Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

We take pleasure in presenting our subscribers with this complimentary special supplement to the Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly.

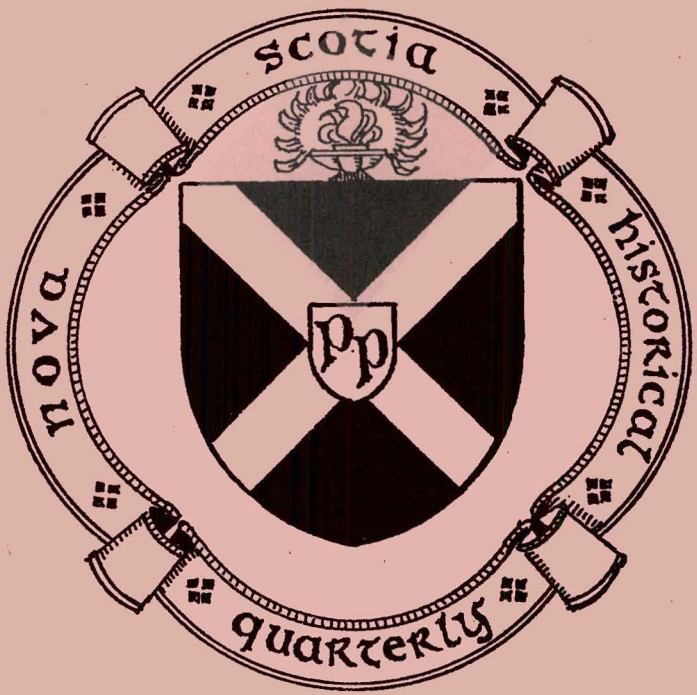
Earlier this year, the Department of Recreation of the Province of Nova Scotia and the Nova Scotia Branch of the Canadian Authors Association jointly sponsored a writers competition.

The articles contained in this supplement are written by the winners and recipients of honourable mention in the history category of this competition.

Your next regular issue, Volume 5, Number 4, is scheduled for November 15, baring Acts of God etc.

The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT



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

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

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The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

Special Supplement

Contents

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Editor's Note

The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly is proud to present this Special Supplement resulting from the Writer's Competition which was recently sponsored by the Nova Scotia Branch of the Canadian Author's Association and the Department of Recreation of the Province of Nova Scotia.

The eight winning historical articles were considered by us and the Department of Recreation suitable for publication and we are indebted to the Department, under its minister, the Honourable A. Garnet Brown, for the assistance in producing this special volume.

Nova Scotia is rich in history and also rich in writers who can record that history. We feel that this Special Supplement bears this out.

William H. McCurdy
Chairman,
Editorial Board

Message from the Minister of Recreation

Preservation of Nova Scotia's history in written and physical form is vital to the cultural future of our Province.

Our heritage must be retained for future generations and passed along to them to remember and consider with pride.

In co-operation with the Nova Scotia Branch of the Canadian Author's Association, we were most honoured to sponsor a special category for historic articles in a province-wide writing competition.

The results reflect the tremendous interest in history in communities throughout this province.

I am delighted that so many Nova Scotians are stirred to write about our past and we, in the Department of Recreation, will continue to encourage this important cultural activity.

It is with pride, that we sponsor this special edition of the NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY in which are published the eight most outstanding selections from a large field of entries.

Honourable A. Garnet Brown,
Minister of Recreation

Foreword to Special Edition

It is a privilege to be asked to write the foreword to this special edition of The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly featuring articles deemed worthy of publication which were entered in the Historical Category of the Literary Contest recently conducted by the Nova Scotia Branch of The Canadian Authors' Association and sponsored by the provincial Department of Recreation.

The object of the Contest was to encourage and stimulate writing in Nova Scotia, and probably many of these fascinating glimpses of bygone days would have been lost without that incentive. The fact that this edition of the Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly is presenting the first fruits of the competition is a tribute to its success.

For some of the authors concerned this is a first attempt at writing; it indicates not only the wealth of untapped literary talent in this region, but suggests that a treasure trove of untold stories awaits discovery—in old trunks and attics, in letters, log-books and diaries, and in the memories of senior citizens, whose recollections of the days of their youth are still sharp and vivid.

Writers and aspiring writers with an awareness of history should appoint themselves treasure-hunters, unearthing and preserving snippets of the fabric of the past, recording it accurately and with sensitive interpretation so future generations may inherit the whole rich and varied tapestry of the history of Nova Scotia.

As one involved in the Contest from the outset I feel I speak for all concerned when I express the immense satisfaction derived from being instrumental in adding to the literature and recorded history of our country.

Rosemary Bauchman,
President, N.S. Branch, C.A.A.

List of Awards

1st Prize — Terry Punch

2nd Prize — Myrtle L. Chase

3rd Prize — Winnie Norton

HONOURABLE MENTION

Isobel Carmichael

Helen M. Grant

Robert P. Harvey

Ruth E. Kaulbach

J. F. Smith

The Estates and Haunts of Dutch Village

TERRY PUNCH

Halifax was founded in 1749 to provide a British fortress. It became very quickly a town. Its nearest landward neighbour was a village which was on the west of Halifax Peninsula. Between Bedford Basin and the head of the Northwest Arm extends the Isthmus of Halifax, a piece of land about 8,000 feet across—just above one and a half miles in a straight line. It is relatively lower in elevation than the neighbouring peninsula and mainland. The first settlers would have beheld a swampy area, intersected by numerous small brooks, some of which were impressive during a rainy day in springtime.[1]

Above this area of ponds and low trees the early British at Halifax erected three blockhouses and a linking road, to act as a sort of distant early warning system and first line of defence against attacks.[2] After a decade or so the local Indians had come to accept the British presence, and the area "beyond the blockhouses" became more or less habitable by industrious and alert settlers.

In 1763 the government awarded several pieces of land sloping up the western side of this isthmus valley to nine of the so-called "Foreign Protestants" who had been brought here during the 1750's to bolster the non-Acadian element in the colony.[3] Three further grants were made in 1765, to the south of the others.[4] In all there were twelve grants made to these settlers, known indiscriminately to the British as the "Dutch".

A few very old references give the place the German title, *Neunhausen* (Nine Houses).[5] The area became known more usually as *Westerwald,* or West Wood, the name that stuck until the early 1800's, when the more familiar title, Dutch Village, came into general use for this small community of farmers and wood-cutters.[6]

The German character of its population endured well into the nineteenth century. They had local names for some places in the vicinity. The Nine Mile River (now Timberlea) was referred to as *Fordinand River.*[7] This seems to be from *fortdauern,* meaning "to continue," which that stream does. Birch Cove was sometimes *Burth Cove.*[8] The Cogswell estate was called *Coxel-land.*[9]

Unfortunately there no longer exist any of the German buildings from the 1700's. Indeed there is little evidence that the Dutch Villagers had unique domestic architecture. They probably built along lines like those described in 1774 by the Englishmen Robinson and Rispin:

> Their homes are generally built square, and chiefly of wood, with chimneys of brick in the centre . . . They board the outside up to the roof, with what they call clapboards, which are about four inches broad, a quarter of an inch thick on the lower side, and exceedingly thin on the upper, so as to lay on each other's edge. Their roofs are covered with planks, on these they fix what they call shingles . . . All their houses have cellars under them and are in general very convenient.[10]

With the passage of time, the German stock in Dutch Village became diluted through intermarriage. The northern half of the twelve original lots kept its character as farm and woodlot until the early twentieth century. The southern six lots were destined to provide the basic area upon which several estates would be developed.

In the later 1800's, Dutch Village witnessed a phenomenon new to the area. Several of the more affluent Haligonians began to buy up property just across the road from the city limits, with the intention of making up large estates upon which to erect the substantial type of house so attractive to Victorian gentlemen of means.

It is true there were earlier ventures in land ownership in Dutch Village by wealthy Haligonians. We are told that Dublin-born Richard Bulkeley, the Provincial Secretary, was counted a famous host, both at his town house on Argyle Street and at his farm near Dutch Village, in the late 1700's.[11] As Bulkeley did not have a residence at his farm we may assume his entertaining was of the *al fresco* variety.

About 1811 Major Alexander Ligertwood of the 60th (Royal American) Regiment got 200 acres at the head of the Northwest Arm. He was military secretary of Lt.-Gen. and Governor Sir George Prevost, and deputy quartermaster-general in Nova Scotia. Before Ligertwood could carry out his planned development of an estate, he died and the property was sold.[12]

Years later the Piers family owned much of the Ligertwood grant. They used the name "Stanyan" for this property and house at the head of the Arm. The name was given to one of the Piers family in honour of Temple Stanyan, a literary friend of the essayist, Joseph Addison.[13] Later the name was bestowed on the house after the member of the family.

The first of the Victorian estates got its beginning in 1855, when Thomas Southall bought a tract of land from William Long.[14] Southall came to Halifax in 1848 from Jamaica with the 38th Regiment.[15] In 1850 Captain Southall, a veteran of twenty-four years service, including action in the Burmese War, sold his commission with the plan of making Halifax his home. At the time he had substantial capital but subsequent reverses in his English investments left him with a large family but no funds. Lt.-Gov. the Earl of Mulgrave heard of his distress and Southall was made chief clerk of the Nova Scotia post office. This native of Staffordshire died at his home on Robie Street in 1884, aged 76 years.

Southall erected a cottage on his Dutch Village property, where he resided throughout the year, since he was fond of shooting in the neighbourhood. The house was christened, appropriately for that of a retired gentleman, "Retreat Cottage." In 1859 the property was sold to William Moore Harrington, a successful merchant and native of Antigonish. At the time "Retreat Cottage" was a house of one and one half storeys, 35 feet long by 27½ feet deep. Harrington used the premises as a summer house. He died shortly after transferring the property to his daughter, Emily Ann, and her husband, George Piers. The Piers family resided there all year round until about 1935.[16]

To the north of "Retreat Cottage" stood "Springvale." Harrington had bought his fifty acre block of land from Richard Graves, yeoman, Dutch Village, but soon sold it to Thomas Milsom, a native of Bath, England.[17]

Milsom had been in the 62nd (Wiltshire) Regiment of Foot, and had served in Crimea. He retired at Halifax in 1856 with the rank of captain. Later Lord Mulgrave appointed him inspecting field officer of the Nova Scotia Militia, with the rank of colonel. Col. Milsom died in 1888, aged 69. His son, John, occupied the premises for the next few years.

South of "Retreat Cottage" was a property known as "Elmwood". There was a house on this spot in the 1840's, where a well-known Irishman had his home. John Thomas Lane, a clerk in Customs at Halifax, was proprietor of a patent medicine, commonly referred to as "Paddy Lane's Indian Small-pox Cure." Its major ingredient came from the roots of *sarracenia purpurea,* the pitcher-plant, or Indian cup.[18]

"Paddy" was an amusingly eccentric character. In the best tradition of the early medicine salesman he claimed his product was a veritable panacea. The story was told that Lane met one of his regular customers when the man was the worse for the bottle. Lane told the man that his medicine could certainly help that condition. "It'll not help me at all, Paddy, for you do not put enough alcohol into your cure." Paddy replied that, seeing what putting alcohol into himself had done for the man, he was happy to accept the testimonial to his medicine!

Lane's cottage was torn down to make room for a newer and grander edifice. Samuel Strong, drygoods merchant in Halifax, paid 280 pounds to George Taylor, farmer for 5¼ acres in 1865.[19] Strong held the place for less than a year, during which time apparently he had a summer home built. It formed the nucleus of a house which was eventually 65 feet long in front.[20] Strong's land was sold at auction.[21]

Strong died at Bridgetown in 1895 after rather a spotty career. He seems to have been one of those men destined by fate either for great success or dire failure, and who spent his life wobbling between the two. His business trouble, forced him to sell "Elmwood" and he spent several years getting back on his feet financially. Then in 1874 the newspapers reported that Samuel Strong, formerly of Halifax, but then of Arichat, had been arrested on complaint of Emerson Bligh of A. B. Bligh and Co. The charge was that he had obtained goods under false pretences, rendering payment with the value of property which he did not own.[22]

"Elmwood" passed into John Doull's ownership in 1866.[23] He was an eminently respectable merchant of Scottish birth. He built a large addition to Strong's cottage, at right angles to its southern end. The finished house was roughly L-shaped. The Doull family resided on the property for many years, at least to the end of the First World War. Doull changed the name of the property from "Elmwood" to the more historic "Westenwold" or "Westerwold." Very impressive driveways and roads were laid out for Doull, who also had paths and a small pond constructed on his estate. He kept his gardeners busy, as shade trees were one of his passions. The resulting property was among the best landscaped in this area.[24]

It certainly suited the life style of the 1890's. In July 1891 Doull held an "at home" at "Westenwold". He entertained for friends from New York. There were three hundred guests, and the band of the Leicestershire Regiment was installed on the grounds to provide musical entertainment. One newspaper considered the party "a very pretty scene indeed!"[25]

Another attraction was "Walton", just south of Doull's. This was the property of the naturalist, taxidermist and zoologist, Andrew Downs, whose career is a story in itself. He was probably the least likely plumber and tinsmith to live in Halifax. His zoo was the first in the western hemisphere in about 300 years. Dr. Fergusson has well called him "the successor of Montezuma.[26]

Downs' achievement was remarkable for his time and place. He had ponds, artificial waterfalls, live and stuffed animals and birds, a collection of fish, and several exotic plants. The masterpiece was a fantastic and futuristic structure that served as a greenhouse and aviary. It was constructed in vertical panels such that two thirds of the wall surface was translucent to a height of two storeys, with gables on the front and

south side. It was "a cathedral in glass," since it boasted a steeple of that material rising twenty-seven feet in soaring vertical lines culminating in a parapet.[27]

Part of Downs' property was later a separate estate. This southern part became "Rockwood." Samuel A. White, merchant, bought the land when Downs finally gave up his gardens in 1872, and he re-sold nearly ten acres to Alexander Stephen in 1884.[28] Stephen has succeeded his father as head of Alexander Stephen & Son. Stephen senior was from Rothes, Scotland. He had two furniture workshops at first, one at Fall River, the other at Musquodoboit. In 1867 he was president of the North British Society. Stephen junior held the same post later, and in 1897 he was mayor of Halifax during the busy jubilee year. The company became the Nova Scotia Furniture Company in 1902, with a factory on Grafton Street.[29] This business wound up about 1930.

In 1891 a chimney spark set fire to "Rockwood", a three-storey wooden structure. There was a delay in getting the fire apparatus to the scene. A pond of water on the property was pumped dry and the fire was only brought under control when another pond, 1000 feet away, at Doull's, was used. The top floor and roof were destroyed. A newspaper account states that only a week earlier City Council had recommended the property for purchase for use as an Inebriates' Home. It is interesting that in 1891 Halifax could have bought a mansion of three storeys, on ten acres of land in a good neighbourhood for $8900.[30]

The somewhat reduced estate passed to Capt. William H. Smith, chairman of the board of examiners of masters and mates. His widow sold the land in 1906. It seems to have been divided into two portions, the upper one being taken by Daniel Chisholm, a lumber merchant from Sheet Harbour.[31] The other

section went to Thomas J. Egan, gunsmith and sporting goods dealer.[32] The Chisholms remained until 1946, the Egans until the 1960's.

Another smaller and more recent estate between "Rockwood" and Saint James Church was "Craigburn", owned by Alexander D. Falconer, head of the construction firm of Falconer, and McDonald. Among the several occupants the best known was probably Lady Jane, widow of Sir C. F. Fraser, so prominent for his work with the blind. Lady Fraser lived at "Craigburn" briefly late in the 1920's.

At the head of the Arm was "Stanyan," previously mentioned. Also near the Arm Bridge, but across the road, was another property with a name. Up on the hill by the old Bethany Presbyterian Church was a section once owned by Dr. Cogswell. "Fairmount" had passed through the hands of John W. LeCain and Brook W. Chipman to the Lear family.[33]

James Lear was a jeweller from Birmingham, England. He died in 1890 at Moncton, but his widow, Harriet Felton, kept the property and lived there. The family possessed a strong artistic talent. Three of them were artists. Gwendoline was also a writer, while Kate Lear was an art teacher, and painted in the old English water-colour tradition. Three sisters (the other was Isabel) and their brother, Gerald, did not marry, and were still at "Fairmount" in 1940.

The estates from "Springvale" down to the head of the Arm have been traced. It remains to work northward from "Springvale". Its neighbour stood just at the head of Mumford Road, where today stand two attractive private homes. This property was "Sunnyside" and belonged for some time to Andrew Kerr MacKinlay, who succeeded his father and bachelor

uncle, Andrew and William MacKinlay, as head of the old stationery and book-selling firm of A. & W. MacKinlay, whose textbooks helped to educate many a pupil in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Following MacKinlay's death in London in 1889, his house stood empty until it was sold by the estate to George R. Murray. Some later residents were Robert Duncan and Charles B. Wilkins. By 1916 William D. Piercey of Piercey Supplies Limited had purchased the land. His family still live in this charming and well-tended property.

North of "Sunnyside" stood an estate that has been divided between the headquarters of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union and an apartment. This estate was called "Ravenswood", presumably after the hero of Sir Walter Scott's novel, *The Bride of Lammermoor*. H. F. Worrall, merchant, is shown there in Hopkins' 1878 map of Halifax. He sold it to Emmeline Pickford, daughter of Charles McLarren of Barrington, in 1881.[34] Her husband, Robert, was a co-founder of Pickford and Black Steamships.

In 1889 Mrs. Pickford sold her property to Thomas Forhan, president of a sailmaking firm.[35] Later the house was occupied by George A. Fowler, contractor, and then by the proprietor of Maritime Florists. More recently the premises were known as "Ravenswood Apartments".

So far we have remained in the realm of the natural. There is just a hint of the supernatural in what is said about "Ravenswood".[36] The house was reputedly haunted, but what form this manifestation assumed cannot be said. There were a number of owners and occupiers in the century before the Worralls lived there, but only the Leffler family stayed for a lengthy period. That German family farmed there for eighty years until about 1873. Nothing indicates a ghost story having a basis on the property during that time.

There was at one time among some Germans around the Peninsula a story that may well apply to "Ravenswood", although its physical circumstances would fit two or three other localities as well. It might supply a clue to how some people later came to speak of the place as haunted, probably in total ignorance of how it gained the reputation.

Towards the year 1790 a German from "the Bay"—I assume St. Margaret's Bay, but Mahone Bay and Rose Bay are other suitable possibilities—came to Dutch Village to be a hired hand. He built himself a crude shanty beside a brook to the west side of the road. He was either a bachelor or a widower and had his sister come to keep house for him. For some time they lived quietly and, being rather old than young, kept pretty well to themselves. After a time, the sister's absence was noticed, and he told one of his employers she had gone "down to the Bay" to tend an ailing relative. Within months the old labourer fell ill. One morning when he did not appear in the yard, curious or concerned folk came to the little shack and found him. Apparently he died in his sleep. His shanty had been on someone else's land, of course, but he had left a few sticks of furniture and some bedding.

Enquiries at the time failed to find his absent sister. Quite a thrill of excitement must have gone around when a grave was discovered the following spring. It was shallow and was not far from the shack, but across and to the north of the little brook. There is no record of an inquest that fits these circumstances, but evidently she had either met with foul play at the hands of her brother, who carried his dread secret to his grave, or she had died naturally, but for reasons known best to himself the old man had kept quiet about it.

This legend, or perhaps it was a genuine folk memory, may have become associated with the place. Later the tale lost such historical relevance it may have had and became trans-

formed into a vague rumour of haunted premises. There is another possibility. The story may describe events that really happened—somewhere else—and one of the early settlers brought the story with him to Dutch Village, where it got a new locale![37]

North or northwest of "Ravenswood" was the property still known as "Ashburn". These premises are situated upon the old lots numbers seven and eight, granted in 1763 to Conrad Burgy, a Swiss, and Baltzar Gebhart a German, respectively. By 1860, these lands were part of the estate of the late Dr. Cogswell.

Col. William J. Myers, for 26 years an officer in the 71st (Highland Light Infantry) Regiment and in the Royal Staff Corps, retired in 1851. He settled in Halifax and bought some land at Dutch Village, which he sold subsequently to his son-in-law,[38] Col. Myers died at Dresden Row in 1867, aged 60 years.[39]

Myers' son-in-law, John Matthew Jones, was a native of Fronfraith Hall, Montgomeryshire, Wales. Born in 1828, the son of Admiral Sir Charles T. Jones, K.C.B., he was educated to the law. Although a member of the Middle Temple, young Jones was independently wealthy and did not practice. As a twelve-year old he was already corresponding with the distinguished naturalist, Charles Waterton of Walton Hall, near Wakefield, England,[40] whose property inspired Downs in naming his zoo at Dutch Village. Jones was a field enthusiast all his days, and saw a considerable part of the globe on his journeys.

In 1854 he crossed to America with the plan of going to the Rockies for some shooting, but he wound up at Halifax where he made the acquaintance of Downs, with whom he shared a deep interest in naturalism. During the Crimean War, Jones served on the front, whence he wrote letters to Downs describing various familiar birds he had noticed there.

After the War he left his captaincy in the Royal Montgomery Rifles, and settled in Halifax. His kinsman, Lord Mulgrave, was then lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia. Jones divided his time among Halifax, where he lived in summer at "Ashbourne"; Bermuda, where he spent the winter at "The Hermitage", Smith's Parish; with periodic visits to his 400 acre estate at Llannerewig, Wales; and to London.

In 1859, Jones published a volume entitled *The Naturalist in Bermuda*. By 1866 his private museum at "Ashbourne" contained about 7500 specimens. Jones was a donor to the British Museum, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Nova Scotia Provincial Museum. He helped manage the Nova Scotian display in the International Exhibition in London in 1862. Jones was the author of many articles in the learned journals of his day. He was elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society of London, and one of the original Fellows of the Royal Society of Canada. He helped found the Nova Scotia Institute of Natural Science, of which he was president from 1863 to 1873. Three Burmudian fishes were named for him.[41]

He lived in some state at "Ashbourne", and employed three indoor servants: his "man", a cook, and housemaid.[42] The outside staff included a coachman and a gardener. The property consisted of 87½ acres, but Jones moved into town within a few years. He died on his sixtieth birthday in 1888, at his home on Tower Road, just north of Inglis Street.

The *British Colonist* reported the sale of the property in 1868: "On Friday, 1 May, Mr. Allan sold the beautifully situated estate of J. M. Jones, Esq., at Dutch Village, known by the name of 'Ashbourne' for the sum of $10,600. to James B. Duffus." Mr. Duffus was one of a family of mercantile prominence in Halifax for many years. James Bain Duffus owned the property until his death in 1884. He even named his youngest son, William Ashbourne Duffus, in honour of the property.

Two years later the executors sold the estate to William H. Webb of the drug firm of Brown and Webb.[43] This business had been founded sixty years earlier by Dr. James Fillis Avery. Avery had studied medicine with Dr. Almon in Halifax and then attended Edinburgh, where he graduated in 1821. He spent six months in the Hospital of the Royal Guard at Paris, under the direction of Baron Larrey, whose patients had included Napoleon. When he returned home, Avery practiced medicine and founded the drug business on George Street.[44] Avery took his two nephews, Thomas A. and Charles E. Brown, as partners in the 1850's. William H. Webb joined the firm in 1855, and in 1868 became partner. Five years later Dr. Avery retired, and the firm became Brown and Webb.

Webb lived at Dutch Village until World War One. He is supposed to have altered the spelling of the name from "Ashbourne" to "Ashburn". The new name resulted from an ash grove surrounding a brook on the property, while "burn" was the Scottish word for a small brook. In the 1880's "Ashburn" boasted a good deal more than ash trees. It was referred to as "a palatial country estate . . . with a sheep fold, tenants' cottages, avenues of Norway pines, etc." This character continued into this century. The last private owner was Arthur H. Webb, who maintained horses on the property. He kept a coach and had his resident coachman on the estate to drive him back and forth on his trips to town for business.[45] The rural atmosphere has been maintained by the golf club which occupied the grounds for half a century.

The property boasted something else. Perhaps because this place was more frequented than "Ravenswood," its unusual phenomenon has been described in slightly more specific terms than the haunt of its neighbour. Then perhaps the same spectre was attached to both places. A lady who "saw" the ghost in the 1930's spoke of it as an elderly woman in a shawl. Her supernatural state was heightened rather effectively in that

she manifested no feet. She appeared to be gliding along, some inches above the ground, and at the edge of a wood. When approached she seemed to put her shawl above her head, thereby covering her face. At the same time she gestured violently with her free arm. When more closely approached she glided towards the wood and was seen no more.

Whether or not people see ghosts is a matter for students of para-psychology. Usually though, the historical researcher can find something connected with the past of a property that will supply an identity for the supposed unearthy visitor. In this case there is a rather substantial historical basis upon which a ghost story could have been founded. What makes the evidence both more convincing and more frightening is that it is to be found in a legal document, in a coroner's inquest, to be exact. Because the deceased left issue and has descendents, her name shall be Margaret X. Otherwise the facts and the logical interpretation of the legal record have been adhered to.[46]

Mrs. X, a widow, was found dead during the autumn of 1850. She had lived with her daughter and son-in-law at Dutch Village for several years. Previous to that time even, she had been subject to melancholy spells during which she wandered about alone in the wooded area to the west of Dutch Village Road. She had become ill in the last year of her life and seldom went out. She was then 81 years of age, and was very quarrelsome. Then she had seemed to become more peaceable towards her family, but she complained frequently against her neighbours, whom she claimed were combining against her. Mrs. X. was not of sound memory and sometimes she was beside herself with apprehension about the designs of neighbours. She ignored attempts to persuade her that her fears were groundless. In the end she did away with herself by tying a comforter about her neck, thereby suffocating, strangling and hanging herself. The coroner's jury found a verdict of death by suicide.

From this we see a lonesome old woman, probably feeling superfluous in the household, who becomes first childish and then obsessed with delusions of persecution. In a bout of depression she kills herself. She was wont to roam about the woods and pastures of the area during her decline. Her home, on the west side of Dutch Village Road north of Bayers, was ten minutes' walk from "Ashburn". During these unhappy ramblings the woman did not want to be pestered by children. She wore a shawl or perhaps an apron which she might have waved about her face to frighten small youngsters from her. If they drew near, and her deranged imagination feared their intentions, she may have taken refuge by ducking into the woods. Perhaps neighbours, in kindness, tried to keep children from bothering her. Scare tactics could be used and the little ones cautioned against going into fields haunted by a ghost.

If Margaret X. roamed abroad in the 1840's, it is likely that the youngsters of that day, grown to adults by the 1860's, kept the story fresh. The facts would be partly forgotten, but the idea of the ghost may have been used to keep young children from going into places where swollen brooks and swampy meadows posed a danger. Eventually the story had no more significance than those we were told in childhood about goblins getting us after dark. Yet, perhaps some octogenarian in the 1920's could remember when there was an old woman in the fields, and she had done strange things. Perhaps he told someone bits and pieces: a shawl-covered face, wild gestures, the flight into the woods. Such legends are part of our heritage, and they enrich it.

FOOTNOTES

1. Harry Piers, "The Old Peninsular Blockhouses and Roads at Halifax, 1751: Their History, Description and Location. **Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society,** XXII (Halifax, 1933), p. 126.
2. Harry Piers, **The Evolution of the Halifax Fortress, 1749-1928** (Halifax, 1947), p. 5.
3. Old Land Grant Book, VII, pp. 113-117 (28 Apr. 1763). P.A.N.S., R.G. 1, Vol. 411, doc. 1, gives the allocation of lots.
4. **Ibid.,** VI, pp. 337-339 (7 June 1765).
5. Registry of Deeds, Halifax County, lib. 12, folio 119 (12 Feb. 1773). Further references to this source shall be designated R.D.H.C.
6. R.D.H.C., lib. 38, folio 6 (10 July 1802); lib. 39, folio 385 (18 Feb. 1799); **The Royal Gazette and the Nova-Scotia Advertiser,** 1 Apr. 1800, p. 2, col. 2.
7. R.D.H.C., lib. 26, folio 250 (19 Aug. 1786.)
8. P.A.N.S., R.G. 5A, Vol. 22 (1815 Assembly Papers), accounts of George Kline for road work in 1814.
9. Halifax County Probate Records, Will Book III, p. 69; estate of Balthasar Gebhard, 1790.
10. **Report of the Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia for the Year ending 30 November 1944** (Halifax, 1945), Appendix B, p. 44.
11. J. B. Brebner, **The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia** (Toronto, 1959), p. 222, n. 42.
12. **Acadian Recorder,** 30 Sep. 1815, p. 4, col. 4.
13. John W. Regan, **Sketches and Traditions of the Northwest Arm,** 3rd. ed. (Halifax, 1928), p. 140.
14. R.D.H.C., lib. III, folio 344 (16 Oct. 1855), The price was only $120.00.
15. **Report of the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia for the Year 1934-35,** p. 42.
16. For this and other approximations of residence, the source is the city directories of the various years, unless otherwise stated.
17. R.D.H.C., lib. 126, folio 338 (7 Dec. 1859), and lib. 144, folio 295 (15 June 1863). Milsom turned a profit of £90. on the transactions.
18. **Report of the Provincial Museum. 1935-36,** p. 49.
19. R.D.H.C., lib. 151, folio 310 (14 Dec. 1865).
20. **Report of the Provincial Museum. 1935-36,** p. 40.
21. **The Christian Messanger,** 25 July 1864, p. 234, col. 3.
22. **The Halifax Daily Reporter and Times,** 10 Feb. 1874, p. 2, col. 7.
23. R.D.H.C., lib. 154, folio 439 (23 July 1866).
24. **Report of the Provincial Museum. 1935-36,** p. 40.
25. **The Critic,** 17 July 1891, p. 18, col. 1.
26. C. B. Fergusson, "Montezuma's Successor; Andrew Downs of Halifax," **Dalhousie Review,** XXVII (1947), pp. 261-280.
27. This description is based on a photo made by Rogers in 1867, and now in the P.A.N.S. collection of photographs.
28. R.D.H.C., lib. 248, folio 495 (16 June 1884).

29. James S. MacDonald, **Annals, North British Society, Halifax, Nova Scotia 1768-1903** (Halifax, 1905), pp. 348, 351, 532-533.
30. **Acadian Recorder,** 7 Sep. 1891, p. 3, col. 5.
31. James E. Rutledge, **Sheet Harbour: A Local History** (Halifax, 1954), p. 68.
32. **Fifth Anniversary of St. Lawrence Church** (Halifax, 1953), p. 27.
33. R.D.H.C., lib. 192, folio 287 (13 Oct. 1874); lib. 246, folio 371 (10 Nov. 1884).
34. R.D.H.C., lib. 233, folio 428 (27 July 1881).
35. R.D.H.C., lib. 272, folio 151 (13 Apr. 1889).
36. **Caveat:** This section on the ghostly appearances at "Ravenswood" is based upon oral tradition and cannot be verified as historical fact. It is presented for its interest in relation to the property, and not as fact.
37. Such loss of definite locale or time of occurrence are quite frequent problems encountered by persons investigating oral traditions of long-ago events. When the story has undergone a probable translation as well, the possibilities for distortion are considerably enhanced.
38. R.D.H.C., lib. 128, folio 522 (1 Oct. 1860). The price was £2125, and this record gives a good resume of previous ownership.
39. **British Colonist,** 18 Apr. 1867, p. 2, col. 6.
40. P.A.N.S., Microfilm of Jones Papers: Letter from Waterton to Jones, dated 9 Oct. 1840, just two days after the latter's twelfth birthday.
41. Most of the foregoing information about Jones may be found in the **Transactions of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science,** X, p. lxxx, and XIII, part 3, p. lxxxi.
42. P.A.N.S., Microfilm of Jones Papers: Household accounts at "Ashbourne" in the 1860's.
43. R.D.H.C., lib. 253, folio 472 (7 Apr. 1886).
44. Arthur W. H. Eaton, **The History of Kings County Nova Scotia** (Salam, Mass., 1910), p. 461.
45. **The Halifax Mail Star,** 31 Mar. 1954, p. 16.
46. P.A.N.S., R.G. 41, Box 24 (Coroner's Inquests), 19 Oct. 1850.

Edmund Ward and The Temperance

MYRTLE L. CHASE

"The Press, that powerful instrument of evil or of good" was an enlivening and essential part of the early days of Nova Scotia. Even before its incorporation in 1841, the capital, Halifax, had been the home of several fine papers, among them The Acadian Recorder, The Weekly Chronicle, and probably the best known, Joseph Howe's The Novascotian. From the Halifax publishing houses, the journals went their way into the homes of the townspeople, and by boat or horse-rider to the settlements located throughout the Province. Except for an irregular postal service, the newspapers were the only communications-link with the world that the inhabitants of the Province enjoyed.

In 1834, there originated in Halifax a new paper, edited and published by Edmund Ward. As an experienced journalist, who at one time had been the editor of the Bermuda Royal Gazette, (printed in St. George, Bermuda), Edmund Ward had much to offer.

Early in 1834 he published a Prospectus of the new paper, to which the citizenry responded favourably, giving Ward high hope for the success of his proposed publication.

Dedication to the cause of temperance spurred his new efforts, and on Saturday, May the third, 1834, Volume 1, Number 1, of the Temperance Recorder issued forth from his office, situated on Granville Street, a little to the south of the Batpist Stone Church.

Ward's intention was to publish the Temperance Recorder every second Saturday. The fee, he considered cheap; five shillings per annum, including postage, payable in advance, for subscribers; and three-pence for each issue to non-subscribers. He had arranged with Mr. J. H. Doane to have the depository in town, located in that gentleman's store, opposite the Ordinance. Outside of town, officers of the Temperance Societies were asked to act as agents, until such time as regular agents were appointed and announced.

The purpose of his journal, the first of its kind printed in Nova Scotia, was to aid and bring together the temperance societies in the Province, and to "put down a public and prevailing vice."

The temperance movement was growing in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and the United States. The British and Foreign Temperance Herald reported over seventy-two thousand members in England and Wales, in early 1834.

In May, 1834, there were approximately ninety temperance societies in Nova Scotia, with an estimated membership of ten thousand persons.

There was some doubt as to where the temperance cause first manifested itself in the Province. The Yarmouth Society, at Beaver River, claimed the distinction of being the first such society formed in the North American Colonies. Those people "foresaw the monstrous evils" that arise from the intemperate use of ardent spirits, and considered it their bounden duty to

themselves, their neighbours and the coming generations, to totally renounce the use of ardent or distilled liquors of any kind, except what might be absolutely necessary in case of sickness. On that principle their Society was founded in April, 1829, with a small membership. By 1834 the membership had increased to one hundred and twenty-six.

A report sent to the Temperance Recorder from the West River, Pictou Society, disclosed that Society had been spawned from a suggestion that arose at an Agricultural Society meeting in January, 1828; and the Temperance Society at West River, Pictou, in actuallity was founded in April of that year, a full twelve months earlier than the birth of the Beaver River Society.

The twelve initial members of the West River Society formed their group, not on the principle of entire abstinence, but "members were allowed to indulge to a certain extent on particular occasions; such as weddings and funerals". Entire abstinence did become part of the constitution of the Society in 1831. Several members who were not wholly in favour of total abstinence, withdrew from the West River Society. They were countered by many people who did favour entire abstinence, and who subsequently joined the Society and gave encouragement to the Society President, Rev. Duncan Ross; the Society Secretary and West River agent for the Temperance Recorder, Ebenezer MacLeod; and all other officers of the group.

A number of Temperance Societies were formed in the Pictou area. The Pictou Society, itself, was founded in 1831; by 1834 it listed one-hundred and forty-five members with Rev. J. MacKinley as president, and Mr. James Dawson, secretary. Other Societies in that district numbered two at River John, two at East River and one Society each at West River, Mt. Thom, Scotch Hill, Fisher's Grant, and Merigomishe.

The Temperance Movement in the Province gained momentum, as the Society's fundamental principles found favour in the eyes of many residents.

Edmund Ward, as publisher of the Temperence Recorder, received reports from various sections of the Province.

The Musquodoboit Society reported a membership of one-hundred and twenty-seven. That group did not advocate total abstinence; instead a very moderate use of vinous and fermented liquors was permitted.

Brier Island, Shelburne, reported eighty active members in their Society.

The Barrington Society reported five-hundred and fifty-one adherents.

The Digby Neck Society was founded on the strictest of principles: total abstinence for life. That group was shepherded by the Rev. Peter Crandall.

John Comingo, Secretary of the Lunenburg Society, informed the Temperance Recorder that one-hundred and forty persons belonged to that group.

The Queen's County area of the Province cradled many temperate individuals. That County's Society reported from their home base at Liverpool, that in the three years since their formation, their following had grown from twenty-eight, to over four-hundred members, and that a spacious Temperance Hall was being erected on land donated by Mr. Goreham. The official opening was scheduled for September.

The Society at Lower Stewiacke reported seventy-six members. Their principle: total abstinence.

The Sackville and Windsor Road Society reported seventy members, with the Rev. John Doyle as President. That Society met quarterly and its members pledged themselves to abstain from all intoxicating liquors, except when recommended by a physician as a medicine; or in cases of extreme necessity, or in partaking of the Holy Sacrament.

In Bridgetown, Annapolis County, the Cause of Temperance was on the march, assisted by the Magistrates who refused to grant either shop or tavern licences of any description to a single individual in the County

And thus the reports rolled in, as the numerous Societies responded to the publication of the Temperance Recorder, and the urgings of its editorials written by Edmund Ward.

Edmund Ward's interests did not lay solely in "printing of all kinds executed with neatness, accuracy and despatch"; or in publishing. A vociferous advocate of the Temperance Cause, he was a zealous member of the Halifax Temperance Society, and was elected Secretary of that Society in April, 1834.

He kept constant the vow of the Societies: "We, whose names are subscribed, resolve to abstain from the use of distilled spirits and to discountenance the causes and practices of intemperance."

In Volume 1, issue number two of the Temperance Recorder, he re-affirmed the Society's regulations to "prohibit the use of distilled spirits, and prescribe moderation in other intoxicating liquors. No man, who uses ardent spirits, except as a medicine, can be a member; nor can anyone be continued as a member, who indulges to excess in fermented liquors."

Also in that issue of the Recorder, published on May 17, 1834, there appeared the following: "There is an ancient fable, in which a person is compelled to make his choice of one of three crimes—drunkeness, incest or murder. He chose drunkeness as the least of the three, and ere long, in a fit of intoxication, he committed the other two as a matter of course." Through printing such articles, Ward strived to illuminate the evils of intemperance, and to arouse in the subscriber and non-subscriber alike, distaste and disgust for the venomous liquid that he himself had many times witnessed being the cause of family strife, illness and early death.

By the end of May, 1834, the Temperance Recorder had agents all over the Province.

The agent at Parrsboro was thirty-seven year old Doctor Abraham Gesner, physician, surgeon, geologist, and in later life, the discoverer of kerosene.

As busy a man as the Kings County-born Doctor was, he found time to work for the cause of temperance, and served as President of the Parrsboro Temperance Society, which was formed in 1831. Within three years the initial membership of thirty had increased five-fold. The pledge was total abstinence from spirituous liquors. The Society reported "the cause of temperance is advancing in this twonship, and the quantity of ardent spirits used by the inhabitants is greatly diminished".

The temperance movement progressed rapidly throughout the Province, but within Halifax itself, enthusiasm lagged.

Edmund Ward once described his office as being situated "amidst a nest of grog-shops", for there were many dealers in the town.

Hostility was strong toward the societies from the dealers. The grog-sellers understood the "*generous hospitality* which warmed and opened the heart." They kept choice liquors and fine wines to use when they invited *esteemed* friends to drink with them; while at the same time they criticized the stinginess of the cold-water disciples who had openly subscribed to the temperance cause.

Still, the Halifax Society strove on, and in July, 1834, it was noted that "a marked decrease has taken place in the demand for ardent spirits." From the school-house at Dutch Town, the Acadian School Room, and various other locations throughout Halifax, and speeches, the pleas and the pledges for temperance rang out.

A faithful attendant of all the Halifax Society meetings, Edmund Ward, as Secretary of the Society, and publishing editor of the Recorder, was frequently called upon to address the members, not only within the metropolis, but throughout the Province.

He travelled many miles. In July, 1834, a convention of delegates from societies in Eastern Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton, drew him to Pictou, where he delivered a lengthy address.

Later in the year he visited societies situated between Halifax and Liverpool. At Liverpool, he inspected the Temperance Hall, and acknowledged that it was the first building he had heard of, that was constructed especially in furtherance of the temperance cause.

On that sojourn he met with the Pleasant River and Caledonia Societies at Brookfield; the society at The Falls, a settlement two miles from Liverpool, the inhabitants of which were engaged in the lumbering business.

Another lumbering community, that boasted a fifty-five member society, was Mills Village. Ward noted in the Recorder that the people of that settlement floated their timber each spring to Port Medway, from whence it was shipped during the summer.

From Mills Village he travelled by wagon to Broad Cove.

The next day he visited Petite Riviere, and left with a feeling of assurance that a large society would thereafter be formed in that settlement.

Later, he crossed the Lahave river, and walked the seven miles to Lunenburg, where he met with the members of that town's society.

From Lunenburg he proceeded to Chester, twelve miles by water, "the passage lying among innumerable Islands covered in many instances with fine farms, and abounding with romantic scenery."

In the account of his journey, printed in the sixteenth issue of the Temperance Recorder, Edmund Ward described the road from Chester to St. Margarets Bay as "almost the worst in the Province if we except that which leads from this side of the Bay to Halifax." He went on "we left the Bay, and arrived home, having walked eighteen miles through a mere foot-path at times lost amidst the barrens that extend five or six miles, or wending its way among water courses and brush wood."

Returning from such journeys, the town of Halifax no doubt rose as a welcome sight to Edmund Ward, as he hastened to the sanctuary of his comfortable dwelling, adjacent to his office, on Granville Street.

In his editorial of August 23rd, 1834, Ward remarked that it was his pleasure to perceive that the Temperance Recorder

had a marked tendency to advance the cause of temperance. His Recorder had developed into a paper that had the beneficial effect of promoting a taste for reading among the youthful portion of the population. Its low subscription price had procured for it a large circulation, that continued to expand as the months passed.

Aside from its intended role as temperance society reporter and co-ordinator, the Temperance Recorder carried the latest arrivals of news from London, occasional short quotes from the Novascotian and other contemporary papers, contributed poems and literary articles. Provincial marriages and deaths.

From early August, until October, 1834, cholera devastated the community of Halifax. The disease first appeared at the town Poor-house, spread to the neighbouring Barracks, and from there extended out among the population. The authorities tried to conceal the malady's existence. Edmund Ward considered it his duty "to inform the country generally of the state of the town." Each issue of the Recorder printed during the epidemic, carried reports of the progress of the pestilence, and the fight against it.

"Cleanliness and temperate habits are the best security against attack," the paper advised its readers.

In October there appeared in the Recorder the accounting of the delegates from the General Convention of the Temperance Societies visiting Government House, and being graciously received by the Lieutenant Governor, his Excellency Major-General Sir Colin Campbell. The delegates solicited his Excellency's co-operation in the cause of temperance. Their address was published, as was Sir Colin's reply, in which he said in part "give my support and countenance, in forwarding the laudable objects of the societies which you represent." Edmund Ward

was Secretary of the General Convention. He and the delegates regarded Campbell as an ally of their cause, but time and the working of the law, was to prove them mistaken.

Late in 1834, the following announcement appeared in the Recorder: "The Temperance Recorder will be published on a larger sheet, after the expiration of the present year; and it is intended to occupy the additional space that will be thus obtained, with a General Summary of News, prepared expressly for each number, with Literary Notices, and Advertisements in accordance with temperance principles . . . As this arrangement will necessarily create additional expense, the Proprietor relies upon the increased patronage of the numerous members of Temperance Societies, and the public generally: as all interference with party politics will be carefully avoided. . . . The price will remain as at present."

As the year 1835 dawned, prospects for the furtherance of the temperance movement looked bright. By then, some sixteen thousand Nova Scotians were subscribing to the Societies.

Reports from the Societies continued to cover Edmund Ward's desk, as did the returns from the Recorder's agents.

Ward's travels for the cause did not cease, despite falling temperatures and the un-predictable winter weather. A journey begun in late December, carried over into January, and New Year's Day, 1835, saw Edmund Ward meeting the Digby Neck Society, where despite inclement conditions, the members turned out, enmasse.

The following day he met the Digby Society. Then, bound for Annapolis, he was off on "a tedious ride, in consequence of the state of the weather and the snow which had fallen between Digby and Annapolis."

On January third, he had scheduled to meet with two societies located at Granville, but was "unable to cross the ferry, owing to the accumulation of ice," however, he did spend Sunday the fourth, in Granville, at which time he was able to converse with many of the society adherents.

From Granville the trek led over North Mountain to Chute's Cove, which Ward described as "a large settlement; but the people are put to much inconvenience, having no direct road communication with the post-road."

On the return journey to Halifax he visited the Horton Society and the Society at Falmouth. The latter meeting was compensation for the exertion and anxiety which "a tour at this season of the year must necessarily require." At that meeting, which took place at the school-house, the Rev. Mr. Harris was chosen President, and at the close of the proceedings forty-seven persons advanced and joined their names to the Society's roster. Among those were several who had previously been openly adverse to joining the society.

At Windsor, Ward met the two-hundred and eighty member society, and although it was his intention to also visit the societies at Kempt, Rawdon and Newport, due to the weather he was unable to contact those societies, and so returned to town.

His report on that tour, concluded "the Societies are everywhere actuated by one desire, that of suppressing intemperance."

In the first issue of the Recorder published in 1835, there appeared the following note: "Ardent spirits is a false friend, a treacherous foe, an unfaithful servant and a hard master. That man is by far the best off who has the least to do with it, . . . Ardent spirit turns a man out of himself, and puts a beast in his

room." Thus did Edmund Ward continue his war of words against the practice of intemperance.

In late January, Edmund Ward altered his publication day to Friday, for the purpose of having the papers leave Halifax by the Saturday post, enabling them to arrive in the farthest reaches of the Province by late the following week.

In the Recorder, published February 20th, 1835, Ward expressed his disappointment at a law passed at the February closure of the Legislature, regarding temperance. Although the law did limit the number of dealers in every county, township and settlement, still the Grand Juries had power to recommend persons to be licenced to sell spirituous liquors, and where they failed to recommend it, Magistrates could issue licences without the recommendation. "And should neither of these bodies be disposed to perpetuate within their jurisdiction, those pernicious establishments,—the nurseries of crime, and fruitful source of private misery and moral degradation; then the Lieut. Governor is empowered to authorize the Clerk of Licence to grant permission to persons to retail ardent spirits." Thus Ward interpreted the new law for his readers.

The passage of such a broad law greatly disappointed the temperance societies throughout the Province, and although before the public, Ward was not an exponent of any political party, in his journal he did request that temperance society members consider those who favoured the banishment of intemperance, when again the time arose to select their representatives in the House of Assembly.

The March 6th, 1835, edition of the Temperance Recorder gave a sixty three line account of the libel trial of Ward's friend and fellow-journalist, Joseph Howe, who on January 1, 1835, in his paper, the Novascotian, had openly criticized the financial administration of the town of Halifax, and had ques-

tioned the integrity of the Magistrates responsible. The latter were outraged, and the libel suit resulted. At the trial Howe spoke in his own defence. When at last the Jury was charged by the Chief Justice, that body retired for only a short time "and brought in a verdict of *not guilty;* which was received with an expression of feeling never before witnessed in this community."

It was at about that time that the Temperance Recorder extended its services to cover advertisements consistent with temperance principles. The ads were not to exceed ten or twelve lines and the fee would be "five shillings for the first insertion, and one-fourth additional for each continuance." One of the first firms to use the Recorder's pages was S. Cunard and Co., Agents to the Honourable East India Company, who advertised "A public sale of teas at the warehouses of the Agents on the twentieth day of March."

In addition to the ads that appeared in the Recorder, Ward published an Advertising Sheet, complete with the news of the week. It was issued on the alternate Fridays to the Recorder.

Friday, April 17th, 1835 saw publication of issue number twenty-six, the last issue of Volume 1.

In each issue of Volume 1 the pages were conveniently numbered: i.e. Volume 1, Number 1, pages one to four; Volume 1, Number 2, pages five to eight; Volume 1, Number 26, pages one-hundred-and-one to one-hundred-and-four, each issue containing four pages. An index of articles included in all issues of Vol. 1, was printed on page 104, and Edmund Ward advised the subscribers that all issues of that Volume could be bound at the stationers for the sum of three shillings and nine pence.

Issue one of Volume two appeared on larger sheets. Port of Halifax Shipping Intelligence was reported, as well as the Halifax Wholesale Prices (Current) on such items as apples, butter, cordage, hides, sugar, tallow, etc., another service to the readers.

By the time the Recorder was fifteen months old, the publisher was encountering financial difficulties, and his agents were reporting being unable to collect the fees from many of the subscribers. In an effort to collect delinquent fees, Ward entered a notice in his September 18th, edition.

"We must call the attention of our subscribers to the notice relative to the payment for this paper. We are now in the fifth month of this volume, and altho' payment should be made in advance, we have not received as much as will meet the bare expense of the paper, from upwards of sixteen hundred persons, to say nothing of the cost of labour and other materials. It is solely upon the principle that payment is to be made in advance, that a paper such as this can be afforded for the trifling sum which it costs, and which would not remunerate us for the extraneous expense of keeping accounts, making collections, and paying postage. We feel that we possess some claim upon the consideration of the friends of the cause in this Province; and all we require from them in return is that punctuality on their part, which shall enable us to meet engagements of our own."

The following month the Recorder was late arriving at many points, due to the desertion from the office of two Indentured Apprentices, Joseph Layton and John Mullins. Ward advertised a small reward leading to the apprehension of the two lads, and warned all persons "harbouring or concealing them" that they would be dealt with according to law. It was obvious to the reader that Ward held little hope for the return of the boys, for in the same issue, he advertised for two lads to work in the office.

As 1835 drew to a close, Edmund Ward must have looked back on the year and recounted the many miles he had travelled visiting the societies, and no doubt it was gratifying to note that membership in the societies had swelled to over twenty-thousand persons.

In January, 1836, the Temperance Recorder featured the first publication of the Prospectus of Dr. Abraham Gesner's book on Geology and Minerology of Nova Scotia, and solicited subscriptions to defray the expense of printing the same.

On March 18th, the Recorder introduced a new column, "News Of The Day", which covered newsworthy items from various parts of the world.

Ward's last editorial of Volume Two, stated that although encountering financial difficulties, due to lateness of payments for subscriptions, "we are prompted to proceed with this publication, by the conviction of its utility; . . . If the friends of the temperance cause therefore are desirous of still having a paper devoted to its advancement, and embracing as this does, much other useful information, they will endeavor to promote its more extended circulation; and as far as lies within their power, will take care that it is regularly paid for."

Issue No. 1 of Volume 3 appeared on April 29th, 1836.

In July, one-third of all subscriptions remained un-paid, and Edmund Ward printed a special notice to subscribers.

The next month he wrote a strong request to agents to "forward by earliest opportunity, any amount they may have on hand on account of the Temperance Recorder; and those subscribers who have not already paid, will oblige us by doing so, without further delay."

In November Ward proposed enlarging the paper, so that a portion of the Recorder might report political intelligence and miscellaneous reading matter. In order to accomplish his aim, he solicited a larger circulation.

January 1837, saw the publication of Dr. Gesner's book on the Geology and minerology of Nova Scotia, and Edmund Ward ran a lengthy report on the book.

Despite the news it carried, the poems and literary articles that made for delightful reading, its services of printing advertisements and notices of interest to the public, and a large circulation, the Temperance Recorder's financial status did not improve. By February 1837, two-thirds of all subscription fees were delinquent.

In the February 17th edition, Ward printed the following notice.

"We understand a report has been circulated, that it is intended to discontinue the Temperance Recorder . . . We therefore take this opportunity to state that such is not the fact. The Temperance Recorder will certainly be continued for another year, and probably after that period. If any alteration takes place after that time, it will be to change it into a well conducted Weekly Newspaper, at a cheap rate; a portion of which will be devoted to the temperance cause. In either case, we shall rely upon our friends for a continuance of their support; and repeat that no alterations will take place previous to the expiration of another year."

Sincere as Edmund Ward's intentions were, they were not to be fulfilled. The paper did not receive the financial support hoped for, and in the final issue of Volume 3, Ward announced "we have not obtained sufficient (funds) to meet the expense attending publication. It therefore must be obvious, that we

would not be justified in continuing this Periodical beyond the time which may be required to close the concern; and hence at the expiration of the coming year, the Temperance Recorder will be discontinued."

Dismayed with the law passed at the February session of the Assembly, regarding liquor licencing and the availability of rum by the quart, Ward wrote a lengthy editorial on the subject. The law struck a definite blow to the temperance cause.

A simultaneous blow to the Temperance Recorder was a new paper published by the Baptists, which reported the intended *immediate* discontinuance of the temperance journal. Many members of the Baptist Church opposed the establishment of the paper, "in consequence of the fear they entertained, that it might injure the Temperance Recorder. That it has had that effect, cannot be denied, . . . "

In May, 1837, Ward made an extended tour of New Brunswick "to deliver lectures and form societies upon the principles of entire abstinence from all intoxicating liquors."

In the May 26th edition of the Recorder, Ward advertised his Halifax dwelling house and premises for sale.

Subsequent issues contained strong requests for the payment of all arrears for subscriptions. "Upwards of three-hundred Subscribers still owe for the last year alone, besides arrearages for the preceeding years," Ward wrote in his editorial of August eighteenth.

The September fifteenth edition carried a final notice regarding arrears, and in that paper too, there appeared the notice that Ward, who had been unsuccessful in his attempts to privately sell his premises, had turned the property over to Deblois and Merkel for sale by auction, the sale to take place on the twentieth of October.

Ironic, perhaps, was the fact that the first society actually formed in the Province, and one of the first to report to the Temperance Recorder, the West River Society, was one of the last societies in Nova Scotia, that Ward visited. He addressed that Society in late August, 1837.

It was with regret that Edmund Ward worked towards the discontinuance of the Temperance Recorder. In the beginning he had held such hopes for its success, and had worked long and arduous hours to bring the journal to fruition. But he could not operate without funds. He was grateful for the hospitality that had been accorded him on his tours of the societies; for transportation, at times provided by friends of the cause. Yet much of the expense incurred, he had borne himself. There was a limit to which his personal funds could be used. He had reached that limit.

During his tour of New Brunswick, he had made many friends: that, no doubt, influenced his decision to move to Fredricton, where he planned to publish The New Brunswick Sentinel, a paper that "will be conducted on liberal, constitutional, and strictly temperance principles." A dedicated man; a journalist to the core; a man especially interested in the people of Nova Scotia; Ward reluctantly prepared to leave Halifax.

Volume four, Issue No. 13, of the Temperance Recorder came off the press at the Recorder's Granville Street office on Friday, the thirteenth day of October, 1837. It was the last issue published by Edmund Ward; the end of a now seldom mentioned, and seemingly forgotten facet of Nova Scotia's historic past.

Note: All quotes are from the Temperance Recorder, published by Edmund Ward.

Profile of a United Empire Loyalist

WINNIE NORTON

Richard lay on his pallet in the cabin he shared with his mother, four little sisters and two small brothers. Ordinarily he would be fast asleep, exhausted after twelve hours of farm chores. Tonight, however, his mind raced with fear and daring as he contemplated the news relayed by Jim. The British General, Charles Cornwallis offered freedom and land to any slave who would help dig fortifications at Yorktown!

The year was 1781 and the War of Independence was drawing to a close but it had not yet occurred to the British that here was a war they would not win.

Richard was obsessed with the thought of freedom. He was illiterate but one didn't have to read books to be conscious of the hopelessness of being born a slave. He got to his feet in the dark and gently found his way between the sleeping family to the door. A little brother, half-asleep, reached out a hand and loosely grasped his ankle as he moved by. Richard stifled a sob—he may never see them again.

Desperation pushed him forward and he was soon jogging along the moonlit road to Yorktown. He thought about his friendship with Jim, an older slave and trusted with trips to Yorktown on errands from the Big House. Jim listened carefully in town and was able to explain to Richard why all the tobacco that they had worked from sunrise to sunset to harvest,

was rotting in the Warehouse and causing Massa Tom to curse the powerful British Navy for closing the Port of Baltimore in an attempt to discourage the rebels by ruining their economy. What was more confusing to Richard was Jim's explanation of why they were lucky to be alive and the plantation still standing. General Benedict Arnold, he said, was once a brave soldier in the Continental Army but now served the British. For the past year he had burned and plundered, carrying off slaves and anything else of value he could send home to Philadelphia.

However, Richard was not concerned with economics, politics or patriotism. His whole 17-year-old being yearned to be his own free man and this was the first opportunity presented to him.

He nervously made his way to the Cornwallis encampment—mumbled his purpose to a guard and was led to an officer. Richard didn't know if he had a last name so the clerk wrote down Richard Downey and told the young man he would be paid sixpence a day. Money meant nothing to Richard. He had never held a penny in his hand. But something told him money in his jeans was very important, no matter what lay ahead.

He was bunked in segregated quarters with other sleeping Black men. At dawn they went to work building the fortifications but all in vain. A combined American and French naval/land operation forced surrender in October 1781.

Cornwallis, in defeat was to return the slaves to their masters. Horrified, Richard could barely comprehend the news. He could, in imagination, feel the lashes on his back, his mother's helplessness, as well as the broken spirits of the children seeing their big brother whipped.

And so it was, in all the confusion, he and two older slaves used their precious pennies for passage with a fisherman sailing to New York to sell his catch at good profit to a victorious Continental Army. The fisherman warned them that New York was no place for them as White masters were pouring in to reclaim runaway slaves, now abandoned by the British, and in their anger subjecting them to vicious treatment. He landed them on an isolated beach on Long Island with the advice that their best bet was to find their way to Canada.

It was getting very cold and the three men were scantily clad in rough working pants, jackets and shoes issued by the British Army. It was in despair they stood on the beach and wondered what fate had in store.

One of the men took charge and pointed out that sooner or later they would have to throw themselves on the mercy of some citizen and the sooner the better or they would starve and freeze. So they plodded up the beach until they found a poor fisherman's cottage with smoke coming out of the chimney and a lamp in the window. A child answered the door, frightened to see the three tall Black men and hastily retreating. They stood humbly until the father emerged from the back of the shack. He uneasily asked them to step inside. His wife nervously brought out fish and bread and tea. No one knew how to treat escaped slaves. It was much better to turn them in but the human heart felt compassion; thus with a little luck many made their way to freedom. This little fisher family kept the three exslaves overnight and next morning sent them off to walk two miles to a small settlement where a Quaker family lived.

They approached the house on the outskirts with caution and after making sure no one was in sight made their way to the back door. A plump elderly woman opened the door and to their consternation hastily sent them up a ladder to the attic. Later she and her husband joined them and explained that

although most of the neighbours were sympathetic to their efforts and indeed labelled them "The Underground Railway", still they were careful. The plan, if the men agreed, was to take them to a remnant of the Black Pioneer Army who had managed to escape—deserted by the British they had so faithfully served.

Early next morning, after a hearty breakfast and warm great-coats presented by the Friends of the Community to serve this need, Richard and his companions were driven in the Quaker's wagon with instructions to lay low and pull a sacking over themselves should they sight anyone on the road. However, it was a lonely stretch of country and they were to trot along the rough road (barely more than cart tracks) to arrive finally at a rambling log house set among cultivated fields. In the background a huge barn gave a peaceful, prosperous air to the whole establishment. As they clattered up the drive the door opened and a Quaker, dressed in the formal plain dress of his Faith, came hurrying out. He explained that the men from the Black Pioneer Regiment were logging in the bush and would be back at sunset.

This was to be the happiest winter Richard was to know. Housed, fed and treated with respect by the gentle family; enjoying the camaraderie of the veterans; working hard caring for the animals; hauling in lumber and learning the valuable skill that would enable him very soon to build his own log cabin; he was almost sorry when he learned a ship, chartered by their host, was to pick them up in the spring and take them to freedom in Nova Scotia, Canada.

Proudly the men paid their fare to the skipper. When they received wages for a winter's work one of the soldiers remonstrated and in his gratitude wanted to refuse the money. The kindly Quaker's face grew stern and he told them that a labourer was worthy of his hire and they were NEVER to forget it.

This brigantine was a far cry from the fisherman's small craft. Richard watched, thrilling to the sight of the crew handling the sails. It was a glorious trip lasting twenty-four hours until they made their way into the beautiful harbour at Halifax. Here the noise and the colour and confusion merged and changed shape like a kaleidoscope and the men were channelled through it all to the comparative quiet of a huge shed. Here they stood patiently in line.

At this moment the notion that he would one day be a United Empire Loyalist meant nothing at all to Richard. However, in seven years' time Lord Dorchester, Governor General of British North America proposed "To put a Marke of Honour upon the families who had adhered to the unity of the Empire and joined the Royal Standard in America." It was descendents of the White United Empire Loyalists who would refine this identity until it became a status symbol.

What he had to deal with now was a piece of paper given to him when his turn came in line. He couldn't read but was impatiently told by the harrassed British clerk that it meant he was given an acre of land in Birchtown and food to last until they could plant and harvest.

Richard's spirits soared. He scarcely believed his good fortune. He could have no idea what an empty opportunity this gesture represented. The next day they re-embarked with their precious supplies and landed at Birchtown near Shelburne.

Here Richard and his friends found about two thousand fellow Loyalists and delighted to discover among them families —almost all in their twenties—with an average of two or three children. They were mostly unskilled but among them were ropemakers, carpenters, caulkers, cooks, seamstresses, boatbuilders and farmers.

The Whites of the settlement preferred to hire the Blacks at low wages so most worked for the White settlers, at the same time building their own homes and planting gardens.

For two years Richard was carried along on a wave of euphoria. He met a light-hearted girl of 17 who loved him extravagantly and who worked as a domestic in a comfortable White home. This was a tremendous help when they married, although Richard resented the long hours she had to spend at her job.

The garden was a sickening disappointment because the soil was so rocky even potatoes failed to grow. As a result Richard found a White farmer in a better location and worked his land for shares.

With the exception of a few families, the White population too was having difficulty scratching a living from a depressed area and from 1784-1787 Black and White scattered in search of a living—to Liverpool, Yarmouth and Tusket.

Those who remained had a rough time. By now Richard and Belle had two baby boys, kept healthy by the extra food Belle snitched from her job plus the vegetables Richard produced from his share-cropping.

One terror they would never forget was the year that hundreds of disbanded White soldiers, still in possession of their guns, came in from Shelburne County and directed their anger and frustration at the Blacks of Birchtown, rampaging through the settlement. Of the twenty homes they pulled down, one was Richard and Belle's precious cabin. In this emergency they fled with the toddlers to the woods, helpless to defend their property against the reality of gunfire. Later Richard patiently built another home.

It was heartbreaking for the young couple to see their friends actually dying of starvation. The little help they could give was not enough and the Overseer of the Poor took it for granted that needy White families had priority.

The Black families lived with the horror of one of their members being kidnapped, carried off to sea and sold in the West Indies. One poor fellow was sold for 100 bushels of potatoes!

Under all this stress the community remained united. Their meeting place was the Wesleyan Methodist Church and here they kept alive their will to survive, their spirit to sing and instilled in their children such love and trust that they barely realized the deprivations.

But the parents were hard pressed to keep bodies and souls together and when news sifted through that Thomas Peters, a Black leader from Annapolis, was going to London England with a petition demanding fair treatment for Black United Empire Loyalists, they waited with some hope.

It came in a manner that ended in an abortive scheme. While in England Peters met members of the Sierra Leone Company who were seeking settlers for their West African colony.

And so it happened in 1792 that John Clarkson, the Company's agent for Nova Scotia visited the Black settlements and because of their abject poverty and total lack of opportunity, 1,190 Black folk agreed to leave Nova Scotia and set sail in fifteen vessels from Halifax.

Richard and Belle were tempted to go along. It was an alluring picture presented to them by the well meaning but misguided White and Black leaders alike. The story of the

tragic journey and heartbreaking failure of the African colony was for years to drift back to those left behind. Richard and his little family, though living in most demeaning circumstances, were thankful they had decided against it.

The children were seven and nine now and it didn't occur to their illiterate parents that they should be educated. Nova Scotia's public school system was still 73 years in the future!

Then a serious setback placed them at a subsistence level; in fact in danger of starving. Belle's employers gave up the struggle of making a life in this beautiful country of rocks, ocean and fir trees and went back to England. In doing so they followed thousands of their countrymen who gave up after a brave try in a new land that at this time of history wasn't very accommodating.

The small wages Belle had received, plus gifts of clothes and a generous blindness regarding food missing from the kitchen, enabled them to keep afloat while their neighbours gave up and spread out in an effort to evade the grinding poverty.

Belle could find no other employment. The White pioneer women in the locality could not afford even the low wages paid to Black servants; always lower than the pitiful wages paid to White domestics. Richard with his sharecropping barely kept their bellies full. With little cash, they ran out of flour, sugar, tea, oil and clothes for them all.

So the decision had to be made to move—but where? Halifax seemed the logical place where, with a little luck, Richard might find a job and Belle too, with the more affluent Haligonians. They knew no one there to speak for them. They had no money to pay rent. Finally they decided Richard would leave alone, somehow get established, then return for Belle and the children.

Again, Richard jogged toward freedom—economic freedom this time. He valued freedom from slavery but freedom to starve was a travesty. Slavery was still legal in Canada. There were about 1,200 slaves in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—significantly the same number as the free Blacks who left Nova Scotia for Sierra Leone! And it was not until 1833 that slavery was to be outlawed.

Richard prayed as he jogged with all the fervour of his religious background. It was June and the weather mild; he carried a knapsack of food, enough to keep going for the hundred-odd miles to Halifax. The season of the pesky black fly had passed and his journey promised to be uneventful. He worried about encountering hostile White men. With times so hard there was real resentment against Blacks, reinforced by the cultural contempt commonly held by the White population for their oppressed Black brothers.

Back in Birchtown Belle was coping. The wife of the unfortunate fellow who had been kidnapped had moved in with her. The two young women, each with two children, planned to survive. They worked Richard's sharecropping land and did their best to earn the odd penny among neighbours. While gathering dandelion greens in the Spring they had encountered some Indian women encamped nearby and shyly the women and children became friends. Normally the MicMac were hostile to the English tongue, having been firm friends with earlier settlers, the French, but one elderly Indian in particular was delighted with the coal-black skins and negroid features of the women and children and would chuckle hospitably as she gave them gifts of venison, demonstrating over her campfire how to go about cooking the meat. They could only communicate in sign language but Belle was to observe many helpful hints on living off the land. Edible berries, roots and fruit were pointed out to them. She learned the knack of snaring rabbits, digging for clams and occasionally cornered a pheasant fluttering across a meadow.

Underlying her activity was the gnawing anxiety over Richard. Would he be successful in Halifax? Would winter arrive with no word? Above all things she dreaded facing the winter without him. The children missed his laughter and easy patience and there were often squabbles and tears at bedtime when they missed him most.

Meanwhile Richard had reached Halifax. In talking over his plans with his Minister in Birchtown it was decided the best thing to do was to find the local Halifax Black church. The Minister had an idea where it was located—on a street ironically called "Cornwallis" which caused Richard to smile in wry humour as he remembered the failure of the fortifications he helped build for that worthy general at Yorktown!

He was tired after spending three nights curled up on pine needles in the woods, his food was gone, and his jogging had slowed down to an exhausted stride. He felt lost among the soldiers and sailors on the muddy streets of Halifax; too timid to ask directions until he bumped into a woman of his own race, who obligingly walked far enough with him to point clearly to the rough church building and who explained there would surely be someone there to direct him to the Pastor's house loated at the Harbour's edge.

As he pushed open the Church door he was at the end of his rope. It was with a great sense of relief and thankfulness that he explained his presence to a small group who turned from their consultation to greet him sympathetically. They congratulated him on his long journey; commiserated on the tough times and proceeded with him down the path to their Pastor's cabin.

The staple diet of the Black community in this area was the fish they caught from their dinghys and Richard was soon seated at the kitchen table while the Pastor's wife dished out

savoury fish, gently simmering on the back of her wood stove. She was a little brusque—her Christian love sorely tried by the regular stream of such visitors and the lack of funds to feed them.

However, she softened in pity for wife and children left behind in Birchtown and optimistically assured Richard that the Lord would surely guide him to a job. She invited him to rest until her husband came home. His stomach full, his fears allayed and swaying with exhaustion, Richard fell on the bed—sturdily built from wood, with palliasse and covered by a hand made quilt.

He slept for several hours, awakening at the urging of a hand shaking his shoulder. The Pastor had returned, it was getting dark and a place had to be found for Richard to stay. In this tightly knit community, room was always found—at a sacrifice that appalled Richard. He was to be dependent on their charity for many weeks.

In his pocket he carried his precious deed to the property in Birchtown—a useful identification as he sought in vain for work. He would return, filled with despair, to the shack he shared with a small family whose breadwinner eked out a living between fishing and stevedoring. As the evening wore on Richard would be cheered as neighbours dropped by. Rum was poured, and out on the beach fires were built and the young people danced, flirted and sang. Cheered Richard might be, but aching with loneliness for Belle and his sons.

At last he gave up job hunting altogether and went every day to the dock to pick up what stevedore work he could. This was a pecarious way to live as one worked according to the ships in harbour and always the Black man was the last hired and first fired.

Richard had drawn close to the family he bunked with and a sort of loosely knit partnership grew whereby he would fish while his host stevedored and vice-versa. In time he became an asset instead of a burden. He was soon well known in the community and when he decided to build his own cabin, willing hands helped.

It was now the middle of August and Richard was wracking his brains to determine the best way to move his wife and children to Halifax. It was true he had failed to become properly established to provide a living but the alternative was to starve in Birchtown. The best way would be to arrange for Belle and the children to come by sea.

He didn't dare approach the Masters of the schooners to offer his labour in return for Belle's passage, terrified that he would be impressed and subjected to the bad food, miserable pay and cruel flogging conditions common in his day. Instead he sought the fishermen he knew who had vessels that could handle the passengers. Finally, a Scotsman agreed to take him to Birchtown and return with his family and what household goods they could stow aboard. In return Richard was to help him build a new shed for cleaning fish.

Halifax in 1795 was very gay. The Government House on Hollis Street was the site of balls and suppers. Cotillions and country dancing was the mode. William, a scapegrace son of George III commanded a frigate and with his officer companions amused themselves with drinking, wenching, fishing, hunting and cockfighting. It was the scandal among the sober of Halifax society that Prince Billy's dalliance with Frances Wentworth was influential in appointing her husband John to Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. But this was a world as foreign to Richard as if it were taking place in Europe.

It was nearing the end of September when Belle, Lisa and the children returned from gathering every last potato and turnip left and found Richard and Angus at the cabin, grinning in anticipation of their joy. Belle was beside herself with relief and happiness. The two boys threw themselves at their father and the affectionate embrace ended with all three rolling and wrestling in the Autumn leaves.

Poor Liza and her children felt bereft. They would never survive the winter alone and eventually found their way to Liverpool, where Lisa's sister took them in. Richard's sturdy little cabin was to stand abandoned on his precious piece of property for a generation without occupants.

Angus turned out to be the first and only White personal friend they ever had. He became attached to them during the trip. He took a grandfatherly interest in the boys and helped carry the household gear into the cabin Richard had built on the shore of Bedford Basin. Angus' wife, although self-conscious of associating with the "nigger family" as she called them, was not unfriendly and donated one of her treasured quilts as a housewarming gift.

Richard appreciated the friendship and worked hard helping Angus get his shed built before snow fell. This mutual trust was to last until Angus died during a typhoid epidemic two years later. His widow gave Richard the carpentry tools Angus had cherished in his lifetime and with these tools Richard now had a rough trade.

Belle was fascinated by her first glimpse of the ladies of fashion who daintily picked their way from carriages to St. Paul's Anglican Church on Barrington Street. Fashion was quickly changing from hoops, stays and laces to gowns of mus-

lin, cut very low with a ribbon tied just below the breasts and soft shoes tied up the ankle like a sandal. Their hair was no longer powdered, nor so elaborately dressed and the Wellington bonnet was in style.

Belle and Richard, like the rest of the poor, continued to wear coarse homespun—the men in old-fashioned breeches, stockings and buckled shoes. Belle, sashaying down the road with exquisite mimicry would ape the ladies of fashion and the neighbours would reward her act with gales of laughter.

The boys were now in their early teens, tall and handsome. Their parents were thankful they were steady fellows. The punishment for the most paltry stealing was a public hanging and many a poor person was tempted to risk it in their extreme need. Black folk found it wise to be in their ghetto by nightfall. Navy press gangs roamed the streets. Restless, bored and drunken servicemen considered the Black man an object of sport and on Barracks (later called Brunswick) Street, the prostitutes infected their customers with syphilis. And so it was that the Black youth made their own fun and the community centre remained the church.

Both boys took handily to hammer and saw, loved the sea and were at home in the woods. Lumber was plentiful and they added rooms to their shack. They had never heard of Squatters' Rights. Some of the neighbours had deeds and Richard innocently assumed his deed for Birchtown was portable.

At this time the Martello Towers were being built. There was some fear that Halifax might be attacked by the French and a great deal of activity was going on. The Citadel was being reinforced and the labour was Black Jamaicans, known as the Maroons. The Maroons were escaped slaves who had found refuge in the mountains of Jamaica. They resisted the forays of the British, who made a deal with them and the Maroon Re-

public flourished. Eventually, however, the Government broke its contract and the betrayed Maroons were exiled to Nova Scotia. The only thing the 550 Maroons had in common with the occupants of Africville was the colour of their skin. They were settled in Preston, on the Dartmouth side of the harbour, talked a strange dialect and practised Voodoo. Eventually they left—a second exodus—to Sierra Leone, in 1800.

The 19th century brought an epidemic of smallpox to the Haligonians and left its toll in Africville. The eldest son of Richard and Belle nearly died and when he recovered, it was with his face severely scarred. He was cheered however, after convalescing, to be hired as a carpenter's helper building the Clock Tower on Citadel Hill and later worked building Government House, the new residency for Sir John and Lady Wentworth. With this surge of affluence he married a daughter of the family where Richard first found refuge.

In their early forties now, Richard and Belle were mature and responsible. Richard had become a pillar of the church and moreover discovered he had a talent for lay preaching. This encouraged him to do some travelling and increased his knowledge of neighboring communities. With her gaiety and energy Belle would go along to lead the singing and enjoy the fellowship.

The youngest son was to remain a bachelor until 1814 when the British won a victory at Chesapeake Bay. About 300 slaves escaped from the plantations and in a magnanimous gesture, British ships brought them as refugees to Halifax. The Lieutenant Governor found quarters and relief for them and gradually they were absorbed. This was a severe strain on the Black ghetto at Bedford Basin but, as usual, accommodation was made for extra families and it was an attractive and spirited teenager belonging to this refugee group that the younger brother married.

Richard was developing a sense of responsibility toward his community and he worried about its future. Each family looked after its own sewage, garbage, water and general well being. Most managed well. Others, often depressed by lack of work opportunity needed help and social pressure to do their part. Richard and Belle enjoyed the affection and respect of their neighbours and as well as a place for socializing, their home was the centre for meetings, debates and local quarrels.

The eldest son in time had two children of his own—one a girl. The first girl in the family was a delight to her Downey grandparents. It was therefore with mixed feelings that Richard and Belle encouraged the young couple to leave Africville to take up the family homestead in Birchtown and make a better life for themselves. Not that the soil would yield any better than in Richard's youth but his son had a fair carpentry skill that was now in demand in the shipyards, set up wherever there was a stream to turn a sawmill and float a ship.

Son Number Two would leave the community in time also. His wife's family moved to Beechville and her father was able to save enough money from unloading coal at the dock (coal was now replacing wood as a fuel) to invest in a team of horses and a wagon. Soon he and his son-in-law were in demand for hauling along the Bay Road.

Richard and Belle stayed on where their roots were firmly planted. Once past middle age their health began to fail. An unbalanced diet for a lifetime caught up with them. Milk, oranges and vegetables were a rare treat. Their rocky land was not conducive to raising chickens or small livestock. They were grateful instead for the bounty from the sea, and indeed didn't realize how unsatisfactory their food supply was. They grumbled as health problems arose and Richard missed the extra work he used to be able to handle on the docks. On the whole

they were contented, Richard with carpentry jobs to do and the everpresent fishing; Belle pursuing a skill she had developed—fashioned wreaths for the Christmas season and ornamental baskets from material the woods provided.

No longer did cheap rum flow to Nova Scotia from the Caribbean. Abolition of slavery had cut off free labour on the vast sugar plantations and the distiller's price went up accordingly. The household keg was now a luxury and on festive occasions the whole community would pool its resources.

Right under his eyes, Richard saw the sailing ships fade into the past. In 1830 the first steam ferry in Halifax Harbour was launched from a Dartmouth Yard and Samuel Cunard formed a steamship company to ply between Britain and New York via Halifax.

Richard and Belle realized Halifax was an incorporated city when a small but authoritative police force patrolled the streets during the day. At night a separate group took over, called the Night Watch, and the whole operation resulted in a safer environment for the citizens. It was not extended beyond the city; nevertheless, it granted Africville more freedom to come and go without incident.

Richard looked back on his life with satisfaction except for a nagging regret that he had never been able to get enough money together to go home to Virginia, see where his mother was buried and how his brothers and sisters fared. In such moods he would resolutely turn with thankfulness to his wife, sons, daughters-in-law and grandchildren.

Sometimes he felt a recurrence of the strong yearning for freedom that had sent him as a young man on the road to Yorkville. He would shake his head and mutter to himself: "Dammit I *am* a free man—ain't I?"

Twin Historical Gems Petite Riviere and Crousetown, N. S.

RUTH E. KAULBACK

As one travels throughout Nova Scotia two things are very evident. The small country villages are either being gobbled up by the extreme appetites of nearby towns and cities, or they are being deserted by the younger generations in their quest for greener and more productive areas.

This cannot be said for the twin villages of Crousetown and Petite Riviere, in Lunenburg County. In the past few years the population of both villages has grown substantially; many new and young families are moving to both areas, and others who left quite some years ago for "greener pastures" are returning to retire in the villages of their birth. Still other newly retireds are moving to the area because they have driven through and been impressed with the beauty and atmosphere of friendliness.

Both these side-by-side villages are on the Petite River; Petite Riviere at its mouth, and Crousetown ending about five miles upstream. Both villages abound with hills giving exquisite views, and with valleys that do likewise. It is indeed a very picturesque area, and in addition to the hills and valleys, the Petite Riviere area abounds in beautiful sandy beaches.

Both of these villages have played an important role in the early history of Acadia, and Nova Scotia. In writing about one village the other has to be entwined, because their history criss-crosses from their earliest conception. So early, that the date of 1604 and a visit by Champlain and deMonts marks the birth of the area.

When deMonts arrived in the bay and anchored, he sent small boats into the mouth of the river. These men were greatly impressed and they returned to the deMonts fleet and reported its outstanding beauty. As a consequence, the expedition set-up tents and lived in the area for some time, as they chartered the navigable waters, its coves, water depths, etc. They called the place Petite Riviere, or Little River. The French name has withstood the erosion of time. It is still called Petite Riviere, *Pateet Reveer,* as it was thus bastardized by the German settlers when they moved to the area about 1755.

When Isaac deRazilly arrived from France in 1632 he too found the "Little River", very likely using the navigation maps drawn up by the deMonts Expedition, and he also found the "big river", which he named Lehéve. At Lehéve he bulit his fortification, and his own residence, but when he brought out 40 families from France, their goods and chattels, including hens, and cows, he settled them at Petite Riviere, where there were very fertile fields ready for the farmer. As a result, this area has been called "the cradle of Acadian culture."

The woodsmen who came with deRazilly were taken to what is believed to be Parks Creek area, and here they set up a large lumbering business.

The fact that these fields of Petite Riviere were fertile and ready for the plow would signify that French men had either remained from the 1604 Expedition, probably marrying Indian women, or else they heard of it at Port Royal and betook them-

selves across country for these fertile hills and vales, so highly spoken of by DeMonts and Chaplain. There has not been a single recorded incident of difficulty between these early settlers and the Micmac Indians who were, of course, the original settlers. It is believed, and tradition would have it so, that they lived together very happily, intermarrying, and being of considerable help to each other.

Besides farming, these early residents also fished and hunted to supplement their diet, and agriculture and fishing are still the main resources, plus lumbering which also means saw mills, working in fish plants and in other industrial centres in the area.

After the English drove the French from Lehève it meant they were without their nearby military establishment so the French from Petite Riviere moved to Port Royal. However, it would seem that some families remained here on the cultivated lands, and we know that at this time there was intermarriage with the Indian population.

Today there are neither French nor Indians residing at Petite Riviere, unless they are newcomers and it was the later predominating race, of Germans, who distorted the name of Petite Riviere.

Moving upstream, but not by boat, since the river is not navigable, we find Crousetown, another once-thriving agricultural area, founded about 150 years after Petite Riviere, but of considerable historic value as well. When Governor Cornwallis arrived at Chebucto in 1749 he set up a large military installation, which has grown to a very considerable extent and today is Halifax, the capital of Nova Scotia. It was so named on the arrival of Cornwallis. The Crousetown history begins with this expedition.

Among the people who accompanied Cornwallis was a Mr. and Mrs. John Baptist Elizabeth Moreau. Mr. Moreau was on the ship's list as a "gentleman and teacher". Delving farther back into history we find that John Moreau had originally been a Roman Catholic priest, Jean Baptiste Elizabeth Moreau. In fact he was the Prior of the Abbey of St. Matthew, near Brest, France. Some time before joining the Cornwallis Expedition he had sailed to England, where he was received into the communion of the Church of England. He married there, and was sent to Halifax with the Governor Cornwallis Expedition, by the Society of the Propagation of the Gospels, as a Schoolmaster. On arrival, however, he was called upon to act as missionary for the Swiss and French Hugenots who were among the settlers. He preached on 9 Sept. 1749 for the first time, and henceforth conducted many open air services until St. Paul's was opened on 2 Sept. 1750. Later Moreau returned to England to be ordained and he immediately returned to Halifax.

On December 25th, 1749, his son Cornwallis (named after the Governor) was born and listed as the "first male child born in Halifax". Some historians are wont to dispute this historic fact by saying that at least 30 children were recorded as having received baptism at St. Paul's before this date—but how could they when St. Paul's was not opened until 1750. However, these baptisms could very well have been recorded and later included in St. Paul's early records. This writer has no difficulty understanding this. Checking through early baptismal records of all our early churches it is noted that sometimes as long as twelve years intervened from birth till baptism. It could easily be assumed, therefore, that the 30-odd baptisms referred to could have been children born on the various ships enroute from England, or Europe, and some could have been born before leaving their homeland and not have been baptized until much later. Therefore, we can properly assume that the family tradition and the early record is correct and that Cornwallis

Moreau was indeed the "first child born in Halifax". We must assume, however, that he was the first "white" male child, since there would certainly have been Indian children born prior to this time.

Rev. Jean Baptist E. Moreau and family accompanied the first settlers to Merliquish (Lunenburg) in 1753. Here he administered to his flock "under blue sky, to 200 at a time until the church was erected". (DesBrisay's History of the County of Lunenburg, pp 81-82). Here also Moreau was missionary to the Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Indians, Anabaptists, Church of England, and some Roman Catholics.

Within a very short time these early settlers branched out to the surrounding countryside, and the German immigrants being well known for their agricultural accomplishments, soon found and settled in Petite Riviere and Crousetown. Here they also found the "little river" a good source of power for their grist and saw mills, which they built soon after their arrival. Those moving to Petite Riviere retained the name but, as previously mentioned, bastardized the pronunciation rather dreadfully, and it has remained so to this day. Those meandering up the "little river" settled and called their village Crousetown—the English translation of the German name "Kraüz, the name of many who settled this area. Now, several hundreds of years later, many Crouses still reside here, and all are able to trace their heritage back to the original Kraüs settlers.

One of the first, if not the first school teacher at Petite Riviere was Cornwallis Moreau, son of the famed Anglican minister in Lunenburg. The children of Crousetown also attended this school for many years before getting one of their own.

Cornwallis married an Elizabeth Pennel before coming to the area. She was the daughter of Matthew Pennel, of Marblehead. They had a large family, seven daughters and three sons (one son, however, died soon after birth). These children all married in the area. Elizabeth Catherine Josephine married a Johnston, while Henrietta Sally, Catherine Elizabeth, Matthew, Nancy and Susannah all married Crouses. Their descendants in turn married Eichels, Sperrys, Voglers, Ward, Bell, Oxner, Conrad, Fancy, Ramey, Ritcey, Pence, McKean, Hebb and Romkey. As a consequence, there is difficulty finding a family from Conquerall to Dublin Shore who cannot trace relationship to the famous first Anglican priest of St. John's Church, Lunenburg, through his son Cornwallis.

Cornwallis, who lived to be well over 100-years old spent his last years with his daughter Nancy and Gottlieb (known as Caleb) Crouse, in Crousetown, though relatives in Halifax kept sending for him. He remained in the area but his snuff and tea were supplied by these Halifax relatives.

Historical records state, whether correctly or not, that numerous pieces of the Moreau household items are in the area, however, the only factual piece this writer could uncover, is a pewter teapot belonging to Mrs. George H. Crouse of Bridgewater and Crousetown. Mrs. Crouse was formerly a Bell of Dublin Shore and this pewter teapot, belonging to Cornwallis, was passed down through the family by her grandmother, who was a grand-daughter of Cornwallis Moreau.

Cornwallis, an unmarried daughter Sophia Sally, and his infant son Matthew, are buried at Crousetown, in the cemetery beside the United Church. For many years his grave remained unmarked, but in 1896, Lieut. Col. C. E. Kaulback, M.P. of Lunenburg, a gentleman very interested in history, erected a stone to Cornwallis' memory in the above cemetery. Its inscription reads:

Cornwallis Morreau
Born 1749 Died 1841
First male child born in Halifax
and son of Rev. Jean Baptiste Morreau
First missionary to the German Settlers
in Lunenburg
This stone was erected by Lieut. Col. C. E. Kaulback, M.P.
1896
"Place claim I for the dead
T'were mortal sin, when banners o'er our
country's treasure wave, unmarked to
leave the wealth safe garnered in
the grave".

Several errors appear in this inscription. There are too many r's in Moreau, and it is almost certain that Cornwallis died later than 1841. Perhaps the most likely proof we can find today is a letter written to Canon Harris in 1918 by a great grandson of Cornwallis, who was then 78 years of age and lived in P.E.I. It reads as follows:

Orwell, June 22, 1918

Dear Mr. Harris:

I was very glad to receive your letter of date 17, and right here I want to express my hearty thanks to the Hon. Governor (to whom he had written 24th May) and to you for your kind and prompt attention to my request concerning the genolegy of the Moreau family. I knew that my grand father, John Leonard Crouse, was married twice but I did not know that his first wife was a sister to his second. My mother had two step sisters, one married Abram Romkey at Dublin, and the other a man named Dagley, and lived in Camperdown. The daughters of Susan Moreau were Lavinia, my mother, Amelia married to Edwin Sperry, Petite Riviere, Eliza to Peter Bell, Dublin;

Cordelia, to Elkena Oxner, Dublin; Lydia to Caleb Conrad, Crouse Town, and Hannah never married. Two brothers, William and George, which names you have all right, but the date of Cornwallis death at 1841 is, I think, wrong. I being born in 1840 I would be too young to send on an errand to Aunt Nancy's, as we called her, for I remember quite well of going there and seeing the old man sitting (there) and clothed in soldier uniform. When I went home I asked my mother what old man was there. She told me he was her grandfather, Cornwallis Monro, for that is the name he went by, and not Moreau. I must have been 6 or 7 years of age or my mother would not sent me alone especially as I had to cross over a bridge, which sure enough, as you say, (would) bring the man's death up to 1847 or there about. I aint sure of his age but 105 and 107 is the different ages given, but I think not less than 105, but it was before we left Crouse Town. This same William Vogler you refer to is the man that bought father's farm when we left there (where) we lived between two rivers, but year I don't remember. I think about 1849 as after events seem to agree, for we moved to Petite Riviere, and in 1859 came to P.E.I'd. The living ones my mother's family are Wm. M. Richard E (he) with whom I am living at present. Lemuel Ward and two sisters, Cordelia and Hannah are in Haverhill #61. The Miss Grace you speak of is my son's daughter, she being the sixth; she has a married brother and children, which is the seventh generation. And my life with that of Cornwallis Moreau covers the whole period from now to the first white or male child born in what is now the great and thriving city of Halifax. I remember Nancy's family and who they married but cannot recall their names. There was one son Simeon lived in Crouse Town. The daughters all lived and married men up about Bridgewater—Hebb, Raimey, McKeen, Fancy, (and then) living in Crouse Town.

I have heard my mother say that she had an uncle living in Liverpool. Was a Captain and lost at sea, which probably is one of the men you refer to as being drowned . . . I am a mechanic and able to work at my trade though over 78 years of age.

Yours truly with thanks

Sgd. Wm. M. Ward
Orwell, Lot 50, P.E.I.
(17 mi from Charlottetown)"

Referring to the foregoing letter, the farm sold by Mr. Ward's father to William Vogler, is the farm on which this writer was born, and William was my great grandfather. The two "rivers" he lived between were the Petite River and Wallace's Brook, and the bridge he crossed to go to Nancy's is known as Wallace's Bridge, and it is still a small wooden bridge on a "dirt" country road today. The distance from the Ward home to Nancy's is about one-quarter mile. Her house would have been just about in front of the location of the Ben Ramey sawmill, and the Vogler Oar and Handle Factory, both now extinct, though the building of the latter still stands. Across from these two old mills was a great cluster of lilac, and it is traditionally believed, by descendants of Moreau, that the home he died in was built into the side-hill in this area, close to the lilac bush.

From the very pertinent information in Mr. Ward's letter it is certain that Cornwallis Moreau died later than the 1841 mentioned on the stone set up by Lt. Col. Kaulback. And this would also make Cornwallis well over 100 years of age at his death.

It is the hope of the many living descendants of this famous "first male child born in Halifax" that the Heritage Society of Lunenburg or Halifax will do something to perpetuate his

memory, and that of his equally famous father. Although the grave of Cornwallis is not in a state of disrepair, it is the general feeling of inhabitants in the area that more attention should be paid to this historical site in Crousetown, and that it should be declared an historical site by our Government.

"When the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighan was in control of our Government at Ottawa, he recognized the fact that our historical places were not properly marked, and in many instances, not marked at all. In order to have this important matter attended to he established a commission whose duty it would be to see that all . . . historical spots in Canada would be identified by monuments and tablets . . . ". (Bridgewater Bulletin 10/9/29). And still Petite Riviere is not "marked" as having been visited by the deMonts-Champlain Expedition of 1604, nor has Crousetown been "marked" for its burial place and home of the descendants of Cornwallis Moreau, "first male child born in Halifax."

W. G. Ernst, M.P., of Bridgewater, in his address when the cairn was unveiled at LaHave 5 Sep 29 said, "We can hardly in the light of present day affairs attempt to pass judgment on an age whose viewpoints differed from ours—but we may well remember the great debt which we as a people owe to those hardy explorers and colonists of France—for they first discovered the productivity of our soils and of our fisheries and the beauties of our landscape. Our forefathers of a later generation, coming from Germany, from England, from Scotland, and from Ireland, have also left us a wonderful heritage . . . "

Surely these same comments are apt insofar as the twin communities of Crousetown and Petite Riviere are concerned, and they should be given the consideration that Rt. Hon. Meighan said was due all historic sites.

While these two gems of history quietly await the recognition they so rightly deserve, the Petite River flows gently on through both communities, giving a serenity that is beyond words. In the summer it not only provides the residents and tourists with an undescribable beauty, but a very occasional salmon and trout. In the fall, alone its banks, the autumn glory is the shutter-bugs delight. Not only are these two communities gems of history, they are today gems of beauty to be experienced any time of the year by anyone who will take the time to drive along their roadways slowly, for each turn of the road provides its own surprise, and the Petite River mirrors them all.

A 'Peoples College' for Truro The Founding of a Normal School

ROBERT P. HARVEY

> He had come to Truro to study and work for the highest honors of the 'peoples College' and his colors were nailed to the mast.[1]

The residents of Jeddore in 1838 petitioned the Assembly of Nova Scotia, "that whilst the blessings of Education are more or less diffused through every corner of the province, the settlement of Jeddore has shared but little of its enlightening influence."[2] The petitioners went on to state that nineteen of forty-four heads of families were "totally" incapable of either reading or writing. However, this was not the crux of the issue. The fact that over forty percent of the adult population was by the standards of the time illiterate was not one to cause great alarm. The crucial statement was that of the one hundred and fifty-six children who comprised the younger generation growing up in the community, only five were able to read a "single line".

The characteristics, of a general situation easily discernible at Jeddore, were repeated to some degree throughout the country. The older generations had often received, in their native countries, an education of sorts but as time passed in the new land succeeding generations were becoming less and less educated. There was little provision for education in the early pioneering community; consequently, the tradition of education was in danger of dying out.

The presence of educational blessings, perceivable even from Jeddore by 1838, indicates that the governors of Nova Scotia had not been totally idle in relation to public provision for education. The first Education Act of 1766, an "Act concerning Schools and School Masters", related to the licensing of grammar school teachers, however, the Act provided no means for their training. It stated that the Church of England clergyman in a community or two justices of the peace had the authority to recommend on for a license to teach. In 1826 county Boards of School Commissioners were created, among whose functions was the licensing of teachers. Clearly such individuals and boards in no way could develop or expand the level of teacher quality in Nova Scotia schools.

Although the 1766 Act provided for grants of four hundred acres, in each township, to be used in support of schools, the first financial provision for common school education came as late as 1808.[3] In that year the legislature offered a twenty pound annual grant to every district or township of fifty families that could raise by subscription another fifty pounds and provide a school and master.

While regulations and government policies were to alter from time to time, continuous government grants to education began in 1826. These grants, beyond the amount raised by subscription and fees in the community, were designed to provide

education to the poor, and were divided among the county schools. The grants "afforded a mere pittance to each."[4] Such schools as there were generally operated on the "mere pittance" until the coming of free schools in 1864.

Further there was little inducement for anyone who might desire to take up teaching as a profession. There was no public institution in the colony where one could train for teaching,[5] nor if trained, were the rewards for one's efforts suitable. Clearly educational development was desperately required in Nova Scotia, and in the 1840's, there was a growing demand for such development at many levels in the community. An attempt to bring some order to education in the province can be seen in the creation, in 1841, of a five man Central Board of Education.

The various school commissioners created in 1826 were to send reports to this central board, and as well it was to receive annual reports from the trustees of the several academies. The centralizing of data would at least have the effect of making the conditions in education known, and provide a useful forum from which could be made suggestions, based upon data related to education, to the government. The Board had a salaried clerk, and some have seen in this office the origin of Superintendent of Education which was to be created in 1850, and continue for the next century. This seems to be an exaggerated comparison, for although the Superintendent carried on many of the activities of the clerk of the Board, his terms of reference were much broader than this earlier office, and really encompassed the workings of the entire Central Board in a more vigorous form. The Board of 1841 was, however, in itself an achievement as its creation marked a serious desire on the part of government to bring organization, continuity, and uniformity in education to the country, that had in no real way been achieved by earlier measures.

In its first report concern was expressed over the state and status of teachers in the province.[6] It boldly decreed that no one was to receive a license to teach and, therefore, government aid, unless the commissioners of the area "be first satisfied of the good moral character and suitable qualifications of such teacher."[7]

By its fourth annual report the Central Board of Education was coming to grips with the deplorable conditions of common school education in the province. It bluntly stated to the Legislature that education "is conducted on an inferior system by teachers not trained or habituated to their calling, and slenderly recompensed for their exertions." The cure for this was to provide better teachers and put education on a proper financial foundation. The Central Board went on to recommend the "very great advantage that might be derived from the establishment of a Normal Academy for the training of Masters and Mistresses of schools."[8]

The Normal School idea was quite new in North America. An historical survey of the time shows that there were four under way in Massachusetts after 1839; however, the principle had been advanced there since 1825. In the year of the report, such a training school opened in Albany for the state of New York. In the late 1840's, others were to appear in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Michigan in the United States, and in 1847, Toronto opened a Normal School for the training of teachers in Upper Canada,—"the most perfect, perhaps, in external arrangement and commodiousness, either in the Old or New World."[9] Western Europe had many Normal Schools by the middle of the nineteenth century. The first had appeared as early as 1704 in Prussia. Britain by this time had in the neighbourhood of twenty-five Normal Schools, including institutions in Scotland, Wales and Ireland.

Therefore, the suggestion of the Board which was prompted by the low state of common school education in Nova Scotia came at a time of general development in teacher-training in the quarters of the world which most influenced the colony: Canada, New England, and the United Kingdom. Moreover, when one considers the time it took for such demands to be acted upon in these areas, it is not surprising that a decade would pass before the recommendation of the Board would come to fruition.

The question of educational development was being actively considered by Nova Scotians before and after the election of the Reform Party in 1847 and the subsequent winning of responsible government. Hence as action on education was about to be taken, the principle character made his unwitting entrance to the stage.

In 1849, John William Dawson came to Halifax from Pictou to deliver lectures on Natural History. He had been in the city first in his late teens while on his way to Boston on business for his father, a printer in Pictou. On this visit he made the acquaintance of friends of his parents, and enjoyed the opportunity of renewing those friendships when he returned at the age of twenty-nine.

> My old friends, Young and Howe, were members of the Government as well as of the Board of Dalhousie College. They were engaged with an education law, in which provision was made for the first time for a Superintendent of Education; for periodical visits on his part to the different counties, for the holding of educational meetings, especially for the purpose of preparing the public mind for the establishment of a Normal School, in which teachers might be trained, for assessment for the support of schools.[10]

In this one paragraph Dawson had set forth the major features of educational development and achievement in nineteenth century Nova Scotia. Although our concentration is directed to one of these features—the establishment and operation of an institution for the training of teachers—it must not be viewed in isolation from the entire stream of educational development which flowed in that century. The creation of a Normal School for Nova Scotia was a major educational advancement. However, all aspects were to play their part in concert to the improvement of common school standards in the province.

The educational plans of the government were discussed with Dawson as he met from time to time with his friends, while lecturing in Halifax, and on the twenty-eighth of March, 1850, the governor, Sir John Harvey, signed into law an "Act for the Encouragement of Education." By this time, the spring of 1850, Dawson had returned to his native Pictou, and expressed surprise and dismay when he received from Joseph Howe a letter dated the tenth of April of that year, informing him, "I have it in command from His Excellency, the Lieutenant Governor, to tender for your acceptance the office of Superintendent of Education for this Province."[11]

Yet Dawson could not have been too surprised for he had a plan of action outlined in his mind to follow during his first months in office. He intended to make Pictou his headquarters due, in part, to his scientific work which was collected there. After some initial investigations he proposed to tour New England to view their educational facilities. This was to be followed by a mid summer tour of Nova Scotia, and the completion of a report to be presented to the Legislature in the autumn. Dawson's visit to New England and his awareness of educational developments in Canada and the other Maritime Colonies of British North America led him to believe that the recommendations he would make after his first report to the field of education, and not revolutionary or premature for Nova Scotia.

There were at least three implications arising from Dawson's New England visit for the Normal School movement in the Colony. Dawson was completely convinced of the value to be derived by society from the training of women to be teachers.[12] The desirability of a rural setting for a Normal School seems to have impressed itself on Dawson during this period as he viewed such schools in rural and urban New England. He believed the environment of such a rural location to be superior to any other. Here as well, board would be cheaper, temptations less likely, or at least more easily controlled, and ground would be available for agricultural experiments or a model farm.[13]

Finally, in both West Newton, Massachusetts, and New Britain, Connecticut, Dawson observed that the local or district schools were used as Model or Practice Schools for the pupil-teachers of the Normal Seminary. He came to suggest that Truro schools could serve this purpose for the Normal School contemplated for that location in 1855.[14]

Dawson made a detailed recommendation for the establishment of a Normal School for Nova Scotia in his 1850 report. Dawson gave the Normal School emphasis with good reason. The Normal School would have very immediate, beneficial results, and could be established and operated as a provincial institution by government grant with little change in the system as it then existed. It would be an excellent starting point. He, therefore, looked forward with expectation to the season of the House of Assembly due in the winter of 1851. It was in this session on the eleventh of March that a Bill to found a Normal School constructed upon the design of Dawson was introduced into the House for first reading by George Young, a friend of Dawson's, and chairman of the Education Committee of the House. The Bill was read a second time on the twelfth of March, and the House went into the Committee of the Whole to consider it in detail.

The debate on the Normal School Bill was lively indeed, and George Young led the fight to have it passed. It was suggested by those opposed to the measure that the erection of an institution to train teachers should not be the first step in the improvement of education in Nova Scotia. There could be no use in educating people for a system that could not suitably support qualified teachers. Some felt, and with reason, that the two offices of Superintendent of Education and Principal of the Normal School could not properly be held by one man. Yet this was one of the basic hopes for the joint office that the one man in control of both the system of education and the training of the teachers for that system could bring a desired uniformity and continuity to education in the province.

At last the Bill passed the second stage and the *Novascotian* congratulated the "Country upon the passage of the measure . . . " and went on to regard it "as a progressive step in the improvement of our Educational System."[15]

Such praise was too hasty, for when the Bill came up for third reading, the Conservative member representing the township of Windsor, James Dewolf Fraser, moved an amendment to have the Bill deferred for three months. The amendment passed twenty-one to sixteen. Few were opposed to the Normal School principle but the majority wanted a delay so as to move with caution into this new area that might prove expensive, and thereby unpopular with the great masses of people. George Young, the next day, moved a resolution to have the vote on the amendment for deferral rescinded. His resolution was carried with twenty-two in favour and twenty-one against.[16] The Bill could be reintroduced but the opposition was strong and it was decided wiser to let it pass for the moment.

Dawson was disappointed and frustrated. He had hoped to get trained teachers into the schools of the province before the expiration of the current School Act. He was a man of

science. He had observed the problem of the low state of education in Nova Scotia. He had observed solutions to those problems in other areas. He had adapted those solutions to a Nova Scotia setting, and on that basis, made his recommendation for a Normal School. The recommendation, although not to be acted upon; and although Dawson did not know it at this time, there was not to be another Normal School Bill until 1854.

The question of teacher training was kept before the public by Dawson and some of the newspapers. In the summer of 1851, the *Novascotian* contained an editorial in favour of a Normal School and critical of the actions of the House of Assembly during the previous session. It stated, "We grant a large sum annually for the support of Common Schools about one sixth of our Revenue—but we have neglected the means necessary for its wise expenditure". The "means" referred to school teachers who were not properly trained. The expense of training teachers could not be an objection, stated the editorial, for expense did not appear to be an objection in other areas of government expenditure. In referring to opponents in the House as "wise-acres" who did not object to the thousands, "in keeping up an immense army of Road Commissioners," the paper called upon the "people" to take the matter into their own hands and instruct their Representatives what to do.[17]

Public education and public interest and support for the issue were the keynote of the editorial. This as well was the main tactic of Superintendent Dawson who continued to tour the province in the cause of the betterment of education. But, throughout 1852, the desired result of his work continued to elude him. There were several petitions to the Assembly in favour of a Normal School that year, but the committee on education made no further recommendations in this regard and the entire matter of education received little attention and was continued to the next year.

In April of 1852 at the close of this disappointing session of the House, Dawson began to look for a way out of the Superintendency. Due to a loss of interest caused by the continued frustration, and a desire to return to his own scientific work, he requested that the work of the Superintendent be reduced by bringing to a close the programme of public meetings and the inspection tours. He hoped there would soon be a new appointment and in that event Dawson confided to Howe, "There is no man in whom I should have so much confidence as Forrester."[18] Alexander Forrester, a Halifax minister interested in education, received the call to be the second Superintendent of Education and the first Normal School principal in 1854.

In the intervening two years, there was continued interest in the Normal School movement, particularly in the public sector, while the Assembly continued to delay, centering its criticism upon the expense to be incurred. "The committee was divided in opinion as to the propriety of founding and endowing a Normal School."[19] Such was the mood of the committee on education for 1853. The report went on to say that a minority were in favour of Dawson's recommendation but "the majority" were "reluctant to burden the Treasury with such an institution." They were reluctant, they claimed, until the question of assessment was settled. But, the question of assessment was a long term one. To involve the question of a training institution with it was to delay unnecessarily the proper training of teachers. The supporters of the Normal School idea did not intend to have it supported by assessment, for it would be paid for by a provincial grant. However, there would be no Normal School that year. Dawson was about to give up all his duties as Superintendent, and to take care of this eventuality, provincial inspectors were appointed, one for each of an eastern and western district.

There had been many petitions submitted to the Assembly that year. The great majority of the educational ones dealt with the Normal School idea and assessment. The friends of the Normal School movement had issued printed petitions, and most of those in favour of an institution for the training of teachers appeared in that form. They were returned from all over the Province with a sizeable number of signatures. Of particular interest was a petition from Amherst, Cumberland County where the boldest signature was "Charles Tupper M.D.", and from Halifax, that of "Alexander Forrester". Certainly, this can be said that of the petitions received and preserved, the majority of petitions and signatures were in favour of the Normal School idea. Some, such as the community of Sterling, were in favour but wrote in the condition that the institution was not to be supported by property assessment.

Several hundred of the Mahone Bay area came out strongly against the question of a Normal School. But they had confused this issue with that of assessment. They went on to state that their "improverished" condition would not permit them to support the training of teachers by a propery tax. They feared that the teachers thus trained would leave the province for other parts of North America, and be of no use to the colony.[20] This was the same type of opposition received from the education committee of the Assembly. Apparently more time was needed to educate the people to the need for improving Common School education by the first step of improving the teachers for such schools.

At least the issue was before the people. Time was what was required but as time passed the conditions of Common School education deteriorated. This fact was to be revealed in the first reports of the two inspectors for the year 1853, Hugh Munro and C. D. Randall.[21] Both of these reports echoed the recommendations of Dawson made over the previous three

years, and, in 1854 as the reports were presented, the government was about to take action to create a Normal School and appoint a new Superintendent of Education.

Three years had passed since the failure of the Normal School Bill of 1851, introduced by George Young. The climate, of opinion had altered as the public mind had been educated, first to recognize the intolerable conditions of the common schools and second, to regard the creation of a Normal School as a logical first step which would be undertaken without the implementation of the assessment of property for the support of schools.

Dawson's public meetings and writings had had their effect, along with the more recent work of the two inspectors of schools. The public had been made aware of the grave problem that demanded action, and the Assembly now felt it was politically possible to support a Normal School. This is not to say that the Bill received unanimous approval, for there was still opposition and the arguments were not very different from those that had caused the Province to delay for three years the founding of a Normal School. In the meantime, the arguments for such an institution had been made more abundantly clear. There was realistic hope for success when Provincial Secretary, Samuel Creelman, introduced a Bill into the Assembly to found a Normal School, on the third of February, 1854. It was read a second time on the eighth of that month.

The House in Committee of the Whole considered the Bill in early March, and Creelman moved the first clause with these words: "As is the teacher so is the school, and it is time that we were more deeply impressed by the truth of the maxim." He reviewed the Normal School Movement in New England, Europe, and England and concluded that Nova Scotians had nothing to fear in this matter as the experimentations had been done elsewhere.

The opponents of the Bill claimed that there was insufficient detail for a judgment to be made on the Bill, and that at any rate, the first step was to improve the schools in general, otherwise the trained teacher would take their training out of the province, thus incurring upon the people of Nova Scotia a useless expense. The claim was "the edifice may cost any sum, may be placed any where, and may be conducted under any system" was in error.[22] The cost of the building of about nine hundred pounds and its operating expenses had been estimated quite accurately by Dawson, and this estimate was well known. The location of the school had been theoretically debated for at least four years, in many forums, so that all views were known. The system to be used was a model of the most successful Normal Seminaries known by the authorities.[23]

The claim was that the many provincial colleges were able to supply academy teachers, and they in turn grammar school teachers, and the latter common school teachers was ridiculous. This denied the entire philosophy of a Normal Seminary to instruct in the Art of teaching. Long before 1854, Nova Scotia had generally agreed on the need for trained teachers; the question was one of timing. The Bill passed, and a motion to defer it was defeated twenty-five to twenty-two, a sobering majority. There were still those prepared to wait a little longer.

The selection of a site was an important first step. There were two views—one that the institution should be in a large population area, which meant Halifax. Hugh Munro, a member of the Assembly and an inspector of schools, put it this way, "I have no hesitation in saying that if placed in Truro, that it [the Normal School] will prove an entire failure"; moreover, "the advantages young men would have in attending other institutions in the city" were too great to be ignored, for reasons of economy.[24]

The rural position favoured sites like Windsor, New Glasgow, Amherst and Truro. Dawson came to favour Truro for here were all the benefits of a rural setting for study and development that he had observed at rural Normal Schools in New England.

The absolute desirability for a rural setting was put this way by the *Halifax Sun:* "And certainly to us it would appear that it is not in the first flush of the youthful passions that a lad, taken from rural life, and destined to be the master of a rural school, should be exposed to the stimulants of a city." These "stimulants" could not have been the institutions regarded so highly by Mr. Munro. The paper concluded, "The reasons which may render such a system objectionable for the male sex, obviously make wholly unfit for the female."[25] The site chosen was rural Truro.[26]

The responsibility for the construction and furnishing of the school rested with a board of five commissioners. The Chairman was the Provincial Secretary, Samuel Creelman, who had introduced and guided the Normal School Bill to its successful conclusion. The Secretary of the Board was Adam G. Archibald of Truro, a lawyer and junior member of the Assembly. A third commissioner was J. W. Dawson, who in this capacity was performing his last official service to the schools of Nova Scotia.

The commissioners met in the Archibald house at Truro, on the fourteenth of June, 1854. It was discovered that both Archibald and Dawson had entered into agreements to buy land for the school. The former was requested to take measures to revoke his agreement. However, by the time of the next meeting, on the twentieth of July, it was reported that the Dawson party had raised the price. With that in mind, Archibald, who had kept his option open, closed his deal for just less than one hundred and eighty-nine pounds, and in this manner suit-

able land was secured. The meeting then proceeded to view the five acre site, and ordered that the school be built in the middle of it between the street at the front and the projected road in the rear. It was decided as well to complete the ground area by buying a lot of land and house at the north east corner.

The plans sketched by Dawson at a June first meeting had been drawn up into formal plans at a cost of five pounds.[27] Moreover, the tenders had arrived for the construction of the school, and were then opened. There were six that agreed to do the entire building. The lowest, that of Joseph McNaught for five hundred and ninety-eight pounds and nineteen shillings, was accepted. The successful bidder was ordered to be notified, and Charles Blanchard was engaged to oversee the construction in the interests of the Board. The raising of the Normal School was underway. It would come to completion within a year.[28]

The Reverend Alexander Forrester, whom Dawson had regarded so highly, was given the joint responsibility of the superintendency, left vacant by Dawson's retirement, and the principalship of the School. On the fourteenth of November, 1855, the friends of the Normal School gathered, as Principal Forrester presided over a five hour ceremony opening the Normal Seminary for the training of teachers for the common schools of Nova Scotia.

Five years had passed since Dawson's first recommendation, a decade since that of the Central Board of Education, but now Nova Scotia had its Normal School. The man who had worked so hard to have it established had left the province in September of 1855 to go to Montreal to assume the principalship of McGill University where one of his first acts would be to create a Normal School. Years later Dawson wrote of his father, "It was a favourite maxim with him that he would rather give us training which no man could take from us than property which might be dissipated or lost."[29] J. W. Dawson

and men of similar convictions believed they had given the means for such training to Nova Scotians, who would all benefit from associating with a higher caliber of Common School teacher.

FOOTNOTES

1. Jeremiah Willoughby describing himself as a member of the first class of the Normal School, 1855, in **Progress in Nova Scotia during Fifty Years and Lights and Shadows in the Life of an old Teacher.** (Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Co. 1884), p 96.
2. PANS, "Petitions to the Assembly on Education," 1838.
3. Nova Scotia government grants created grammar schools in Windsor and Halifax in 1788 and 1789 respectively. As well Kings College was created in Windsor in 1789 from grants received from both the British and Nova Scotian governments.
4. J. P. McCarthy, "One Hundred Years of Teacher Education" **Journal of Education** (Halifax: Department of Education, 1955), p 7.
5. There were, of course, a number of schools which trained teachers and sought official accreditation and financial support for this endeavor. Among these were: the Boulardaire Academy in operation as early as 1839, and highly praised by Superintendent Dawson in his 1850 report; the Royal Acadian School of Halifax which was singled out by the Central Board of Education in 1845 as a possible core for a provincial institution; the Amherst Female Seminary of the 1850's; the school of the Colonial Church and School Society in Halifax praised for its work by Inspector C. D. Randall in 1853. All of these, however, for reasons of geography, religious affiliation, or other factors lacked the required universal acceptance for government support.
6. Willoughby **op. cit. p. 12,** "The rum bottle frequently occupied a corner of the desk, and it is a well authenticated fact that teachers have been known to get drunk in school . . . sometimes they would act like incarnate demons, sometimes, like drivelling imbeciles, and sometimes [mercifully] they would go to sleep."
7. **Nova Scotia House of Assembly Journal,** 1842, Appendix No. 27.
8. **Nova Scotia House of Assembly Journal,** 1845, Appendix No. 38.
9. Alexander Forrester, **"The Object, Benefits and History of Normal Schools"** (Halifax: James Barnes, 1855) p 6.
10. Sir William Dawson, **Fifty Years of Scientific and Educational Work in Canada** (London: Ballantyne Hanson and Co., 1901) p 70.

11. D. C. Harvey, "Letters of Our First Superintendent" (Letter from Joseph Howe to J. W. Dawson, April 19, 1850), in **Journal of Education** (Halifax: King's Printer, 1936).
12. In New England Dawson had been told of "a school in the west which had quarreled with its male teacher, and thrown him out of the window, which was immediately brought into subjection by a Normal School girl"—**Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1850,** p 5.
13. A model farm was to be connected with the Truro Normal School within months of its opening in November, 1855. Courses related to agriculture were on the curriculum in the late 1850's. This predated the government's efforts to create at Truro a nucleus for agricultural studies in the late 1880's culminating in the creation of the Nova Scotia Agricultural College in 1905.
14. Such an arrangement was provided for in the Normal School Act of 1854. However, this plan was left optional at the discretion of the Normal School Principal, by the Board of Commissioners of the Normal School in their Minutes of June 1st, 1855. From 1857 to 1865 a Model School was operated by the Normal School. This school came to be jointly controlled by the Village of Truro and the Principal of the Normal School from 1865 to 1886. From then to 1901 a Model School was again operated as part of the Normal School. Student teachers returned to the town's schools in 1901.
15. "Legislature Report", The **Novascotian,** March 31, 1851.
16. **Nova Scotia House of Assembly Journal,** Debate, March 25, 1851.
17. "Normal School", editorial in **The Novascotian,** July 28, 1851.
18. D. C. Harvey, **op. cit.,** letter from J. W. Dawson to Joseph Howe, April 6, 1852.
19. **Nova Scotia House of Assembly Journal,** 1853, Appendix No. 63.
20. PANS, "Petitions to the Assembly on Education", 1853.
21. Wrote Munro of the schools he inspected in 1853 not "one out of twenty" was passable and in some cases in winter it was so cold in the school that the ink froze "in the pen ere it could touch the paper, and in one or two instances, the teachers were obliged to use creepers to enable them to walk over the icy floor."
22. "Legislative Report", **The Novascotian,** March 27, 1854.
23. Ultimately it was the training system of David Stow, wealthy, amateur, Scottish educator that became the **Norma** or standard of the teachers' Seminary at Truro. An intergal part of this system was a model school for practice teaching where the student-teacher would observe the method of the Seminary practiced by the best teachers in an ideal setting.
24. "Legislative Report", **The Novascotian,** March 27, 1854.

25. "Superintendent's Report", **The Halifax Sun,** March 24, 1851.
26. **The Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial-Municipal Relations,** report of 1974 recommends that the teacher training institution at Truro be moved to a major university in Halifax for in the words of the report, "It should be near opportunities for the greater variety of formal and informal educational experiences and activities." Vol. III, Chapter 58, p. 43.
27. These sketches based on the Massachusetts Normal School and slightly modified by the Board called for an institution sixty-two feet in length, forty feet wide and with a post height of twenty feet built to accommodate between eighty and one hundred students.
28. N.S.T.C., "Minutes of the Commissioners and Directors of the Provincial Normal School", June 14th and July 20th, 1854.
29. Dawson, **op. cit.,** p. 13.

Pugwash Literary Experiment

J. F. SMITH

There is a class of women
In this enlightened land
Who say they're born to govern,
And now their rights demand;
Declare they are degraded
By man's unjust decree,
Being kept behind the curtain,
But now they will be free.
Their number is increasing,
Their banner is unfurled,
Woman's rights their motto,
They flaunt it to the world.[1]

These are not lines of verse composed for 1975—the Year of the Woman—nor do they belong to the modern feminine movement. These words were prepared more than one hundred years ago for a literary magazine out of Pugwash, Nova Scotia! The message has a relevance for present-day feminists and is dated only through the mention of the "bloomer costume" and the "franchise." the verse continues:

They say that nursing babies
Is not their proper sphere.
They'll cause a revolution;
Defeat they do not fear.

Eve first commenced this nonsense,
They've ever since been slaves.
They're now too much enlightened,
So say these female braves.
Their mode of dress is reckoned
A symbol of their woes;
Some don the bloomer costume
While others want our clothes.
Miss Dickenson then preaches,
A female of renown;
She stumps the great republic
And lectures in each town.
She says they want the franchise
So they can cast their vote,
Or run for any office
And into power float.

Hurrah for rights of women!
Their banner is unfirled.
Don't dare to cross her pathway—
She's bound to rule the world.[2]

Granted, the verse would fail to qualify for an academic award. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that not just this forward-looking "poem" but an entire literary publication, one of the earliest in Atlantic Canada, should have emanated from a community regarded by many as backwoodsy, at best.

The Pugwash literary experiment first appeared in 1869. At that time, its place of birth had just crested the peak of the economic boom which was the reason for the community's

existence. With a respectable population of around 1,000 people, Pugwash was the scene of a thriving trade in lumber or deals. A writer of sagacity had wondered aloud, if ungrammatically, in 1835:

> Whether this place is doomed in future years to rise to eminence is a question very problematical, at present its exertions depend almost entirely upon the timber trade, when this fails either from want of legislative support or exhaustion of the stock, from that moment this and other places of the same class may date their decline.[3]

The 1870's and succeeding decades proved this man's wisdom. However, all signs still seemed to indicate fortune's favor in 1869 and Pugwash could boast many of the outward features of rapid economic and social growth: busy wharves, a new harbor bridge, a harbor master with several pilots, and shipbuilding firms that employed skilled shipwrights. The main street bristled with activity and the village claimed at least 16 merchants plus four tailors, two shoemakers, two carriage builders and seven blacksmiths, one female telegraph operator, a butcher, a confectioner, a miller, a tanner and three doctors! Two hotels catered to both the flow of visiting businessmen and the overnight stage coach guests who travelled between Pictou and Amherst. Pugwashians entertained the annual dream of the railroad's arrival but had another two decades to wait for that blessing. The town was graced by a number of fine homes including one with 30 rooms and having almost the earliest hot-water heating system in the province. Surrounding the town were scattered farms while several churches, a school and a post office completed the community inventory.

Once a respectable village had been shaped, its tree stumps and pathways having bowed to proper streets and planned township lots; once some of the early families had established their financial security based on the area's wooden gold

and its offshoot—shipbuilding, then a number of the "better" people in town were free to turn to more aesthetic matters. The result was the founding of the Pugwash Musical and Literary Society.

Sing, O ye Muses, of the lately formed club
Which rivals in wisdom Diogenes' tub.
We're so smart and so learned in our own estimation,
There isn't a doubt we can beat all Creation.
The name we have chosen I fear is too long
To rhyme well in metre or jungle in song.

In order to enter this choice coterie,
We thought it most prudent to pay a small fee
To pay incidentals; now pray don't you laugh
At so large an admittance, twelve cents and a half!
When entered, you'll find if you closely inspect
Our circle, though small, is very select.[4]

Ironically, the names of the society's "select" members have been lost through time although some clues indicate that H. C. Black and members of the prominent Pineo family of Pugwash were important figures in the group. Their meetings, which evidently began in 1869, led quickly to the preparation of a literary magazine. This periodical, which appeared on a bi-monthly basis, exists today only as a faded, hand-written manuscript.

The newspaper too, though the name somewhat queer is,
Is nothing less sweet than the Night Blooming Cereus.
Its columns are filled with original matter,
Though a choice joke or pun they now and then scatter.
To make it amusing, we've dialogues too,
And readings most charming of things old and new.[5]

The first issue of the periodical is dated 24 November 1869 and, as stated, was entitled "The Night Blooming Cereus." Why a group of Pugwashians should select such a name for their publication is uncertain; the night-blooming cereus is a large cactus with nocturnal blossoms and is found only in tropical regions. In retrospect, though, the title does relate to the situation in that a surprising literary endeavor bloomed in the dark wilderness of northern Nova Scotia over a century ago. The editors' only comment concerning the name was

> . . . like the said and lovely plant from which it derives its name, may its leaves impart intellectual delight to a large circle of intelligent readers.[6]

The initial edition of "The Night Blooming Cereus" carried this banner:

The
NIGHT BLOOMING CEREUS.
Devoted to Literature, Science, Poetry, and Art.
Official organ of the literary association.
—"Carpe Diem"—
Vol. 1 —Pugwash, N.S. Nov. 24th 1869.— No. 1

The editorial goals were outlined at once: to fill the pages "with original articles of rare merit from a large corps of talented contributors," to present "a periodical combining pleasure and instruction," "to advance the interests of strict morality," and to uphold the "orthodox faith."[7]

Within the pages of the eleven issues of "The Night Blooming Cereus," there appears a wide variety of styles, subjects and forms of presentation. For example, a considerable amount of space was devoted to the pros and cons of bachelorhood. A proponent of marriage initiated the argument by offering "A Maiden's Psalm of Life." Declaring "Single blessedness

a fib" and commenting on a heart that was beating Wedding marches all the way,"[8] the author commended married people for example they were setting for unwed males.

Such examples that another,
Wasting time in idle sport,
A forlorn, unmarried brother,
Seeing, shall take heart and court.
Let us then be up and doing
With a heart in triumph set,
Still contriving, still persuing,
And each one a husband get.[9]

These were words of war. Those who were—and those who wished they were—bachelors attacked the opposition with a hail of words in praise of the single state. Yet, after a brief period of shell-shocked silence, the pro-marriage party stormed back with offerings ranging from gentle sarcasm to blunt rebuke and won the battle in verse. H. C. Black described the pitiful object of the fight:

His stockings were out at the heels and the toes,
His necktie was put on awry;
The buttons were fast taking leave of his clothes,
The look of despair in his eye.

and then closed in for the kill:

This epitaph write on his mortal remains
When this wretch is done with his life—
He died, as the fool, sadly wanting in brains,
He lived without getting a wife![10]

Yet, the Pugwash Musical and Literary Society frequently reached the folksy quality of the bachelorhood feud. In an article on the "modern age," an essayist marvelled at the giant steps achieved in the mechanical sciences, steps that in the past

would have been regarded as "the wild imaginings of some disordered brain and are now discussed, organized and accomplished before the world is scarcely aware." Canvas sails had been replaced by steamships, the railway (an "iron web") and the telegraph ("wire bridges") were "annhialating time and space," geology was revealing the earth-hidden secrets of history and astronomy had uncovered new planets and was "revealing to some extent the hidden secrets of the great Creator." In a philosophical mood the article concluded:

> If so much has been accomplished within the space we have mentioned, what stores of knowledge may yet remain to be revealed. But as we cannot lift the veil that hides the future from our view, let us improve the present and be thankful that our lot has been cast in an age of such development and progress.[11]

New Year's Day (1870) brought forth an editorial on the goodness of life in Cumberland County.

> No strife as in some beautiful lands has bathed our land in blood. No pestilence has walked at noonday claiming its victims from the sick and poor alike. No gaunt famine has stalked through our land but all has been peace, plenty and prosperity.[12]

The writer noted that 1869 had departed on the warmest terms, an evident reference to the weather. Pugwash Harbor was open during the first week of January, 1870, a fact unknown to the oldest residents. The mild temperatures had retarded the preparation of good winter roads, there being too little frost to support a snow-based highway. Village sages believed the unseasonable warmth was due to the movement of the Gulf Stream toward the Nova Scotian coastline.

Literary Society members displayed an interest, too, in international affairs. Their paper carried locally written articles referring to wars around the world, currency values, the open-

ing of the Suez Canal, the Ecumenical Council of the Roman Catholic Church in Rome, the fall of Napoleon III, the Spanish monarchy, the British Parliament, and so forth.

Generally, though, the material in "The Night Blooming Cereus" was of a humorous nature, the lighter side of affairs being frequently displayed. Temperance was seldom looked upon as a topic for levity but witness this quote:

> A temperance editor, drawing attention to an article against ardent spirits in one of his papers, says:- For the effects of intemperance see our inside.[13]

Under "Prices Current," the following list appeared:

> Flour — rising,
> Pork — quiet in barrels,
> Tea — strong at last quotations,
> Coffee — weak,
> Butter — firmer than in summer,
> Cheese — lively,
> Poultry — inclined to move off,
> Cider — brisk,
> Lamb — active,
> Spirits — going down rapidly,
> Deals — flat.[14]

And, of course, there was a chuckle at the expense of the shy female.

> There is a young lady of our acquaintance so modest that she calls stockings the "coverings of a person's foundation."[15]

Smatterings of hard news from the local scene appeared on most pages of "The Night Blooming Cereus." From the founding of a Y.M.C.A. with 18 members to the seizure of contraband whiskey and rum (which was later stolen by about

ten men), from a mugging on the Pugwash bridge to the theft of ten bushels of wheat "by some atrocious villain,"[16] from the introduction of police patrols in Pugwash (necessitated by the appearance of wild animals on town streets!) to the suspected but disproved murder by poison of Mrs. Charlotte Mickie of Goose River, there was little reason for this rather presumptuous complaint by the editorial staff:

> In common with the London Times, Amherst Gazette and other leading periodicals of the day, we are compelled to deplore the scarcity of news . . .[17]

But, as always, the characteristic but quiet wit broke through.

> A few evenings ago, our little village was the scene of the most heart-rending and appalling tragedy. After the most of the inhabitants had retired to peaceful couches to seek "tired nature-sweet restorer—balmey sleep," some fiend in human shape, under cover of the darkness, sought his unsuspecting victims with murderous intent. Dealing a treacherous blow, four innocent beings were at once deprived of life. The bodies now remained to be disposed of. To make the deadly work more sure, they were committed to the cold embrace of the yielding wave. What was the horror of the community to discover next morning lying stiff and stark in death's embrace the pale upturned countenances seeming to utter a reproach against the cruelty of their destroyer, the bodies of four innocent white kittens.[18]

At least one correspondent remained unconcerned about any scarcity of news.

> . . . there has been talk enough of tidal waves, storms, accidents by sea and land, hair-breadth escapes, smash-downs of dynasties; and a fire extinguished in our midst by way of variety.[19]

As regards the last-named event, it was shortly before the birth of the first edition of "The Night Blooming Cereus" that a fiery blaze narrowly missed consuming the residence of the town's most prominent citizen, the Hon. Henry G. Pineo, a veteran member of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia, issued a card of thanks in the new periodical for the "almost superhuman exertions"[20] of the Pugwash boys who saved his home. This was followed by another writer's comment:

> . . . talk of the Pugwash boys if you will, of their being the worst in creation & they are bad enough perhaps, yet when danger & emergencies arise requiring strong arms & stout hearts, the readiness & energy exhibited shew that there is a great deal of good in them yet to build upon."[21]

The fevered response to these words pushed the bachelorhood argument off the periodical's pages. It culminated in a letter signed by Deborah Brown who declared that the "Pugwash boys do beat all for venomosity."[22] Her letter is another prime example of the tongue-in-cheek humor that was representative of "The Night Blooming Cereus."

> It do seem too hard, Mr. Editor, that a intelligent respectable femail can't go out on pressin business of an evening, without being hollered at & scheeched after in the alarmingest way. Here one night last week, says I to Betsy says I, "Jest you hand me down the lantring, & git my unberell & I'll step up to the dressmaker's & see if that report about Mrs. K. gettin another new dress made is true. So I set out and the very first boy I met hollers out "Hallo, old stick in the mud, pleasant evening for walking, marm, go it Pal" & when I told him a piece of my mind, went off hollerin & screechin in the disgustinest manner. The next one I met actually addressed hisself to me in this way, "Old hoss, let me light my pipe at your lantring" but if he did, I used my umberell across his back to that degree, it aint been no

good to me since. That wasn't enough, but another came along, offered me his arm, & said "Shall I have the pleasure of seeing you home, marm." By this time, I felt so indigracious that I could hardly get home, I lost both rubbers in the mud too. Betsy advised me to take a drop of spirits which revived me, but whenever I think of it I am fairly bilin. Now Mr. Editor, if you won't print this into your paper, I declare, me & Betsy will write it out and stick it up onto the P. Office for I am determined that these here boys shall be exposed.[22]

Politics seldom entered the columns of "The Night Blooming Cereus" but there were a few exceptions. As mentioned earlier, members of the influential Pineo family were evidently connected with the Pugwash Musical and Literary Society as well as its periodical. The Pineos were staunch Tories; in fact, Henry Pineo, Jr., was—at the time—the only Tory in the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia. An angry voting public had virtually wiped out the Conservative Party in the provincial election that followed Confederation.

Cumberland County claimed two seats in the Provincial Legislature: the somewhat unique one that had been won by Henry Pineo, and another one that had been captured by Amos Purdy, a Liberal Anti-Confederate. It was against Purdy that "The Night Blooming Cereus" directed its limited political jabs. The campaign began with the cutting notice that "as evidence of individual enterprise . . . Amos Purdy, Esq., M.P.P., has had his store whitewashed."[23] This prompted another publication, "The Malagash Anti-Confederate," to hope that Pugwash's "insipid flabbergasted sheet will soon be consigned to the oblivion which it merits."[24] "The Night Blooming Cereus" bounced back from these "ravings of an idiotic brain" by proclaiming loftily (and hypocritically) that "nothing shall deter us from

adhering to the strict neutrality in politics to which we have pledged ourselves."[25] Even when Purdy broke from his party's stand on Confederation, the Pugwash paper still found fault.

> Who was it went to Ottawa
> On his own delegation
> And turned his coat, so people say,
> Now barks like all creation?
> 'Twas Purdy.
>
> Who is it, like a weather cock,
> Has gone all around the compass;
> For want of sense, makes up in talk,
> And knocks up such a rumpus?
> 'Tis Purdy.[26]

Perhaps the last laugh was Purdy's, though, since his career was longer than that of "The Night Blooming Cereus."

Poetry was the frequently employed vehicle for the presentation of messages in print. The Pugwash periodical carried selections in verse ranging from "Sir John A. MacDonald's New Dominion Song"

> From proud Nova Scotia away to Red River,
> Our frontier is now a few thousand miles long,
> But soon will extend from Newfoundland to Vancouver,
> So fill up a bumper and join me in song.[27]

through reflections on childhood memories,

> Oh, well I remember how sadly I tore
> The first checkered apron that ever I wore,
> How I boohooed and bellowed, all flooded with tears,
> When my dear mother gave me a box on my ears,
> Then a big piece of pie for the damage she'd done
> To her dearest, her darling, her devilsome son.[28]

into pastoral descriptions

> To me 'tis sweet to walk at even,
> And with a swelling heart to view
> The beauties of the earth and heaven,
> Oft gazed upon, yet ever new.

down to the very topics for discussion in the magazine.

> You wish me to write for your Night Blooming Cereus,
> What subject to write on is one of my queries:
> Religion, politics, nonsense or gammon,
> The beauties of nature or the goddess called Mammon.
>
> Religion in newspapers seems to be solemn,
> Or politics piled column on column;
> Nonsense is also unfit for the Muse
> So the beauties of nature is the subject I choose.[30]

Even those submissions that were rejected by the editors still prick the imagination. Consider the loss to posterity by not publishing "The Theory of Nine" (too lengthy and obtuse) or "Sighings of a Crushed, Broken, Wilted and Bleeding Heart," but most especially "An Epic Poem on the Legends of Pugwash" by George Armour. The editorial staff believed in recognizing unsuccessful writers by at least making available the titles of their works under the heading "Refused".

Why "The Night Blooming Cereus" failed to reappear after its first year of presentation is not known. The last known issue, prepared for April, 1870, announced that the association responsible for its composition was closing down for the summer season, but, because of the "solid enjoyment and unbroken harmony" of belonging to the society, there was every reason to expect the periodical to continue "giving a more intellectual bias to the minds of the members"[31] in the next autumn season. However, that was not to be.

Although the literary organ may have been provincial in some respects, it nevertheless carries ample evidence that, over one hundred years ago, there was a Nova Scotian community where stimulating people with a desire for intellectual improvement were very much alive. The society produced eleven issues of "The Night Blooming Cereus" (dated Nov. 4, Dec. 8 and Dec. 22, 1869, and Jan. 10, Jan. 25, Feb. 8, Feb. 24, Mar. 8, Mar. 23, Apr. 6 and Apr. 20, 1870). The people responsible for this work were once described as "persons eager for social, intellectual, and cultural development."[32] However that may be, they were probably people who took to heart a maxim carried in their paper:

> Most of the shadows that cross our path through life are caused by our standing in our own light.[33]

References:

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2. Ibid.
3. **The Times,** Sept. 8, 1835, p. 283.
4. "The Night Blooming Cereus," Vol. 1, No. 2, Dec. 8, 1869.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., No. 1, Nov. 24, 1869.
7. Ibid.
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9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., No. 8. Mar. 8, 1870.
11. Ibid., No. 1.
12. Ibid., No. 4, Jan. 10, 1870.
13. Ibid., No. 9, Mar. 23, 1870.
14. Ibid., No. 1.
15. Ibid., No. 7, Feb. 24, 1870.
16. Ibid., No. 10.
17. Ibid., No. 2.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., No. 1.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., No. 2.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., No. 3, Dec. 22, 1869.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., No. 10.
27. Ibid., No. 9.
28. Ibid., No. 2.
29. Ibid., No. 11, Apr. 20, 1870.
30. Ibid., No. 1.
31. Ibid., No. 11.
32. **The Atlantic Advocate,** Vol. 56, No. 5, Jan., 1966, p. 61.
33. "The Night Blooming Cereus," Vol. 1, No. 11.

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"The Pineos: A Political Pair from Pugwash," **The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly,** Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 21.

Various editions of "The Night Blooming Cereus" and several newspapers of the period.

The Deportation of the Acadians

HELEN M. GRANT

The tragic story of the Acadians started with the final capture of Port Royal by the British in 1710. This meant that the Acadians were placed in a difficult position. Naturally, when Port Royal fell, the whole colony of Acadia had to surrender but it was three more years before the Queen Anne's War, as it was called in America, was over and the Treaty of Utrecht was signed, handing Nova Scotia over to the English. During this time the Acadians were forbidden from taking the oath of allegiance to England and they greatly harassed the English with ambushes and petty disobediences. "Further apprehension was also caused by the hostile designs of the Indians and the French from Canada, as well as by the influence of the French missionary priests."[1] Such behavior was perfectly logical under the circumstances. Their loyalty was for their old master, France, the war was not over officially, and Port Royal had been captured many times before but was always returned to France by treaty. They were playing the game of war according to the rules which had been taught to them through the years.

Then came the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and the policies of the English governors, who were first sent out, both of which set up the background for the Acadians' deportation.

The Treaty of Utrecht finally handed Acadia over to the English permanently whether the people at the time realized it or not, while Cape Breton, what is now New Brunswick, and the Isle of St. Jean or Prince Edward Island remained French. With regards to the Acadians, the treaty was fairly lenient for the times. It stated:

> ". . . that the said subjects of the King living on the Peninsula, may have liberty to remove themselves within a year to any other place, as they see fit, with all their movable effects. But those who are willing to remain here, and be subjects to the King of Great Britain, are to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, according to the usage of the Church of Rome, as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same."[2]

In addition, Queen Anne soon wrote a letter to the governor, Nicholson, stating that since the King of France had released some of his Protestant subjects from imprisonment, the Acadians could stay and keep their property unmolested or, if they wished to leave, they had the right to sell their property. This, at a time when enmity for the French was very high, was extremely generous, but it only lasted a year and, due to the policies of the governors, its generosity was not realized. Once the French heard about these provisions, they made the most of them for, naturally, they still wanted the Acadians as French citizens to increase their numbers in the country. The Governor of Louisbourg, M. de Costabelle, urged the Acadians to move to Cape Breton to live as French subjects. At the same time the English began to push for an oath of allegiance to England from the Acadians. This was not mentioned in the treaty but everyone accepted the idea as a matter of course. Everyone who lived within the boundaries of an authority at that time was bound to the authority. Under these two pressures, the Acadians decided to leave their lands rather than break their loyalty to their homeland, France. It is rather reasonable that they should.

France was the bountiful mother country and the French settlers in the rest of the New World were their brethern. It is logical that they would refuse to turn against them and, in time of war, take up arms against them. Besides this, the Indians had decided to remain loyal to France and the Acadians were afraid of being attacked if they changed their allegiance, or this was the excuse they used. However, their decision brought complications. For one thing, the English decided that they wanted them to stay. The reasons for this were listed in a letter from Colonel Vetch, the acting governor, to the Lords of Trade:

> " . . . First their leaving that country entirely destitute of inhabitants: There being none but Franch, and Indians (excepting the Garrison) settled in these parts; . . . they will carry along with them to Cape Bretton both the Indians and their trade, Which is very considerable. And as the accession of such a number of Inhabitants to Cape Bretton, will make it at once a very populous Colony; (in which the strength of all the Country's consists) So it is to be considered, that one hundred of the French, who were born upon that continent, and are perfectly known in the woods; can march upon snow shoes; and understand the use of Birch Canoes are of more value and service than five times their number of raw men, newly come from Europe. So their skill in the Fishery, as well as the cultivating of the soil, must inevitably make that Island, by such an accession of people, and French, at once the most powerful colony the French have in America."[3]

Obviously, the moving of the Acadians would have disasterous consequences for the English, so Vetch put off the Acadians' demands by stating that he was not authorized to give them permission to leave. Governor Nicholson continued in this vein by putting off the decision until it could be decided by the Queen. Unfortunately, in 1714, Queen Anne died leaving the question in balance.

At first, the Acadians showed a great deal of determination to get away. The French had not sent vessels to transport the Acadians or their goods. Now Nicholson refused permission for them to do so. Then they asked for British ships to move them. This also was refused to them on the grounds that nothing could be done until royal consent was procured. Finally, they built their own ships but needed rigging from somewhere else. Again they met administrative blocks. When they sent to Louisbourg for this, naturally, their move was blocked. The less contact they had with the French, the better. Then they applied to Boston merchants but again they were stopped, at least for the moment.

While this interplay was going on, the expedition, which the Acadians sent to Cape Breton to assess the situation there, had had time to come back with a very discouraging report. There were no suitable lands on the island for the Acadians and not even meadow land for their cattle. They would have to start again, clearing the land and building new homes. According to one of their priests, Father Felix Pain:

> ". . . the Acadians would die of hunger if forced to leave their dwellings and clearances in Nova Scotia and go, with their large families, to Cape Breton, where they would have to take rough lands from which the forest would have to be removed. He stated that one-fourth of the Acadians consisted of aged persons who would be unable to break up new land, and pointed out that it was hard enough exertion to cultivate the cleared lands they now possessed."

The Indians, too, were reluctant to move to the Island as it would hamper their freedom and hinder their hunting style of life. Thus, they relented and remained on their farms, perhaps not without a sigh of relief. After all, if they were allowed their religion and were left alone, why should they want to leave? All

they had to do in Acadia was to build dykes for flat, fertile soil. If they wanted, they could also clear some of the land in the back of their farms for pasture land. They had all the food, warm clothing, and shelter they could want to be happy and comfortable. They also had their families and friends around them in a close knit group. It is no wonder that, despite threats to the contrary, they never left their homeland and were thrown into despair when they finally were forced to leave.

The French, after their initial invitation, also helped to keep the Acadians on their lands by sitting back and doing nothing to help them. Naturally, they were still hoping that Acadia would be returned to the French, as hostilities were still strong between England and France. In this case, the Acadians would be of much more use where they were if they could be kept loyal to France. They would be a potential force when the French invaded and, meanwhile, they were a good source of supplies for their new fort, Louisbourg. They had a very easy method of doing this, one which the English themselves had provided in their Treaty of Utrecht. The guarantee of the continuance of the Roman Catholic faith for the Acadians meant that French priests paid by France and chosen by the bishop at Quebec were allowed in the country. They were loyal to France, of course, in fact, they were chosen for this and they urged the Acadians to keep their ties with France in tact. Missionaries for the Indians were doing the same thing. Since both the Acadians and the Indians were simple, devout peoples, they always turned to their priests for advice. This caused a huge problem for the English as will be seen later in the story of the governors.

"The attitude of both France and England towards the unfortunate Acadians was thoroughly selfish."[5] Each wanted them to stay in Acadia for their own benefit and each wanted their loyality. The Acadians were caught in the middle, juggling forces they had no knowledge of and which, ultimately, caused

disaster for them. Certainly, the English should have settled the matter of loyalty immediately after the Treaty of Utrecht when it first became apparent that the Acadians were reluctant to take an oath to the English crown. "Then the Acadians numbered fewer than two thousand and, in the interests of security, as well as international propriety, demanded that they take the oath or leave Nova Scotia and they persisted in refusing to do the one or the other, their deportation then would neither have been as formidable nor regarded with so much disfavour as forty-two years later when they had increased five or six times that number."[6] But, for the reasons mentioned above, plus the fact that the English cared very little for Nova Scotia and didn't give them enough troops for the job, this was not done and the problem was continually pushed aside.

"Centre or core of the Acadian problem was the oath of allegiance."[7] This was obvious all through the years of English rule in Nova Scotia until 1755. Governor Nicholson pressed the Acadians for the oath while refusing them permission to leave. On the other hand, Thomas Caulfield, the lieutenant-governor of Annapolis, criticized him for this and presented the view that the Acadians would probably become faithful subjects of the King once the present generation, who remembered the time of French domination well, had passed away. Since this was not the only report the Lords received complaining about Governor Nicholson's heavy-handedness, he was recalled and Governor Philips was appointed. He didn't come out immediately but the new lieutenant-governor of Annapolis, John Doucette, did arrive in 1717. Soon the question of the oath arose again. Doucette decided that he would take a firm stand and ordered out oaths for the Acadians to sign. Instead of getting these back, he received a document stating that they would sign it as soon as the British could protect them from the Indians. If this could not be done, then: "In case other means cannot be found, we (the Acadians) are ready to take an oath,

that we will take up arms neither against his Britannic Majesty, nor against France, nor against any of their subjects or allies."[8] Naturally, this annoyed Doucette for it was preventing him from doing his job. On inspecting the problem, he found that the French in Cape Breton and the priests among the Acadians were influencing them in this direction. He talked to both parties about this problem but got no response. Then he presented a case of this to the Lords of Trade who refused to do anything about it. He was up against a brick wall and could do no more.

Then, in 1720, Governor Phillips came to Nova Scotia to rule it in person. When he got there, he was also faced with the problem of the oath, which he worked hard to solve. This was not an easy task, as he received no help at all from the Lords of Trade either in the form of advice or supplies and troops. He constantly met with the Acadians, was pleasant with them, and tried to keep up the honour of a government to which no one listened. After a short while, the Acadians, positive that they would have to leave soon because of all this talk about the oath, decided to build a road from Annapolis to Minas. Philipps forbade this action immediately. He also felt that the Acadians were vital for Nova Scotia. However, the Acadians were pushing the government. Every act by those around Annapolis was insolent and defiant. Then in August, 1720, an attack was made on the English fishermen at Canso by the Indians who were assisted by the French. Philipps immediately set up a fort there under Major Armstrong and then, a year later, he went there himself to control matters until discouraged by the lack of co-operation he was getting, he left for England in 1723.

Now Major Armstrong was in charge of the province, an unfortunate event as he had a quick temper, suspected everyone of making plots against him, and had a violent dislike for the Acadian priests. Things went from bad to worse. A small band

of Indians attacked Annapolis, killing two men, wounding three more, and burning two English houses. Later another group boarded an English schooner and caused havoc there. These incidences were punished as much as possible but, as the garrison was still too small, not much force could be used. Then Armstrong tried to make the Acadians take the oath of allegiance, which he felt was long overdue. Here, too, he met with defeat as he had to allow a clause to be put in exempting them from bearing arms. Such a failure caused Armstrong to fret and fume and everyone became very uneasy by 1727. Suspicions ran high on both sides and quarrels increased everywhere. No one knows to what extent this situation might have gone if George I had not died, offering a new opportunity to get an oath of allegiance to the new king from the Acadians. This task was given to Ensign Wroth who used the occasion for feasting and celebrating around the province. When he did get around to producing the oath, he found that the Acadians were reluctant to swear to it. So, being a genial type of man, he promised them freedom of religion, permission to leave the province at any time, and exemption from bearing arms. Then the Acadians willingly signed the oath. Of course, the council at Annapolis declared such a paper void but, since they had recognized the King as their ruler, they were allowed the privileges of British subjects. Yet, when the Annapolis delegates had tried to do the same thing before, they had been thrown in prison and the rest were debarred from fishing rights on English coasts. Such treatment caused the country to be in such turmoil that Philipps was returned to Nova Scotia to restore peace and order.

The Acadians had such good memories of Philipps' fairness and kindness and they were so disgusted with Armstrong that, when he arrived in Canso in 1729, he was welcomed heartily and publicly. He stayed at Canso for several months straightening out the problems which had accumulated there.

Then he went to Annapolis where he brought back their priest who had been hiding in the woods from Armstrong's wrath. The Acadians of that district were so grateful that they all signed the oath: "I promise and swear sincerely in the faith of a Christian that I will be entirely faithful and will truly obey His Majesty King George the Second whom I recognize as the sovereign lord of Nova Scotia and of Acadia. So help me God."[9] In addition, he received the good will of the Indians and the signature of all but fifty families in the Nova Scotia area on the oath. The Lords of Trade were slightly annoyed, as the oath taken at Acadia was rather vague and Philipps had to promise the Acadians exemption from bearing arms before they would sign the oath, but they remained quiet and, for a time, the province was peaceful aand prosperous.

This tranquility was broken when Armstrong was assigned to rule the Minas area. Here, too, he used force and was answered by insolence. Tension increased and once more the quarrels, especially among the Acadians, became more frequent. The British government continued to ignore all complaints, requests, and ideas coming from Nova Scotia and Philipps became disgusted with the whole affair. This indifference caused Armstrong to become more and more moody until finally he committed suicide.

Now a man who had been in the background, keeping up a pretense of harmony throughout Philipps' government, Paul Mascarene, was in charge. Mascarene had a good knowledge of the Acadians and their situation. In addition, he was tolerant of the Acadians' religion, and their priests. It looked as if he might be able to improve the situation in Nova Scotia.

" . . . Since he had been governor he had administered impartial judgment and treated the Acadians fairly without, however, yielding anything in His Majesty's interest."[10] Just the

same, unrest continued as the Indians made raids in their country, the Acadians took new lands without royal consent, and disruptive priests lingered around Chignecto after they had been ordered from the province. To add to his problems, Mascarene also heard increasing rumours of war between France and England. He knew very well that he didn't have the forces or the fortifications to protect the province from invasion and that he couldn't count on the support of the Acadians. Realizing that he would receive no help from the Lords of Trade, he looked elsewhere for support and found it in Boston with the governor, Shirley. "Shirley was the most watchful and strenuous defender of British interests on the continent; and in the present crisis the British and colonials' interests were one. He held that if Acadia were lost, the peace and safety of all the other colonies would be in peril; and in spite of the immense efforts of the French court to recover it, he felt that the chief danger of the province was not from without, but from within."[11] Ever since Philipps had gotten them to sign the oath, the Acadians had been known as the "neutral French". Now, in 1744, war was declared and this was their chance to show how neutral they really were. Canso was captured immediately as the French got word of the conflict before the English and they took the English by surprise. Now the people at Annapolis were worried. Repairs on the fort were started as timbers were brought in by the Acadians and reinforcements were brought in from Boston to help the mutinous soldiers of the Annapolis garrison. With this and the fact that the Acadians did not join the French expedition, the fort held up against a force under Du Vivier from Cape Breton and three French vessels. The split among the Acadians in their loyalties can be seen at this time. When Du Vivier asked for supplies from the communities of Acadians, he received the reply that they had had a very poor year and had very little grain to spare. "They asked kindness and hoped the officers would not plunge the Acadians

into a state of total loss, as they had lived under a mild and tranquil government and had all good reason to be faithful to it."[12] This was the majority, but there were a few who continued to support France.

> " . . . it is necessary, in order to prevent all the consequences of it, that those who are suspected of being implicated in the designs of the enemy, vindicate themselves as soon as possible. Among the latter are those who have been trading to Louisbourg—people of this place, as well as those who have employed their vessels in the enemies' service or have accompanied them in their expeditions, and in general all the private persons who have assisted them."[13]

Then, in 1745, the capture of Louisbourg saved the province from any serious attacks until, in 1746, an armada led by D'Anville and a Canadian force led by de Ramesay were to invade the province at once. Luckily for the English, the fleet was practically destroyed by disasters and disease and de Ramesay backed off when he heard about reinforcements which had come from Boston. de Ramesay remained near Minas and, when another group of Boston soldiers stayed in the Acadians' houses there for the night, some of the Acadians went to him and informed him where these soldiers were staying. The majority of the Acadians were nervous about this and warned the commander to expect an attack. This warning was ignored and the midnight massacre at Grand Pre which horrified the British, especially Shirley, was the result. The Acadians not only supported the British by giving them warning, "they would not supply Ramesay's force with provisions in exchange for his promissory notes, but demanded hard cash. This he had not to give, and was near being compelled to abandon his position in consequence."[14] However, the facts that the French did get such good information from the Acadians and that they had welcomed D'Anville's fleet started the authorities worrying and thinking strongly about the Acadians' deportation.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed in 1748 ending the war and handing Louisbourg back to the French. To make up for this, the English founded Halifax, the first real step in making Nova Scotia English. Britain was finally showing some interest in her colony and this was to have disasterous effects for the Acadians. "The developments of the 1740's with French attacks on Canso and Annapolis, the D'Anville expedition, and the founding of Halifax, the massacre at Grand Pré, and other French designs, as well as the capture of Louisbourg and its restoration, meant a heightened interest and an increased activity in Nova Scotia."[15] Cornwallis, the next governor, tried to get an unqualified oath from the Acadians but ran up against the same problems as his predessors. They had signed a qualified oath under Philipps and this was the one they were supporting. In the last years of his rule, the Acadians again became restless as they were being pressed and urged by the French to move out of Acadia. One missonary, Le Loutre, stirred the Indians up against the English and caused a great deal of trouble for the Acadians, probably thinking that it was for their own good that they remain loyal to France. In 1750 he urged the Acadians living near Fort Beausejour, the French border between Nova Scotia and what is now New Brunswick, to move over the the French side. When they remained where they were, he got the savages to burn their homes and threaten their lives so that they would be forced to move to French territory. There was nothing the governor could do, but the next governor, Hopson, who was kindly desposed to the Acadians, allowed them to come back if they signed a qualified oath. This they did willingly and were very happy under his rule until he had to leave a year and a half later.

In 1753, Lawrence took over as governor and the final acts of the drama which were to end with the expulsion of the Acadians, began. He was kind enough to the Acadians until he was sure of his position but he had been sent on missions among them before this and he had definately made up his

mind that they were a dangerous element to have in the country during time of war. This opinion was enforced when, with Shirley's support, he attacked Fort Beasejour to rid the boundary of the French menace. When the English marched into the captured fort, they found three hundred Acadians in the fort bearing arms against them. They claimed that they had been forced to do this as they were under the protection and control of the commander of the fort. The English leader of the expedition, Monckton, believed them: "As to the Acadians, as they were forced to bear arms under pain of death, they shall be pardoned . . . "[16] However, the fact that they were there was the last straw for Lawrence. While there were still ships and troops around, he decided to give the Acadians one more chance to take the oath or be deported. The Acadians refused to move from their stand. Threats of expulsion had been used before but had never been carried out. Why should this time be different? Perhaps, they should have taken a warning from the way that their kinsmen were treated by the French in the rest of Canada. The Canadian ordinance of 1751 was administratively much harsher than the Nova Scotian policy. "It demanded military service of the Acadians who had emigrated to what was claimed as French territory . . . It is interesting to notice that the alternative to taking the oath to France within a week and enrolling for military service was expulsion."[17] Expulsion was a usual policy in those days and England was unusual in that she took so long to put it in practice. The warning was there but the Acadians had been lulled into ignoring it.

The actual story of the expulsion is known so well that it will not be gone into in this paper. It is enough to say that Governor Lawrence and Shirley managed to deport some seven thousand Acadians and scatter them along the New England coast, in England, or back in France. Now, this act seems cruel and unnecessary. England captured Quebec a few years later, making all eastern North America possessions of Great Britain.

The threat of the Acadians would have been removed at that time. The Acadians could have also taken the oath if they had not been so greatly influenced by their priests. Many of those who escaped and those who returned later did. England's indifference to the situation was a third factor that we can see while looking back which added to the fact that the whole tragedy could have been avoided. However, once the act was accomplished, everything which could be done to make it easier for the exiles was done. Every place which received a boatload of them, except for the few English colonies which refused them, cared for them as well as they could with so little warning. In England, they were given food, some shelter, and medical aid at first. After seven years and the end of the Seven Year's War, they had even started to fit into the English ways and had earned the respect of their neighbours by their industry. After these seven years, though, they wanted to go back to Nova Scotia until they were bribed to go to France with free food and tobacco for three months, gifts of animals and farming implements, and fifty years exemption from taxes. Those who fled to France found temporary residence for a while and then they were moved to permanent settlements. Meanwhile, the French government provided for them. Many Acadians in France found that they did not fit in and they could not pay the taxes so they moved to Corsica or Louisiana where some of their friends had gone. Those placed in the New England colonies also showed a desire to migrate to Louisiana or back to Nova Scotia. They were not happy with any lifestyle other than their own. Perhaps this is one reason that the legend of the expulsion has lingered on so long.

Actually it is surprising that the event has received so much attention. Deportations of peoples have happened many times. The story of the Jews themselves consists of numerous expulsions from places where they had made their homes, and the French Huguenots were treated this way by King Louis

XIV. However, their stories are not given so much attention as the Acadians'. Reasons for this are presented in several places. It could have something to do with the size of the task. Lawrence had to scatter seven thousand Acadians or so within a few months and, in those days, it was an amazing feat. Then again it could have been the fact that it affected so many groups of people; the English, the French, the French-Canadians, the New Englanders, and most importantly, the Acadians. However, perhaps one of the main reasons was that the Acadians themselves remained a separate, distinct group. Those who suffered that disaster stuck together and told the story to the next generation. One Acadian descendant recalls one such scene. "In the cold winter days, the family assembled in the hall, where a goodly fire blazed in the hearth; and while the wind whistled outside, our grandmother, an exile from Acadia, would relate to us the stirring scenes she had witnessed when her people were driven from their homes by the British, their sufferings during their long pilgrimage overland from Maryland to the wilds of Louisiana, the dangers that beset them on their long journey through endless forests, along the precipitous banks of rivers too deep to be forded; among hostile Indians, that followed them stealthily, like wolves, day and night, ever ready to pounce upon them and massacre them."[18] The story was so emotional that it was repeated again and again. The descendents of the Acadians felt drawn together by this common event in their history and they strove to survive and prosper as a group. As another descendent put it: "Certain it is that no people in history have ever been called upon to endure any greater crucifixation than that which was heaped upon the brows of the Acadian people, and yet out of the darkness and the suffering of the past the sunlight of a new day has dawned and its rays have cast their brightness upon the memories of these simple folk—the happy ending, as it were, to the awful nightmare of yesterday."[19] The accumulation of these tales fin-

ally brought about the writing of that great poem, Longfellow's *Evangeline*. This became Acadians' focus point and kept them together as they strived for recognition.

> "Since that time, it seems, the warp of fact and the woof of imagination have been so interwoven by poetic licence in a memorable mosiac of sentimentality and suffering, that it is difficult to separate fact from fancy and to get at the sober truth of the matter. Yet even the most aloof observer must feel sympathy for any group of people who experience the testing of exile, and no matter whether that forced expatriation was deserved or undeserved."[20]

In the nineteenth century, many stories and histories came out in this vein and, as can be expected, this brought a strong reaction from the side of the English. One such history is the *History of Acadia* by James Hannay. Such statements as the following tend to lead the reader into sympathizing with the English: "The enemies of British power have industriously laboured to invest the Acadians with a certain halo of sanctity, so that their expulsion in 1755 might be made to appear an awful and inexcusable crime."[21] The way Governor Lawrence is described also is influencial. " . . . an active and energetic assistant, and one whose firmness was to be depended upon. It was well that such a man had the command in Nova Scotia at this time, for the difficulties of the position were great, and not likely to be lessened so long as a passive policy was pursued."[22] Compare the two descriptions with those from an Acadian descendant. The Acadians come out as the perfect citizens: "Hard-working, industrious, pious, devout, and intensely patriotic, they had built a fruitful country."[23] Meanwhile, Lawrence is painted in the darkest of colours: " . . . and all the hatred and animosity that a tyrant could bear and all the malice and venom that could be conceived by a spirit such as his, he determined to vent upon the Acadian people, and not only to confiscate their lands and their possessions, but his purpose also was a deliberate plan to exterminate the race . . . "[24]

It really is no wonder that the story of the expulsion has lived on with two such biased opinions continually fighting over it and it looks as if it may thrive for some time longer, as even modern historians have to admit that they are pulled by emotion to either one side or the other. Like the French problem in Quebec, this one has grown bigger as we get further away from it in time.

Luckily for Nova Scotians, the Acadians themselves have shown no great grudges against the English peoples now settling on their lands. Perhaps it is the fact that they came back to their province humbled and ready to accept any fate marked out for them; perhaps it is that they were isolated from Halifax and the other communities for so long by the lack of roads; or perhaps it is the fact that the English agrarian peoples had so much in common with the Acadians that they started working together against the common enemies instead of each other. Whatever the reason, we should respect the Acadians for their courage and feel grateful that they wish to work with us to improve Nova Scotia.

FOOTNOTES

1. C. Bruce Fergusson, "The Expulsion of the Acadians", **Dalhousie Review,** XXXV (1955), 129.
2. George Clarke, **Expulsion of the Acadians** (Fredericton: Brunswick Press, 1965), p. 8.
3. Thomas B. Akins, **Selection from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia.** (Halifax: Charles Annand, 1869), p. 6.
4. Will R. Bird, **Done at Grand Pre** (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1955), p. 38.
5. N.E.S. Griffiths, **The Acadian Deportation: Deliberate Perfidy or Cruel Necessity**.. (Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishlishing Co., 1969), p. 18.
6. Fergusson, "The Expulsion of the Acadians", **DR, XXXV,** 130.
7. **ibid.,** p. 128.
8. Akins, **Public Documents,** p. 16.
9. Griffiths, **The Acadian Deportation,** p. 25.
10. Bird, **Done at Grand Pre,** p. 84.
11. Griffiths, **The Acadian Deportation,** p. 38.
12. Bird, **Done at Grand Pre,** p. 91.
13. Akins, **Public Documents,** p. 137.
14. Griffiths, **The Acadian Deportation,** p. 39.
15. Fergusson, "The Expulsion of the Acadians", **DR, XXXV,** 134.
16. Clarke, **Expulsion of the Acadians,** p. 23.
17. J. B. Brebner, "Canadian Policy towards the Acadians in 1751", **Canadian Historical Review,** XII, 1931, 284-5.
18. Felix Voorhies, **Acadian Reminiscences** (Louisiana: The Jacobs News Depot Co., Publishers, 1907), p. 19.
19. James Thomas Vocelle, **The Triumph of the Acadians** (1930), p. 5.
20. Fergusson, "The Expulsion of the Acadians," **DR, XXXV,** 127.
21. James Hannay, **History of Acadia** (St. John, N.B.: J. & A. MacMillan, 1879), p. 305.
22. **ibid.,** p. 376.
23. Vocelle, **The Triumph of the Acadians,** p. 21.
24. **ibid.,** p. 28.

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Boularderie Island

ISOBEL CARMICHAEL

Boularderie, Island of romantic history, lies in the entrance of Bras d'Or Lakes. Standing on its most Easterly tip at Point Aconi, the wide, sweeping panorama of coast-line and broad Atlantic can be seen stretching from Ingonish on the North, past Smoky mountain, St. Ann's Bay, Cape Dauphin, on to Cranberry Head, and Low Point on the South side of Sydney harbour.

Over the horizon, ghosts of a thousand sails, bent on battle or trade go to their moorings, and toss their cargoes of memories in passing. Out of the mists they tell of un-named sailors and fishermen, far from ports in Europe, returning home laden with their catch, their years undated, and their logs lost in antiquity. More and more they came, till discoveries of rich land, as well as teeming waters, tempted men ashore. Then the question, "Whose is the land?" brought on centuries of strife.

French explorers planted their flags and claimed Canada for King and Country, a claim that was contested by the British for one hundred and fifty years. During this time three fortifications emerged, Port Royal, Quebec, and Louisbourg. In 1605 Port Royal was but a rude fort where the next year the Order of Good Cheer beguiled through the harsh winter days. One hundred years later, the captain in charge of this fort was Louis

Simon de St. Aubin, le Poupet, le Chevalier de la Boularderie, who distinguished himself while defending it against the Bostonians. Here he married Catherine Melanson, and his son Antoine was born. He next appears as one of the officers of the first Governor of Ile Royale. After the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, he was lured from his naval office and military pursuits into the trading business. In 1714 he had a sailing ship bringing sugar and molasses from Martinique to supply the settlers at Louisbourg. Losses occurred because of paper currency used.

In 1719 his proposal to set up an establishment for colonizing and fishing was accepted in recognition of his services at Port Royal. Formal agreement was signed Feb. 8, 1719, and the concession located at Naganish between Grand and Petite Bras d'Or still bears the name of la Boularderie. The concession included Ingonish, and land to the South of Petite Bras d'Or, now Alder Point. Indications are that the latter became the centre of his operations which included farming, fishing, lumbering, and ship-building. A cairn erected here by Historic Sites states, "The Sieur de la Boularderie Louis Simon, 1674-1738, his son Antoine, 1705-1771, officers of the French Navy established a commercial settlement at Little Bras d'Or in 1720 to supply the Great French Fortress at Louisbourg with timber, coal, wheat, and fish. The settlement was destroyed by fire in 1747."

Almost directly across Little Bras d'Or channel from this cairn there is a cemetery on Boularderie, used by local Protestants. When their pioneers chose the spot, and graves were dug, it was discovered to have been already used, so a small memorial with a cross was erected in its centre, bearing the inscription, "1756-1929, Old Acadian and French burying ground abandoned in 1756."

In the concession agreement Louis Simon's company was to establish 100 settlers, and 150 fishermen within two years. He was granted Royal Rights on his lands, and safe conduct for three months. He died in 1738.

Antoine, son of Louis Simon, then living in France apparently in comfortable circumstances, inherited his father's concession and came to live on it. He brought Normandy ploughmen, labourers, servants, and animals. For eight years he had twenty-five in his employ, and built a house, barns, stables, dairy, dovecote, and oven, windmill, and watermill. Stock consisted of twenty-five cows, six bulls, six mares, fifty sheep, and one stallion. Wheat and vegetable seeds, and fruit tree slips to plant 1000 feet, produced as well as in Europe. There was also a rare herbarium. He expected to spend life pleasantly in this delightful place, when the King declared war on England.

Hearing of the English blockade of Louisbourg in 1845, he crossed the enemy lines in a long boat, was wounded, and taken prisoner to Boston. His bearing and conduct made an excellent impression on authorities and populace. He was in charge of other prisoners, and later was sent back to France with a certificate of conduct worthy of a gentleman.

Meanwhile a company of French filibusters and Indians sent to attack the English, burned his property at Alder Point. He had come to Quebec, but this forced him to return to France, where he was sent with a detachment to Louisbourg, and authorized to settle on his land again. Finding himself in reduced circumstances, and paying on a debt he had underwritten for his father, he was able only to build a house for his family, and have a garden. Where he built this second home, and the place and date of death are unknown.

After the fall of Louisbourg Captain Holland made a survey of Cape Breton for the British. In his report he mentioned Verderonne (St. George's Island, now Boularderie) as being one of the most valuable parts of Cape Breton because of its good soil, fisheries, coal, timber, particularly for ship-building, plaster, lime and freestone. He described the orchard, all that remained of the Boularderie habitation as being very good, and having all sorts of fruit trees.

Fifty silent years then succeeded in obliterating all but few traces of what had once been a thriving industry and farm. Somehow the name remained, and when settlement began in earnest, another race and tongue found their pioneer land already known as Boularderie. Along its twenty-five mile length, and inland on its eight mile width Highland Scotch communities sprang up, some with homeland names.

The first Scotch pioneer on Boularderie was Mr. Donald McDonald from Gairloch, Rosshire, who with his family, settled on the North Side near Man O'War Point, (later known as Munro's Point) in 1820. When he and others came in the following few years, the burnt spars of a Man O'War could be seen there above the water in the Lake. This ship, in building by the French when Louisbourg fell, was burned by them to make it useless for the enemy. That there was fighting along these shores is evidenced by relics found. A few years ago a six inch cannon ball was picked up on a field near Big Bras d'Or entrance.

Ship building was carried on extensively by the Scotch along these shores, where by 1824 about 40 families were settled from Big Bras d'Or to Kempt Head. These were Presbyterian, and by 1831 visiting ministers had baptized 49 children in the area. One of these, Rev. John McLennan of Belfast, P.E.I., entered the names in the records of that congregation from 1824-1831. When this was discovered a century later a certi-

fied copy was obtained by Cape Breton Presbytery, and this is the first written history of Scottish Boularderie. Those who settled on the South Side of the Island were largely Roman Catholics from Scotland, while a few French names still appear among the people at Little Bras d'Or.

The first permanent settler at Big Bras d'Or was Archie Livingstone, ship-builder, and an Uncle of the famous African Missionary-explorer David Livingstone. These pioneers, as the French before them, found the woods on Boularderie most suitable for ship-building. Practically all traffic was by water so the demand produced excellent sailing vessels, and competent seamen. The white sail, strong arm and trusty oar were the source of power for travel, trade, and fishing. There were several large ship-building yards on the North side, and the achievement of having built, manned, and sailed one's own vessel was a source of pride and distinction handed down to posterity. "Lost at sea" is inscribed on family monuments in many instances, so it was a dangerous, if thrilling and rewarding life.

For over half a century ferries kept the traffic by land moving till the first bridge was built at Little Bras d'Or about 1889. It was 1961 before the bridge and causeway spanded Big Bras d'Or at Seal Island, and took the place of the Department of Highways' ferries at Ross' Ferry and Big d'Or which employed one hundred men, by that time. These operations, privately owned and oar-powered at first, had changed to motor scows, and then to boats carrying many cars.

The Scotch people who pioneered and settled in Boularderie were Gaelic speaking, and many were illiterate. There were strong leaders among them, and their privations resulting from the "Clearances" prepared them for the rigours of the new land. When the first minister, Rev. James Fraser came in 1836 in response to an appeal to the Home church, the people had

already erected two large churches, Knox at Ross' Ferry, and St. James at Big Bras d'Or, and had kept up religious training and worship in the homes. Mr. Fraser at once applied to his Home Board for a school teacher, and Mr. Hugh Munro came. He held school in Knox church for the next two years, and then moved to Halifax.

The following year, 1838, Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Munro came in response to Mr. Fraser's appeal for a replacement. Both were teachers, 25 years of age, and neither one spoke Gaelic. Mr. Munro was a graduate of Marischall College, Aberdeen, and Glasgow Normal. Mrs. Munro was educated in private school in Glasgow, and was a trained teacher in French, music, singing, needlework, and cooking. Picturing their arrival in Boularderie 135 years ago, the difficulties and privations demanded great faith and courage. Like true pioneers they faced the task, and laid the foundations of education on the Island and a wide area beyond.

By 1840 the school in the church reached an enrolment of 110. The teachers' first home was in one end of a smoky log hut, with a large family living at the other end. Most of the dwellings were log huts covered with birch bark. Potatoes were plentiful, but oatmeal and wheat were scarce, and only for special occasions. Fish was plentiful. Men dressed in blue homespun mostly, and an appeal went to the Home Church for warm clothing, but in spite of these privations, they reported that the people were healthy.

Mr. Munro acquired a farm nearby and a school was built on it at the shore, in 1847. Locally, the area was called the Coran Ban (Coran=sickle, Ban=white, a Gaelic name given the sickle-shaped sandy beach).

How sweep the mists on Kelly's lofty brow
Beyond the tides that wrestle in Bras d'Or!
And still the sunset flames in beauty now,
As when the French destroyed their Man O'War.
This beach and point were once a thriving bay,
An entrance to the freedom pioneers sought,
When later, Highland heart and tongue held sway
On Boularderie's broad lands. The battles fought
Long since, were none of theirs. They toiled to earn
The plenty of their dreams from soil and sea,
With living faith and courage that could learn
To be content despite adversity.
Yet lone thoughts mingled with the mists that ran
Above the white ribbed sands of Coran Ban.

Boularderie Academy was well equipped with maps, globes, school supplies, and Mr. Munro had one of the finest libraries in Nova Scotia at the time. He read widely in medicine, politics, theology and missions. He used the Lancastrian method of teaching monitors, who learned as they taught the lower grades, and so teachers were prepared for the district schools when population increased and communities organized. Mr. Dawson, Superintendent of Schools for Nova Scotia, reported to the Government in 1849-50 that teachers from this school were of more than usual efficiency. Navigation was an important subject taught by Mr. Munro, whose curriculum also included euclid, latin, algebra, etc. A hamlet of small log huts grew nearby where students lived. Many of them came from as far away as Lake Ainslie, Judique, Wreck Cove, and Big Pond,

and went home on foot every couple of weeks to replenish their supplies. Sometimes mothers came and kept house for the younger children so they could be near enough to attend.

In 1850, when Rev. Norman McLeod of St. Ann's decided to move to New Zealand, about 850 of his parishoners were going with him. This meant new ships, trained mariners, and processed food had to be prepared for the exodus during the next few years. One of the six vessels needed was built by McDonald's at Big Bras d'Or, and the mariners received instruction from Mr. Munro at Boularderie Academy. All ships arrived safely at their destination after the long journey 'down under'.

A disastrous fire destroyed the school in 1867, and much of the library and equipment was lost, along with Bibles and books sent from Scotland for sale to the people. This was their book store, school and dispensary. By this time district schools were built, so Mr. Munro erected a large private home farther inland on his property. This house is still standing and descendants own the property. Mr. Munro was the first Postmaster on Boularderie, and the mail man brought the mail weekly from Sydney on foot, his route extending all the way to Margaree. The Customs Office was also in the Munro home, he was a Colonel in the Militia, and was appointed Inspector of Schools for Victoria County in 1868. The local district school built across the road from the site of the church where he first held classes, was named for him. In 1868 Munro school was absorbed into Boularderie Consolidated, so the educational set-up has come back to its original bounds, with the added modern flare for facilities and bussing.

Part of Rev. James Fraser's library, still retained by his descendants, contains copies of the best theological works of his day, and a hand-written medical book. It is easy to imagine the need he had for his medical training, and this book for

reference. Mr. Munro also had medical training and dispensed medicines. Along with these two pioneer leaders, a catechist, Mr. Duncan McDonald from the Island of Coll, was sent to assist in the parish. He was a man of deep spiritual perception, and especially helpful in cases of mental illness.

To these three dedicated leaders the people gave their respect, loyalty, and affection. Man O'War Cemetery, the first burying ground in the Scottish settlements, contains their tributes written in granite. For Rev. James Fraser:

> "He walked humbly with God, an example to believers in word, in spirit, and in conduct, and ceased not day or night to labour and watch for souls."
>
> Erected by his friends.

For Mr. Duncan McDonald:

> "He was truly a man of God, emminent for every christian virtue, shining gift, and great usefulness in his day."
>
> Erected by his friends

For Mr. Munro:

> "A firm Liberal, Staunch Presbyterian, good citizen, Genial Host."
>
> Erected by his friends and old scholars, in New Zealand, United States and Nova Scotia.

It is gratifying that this historic cemetery is now being restored and beautified.

Gaelic, the language of home and church in early years, has been replaced by English, but as late as 1940 a bi-lingual minister was required to serve the congregation. The two original Presbyterian churches were replaced in 1875, Knox to seat 400, and St. James 600, both beautiful, country churches carefully maintained. There are two smaller United churches,

St. John's and Drummond Memorial, built after 1925, and St. Joachim's Roman Catholic on the South Side. These are all used regularly.

Pioneers cleared the land and made it productive, but now farming is left to a few large operators. At a distance the patchwork of evergreens and hardwood outlines what were once green fields, and a ramble through the woods is always interrupted by old stone fences,—moss-grown monuments to a sturdy industrious generation, who wrested a living from the land.

Two factors keep Boularderie still well populated. Proximity to the Sydneys' industrial and academic area means commuting is possible and jobs available. Natural beauty unsurpassed anywhere in the world makes its shores and slopes, all privately owned, the summer haunt of many cottagers, and the permanent home of many retired people.

On a summer day it is an idyllic adventure to encircle the Island, viewing delightful vistas of mountain and lake. From Table Head at Big Bras d'Or entrance, the road winds along opposite Cape Dauphin, Kelly's mountain, Red Head and Bhein Breagh, through Kempt Head where cottagers enjoy their enviable sandy beaches and restful scenes. Beyond Point Clear the Bras d'Or Lakes broaden in shimmering miles to the West. Down the South Side, the distance smoke of Sydney Steel Plant seem unreal, the air and water are so clear and unpolluted. At Little Bras d'Or the third generation of McNeils operates a general store, and three garages nearby vie for business. Through Mill Creek, past the old Acadian burying ground, the road leads to the coal mines at Point Aconi. Now the first large-scale industry on Boularderie is about to begin—a new mine will make its contribution to ease the energy crisis. A short distance beyond it the cliffs and ceaseless sea have seen the sails and sailors of yore who carried the first loads of coal from the area so many years ago.

Contributors

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

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

He resides at Armdale with his wife and three children.

MYRTLE LILIAN MAY CHASE was born in Surrey, England and came to Canada in 1946. She attended schools in England and Nova Scotia.

Mrs. Chase enjoys writing and historical research. At present she is compiling genealogical material on families in the Hillsvale and South Rawdon area of Hants County where her home is located.

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Mrs. Norton is employed by the Federal Government and resides in Halifax.

RUTH E. (VOGLER) KAULBACK was born in Crousetown, Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia, attended school there, as well as at LaHave and Bridgewater, and the Maritime Business Colledge, Halifax. She joined the RCAF (WD) in 1943 and after one year's service at various points in Canada, served two years in England. Mrs. Kaulback attended Acadia University in 1958, but interrupted this career to get married in 1959.

Immediately therefter her interests in things historic got its leaway and her first interest was the compilation of the Kaulback Genealogy—a copy of which is at the Provincial Archives.

In November 1972 her particular historic interest—Lehève—saw its culmination in the publication of *The Historic Saga of Lehève,* the factual story of the "cradle of Acadian culture".

Mrs. Kaulback who lives at Lower Sackville and Petite Riviere, is presently engaged in research for a factual history of Lunenburg County.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HELEN MARGARET GRANT is a native Nova Scotian. She was born and received her early education in Annapolis Royal.

Miss Grant is an honour student at Acadia University, where she is working toward a degree of Bachelor of Arts in history.

ISOBEL ANN (MacDONALD) CARMICHAEL was born in the province of Quebec and attended schools there and in Alberta. She is a Graduate Deaconess of Ewart College (Presbyterian) and also completed a course in short story writing.

Mrs. Carmichael has written articles and poems for papers and three of her poems have appeared in the daily paper.

In addition to writing, Mrs. Carmichael is interested in Scottish Canadian history and genealogy. She resides in Baddeck, Nova Scotia.