try to fathom. They have seen it; a ship outlined in fire upon the water. They have set out in boats to get a closer view, only to have the spectre disappear before their eyes. And there they leave it, without trying to offer an explanation.

They'll tell of the night when a Pictou Island boat sailed right through the Phantom Ship before they knew it. "It was a pitch black night," they say, "then suddenly the whole of our boat was aglow, and in a minute we were through it. Looking back, there was the Phantom Ship streaking along the water to the East, and all aflame."

Pictou Island has rocky, rugged headlands on the west, where the West Light, attended by "Jack Happy" MacDonald for long years, sends its warning gleam toward the Pictou County mainland. The East Light, where Archie MacDonald was the long time keeper, blinks intermittingly toward the Strait and the dim outline of Prince Edward Island. Both lights are now automatic, and the former lightkeepers retired.

Along the shore, the bones of old lobster traps and the rotting frames of abandoned fishing boats lie half buried in the sands, while the restless surge of the Strait pounds the breakwaters, and crashes upon the shores. There isn't a spot on Pictou Island where the dull thunder of the surf cannot be heard.

Pictou Islanders are a hospitable people. The Church and the school being the focal points for gatherings. Visitors to the island have found that it is impossible to eat their way through the abundant food that is set before them. The island women are excellent cooks, and the children, both boys and girls are handy with tools, and boat engines, and are at home upon the water.

There are old houses on the coast; vacant, broken and half hanging over the shore edges that have been washed away by the sea. These, of course, are surrounded by tales of ghostly appearances; tales told in all sincerity of moans heard, of the rattle of chains and wild screams in the night as the eerie winds from the sea moans through the broken doors and windows, and rattles the loose clapboards.

The island people know hard work and early rising. They love frolics, dances and socials, which brings together all the island people, except those who are bed-fast and those who attend them. Funerals are causes for sorrowing the entire length of the island, with much visiting and talk of the departed. Weddings, births and the birthdays of the older folks are all taken as excuses to celebrate.

Crossing the turbulent Strait is second nature to the Islanders, and they'll take to their boats for a visit to the mainland at the slightest whim. They have crossed this body of water in every conceivable way; by rowboat, sailboat, motorboat, by ferry, on foot, by sled, by horse and sleigh over the ice, by plane, by helicopter, and some have even had to swim part way.

There are fishermen on the island who have crossed the Strait in the dead of winter, with ice on the move and miniature mountains of ice cakes piled high. And they tell the grim tales of men who were lost.

Tales of heroism are a dime a dozen on Pictou Island, for there isn't a home that hasn't at least one unsung hero in the family. Their daily work upon the water is fraught with danger, and acts of self-sacrifice in the rescue of others, worthy of medals and publicity on the mainland, go almost unnoticed on the island because of their frequency.

Talks of strength and endurance are found in the memories of days that are now gone; the days when the mails were brought to the island by boat. Stories of the rugged men who rowed the heavy mail boats in the open water, pulled them by the leather safety straps they wore, and pushed them over the piled-up winter ice that blocked the Strait. Stories of long hours, of cold and wet and danger, but never, in the long years of such work, was a life lost in the weekly delivery of the mail.

Today, the mail is delivered by plane, but the islanders still remember and tell of the grim hours of waiting and watching the black specks of men upon the white ice fields of Northumberland Strait as the pioneer mailmen fought their way to Pictou Island.

They remember too, of those days gone by when communications with the mainland were poor; of the weeks when they were cut off when ice crushed the telephone cable, when bonfires were built on the shores to signal that death, accident or sudden illness had caused an emergency. Those were the trying days of the past, but they are remembered even tho the island and the mainland are now linked by radio-telephone.

The young of the island are respectful toward their elders. The older people get something of hero worship, for the young have heard the stories of the past on many a night before a blazing fire in the various homes as the older folks told of exploits of island men, or sang the locally-composed songs of wrecks and rescues.

There are few cars on the island, and the young learn to drive at an early age, for they have had groundings in motors almost from their baby days. Cars bought cheaply on the mainland, brought to the island by boat, are worked on, patched, painted, checked and re-checked for the fun of working on the motors. Since there is no traffic problem on the one road, the few cars are driven, usually at a speed of 20 miles per hour, and the young will tell you as they go: "The best part of the road is the side, if you can keep out of the ditch."

Naturally, as in every other place, there have been "characters" on the island, each with his own peculiar way, good natured and harmless, such as one who visited every home on the island on his way down to the wharf where the fishermen were

busy with their boats. At each home he had a lunch, and on his way back he repeated the visits, lunching again at each home until he arrived at his own home, ready for supper.

Some sort of a musical instrument may be found in every home on the island, so that any house can supply entertainment, if others drop in for the evening.

There is color and atmosphere in their "end of season" talks of the fishing, of this boat or that man, of the luck they had, of humorous incidents that bring the laughs, and of narrow escapes that brings much head shaking and sober reflections.

Pictou Islanders judge their people by their quality of seamanship, and there is no higher praise for any man than to hear it said simply, "He's a good man."

Pictou Island has always been noted for big men, and a small man among them must prove his worth beyond the others. Such a one, a small man, was the late Eddie Glover, one time, and long time, winter mailman for the Island, and a sharp man with a boat. Small, quick-stepping, fast-talking, and always gum chewing, Eddie Glover earned the admiration of Island men by his worth and his work. Their opinion of his seamanship was always summed up in their terse words of praise, "He's a good little man in a boat." When Pictou Islanders give any man that rating, he's got to be exceptionally good, for every last one of the men on Pictou Island is, "A good man in a boat." High praise indeed.

L'Ordre de Bon Temps

MICHAEL A. SALTER

As the year of 1606 waned in the small fort community of Port Royal, an idea began to crystallize in the fertile mind of a man who was later destined to become the first Governor of New France. His idea was simple and when expressed to his peers gained enthusiastic support. He proposed that a social group be formally structured to help while away the dreary evening hours of the bleak Nova Scotian winter. Samuel de Champlain was even prepared to suggest a name for his fraternity; it was to be called "L'Ordre de Bon Temps." Thus, a handful of spirited adventurers were to give birth, in rather humble surroundings, to the first social club to be structured by Caucasians in North America.

What was Champlain's rationale for the formation of such a club and what did he see as its function? These two questions are interrelated and might best be answered if one were to first turn back the calendar a number of years.

The Port Royal Habitation was founded on the north shore of Nova Scotia's Annapolis Basin in August, 1605. It was certainly not the first European attempt to establish a permanent settlement in the New World, nor was it even the first to bear this illustrious name.[1] It was, however, the first

successful attempt by Frenchmen to establish a permanent community in North America. Indeed, some have claimed it to be the first permanent European colony north of Mexico.[2]

Be that as it may, one fact remains; Port Royal succeeded where other colonization attempts had failed. By way of example: the Norseman, Thorfinn Karlsefni, had unsuccessfuly attempted to colonize "Vinland" (probably the coast of New England or Nova Scotia) as early as 1025; in 1541 Jacques Cartier landed settlers at Cap Rouge above Quebec only to abandon the site the following year; Jean François de la Rocque, Sieur de Roberval, occupied Cartier's settlement in 1542 for a one year period returning to France; 1564 saw René de Laudonnière construct Fort Caroline in Florida and lose it within twelve months to the Spaniard Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. By 1568 this settlement, too, had disappeared; the year 1583 heralded the unsuccessful attempts of Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Humphrey Gilbert to colonize Roanoke Island and Newfoundland, respectively; Troilus de Mesgouez, Marquis de la Roche's efforts to locate settlers on Sable Island in 1598 turned out to be an unqualified disaster; and finally, the Tadoussac settlement at the mouth of the Saguenay, established by Pierre Chauvin in 1600, proved to be merely another example in a long series of failures.[3]

These attempts to colonize strange and, at times, inhospitable environments failed for a variety of reasons, chief among which were the problems of scurvy and starvation, the fear of native aggression and homesickness—conditions that were to prove an ideal medium for the growth of discontent and intra-group conflict. Was Champlain aware of the problems that were to face the Acadian settlers? If not, experience was to be his teacher.

In December 1603, Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, was granted a monopoly on the fur trade by Henry IV and a royal commission authorizing him to establish colonies in New France.[4] Although his monopoly included both Acadia and the St. Lawrence, he elected to settle in the Maritimes and in June, 1604, established his colony on the Island of Sainte Croix in the Bay of Fundy off the coast of Maine.[5]

Summer and fall passed pleasantly for the settlers, secure on their easily defended island. Winter, however, was to bring disaster. St. Croix was exposed to the biting north winds and lacked both wood and fresh water.[6] The settlers, apprehensive of the natives camped elsewhere on the island, and prevented from hunting on the mainland by the tidal ice-jams of the river, were forced to survive on melted snow, wine, salt meat and the few vegetables they had been able to hoard during the summer.[7] The arrival of spring saw thirty-five of the original seventy-nine men in the colony dead of scurvy.[8] Biard, in fact, maintains that only eleven remained free of ailments throughout the entire winter. "These were a jolly company of hunters, who preferred rabbit hunting, to the air of the fireside; skating on the ponds, to turning over lazily in bed; making snowballs to bring down the game, to sitting around the fire talking about Paris and its good cooks."[9] DeMonts, a veteran of Chauvin's unsuccessful colonization attempt, was obviously aware of the inherent values of physical activity for he had constructed opposite his quarters " . . . a covered gallery, to be used . . . for sports . . . "[10] While the amount of use it received is questionable, there is no doubt that the relationships between diet, exercise and good health were firmly implanted in the mind of Champlain.

Such was the state of the survivors that de Monts seriously considered abandoning the project in May; however, when François du Pont-Gravé arrived a month later bringing supplies and new settlers from France, he decided to continue the

venture and relocate his colony. The site selected was Port Royal on the sheltered west coast of Nova Scotia. Having helped erect dwellings and plant gardens for the new arrivals, de Monts set sail for France accompanied by all but three of the remaining St. Croix colonists.[11]

While Pont-Gravé began to prepare for the rigours of the months ahead, Champlain continued with the explorations he had begun the previous year. Thus, the fall passed and winter set in. Although it was relatively mild in comparison with that of 1604-5, it again brought with it scurvy[12] and unrest—unrest that periodically flared into physical violence. Although the colonists obviously fared better than had their predecessors on St. Croix, enjoying a more wholesome diet and an amicable relationship with the neighbouring Micmac Indians, their lot was not a happy one. After several abortive attempts in the spring to explore the coastline to the south, Pont-Gravé, realizing that they could not brave another winter of privation and scurvy without fresh supplies and medicine, began to plan their return to France. As fate would have it, their departure was forestalled by the arrival of Jean de Biencourt, Sieur de Poutrincourt.[13]

De Poutrincourt's party of colonists, many of whom " . . . were a villainous lot . . . [and] had good reason for leaving France,"[14] soon established themselves in the Port Royal Habitation thus allowing the survivors of the previous winter to return to their homeland under the captaincy of Pont-Gravé[15] While de Poutrincourt spent September and October exploring the coast of New England, the newcomers, under the guidance of Marc Lescarbot, readied the settlement for winter.

Champlain was also reflecting on the months ahead. He had been exposed to the sickness and discontent, to the fear and the loneliness of other settlers during the two previous winters and was well aware of the dangers this group of pion-

eers faced with the coming of snow. To Champlain, the task was clear. In order for the settlement to survive (and this was imperative if he were to continue his explorations) four objectives had to be achieved. First, the daily diet of the colonists would have to be improved and, secondly, the men had to be encouraged to engage in challenging physical pursuits throughout the winter months. Operating on the premise that poor diets and a passive existence had contributed to the previous outbreaks of scurvy,[16] Champlain believed that by urging the settlers to hunt, fish, gather and barter, they would both receive the exercise he deemed necessary and bring to the table an adequate supply of fresh foods. His third objective was to establish a regular forum whereby the colonists could relax and enjoy themselves in congenial surroundings.[17] Champlain saw the value of such gatherings as a means of promoting esprit de corps among the habitants and thus quell the rumblings of discontent and hints of mutiny that so concerned Lescarbot during the late autumn.[18] Finally, the settlement's survival depended to a large extent upon the continued goodwill of the local natives. Champlain was determined to foster this relationship for a number of excellent reasons. In the first place, to antagonize the Micmac could conceivably result in armed conflict, something that was to be avoided at all cost. In the second place, as Lescarbot clearly indicates,[19] it was from these Indians that the settlement derived the majority of its pelts. It must be remembered that de Monts' monopoly was still in effect and although the colonists may appear to have spent the bulk of their time engaged in other activities, it was after all the fur trade that provided Port Royal with a raison d'être. By thus pursuing a policy of goodwill, the safety of the settlement could be guaranteed and the prospect of securing both furs and additional fresh fish, poultry and venison from the natives would be facilitated.

Champlain visualised L'Ordre de Bon Temps as a vehicle by which these objectives could be realized. When viewed in this light, it is hardly surprising that his compatriots heartily endorsed the proposed society.[20]

What then was Champlain's L'Ordre de Bon Temps?[21] It was very simply a social gathering of the Port Royal colonists and their native friends, whereby one evening every two weeks was set aside for a formal dinner complete with toasts, allocutions, singing and story telling. To guarantee a laden banquet table, a chain-collar was ceremoniously draped " . . . about the neck of one of our people, commissioning him for that day to go hunting. The next day it was conferred upon another, and so on in order. All vied with each other to see who could do the best, and bring back the finest game.[22] Such was the rivalry that the hunters actually began foraging several days before their turn came.[23] The delicacies of forest and stream procured by the habitants, together with those supplied by their Indian friends, and the produce of the settlement's gardens, served to complement the wines and ordinary rations obtained from France.

To the members of de Poutrincourt's table[24] fell the responsibility of ensuring the banquet's success, each in his turn serving as maître d'hôtel for the occasion. Utilizing the newly acquired skills of the colonists—skills that saw a carpenter produce charcoal and masons try their hand at baking[25]—and the willing assistance of his dining companions, this person as chief steward supervised the preparation and distribution of the banquet dishes. Lescarbot provides a colourful account of these proceedings:

> . . . the Governor of the feast or Steward . . . having made the cook to make all things ready, did march with his napkin on his shoulder and his staff of office in his hand, with the collar of the order about his neck, . . . and all . . .

> [of de Poutrincourt's table] following of him, bearing every one a dish. The like also was at the bringing in of the . . . [dessert] but not with so great a train.[26]

Smacking his lips, Lescarbot continues by outlining a typical banquet menu; " . . . ducks, bustards, grey and white geese, partridges, larks, . . . moose, caribou, beaver, otter, rabbits, wildcats, . . . [raccoons,] . . . sturgeon, . . . "[27] together with fruits, vegetables, fresh bread, pastries and wine. Truly a gourment's delight and one that the colonists and their native guests must have anticipated with relish.

Between twenty and thirty natives joined the settlers on these occasions and considerable care was taken by the French to include them in the revelry. Indeed, the Micmac chief, Membertou, and other chiefs when they were in the vicinity, were invited to eat and drink with de Poutrincourt at the head table.[28] Owen describes the setting thus:

> It must have been a brilliant spectacle, when in the long, low room, the firelight gleaming on the glasses and silver of the table, on the gentlemen in their slashed and laced doublets crusted with gold, on the bearded face of Membertou and the figures of his tawny followers, the wine, and the pipe, with its bowl of a lobster claw and its tube decorated with porcupine quills, went round the merry company.[29]

Even allowing for literary license the scene must have been a warming one. It is little wonder that such a setting, combined with excellent food and generous libations, would rouse the gaiety of the participants—Indian and Frenchman, commoner and gentlemen alike. Poems were intermingled with songs, tall-tales, and humourous quips; in short, all the ingredients of an evening designed to ward off feelings of alienation and promote a spirit of camaraderie.

And so the evening flies apace—
Old songs are sung, old stories told—
Until the Master leaves his place,
And, taking staff and chain of gold,
Calls forth the Master who succeeds,
Drains first with him the Loving Cup,
Says, "In your hands we place our needs,
And gives his badge of office up.[30]

Thus, following a prayer of thanksgiving, the evening drew to a close with a final toast and the transfer of the order's collar to the succeeding chief steward.

The question can now be posed. Did this biweekly social gathering serve to meet the objectives visualized by its founder? Champlain apparently believed so, for he states that " . . . everybody found [L'Ordre] beneficial to his health, and more profitable than all sorts of medicine we might have used,"[31]— sentiments echoed by Lescarbot.[32]

There appears to be little doubt that the diet of the habitants was upgraded, both in terms of quality and quantity, as a result of an improved trade-relationship between colonist and native, and the intra-group hunting rivalries stimulated by the establishment of L'Ordre. " . . . At breakfast we never wanted for some modicum or other of fish or flesh," writes Lescarbot, "and, at the repast of dinners and suppers, yet less."[33] One is also left with the impression that the colonists engaged in far more physical exercise during the winter months than hitherto and that the morale of the colony remained high. We read, for example, of a group of settlers raising their voices in song while picnicing on the banks of a nearby river in the January sunshine.[34] This happy event may have never occurred had the French not deliberately cultivated the trust and friendship of the Micmac. Much of the uncertainty of pioneer life must have

been removed knowing that the local natives " . . . love Frenchmen, and would all, at a need, arm themselves for to maintain them."[35]

That these factors alone were responsible for the fewer incidents of illness[36] and unrest reported during the winter of 1606-7, is a moot point. However, if they did contribute to the mental and physical well-being of the Port Royal colonists, then credit must be given where credit is due—to L'Ordre de Bon Temps and its creator, Samuel de Chamlpain.

The life of Champlain's original club was shortlived, as de Monts' monoply was revoked with the arrival of summer and the colonists departed Port Royal for France in August 1607.[37] Although his monopoly was quickly renewed and Frenchmen set foot on Nova Scotian soil again within twelve months, L'Ordre was to exist in memory only for some three nundred and twenty-four years.

Then, on November 5, 1931, a group of leading citizens from Annapolis Royal decided to revamp an organization they had founded four years earlier. Their aims were twofold: to foster an interest in public affairs and cultural values and " . . . to revive and perpetuate the spirit and traditions of Champlain and his gay and gallant companions."[38] The name selected for this organization? "The Order of Good Cheer."

FOOTNOTES

1. In 1562, Jean Ribaut landed a party of French Huguenots on the east coast of Florida where they constructed a crude fort on an island in Port Royal harbour. Like other sixteenth century French colonization attempts this one was also doomed to failure.
2. See, for example, Edgar McInnis, **Canada: A Political and Social History** (Toronto, 1959), pp. 23-24; and the monument erected in honour of Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts by the Canadian Government at Annapolis Royal in 1904. The inscription on the tablet claims that de Monts there founded "The first settlement of Europeans north of the Gulf of Mexico." A photograph of this monument is contained in John Quinpool, **First Things in Acadia: The Birthplace of a Continent.** (Halifax, 1936), p. 144.
3. For further information on these early colonization attemps see W. L. Morton, **The Kingdom of Canada** (Toronto, 1969) pp. 3-27; McInnis, **Canada,** pp. 17-26; J.M.S. Careless, **Canada: A Story of Challenge** (Toronto, 1963) pp. 23-36; Samuel Eliot Morison, **The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages A.D. 500-1600** (New York, 1971) and W. P. Cumming, R. A. Skelton and D. B. Quinn, **The Discovery of North America** (New York, 1972).
4. Marc Lescarbot, **The History of New France, Book IV,** trans. W. L. Grant, Vol. II (Toronto, 1911) pp. 211-226.
5. Samuel de Champlain, "The Voyages of Sieur de Champlain of Saintonge, Book I," in **The Works of Samuel de Champlain,** ed. and trans. H. H. Langton and W. F. Ganong, Vol. I (Toronto, 1922), p. 274.
6. Marc Lescarbot, **Nova Francia: A Description of Acadia, 1606,** ed. E. D. Ross and E. Power, trans. P. Erondelle (London, 1928), p. 33.
7. Champlain, **Voyages,** pp. 306-7.
8. **Ibid.,** p. 304.
9. Pierre Biard, "Biard's Relation, 1616," **Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,** ed. R. G. Thwaites, Vol. III, (Cleveland, 1897), p. 53.
10. Lescarbot, **History,** p. 255.
11. The three who volunteered to stay in Port Royal were the Sieurs de Fougeray, de Champdore and Champlain. In all, forty-five persons remained in the new colony. Champlain, **Voyages,** p. 371.
12. Seventeen colonists were afflicted, of which twelve died before spring. **Ibid,** p. 377 and Lescarbot, **History,** p. 282.
13. Champlain, **Voyages,** p. 384.
14. Morris Bishop, **Champlain: The Life of Fortitude** (Ottawa, 1968), p. 82.
15. Again, only Champlain, de Champdore and de Fougeray elected to remain in New France.
16. Unfortunately, the residents of Port Royal, unlike Cartier, were not aware of an Indian remedy for scurvy, that being spruce-needle tea. Arthur R. M. Lower, **Canadians in the Making: A Social History of Canada.** (Toronto, 1958), p. 8.

17. These three objectives are succinctly stated by Colby who records that Champlain, "mindful of former experiences, . . . [was] determined to fight scurvy by encouraging exercise among the colonists and procuring for them an improved diet. A third desideratum was cheerfulness." Charles W. Colby. **The Founder of New France: A Chronicle of Champlain.** (Toronto, 1915), p. 52.
18. Lescarbot, **History,** p. 115.
19. **Ibid.,** p. 281
20. Somewhat surprising, however, is the fact that contemporary Canadian historians have accorded little or no ink to L'Ordre de Bon Temps. To wit: Rosario Bilodeau, **et al., Histoire des Canadas** (Montreal, 1971), p. 41; Lower, **Canadians in the Making,** pp. 13-14; McInnis, **Canada,** p. 27; Careless, **Story of Challenge,** p. 37 and Marcel Trudel, **Histoire de la Nouvelle-France,** Vol. II (Montreal, 1966), p. 63, each mention it in the course of approximately three lines, while one searches in vain through Morton, **Kingdom of Canada** and Donald Creighton, **The Story of Canada** (Toronto, 1971).
21. P. Erondelle (Lescarbot, **Nova Francia,** p. 117) has translated this as "the Order of Good Time" or "the Order of Mirth," while H. H. Langton and W. F. Ganong (Champlain, **Voyages,** p. 447) and W. L. Grant (Lescarbot, **History,** p. 342) translate it as "the Order of Good Cheer."
22. Champlain, **Voyages,** p. 448.
23. Lescarbot, **Nova Francia,** p. 117.
24. Isabella A. Owen, "Three Centuries of Society at Old Port Royal," **The Halifax Herald,** Saturday, 15 May, 1897, p. 9, claims that there were fifteen persons seated at this table. Although this figure cannot be substantiated, it is possible Louis Hebert and Daniel Hay may have sat at this table along with Poutrincourt and his eldest son, Jean de Biencourt, Lescarbot, Champlain, de Fougeray, Robert du Pont-Grave (Francois du Pont-Grave's son) and Pierre Angibaut, Sieur de Champdore. The identity of the others, if indeed others were present, has been obscured by time.
25. Lescarbot, **History,** p. 321 .
26. Lescarbot, **Nova Francia,** p. 118.
27. Lescarbot, **History,** p. 343.
28. **Ibid.,** pp. 343-4.
29. **The Halifax Herald,** 15 May, 1897.
30. William McLennan, "L'Ordre De Bon-Temps. Port Royal 1606," **Harper's New Monthly Magazine,** LXXXVI, No. 513 (February, 1893), pp. 395-396. McLennan, in the course of his poem provides samples of the type of verse that may have resounded throughout the community hall of Port Royal whenever L'Ordre assembled. **Ibid.** pp. 393-396.
31. Champlain, **Voyages,** p. 448
32. Lescarbot, **History,** p. 344; and Lescarbot, **Nova Francia,** p. 119.
33. **Ibid.,** p. 118.
34. Lescarbot, **History,** p. 346.

35. Lescarbot, **Nova Francia,** p. 119.
36. According to Lescarbot, only four men died of scurvy during this relatively mild winter. **Ibid.**
37. Champlain, **Voyages,** p. 459.
38. "The Order of Good Cheer," **Brochure.** The author would like to express his appreciation for the assistance rendered by Mr. Gerald I. Bowen, the Superintendent of the Port Royal National Historic Park and Mr. Stuart J. Morency, the President (1973-74) of The Order of Good Cheer.

Adult Education in Nova Scotia

DR. PATRICK KEANE

Adult Education, traditionally a poor relation in public educational spending, nevertheless attracted early, if modest, support in Nova Scotia. This paper will therefore seek to trace the pioneer steps by which the colonial legislature aided the education of adults.

It would seem that the first public funding of adult education was contained in the £7,107 voted to the Central Board of Agriculture between 1819 and 1824. With the active interest of the governor, Lord Dalhousie, a good deal of support was mustered for agricultural experiment in the colony.[1] Certainly, the moving force behind the Central Board, its secretary-treasurer John Young, merits the title of adult educator, and his subsequent efforts were to transcend the sphere of agriculture. The Board itself, charged with the promotion of agricultural innovation, both directly and through the medium of local societies, was logically drawn into some educational work. Alongside such expenditures as those on the importation of livestock and seeds, the Board was to devote others to the establishment of an agricultural library, to the publication of pamphlets on scientific agriculture, and to grants which stimulated the formation of twenty seven new agricultural societies.

The forerunner of these societies, founded in Kings County in 1789, had carried out scientific experiments, established a circulating library, and even opened a Sunday School. Later societies might even supplement programs of lectures, experiments, and public shows, with some degree of moral improvement. Thus one member of the Sherbrooke Society was deputed to read to members from the Book of Common Prayer each Sunday, while members of the Parrsboro Society had resolved not to participate in smuggling! However important in themselves, the educational developments were rather a corollary of the publicly supported program than its *raison-d'etre*. Indeed, the early vitality of the agricultural societies had already ebbed before the house of assembly made its final grant in 1824. Thereafter, only a handful of the societies continued to prosper in an era of 'self-help', and the discernable educational heritage of government grants would seem to have been meagre. Clearly the farming community had lost much of their early enthusiasm for the 'marvels of science' as propounded from Halifax.

As interest slackened in the improvement of agriculture, interest blossomed in the improvement of industry and commerce. Joseph Howe, editor of the *Novascotian* newspaper in Halifax, was in 1829 to contrast the prevailing apathy of farmers toward the agricultural societies, with the strong support Halifax merchants were according their Commercial Society.[2] While the influential and prosperous merchant community might be expected to cater adequately for their own immediate needs, Howe now called upon them to support also an educational program for the town's apprentices and mechanics. Such a program, already in being in Britain and the United States, with the foundation of mechanics' institutes, lyceums, and similar bodies, has constituted the first large scale attempt to educate the urban workers. Halifax appeared the most likely avenue to commence such a scheme in Nova Scotia. This naval and military base, busy seaport, and com-

mercial hub of the colony housed some 14,000 people.[3] Technical expertise was represented in a growing variety of professions, crafts and trades, while the misery of the uneducated and unskilled poor was demonstrated in Irish immigrants and disadvantaged rural dwellers seeking the sanctuary of the colony's only poorhouse. Halifax society was not, however, to prove any more indulgent toward the education of lower income adults than it had been toward the education of their children.[4]

By 1831, sufficient interest had been mustered to establish a Halifax Mechanics' Library Association and a Halifax Mechanics' Institute. The library clearly met a felt need, and no difficulty was found in attracting one hundred small shareholders, who provided the initial working capital.[5] Joseph Howe, who delivered the inaugural address to the institutes, had stressed both the community and the individual benefits that the venture could be expected to produce, and no time was lost in forming a "committee to solicit donations".[6] Honorary membership was soon offered to donors of £5 or more.[7] While a degree of professional and middle class membership was obtained, in addition to the mechanics and apprentices, no widespread philanthrophy was to materialize. Henry H. Cogswell, president of the Halifax Banking Company, indeed donated £25, for which the institute expressed its gratitude.[8] Beyond this, even the enrollment of the noted shipowner, Samuel Cunand, brought no more than a £2 contribution.[9] A source of income which the management declined was that offered by a local theatre proprietor, in return for the members' patronage of an evening performance.[10] Obviously, the need for money had to be balanced by a concern for the members' morals! The management, resolving that subscriptions would not alone support the institute,[11] promptly decided to petition the house of assembly for assistance.

This alacrity to invoke government aid contrasted with the diffidence, or even outright opposition, which existed to such an idea among British adult educators. The latter had laid great stress on "voluntaryism" as the keystone of adult education, and any government involvement was seen as a possible encroachment on this principle.[12] The desire to free adult education as far as possible from social "entanglements" was typified in the general exclusion of politics and religion from lecture programs and library holdings. Halifax Mechanics' Institute, which had experienced some synicism of adult education,[13] understandably subscribed to this same restriction.[14] It was clearly considered as essential in Nova Scotia, as in Britain, to assure potential patrons that adult education would not destroy the fabric of established society. In Nova Scotia however, there seemed to be no qualms about seeking financial support from the government. In January 1832, Halifax Mechanics' Institute established, without opposition, "a committee to prepare a petition to the legislature for pecuniary aid . . ."[15]. Included in this committee were John Leander Starr, a member of the town's prosperous merchant community, and the aforementioned Joseph Howe.

The committee quickly prepared a petition, which was presented to the legislature on February 11, 1832. Two days previously, the institute secretary, John S. Thompson, in his capacity of president of the Halifax Mechanics' Library, had submitted a similar petition. Both petitions were referred to the committee on supply.[16] Two months later, the latter recommended a grant of £75 to the institute and £25 to the library, and on a division, the house approved this by a majority of twenty-two to fifteen.[17] Noteworthy among the supporters were John Young, the former secretary-treasurer of the Central Board of Agriculture, and Jotham Blanchard, editor of the *Colonial Patriot* of Pictou. The grant to the institute would appear to have constituted the first public assistance in Nova Scotia, if not Canada, to a body constituted solely for the pur-

poses of adult education. The close relationship of the library to the institute would also seem to have put the former in a favoured position, for the house had declined to consider petitions from promoters of other libraries.[18]

Apart from 1834, when the Halifax Mechanics' Library does not appear to have been aided, both the institute and library were to share in regular annual grants until 1841. The total grant shared by these bodies between 1832 and 1841 amounted to £570.[19] Of the institute's appropriation, the house had specified that £15 in 1833, and £10 in 1834, were to be paid to the Rev. Titus Smith, to assist him in establishing a museum collection of geology, botany, and mineralogy. Smith, known as the Dutch Village Philosopher, had earlier displayed an interest in scientific agriculture, and was regarded locally as a scientist of some note. After some prodding by the institute, he was to complete these collections, and lecture on mineralogy to the members.[20] The petitions of the institute and library frequently met with opposition in the legislature, and while one notes recurring names on each side of the division, the substance of the disagreement is not indicated. It is possible that economy was a major factor, since provincial funds were then quite limited,[21] and other adult education agencies were soon to seek comparable support.

While some library promoters had been disappointed in their petitions for public assistance, the legislature went so far as to provide accommodation in Province House for the Halifax Library,[22] and to make a small grant to the Law Library in 1833.[23] Thereafter, the establishment of a select committee on libraries, under the chairmanship of the aforementioned Jotham Blanchard, led to hopes that some more definite policy might be adopted to answer the increasing petitions. Blanchard's committee concluded in 1834 that "the importation and dissemination of useful books" was even more important than school appropriations.[24] Conscious of the limited "state of the

public chest", the committee had however to recommend against any general policy of grants to libraries, although it suggested payment of a bounty on book imports by public libraries outside Halifax. A special grant of £20 was recommended to establish an itinerating collection by the Pictou Subscription Library, while a continuation of the grants to Halifax Mechanics' Library "in connection with the institute" was also advocated. In actual fact, while the institute management had sought, unavailingly, to amalgamate with the Halifax Mechanics' Library, the latter preferred its independence, and the "connection" was now no more than one of overlapping membership. The legislature saw fit to let this report 'lie on the table', but in 1836 we find Blanchard again chairing a select committee to consider petitions from Pictou Subscription Library and the Lunenburg Public Library Association. The committee commented favourably on both petitions, and commended both itinerating and school libraries as being an integral part of education.[25] Once more the report was tabled.

By 1839, the house of assembly was being petitioned for grants by the Colchester Literary and Scientific Society, Halifax Mechanics' Institute, Halifax Mechanics' Library, Pictou Literary and Scientific Society, and Sydney Mechanics' Institute. Joseph Howe, as chairman of the house of assembly's committee on education, championed the petitions. He urged that "small grants, to aid in the purchase of books and apparatus, would be exceedingly well bestowed."[26] In the face of some opposition, the house concurred, and in addition to a now customary £50 shared between the Halifax bodies, went £20 to each of the others.[27] In the following year, Howe's committee noted that adult education agencies were "springing up in various sections of the country", and it concluded that "they are all doing good in creating a taste for literature and science and elevating the standard of general intelligence."[28] Petitions were now presented to the legislature from the two Halifax bodies, Colchester Literary and Scientific Society,

Sydney Mechanics' Institute, Antigonish Library, and West River Pictou Library.[29] This time, the house was to restrict its grants to the Halifax institutions, and even these grants met with some opposition.

In 1841, the pressure for financial assistance continued unabated. Petitions came from Antigonish Mechanics' Institute, Colchester Literary and Scientific Society, Halifax Mechanics Institute, Halifax Mechanics' Library, Stewiacke Mechanics' Institute, Sydney Mechanics' Institute, and from library promoters at Argyle and Albion Mines.[30] The assembly merely followed its previous year's policy, and limited its grants to the pioneer establishments in Halifax, and even these grants again met with opposition. While the Halifax bodies could claim a degree of stability and success in their decade of existence, their privileged grant status doubtless irked their smaller and newer companions.

In the following year, Halifax Mechanics' Institute discussed "the propriety of petitioning the legislature for aid".[31] Perhaps advised by their former president, Joseph Howe, they appeared to have concluded that further petitions would not be granted, for none was to be submitted to the house that year. Halifax Mechanics' Library did however submit a petition, only to have it rejected by the hitherto supportive committee on education, now under the chairmanship of William Young, a son of the former secretary-treasurer of the Central Board.[32] Similarly, petitions were rejected from the Liverpool Mechanics' Institute and the Sydney Mechanics' Institute.[33] The committee on education continued however, to be more liberally disposed to adult education, than did the house of assembly as a whole. Thus in 1843, committee chairman, John Creighton, was to command the petition of the new Guysborough Mechanics' Institute. He urged that "a small sum given in aid of their laudable efforts to improve the minds of the rising genera-

tion in that part of the province, would not be misapplied."[34] Unfortunately, the house remained unimpressed, and no grant is recorded.

It is tempting to view Nova Scotia's pioneering, if modest, support of adult education as the outcome of a definite and progressive government policy. However, the facts suggest that the support stemmed from the convictions of certain key individuals, and from often fortuitous circumstances. The agricultural phase of adult education owed much to the leadership of John Young, and to local conditions which influenced the mode of operation favoured by individual agricultural societies. If, in retrospect, adult education is seen as an integral part of agricultural innovation, it must be allowed that the contemporary divorce between theory and practice inhibited its growth.

Thus, in Annapolis, there were those who told John Young that "they despised all writings on farming that could come from Halifax", while the East River Agricultural Society of Pictou could note that "some think the Central Board, being gentlemen, not farmers, are not good judges in agricultural affairs."[35] On balance, the mechanics' institutes confined their incursions into the sciences to the teaching of general scientific principles, excluding the practical applications. As the sciences, in any case, constituted only a part of the education they sought to provide, the institutes tended to evolve into general adult education agencies, rather than technical schools, and so appeal to a wider and less specialized audience.

The initial success of the institute phase of adult education owed much to the influential membership which Halifax Mechanics' Institute was able to enroll, and to its stature as the first such body in Nova Scotia (and the second in what became Canada).[36] Members of Halifax Mechanics' Institute, who were at one time also members of the house of assembly, included Joseph Howe, S. W. Deblois, Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, and

George R. Young. Additionally, such other legislators as William Young, were to aid the institute with a gratuitous lecture, while the governor, Sir Colin Campbell, was to become the institute's patron. Just as the Halifax Mechanics' Institute advised newer institutes on methods of organization,[37] so too did its distinguished members lecture before them.[38] Granted the interest of such legislators in adult education, they faced fairly regular annual divisions in the assembly, in order to maintain even the grants to the Halifax bodies. A continuing concern with slender government resources was heightened by a rising demand for assistance by newer institutions, as they sought to purchase expensive scientific apparatus and/or books. The rejection of Jotham Blanchard's plea for aid to a travelling library in Pictou must have seemed particularly galling, in view of the continued assistance to Halifax, where several libraries existed. A similar response was doubtless engendered by the rejection of the petition by a group of miners at Albion Mines. The tendency to table recommendations from select committees, and the lack of a clear government policy, led to a situation where each (annual) petition was subject to the vagaries of political support. Halifax Mechanics' Institute was thus fortunate in obtaining a grant as early as 1832, while York Mechanics' Institute (the pioneer institute in Canada) did not receive one until 1835.[39] Indeed, it was following a visit by George R. Young in 1833 to the pioneer Glasgow Mechanics' Institute, Scotland, that the latter petitioned (unsuccessfully) the British government for a similar grant.[40] Modest as was the Nova Scotia legislature's support of adult education, it would therefore seem to have been in advance of its time, and to reflect some enlightened convictions in a hitherto neglected of education.

FOOTNOTES

1 See J. S. Martell, "Agricola: A Pioneer in Adult Education", **Journal of Education,** Halifax, N.S., (April, 1941), pp. 332-335; and J. S. Martell, **The Achievements of Agricola and the Agricultural Societies, 1818-1825** (Halifax, Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter P.A.N.S.], 1940.) To the government grant of £7,107 must be added the private contributions to the Board, which totaled £1400.
2 **Novascotian,** (Halifax, N.S.), 31 December 1829.
3 **Censuses of Canada, 1865-71,** J. B. Taylor, Ottawa, IV, 94, 125.
4 See Judith Fingard, "Attitudes Towards the Education of the Poor in Colonial Halifax", **Acadiensis,** II, no. 2 (Spring, 1973), pp. 15-42.
5 **Novascotian,** 2 November 1831. The shares were each of ten shillings.
6 Halifax Mechanics' Institute, M.S. Journal of Minutes [hereafter Journal], 31 December 1831. P.A.N.S.
7 **Ibid.,** 18 January 1832. Rule 14.
8 The institute made available free admission tickets to each of the bank's partners—Journal, 18 January 1832. P.A.N.S.
9 Halifax Mechanics' Institute, M.S. Membership List, 2 January 1832. P.A.N.S.
10 Journal, 26 March 1832, P.A.N.S.
11 These consisted of an entrance fee of 2s. 6d., and a subscription of either 10 shillings annually or 2s. 6d. quarterly.
12 See e.g. the views of Dr. James Hudson, in his **The History of Adult Education,** (London, 1851), p. 185. Hudson wrote this classic account after a decade of service in the administration of adult education agencies.
13 See e.g. Joseph Howe's reminiscences in the **Colonial Pearl** (Halifax, N.S.) 15 November 1839.
14 Journal, 18 January 1832, Rule 32, P.A.N.S.
15 **Ibid.,** 23 January 1832,.
16 **Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Assembly,** Halifax, N.S. [hereafter Assembly], 9 February, 1832, 11 February, 1832.
17 **Assembly,** 3 April 1832.
18 e.g. Petitions tabled included the Halifax Library petition (**Assembly,** 10 February 1832) and the Dartmouth Union Society Petition (**Assembly** 15 February 1832.)
19 **Assembly:** 3 April 1832; 11 April 1833; 5 April 1834; 6 February 1835; 21 March 1836; 28 March 1837; 17 March 1838; 16 March 1839 6 March 1840. Appendix No. 14, 1841.
20 Journal, 30 December 1833; 13 January 1834; 5 March 1834. Smith's lecture was deemed worthy of publication by Halifax Mechanics' Institute, and it was decided to send copies of it to some British mechanics' institutes.—**ibid,** 5 March 1834; 26 May 1834.
21 e.g. in 1838 the total disbursements by the provincial treasurer amounted to only £45,936 ls. 7d.—**Assembly,** Appendix 14, 1838.
22 **Ibid.,** 20 March 1832; 28 March 1832.
23 **Ibid.,** 6 March 1833.

24 **Ibid.,** Appendix No. 56, **Report of the Select Committee on Public Libraries,** 1834.
25 **Assembly,** 2 February 1836; 5 February 1836.
26 **Ibid., Report of the Committee on Education,** Appendix No. 59, 1839.
27 **Assembly,** 13 March 1839; 16 March 1839; A April 1839.
28 **Ibid., Report of the Committee on Education,** Appendix No. 59, 4 March, 1840.
29 **Assembly,** 16 January 1840; 21 January 1840; 27 January 1840; 1 February 1840; 5 February 1840; 21 February, 1840.
30 **Ibid.,** 13 February 1841; 25 February 1841; 27 February 1841.
31 Journal, 2 February 1842, P.A.N.S.
32 **Assembly,** 12 February 1842; and **Report of the Committee on Education,** Appendix No. 65, 3 March 1842.
33 **Assembly,** 27 January 1842; 1 February 1842; 3 March 1842.
34 **Ibid.,** 2 February 1843; and **Report of the Committee on Education,** Appendix No. 50, 24 February 1843.
35 Martell, **The Achievements . . . Op. cit.** pp. 25, 28.
36 The first such body established in what became Canada was York Mechanics' Institute, founded on December 24, 1830—J. Donald Wilson, "Adult Education in Upper Canada Before 1859", **The Journal of Education,** University of British Columbia, No. 19. (Spring, 1973), p. 45.
37 Journal, 5 March 1839; 29 December 1841. P.A.N.S.
38 e.g. One finds Joseph Howe lecturing to the new Yarmouth Mechanics' Institute in 1836—The **Yarmouth Herald,** 30 January 1836. On his broader contributions, see Patrick Keane, Joseph Howe and Adult Education", **Acadiensis,** Vol. III No. 1 (Autumn 1973), pp. 35-49. Similarly one finds George R. Young lecturing to the Pictou Literary and Scientific Society in 1843—Allan C. Dunlop, "The Pictou Literary and Scientific Society", **Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly,** Vol. No. 2 (June, 1973), p. 102. Halifax, N.S.
39 Foster Vernon, "The Development of Adult Education in Ontario, 1790-1900" University of Toronto, Ph.D. thesis, 1969. Abstract 18.
40 See Patrick Keane, "George R. Young and Comparative Adult Education", **Journal of Education,** Halifax, N.S. Vol. 1 No. 2 (Winter, 1973-4), p. 44.

"And Having a Love For People"

PHYLLIS R. BLAKELEY

In International Women's Year it is interesting to speculate why some women have been remembered while others are forgotten. One of the pioneer women to whom we pay tribute is Elizabeth Osborn Myrick Paine Doane of Barrington, Nova Scotia, grandmother of the writer of the song "Home, Sweet Home", the favourite encore of Jenny Lind and Patti. She was one of the New Englanders who settled at Barrington where she was reverenced because of her medical skills.

Elizabeth was a "young lady possessing superior ability, beauty and character", the ABC of feminine charm. She was the third child of the Rev. Samuel Osborn (1658-1774) and his wife Jedidah Smith, and was probably born at Sandwich, Massachusetts in 1715. As Elizabeth had a better education than we usually associate with pioneer women of two centuries ago, she attended the local school and was tutored by her father. Her brother John graduated from Harvard.

During her childhood her father was Congregational minister at Eastham on Cape Cod. He was known as a man of "wisdom and virtue" who showed his parishioners how to

prepare Cape Cod peat for fuel. Osborn came by this knowledge naturally because he had emigrated to America from Ireland, where he had attended college, possibly at Trinity in Dublin. But the Rev. Samuel Osborn was dismissed from his church in 1738 after a pastorate of twenty years as the result of a bitter theological dispute. For a time he preached in his own home to his followers but was fined by the justices of the peace for doing this because only established Congregational ministers were allowed to preach. Enemies in his former congregation prevented him from obtaining another church, and he returned to school teaching.

But before this, when she was 19, Elizabeth married on 23 January 1733/34 Captain William Myrick, a handsome sailor. They had three children—William b. 26 Oct. 1734; Gideon, who became a goldsmith and was lost overboard from a ship; and Betty born at Boston three months after her father was lost at sea in 1742. Elizabeth became administrator of Myrick's estate and was allowed money from the estate for house rent and maintaining the household. Her father was teaching in Boston at this period.

After a time Elizabeth was courted by Edmund Doane (1718-1806), a neighbor from Eastham. However, the 30 year old widow married William Paine, a wealthy merchant who was 20 years older than she was. He was a representative of the legislature of Massachusetts and made frequent visits to Boston. Paine was also an officer in the militia and in 1745 he took part in the siege of Louisbourg by the New Englanders. Although tradition says he died in the swamps of Gabarus during the siege, he was part of the garrison forced to remain after the capture for he was commissioned by Governor William Shirley on 4 Nov. 1745 as a lieutenant in Col. Shubael Gorham's Regiment. Elizabeth was left with a baby son William.

Again Edmund Doane courted his childhood sweetheart. He was a stubborn man, with great strength and courage. This time Elizabeth accepted his proposal saying that she believed the fates had decreed that she should marry Edmund Doane. On 10 Nov. 1749 the 34 year old Elizabeth Paine was married to 31 year old Edmund Doane, the youngest son of Israel and Ruth Freeman Doane. Louisbourg had been returned to France by England in spite of the bones of New Englanders lying there. The new town of Halifax in Nova Scotia had been founded that summer by Englishmen from London.

The Doanes lived at Eastham on Cape Cod, in a district which was later called Orleans. Elizabeth was indeed fortunate to have a strong constitution and to bear children easily for she and Edmund had seven children in the next ten years—four boys (Israel 1750; Samuel Osborn 1752, Prence 1753, Edmund 1759); and three girls (Jedidah 1754, Ruth 1756, Abigail, 1758). All lived to be adults, which was unusual in those days of fatal childhood diseases, although Prence Doane was lost at sea as a young man, as his half-brother Gideon Myrick had been. Perhaps the children inherited the strong constitution of their parents or perhaps it was due to Elizabeth's medical skills.

We do not know why Edmund Doane decided to join the migration of Cape Cod fishermen to the Cape Sable area on the south west coast of Nova Scotia or whether Elizabeth was enthusiastic or not. She was 47—old for a pioneer. People from Cape Cod were accustomed to come to Cape Sable or Port LaTour fishing and to return home for the winter with their catch, so the district was well known. Many of the New Englanders who came to Nova Scotia in the 1760's were younger sons attracted by free grants of land from the Crown. Edmund was a younger son and had four sons of his own to provide for. Only the Doane children accompanied their parents to Nova Scotia.

Elizabeth's children by her earlier marriages were either established in New England or being educated, and her daughter Betty was married there to Solomon Lewis. Her son William Paine was left in Eastham with the family of the Rev. Joseph Crocker, pastor of the Second Congregational Church, so that fifteen year old William could continue his education with this Harvard graduate. William wished to go with his mother and his half-brothers and sisters, but had to accept his mother's decision to stay to continue his schooling because there would be no schools at first at Barrington. In 1797 he wrote to his half-brother Samuel Osborn Doane: "I have never yet forgotten my sensations when I saw the family pass the window, where I stood attending family prayers, on their way to embark at the landing by Mr. Nathaniel Mayo's. Providence overruled my wishes, and I am sure my mother used her best discretion in leaving me with that good clergyman, Rev. Joseph Crocker of Eastham, whose memory I revere."

Rev. Edwin Crowell has described in his *History of BARRINGTON TOWNSHIP and VICINITY* how Edmund had his two storey house taken down, and loaded the frame and boards on a hired vessel, together with furniture, grain and vegetables, some cows, heifers, pigs and a mare. A gale drove the vessel ashore. Grimly he salvaged what he could, hired another vessel, and embarked with his wife and seven children—ranging in age from 11 year old Israel to 2 year old little Edmund. Let's hope they weren't sea sick!

On the way to Nova Scotia in the autumn of 1761 another storm drove the vessel past Barrington to the port of Liverpool. As the winter was approaching, Edmund decided to remain in Liverpool, then a new settlement. Rowing ashore the little boat was upset by a restless sow, and more household goods and supplies sank to the bottom. We can imagine Elizabeth trying to dry out what had been salvaged and trying to make her family comfortable for the winter in a rough fishhouse, full of

cracks and leaks. About the first of June they again embarked for Barrington Passage. It is ironical that all the livestock had been killed for food or had died of starvation except the old mare!

There they found that the winter of 1761-62 had been very cold, with ice three feet thick in the harbour. The two vessels which the fishermen of Barrington had sent to Boston with their catch and to buy flour and other provisions were frozen in the ice. Potatoes and meal were almost gone when the New Englanders learned that the Acadians at Pubnico were spearing eels through holes cut in the ice. The Barrington settlers lived half the winter on eels, until the warm spring sunshine melted the ice and they could catch fresh fish. In May 1762 their vessels came back from Boston with food and seed for planting.

The Doanes settled at a spot near the shore where the French apple trees were in bloom. Edmund still had his building material so he erected the first frame house in the district, and devoted himself to fishing and farming to support his family. Meetings of the proprietors of Barrington Township were held at Edmund Doane's house until the Meeting House was built. For a while Edmund kept the only shop with about fifty customers running accounts. He sold flour, salt, molasses, linen, osnaburg, beef, nails, rum and cider, sugar and shoes. These goods were imported from his brother-in-law John Homer (1724-1799) who was married to Elizabeth's younger sister Abigail. This John Homer was a merchant in Boston who was said to have belonged to the "Sons of Liberty" and no doubt his business was ruined by the non-importation laws. Did John Homer want to come to Nova Scotia to get away from the beginnings of the American Revolution or did Edmund find it difficult to pay for the supplies he had obtained from his brother-in-law because the inhabitants of Barrington continued to be poor, according to Charles Morris' report in 1763. On 17 October 1766 Edmund Doane of Barrington, yeoman, sold to

John Homer of Boston "a Certain Tract of Land in Barrington lying on the Easterly Side of the mill River . . . "for £ 132 .6 .5 ¾ as recorded on page 70 of Book 1 of the Deeds for Queens County. However, the Doanes did not leave Barrington immediately.

Certainly Elizabeth must have laboured hard in her household and helped in the shop, and she served excellent meals. In the Census of 1770 in their household there were listed 1 man, 4 boys, 1 woman, 3 girls,—all Protestants and all Americans—owning 1 cow, 1 swine, 30 cwt of fish, ½barrel of oil, but no sheep. Elizabeth's father Samuel Osborn had come to Nova Scotia and become a grantee of Barrington Township, but he left for Boston about 1770 because he found it so difficult to earn a living.

Mrs. Edmund Doane was also serving her neighbors and the scattered community as well as her own family. "Having good knowledge of medicine, and being skilled in the use of roots and herbs, she was the only nurse and doctor to all the sick of the township. Her services were much sought after and appreciated" states the *Doane Family Book,* which does not tell us where she obtained this knowledge. Her brother John was a doctor, her nephew John was one of the founders of the State Medical Society in Connecticut, and her son William Paine had started medical studies with Dr. Joseph Warren who was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill.

When Edmund Doane began talking about moving back to New England because of hard times in Barrington, the community were so upset at the prospect of Elizabeth leaving them without medical services that she was persuaded to petition to the proprietors for land so that she could remain. Her petition dated May the 13th 1770 reads in part: "Elizabeth Done Being Destitute of Accomdation of Land to Set a house upon But am Nevertheless free and willing to Exert my faculties and Skil in

[physic and surgery and midwifery] and having a Love for the People . . . Request the favour of . . . a Small tract of Land Situate & lying . . . on the Southern Sid Going into ye Long Cove a Piece of Common Land Containing one & half acres more or Less Known By the Name of Johnsons Point . . . "

Thirty-eight Proprietors of the Township of Barrington—all men—signed her petition asking that she be given "a Small Acomidations of Land for House Lot" because they hoped that the town would increase and young men would marry, and because the women recommended Elizabeth Doane as an "Expert midwife" and "Incomparably well Skild in fisick and Surgery . . . " The names on this petition were Annable, Atwood, Baker, Beans, Bunker, Clark, Coffin, Crowell, Doane, Folger, Gardener, Kindricks, King, Laskey, Nickerson, Pinkham, Smith, Swain, Vinson, and Wilson. The proprietors did grant the land to Mrs. Doane.

Although she was 55 when she made her petition, Elizabeth continued to provide medical care to the community for many years, and when she was an old lady she was carried in a basket suspended from a pole across the shoulders of two men to make her medical visits. Her great-great-great grandaughter presented Elizabeth's old pestle to the Cape Sable Historical Society.

The American Revolution made it difficult for inhabitants of Barrington to obtain flour and other supplies which they were accustomed to buy from their kin in New England after selling their fish. On 19 October 1776 various inhabitants of Barrington, including Edmund Doane, petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts for permission for Heman Kenney to sell a cargo of fish and liver oil on board the schooner *Hope* in either Salem or Beverley, and to buy "provisions for the Support of us the Subscribers which are entirely Destitute of any for the support of them or their Children and it is Impossible

to get any Elsewhere." They pointed out that they had helped American prisoners escaping from Halifax to make their way home to Massachusetts, and that it was American privateers which had captured several of the Barrington schooners loaded with fish and caused great distress. After this petition was granted, Kenney was allowed to buy 250 bushels of corn, 30 barrels of pork, 2 hogsheads of molasses, 2 barrels of rum and 200 pounds of coffee. This was probably Heman Kenney Jr., the husband of Elizabeth's daughter Ruth.

Probably it was the Revolution which had separated Elizabeth from her son William Paine (or Payne as he began to spell it), although she returned several times to New England in the 1760's to visit her relatives and friends. After the death of Dr. Warren, William had to abandon his medical studies because of the war and became a schoolmaster, and in 1791 when his son John Howard was born he was teaching in New York.

This grandson John Payne became an actor in New York, although his father objected. On his way to England for a theatrical tour, the War of 1812 broke out while he was at sea and he was imprisoned when he landed. Benjamin West, president of the Royal Academy, secured the freedom of a fellow American and found him an acting position in Drury Lane. John also wrote and adapted plays which were produced at Covent Garden. One adaption called "Clari—the Maid of Milan", had the song "Home, Sweet Home" which was first sung at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, on 8 May 1823 and became an instant success. Payne was in Paris at the time and made no money from the song because he sold all his rights to the producer. The fame it brought him obtained his appointment as American consul at Tunis, where he died 9 April, 1852.

"Mrs. Elizabeth Doane Wife to Mr. Edmund Doane Senior Departed this Life May 24th 1798 aged 82 years & 4 months" wrote her son Samuel O. Doane Town Clerk in his beautiful handwriting in the Barrington Township Book. "Mr. Edmund Doane Snr Departed this Life Nov. 20th a Little after the break of Day 1806 aged 88 years 6 months & 19 Days" he added later. Their descendants were hardworking honest citizens who continued to contribute to the quality of life in the communities where they lived in Nova Scotia. Two of her Doane sons long remembered were Israel Doane (1750-1844) who married Desire Nickerson and was a schoolmaster at Little River; and Samuel Osborn Doane (1752-1824) who married Sarah Harding, sister of Rev. Theodore Harding, and who was a school-master and lay preacher and Town Clerk, and a man of character and respected in the community.

As "Home, Sweet Home" became ever more popular and the favourite encore of Jenny Lind and Patti, people remembered that the grandmother of John Howard Payne was Elizabeth Doane. A Memorial Tablet erected in Barrington at a reunion of the Doane Family in 1912 read thus:

EDMUND DOANE
ONE OF THE GRANTEES OF THIS TOWNSHIP
BORN AT EASTHAM MASSACHUSETTS 20 APRIL 1718
DIED AT BARRINGTON 20 November 1806
ELIZABETH OSBORN MYRICK PAINE
HIS WIFE
GRANDMOTHER OF JOHN HOWARD PAYNE
THE AUTHOR OF "HOME SWEET HOME"
BORN IN MASSACHUSETTS ABOUT 1715
DIED AT BARRINGTON 24 MAY 1798

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The Weatherhead Family of Upper Rawdon

ROSS GRAVES

James Weatherhead, a weaver from southern Scotland, came to Hants County in the late 1820s and settled in Douglas township (at what is now Upper Nine Mile River), then moved to Rawdon township (to what is now Upper Rawdon). Most of his neighbours in Douglas and Rawdon were children and grandchildren of the original settlers in these townships, men who had taken up their grants of land and started to clear farms out of the woods nearly fifty years before. The township of Douglas was laid out in 1784 to accommodate soldiers of the second battalion of the 84th Regiment, the "Royal Highland Emigrants", who were given grants on the Kennetcook, Five Mile, and Nine Mile rivers, and (where land was still available) along Cobequid Bay from the present Walton to Maitland and up the west side of the Shubenacadie River. The township was named Douglas by the colonel of the battalion, John Small, for family connections of his in Scotland. The township of Rawdon was settled in 1783 and granted in 1784 to a group largely composed of Loyalists who had been brought to Halifax from South Carolina after the fall of Charleston, and was named in honour of Lord Rawdon, under whom several of the men had seen military service in South Carolina.

It is safe to say that over half the people living today in the eastern part of Hants County could trace themselves back to at least one soldier of the old 84th or Loyalist from South Carolina. To show the degree to which the progeny of a later settler could become also descendants of these original grantees of the townships, brief lineages will be given of some of the spouses of children and grandchildren of James and Isabella (Melville) Weatherhead: it will be seen that of this couple's 72 great-grandchildren, 60 were descended from original grantees.

1. **JAMES WEATHERHEAD** was born about 1802 in the parish of Duns, Berwickshire, Scotland. As a child he was apprenticed to a weaver, and as a young man he came to Nova Scotia and

made his way to the home of Thomas Melville at the Nine Mile River settlement in Douglas township, Hants County. Mr. Melville also was a weaver by trade and a native of Berwickshire, and according to tradition had been acquainted with James' family in Scotland. On June 6, 1830 James married Mr. Melville's only child, Isabella. For a couple of years they lived with her father, then in 1832 or 1833 moved westward two miles across the township line and settled on the farm in Upper Rawdon which is now occupied by their great-great-grandsons. It was a 217 acre lot which James held by a bond for purchase from the owner, an Anglican clergyman in Windsor who dealt extensively in real estate. (The family received clear title to the property the year after James' death.) James combined weaving with farming; he and Isabella both made a good deal of cloth on their home looms, as did their daughters after them. They died at their home in Upper Rawdon, he on Feb. 5, 1867 and she on June 26, 1872, and were buried in the old Presbyterian cemetery at Nine Mile River.

They were members of the Presbyterian church during the pastorate of Rev. John Cameron, a zealous minister who exercised a watchful eye over his charge and was given to public rebukings. Anecdotes still current a generation or two ago show that Mr. Weatherhead was not easily cowed by the forceful Mr. Cameron. On one occasion Mr. Weatherhead took some weaving and farm produce to Halifax on a Saturday and rather than waiting for Monday returned home the next day. After service the following Sunday Mr. Cameron took him to task, in front of several observers, for breaking the Sabbath the previous week. "I dinna break it," exclaimed Mr. Weatherhead, embarrassed and annoyed; "I took it all!" On another occasion when Mr. Cameron publicly admonished him Mr. Weatherhead shook an angry fist at the clergyman and loudly declared that if Mr. Cameron and the Presbyterian church did not leave him be he would "jine some ither thing."

Old Mr. Melville is buried next to James and Isabella in the Nine Mile River burying ground. His gravestone (one by "J.W.", the Hants County gravestone artist) carries this inscription:
J.W., Sculptor./ In/ this Monum-/ ental glass, you/ see who is gone/ to mingle with the dust./ THOMAS MELV-/ ILLS. died May/30th 1837./ Ætatis/ 66

A Dread and solemn hour
To us is drawing near;
When we before the throne of God
All present shall appear.

Church of Scotland registers for the town of Coldstream in Berwickshire, Scotland, show Mr. Melville's marriage and the baptism of his daughter:

Thomas Melvill and Margaret Favibairn, both of this parish, were married 9th Novr. 1798.

1800, Oct. 2. Baptized Isabel (born 9th Sept.), lawful daughter of Thomas Melville Weaver in Coldstream by Margaret Favibairn his Wife.

Our first notice of him in Nova Scotia is in January 1818 when he bought a small lot on the road through Newport, Hants

County. As he does not appear in the 1817 census for Newport, we may assume he arrived in the township the latter part of that year. He sold his house and property in 1820 to a tailor named Morrice and four years later bought 50 acres of land in Douglas township, in what is now the community of Upper Nine Mile River, from James McPhee (1758-1842), one of the original settlers in the district and a former member of the 84th Regiment. The property lay on the north side of the road from Nine Mile River to Rawdon. In 1836, three or four years after his daughter and son-in-law moved to Rawdon, Mr. Melville entered into an agreement with James McPhee's son Evan whereby Evan got the property for a small cash settlement and a bond to maintain Mr. Melville for the remainder of his life. Evan, his wife, and their four children (the oldest only six years old) moved into Mr. Melville's house; before the year was out Mr. Melville had second thoughts and took legal steps to break the agreement, but barely got Evan and family out of his house when he died. Two months later Evan deeded the 50 acres back to the only heirs, James and Isabella Weatherhead, who sold it to the clergyman in Windsor as partial payment on their Upper Rawdon property. It later came into the possession of Evan McPhee's son George and grandson Howard, and is now occupied by Howard's niece, Mrs. Roy MacDougall.

Children (surname Weatherhead):

2.+a. William, b. Feb. 17, 1831; m. (1) Elizabeth Fenton (2) Emily (Ryan) McPhee.
3.+b. Margaret, b. about 1833; m. John Fenton.
4.+c. Elizabeth, called Betty, b. in 1836; m. David Little.
5.+d. Thomas, b. Oct. 5, 1839; m. Margaret Kavanagh.

2. **WILLIAM WEATHERHEAD** (of James) was born Feb. 17, 1831 at Upper Nine Mile River and died Mar. 27, 1915 at Upper Rawdon. He married, first, Dec. 13, 1860, Elizabeth Fenton, called Betty, daughter of Thomas and Catherine (Withrow) Fenton of Upper Rawdon, where she was born July 29, 1836 and where she died Feb. 6, 1890. He married, second, Apr. 8, 1896 at Nine Mile River, Emily (Ryan) McPhee, widow of Charles McPhee. She was born about 1860 and died Sep. 28, 1904.

William and Betty settled in West Gore on the farm where John Withrow later lived, on the old road which went from the Anson Sim place in West Gore across the township line to what is called the upper corner at Upper Rawdon. It was a 152 acre lot William had bought (and mortgaged) the year before his marriage, included in West Gore school section but lying on the Rawdon side of the line. The house is now gone, the fields grown back to woods, the road leading to it impassable. Their children were probably all born here. In 1874 the mortgage was foreclosed and the family then or soon after moved to the upper corner and rented half of Richard Withrow's large house (which no longer stands). When Upper Rawdon went through its great diphtheria epidemic the winter and spring of 1877-1878, an epidemic in which 27 out of perhaps a hundred children died, all three of Mr. Withrow's children, one after the other,

fell ill, died, and were buried; and not one of the six young Weatherheads in the other end of his house took the disease. In 1894 William purchased a lot at the upper corner, across the road from his wife's father's place, and built and dwelt in a house which also is no longer standing. His second wife brought with her to her new home three of her four McPhee children, Gordon, Annie, and Cyril. She died there, as had the first wife; William spent his last years with his daughter Maggie and died at her place.

Mrs. Weatherhead's father, Thomas Fenton (1803-1897), was son of John and grandson of Richard Fenton (ca. 1749-1841), a Yorkshireman and a Loyalist from South Carolina who came to Rawdon three or four years after the original group. Her mother, Catherine Withrow (1798-1872), was daughter of Jacob Withrow (ca. 1765-1822), the second of three Loyalist brothers from South Carolina who were original grantees in Rawdon township. Emily's first husband, Charles McPhee, was son of "Big" Evan, grandson of Alexander, and great-grandson of John McPhee (1725-1811), a native of Glen Urquhart, Inverness-shire and a member of the 84th Regiment who drew his grant in Upper Nine Mile River after the regiment was disbanded. He is ancestor of nearly all the McPhees of Hants and Colchester counties. (It was from his son that Mr. Melville bought in 1824 the property on which James and Isabella Weatherhead lived at the time of their marriage.)

Children (surname Weatherhead), all by the first wife:

6. a. Catherine Ann, called Katie Ann, b. Sep. 25, 1861; m. on Christmas Day, 1882, William John Fenton, son of "Long" John and Sarah MARIA (Withrow) Fenton of Upper Rawdon, where he was born May 4, 1853 and where he died in 1915. She died in 1943. They lived at Upper Rawdon where their elder son now lives and had five children, all born at Upper Rawdon: Matilda Ann, Perry Scott, Guy Melville, Roy Chester, and Bliss Sinclair. William's father was a first cousin to "Jockey" John Fenton who had married Katie Ann's aunt, Margaret Weatherhead. His mother, Maria Withrow (1830-1914), was daughter of James and Lavinia (Blois) Withrow and a granddaughter of David Withrow (ca. 1771-1843), youngest of the three Loyalist brothers mentioned, and of Abraham Blois (1747-1839), a native of Essex, England and a member of the 84th Regiment who settled in Centre Gore.

7. b. James Edward, b. May 15, 1863; m. July 3, 1886, Ida Wallace, daughter of William and Isabel (Bond) Wallace of Upper Rawdon, where she was born Mar. 6, 1863. They lived at Upper Rawdon where Mrs. James Hill now lives, and he died there in 1926. She sold the property and went to live with a niece in Lexington, Massachusetts, and died there in 1947. They had no children.

Ida's father, William Wallace (1832-1892), was son of Thomas (1795-1856) and grandson of William Wallace, an-

other Rawdon Loyalist from South Carolina. Her mother, Isabel Bond (1843-1925), was daughter of James (1810-1897) and grand-daughter of John Bond, a native of South Carolina who came to Rawdon as a boy with the Loyalists and married a grand-daughter of the Richard Fenton from whom Ida's husband was descended.

8. c. Thomas Fenton, b. Aug. 22, 1865 and (as his gravestone in the Upper Rawdon cemetery informs us) was "killed by the falling of ore at the Antimony Mines" at West Gore on Feb. 18, 1885, at the age of 19. He and his brother Jim were working at the mines at the time and were boarding in West Gore. Jim was injured in the fall, but survived. The story about the three mysterious knocks the brothers had heard the night before—a "forerunner" to the accident—is given in Miss Helen Creighton's **Bluenose Ghosts,** 1957, p. 14.

9. d. John Melville, called Mel, b. Oct. 15, 1867; went to the States to work and married Sep. 15, 1897 in Somerville, Mass., Anna Belle MacDonald, daughter of John and Jane (MacDonald) MacDonald of Lorne, Pictou County. They had five sons: Stewart, Elwell, Everett, John Kingston, and Russell. The family lived in the States, in the Boston area, and at the mother's early death the children were taken by relatives and given homes. Stewart remained with his father; Elwell and Russell came to their uncle Jim Weatherhead's at Upper Rawdon, John to his aunt Katie Ann Fenton's at Upper Rawdon, and Everett to Ben Custance's at Rawdon Valley. Mel married again, to Ada—, and lived in Somerville. They had no family.
In both family Bible and church baptismal register Mel's name is Melville, but in some records it is spelled Melvin. He was named for his grandmother, Isabella (Melville) Weatherhead, and this spelling reflects the old pronunciation of the name; it was spelled Melville but pronounced "Melvin", as Milne was "Mill", Laffin was "Laffee", St. John was "Sinjin", and the like. Some record of Anna's family appears in D. K. Ross' **Pioneers and Churches** [of the Hopewell area, Pictou County], p. 115.

10. e. Margaret Isabelle, b. Apr. 14, 1870; married Apr. 21, 1894 at Upper Rawdon, Frederick Atherton Custance, son of William James and Elizabeth (Whittier) Custance of Upper Rawdon, where he was born Aug. 15, 1862 and where he died Nov. 14, 1931. She died Apr. 7, 1939 at Upper Rawdon. They lived at Upper Rawdon where their son William now lives and had ten children: Muriel Elizabeth, Ruth Louisa, Marjorie Emily and Melvin Ewart (twins), Gladys Whittier, Katie Amelia, William James, Roy Frederick and Ray Everett (twins), and Margaret Minerva.
Frederick's father William (ca. 1823-1903) was son of William Custance, a native of England who came to Upper Rawdon and married Elizabeth Bond (1793-1886), daugh-

ter of Capt. John Bond (ca. 1758-1814) who came to Nova Scotia in 1783 with the South Carolina Loyalists and was the group's agent in securing the grant of Rawdon township the following year. Frederick's mother Elizabeth (1821-1889) was daughter of Benjamin Whittier Jr. and grand-daughter of Benjamin Whittier Sr. (ca. 1738-1834), an armourer in the 84th Regiment who settled in Upper Rawdon.

11. f. Jacob William, b. Oct. 23, 1872; did not marry. He lived in Lexington, Mass. for several years, then with different relatives in the Rawdon area. He died Aug. 27, 1955 and is buried in the Upper Rawdon cemetery.

3. **MARGARET WEATHERHEAD** (of James) was born about 1833 and died Feb. 8, 1917. She married Mar. 18, 1858 (by Rev. John Cameron), John Fenton, son of Thomas and Catherine (Withrow) Fenton. He was called "Jockey" or (less frequently) "Short" John to distinguish him from the cousin already mentioned, "Long" John Fenton, and he was born at Upper Rawdon about January 1825 and died there Sep. 7, 1911.

Jockey John and Margaret lived at the upper corner of Upper Rawdon in a house (now gone) which stood west of the Richard Fenton place. His nickname reflects both his stature and his fondness for horses; a small instrument used for bleeding horses called a fleam, which originally belonged to him, was given to the writer several years ago by a descendant. His sister Betty married Margaret's brother William, and note of Betty's (and therefore his) descent from two of the South Carolina Loyalists who settled Rawdon township has already been made.

Children (surname Fenton):

12 a. Isabella, b. Aug. 17, 1861; married Lewis BENJAMIN Laffin, son of Thomas Laffin (ca. 1819-1880) and his wife Rachel Gill Miller, daughter of Henry and Margaret (Gill) Miller and grand-daughter of George Miller and William Gill, two members of the 84th Regiment who settled at Upper Kennetcook and became ancestors of the Millers and Gills of East Hants. Benjamin was born about 1850. He and Belle first lived at Northfield, Hants County, on a portion of his father's property—the house, now gone, stood on a hill south from the Addison Laffin place, close to the road. They moved to Rawdon Valley and Ben worked at the Rawdon Gold Mines. Later they removed to Cobalt, Ontario, where he continued to follow mining. They had eleven children: Burton Fenton, Almina Ethel (called Miley), Inez, Bessie, Mary, Jennie, Margaret, Vert, Melville, Asa, and Thomas.

13. b. Mary Ann, b. Nov. 25, 1862; went to the States to work, died there Feb. 23, 1892, and was buried in Upper Rawdon. She did not marry.

14. c. Thomas, b. May 18, 1865; married Mary ELIZABETH Withrow, who was born Feb. 9, 1867 at Stanley, Hants County, and died Aug. 20, 1953 at Greenfield, also in Hants County. They lived in Newton, Massachusetts, for a short time, then returned to Nova Scotia and lived at Stanley, South Uniacke, West Gore, and Clarksville—most of their married life being spent at the latter two places. In West Gore they lived on the John Gordon place; in Clarksville they built and dwelt in the house where their son Arthur now lives. Tom blacksmithed in Clarksville and died there June 20, 1935. He and Elizabeth had ten children: Ethel Elizabeth, Blanche Ceretha, John NORMAN, Thomas EDGAR, Maggie Isabella, Vera Pauline, Stanley Frank, Roland Richard, Mary Helen, and Arthur Reginald.
Elizabeth was the daughter of John and Mary Ann (Blois) Withrow of Stanley. John (1841-1911) was son of Isaac (1806-1894) and grandson of John Withrow (ca. 1757-1839) of Rawdon, eldest of the three Loyalist brothers, by his second wife, Sarah Whittier (ca. 1773-1862), whose father Benjamin Whittier was an armourer in the 84th Regiment as already noted. Mary Ann Blois (1841-1922) was a great-grand-daughter of the Abraham Blois previously mentioned, another member of the regiment.

15. d. Katie ETHEL, b. July 13, 1867; died at Upper Rawdon in the diphtheria epidemic, Dec. 2, 1877.

16. e. Celestia Jane, called Celeste, b. Sept. 18, 1870; went to the States to work and married William Bolton. They settled in Los Angeles, California, and had no family.

17. f. Cynthianetta, called Cynthia, went to the States to work and married Bert Elwell, originally from Yarmouth, N.S. They lived in Waltham, Massachusetts, and later settled in Fresno, California. Two children: Juanita and Fenton.

18. g. Beatrice Matilda, called Bessie, b. Jan. 28, 1873; also went to the States to work, but after some years returned to care for her parents and after their deaths lived on at the home place. When it burned she went to stay at the nearby home of Billy Irvin, a Scottish immigrant who had worked for the family for years, and she died in 1948. She did not marry.

4. **ELIZABETH WEATHERHEAD** (of James), called Betty, was born in 1836 and married Apr. 26, 1864, David Little, son of John Little of Walton, Hants County. Born about 1836, he died Jan. 29, 1881 aged 45. Betty died in November 1904. They lived at Centre Gore, first on the Dave McLeod place (now occupied by Mr. Ashley DeWolfe) and later in a house, now gone, which stood in the field west of the Lev Pineo place. David died there, and Betty at Stanley; both are buried in Centre Rawdon. He died of consumption, as did three of his children.
Children (surname Little):

19. a. Elizabeth, called Libbie, b. Jan. 4, 1865, died 1950; married Stewart Campbell, 1863-1938, son of James and Margaret (Gordon) Campbell of Stanley, Hants County. They lived on his father's farm at Stanley, where John Parker later lived, and had three children: James LISHMAN, Gordon, and John.

20. b. Isabella, b. Jan. 7, 1867; married Robert Campbell, 1860-1945, a brother to Stewart. They lived at Stanley and had one son, Walter. Isabella died Nov. 25, 1898 at the age of 32 and Robert married, second, Maggie Sanford, daughter of Leonard and Ellen (Greeno) Sanford of Newport Station.
Stewart and Robert were great-great-grandsons of James Campbell, a member of the 84th Regiment who settled on the Kennetcook River at what is now Stanley after the regiment was disbanded.

21. c. Norman, b. May 26, 1869; died unmarried at Centre Gore, Jan. 7, 1891 aged 21.

22. d. Louisa, b. May 25, 1871; died unmarried at Centre Gore, Sep. 18, 1901 aged 30.

23. e. George Edward, b. Oct. 10, 1873; married Mabel Babson. As a young man he went to the States and worked as a lineman for the Boston Edison Company in Somerville. He returned to Centre Gore and did carpenter work at the antimony mines at West Gore, then returned to Massachusetts and worked as a carpenter, living first in Lexington, then in West Buxton. Five children: Helen, Norman, Harold, Ruth Lillian, and Lena.

24. f. Edith May, b. about August 1876, died Feb. 2, 1881 aged 4 years and 6 months, within a week of her father's death.

5. **THOMAS WEATHERHEAD** (of James) was born Oct. 5, 1839 in Upper Rawdon and died Feb. 25, 1924. He married Apr. 12, 1866, Margaret Kavanagh, daughter of Patrick and Mary Jane (Higgins) Kavanagh. She was born May 11, 1844 and died Oct. 9, 1910. Her sister Mary Jane married, as her first husband Thomas Fenton (1803-1897), as his second wife, and thus became stepmother to Margaret's brother-in-law John Fenton and Sister-in-law to Betty Weatherhead.

Thomas remained on the home farm in Upper Rawdon and built the present house there, now occupied by his grandson Thomas' widow, Mrs. Ruth Weatherhead, and her eldest son Gilbert. (Two other sons, Ronald (Bud) and Keith, have built homes on the property in recent years.) He received a deed to the 217 acres from the other heirs a month after his father's death and mortgaged it the next year, a mortgage that was discharged in 1885. When the elder son married he took over the farm and Thomas and Margaret moved to the Thomas Fenton property at the upper corner of Upper Rawdon. They later sold

this to the Fenton brothers and went to live on the Tupper Custance place at Upper Rawdon, where their grandson Everett Weatherhead now lives, and died there.

Children (surname Weatherhead):

25. a. Mary, b. July 4, 1866; married Apr. 20, 1889, John Wesley Custance, son of Josiah and Sarah Ann (Blackburn) Custance of Upper Rawdon, where he was born Dec. 31, 1853. They lived in Upper Rawdon until 1912, when they moved to South Maitland and settled on the old Gilmore McDougall property there. John died Nov. 2, 1934 at South Maitland and Mary died June 18, 1953. They had three children: Ina Isabel, John EVERETT, and Ena Gertrude.
John's father, Josiah Custance (1820-1893), was brother to the William Custance Jr. already mentioned, and was therefore also grandson of Capt. John Bond, one of the South Carolina Loyalists. John's mother, Sarah Blackburn (1819-1890), was daughter of Joseph James Blackburn (ca. 1790-1867) and grand-daughter of Thomas Blackburn, a a sergeant in the 84th Regiment who first settled at Upper Nine Mile River and afterwards moved to Newport.

26. b. James, b. Apr. 16, 1868; married May 16, 1894 at Rawdon Valley, Bessie Loretta Bond, daughter of John William and Elizabeth (Brennan) Bond. She was born Oct. 24, 1872 at Rawdon Valley and died July 3, 1931 at Upper Rawdon. James died there Feb. 25, 1951. He was often called Black Jim to distinguish him from his cousin James E., who was fair. He lived on the farm that had been settled by his grandfather at Upper Rawdon and had four children: Elsie Olive, Cleta Isabella, John THOMAS, and Gertrude Florence Loretta.
Bessie's father John (1828-1891) was son of Charles and Elizabeth (Withrow) Bond and a grandson of Capt. John Bond (ca. 1758-1814) and of Jacob Withrow (ca 1765-1822), both South Carolina Loyalists and grantees in Rawdon.

27. c. Isabella, b. May 3, 1870; married Apr. 27, 1898, John Withrow, son of Joshua and Catherine (Fenton) Withrow. He was born Feb. 4, 1863 at Upper Rawdon and died there Feb. 9, 1916. (He had married, first, Mary Agnes Gorman, daughter of William and Mary (Meehan) Gorman of Upper Rawdon.) Belle died in July 1937. She and John lived at Upper Rawdon and had six children: John Joshua, Thomas Weatherhead, Mary Minerva, Jessie Margaret, Seth Reginald, and Earle Glenville.
John's father, Joshua Withrow (1833-1927), was son of the James and Lavinia (Blois) Withrow who were mentioned before, and was therefore grandson of both a South Carolina Loyalist and an 84th Regiment soldier. His mother Catherine Fenton (1839-1921) was a sister of Betty Fenton who married William Weatherhead and of Jockey John Fenton who married Margaret Weatherhead, and their descent from two of the South Carolina Loyalists has been given.

28. d. Jessie, b. Apr. 30, 1872; died at Upper Rawdon in the diphtheria epidemic, July 31, 1878.
29 e. Everett, b. Mar. 29, 1874; died Sep. 29, 1874.
30. f. infant daughter, born and died May 6, 1876.
31. g. infant daughter, b. July 8, 1878; died July 14, 1878, two weeks before her sister Jessie.

32. h. Clinton Mason, b. Apr. 1, 1880; died Apr. 17, 1946; married July 6, 1910 at Stanley, Lucy Eliza Leacy, called Leidie, daughter of Martin and Lucy Ann (Withrow) Leacy. They lived at Upper Rawdon where their son Everett now lives and had seven children: Lucy Margaret, Eudora Jessie, Thomas Martin, Clyde Melville, Ellen Elizabeth, Earle Clinton, and John EVERETT.
Leidie's mother Lucy Ann (ca. 1839-1920) was daughter of Isaac Withrow (1806-1894), seventh son of John Withrow (ca. 1757-1839), eldest of tthe three Loyalist brothers.

33. i. Jessie Eudora, b. Aug. 21, 1884; taught school for several years and married July 29, 1914, Harry Hamilton, son of Amos and Anna (Hill) Hamilton, and lived on his homestead at Five Mile River, Hants County, then about 1941 moved to Truro. They had no family. She died Oct. 10, 1952 in Halifax. (Her gravestone in the Five Mile River cemetery gives a birthyear of 1885; the 1884 birthdate comes from her father's family Bible.)
Harry's grandfather, Asa Hamilton (1813-1894), was son of Samuel Hamilton who came to Centre Gore from Horton township and married Elizabeth (1794-1852), daughter of Abraham Blois, a member of the 84th Regiment who settled in Centre Gore in 1806.

SOURCES

These are the writer's sources for the Weatherhead history proper, and do not cover the lineages given for spouses.

Interviews and correspondence:

Mr. Spencer Campbell, Stanley
Mrs. Vera Campbell, Greenfield
Mrs. Mamie Dodds, Centre Gore (now deceased)
Miss Alma Fenton, Upper Rawdon (now deceased)
Rev. Richard Fenton, Crowell, Shelburne County (now deceased)
Mr. Melvin Power, Francestown, N.H.
Mrs. Ruth Tanner, Shubenacadie
Mrs. Ruth Weatherhead, Upper Rawdon
Mrs. Verna Weatherhead, Upper Rawdon
Mr. Ralph Whittier, Upper Rawdon
Mr. Harry and Miss Mary Withrow, Belnan (both now deceased)

Gravestone inscriptions:

Centre Rawdon (Anglican churchyard)
Five Mile River (Presbyterian, now United)
Nine Mile River (Presbyterian, now United)
Stanley (Anglican)
Upper Rawdon (Methodist, now United)

Church records:

Registers of St. Pauls Anglican Church, Rawdon (at the rectory, Centre Rawdon).

Registers for parishes of Duns and Coldstream, Berwickshire, Scotland (on file at the Registry House, Edinburgh).—[The Duns registers do not show a James Weatherhead born in 1802, but do show a child of that name, son of James and Catherine (Scott) Weatherhead, born in 1790, and another, son of James and Betty (Waldie) Weatherhead, born in 1799.]

Deeds and probate:

Hants County Registry of Deeds (Windsor, N.S.), volumes and folios as follows:
12:376; 14:150; 16:358; 21:121; 23:274; 24:52, 252; 25:153; 41:355, 356; 49:742; 51:313, 317; 61:208; 67:462, 710; 72:667.

Hants County Registry of Probate (Windsor, N.S.), docket 3264A.

Other:

Census returns for Hants County (Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax): 1817, 1838, and 1871.

School returns for Hants County (P.A.N.S.), Rawdon district #1: 1835, 1836, 1837.

Death returns for Hants County (P.A.N.S.): 1867, 1872, 1874, and 1876.

Marriage notice in the **Presbyterian Witness** for Mar. 27, 1858.

Family Bibles in possession of Mr. Perry Fenton and Mr. Everett Weatherhead, Upper Rawdon.

Contributors

JIM LOTZ was born in Liverpool, England, and studied at Manchester University, McGill and the University of British Columbia. After service in the Royal Air Force, and a year spent as a trader in West Africa, he came to Canada in 1954, and become a citizen five years later.

Between 1955 and 1957 he worked as a weather observer at McGill University and at the university's Subarctic research laboratory at Schafferville. From 1957 to 1960, he served with Canadian and American expeditions in Ellesmere Island. Between 1960 and 1966, he worked for the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources as a community planner and research officer. Between 1966 and 1971, he was Associate Director, and Research Professor (Community Development) at the Canadian Centre for Anthropology, St. Paul University, Ottawa, where he directed and carried out research on many civic projects. Between 1971 and 1973, he taught community development at Coady International Institute.

He is now a freelance writer and community organizer. He is the author of *Northern Realities;* the Future of Northern Development in Canada, co-editor and contributor to *Pilot, Not Commander:* Essays in Memory of Diamond Jenness, and co-author, with his wife Pat, of *Cape Breton Island.* He is a member of the Writers Union of Canada, and of the Canadian Author's Association.

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

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

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

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

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ROLAND HAROLD SHERWOOD was born and educated in Amherst, Nova Scotia. He later attended Nova Scotia Technical College.

He has enjoyed a long and varied career in both journalism and broadcasting. He was feature writer for the Halifax Chronicle-Herald for a number of years and author and narrator of radio stories of the Atlantic Provinces on Canadian and overseas networks. He has also had stories and articles published in major Canadian magazines and weeklies.

He has done much research into the history of Nova Scotia, resulting in four published works: "Pictou Parade", "Maritime Story Parade", "Out of the Past" and "Atlantic Harbours".

He has been cited by the Red Cross for community youth work and elected to the Nova Scotia Sports Hall of Fame in recognition for his prowess in long distance running.

He has retired after many years service from the Maritime Telegraph and Telephone Company and is living in Pictou, where he is a free lance photo-journalist and writes a column for the Pictou Advocate.

MICHAEL A. SALTER was born in Orange, New South Wales, Australia. He received his early education and Diploma of Physical Education in Australia and taught in a high school there before coming to Canada. He settled in Alberta where he engaged in further study and was awarded the degree of Physical Education, Masters and Doctoral degrees. He was awarded the Izaak Walton Killam Memorial Fellowship and two Canada Council Travel Grants to deliver papers in Switzerland and Austria.

Articles written by Dr. Salter have appeared in Anthropology journals, Historical journals and Journal of Physical Education.

He is Chairman, Association for the Anthropological Study of Play, Past Chairman, History of Sport, Physical Education and Recreation, Editor, The Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education and is on the Editorial Board of the Journal of Sport History.

Dr. Salter is Assistant Professor at the University of Windsor, Ontario and Lecturer at York University, Toronto. He resides in Windsor, Ont.

PATRICK KEANE was born and educated in England. He was awarded the degrees of Bachelor of Arts with double honours in History and Politics, Master of Education and doctorate from Manchester, Bristol and Bath.

He is much interested in Nineteenth Century studies and has written a series of articles dealing with the development of adult education in the social context during that period.

Dr. Keane is an assistant Professor at Dalhousie University and resides with his family in Halifax.

PHYLLIS RUTH BLAKELEY was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia. She was educated in the public schools of Halifax and graduated from the Halifax County Academy in 1939 with the Governor-General's medal and the St. George's Society Prize for literature. She attended Dalhousie University, where she graduated in 1942 with a Bachelor of Arts Degree with distinction in English and History, and, after obtaining a Diploma of Education the following year, she began a teaching career.

After receiving a Master of Arts degree in Nova Scotian History from Dalhousie University in 1945 she was appointed

to the staff of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia as a research assistant. In 1959 she became Assistant-Archivist, a position she still holds.

Miss Blakeley is the author of *The Story of Nova Scotia,* a junior high school studies textbook. This was revised as a history text for Grade 6 and used in the schools under the title *Nova Scotia—A Brief History.* Among many other published works by Miss Blakeley are *The Story of P.E.I.,* and *Nova Scotia's Two Remarkable Giants* and is a contributor to the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography.*

In 1969 she received a certificate from the Canadian government "on behalf of the Canadian people to record our thanks for a generous contribution to the preservation and enrichment of Canada's historical heritage."

Miss Blakeley is a member of the Canadian Historical Association, the Nova Scotia Branch of the Canadian Author's Association and the Editorial Board of the Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly and Vice-President of the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia.

ROSS GRAVES, a graduate of Acadia University, is a teacher at South Colchester High School, Brookfield, N.S. He is currently president of the East Hants Historical Society and edits a genealogical newsletter sponsored by the Nova Scotia Historical Society. His two volume history of the Schurman family was published in 1973.

For over twenty years he has been working on a detailed historical-genealogical study of Eastern Hants County, and he has traced out an estimated thirty thousand descendants of hundreds of pioneer families in that part of the province.

He lives in Upper Stewiacke in an early 19th century home which he and his wife have restored and furnished with pioneer Nova Scotia pieces.

Book Reviews

LORNA INNESS

The River That Missed the Boat, by Barbara Grantmyre
102 pages, paperback, $3.95, published 1975
Petheric Press

This book is a Canada Council funded study of the history of the Shubenacadie River system, the major link for exploration and development between the Minas Basin and Dartmouth-Halifax.

The book is not only an account of the ill-fated canal project, it goes farther back into history to look at the importance of the waterway as a canoe route.

Part of the book includes extracts from the diary of Capt. William Owen, RN, who, in 1767, led a flotilla of small boats on a survey of the route. For example:

"Reach Grand Lake. About five o'clock we rowed into the entrance of the Shubenacadie river (SE into the entrance then N about 2 cables length) to the western shore where we landed and pitched only one tent as we found here an excellent Indian Whigwam, with places for cooking, etc., and fine level rich land, with tall pine, birch, beech and maple."

Some 200 years later, the author and her daughter set out to follow part of the route, using the captain's journal as a guide.

Notes Mrs. Grantmyre: "Occasional farms where fences dipped into the water, drinking places for cattle, and barnyard smells joined the scent of sweet fern and newmown hay. Under the railway spur bridge at Milford as a string of gypsum-laden flat cars sifted dust on the boat; on, on under the road bridge at Milford Village, and always the curves of the river had been plotted exactly by the long dead captain."

They even found the river obstructed at a point where the captain and his party had found their way blocked by "about a hundred drift trees." In the Grantmyre's case, however, the way was blocked by garbage thrown into the river and gathered at that point.

Mrs. Grantmyre discusses what is known of Indian encampments in the area of the Shubenacadie and the early life of the Acadian settlers there.

The local history of small communities in the area is also set out briefly and covers such places as Elmsdale, Enfield, Milford Station, Shubenacadie, Fort Ellis, Admiral Rock, Urbania, South Maitland and Maitland with its shipbuilding heritage.

The book includes a bibliography and there are several illustrations and maps.

The Shubenacadie waterway is one of those fascinating but generally neglected parts of this province's history. It arouses interest on the part of sportsmen who endeavour from time to time to establish canoe and boating routes, hiking trails, etc. It should also inspire more local writers with its story possibilities.

The More Northerly Route, By John Beswarick Thompson
184 pages, large paperback, illustrated, published 1975
Indian and Northern Affairs and Parks Canada

This book takes us from the historic but comparatively tiny Shubenacadie waterway discussed in Mrs. Grantmyre's book to the fabled "route to the riches of the Indies" which lured European explorers for so many centuries and which in this century has been traversed by a little wooden metal-sheathed, two-masted, motor ship, the St. Roch.

The little ship was built in 1928 in Vancouver for use in the Arctic by the RCMP. In 1948, in an effort to demonstrate Canadian sovereignty of the Arctic to a world at war, the 323-ton vessel was ordered to sail from Vancouver to Halifax by way of the Northwest Passage.

She was frozen in the ice for months at a time, but she fought her way free and finally reached Halifax on October 11th, 1942. It had taken some 28 months.

In 1944, she returned to the West Coast, "by the more northerly route," and this book is a photo-study of that trip. The journey that time took 85 days and the St. Roch became "the first ship to complete the Passage in a single season, the first to travel through the northern, deep-water route and the first to sail the Northwest Passage in both directions."

This book reads like an album with most of the photographs the candid type taken from the personal collections of crew members. Accompanying the photos are observations from accounts written at the time.

"Caught a lot of fish. We filled the lifeboat up with them. Starboard boat. Salted salmon."

"I saw this big wave coming and I jumped inside the door and I forgot to close the door and the wave came right in behind me. Old Rudolph, he was coming up from the engine room and it washed him right back down into the engine room."

And, a brief commentary on a sailor's life at sea anywhere: "Bed, watch, eat. Bed, watch eat."

Unlike the Bluenose, the St. Roch has been preserved and is on permanent display in the Vancouver Maritime Museum. In 1952 she was declared a national historic site and restoration by the historic sites branch of the government was completed in 1974.

The Adventures of Captain Haylestone, by Alan Easton
171 pages, hardcover, $7.95, published May 1975.
McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd.

Alan Easton is a former naval officer who has turned a familiarity with Maritimes' coasts and a fondness for small sea-going vessels into a number of radio plays and now a book.

Easton's stories centre around a small coastal trading vessel, a 149-ton double-ender named the Maid of Jeddore, and her captain and crew. Haylestone, the wily captain, with a black-bearded face and the spirit of Blackbeard in his heart, commands his little craft with an iron hand. He is aided and abetted in his escapades by his mate, Merv Quail, and his engineer, Angus McNiff, who, in the mannef of engineers the world over spends most of his time working assorted miracles keeping bits of machinery going.

With his motley ship and his motley crew, Haylestone ranges the coast, losing no opportunities to keep the ship's holds full and to live up to his proud boast that—"The Maid always delivers her cargos on time."

Haylestone is a model of the canny breed of coastal skipper who, whether trading or fishing, could take his vessel past rocks and through fog to any point along the rocky coast of Noca Scotia by a kind of sixth sense. They were seamen to the core and they scorned such "modern" devices as radar. They listened to the weather forecasts, but put more reliance on their own ways of reckoning what the weather would be. "Mackerel backs and mare's tails" meant more to them than a report somebody might be reading from a studio miles away..

Haylestone's adventures are nothing if not colorful. Never one to turn a blind eye to contraband cargo if there is a profit in it, he takes on a load of plastic tombstones and in attempting to elude the Customs patrol, creates a shoreline cemetery near a somewhat surprised village.

A CBC film crew turns a grounding into part of the plot of a film.

Haylestone takes on a cargo of sheep for Boston and finds himself in the fog in the middle of the America's Cup race course with devasting results.

The captain works out his own devious ways of diverting the unwelcome attentions of customs men, RCMP and local port authorities.

But the captain is more rogue than criminal and if "crime" doesn't pay, at least the endings are happy ones.

It is good to see someone writing fiction of this type about the coastal trade. In its heyday, it formed the lifeblood of communication from port to hamlet to village along the coasts to Halifax and other major ports. It's possibilities for story-telling are enormous and one would think that more local writers would have turned to this source of material.

Easton went to sea at 14 and spent some years with the merchant navy before joining the RCN in World War II. He has already written one book about the sea, Fifty North, as well as many magazine stories and articles.

Farewell to Nova Scotia, By Jeffrey Holmes.
paperback, $3.95, published 1975.
Lancelot Press

What would happen if the province of Nova Scotia became not only an island, but a floating one adrift on the high seas? Jeffrey Holmes has taken a light-hearted look at the possibilities and produced a fantasy which is both imaginative and entertaining.

It is set at some indefinite time in the near future when the premiers of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia join forces to set set off a nuclear blast which is intended to produce a mammoth ditch along the border of the two provinces to facilitate the harnessing of the tides for power.

What is not forseen is that the ditch begins to widen slowly and it is soon clear that the province has been cut adrift from the rest of Canada. There are countless complications, provincial, national and international. Daily living isn't geared to having a province floating around loose on the high seas.

While some of the residents are evacuated, when the province continues to appear stable as it heads toward Sable it becomes a tourist attraction. Special boats bring parties of tourists to the largest cruise ship in the world. The daily rate of drift is added to the statistics given with the weather forecast.

Residents speculate that it might be nice to be moored off Bermuda during the Christmas season for a change, and when the province is caught up in the Gulf Stream, there is even speculation that Nova Scotia might head for Ireland.

Holmes, is a British-born writer who travelled extensively before settling in Canada. He is the executive director of the Association of Atlantic Universities at Halifax.

Holmes states that the idea for Farewell to Nova Scotia (his first published book, by the way), came to him while listening to an APEC speaker extol the virtues of a New Atlantis.

Shakespeare Was a Computer Programmer, by Jeffrey Holmes
76 pages, paperback, $2.00, published 1975.
Brunswick Press.

Holmes has turned his sense of fantasy on Shakespeare in this little volume and tells the story of a man who, while touring remote parts of Yorkshire finds a collection of old papers in the attic of a country home. The papers, considered worthless, are given to him and he locks himself in his hotel room to begin the long task of studying them.

They lead him to the conclusion that Shakespeare's plays were the work of a group of writers led by one man, Greenquill, who was the genius behind it all.

Holmes sketches out an imaginative version of how some of those "purple patches" came into being, "Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow", for example.

All Aboard, By J. William Calder
139 pages, paperback, illustrated, $2.95, published 1974.
Formac Ltd., Antigonish.

This book is subtitled "The history and humour of a 'forlorn' little train and the people and commodities that it carried" which about says it all.

The train in question ran on the Cape Breton Railway which fared rather better than its ill-fated neighbor, the Guysborough Railway.

Calder, whose enthusiasm for trains generally and this line in particular is evident in the book, writes of the train that "It was a privately owned train in fact; but in practice, in operation it was a people's train, striving for the status of maturity for recognition from its bigger, stronger brothers across the land."

It carried coal, it carried the mails, it carried hay and produce. It must have been a much loved little train, witness this description of winter travel:

"There was no snow plough to dissipate the drifts; no flanger to crack the ice between the rails; but there were the people the railway served, who were grateful for the delivery of essentials. And somehow, deep inside, they considered this little train to be their own . . . On more than one occasion groups of people armed with shovels laboring to clear the hard packed snow from a cut would meet a group working from the other end. Then they'd stand bunched on each side of the tracks and watch as the locomotive waiting there would back up and with throttle advanced and smoke pouring from its stack would race like a snorting stallion and pound through the cut and scores of shovels would be raised high as a deafening victory cheer filled the winter air."

Nor is it the train's story alone; the people who worked on it, those who were served by it have found their way into this book and help to give the story a warmly personal touch.

The book is illustrated with cartoon sketches and with old photographs. It will provide a nostalgic journey for others besides Cape Bretoners.

Bluenose, By Brian and Phil Backman
112 pages, Large paperback, published 1975
McClelland & Stewart Ltd.

This is the first paperback edition of the classic book on the Bluenose produced in 1965 by the Backmans. It has made an impressive transition from hardcover to paper and any edition with so many of the MacAskill photographs is bound to be striking in appearance.

The Backmans do not confine their story to the great champion racing schooner, but include the story of the building of Bluenose II.

Where possible the Backmans have let those who had some part in the story of the original Bluenose tell of that experience in their own words.

Backman recounts interviewing Capt. Angus Walters at his home and asking him just what it was that made the ship such a champion.

"I expected a ready reply. Instead, the aging mariner sat musing in silence for several moments. When finally he spoke, it was to deny himself credit in favour of the hand of nature.

" 'I think I know what it was. I think it was the way her spars was stepped. If the rest of her is good, a vessel's spars will pretty well tell what she'll do. Somehow, the Bluenose's spars was stepped mathematically perfect, in a way that no man could do. I think that was it. I don't feel as there was a vessel that ever came out of Lunenburg that had her sticks stepped that perfect.' "

The book is profusely illustrated with photos taken during the construction of Bluenose II and of people associated with one or both of the vessels.

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Just published is The Undoing of Babel, a tribute to the life and work of Dr. Watson Kirkconnell, former president of Acadia University.

The book, edited by Dr. J. R. C. Perkin, contains a biographical sketch by Dr. J. M. R. Beveridge and six essays, each dealing with some field of special interest to Dr. Kirkconnell in his long career.

It is published by McClelland & Stewart Ltd. at $7.95, and will be dealt with in a later issue.

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The Chignecto Isthmus And Its First Settlers, By Howard Trueman.
278 pages, hardcover, facsimilie reprint 1975, first published 1902.
Mike Publishing Company, Belleville, Ont.

It was the intention of Howard Trueman, writing in 1902, "to collect in permanent form matters of interest pertaining to the early history of the Truemans . . . in order that the little knowledge there is of the early history of the family might not pass forever out of the reach of later generations with the death of those whose memory carries them back to the original settlers."

For this reason, Trueman included as well a brief history of families connected to the Trueman family by marriage and completed what amounted to a history of the Isthmus.

In the introduction to the first edition, Dr. W. F. Ganong noted that "There can be no question whatever as to the value to the Chignecto region, and hence to all this part of Canada, of this immigration of God-fearing, loyal, industrious, progressive Yorkshiremen . . . "

(Dr. Ganong also noted that "although preceded in Nova Scotia by several county histories, (Trueman's book) is for New Brunswick, with one or two exceptions . . . the first history of a limited portion of the Province to appear in book form . . . ")

Trueman writes of the New England immigration to Chignecto in 1755-1770, and the Yorkshire immigration. His sections dealing with the Trueman family include letters and journal extracts.

His associated families include among others: Wells, Black, Wood, McLeod, Avard, Prince, Chapman, Trenholm, Logan, Allison.

A final section deals with "The First Settlers of Cumberland," and includes among others: Palmer, Knapp, Harper, Oulton, Keillor, Atkinson, Lowerison, Siddall and Lowther.

History of Antigonish County, By J. W. MacDonald M.D.
58 pages, paperback, illustrated, published 1975 (reprint)
Formac Ltd., Antigonish

This is a reprint of the historical sketch first published in 1876 and incorporated into Fr. Rankin's History of Antigonish County.

It covers such aspects as the early divisions of eastern Nova Scotia, early French settlement, military affairs, the arrival of the Highland families, settlements at Manchester Road, West River, Ohio, Lochaber; settlers from New Hampshire, the formation of the Presbyterian congregation and information concerning various religious denominations in the area.

There is also a brief description of the origins of the town of Antigonish and its appearance in 1808.

Folklore of Nova Scotia, By Mary L. Fraser.
115 pages, paperback, illustrated, $2.95, published 1974.
Formac Ltd., Antigonish.

In the author's foreword it is noted that this book represents an attempt to preserve in book form some of the old stories from many sources, but centres principally in Cape Breton and eastern Nova Scotia. In these areas it was easier to "collect material at first hand".

The author explores the nature of folklore, "the sole available record of the unlettered childhood of the human race," and looks at the various strains of folklore which have been blended in Nova Scotia.

Chapters deal with the land and its people, Indian myth and legend (including the stories concerning Glooscap and a comparison of Micmac and European legends), superstitions and stories of second sight and forerunners of death such as phantom trains, automobiles, lights.

Witches and witchcraft, fairy lore, mermaids, attendant spirits of various kinds and the devil in folklore are included here along with some notes on buried treasure, weatherlore and customs observed at marriages, births and deaths.

In closing, the author notes that "time has been hard on the customs. The automobile, the telephone, the radio, leave people no time to spend on elaborate ceremonial. The old time ceilidh too, has gone the way of the other customs, and with it the old tales that enlivened many a long winter's evening. No longer do seers startle their friends by the recital of their visions. The honk of the automobile has frightened away the bochdan, and the glare of its lights has dulled the vision of the sights of the other world. Music floods the air, but is heard only with mechanical aid. Yet there are still, in the little province by the sea, a few secluded spots unspoiled by modern inventions, where the other worldliness of the Celt may disport itself in visions and in dreams."

Stories from Nova Scotia, By C. I. N. MacLeod.
129 pages, paperback, illustrated, $2.95, published 1974.
Formac Ltd., Antigonish.

In 1969, a volume entitled Scottish Gaelic Stories from Nova Scotia was published by Gairm Publications, Glasgow Scotland. Calum MacLeod was the editor. In response to requests for English translations of these stories he has produced this little volume.

He states that his translations "are not polished or academic; they are strictly literal and homespun." But he adds that they should help "the acquirer of written Gaelic to understand the syntax, construction, and grammar of the language."

Some of the stories were taken from various manuscripts, others were tape recorded. There are stories of the settlers, transplanted stories from Scotland and humorous stories.

Calum MacLeod, who was born in Dornie, Ross-shire, Scotland, specialized in Celtic languages, literature and history and antiquities in the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. He came to Nova Scotia in 1950 as Gaelic advisor to the adult education division of the department of education. In 1958 he became the first chairman of the department of Celtic studies, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish.

"Hie out of the Heat" with Harvey, By Harvey MacKenzie
59 pages, paperback, $1.95, published December, 1974.
Formac Ltd., Antigonish.

"Rugged capes and a beacon beaming
And the song of the wind from an open sea."

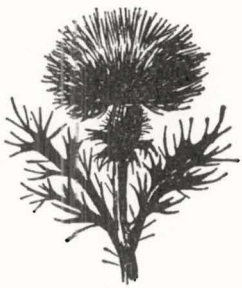
Harvey MacKenzie spent some 30 years as manager of the Royal Bank of Canada in New York City and then retired to live in his native village of St. Peters, Cape Breton, and devote even more time to his poetry.

This little volume contains some 100 or more of his brief poems. Nor are they all about Nova Scotia; "the towers of old Manhattan" rise in some of them and others picture the Bowery's own particular type of "driftwood".

But in the main, the poems speak of the Cape Breton landscape and its charms, of quiet coves and hills, of the light of the sun touching the landscape. Rural Tranquility is an example:

Eventide and a far bell ringing,
Sunset spread along the west;
High in the heavens, a late bird singing,
And winging on to a welcome nest.

Darkness now and the first star shining,
A low wind teases the stately trees;
And many there are, in the cities pining,
For magical moments such as these.



Notes on Nova Scotia

Port Morien—six miles from Glace Bay in Cape Breton County are the remains of the first regular coal mining operations in America, established by the French in 1720—an honour shared by Joggins Cumb. Co.

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In 1750 the merchants of Halifax banded together to form an association for the benefit of trade "Halifax Committee on Trade", reported to be the first board of trade this side of the Atlantic.

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"Digby Chickens" are smoked herring.

* * *

Secretary and assistant for many years to Alexander Graham Bell was Arthur W. McCurdy of Baddeck who was the inventor of the photographic accessory that later became the Eastman developer.

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Jordan Falls, Shel. Co., is the birthplace of Donald MacKay, designer of the largest sailing ship in the world —The Great Republic 6,000 tons as well as the famous clipper Flying Cloud—out of an American shipyard.

* * *

In 1782 a turnpike bridge with a toll gate was built over the Sackville River, Halifax, Co., N.S.