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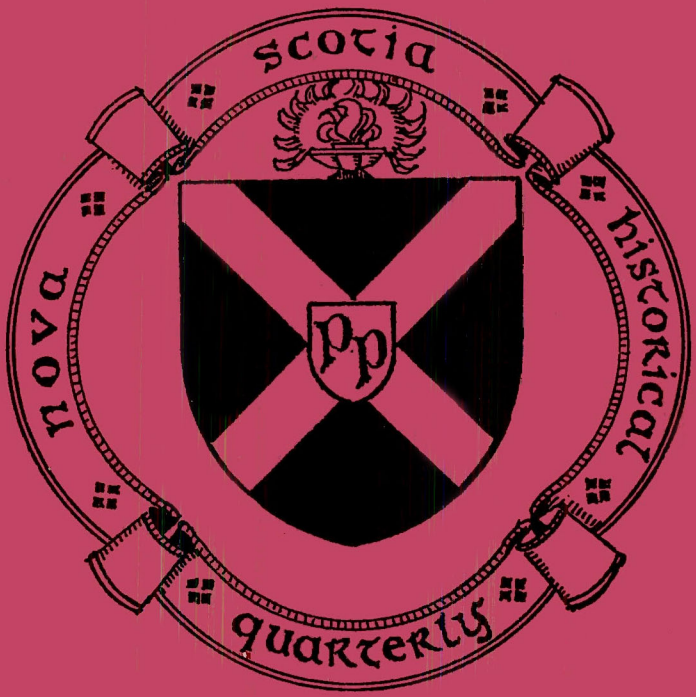

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Halifax Town: The Census of 1838

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

In the spring of 1833 a ship was crossing the Atlantic from Great Britain. Aboard were Lord Durham and the large white horse he was to ride when he landed at Quebec. The Report that nobleman was to write would become a landmark in Canadian history. In Halifax the governor was engaged in making two councils to take the place of one, a device Howe came to deride as shuffling the pack but continuing to play the same game.[1] In Pictou County work was underway on the six and a half miles of track which were to carry the first steam locomotive to run officially in the province.[2] Change was in the air; not the most immediate sort which cannot be planned or controlled, but reasoned improvements that enrich the society which experiences them.

The Fifteenth Assembly of Nova Scotia was in session. There were forty-four seats, the largest number since the founding of the House in 1758. Among the members was Gloud Wilson McLelan, representative for the township of Londonderry. He was serving the first of his five terms in the House, three for the township, then two for Colchester

County. He was a member of a family that had come from old Londonderry, in northern Ireland, to Nova Scotia in the eighteenth century. His parents were David and Mary (Durling) McLelan. Gloud Wilson McLelan, M.L.A. died 6 Apr. 1858, aged 62.[3]

On Wednesday, 28 Mar. 1838, McLelan offered a motion asking the House to set up a Select Committee to consider "the best mode of taking a Census of the Inhabitants of the Province." The Assembly agreed, and named a committee consisting of the Hon. T. A. S. DeWolf (Kings Co.), John Morton (Cornwallis), William Young (Juste-au-Corps, later Inverness County), S. P. Fairbanks (Queens Co.) and Mr. McLelan.[4]

These gentlemen got to work without delay. A report and a draft bill were ready for the House by Monday, 9 April. The House gave it first and second readings that day and consigned it to a Committee of the whole House.[5] On 11 April the bill was ordered engrossed.[6] Next day it received third reading and was sent to the Council for its concurrence.[7] Council accepted "An Act for taking the Census of this Province" on 14 April, without amendment or dissenting vote.[8] The following Tuesday, 17 April, the Act was given royal assent.[9] The entire passage took just twenty days.

Among its provisions was one that set the deadline for finishing the census. It was to have been 1 November, but this was changed to 1 December in the draft. Arrangements also were made to pay the census-takers, since they were to determine the information from personal knowledge and by questioning all parties who would know the required facts. It was expected that considerable time would have to be spent, especially in larger, more heavily-populated areas such as Halifax Town. The suggested suitable persons to take the census were Overseers of Statute Labour, Collectors and Assessors of the County Rates, or persons recommended by

the Grand Jury.[10] The main idea was to ensure that the census would be taken by men of standing in their communities as reliable and respectable citizens. The types of person suggested would be such, as well as be in a good position to know the vicinity which they would be reporting.

The authorities in each county were responsible for organizing the census-taking details in their areas. The Halifax enumeration was the responsibility of the Clerk of the Peace, James Stewart Clarke.[11] He prepared a form letter to the census-takers, as follows:-

Office of Clerk of the Peace
Halifax 20 August 1838

Sir

Having been returned by the Grand Jury and appointed by the General Sessions to take the Census of the Settlement of ———— I herewith transmit you the form which you are hereby authorized and required to fill (swearing to the Affadavit affixed thereto before some Magistrate) and return into this Office on or before the 1st December next to be laid before the Legislature. You will also send me at the same time a statement under oath of the number of full days you were actually employed in taking the same for the purposes of being laid before the Grand Jury for remuneration for these services. The Grand Jury meet on 4 December.

Mr. ————
————

I am Sir
Your obedt Servant
James S. Clarke
Clerk of Peace[12]

The man chosen to take the census in Halifax Town, Thomas Pyke, was the second youngest in the large family of John George Pyke, the well-known police magistrate in Halifax. David Shaw Clarke was Clerk of the Peace late in Pyke's term on the bench, so the families knew each other. Thomas

Pyke was born in 1792 at Halifax, and was forty-six when this census was taken.[13] Statistics must have appealed to him, since next year it was announced that Thomas Pyke had established a register of births and deaths at Halifax.[14] He died 23 Nov 1851 in his fifty-ninth year. His wife survived him by over twenty years.

Pyke carried out the census of Halifax Town and Peninsula in the three months following 20 August, and swore out the requisite affadavit in December. The exact date is undetermined, a piece of the original page which had the figure being missing. The gap is followed by the letters "th" so that the fourth is likely the date, the day on which the Grand Jury met. The oath was taken before Richard S. Tremain.[15]

On Friday, 15 Feb, 1839, Hon. Edmund M. Dodd presented the census returns to the Assembly.[16] An Appendix to the *Journal and Proceedings* gives the general abstracts for the several counties.[17] Those for Halifax Town show a population of 14,422, in seven categories, thus:-

(a)	Male Heads of families	2,087
(b)	Males aged under 6 years	1,439
(c)	Females ditto	1,357
(d)	Males aged 6 to 14 years	1,180
(e)	Females ditto	1,239
(f)	Males aged over 14 years, but not heads of families	1,832
(g)	Females aged over 14 years	5,288

These figures are not strictly accurate, although the margin of error is slight, being .0072, or about 7/10ths of one percent. In transcribing and indexing the census, a few unmistakable cases of duplication of entries have been discovered. The greatest cause of this would appear to be the failure of the census-taker, or his clerk, to add each page horizontally as well as vertically. As shall be seen presently, this census

had a peculiarity which both encouraged this careless practice and may have caused the compiler to dispense with balancing his tallies.

A particularly cumbersome method of returning male heads of households permitted the tabulator to add men in category (a), above, into the totals at the end, but not to keep a running numerical total in a column. In several cases a female head of household was added in, but in other cases the head of the family was not counted at all. The instructions called for the return of the family of a man and wife with several children, as follows:-

Name of the Head of the Household	Occupation, Rank, or Profession	Children under 6		Children 6 to 14	
		Male	Fem	Male	Fem
DOYLE, Denis	labourer	1	2	1	1
KEHOE, James	carpenter	2	0	3	0

Males above 14, not head of a Family	Females over 14 years.	Total in the Family
0	1	7
0	1	7

Quick addition of the figures will give the reader a total of six. The census-taker was then to add one for the head of the family, who was represented by his name in column one. The census-taker seems to have added each vertical column in turn and written the total underneath, then he added across the bottom *without checking* to see if the horizontal totals were accurate. If they were not (and in several cases they were wrong), then the page was not correctly added. On other pages the total number of households, rather than the number of male heads of families, was added up. Each of these oversights contributed to the number of errors.

By rectifying these mistakes, the corrected tally is set forth below. Census totals are shown in brackets by each for comparison:-

(a) Males under age 6, 1,436 (1,439)
(b) Females ditto 1,342 (1,357)
(c) Males aged 6 to 14, 1,170 (1,180)
(d) Females ditto 1,246 (1,239)
(e) Males above age 14, 3,862 (3,919: 2,087 plus 1,832)
(f) Females ditto 5,262 (5,288)
(g) Total population 14,318 (14,422)

For discussion, and in computing percentages and proportions, the total of 14,318 will be used.

In an appendix to this article the reader will find a discussion of the possibility that the census was inaccurate in that it failed to report above one thousand citizens of Halifax Town.

Statistically the evidence reveals a significant numerical surplus of females over males, there being 7,850 females (54.82%), and merely 6,468 males (45.18%). The census does not account for military men or their dependents, so the disparity of sexes may be less than it seems.

The three age groups differentiated by the census were persons aged below six years (2,778, or 19.4%); those aged between 6 and 14 (2,416, or 16.9%); and those aged about 14 (9,124, or 63.6%). From this it may be seen that Halifax was not particularly a town of children. Moreover the drop in the number of persons aged 6 to 14 (eight years) from the number aged below 6 (six years) indicates a loss of approximately one person in nine between the two age groups.

With the exception of those of African origin the census does not distinguish the ethnic or racial origin of the population. The black population can be estimated reasonably well because all black heads of females were designated as such.

Assuming that such households were almost 100% black, there were 147 families, consisting of 668 persons, recognizable as blacks, in this census. These account for 4.66% of the population. Undoubtedly some blacks worked and lived in non-black households. Allowing for these instances, the black population can be placed fairly confidently at about the five per-cent mark, and the number of individuals at between 700 and 725.[18]

When duplications have been eliminated there remain precisely 2,500 households in Halifax Town and Peninsula. All except six of these were the households of various individuals. The exceptions may be mentioned. Admiralty House "labourers" were two males and a female above 14, total three. Belmont Farm had two males 6-14, and three females above 14, total five, evidently employees.[19] Government House had five males and seven females over 14, total twelve, but who they were is not stated. The Jail reported one male under six, one male and two females over 14, total four. These were the jailer and his family. The Poor House contained eight males and 14 females, the entire 22 being adults. The Work House held a large number of inmates. Twelve males and twelve females under 6, twelve males and fourteen females 6-14, and 97 men and 78 women resided there, a total of 225 persons.

The other 2,496 households contained 14,047 people, an average of 5.63 persons per household. A typical household consisted of 1.6 men, 2 women, a boy and a girl. Of course, that is an average. Fifty-five households consisted of one person. More than 200 contained ten or more persons, as follows:-[20]

Household of	10	persons—90	Household of	15	persons—5
	11	" 60		16	" 8
	12	" 19		17	" 2
	13	" 20		18	" 2
	14	" 18		19	" 2
				21+	" 6

One further comment is in order before analysing the vocational aspects of the census. A good number of well-known Halifax persons lived in town in 1838 and do not show up in the census. James Spike, proprietor of the Church of Scotland newspaper, *The Guardian,* cannot be found, nor John English, co-editor of the *Acadian Recorder,* nor Arthur Ouvry Medley, the accountant of the Bank of British North America in Halifax. The only explanation must be that they were included within someone else's household as one of the extra adult males; it is unlikely so many well-known citizens would have been missed entirely by the census-taker.

OCCUPATIONS

There was a wide variety of occupations among the population of the Town. This very fact led to selection of Halifax Town as a most eligible area on which to base an analysis.

The Town had the services of 29 barristers, including among them S. G. W. Archibald, the Attorney-General; J. W. Johnston, the Solicitor-General; J. Stewart Clarke, Clerk of the Peace; [Brenton] Halliburton, Chief Justice; S. S. Blowers, late Chief Justice; John Slayter, notary public; and six men designated as "judge": [William] Bliss, [William] Hill, C. R. Fairbanks, S. B. Robie, William Sawers, and N. T. Uniacke. Seventeen others were listed as "barrister".[21]

There were eighteen men tending the health of the Town. Apart from fourteen physicians,[22] this group included a surgical dentist, William Neilson; an apothecary, H. Pridham; and two druggists, John Naylor and John Watson.[23]

Other professional men included fifteen clergymen, representing Anglican, Baptist, Catholic, Methodist and Presbyterian churches. Among the interesting gentlemen of the cloth were three Dalhousie professors, at that time newly-appointed: Rev. Thomas M'Culloch, D.D. (President), Rev. Alexander Romans, A. M. (Professor of Classical Languages), and Rev. James M'Intosh, A.M. (Professor of Mathematics and

Natural Philosophy). Another who had close links with education was Rev. James Morrison, a Church of Scotland minister at Dartmouth, and Superintendant of the Royal Acadian School in Halifax.[24] Rev. Walsh is shown as a teacher. This was Rev. S. Walsh, whose "Classical & English Academy" was on Maitland St., Dutch Town.[25] Rev. E. A. Crawley (1799-1888) was president of Acadia College, Wolfville, from 1852 until 1856, and was one of the outstanding Baptist leaders in this province.[26] Rev. Dr. [Robert] Willis appears, as does his curate, Rev. William Cogswell, and the man who almost became rector of St. Paul's, Rev. Dr. [John Thomas] Twining, who was headmaster of the Halifax Grammar School from 1819 until 1848.[27]

Not all the teachers were clerical men. The census mentions nine laymen as teachers and schoolmasters: Thomas Burton, Joseph Clarke, Thomas Croskill, James Fitzgerald, Even McFie, Thomas McGuire, James Maxwell, James Newall, and Mr. Rivet.[28]

Purveyors of food and drink were numerous for the size of the Town. There were 11 brewers: Hugh Bell, William Donovan, Joseph Jennings, Alexander Keith ("Kief" in the census), Thomas Lydiard, Peter Morrisey, Andrew Nisbett, Robert Pingilly, Martin Rea, David Rugg, and W. M. Taylor. Halifax could claim only one distiller, John Oal, whose premises were near Freshwater, near the foot of Inglis Street. Once the product had been made, the town had 53 truckmen whose services could be used to deliver beer and spirits to the 72 tavernkeepers and three boardinghouse keepers (Mrs. Bennett, John Hagen, and Charles Keefler).[29]

Twenty-three bakers, four confectioners (Edward Daily, Alexander MacKenzie, George McKenzie, John Richardson), one candy manufacturer (Thomas Whiteman), 29 grocers, seven tobacconists (Tade Dixon, Robert Estano, Joseph Hinkle, James Neville, John Power, John Watt, and George

Wilson), 38 butchers, and one fish merchant (Mr. [Henry] Bateman) met the dietary and smoking needs of the community. It is quite likely that the 48 farmers and five gardeners (Edward Barry, George Hewson, Michael Lee, William Mitchell and George Robinson), as well as two fishermen (William DeYoung and Daniel McGuire) sold their produce in the Town.

Horses and carriages occupied nearly forty householders. There were 25 blacksmiths, four wheelwrights (Daniel Stevenson, James Smithers, William Smith and Donald Sutherland), one farrier (William Chaplain), seven saddlers (Alexander Knight, Robert Lank, John McLean, William Pettigrew, Joseph Quinan, George Room and Thomas Sutton), one coachmaker (Thomas Lyons), and one "coachman" (G. L. O'Brien). As these are old time trades a word of explanation may be permitted. Wheelwrights made wheels, although commonly they made entire wheeled vehicles. A farrier was one who made horseshoes and shod horses. In earlier times he was frequently a man who professed knowledge of the veterinarian science. Saddlers made and sold saddles, of course, but generally dealt in all kinds of harness. The "coachman" of the census was not a servant who conveyed passengers. George Lucius O'Brien was the outstanding maker and dealer in all forms of waggons and carriages in Halifax in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Fifteen men got their livelihood from books and printing. Eight men were printers: H. Blackadar, James Bowes, William Cunnable, John Hefler, William Gossip, John Munroe, Joseph Howe, and William Small. Three men were bookbinders (W. J. Weston, George Phillips, and David Spence), while one—John Thomson, father of the future prime minister —was an editor, one (Samuel Boggs) was a librarian, and two dealt in books by retail (Andrew McKinley and Clement Belcher).[30]

Some other highly skilled Haligonians in 1838 were its seven watchmakers (Thomas Bolton, William Crawford, William Lithgrow, Richard Marsters,[31] William Neilson, Alexander Troup, Sr. and Jr.), three jewellers (Joseph Nordbeck and J. W. Young), and two silversmiths (Adam Ross and Edwin Sterns).[32] There were two gunsmiths (William Buckley and F. G. Harrison) and a locksmith (William Mihan), as well as nineteen cabinetmakers and three chairmakers (Charles P. Allen, Edward Heffernan, and John Prince). One cabinetmaker was William Gordon, founder of Gordon & Keith, a firm that endured from 1822 to 1957,[33]

Few people made a living off the arts at that time. There were five musicians (Daniel Hall, a black, A[bdiel] Kirk, John Lemmon, Arthur Locket, and Joseph Worsely), and one man—William Connors—kept a music hall. There was a drawing master, William Eager, and a portraiture man, William Valentine.[34]

In trade and finance there were two large groups and several small ones. Halifax had 100 merchants and 98 shopkeepers, together forming nearly 8% of the names in the census. Halifax could claim 13 "traders", which locally meant more than simply a retailer. He was a man who sent goods along the coast for sale at outports. Sometimes the trader was master of his own vessel, but more usually he chartered a ship, or sent goods to his agents on consignment.

Seven chandlers were operating in Halifax (Wm. Adams, W. F. Clark, Edmund Clarke, E. Greenwood, David Whelan, John Willner, and David Witham). These were retailers in groceries and provisions who often did their main business outfitting ships for voyages. The Town had two brokers—Adam Grieve and William Hill—who seem to have been the agents of others in general merchandise rather than to have dealt in stocks and bonds, a more modern use of the term.[35] Eight men were employed in banks, but whether at

the Halifax Banking Company or at the Bank of Nova Scotia (chartered 1832) is not stated in the census.[36]

Five auctioneers were active, namely W. M. Allan, J. Chamberlain, James Cogswell, George T. Fillis, and Alexander Jennings. The Town had a pawnbroker, S[amuel] Templeman. Last but not least among the dealers were six hucksters, (Thomas Brown, John Campbell, James Fogarty, Michael Hutt, Davil Kirby, and Cornelius Leonard) and one pedlar, named Kennedy. A hawker or huckster (spelled "huster" or "huxter" in the census) was one who went about with a vehicle displaying and hawking his wares. A pedlar, on the other hand, carried his wares in a pack upon his person.

Personal adornment and clothing gave considerable work in Halifax. Seventy tailors and dressmakers were active, as well as 104 shoemakers, but only two hatters (Jonas Hagar and John Robertson), and one collarmaker, John Wise. Apparently the shoemaking trade was served by one lastmaker, John Lewis. Barbers and hairdressers were surprisingly few in number, there being but five: Joseph Hobson, Charles Rowan, a black, James Rué, Nicholas Sare, and Prince Spert, a black.

The treatment and preparation of animal hides and wool employed 12 men. Seven tanners shared five surnames: John and Andrew Smith, Philip Letson, Richard and William Woodroff, James Stanford and Joseph Whytal.[37] There were two furriers, Samuel Cowen and George Tulloch. Two of the three dyers were blacks (Anthony Ford and J. Williams), while the third, James Langan, was not.

Halifax has long been wedded to the sea, so it is no surprise to find a lengthy list of marine-related occupations in the census. No less than 87 men were sailors, seafarers or seamen, and of these 22 were "captain". Only one—George Clark— is described as a ship-master. There was also one pilot, Thomas Packford.[38] A messman, James Copping, ap-

peared in the lists, as well as a "Hotel Navy" (?) named Robert Shaw. Two ship's carpenters—William Full and James Henley—concluded the seagoing contingent.

The others made various articles or parts of vessels ashore. The only boatbuilder was Ebenezer Mosely, although Michael O'Mara was a shipmaker. Four blockmakers (Michael Donovan, Thomas Holloway, Jeremiah Mughlig and Alexander Smilie) were associated with twenty-two shipwrights. Going aloft, three mastmakers (J. V. Greenwood, J. McAlpine, and Samuel Marshall) are met with, as well as four riggers (John Barry, Andrew Bamberry, Wm. Hire, and Joseph Hutchins). These men were supplied by nine sailmakers (John Drillio, George Flowers, William Fraser, Jeremiah Longard, Charles Norwood, John and William Rhodes, John Robertson, and Conrad West) and six ropemakers (Hugh Campbell, William Carew, Alexander and William Carson, Robert Cows, and James Crawford).

Forty-eight masons and stonecutters were at work in Halifax, as well as 117 carpenters and two joiners (Wm. Strictland and William Wiley), 17 painters, and one glazier (Mark Butler, a black). Nine tinsmiths,[39] two coppersmiths (Robert Downs and Wm. Longard), and a founder—William Johns—looked after the plumbing and metalwork.

Those with chimney troubles were obliged to call in Tobias Williams, a black. One church had a sexton, Charles Shaffer. The gravedigger was John Cook. Thirteen men were given as servants, but many more would have been counted within the household where they were employed.

The art of cooperage, or barrel and cask making, was followed by 41 men, while the community had one each of the following trades: sawler (James Beverley), sawyer (Mr. Mann, a black), millwright (John Isabell), patternmaker (John Huxtable). Three lumbermen—John Tryder, Sr. and Jr., and Edward Tryder—complete the list of those employed

with wood. The Town had a stower (Shed. Path) and a packer (Thomas Morris), but it cannot be said whether their stowing and packing involved lumber.

Twenty-five spinsters were listed, considerably less in number than widows, who accounted for 409 heads of households, fully 16% of all. The only more numerous group were labourers, of which Halifax had 511, over 20% of all heads of families. Comparatively, it is interesting that the Town got by with only 31 clerks. There were undoubtedly more than that, young men living at home, but few adult family men remained clerks, it would seem.

The last employment category was extensive, and embraced those who were in the service of government: local, provincial, military, or British. The sheriff was James J. Sawyer, while the police magistrate was John Liddell, and the police constables were George Glazebrook and William Mills. A third constable, James Hamm, was shown in the returns as a farmer. Local officials included Jacob Currie, the road overseer; E[noch] Wiswell, the surveyor of lumber; William Roach, the flour inspector; William Hillard, coal measurer; and John Kelly, grain measurer. Ten other measurers, of unspecified commodities, were reported.

The British authorities would have known of the King's Pilot, Alexander Lockhart ("Locket" in census); the U.S. consul, John Morrow; and the 64 employees of Ordnance, Dockyard, and of something recorded as "Dept." This referred to any of several government departments, such as the commissariat. Four men were pensioners (Edward Bartlet, Roger Bryson, John Sullivan, and James Thomson), and there were five half-pay Army officers—Col. Creighton, W. D. Hunter, John McNab, Thomas Maynard, and John Ross. One man—Capt. Wentworth—was given as "Army", and one —M. M. Shearman—as "Navy".

Several provincial officials adorn the list of residents in Town. Among these were the Comptroller, John Wallace. In medieval usage the controller, or "counterrollour", kept the accounts by the use of counters. Their manipulation or rolling simplified his task. This official was in charge of government expenditure, and was the keeper of the public purse as far as disbursements went. C. W. Wallace was Treasurer of Nova Scotia, and the Provincial-Secretary was Sir R[upert] George. The Surveyor-General was John Morris, assisted by surveyors William MacKay and John Smith. The postmaster-general of Nova Scotia was John Howe, half-brother of Joseph Howe. Two other men employed by the post office were James Lessel and Thomas Johnston. The postman was William "Jock" Craig, who wrote verse under the name "Will the Ranter of Craig-Lea." There were also two special messengers—John Gibbs and Joseph Skellish, the former being messenger to the House of Assembly.

The revenue departments were represented by the Collector of Excise, H. N. Binney, and four Excisemen (B. Christian Brehm, John Dempster, Robert Hodges, and A. Richardson), the Collector of Customs, Thomas N. Jeffrey, and twelve Customs employees. The group is completed by Peter James, Collector of Light. Excise was a duty on home goods, while Customs was a tariff collected on goods entering the jurisdiction. Light Duty was a tax paid by ships entering harbour. By an Act of 1771 the tax was 6d. per ton. The money was used to help support the lighthouses on the coast. In 1838 the Light Duties brought in £2966/15/9, while in 1836 lighthouse expenditures had been £2998/15/5.[40] There was also a government employee, Archibald Lyons, whom the census described as "Water Tank."

The census of 1838 occurred at a most formative time, and provided a fairly comprehensive picture of Halifax Town in the year of Queen Victoria's coronation. It was not yet a very urbanized community. The industrial revolution had not

arrived. There was room for farmers in Halifax Town and Peninsula, and the shipbuilder and tanner could ply their trades within the Town. The evidence reveals that quite a deal of manufacturing and preparation was being done locally.

This was the capital of Nova Scotia on the threshhold of the age of steam; ships and locomotives would soon revolutionize transportation and many of the means of earning a living would become obsolete or would survive as curiosities. Within one year (19 Sep 1839) the railway from Stellarton to Pictou Harbour had opened, marking the advent of the railroad in Nova Scotia. The next year (17 Jul 1840) Cunard's "Britannia" arrived in Halifax, heralding the coming of the steamship. As if to acknowledge that Halifax of the census had embarked on a new era, Halifax was incorporated as a city in 1841.

APPENDIX

Preserved in the Chancery Office of the Catholic Archdiocese of Halifax is a large book containing the minutes of the wardens of the cathedral parish, 1801-1858. In March 1841 a census of the Catholic population of Halifax was made "by order of Government". Results in the minute book claim there were 6837 Catholic civilians. Comparison of this figure with recently compiled data about the 1838 census indicates a strong possibility the latter underestimated the town's population. Alternatively, the 1841 figure could be too high. I believe the former proposition to be correct, and present here my thinking on both counts.

The Catholic population of Halifax before 1900 was preponderantly Irish. The latter account for about 85% of all Catholic burials in Halifax,1827-1896. It may be inferred that their share of the population in 1838-1841 was the same as before and after. A fair estimate of the Irish Catholics in Halifax in 1841 might be $.85 \times 6837 = 5811$.

The 1838 census reported 14,318 people in Halifax, of whom 4128 lived in households whose head was an identifiable Irish Catholic. If one third of the inmates of the gaol, work house and poor house were Irish Catholics, we may add 84 to the 4128, for a total of 4212. By assuming that half of the non-Irish Catholic households had a resident Irish Catholic servant, about 834 further can be added to the 4212. The 1838 total of Irish Catholics in Halifax would be 5046.

If they had a birthrate of 35 per 1000 for the 2½ years between August 1838 and March 1841, they would have had 440 children. The work of Dr. J. S. Martell and of Mrs. Flewwelling supports an estimated immigration at Halifax of 220 people. The total is $5046 + 440 + 220 = 5706$. We must subtract 218 Catholic Irish deaths, reducing that total to 5488 people. If as few as one per cent of them moved away during 1838-1841, we are left with a figure of 5433 as

the expected number of Irish Catholics in Halifax in 1841. This is 378 lower than were returned. The question is whether the 1838 figure is too low, or the 1841 return too high?

By taking church registers for 1837-39 and extracting the names and addresses of the parents of children baptised, it is possible to obtain a list of Halifax residents during the census months August-December 1838. Twenty-four such families in Presbyterian records do not appear in the 1838 census, while thirty-one Catholics with surnames beginning A, B, or C are unaccounted for therein. It is unlikely all these people died or left town on the eve of the 1838 census. Consider that Catholics D-Z, all Anglicans, Baptists and Methodists, have not been counted at all. One expects the errors and the omissions were general rather than confined to one race or creed. If the sampling from church registers is accurate, as it seems to be, then one could compile a list of 175-200 families that were missed in 1838. At the rate of 5.63 persons per household, the "missing" number between 985 and 1126 people. By averaging, we can add 1055 to the 14,318 previously calculated as the 1838 total, and place the town's population that year at or about 15,373 souls.

There were 5046 Irish Catholics in Halifax in 1838, which seems too low in light of the 1841 figure and the possible growth rate. Let us add one third of the 1055 "missed" people and calculate the growth rate again, and see what happens. One third of 1055 is 352, so we have 5046 + 352 = 5398 Irish Catholics in Halifax in 1838. At a birthrate of 35 per 1000, they had 473 children born 1838-41. By adding the immigration figure of 220 we arrived at a figure of 6091, from which we take away the 218 recorded burials and obtain 5873. If we assume, as before, a removel rate of one per cent, we get 5873 – 59 = 5814. This is just three higher than the 1841 estimate we reached above. It seems to support the basic assumptions used in making the calculations.

Another indication of the accuracy of claiming there were 15,373 people in Halifax in 1838 is to compare the figure with those reported in the 1827 and 1851 census returns. In 1827, there were 14,439 people in Halifax, while in 1851, there were 20,749. Several factors explain the slow growth 1827-1838, of which the most important were the smallpox epidemic of 1827-28 and the cholera epidemic of 1834, which between them carried off several hundred people. Some years had low immigration, while in poor years emigration took place. The growth rate for the town 1827-1838 averages 85 per year, which is better than the stagnation or slight decline suggested by the 1838 figure of 14,318.

We can get some idea of the rapidity of growth after 1838 by going again to those Irish Catholic figures. These people were 35.1% of 15,373 (5398) in 1838. If they kept that proportion, their 5814 in 1841 indicates a town population in incorporation year (1841) of 16,564, a growth rate of 397 per annum. At that rate, the ten years 1841-1851 would add 3,970 to the 16,564, for a total of 20,534. The 1851 census returned 20,749, which is remarkably close to our calculation.

The summary of these Halifax population figures may be arranged in two columns:

Year	Official Figures	Calculated Figures
1827	14,439	
1838	14,318	15,373
1841		16,564
1851	20,749	20,534

FOOTNOTES

1. Joseph Andrew Chisholm, ed., **The Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe** (Halifax: The Chronicle Publishing Company, Limited, 1909), Vol. 1, 228.
2. David E. Stevens, **Iron Roads: Railways of Nova Scotia** (Windsor: Lancelot Press, 1972), 7.
3. **A Directory of the Members of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, 1758-1958,** 228.
4. **Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of the of Nova Scotia, 1838,** Vol. XVII, 389-390.
5. **Ibid.,** 411.
6. **Ibid.,** 420.
7. **Ibid.,** 423.
8. **Ibid.,** 444.
9. **Ibid.,** 450.
10. P.A.N.S., R.G.5, Series "B", Vol. 17—**Bills 1838/39,** draft bill no. 143.
11. James Stewart Clarke, Clerk of the Peace in 1838, was a son of David Shaw Clarke, former Clerk of the Peace (d. 18 May, 1850, aged 69), and his first wife, Sophie Hosterman, (d. 14 Jan 1815, aged 34.). He married 31 July 1828, Harriet Ann (bapt. 5 Aug. 1803), dau. of Benjamin Etter, watchmaker, and his second wife, Margaret Elizabeth Tidmarsh. J. S. Clarke died 13 May 1860, aged 56, having had eight children:
    a) David Hosterman, b. 11 May 1829.
    b) James Tidmarsh, b. 9 June 1831.
    c) Charles Augustus, b. 26 June 1835.
    d) William Henry, b. 26 June 1835.
    e) Edward Binney, b. 5 Feb. 1837.
    f) John Samuel, b. in June 1838.
    g) Benjamin St. Clair, bapt. 16 Sep 1840 (St. George's Halifax).
    h) Harriet Sophia, bapt. 28 Nov 1842 (St. George's) d. at Galveston, Texas, 26 July 1891; wife of W. L. Stroud of Brookyln, New York.
12. P.A.N.S., R.G. 1, Vol. 448, doc. 2.
13. John Pyke, an original settler, was killed at Dartmouth in 1750. By his wife, Anne Scroope (1716-1792), he left a son, John George Pyke, who had been born in England in 1743. He was Halifax Police magistrate for nearly forty years, retiring a few years before his death, which occurred on 3 Sep 1828. He married 27 Aug 1772, Elizabeth (bur. 5 Sep 1834, aged 85), dau. of William and Isabella (Maxwell) Allan. They had fourteen children:
    a) Anne, b. 22 Sep 1773 (wife of Hon. James Irvine, Quebec).
    b) George, b. 18 Jan 1775 (Judge, Supreme Court of Lower Canada). Issue.
    c) William, b. 16 May 1776, d. 18 Nov 1776.
    d) Richard, b. 19 Aug 1777, d. in Sep 1778.
    e) John Wenman, b. 10 Mar 1779, d. 12 Dec. 1821; father of eight children.

f) James, b. 16 Oct 1780.
g) Isabella, b. 30 June 1782, d. 5 July 1783.
h) Elizabeth, b. 16 Dec 1783, bur. 5 Nov 1844, unm.
i) Mary, b. 22 Jan 1786, d. 12 Feb 1837 (Mrs. Benjamin Tremain, Quebec)
j) Isabella, b. 10 Oct 1787, d. 18 Apr 1866 at Amherst (Mrs. George N. Russell).
k) William, b. 11 Oct 1788, bur. 31 Jan 1793.
l) Winckworth Allan, b. 20 Apr. 1791, Lieut., killed at Badajoz, April 1812.
m) Thomas, b. 13 Dec 1792, d. 23 Nov 1851; married 10 Jun 1827, Frances (bapt. 20 Nov 1796), dau. of John Henry Fleiger, secretary to Sir John Wentworth. They had three daughters:
   1) Georgina Irvine, b. 17 Aug 1830, living 1851.
   2) Frances Smythe, b. 26 July 1832, d. young.
   3) Mary Henrietta Forsyth, b. 15 May 1834, d. 25 Apr 1836.
n) Edward, b. 6 Oct 1794, d. 19 July 1828, unmarried.

14. **The Times,** 28 May 1839, 176, col. 1. This effort was abortive apparently, and none of Pyke's work in this regard has been discovered.

15. Jonathan Tremain, a Loyalist, was born at Portsea, Hampshire, England, 24 Apr 1742, and died at Halifax, 6 May 1823. He married 18 Feb 1770, Abigail (1754-6 Apr 1822), sister of Hon. Richard Stout of New York and Cape Breton. They had twelve children, of whom the second son was Richard Stout Tremain, J. P., b. New York, 20 Jun 1774, d. Halifax, 30 Aug 1854; married 13 May 1801, Mary (28 Aug 1779-19 May 1860), dau. of Dr. James Boggs. They were the parents of ten children.
a) Richard, 27 Feb 1802-28 Oct 1890; father of six children.
b) Thomas Boggs, 9 Nov 1803-29 Aug 1864 (d., P.E.I.); father of eight.
c) Mary Morris, 2 Aug 1805-23 Dec 1890, unm. (d., Charlottetown, P.E.I.).
d) Louisa Brenton, 25 Apr 1807-2 Oct 1888 (d., Boston); wife of her cousin, Charles W. Tremain. They had five children.
e) James White, 18 Feb 1809-1 Dec 1814.
f) Lawrence (M.D.), 19 Jan 1811-19 Apr 1891 (d., Tryon, P.E.I.); issue.
g) Anna Kearney, 21 Dec 1812-11 May 1901 (d., Quebec); wife of her cousin, Winckworth Tremain. They had nine children.
i) Elizabeth White, 14 Dec 1816-25 Dec 1898; wife of Hon. John Longworth of P.E.I. They had six children.
h) Rebecca, 17 Sep 1814-24 May 1837, unmarried.
j) Abigail Sarah, 27 Sep 1818-20 Mar 1889 (d., Mitchell, Ont.); wife of George M. Goodeve. They had four children.
k) Marie, 2 Jul 1822-4 Oct 1909 (d., Charlottetown); wife of James DesBrisay.

l) John Stewart, 4 Jan 1824-Feb 1918; father of four children.

16. **Journal and Proceedings** . . . 1839, Vol. XVII, 523.
17. **Ibid.**, Appendix No. 32, 58-66.
18. In 1861 there were 846 blacks in Halifax City, and by 1881 there were 1039 blacks in the City. Lest it seem that the appearance of blacks is being made much of, I hasten to say that there is a two-fold purpose for doing so. Firstly, too little attention has been paid to the history of the black people in Nova Scotian historical records with the result that much data upon which valid conclusions can be based has been repressed by ignoring the fact so many older records did specify when a person was black, either by saying so frankly, or by inference. Secondly, I wish to draw attention to the types of occupation to which a black could aspire in Halifax at the opening of Queen Victoria's reign.
19. Belmont was owned by John Howe and used as a summer residence. The Union Engine Co., of which he was an official, held its annual picnic there (Cf., **Novascotian,** 17 Aug 1837, 262, col. 2). The **Acadian Recorder,** 17 May 1856, 3, col. 1, gave a detailed description of the property at mid-century.
20. The largest households were those of Col. Bazelgette (20), Dr. Lewis Johnston (21), Daniel Johnston, labourer (23), Mrs. MacDonald, widow (25), David Donovan, tavernkeeper (28; he probably let rooms), and Enos Collins, merchant (30).
21. The seventeen barristers were:
    Thomas Atkins (the historian Thomas Beamish Akins, 1809-1891);
    Nepean Clarke (1810-1889; Clerk of the Peace in Halifax, 1873);
    L. O'C. Doyle (1804-1864; M.L.A., Arichat Township, 1832-1840);
    J. F. Grey (1803-1848; a crown attorney in Howe's libel trial);
    Beamish Murdoch (1800-1876; M.L.A., Halifax Township, 1826-1830);
    J. W. Nutting (James Walton Nutting, 1788-1870; Prothonotary);
    Henry Pryor (1808-1892; later Mayor of Halifax);
    John Ritchie (1808-1890; Senator from 1867 to 1870);
    James R. Smith (James Ryen Smith was the son of a West Indies planter, and became Registrar of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Halifax. He died 2 May 1868, aged 75);
    Alexander Stewart (1794-1865; M.L.A., Cumberland Co., 1826-1838);
    William Sutherland (1807-1881; Probate Judge and City Recorder);
    Charles Twining (1800-1868);
    A. M. Uniacke (Andrew Mitchell Uniacke, 1808-1895; M.L.A. Halifax, 1843-1847);

J. B. Uniacke (James Boyle Uniacke, 1800-1858; Premier of N.S., 1848-1854);
C. H. Wallace (Charles Hill Wallace, 1803-1845);
John Whidden (1797-11 Apr 1849; Clerk of the House of Assembly);
William Young (1799-1887; Premier of N.S., 1854-1857, 1860).

22. The fourteen physicians were:
Dr. Almon (William Bruce Almon, 1787-1840; Health Officer at Halifax);
James F. Avery (James Fillis Avery, 1794-1887; governor of Dalhousie);
Dr. Brown (Robert Brown, surgeon, d. 10 Dec. 1845, aged 62. the **Acadian Recorder,** 13 Dec 1845, 3, Col. 4, says he came from Perthshire, but a descendant claimed he came from Lonforgan, Forfarshire, Scotland);
William Grigor (1798-24 Nov 1857; appointed to Council, 21 Feb 1849);
Dr. Elliott (**Halifax Morning Post,** 20 Apr 1841, 3, col. 4, advertised the sale of his furniture, indicating he had either given up practice here or had died);
Dr. Charles Head (1807-Jan 1844, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London; son of Dr. Samuel Head, 1772-1837; grandson of Dr. Michael Head of Dublin and Halifax, 1739-1805. He advertised in the **Novascotian,** 21 Dec 1837, 407, col. 2, that he practiced physic surgery, midwifery, etc., at 173 Granville Street);
M. Hoffman (Matthew Mathias Hoffman, d. 2 Apr 1851, aged 71. An Austrian, he entered British service and served in the Peninsular War. After his marriage he settled at Halifax, where he was Health Officer in the 1840's. The **Guardian,** 7 Jun 1844, 400, reported he had performed a successful operation in Halifax for a case of breast cancer the preceding month);
Dr. James Hume (James Compton Hume was granted £75 by the Legislature for six years service as secretary to the Central Board of Health at Halifax, 5 Apr 1841. He was secretary of the Royal Acadian School in 1838. In 1851 he was secretary of the Halifax Medical Society———cf., **Novascotian,** 21 Apr 1851, 123, col. 4);
Dr. Hume (Robert Hume was president of the Halifax Medical Society in 1851——cf., **Novascotian,** 21 Apr 1851, 123, col. 4);
Lewis Johnston (1784-1867), a son of Dr. William Martin Johnston, 1757-1807; grandson of Dr. Lewis Johnston, President of the Council in Georgia before the American Revolution);
Alexander Sawers (Alexander Frater Sawers d. 20 June 1853, aged 48. He was educated at Edinburg in 1825-29, and served as Health Officer at Halifax in the early 1850's);

Thomas Sterling (Thomas J. Sterling, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh; son of Dr. John Sterling of Halifax, who died in Dec 1837. He advertised from the upper side of the Grand Parade in the **Novascotian,** 8 Feb 1838, 47, col. 3);

Dr. Teulon (William Frederic Teulon of London came to Halifax from Liverpool, N.S., in 1836. In the **Novascotian,** 15 Sep 1836, 293, col. 4 he advertised himself as a practitioner of several branches of medicine, including "obstetricy". He was the founder of the Universalist Church in Halifax—cf., P.A.N.S. Vertical MSS File: Teulon Family. He went to Boston to study in 1846, and did not return to Halifax);

Dr. Wallace (Charles Wentworth Wallace qualified, 8 Apr 1824, in the Royal College of Surgery at Edinburgh, in anatomy, surgery, and pharmacy—cf., **Acadian Recorder,** 12 Jun 1824, 3, col. 3. He was Health Officer at Halifax, 1827-Aug 1831. On 23 Jul 1831 he was named Provincial Treasurer of N.S. After an investigation in May 1845, he was dismissed—cf., P.A.N.S., M.G. 1, Vol. 153, doc. 178, and Vol. 279, doc. 5. He died at San Francisco, 13 Mar 1865, aged 65. He seems to have been practicing medicine to judge the appearance of his name in the census of 1838 as a doctor).

23. John Naylor was foreman of the Halifax Grand Jury in December 1856, and Halifax County Treasurer for several years. He d. 9 Apr 1868, age 62.
John Watson advertised his wares in **The Times,** 14 May 1839, 160, col. 2.
24. Rev. Morrison left Halifax in February 1839 to become minister of the Presbyterian churches in Warwick and Pembroke parishes in Bermuda, where he died in 1849 **(Novascotian,** 17 Sep 1849, 299, col 4).
25. Advertisement in the **Novascotian,** 5 Apr 1838, 111, col. 3.
26. For more about Dr. Edmund Albern Crawley, cf., Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, **The History of Kings County, Nova Scotia** (Salem: The Salem Press Company, 1910), 485-487.
27. For more about Dr. Willis, cf., Reginald V. Harris, **The Church of Saint Paul in Halifax, Nova Scotia: 1749-1949** (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1949), 192-193. Rev. W. Cogswell is treated in **ibid.,** 194-196, as is Rev. Twining, 158-159.
The six other clergymen mentioned in this census were:
Rev Churchill (Rev. Charles Churchill, Methodist minister at Halifax, 1838-1841, then stationed at Yarmouth; associated with **The Wesleyan** as assistant editor in 1838. He returned to England in 1862, and died there nearly twenty years later);

Rev. Laughlin (Very Rev. John Loughnan was parish priest of the Catholic church of St. Peter's—St. Mary's after 1830—in Halifax. This Irish priest died at Sydney, Cape Breton, 7 Nov 1878);

Rev. Marshall (John Marshall was a Methodist minister from England. He served in the Maritimes and the West Indies. He died, 12 Jul 1864, aged 78, at Lunenburg—cf., **Liverpool Transcript,** 28 Jul 1864, 3);
Rev. Scott (John Scott, M.A., was pastor of St. Matthew's Presbyterian church from 1827 until his death, 18 Feb 1864, aged 68);
Rev. William Taylor;
Rev. Weeks (Rev. Charles William Weeks, retired S.P.G. missionary died at Schmidtville, Halifax, 17 May 1843, aged 69).

28. An enquirer in the **Acadian Recorder,** 21 Jan 1928, 1, spoke of a "Dr." Joseph Clark connected with St. George's Parish School at one time. The most likely possibility is J. S. Clarke, who had an M. A. from King's in 1830 (**Calendar of Kings College 1868,** 62.) He was later an Episcopal minister in the United States, where he died about 1874-75; Thomas Crosskill operated the Royal Acadian School (**Acadian Recorder,** 5 May 1814, 3, col. 4). He was born in the Bahamas in 1788, a son of Capt. John Crosskill of Bridgetown, N.S.; and died 24 Mar 1858, aged 79. He had an "English Commercial and Mathematical School" under the Wesleyan chapel on Brunswick Street (**Novascotian,** 11 Oct 1838, 323);
Mr. Rivet was most likely Monsieur A. Rebillet, who opened classes in French conversation (**Novascotian,** 13 Apr 1837, 118, col). 3.

29. Bell was Hon. Hugh Bell (1780-1860) from Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, Ireland. His first wife was related to Thomas Lydiard, another of the brewers. Thomas and Samuel Lydiard dissolved their partnership in 1832 (**Novascotian,** 16 Aug 1832, 259, col. 4). Joseph Jennings was from England, served twenty years as an alderman, and was Mayor of Halifax for one term. He died 6 Sep 1868, aged 75. Hon. Alexander Keith (1795-1873) was active in many fields. David Russ was a distiller and brewer from Bower, Caithness, Scotland, and died 23 Feb 1854, aged 60. Peter Morisey, a native of Kilkenny, Ireland, died 6 Aug 1868, aged 80.

30. Hugh W. Blackadar (1808-1863) operated the **Acadian Recorder** with John English (1807-1857) after Philip Holland's death in 1837;
William Cunnabell (1807-1868) published **The Pearl, The Morning Herald,** and **The Presbyterian Witness;**
William Gossip (1809-1889) published **The** (Halifax) **Times,** 1834-1838. He was an alderman at the time of Confederation;
John Munroe (1788-1863) published the **Halifax Journal,** 1819-1850; and was finally superintendant of the Merchants' Exchange reading room;
Joseph Howe (1804-1873) published the **Novascotian,** and was Premier of Nova Scotia, 1860-1863. He was in England at the time of the census;

George Phillips specialized in making albums and scrapbooks (**Novascotian,** 4 Oct 1832, 315, col. 2);

John Sparrow Thompson is treated by Sir Joseph Chisholm, "John Sparrow Thompson," **Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society,** Vol. 26 (1945), 1-31. In Howe's absence in England, May-Oct 1838, Thomson acted as editor of the **Novascotian;**

Samuel Boggs, the librarian, died 15 Aug 1866, aged 65.

Andrew MacKinlay (1809-1867) and his brother, William, operated A. & W. MacKinley for many years. He was mayor of Halifax, 1845-1846;

Clement Horton Belcher (1801-1869) published "Belcher's Farmer's Almanac" for many years. There is a note on him in Eaton, **Kings County.** 465.

31. Given in the census returns as "Master".
32. For more on these men, cf., Donald C. MacKay, **Silversmiths and Related Craftsmen of the Atlantic Provinces** (Halifax: Petheric Press, 1973). Joseph Gregory, jeweller, does not appear in that work.
33. For more on these men, cf., George MacLaren, **Nova Scotia Furniture** (Halifax: Petheric Press, 1969), 11-15. **Cf.** also, George MacLaren, **Antique Furniture by Nova Scotian Craftsmen** (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1961), 112-136.
34. Eagar and Valentine are discussed in Harry Piers, Artists in Nova Scotia," **Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society,** Vol. 18 (1914), 191-165.
35. Interestingly, George C. Whidden, who advertised in the **Novascotian,** as an insurance broker, appears in the census return as "merchant".
36. The eight men were Benjamin Carlisle, William Carritt, Joseph Keefler, James Maxwell, Henry Mundell (no bank discovered); James Forman (Bank of N.S.); N. T. Hill and James Wilkie (Halifax Banking Company.)
37. Stanford and Whytal appear in the census as Stafford and Whittal.
38. Probably an error for Pickford.
39. The nine tinsmiths were Charles Anslie, John Bell, John Compton, Adam Dechezeau, George Jost, William Kelly, James Knudle, John Longard, and W[illiam] Vickers.
40. Based on various government accounts published in the **Journal and Proceedings . . . 1836** and **1838.** The original Act was concerned with the Sambro Island light, but the system was extended to other areas as well. Cf., David E. Stephens, **Lighthouses of Nova Scotia** (Windsor: Lancelot Press, 1973), 24-27, for a discussion of how this scheme fared at its outset.

The Hapless Politician: E. H. Armstrong of Nova Scotia

A. JEFFREY WRIGHT

The government of Nova Scotia had been under the control of the Liberal Party since the defeat of the Holmes-Thompson administration in 1882. This created, by the beginning of 1923, an unbroken string of just over forty years in power. The first major leader of the Party during that time had been W. S. Fielding but he had retired from provincial politics in favour of the federal sphere in 1896 and handed the reigns of power over to G. H. Murray.

By January of 1923 G. H. Murray had been the Premier of Nova Scotia for an unprecedented term of twenty-seven years. Murray was now over sixty years of age, his health was failing and he decided that it was time to retire from public life. This was not a hasty decision on the part of Murray for he had repeatedly expressed a desire to retire. By late 1922 he had decided that the time had finally come to retire and let his wishes be known to his party confidants. The problem however was to choose a successor.

As the senior cabinet minister in the administration E. H. Armstrong held the strongest claims to the position. He had been in the provincial cabinet since 1911 and, as one

Party organizer stated: "has given loyal, faithful and energetic service for something over eleven years. He is courageous, able and a great worker."[1] However, these sentiments were not unanimous among Party supporters:

> Unfortunately, a number of the members of the House think he lacks some qualities which they consider essential. They say they would not be happy under his leadership. The qualities which they admit he possesses do not outweigh, in their minds, the qualities which they say he lacks.[2]

The fact was, that Armstrong's aspirations were directed towards the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia rather than furthering his political station. Preferring to see J. C. Tory (M.L.A. for Guysborough County) assume the leadership, Party members, including G. H. Murray, thought that the most efficacious method of disposing of Armstrong was to lend their support to his nomination to the Bench:

> Mr. Fielding was telling me about the situation in regard to Mr. Armstrong, and I told him that I hoped that some way would be found in which Mr. Armstrong could get the position [on the Supreme Court], and if it is to be done right away it would appear to me that neither of us should stand in the way.[3]

By mid-January 1923 it was commonly assumed that Armstrong's wishes would be fulfilled and that the path was now cleared for Tory's leadership. In fact, a new cabinet had already been drawn up.[4] Murray had been trying for some time to convince Tory to take over the leadership of the Party and on 22 January 1923 Tory telegrammed Murray saying, "Have decided accept Premiership . . . Please advise Armstrong."[5] However, Murray's communications were rather premature as Armstrong's appointment to the Supreme Court failed to materialize, thus depositing Armstrong contender once again for the leadership of the Party. Therefore, Murray

was obliged to offer his office to Armstrong. Consequently, even though Armstrong had stated on 22 January that, "my yielding and assuming leadership is now being urgedt [sic] upon me much against my wish or desire," he gave his acceptance.[6] On 24 January 1923 Armstrong officially assumed power. His thoughts at that time were ones of responsibility:

> All that I can modestly hope is that in some reasonable and modest way to respond to to [sic] the many demands that may be made upon my position to the best of my ability.[7]

However, Armstrong, at fifty-eight, was almost as old as Murray and, as stated above, he too wanted to get out of politics. In December of 1922 he had written Mackenzie King in Ottawa stating why he felt he deserved the position of Supreme Court Justice. Armstrong was quick to point out that he was the logical successor to Murray but felt that he should be given the opportunity to retire "so that a chance should be open to others who may be ambitious."[8] Retirement, to Armstrong, meant not only leaving the government but being appointed to the Supreme Court.

It was Armstrong's belief that the two persons, other than himself, being considered for the position were Mr. W. J. A. O'Hearn (M.L.A. for Halifax County, 1923-25) and Mr. D. A. Cameron (M.L.A. for Cape Breton County, 1916-20; for Victoria County, 1923-25, 1928-30). O'Hearn had been appointed Attorney-General of Nova Scotia the day before Armstrong wrote to King. Armstrong felt that this portfolio would naturally be considered as a stepping-stone to the Supreme Court Bench. He therefore felt obliged to point out that the demands placed on the person holding this cabinet position were relatively light when compared with other portfolios and that O'Hearn would not have entered the Government other than as Attorney-General thereby intimating that O'Hearn was only out for his own personal gain. In

relation to Mr. Cameron, the man who would be serving as Provincial Secretary in the Armstrong administration, Armstrong stated flatly "that his preference to myself under all the conditions would be, whether for political or other means, difficult to justify."[9]

Nevertheless, Armstrong did not get the appointment that he desired and therefore, through no desire of his own, became Premier of Nova Scotia. He did not forget his desired appointment to the Supreme Court however and after the election of 1925 he again began to press his supposed claim. Even before he had officially resigned as Premier, Armstrong was once again doing all he could to secure the position for himself:

> . . . we will hand in our resignations on the fifteenth, after which I will be free, but coincident with that freedom is the cessation of income. You know my position . . . re present vacancy on the Bench . . . I am placing myself unreservedly in your hands relying on you to see that the appointment comes to me just as promptly as it can possibly be done. It is a time when one has to rely on one's friends.[10]

Armstrong was unsuccessful once again however and became most indignant with those whom he felt were obstructing his cause, rather than assisting him in it, and all the while calling themselves friends. Late in 1925 he was appointed County Court Judge but he considered that "a second rate office.[11] In a letter to Mr. P. L. Hatfield of Yarmouth (Federal Member of Parliament) he expressed his sentiments. Armstrong felt that he should have been given the Supreme Court appointment and could "conceive of no legitimate reason whatsoever why anyone should protest to you or any one, against myself."[12] Having given what he considered to be faithful support to the Party over the years Armstrong believed that the appointment should have gone to himself as a just

reward for his services. He considered himself one of the stronger supporters of the Party and stated: "I find Murray, Torey [Tory?], Tanner, Fielding, Farell, Martel, Carroll, et al, all provided for with claims no stronger than mine."[13] Armstrong felt that he was being blamed for the defeat of the Party in the late election and was therefore being offered little political consideration. Although he stated that "nothing seemed to count except my political reverse" he refused to accept any responsibility in the matter of the election: " I have great admiration for Father Abraham. But if there are any burnt offerings to be made, he must not expect me to play the part of Isaac . . . "[14]

Armstrong made another attempt to gain the desired appointment to the Supreme Court. Again, his efforts proved fruitless:

> . . . the fact of my appt. [sic] was generally conceded . . . I am annoyed and disappointed . . . I have had to do some hard and nec[e]ssary things in my political career . . . but I do not think anyone can say I did the dishonourable thing.
>
> . . . I fully appreciate what I can be told and that I do not now count; at the same time I consider I have been unfairly dealt with, and personally humiliated by those from whom I was honestly hopeing [sic] for different treatment, in view of my past service and many sacrifices, and promises yet unfulfilled. *'Le roi est mort, vive le roi'* . . . [15]

Whether he wanted it or not, E. H. Armstrong would hold the position of Premier of Nova Scotia over a two and one half year period. It would be his responsibility to carry on after the retirement of G. H. Murray and hopefully bring a disintegrating government back to order.

Throughout the Premiership of E. H. Armstrong the Maritime rights movement was a viable political force in Nova Scotia. Armstrong, not altogether surprisingly, refused to accept responsibilities in dealing with the movement, but rather, he passed them along to the Federal Government, pronouncing that it was more proper that the issue be handled by his federal counterparts. The *Herald,* although a supporter of the Conservative Party, and a zealous advocate of Maritime rights, reported Armstrong's thoughts on the subject. In all probability, this was done more to show what he had not said rather than what he had:

> [E. H. Armstrong made] the declaration that he would not be a party to the appointment of an indiscriminate, irresponsible commission to settle the affairs of the Maritime Provinces. He declared that he would not relieve the Federal government nor the Canadian National Railway directorate of their responsibility in finding a solution of the difficulties.
> . . . he had no use for the dog-in-the-manger slogan of 'Nova Scotia First,' if this only meant isolation from the other provinces, but he believed in the policy of making Nova Scotia first by the excellence of its products.[16]

Although Armstrong began a letter to one party supporter with "I have taken no uncertain attitude towards certain claims of the Maritime Provinces which I think have distinct merit . . . ," there is surprisingly little in his private correspondence to suggest that the Movement was given any kind of consideration by him, or, in fact, that he attached anything more than minor significance to the Movement at best.[17] When the same supporter recommended that the party lines be forgotten in the struggle to secure the proper rights for Nova Scotia, Armstrong shot back with: "Those who talk glibly about 'rights' evidently do not understand the meaning of the term. The Liberal Party, and no other party [,] can

afford to be preaching that which creates discontent."[18] This, evidently, meant that the protest being uttered by the Conservative Party was not founded upon fact, and was, therefore, to be ignored altogether. The transportation and tariff issues, which were the marrow of the Maritime rights movement, received no mention between the Premier and any of his supporters in any serious context. As a result of this Maritime rights agitation, "the traditional roles of the parties in Nova Scotia were reversed; the Conservatives became the party of protest and the Liberals were faced with the thankless task of defending Confederation and the Liberal federal government."[19]

While giving something less than an attentive ear to the Maritime rights protests Armstrong gave little recognition to the Conservative protesters themselves. Although the Farmer-Labour Party found the *de jure* opposition in the House, three Conservative members, and, of particular note H. W. Corning, constituted the *de facto* opposition by 1923.

In 1921, Armstrong had written of the Farmer-Labour Party in most uncomplimentary terms:

> The Members of the Opposition are far more troublesome in the columns of the Halifax *Herald* than they are on the floor of the House.
>
> I have been in the House since 1907, and we have never had a weaker, more reckless and unreliable Opposition than this year. They are doing the best they can, but when you have said that, you are perhaps saying all that they deserve. Their Opposition is neither troublesome nor intelligent. The *Herald,* of course, by some special arrangement, is trying to impress the country a bit with some of their actions, but you would only need to be in the House a few days to see how absolutely exaggerated all these headlines and news items in the *Herald* are, respecting the trouble that the small bunch make on the other side of the House.[20]

Throughout the Thirty-Sixth Assembly Armstrong continued to discount the Conservatives as having little political power within the Province. Many Liberal supporters were urging a stronger line for the Armstrong Government to follow, but, with the lack of opposition, their queries went unanswered. The following extract shows Armstrong's contempt for one of the Conservative members in the House:

> I beg of you not to be unnecessarily concerned with anybody's carping, ill advised, incoherent and irrelevent remarks that were made on the floor of the House. I paid little or no attention to them, and regard them as the insane vapourings of an irresponsible and cowardly individual. I am referring to one of the Members for the County of Richmond [*]. If I were to mention his name, I'm sure you would regard yourself as unworthy of going into the gutter to meet him.[21] [* either B. A. Le Blanc or J. A. McDonald.]

Armstrong was so carried away with confidence in the dynamics of the Liberal Party and the implied impotence of the Conservatives that he had failed to notice the covert change that was quickly taking place. The long-lasting depression was making a real issue out of the Maritime rights protests.

The early 1920's saw a great deal of labour agitation within the Province. With three paralyzing strikes in Cape Breton in four years, "organized labour at this time was becoming increasingly angry at the politics of the Liberal government." The thesis of E. R. Forbes that "both Premier Murray and his successor E. H. Armstrong had turned deaf ears to the workers' appeal for social legislation and in labour disputes which had threatened to develop into major crises in 1922 and 1923, had appeared to take the side of management," is substantiated in the Armstrong correspondence.[22] There are numerous letters between Armstrong and the man-

agement of the British Empire Steel Corporation, each outlining the situations for the other as to what had transpired, and what action was to be, or should be, taken. During the summer of 1923, whilst trouble was brewing in Cape Breton, Armstrong contacted one of his supporters there and suggested that: "While I do not think the Government is under any obligation to confer with the Company, it might be as well to take them into your confidence and advise what our plans are."[23]

Armstrong's support of business interests in the Province, and particularly where BESCO was concerned, seemed almost without bounds as he was even in the habit of releasing confidential information. When the company unsuccessfully tendered for the coal contracts for a number of government institutions the BESCO executives wished to know how their tender had compared with the prices quoted by other applicants. Armstrong was only too happy to assist them. He not only sent them the information they requested, but he added, with a sorrowful note, that the government was obliged to accept the lowest tender if all other considerations were equal, and that the selection would, therefore, have to stand.[24]

Armstrong's private letters give a rather different interpretation or account of the labour scene than do his public comments. The correspondence is totally in support of the companies while the following article, appearing in *The Canadian Grocer,* articulated his "public views" on the situation:

> The struggle in Cape Breton is, or course, a part of the age-long strife between capital and labour, which causes suffering not only to both combatants but also to the general public, and acts as a powerful brake on industrial progress. It is abundantly plain that peace and its accompanying prosperity will not arrive until the human element is more largely recognized on all sides. Capital must realize that any industrial policy, if thoroughly sound, takes full cognizance of the welfare of the work-

man. Labour must realize that sabotage and lawlessness are ruinous in its cause. Both capital and labour must eradicate the extremists on both sides and come together in a spirit of compromise. They must be made to see that the community is one of the essential parties to industry.[25]

Even though one faithful Party supporter had reported in 1922 that:

> The Tory Party is trying to wake up in public affairs and it may succeed.
>
> We have been in power for over forty years. We have grown weary of well-doing, at any rate, it would be quite an easy matter to put us on the defensive. We must not allow ourselves to be caught like that, and there is still time.[26]

. . . no one took the warning seriously.

Throughout the correspondence of E. H. Armstrong there is no mention of the election which was to occur 25 June 1925; even those letters written in the spring of that very year contain no reference to the event. He must not have had the slightest notion of the political feeling in the Province either before his unsettling defeat that June, or after. Armstrong and many of his supporters had gone into that election with every confidence that they would be returned to office: "What bothers me is that apparently there were few indications in most counties of what was in store for us . . . "[27]

However, the indications had been there since the advent of the Maritime rights movement earlier in the decade and had been most prominent since Corning's resolution on secession in April 1923. Armstrong himself had moved an amendment to this resolution which stated:

> . . . that this House . . . place on record its strong and unshaken faith in the future of Nova Scotia and its confidence in the good will and the earnest desire of the present Federal Government to co-operate, in a most generous spirit, in safeguarding the rights and promoting the welfare of the people of this Province.[28]

Once his resolution passed through the House and Corning's was defeated Armstrong seems to have dismissed the problems that Corning had stressed. The Conservatives however did not forget the issues and began to stress the issue of Maritime rights. The Federal by-election of December 1923 was to be the first proving ground for the new Conservative platform.

While the Liberals claimed good economic times ahead, most Nova Scotians were intimately aware of the depression and quickly becoming more and more discontented. The people realized that something had to be done and the Conservatives appeared to be the ones to seek a better deal for Nova Scotia. After the votes had been cast and counted on 5 December it was soon realized that the Conservative candidate had won a convincing victory. The Conservatives had dealt exclusively with the issue of Maritime rights. "Black's victory in Halifax not only demonstrated the effectiveness of 'Maritime rights' in exploiting the discontent caused by the depression in Nova Scotia, but it provided an important psychological lift to the whole Conservative Party."[29] The Conservatives, unlike the Liberals, recognized the usefulness of the Maritime rights campaign and used it to full advantage whenever the opportunity presented itself. They were now waiting for the next Provincial election.

Although the Maritime rights issue would decide the election there were other factors operating in the Provincial politics of Nova Scotia during the first half of the 1920's. The collapse of the Farmer-Labour opposition coalition, the change in leadership that could not but have hurt the Liberal Party, the industrial strife in Cape Breton, all of these factors

were instrumental in the defeat of the government. Nevertheless, the most important factors affecting the change in attitudes towards the parties would have to be the depression which manifest itself in the Maritime rights movement. "The depression aroused discontent against the Liberal Government, aggravated the already serious problems of labour relations in the Province and in so doing, brought hope and encouragement to the Conservative workers."[30]

The Conservatives, spurred on by their victory in the by-election, pressed their platform of Maritime rights with renewed vigor. They were waiting, rather impatiently, for the provincial election that had to be held before October 1925. Although Armstrong was delaying the election as long as possible the Conservatives began their campaign officially in January 1925 knowing full-well that an election was imminent.

The Liberal Party had finally recognized the damage that the Conservatives could do to their cause by the Maritime rights argument and had moved to develop a policy of their own based on the main Tory argument of the protective tariff. After all, it was the Federal Conservatives under Meighan who were historically committed to the tariff. However, the Liberals had the disadvantage of being connected with the Liberal Government of Mackenzie King in Ottawa who had as yet made no concessions to the Maritimes. As a result of a Progressive amendment introduced in the House of Commons calling for a reduction in tariffs the Provincial Government of E. H. Armstrong was in desperate trouble. Unfortunately for the Nova Scotian Liberals who had been arguing for just such a policy the entire block of Nova Scotian Liberal members in Ottawa voted against the motion.

The Conservatives had already stolen the initiative from the Liberals however by taking their emphasis from the tariff itself and promising "a complete, independent, honest and ex-

haustive inquiry to cover public and private business, injustices and disabilities and the effect of the economic system of Canada on Nova Scotia."[31] The Conservatives were so far ahead of the Liberals in terms of public support that even a minor scandal within the Party that saw E. N. Rhodes replace W. L. Hall as Provincial leader just a month before the June election had very little affect.

Just as the Conservatives had annihilated the Liberals during the campaign so did they at the polls. The Conservatives captured forty of the forty-three seats and 60.9% of the popular vote while only one member of the previous Liberal administration (W. Chisholm, M.L.A. for Antigonish County, 1916-33) was returned.[32] As has been stated above, there were many factors that contributed to the outcome of the election:

> The fundamental issue, however, which one can observe as a contributing factor in almost every other issue appeared to be the depression. It provided the basis for the Conservatives highly successful 'Maritime right' movement, multiplied the problems of the Liberal Government and focused the attention of the whole country on its weaknesses and shortcomings.[33]

Following the election of 25 June 1925 Armstrong wrote to many of his supporters throughout the Province in an attempt to "explain" the phenomenon, but the short of it was that he "explained" nothing and offered little else than harsh condemnation of the Conservative victors. He still regarded the Conservative Party as little more than a political nuisance: "If our successors can as successfully fool the people for the future as they did during the election campaign they may escape some responsibilities."[34]

> I believe, with you, that four years will prove the emptiness and futility of the Opposition promises. Believe me that a day of reckoning will come, particularly when the

> boys fail to return and they will not return by virtue of any policy that the opposition preached. The truth is they suggested nothing.[35]

In fact, Armstrong's ultimate rationalization was that the defeat had little to do with the Conservatives and the Maritime rights movement at all, and it was not so much that the Conservatives won, but that the Liberals lost:

> There are many things the Liberal Party can learn from the late contest—even from the enemy—not the least of these is that of greater care in the preparation of voters lists and the efficiency of our local organization . . . [36]

On the positive side of things, Armstrong saw in the Liberal defeat that "fortunately we all went down together," and perhaps with a sigh, he remarked, "in more ways than one I am glad to be relieved."[37] Even after the defeat, Armstrong's faithful support of the Liberal Party was unwavering. This fact, is demonstrated in the following statements: "the cause for which we stood must ultimately triumph,"[38] "if we were defeated supporting a bad cause we might have no regrets, but I hope no Liberal holds that view"[39] and "whilst temporarily defeated I think that we can look back on a past record that is unique. As a party, I hope we have nothing to regret."[40]

Although the election took place on 25 June it was 16 July before Armstrong resigned his office. Immediately after the election he was taken to the Victoria General Hospital where he remained for a number of days with "a badly infected upper lip." On 7 July he wrote Lieutenant-Governor Douglas that he had been quite ill and had not had the time to concern himself with the government because "my lips were so swollen that I could neither 'eat, drink, or be merry'.[41] Perhaps the man did have a sense of humour after all; or is this just sarcasm?

One would assume that Armstrong, as a senior politician in the Provincial Government, would have had great opportunities and abilities to indulge in the implementation of patronage. Notorious as was the Provincial Government at this time for its use of patronage and favouritism, Armstrong's personal influence was shockingly impotent. Upon being requested, as a favour, to bear influence upon his Liberal friends in Ottawa to accommodate Nova Scotian Liberals within the Federal departments, the King government failed to yield. This lack of co-operation was of such a degree that Armstrong was unable to secure either the positions of Postmaster, or Registrar of Deeds in the Bridgetown area, for his own brother.

Without question, the offers for patronage were dependent upon the applicant's personal political leanings. The following is demonstrative of this very point:

> How did he act during the recent Federal election? I think he gave me a vote in 1920, but I doubt very much if he supported your friends during the late Federal election. I do not think there is anything I can offer him at present, and I do not consider we are under any obligations to him; but I thought he had "played the part,' [sic] there might be something which we could offer him as encouragement for change of heart, and perhaps conversion.[42]

> S. G. Newell is a friend of mine but I am sorry to inform you he and his wife voted for Laurie Hall. After the polls were closed and he heard of the wonderful victory all over the Dominion he came across and told me he supported Mr. Fielding. But don't think for a minute that I don't know nearly every vote that polled at the two boots [sic] in Clark's Harbour who they voted for.[43]

In a letter to Forrest Harding of Charlesville, Shelburne County in 1921 Armstrong expressed his views on the use of patronage. Not only did he state that "I am quite of your opinion that the Province should consider as far as it possibly can the claims of its friends for any positions that may be open" but felt that the Civil Service Act which the Conservatives had brought into effect in 1911 should be done away with or at least circumvented in order to provide positions for supporters of the Liberal Party.[44] It was his contention that the Conservatives had introduced the Act simply to protect those whom they had placed in the Civil Service and that the Liberals must now undue this terrible wrong: "I will support any policy that treats our friends as they should be treated, and puts an end to some of these obnoxious partisans whom the Conservatives appointed to office after 1911 by dismissing competent Liberals."[45]

In 1923 Armstrong had it called to his attention that two secretaries at the Nova Scotia Sanatorium in Kentville had taken an active role in the Municipal election there. While he did not propose to interfere with the exercise of their right to do so he did point out that "there are Stenographers who are ready to take situations with us and who at least will be submissive to reasonable discipline and suggestions and not notorious in making their actions offensive."[46]

In all, Armstrong considered patronage to be an important part of a political party's function. Perhaps this is why he could say, "I have done little else though [sic] my political life, except to use my influence, such as I had, on behalf of others."[47]

Along with patronage concerning government positions Armstrong believed that it was important to keep the party supporters content. He would do all in his power, such as it was, to make sure that any Liberal coming to him with a problem concerning the government was taken care of. If

there was a conflict within the Party as to two groups of supporters desirous of opposite ends he would either dismiss the situation or, preferably, pass it on to the Federal Government and thus out of his hands. For example, in 1922, a number of his constituents from the Shelburne area were desirous of having the lobster fishing season commence earlier in the fall and therefore communicated their wishes to Armstrong. It was intended that he use his influence with the Federal Government to effect this change. Wanting to accommodate these gentlemen, he was able to secure the Federal Government's interest in the matter and it set up an investigative committee.

However, when Armstrong received the following letter, his desires to please the gentlemen suddenly dissipated:

> . . . the great majority of our people are not in favour of it, and they have an idea, in fact the talk is general that yourself and Mr. Irwin are working hard to get this season simply to satisfy Woods Harbour and Shag Harbour fishermen. Now they are saying this: 'If we are not recognized now, and have no voice in the matter, when Election Day comes along our turn will come.' Most staunch Liberals are saying this and they mean it. The great trouble is that the very few people in our vicinity who want this fall season are people who can be bought on Election Day for $5.00.[48]

His immediate reply was:

> Both Mr. Irwin and myself feel that this matter is not one in which we should exercise any say . . . My sole duty . . . was to bring the matter to the attention of the Federal Government . . . I am in no position to express an opinion one way or the other, it is up to the Dept. of Fisheries at Ottawa . . . There is no necessity of anybody blaming any person for what had been done, because it was a matter for the Federal Government.

> I am glad you wrote me and am glad to know what is being talked, but do not let anybody get disturbed. Let them keep cool and I am satisfied the situation will work out . . .[49]

It would not be correct to draw the conclusion that E. H. Armstrong was the cause of the Liberal defeat in the Nova Scotian Provincial election of 25 June 1925. It could even be argued that had G. H. Murray not retired he too, after a string of six election victories, would have been defeated. It could also be argued however that had Armstrong been a stronger leader the magnitude of the defeat could have been substantially reduced.

The Conservative Party had swept the Province with their adopted campaign of Maritime rights. Their platform had been broad enough to attract support from all sectors of society. The farmers, the fishermen, the miners and the industrial workers, they all had grievances that the Liberal Party had failed to deal with or in some cases even to recognize. It was the all-encompassing issue of Maritime rights that decided the election of 1925, and nothing more.

However, as Premier of the Province, Armstrong must certainly take the majority of the responsibility for the Liberal defeat. Throughout his term of office he remained insensitive to the problems facing the people of Nova Scotia. He was so caught-up in the Liberal Party that he failed to take the opposition seriously and even failed to recognize that anyone but the Liberal Party could possibly govern the Province. To the people, he remained an obscure figure about who no one knew anything and was in no way the dynamic leader and the champion of Nova Scotia's cause that the situation required. It may be argued that no one would have been able to lead the Province after the retirement of G. H. Murray because he had held such a firm, tight rein on the affairs of government and done much of the work himself. However, this would not

explain the lack of support that was given Armstrong. It would, under normal circumstances, be reasonable to assume that with a Liberal Government in power in Ottawa that the Provincial Government, being Liberal, would have received at least some "behind the scenes" support. This, however, was not the case with Armstrong. Armstrong simply did not have the support of the Liberal Party, either in Halifax or Ottawa. Both Prime Minister MacKenzie King and W. S. Fielding appear to have thought little of Armstrong and provided very little support or encouragement during his term of office. During the years 1923 and 1924 there was evidence of non-solidarity within the Armstrong cabinet, the only incidence of this phenomenon in Nova Scotia during the present century.[50] Armstrong's support from the Party was so slight that J. M. Beck has concluded that his "prestige with his collegues was probably the least of all the Liberal premiers."[51]

The lack of support for Armstrong remained even after he had left active politics. He continually stressed his desire to become a member of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia but was just as continually unsuccessful. He had never had any desire to become Premier and had only taken the job when his appointment to the Supreme Court was not forthcoming. Personally, it appears that this aspiration towards the Supreme Court transcended any position which engaged him. This is the one issue on which his ideas never seemed to change. According to himself, the office of Premier was little but an opportunity to do favours for his friends, and a stepping-stone to the Supreme Court. His total lack of comprehension can only have affected the Liberal Party, and the Province, adversely.

FOOTNOTES

1. Unsigned to J. C. Tory, 11 December 1922 (E. H. Armstrong Papers Public Archives of Nova Scotia). All other correspondence included here is also to be found in the Armstrong Papers.
2. **Ibid.**
3. Tory to G. H. Murray, 18 January 1923.
4. Unsigned to Tory, 11 December 1922.
5. Tory to Murray, 22 January 1923.
6. E. H. Armstrong to Tory, 22 January 1923.
7. Armstrong to President, Liberal Association of Glace Bay (no name mentioned), 26 January 1923.
8. Armstrong to W. L. MacKenzie King, 22 December 1922.
9. **Ibid.**
10. Armstrong to E. M. MacDonald, M.P., 11 July 1925. MacDonald was the Minister of National Defense.
11. Armstrong to P. L. Hatfield, 2 November 1925.
12. **Ibid.**
13. **Ibid.**
14. **Ibid.**
15. Armstrong to Ralston, 22 October 1928. There are some interesting letters in the Armstrong Papers concerning Ralston entering public life in the 1920's and his refusal to do so. This is the same Ralston that was later in the King cabinet during the Second World War.
16. Halifax **Herald,** 9 December 1924.
17. Armstrong to Blair, 18 September 1924.
18. **Ibid.**
19. E. R. Forbes, "The Rise and Fall of the Conservative Party in the Provincial Politics of Nova Scotia 1922-33" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1967), 11-12.
20. Armstrong to Smith, 7 May 1921.
21. Armstrong to Brown, 7 April 1923. Brown was Armstrong's Deputy Minister in the Department of Public Works and Mines.
22. Forbes, "The Rise and Fall of the Conservative Party", 20.
23. Armstrong to Brown, 25 July 1923. For the best account of the situation in Cape Breton see, D. MacGillivray, "Miltary Aid to the Civil Power: The Cape Breton Experience in the 1920's", **Acadiensis,** III (2), Spring 1974, 45-64; or, D. MacGillivray, "Industrial Unrest in Cape Breton, 1919-1925" Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1971).
24. Armstrong to Dick, 10 January 1923. Dick was the General Manager in charge of coal sales for BESCO.
25. quoted in, unknown paper, 16 August 1923, from **The Canadian Grocer** (Armstrong Papers).
26. Unsigned to Tory, 11 December 1922.
27. Armstrong to Stoneman, 29 June 1925.
28. **Journals and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of** Nova Scotia, 1923, Part I, 261.

29. Forbes, "The Rise and Fall of the Conservative Party", 13.
30. **Ibid.**, 31.
31. **Ibid.**, 40.
32. Compiled from tables of Nova Scotian provincial election results supplied by Dr. J. M. Beck, Dalhousie University.
33. Forbes. "The Rise and Fall of the Conservative Party", 7.
34. Armstrong to Munro, 29 June 1925.
35. Armstrong to MacGillivray, 1 July 1925.
36. Armstrong to "My Dear Friend" (no name mentioned), 13 July 1925.
37. Armstrong to Gardner, 29 June 1925.
38. Armstrong to Stoneman, 29 June 1925.
39. Armstrong to Lyle, 1 July 1925.
40. Armstrong to Sperry, 1 July 1925.
41. Armstrong to Lieutenant-Governor Douglas, 1 July 1925.
42. Armstrong to A. H. Hood, 18 February 1922.
43. M. N. Nickerson to Armstrong, 23 December 1921. The Nickerson family were Liberal Party supporters in the Shelburne County area.
44. Armstrong to F. Harding, 29 December 1921.
45. **Ibid.**
46. Armstrong to A. F. Miller, 7 March 1923.
47. Armstrong to Hatfield, 2 November 1922.
48. F. T. Nickerson to Armstrong, 22 November 1922.
49. Armstrong to F. T. Nickerson, 24 November 1922.
50. J. M. Beck, **The Government of Nova Scotia** (Toronto, 1957, 198.
51. **Ibid.**, 199.

The Halifax Orphan House 1752-87

PAUL M. GOUETT

The question has arisen with educators or students of the history of education in Nova Scotia, as to what was done to care for the minds and bodies of the children of our early colonies. Most of what is written pertains to the adult population. However, we can read in some sources the accounts of the early schooling of children whose parents could afford it, or who had sufficient knowledge of the basic skills to tutor their children. Almost no acknowledgement has been given to the children, whose parents died in the new colony. No acknowledgement has been given as well, to the care of those children whose parents were too destitute or ill to look after them. These children became the outcasts or misfits of a society not geared to handle them.

As a result the institution, known as the Orphan House was erected and opened on July 8, 1752 to care for these children. It is not difficult to conceive what care was taken prior to this date. We need only look at the situations prevalent in the new colony:

(a) The merchants who became the monied class of Halifax were concerned with their own economic walfares.

Trade with the British garrison and navy in Halifax and with the lowly inhabitants brought in fortunes. Overhead was low and any extraneous costs were not ordained welcome.

(b) Settlers who had come from the British Isles with the intention of homesteading and creating their livelihoods from land grants in the area were kept destitute by their dependence upon the fort for protection against the Indians. They could not realize their ambitions beyond the pallisades.

(c) Garrison troops and sailors, most of whom were not pleased with their conditions in Halifax, were more concerned with rum and whoring with the camp followers than caring for the destitute orphans.

(d) The Foreign Protestants who arrived safely were concerned with the preservation of their own families' wellbeing. They were poorly quartered on George's Island and Gorham's Point, and set to work clearing land and erecting buildings. Their plight was not one which could call for benevolence towards the orphans of some of their dead peers.

It was necessary therefore that the unsupported youth be taken in at private homes where their treatment was far from adequate:

> Before the establishment of the Orphan House the children were cared for in private homes at the public expense, the foster parents (as we would call them today) being allowed 3s. or 4s. a week exclusive of clothing and provisions. This arrangement proved most unsatisfactory, as the children were often neglected and 'generally trained up in most every Vice, without the common Principles or seeds of Industry.'[1]

It is a sad account of early Nova Scotian history, that the orphans of the new settlement were discarded and let out of these private homes. One would chance to guess that a very small percentage of the orphans ever received 3s. or 4s. worth of attention each week.

The Orphan House was officially opened on July 8, 1752. There is reason to believe, however, that Governor Cornwallis intended for it to be active long before then. In March of 1750 he wrote to the Board of Trade that housing was being provided "where I propose to put all Orphans that they may be taken care till they are fit for going Prentices to Fishermen". By completion date a late vessel of Foreign Protestants arrived in Halifax and there was little choice but to house them in the intended Orphan House:

> But a number of Germans arriving very late in the year when it was impracticable to clear land and erect houses to shelter them from the severity of Winter and from the cruelty of the Savages instigated by French Treachery, this laid the Governor under a kind of Necessity to employ the house for their use for the present.[2]

Though there are several indications that the Orphan House was used for purposes other than Orphans but dealing with the Foreign Protestants, victualling lists from as late as April 15, 1753 can be found.[3]

The first matron of the Orphan House was Mrs. Wenman with "an assistant for every ten Children". Later this was reduced to "one for every twenty". In actual fact these odds present themselves as fairly substantial if we regard current ratios in modern orphanages and schools.

Conditions within the Orphan House are very plainly set down in the 1754 "State of the Orphan House" but whether or not such was actually the case is open to interpretation. Considerable shaving must have gone on to augment the salaries of the employees. The clothing of the orphans which "consists of the cheapest and most durable Articles in their kind", was returned to the Orphan House once the child was apprenticed out. The heat maintained in the Orphan House was supplied by "one Cord per week, in Summer and three in Winter or two per week the Year round".

It is interesting to take a look at the routine of daily life in the Orphan House and the schedule that was followed:

> Since idleness and irreligion are the Baine of every Community, the strictest Attention is here applied to avoid both. The School master maintained by the Society for the Propogation of the Gospel is employed in teaching them to read, and instructing them to read, and instructing them in their Duty to God and their neighbours from nine to twelve o'clock in the Morning and from two to five in the Afternoon the remainder of the Day is spent in Picking Oakham for the Rope Walk belonging to Mr. Wenman, the Matrons husband, Carding and Spinning Wool and Knitting Stockings for themselves. On Sundays they regularly attend Divine Service and go in Procession to and from Church preceeded by the School master at the head of the Boys and followed by the Matron and Assistants; the whole making a Decent and Orderly appearance.[4]

How "orderly" an appearance they actually were might be illustrated more realistically by J. B. Brebner describing the funeral procession escorting Governor Lawrence's body to St. Paul's.

> As their parade neared the church, Mistress Ann Wenman marshalled the pitiable, sickly, and deformed children from the Orphan House who, singing a hymn, accompanied the coffin.[5]

It is easier to see the children in this light rather than that described in the "State of the Orphan House" which is found earlier in this section.

They were given spruce beer because it "is Judged so condusive to health". Along with this went the diet of bread, pork, beef and molasses. Very little variation was offered "as some Articles such as Vinegar, Rum, Oatmeal and Butter have been taken off." Most of the children could not prosper on such a menu as was offered:

> Of the 275 children who lived in the Orphan House at one time or another between 1752 and 1760, 173 were sickly, crippled, deaf, dumb, blind or feeble-minded.[6]

Not all the children of the Orphan House were actually orphans. For this we must give the keepers credit. Often there were children from very poor families who were admitted as we see was the case in 1754:

> So many necessitous Families have more Children than they can profitably maintain the Governor or Commander in Chief on proper recommendation from the Guardian, Magistrates and principal Inhabitants sometimes sends one or two from such Families to the Orphan House.[7]

This action was apparently carried on for we find, as late as 1761, in Belcher's report to the Lords of Trade, this inclusion:

> Children of the poorer sort of Inhabitants, tho not Orphans have been admitted differently from the strict Institution but with the same good intention for relieving equally miserable objects, and not to the exclusion of any Orphans on the extent of the Plan for admitting hearty Children.[8]

The number of non-orphans admitted is not referred to by Belcher in his report. In William's *Poor Relief and Medicine in Nova Scotia*[9] we find, however, that of the 275 children admitted to the Orphan House from 1752 to 1761, 161 were *not* orphans. In his report to the Board of Trade, Belcher says "that Two Hundred and Seventy-five Children, mostly Orphans, have been graciously relieved."

Statements like this, with regards to the Orphan House, and indeed, the whole Foreign Protestant migration, lead to the belief that the overall conditions set down on paper at the

time cannot be taken at face value. In his book, *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia,* Winthrop Bell found various discrepancies in the documentation of the period:

> But the presence of this discrepancy in the history of my native land vexed me, and a few years ago I decided to see whether any surviving original records of that Immigration might be found which would yield, once and for all, conclusive answers to the questions.[10]

It was felt by the Lords of Trade, that the Orphan House was unnecessary and ordered Governor Hopson to terminate its function as soon as possible. Their chief complaint was somehow both from the moral standpoint and the monitary. Their concern was that Mr. Wenman, husband of the Orphan House matron, was able to take advantage, not only of his wife's salary for the job, but also gaining the fruits of the orphan's labour. By comparison with the orphan system in England this would have been immoral:

> Their labour too is applied not as in England to the use of the Charity, but to the Benefit of the Husband of that Person who receives the salary we complain of.[11]

In his report of November 3, 1761, Belcher reported that such was not the case. He had made careful study and the Guardian (who at that time was Dr. Breyton, rector of St. Paul's) had assured him that no one individual was profiting from the orphans:

> The Guardian reports, that on such employment as they were capable of, they were constantly at Work, and that the Profits were placed in account to the public.[12]

In none of the ledgers or accounts, are there any records of profits that were "placed in account of the public." No profits are shown at all as a matter of fact. The only allusions

to any positive role which the orphans played, is that when old enough to be apprenticed out, they were of service to the Settlement.

The matter of the apprenticeship of the orphans is dealt with at some length by the *State of the Orphan House* document of 1754:

> The extraordinary Care, that is taken of their Morals and manners, makes the Inhabitants; particularly, desirous of getting them as apprentices or Servants, and if they are not sickly weak, go off very Young as appears by the Annexed Section (C) and soon become useful to the Colony. The Boys are bound out; if possible, to Fisherman or some laborious Traders and Employments and are Free at the Age of Twenty-one. The Girls are placed in sober Creditable families as Servants, till they are full 17 years old; but neither Boys nor Girls are permitted to be bound to Publicans or such useless destructious Occupations.[13]

Along with this account of the plan for apprenticeships are two documents or forms, which had to be signed by both the Orphan House officials and the party offering the Apprenticeships. The terms of the apprenticeship are stated therein. The first form limits the labour of the apprentice to the colony he is taken on in and to the party who takes him on:

> The Condition of the within Obligation is such, That the within named ..... Apprentice or Servant shall not be liable to be carried out of this Colony, as an Apprentice or Servant, during the Term of .... Years, by the within said Master or his Assigns, or be assigned or turned over to any Person, without the Approbation of his Excellency the Governor, or the Reverend Dr. Breynton, or such Person as he shall appoint to inspect therein.

The second form is the more important of the two as it sets down the obligations of apprentice and master:

> This Indenture Witnesseth, That ..... an Orphan, by and with the Consent of the Reverend Dr. John Breynton, testified by his signing hereof, Guardian to the poor Orphans in the Orphan House in Halifax, with his Excellency's Approbation, doth put ..... self Apprentice unto ..... of Halifax aforesaid, his Heirs and Assigns, and with him after the Manner of an Apprentice or Servant to serve from the Date of these Presents, unto the full End and Term of ..... and from thence fully to be complete and ended; during which said term the said shall serve, their lawful commands every where gladly do, ... shall do no damage to ..... said Master or his Assigns, the Goods of ..... said Master or his Assigns ..... shall not waste or embezel, or lend them unlawfully to any, Marriage ..... shall not contract during said Term, nor from the Service of ..... said Master or his Assigns Day or Night shall not be absent ..... self, but in all Things as an honest Apprentice or Servant, shall and will behave ..... self towards said Master or his Assigns, during the said Term of ..... Years.
>
> And the said ..... for himself and his Assigns, doth covenant and agree to learn said apprentice the art and mystery of ..... and to Read and Write, and to find and allow unto the said apprentice or Servant, sufficient Meat, Drink, Washing, Lodging and Apparel of all Sorts, proper for such an apprentice or servant during the said Term ..... years, and at the End of said Term, shall and will provide and give unto the said apprentice or servant, one new Suit of apparel of all sorts, and shall and will at the end of said Term permit the said apprentice or servant to take and carry away said new Suit of apparel, also ..... old Wearing apparel of all Sorts;

and for the true Performance of the Covenants above said, the said Parties bind themselves by these Presents in the Sum of Twenty Pounds Sterling.[15]

So it might appear that the orphans, if they were strong enough for employment, were apprenticed out for 20 Pounds sterling. The terms of their apprenticeship includes nothing of fair treatment or the amount of work to be placed upon them. There are no accounts which could be traced down, that described the life of one of these unfortunate children; though, it is not difficult to imagine what it may have been like. Though the period of almost a century separates them, the apprentices which Charles Dickens describes in many of his works may well be a guide to the life of these earlier children. While common practice in England in the mid-eighteenth century called for orphans to be bound out at the ages of 12 to 14, in Halifax it was considerably earlier. In a letter to the Lords of Trade dated June 24, 1764, Governor Wilmot it said that:

> The Children (if not disqualified by Disease) are commonly bound out at Seven or Eight years old.[16]

Reference to the Orphan House in the correspondence of the Governors and Lords of Trade fades out after 1764, except for one inclusion in the minutes of the Executive Council of October 12, 1771 which reads:

> The Conditions of the Orphan House respecting necessary Repairs of the building was taken into consideration and then Referred to another day.[17]

It was not until 1774, however, that Governor Legge sees to it that revisions are made in the conditions of the House.[18] The new lease on life and uplifting that the institution received was reasonably short lived; however, as we find in Akin's *History of Halifax City:*

The Orphan House being no longer in use was ordered to be let out on a lease for one year.[19]

This was in 1785, but in 1787, an Act was passed providing for its sale.[20] I could find no bill of sale indicating the purchaser, though on June 19, 1792, there is mention in the *Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser*[21] that the building was being used as a stable.

So ends the story of the first Orphan House in Halifax. There is little indication in any writings of the period or writing by modern historians as to where the Orphan House actually stood. I will not even hazard to make a guess at its approximate location. The Orphan House is the least mentioned and least known of the public institutions of the colony of Halifax. Perhaps it is because we do not wish to credit our ancestors, with allowing it to exist, that the Orphan House has been an ignored institution. Whatever the reason, it is gone and seemingly we are not the worse off for its disappearance.

FOOTNOTES

1. State of the Orphan House to Lawrence, 1 Aug., 1754, C.O. 217/15.
2. Bell, Pg. 349.
3. M.G. 4, #83.
4. State of the Orphan House to Lawrence, 1 Aug., 1754, C.O. 217/15.
5. John Bartlet Brebner, **The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia,** (Toronto: McClelland and Steward Limited, 1969), Pg. 1.
6. R. Williams, **Poor Relief and Medicine in Nova Scotia,** (Halifax: N.S.H.S., 1938), Vol. 37, Pg. 42.
7. State of the Orphan House to Lawrence, 1 Aug., 1754, C.O. 217/15.
8. Belcher to Lords of Trade, 3 Nov., 1761, **Governors of Nova Scotia to Lords of Trade,** 1760-1772, Vol. 39, Doucument 11.
9. Williams, Pg. 41.
10. Bell, Pg. 4.
11. Williams, Pg. 43.
12. Belcher to Lords of Trade, 3 Nov., 1761.
13. State of Orphan House to Lawrence, 1 Aug., 1754, C.O. 217/15.
14. State of Orphan House to Lawrence, 1 Aug., 1754, C.O. 217/15.
15. State of Orphan House to Lawrence, 1 Aug., 1754, C.O. 217/15.
16. Williams, Pg. 43.
17. **Minutes of the Executive Council,** 1766-1783, 12 Oct., 1771, P.A.N.S., Vol. 212.
18. Williams, Pg. 44.
19. Thomas B. Akins, **History of Halifax City,** (Halifax: N.S.H.S., 1892-1894), Vol. 8, Pg. 87.
20. "An Act for Enabling Commissioners to make sale of the public Buildings therein named for public uses". **Nova Scotia Laws, 1758-1804.**
21. **Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser,** Jan. 5, 1790 to Jan. 25, 1792.

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Sir John Wentworth and The Sable Island Humane Establishment

LYALL CAMPBELL

If any single person was responsible for the founding of the Sable life-saving service, that person was Sir John Wentworth, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia in 1801. This is not to say that the idea originated with him, or that he was solely instrumental in bringing the institution into being. He just happened to be the right man in the right place at the right time.

There were enough known shipwrecks at Sable Island during the eighteenth century for it to become notorious, to be recognized as potentially what it was later called, the Graveyard of the Atlantic. In view of this threatening potential, various people concocted schemes for providing relief to unfortunate castaways. For a short period that straddled mid-century a group of Boston men, led by a French Protestant minister named Andrew LeMercier and including Thomas Hancock, uncle of John Hancock of American Revolutionary fame, provided intermittent aid to Sable shipwreck survivors. They stocked the island with domestic animals, and some-

times had employees living there, but their operation was both unofficial and unsupervised. In the long run it was also unsuccessful.

Two of Wentworth's predecessors tried to initiate a Sable settlement that would be useful in the event of shipping disasters. Just before the American Revolution, Governor Francis Legge granted permission to a certain Michael Flanigan and his associates to go and live on the island with the understanding that they would do everything they could to look after Sable sufferers. It was Legge's intention to lease the whole island in lots of a hundred acres per family. There is no record of anybody's taking him up on the offer, including Flanigan.

The second project got a bit further before failing. At the end of the American Revolution, Governor John Parr induced a Loyalist named Jesse Lawrence to settle on Sable with his family under about the same terms as had been offered Flanigan. Lawrence did go to live on the island and actually accomplished some salvage work, but as things turned out he was the one who needed deliverance. His little group was driven out by the depredations of American fishermen, and Lawrence was reduced to a state of destitution before getting sufficient compensation from the Government of Massachusetts some years later. Nobody replaced him at Sable Island, for obvious reasons.

Yet the shipwrecks continued, and toward the end of the century the rate seemed to be increasing. Knowledge of this fact was bound to have an effect on local society, that is to say, in the city of Halifax, capital of the province of Nova Scotia to which Sable Island belonged. In connection with the most recent losses another factor proved of even greater significance: rumor. Rumors of wreckers, of murderers and even of ghosts. For the most part the stories were little else than rumor: gross exaggerations if not out and out invented tales. But they were effective.

The shipwreck that had the greatest impact was that of the *Frances,* a transport bound from England to Halifax with some officers for the local garrison and, of far more appeal to romantic imaginations, the equipage of Edward, Duke of Kent, valued at eleven thousand pounds. What happened was that the *Frances* was known in Halifax to be overdue, so Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth sent a ship to Sable Island to see if there were any signs that she had foundered there. The commander of this vessel, Lieutenant Scambler, reported that he had found a schooner at Sable which, on spotting his ship, tried to sail away. He gave chase and discovered on board two men who had spent the winter on the island, 'on the sealing concern' they said. Their story would have been more readily believed if the schooner had not also had on board some trunks, one addressed to the Duke of Kent. The trunks were empty but the schooner had sailed over a lot of ocean before Scrambler caught up with her, and the most valuable kind of goods such as jewellery would be the easiest to slip over the side. From Scambler's point of view the most important thing was that the two men confirmed the loss of the *Frances* with all hands. They had seen a ship in trouble, had all but seen her go down. Shortly afterwards, the trunks floated ashore.

The pilot of the government vessel, a local man, got more information from the island squatters. They admitted to him that some other goods had already been taken to Barrington, Nova Scotia, their home port. They also said that the body of a woman had come ashore with a valuable ring on one finger, that they had tried to get it off but, failing, had buried it with her. From this admission developed the tale of murder and robbery that made the rounds of the city and seaports of the province (and that was later recorded by Thomas Chandler Haliburton under the title "The Sable Island ghost in *Sam Slick's wise saws and modern instances*), shocking a good many members of the community. And it was this sense of shock that prompted public support of plans for the Sable Island Humane Establishment.

All that was needed was a public leader who would exploit the prevailing mood. A man like Sir John Wentworth.

Poor Wentworth has become something of a whipping boy for self-styled democrats of the media of our day. He was too prominent in Maritimes history to be ignored, but they seem to enjoy picturing him as the cuckold of a beautiful wife, who ended his days walking about the streets of Halifax in carpet slippers, old, lonely and impotent. There are facts to support this tradition: Frances Wentworth's immorality; Sir John's removal from office in favor of a younger, more military man, and his dotage. To stress them is to imply that Wentworth was a ridiculous, not powerful, figure. But the need to stress them implies the opposite, that Wentworth rose high enough to make men want to put him down.

In any case, whatever his final rating among historians, at the turn of the century Sir John Wentworth was well-nigh at the height of his power. And no matter how privileged his position at that time he had, in modern parlance, paid his dues. Wentworth grew up among the old colonial aristocracy, became Governor of New Hampshire, wealthy and with a beautiful wife. Then came the American Revolution. Wentworth stayed loyal to England, was driven out of America, became an impoverished exile. He returned to North America, in the reduced capacity of Surveyor General of the King's Woods. Another Loyalist, working hard and waiting patiently for his reward. But he was not *just* another Loyalist. For one thing, his reward came. The King made him Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia in 1792 and, a few years later, Sir John Wentworth. For a while at least Wentworth had it made. It was during this period that the problem of Sable Island shipwrecks came to the fore.

At first Wentworth's attempts to handle Sable wrecks showed no more imagination than the schemes of his predecessors. He took up a tradition he found in Nova Scotia, only

gradually adding to it. He sent agents to look into this or that wreck and arranged aid to known castaways. When the *Princess Amelia* was lost at Sable in 1797, he not only saw to the rescue of all survivors of the disaster, but also issued a commission to Andrew and William Miller, two Halifax mariners, appointing them Keepers of Sable Island because, in the words of the commission: 'The preservation of the Lives of all such Unfortunate persons as may from time to time be cast on shore on the s'd Is'd [said island] or the Banks & Soals [shoals] adjacent thereto are measures which I have thought proper to promote & Encourage as much as in me lieth.' The Millers were given full authority for an indefinite period to take all lawful means to prevent trespass on the island and to preserve the livestock 'which now are or hereafter may be' there, as well as being ordered to save shipwrecked people and property.[1] But the Millers' mission in fact lasted only for a season. Soon Sable Island was deserted again.

In sending the Millers to live on Sable Island Wentworth went beyond the limits of previous official schemes. At least some spending of public money was involved in their expedition. Even so, it was a rather timid attempt on the part of the government. Through no known fault of the Millers the enterprise did no lasting good. Except as an experiment. This trial settlement eventually proved useful by its obvious limitations. The next time Wentworth tried to set up an establishment on Sable Island he would know that he had to go further, that he had to aim for permanence of settlement and for continuous control in both law and deed.

It is remarkable that the Miller experiment took place more than two years before the tragic fate of the Duke of Kent's transport became known in Halifax. This fact shows that the oft-expressed belief that the *Frances* disaster and ensuing events, including the rumors of wreckers, etc., was the cause of official action vis-à-vis Sable Island is mistaken. The

importance of wreckers and murderers in the founding of the Sable Island Establishment has been grossly exaggerated. If the Millers or some successors had been living on Sable Island, they would doubtless have prevented the rumored atrocities and proven wrecking in the case of the *Frances.* And incidentally have relieved Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth of some embarrassment. This alone would tend to make Sir John determined that the next Sable experiment be a lasting success.

A man like Wentworth doesn't rush into things. He knew the time was ripe for some new Sable project: the province was prospering, public opinion had been aroused. The Lieutenant-Governor, like the experienced politician he was, played the situation by ear. The result was that an entirely new concept was evolved, a unique institution founded—unique not only to North America but to the European world as well—the Sable Island Humane Establishment.

For nearly two years following the wreck of the *Frances,* Wentworth supervised the activities that led to the setting up of the establishment. First came the fact-finding and planning phase. Then the attempt to gain support—especially financial support—in both England and Nova Scotia for the proposed institution.

Shortly after the wreck Wentworth got a report from John Howe, father of 'the Tribune of Nova Scotia' of later fame. This paper included an official report of the disaster, plus other information and opinions that extended its scope far beyond the import of the title: *Statement of facts relating to the Isle of Sable.* Among other things, Howe's report constitutes the official documentary source of the notorious incident of the wreckers, the ring and the female corpse. After relating that shocker, Howe strengthened the desired impression by citing examples to show the vast quantity of vessels

lost at Sable Island. He also gave a summary of the unsuccessful attempts to aid Sable castaways. The concluding paragraphs underline the moral of Howe's whole essay:

> Every year adds to the calamities occasioned by this dreadful Island, and points out the necessity of some establishment under the sanction of the government. Within a few years past property to a great amount has been cast on that Island. A large proportion of it has been saved and carried away by persons who only visit this Island for the purpose of wrecking. Many lives are lost which might be saved, if proper assistance could be afforded. And even where Vessels and their Crews are totally lost, as in the case of the *Francis* [sic], how great would be the satisfaction to ascertain to a certainty the fate that had waited them.
>
> In the abandoned state in which this Island has long been left, it has exposed the unfortunate people who have been cast on it to the mercy of any lawless, unfeeling persons who have chose [sic] to winter there; and it is so much to their interest to conceal the property they save, that it is generally by some accidental discovery, that such circumstances become known to Government. To prevent such discovery, there is reason to fear that some who have escaped shipwreck, have been deprived of their lives by beings more merciless than the Waves.
>
> Another circumstance is well worthy the attention of Government and the Underwriters. It is the number of Vessels lost on this Island, which there has been good reason to suppose have been run on shore on purpose to defraud the Underwriters, and to enrich the Villains, who knowing the parts of the Island, on which they could run with the least danger, have landed the principal part of their Cargoes and concealed them in the Sand till convenient to take them away. A Settlement on the

Island would be an effectual check to this evil, as it would furnish the means of detecting and bringing such Villains to punishment.

In short, viewing the utility of an establishment on Sable Island, either as it respects the purposes of Humanity—the Security it would afford to the extensive Trade between Great Britain and America, as well as the West Indies, and the preservation of immense quantities of property, now either totally lost, or squandered away by worthless individuals every consideration combines to encourage it.[2]

Using Howe's work as a base, Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth sketched his own *Observations upon an establishment proposed to be made on the Isle of Sable, for the relief of the distressed, and the preservation of property*. Sir John also got ideas by consulting the best-informed people he knew, and the variety of sources may account for the somewhat rambling nature of his paper. But he made his point: the need for some permanent Sable establishment under suitable regulations.

He stressed the multiple causes of the many shipwrecks at Sable Island: Sable's location in the track of shipping between Europe and North America and between British America and the West Indies; its structure, which caused wrecks a great distance from the island proper; and the various 'incidents and currents' which often caused a fatal difference between the actual position of a ship and its reckoned position. (The most important of these currents was later explained to be that coming out of the Gulf of St. Lawrence which was deflected westward by the influence of the Gulf Stream coming up from the southwestward. Ignorance of the power of this current caused captains to think that they were still safely to the eastward of the island when in fact they were in the longitude of it.) The point was obvious: shipwrecks at Sable Island were inevitable.

Wentworth had only to refer to Howe's information to support his claim that many lives and much property had been lost because of the lack of available assistance on the island. Again the conclusion seemed obvious: 'humanity and prudence, as well as Policy' united in recommending the setting up of some kind of establishment.

Which brought up the question, What kind of establishment? Wentworth's answer was determined more by what he feared than by what he desired. He took pains to make clear what he did *not* want, and the institution he proposed followed naturally from this position. Harking back to his own experience as a Loyalist in America, reflecting on the recent events of the French Revolution, he sounded a warning against "Families in the lower classes of Life', i.e. the only kind of people the government could hope to induce to live on Sable Island by their offer of 'Pay and Provisions'. The public funds were too limited to attract anybody else, given all the other adverse conditions.

But Wentworth argued that a group of people who were all equal 'in Interest or Authority' would be subject to moral deterioration if left to themselves at Sable. The island's reputation alone would be an evil influence; its actual, true past was irrelevant—the important thing was what people *believed* had happened there. An astute observation. Sir John drew a vivid picture of the creeping corruption: The isolated setting of Sable Island would lead the settlers to "ruminate and converse' on the tales of wrecking and murder; gradually, these influences might change the people themselves until, a chance presenting itself 'at a moment when they were weary of a lonely residence, on a desolate Island; and impatient to return to Society', they would finally yield to the temptation of acquiring wealth by the shortest method.

Wentworth opposed to this manifest doom his own vision of how things would be. First and foremost, the person put in charge of Sable Island should be 'a Gentleman [i.e. not a member of the lower classes] of respectability and character, who is also a Man of Business, or at least a good accountant'. This man, under the Lieutenant-Governor's direct authority, would be responsible for the behavior of everybody on the island, indeed for all matters generally at Sable. The men under him would be hired (for one year) and if necessary fired by him, and they would bring their families to the island. The Sable Island Establishment was not to be an all-male outpost but a community of families—Wentworth envisioned a total of seven including the Superintendent's. However, only the Superintendent was to have a separate residence; the other families were to have two buildings available to them, apparently the men in one and women and children in the other. When a vessel was wrecked the survivors could be housed in these two buildings according to the same arrangement, the crews being assigned to the men's house.

The other purpose, besides saving lives, was the salvaging of property, all of which was to be kept in a warehouse until it could be taken to Halifax. If the property was claimed, a charge for salvaging would be made no matter who owned it, underwriters or individuals. If not claimed after advertisement in the Halifax newspapers for a limited time, all property would be sold and the money used for the establishment just as the salvage charges were. For the performance of this philanthropic activity certain buildings and equipment were essential: outbuildings such as warehouses, boats, wagons; but Wentworth suggested one other remarkable item: arms and ammunition. Matériel for a mini-war, to enable the superintendent and his six men 'and any others that misfortune may put under his protection, to repel the attempts of Marauders, Allured by the prospects of plunder.' Clearly, Wentworth was resolved that his settlers would not suffer the fate of his fellow Loyalist Jesse Lawrence.

Wentworth was not, however, as anti-American as has sometimes been made out. He was not opposed to financial assistance from the United States for his life-saving establishment, and he thought it quite likely that Americans would willingly contribute since states on the eastern seaboard would obviously benefit from such an institution. He himself did prefer an establishment set up and maintained by Great Britain, no doubt partly for the honor of the thing, but 'more especially as the Island is within the British Dominion; being an Appendage or Dependancy of the Province of Nova Scotia —from whence it must be furnished, supplied, supported and governed; under Instruction from His Majesty's Ministers; to whom reports must be made through the Governor [i.e. Lieutenant-Governor] of that Province.'

The estimated total cost of this operation was fifteen hundred pounds to set it up and an annual cost of nine hundred pounds for salaries and contingent expenses plus the cost of provisions. Sir John believed that these costs would be offset by the salvage on rescued property and by profits from the exploitation of natural and cultivated island products. He envisaged, optimistically, vegetables and livestock raised for food, fish caught off shore, oil and skins from the small but profitable 'Seal fishery', and even a seasonal collection of feathers from the multitudinous sea-birds.

The proposed budget did *not* include a lighthouse. The whole lighthouse question was left for future consideration. Wentworth implied that his mind was open on the subject. He pointed out that, on the one hand, many vessels would be wrecked in places from which they could not see a light on any part of the island but, on the other, a lighthouse might prove useful in some instances. The best way to settle the question was, in his opinion, to make careful observations and accumulate relevant experience at Sable itself, that is to say, to settle the island first.

All the detailed information in Howe's *Statement* and his own *Observations* was sent to the Secretary of State in Wentworth's dispatch of June 21, 1800. The Duke of Portland replied at some length. He gave tacit approval to Wentworth's proposal; unfortunately, intentionally or otherwise, he rather missed the point. Ignoring the gist of Wentworth's reasoning, clearly expressed in his title 'an Establishment . . . for the relief of the distressed, and the preservation of Property', Portland referred to 'the Establishment you propose . . . to *prevent* [my *underlining*] the unhappy accidents which arise'. He then discussed only the prevention of wrecks, completely ignoring the question of aid to ships that would inevitably go aground.

Having thus set up a straw man, Portland easily tore him down. He delivered the kind of lecture that a certain type of Englishman still seems to hold in reserve for North Americans, making devasting points with impeccable style and subtle obtuseness. The Duke observed that the proposed establishment was 'of an extent to require mature consideration' (i.e. he was in no hurry to spend so much money). Ignoring Howe's statement that wrecks occurred all around the thirty-mile-long island and Wentworth's judicious comments about lighthouses, Portland suggested that the first thing to do was to find a good place for building a lighthouse to warn vessels away from the part where most ships were lost. He bluntly put it to Wentworth that if this could be done it would 'more effectually answer the purpose than such an Establishment as you propose.' Then he played the hypocrite by asking for Wentworth's further ideas on the grounds that, as the man on the spot (in more ways than one), Wentworth could better decide 'upon the practicability of erecting a Light House that shall answer the end proposed.' Thus, having evaded the main point Portland tried to pressure Wentworth to do so too, in effect ordering him to concentrate on the ways and means of preventing shipwrecks by a lighthouse.[4]

One might wonder why, aside from psychological reasons, the Duke behaved as he did. Two points seem particularly relevant. First, the Englishman's traditional conservatism in maritime affairs which would militate against easy acceptance of any original concept. Second, the fact that not only were there no official life-saving stations in England at that time, but wrecking (possibly including murder) was an accepted way of life in certain districts such as Cornwall. Lighthouses went back to the ancient Greeks, but this government-supported life-saving institution was a colonial idea.

Here was a test of Wentworth's *savior faire*. His experience served him well. He did not protest against the Duke, try to argue his case. Snubbed by his English superiors, he turned for support to his Bluenose public. If conflict on the issue was inevitable, Sir John preferred to be the mediator between the King's Ministers and his colonial subjects. He knew how to use that situation to his advantage. In the event he did a lot more than mediate. Various factors operated in Wentworth's favor: on the local scene, his own personal power and the genuine popularity of his Sable project; in England, the climate of opinion—the developing tendency in the Second British Empire to avoid conflict with the representatives of the people in any colony with regard to minor matters—and the Duke of Portland's disappearance from control over colonial affairs.

Wentworth covered himself by having a man named Seth Coleman look over Sable Island early the next summer with a view to setting up lighthouses. On July 3, 1801, the Lieutenant-Governor sent a copy of Coleman's report and a plan of Sable Island to Portland, thus complying with his request for more information. Of far more significance was another enclosure, an *Address of the House of Representatives in General Assembly* to himself.

The House address had been passed on June 25. It stated that the many calamities on Sable Island had induced the members to devote much 'serious consideration' to a means of remedy, and that they had decided after 'mature deliberation' that a settlement under the direction of the Nova Scotia Government was the solution. The ironic echo of the Duke of Portland's admonishing letter to their Lieutenant-Governor was surely no coincidence. The address asked Wentworth to advertise for families to settle on Sable Island for the protection of life and property and, with the advice of his Council, to advise a system of rules to govern them. The Assembly thought three families would be enough. They also took the conservative position that the system of granting 'a term of Possession and the exclusive Priviledge [sic] in certain Advantages the Island affords' was workable. This was the system that had failed twice before. But the Assembly did not make the mistake of assuming that a viable establishment could be set up and maintained *solely* in this way. With true Nova Scotian realism, they accepted the necessity of having to spend *some* public funds on the project but tried to cut the cost as much as possible. They announced that they would cheerfully provide for expenses up to but not exceeding six hundred pounds which they considered sufficient to attain the object in view. In other words, they were offering Wentworth about one-quarter of the funds and less than half the staff he had proposed as necessary, and they were suggesting a different setup from his.

Again Wentworth exercised diplomacy. He accepted the gains, didn't worry about the losses. He assured the House in his reply to their address that he would exert every attention in his power to carry into effect the wise and humane measure they had recommended and provided, and assured them of his Council's support as well.[6] Indeed, why shouldn't he! There was nothing in the Assembly's recommendations to conflict with his own intentions in principle, and there was much to support his stand against the Home Government's views as expressed by the Duke of Portland.

In his July 3 dispatch Wentworth stated that the aid afforded by this proposed establishment would suffice 'untill [sic] further and more competent arrangements can be effected.'[7] The implication in the context was that he meant the construction of lighthouses. In actual fact he was clearly following his own order of priorities, not that suggested by Portland. When in his next dispatch Wentworth advised the Secretary of State of the practical steps he had taken in regard to Sable Island, i.e. the beginning of the kind of establishment he himself had suggested, he used the transparent excuse that he was setting up a temporary reconnaissance base. By that time Portland vanished from the scene, and soon the Home Government had reversed their position on the lighthouse question. But Wentworth had his settlement on Sable Island. It remained for the next century and a half.

The actual setting up of the Sable settlement is a story in itself, too long to be told here. Certain aspects are, however, worthy of remark. A joint committee of both Council and Assembly administered the affair. These Sable Island Commissioners, as they were called, ran into problems almost immediately. They could not get families to settle the island the way the Assembly had planned. Times had changed. In the end the commissioners had to adopt a scheme closer to Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth's original proposal, 'to agree with persons on terms of wages and support for eight or nine months, or to abandon the undertaking entirely.'[8] They hired James Morris, a veteran of the Royal Navy, a man reputedly handy with his hands and of humane disposition, to be in charge of Sable Island. Superintendent Morris was to take his family, and the commissioners provided him with a staff of three men and a boy.

Just before he left Halifax for Sable, Morris received instructions directly from Sir John Wentworth. They were a combination of temporary orders about the immediate organization of the settlement and permanent policy regarding his

continuing duties as superintendent. The commissioners added nothing to these except to enjoin Morris to a strict observance of them, and to recommend that he economize strictly with regard to both provisions and staff time.

The little party sailed out of port in a government brig and a hired schooner on October 6, 1801. They came to anchor at Sable Island on the evening of October 10. By the 13th they had all the equipment and provisions landed, and a few days later the vessels sailed off, not to return until Spring. The island residents were left on their own for the long winter. Happily, they survived and did their duty, thanks to Superintendent Morris. All things considered, the Sable Island Establishment got off to a good start.

Meanwhile, back in the capital, Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth continued to do his bit. In order to buttress the authority of the life-saving staff, particularly the superintendent, Wentworth allowed (even encouraged) the legislature to pass a law respecting Sable Island which he knew was not entirely legitimate. He again covered himself—naturally, being Wentworth—by the usual procedure of suspending its operation until the King's pleasure was known. At the same time he justified the law on the basis that it was 'well adapted to this particular part of His Majestys [sic] dominions; and the peculiar circumstances that attend such an establishment.'[9] The fact that this legislation was not actually in force when the establishment was set up in October is not very important. The law's significance lay in its mere existence: the public were made aware that the full authority of the Government of Nova Scotia stood behind the settlement on Sable Island. Now even lawless fishermen, even Americans, were likely to think twice before openly attacking it.

Wentworth also tried to stimulate enthusiasm in England for the Sable establishment. During the next year he sent numerous documents showing what had been done and what

was intended, always stressing the inadequacy of the money voted by the Nova Scotia Assembly. Having no false modesty, he included a flattering report from the Sable Island Commissioners in which they say that the Sable charitable institution 'owes its existence to Your Excellency, and has long been the object of your care and solicitude'.[10] Unfortunately, although Wentworth's care and solicitude continued, the Secretary of State and the Board of Trade did not take the bait. The powers in London, with a combination of ignorance, misunderstanding and misplaced confidence, pricked the bubble of enthusiasm and splashed cold water on the Sable project.

On October 5, 1802, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies wrote to tell Wentworth how matters stood—and incidentally, how they were to remain for a generation—in regard to the provision of humane services at Sable Island:

> It appears . . . most adviseable [sic] for the present not to undertake any Establishment beyond that which the Legislature of the Province has provided the means of commencing for the humane purpose of preserving the lives of those, who may be wrecked there, and of assisting them as far as possible in the preservation of their effects; and I have no doubt the Province will continue to support upon its present scale a Plan which in its outset has proved so successful.[11]

Nothing could make it clearer that, so far as the development of the Sable Island Humane Establishment was concerned, Sir John Wentworth and his colonial government were on their own. The first life-saving institution of its kind was conceived, organzied and made permanently real in Nova Scotia. Great Britain made no direct contribution to the original design and offered only slight encouragement for its completion. All branches of the colonial government—Assembly, Council and Lieutenant-Governor—shared responsibility for the final decision, and all played a part in the

practical working out of the plan. Although the chief push came from above, from Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth (who was naturally supported by the Council he himself had selected), public opinion clearly favored the project. It is worthy of note that the man who made the first motion in the Assembly in favor of the Sable operation was Mr. W. C. Tonge, famous in local legend as Wentworth's political *bête noire*. Tradition, too, was already an influence in the Bluenose province: the previous attempts at aid to Sable shipwrecks, though largely failures, played their part. The Sable Island life-saving service was a natural development in the history of Nova Scotia.

FOOTNOTES

1. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Manuscript documents, volume 172, **Instructions, commissions, proclamations and other documents, from 1787 to 1809, p. 72.**
2. Public Archives of Canada, Report (1895), Note B, pp. 89-90. (The dashes that follow nearly every period in the printed text are omitted here.)
3. PAC, **Report** (1895), pp. 84-86.
4. Colonial Office 217, **Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, original correspondence . . .** ,volume 74, October 17, 1800. (This multi-volume series of manuscripts is in the Public Record Office, London, England; the microfilm copy in Public Archives of Canada was used here.)
5. PAC, **Report** (1895), pp. 92-93.
6. Nova Scotia, House of Assembly, **Journals** (1801), June 27.
7. CO 217/75, July 3, 1801.
8. PANS MS docs., **Miller collection,** box XL, folder 6, Report of Sable Island Commissioners to House of Assembly, April 10, 1802.
9. CO 217/75, Wentworth to Portland, Aug. 26, 1801.
10. CO 217/75, Commissioners to Wentworth, Oct. 17, 1801.
11. PANS MS docs., vol. 60, **Original dispatches from the Secretary of State to the Governors of Nova Scotia from 1800 to 1806,** doc. 27.

Note on Sources

This article is an expanded version of part of the author's book, **Sable Island, fatal and fertile crescent** (Windsor, N.S.: Lancelot Press, 1974). The printed material referred to in the footnotes as PAC **Report (1895)** was gathered together (with an introduction) under the title 'Papers relating to Sable Island (1800-1801)' and is a basic source for the present subject. Besides the cited manuscripts, a valuable source for the specific topic of this essay is: Public Archives of Nova Scotia MS docs., 53, **Governor Wentworth's letter books 1800-1805.**

First Two Years of The Bedford Fire Department

ELSIE CHURCHILL TOLSON

Twenty-five red buckets hanging in a row, two ladders above, and a fire axe, on the outside wall of a building, and that was one quarter of the equipment of the Bedford Fire Department in 1922. This was a Station, and there were four in the village.

The fifth Station was in Millview, in charge of Mr. Alex Doyle, manager of the mills. Millview was then a small principality unto itself, under the jurisdiction of Moir's Mills, a successful firm that owned a 40 gal. chemical tank, mounted on two wheels, plus Hose Reels. Moir's properties had experienced fires before. The mill had been levelled in 1905, one day after the insurance had lapsed, and in 1910, the sawmill and cable tower had burned. Before Moir's had owned the property, Alexander Kissock's Paper Mill had burned to the ground, in 1876.

If you look at the roof of the present modern Bedford Fire Station you will see two Hose Reels that were used at Moir's. They were manufactured in 1905, so it seems that Moir's had lost no time in getting equipment, after the disastrous fire. The two-wheeler they had in 1922 was as up-to-

date as what other towns, such as Stewiacke, Trenton, Westville, and St. Peter's, were using.

A similar one, with hose, would have cost about $320., and that was too much for the recently formed Bedford Ratepayers Association. We must remember that, relative to today's values, that was a great deal of money. There was no credit, or means of borrowing, no hand-outs, and if there had been, the reputable officers would not have been moved to put tax-payers in debt. The village had to pay for improvements. Fire equipment was but one of the necessary expenditures. The Association believed in having the cash before they ordered anything, and the only source of that was to solicit it from the residents.

A Fire Protection Committee had been chosen on March 14, 1921, composed of Messrs. J. E. Godwin, R. V. Harris, and W. M. Mitchell. The alarm would be given by ringing church bells, and blowing the whistles at Moir's and Hart's mills. Mr. Harris experimented with the idea of installing a tapper on the Presbyterian Church bell, connected with the Telephone Exchange, which was in a building opposite the present school.

By June, things were moving so well, it was expected there would be some effect on lowering fire insurance rates. Fire Marshall Major Rudland recommended that Bedford buy a Ford truck equipped with two chemical tanks, and an electric siren. In the meantime, he advised householders to buy hand extinguishers.

Mr. Alexander Hefler and Mr. A. B. Shaffelburg were appointed to the Fire Committee.

Sixty heads of families met at the Bedford Tennis Club (now the Yacht Club), in the fall, with Mr. A. W. Robb acting as chairman. Mr. Shaffelburg was chosen to be Bedford Fire Chief. Hand extinguishers costing $12.50 were urged

upon the audience. Five districts were set out, each with its own Fire Warden, who would work with the Chief. They were:

Dist. 1—That portion of the school district lying south of the railway line, and east of Sackville River. Mr. D. Pulsifer.
Dist. 2—From the Church of England north to the Range gates, both sides of the Sackville River. Mr. John Tolson.
Dist. 3—From the Church of England south to the Roman Catholic Church. Mr. J. W. Canfield.
Dist. 4—From the Roman Catholic Church to Bedford Garage. Messrs. W. M. Mitchel and Alexander Hefler.
Dist. 5—Was Millview. Mr. Alex Doyle.

No. 1 Station was on Wardour St., at "Dave" Pulsifer's, on the former Flemming Smith property. No. 2 was on the side of Mr. Tolson's carriage house, now the Dud Hut. No. 3 was on Mr. Canfield's barn, Canfield's store and barn were next to the present R. R. station. It was later noted that "the ladders a Hobin's are on the ground". The Hobin house was next to Canfield's. No. 4 was on the side of Mr. Robb's garage, that stood on the north corner of the present United Church parking lot. A narrow road beside it went down over the railway tracks to Isleview.

Forty persons had subscribed $123. They were one quarter of the ones to be solicited. By Oct., 1921, there was $221. Chief Shaffelburg could now state his requirements. He would need 100 galvanized buckets, four 24 ft. ladders, four 34 ft. ladders, and four fire axes. Catalogues from Beatty Bros., St. John, and Dominion Rubber System were studied. Mr. J. E. Roy ordered 12 extinguishers at $13. each, no doubt thinking of the terrible fire of 1912 that had levelled his fine home, adjacent houses, and the Barracks on Fort Sackville Hill. (Story about the Roy fire, later). Mr. Frank Lewis said that if the Comm. decided

to buy a large extinguisher for protection of all the village, he would give $25. towards it, and another gentleman offered the same.

The order was placed by Nov. 14, and five days before Christmas, the buckets arrived, but not the ladders. Chief Shaffelburg requested that the hundred buckets be painted red, with B.F.D. and section number on each. Also, he would like four axes.

Fire buckets, by the way, had round bottoms, a clever way of discouraging their use for anything else, because what could a person do with a pail that didn't stand? But even at that, they were not always returned to their hooks.

Everyhing had been paid for before it was put in place, and taxpayers could go to bed at night, knowing that if the church bell rang, gentlemen volunteers of the Fire Brigade would race to their Stations. To this day, the majority of Bedford firemen are serving voluntarily, and, "manning" the phones, have often been the ladies, ever since the days of Mrs. Hopkins's Telephone Exchange. (And Bedford now has one of the most modern Fire Departments in the Province, and is presently thinking of adding a piece of ladder equipment that will cost about $140.00.)

Now the Chief said shelters would be needed in three of the locations, at an estimated cost of $20. It turned out that they cost $20.76!

Mr. W. M. Mitchell asked if a Station could be placed for protection of the section between Schoolhouse and Chapel Hills. The Chief agreed, but it would have to wait until there was more money. Mr. Robb consulted the Fire Marshal regarding the fire menace at Hart's Mill and lumber yard. Mr. Harris reported that the hammer could not be arranged on the Presbyterian bell.

Chief Shaffelburg was thanked for the splendid way he had organized, and Mr. R. V. Harris was added to the Committee.

Guildford & Sons, of Halifax, were invited to give a demonstration of the Evinrude Fire Pump, at Bedford, on July 22nd, at 4 p.m. The Chief reported at the next meeting that it had not been a success.

It was learned that a ship's portable pump, weight about 150 lbs., was for sale for $750. at the Dockyard. Capt. A. F. L. Atwood invited a Committee composed of Messrs. Shaffelburg, Harris, Canfield, and Guildford, to join him at the Jetty in the Navy Yard, to witness a test of the pump.

The pump worked fine, but was heavier than thought and would be too large and heavy for even two men to carry from place to place. Chief Shaffelburg suggested a pump he had seen at Guildford's that cost about $32. Rubber hose for it would cost 25 and 30 cents per foot for 1 inch, and 1¼ inch. The Chief and Mr. Eugene Sullivan moved that collections begin, and by July, $110. of the $125. needed had been subscribed. Mr. John Tolson handed the Committee a bill that was due him for material and labour on Station 2. He had marked it "paid", as an extra contribution.

Chief Shaffelburg, Mr. A. Hefler, and the Fire Brigade, carried on for years, apparently without a pump. One person suggested having a concert to raise funds. There were so many projects needing funding, such as a proposed sidewalk, estimated to cost $500., and almost $1000. had been raised to help one unfortunate family.

Ten years later, in 1932, it was noted that Mr. H. McC. Hart's lumber yard was still a serious fire threat!

Source: Bedford Ratepayer's Association Minutes, and personal research.

The Family of John Howe Halifax Loyalist and King's Printer

TERRENCE M. PUNCH and ALLAN E. MARBLE

The **Halifax Journal** began its existence in January 1781. Its publisher was a 26-year-old Loyalist from Boston, named John Howe. This young man had arrived in Halifax the year before with his wife and child. This was his second coming, as he had visited Halifax in 1776 as one of the refugees from Boston. Howe had returned to new England and, from 16 January 1777 to October 1779, he had published the pro-British **Newport Gazette.** While he was at Newport, John Howe married Martha Minns. When the British evacuated Newport, the Howes went to New York, where their first cnild was borh on Christmas Day, 1779.

John Howe removed with his small family to Halifax in 1780, leaving New England where his family had lived for four generations. Abraham Howe had come from Broad Oak, Essex, England, to Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1636. From Abraham the line had come down: Isaac, Isaac, Joseph, John the printer. Joseph Howe, his father, was a tinplate worker at Boston when the Revolution erupted into its violent phase. Two of Joseph's children, ended up in Halifax after the war. Of John we treat at length. The other was his sister, Abigail Howe (born Oct 1765), who married at Halifax, 10 July 1791, Alexander **ALLEN,** son of Ebenezer Allen, and had a family.

John Howe ,the Loyalist printer, succeeded as the King's Printer in Nova Scotia following the death of Anthony Henry (Anton Heinrich) in December 1800. In 1803 John Howe became postmaster-general, and held both appointments until 1818, when he relinquished them to his eldest son, John Howe, Jr. The aging Loyalist printer thereafter devoted himself to private interests, including the practice of his strict religious beliefs. He was a Sandemanian, imbued with Robert Sande-

man's injunction to fear God and honour the King. It was that obedience to lawful authority that had brought him loyal through the American Revolution. That conspicuous loyalty to the Crown was one of the outstanding characteristics of the public career of his youngest son, Hon. Joseph Howe.

As he approached his end, the old gentleman's charitable tendencies became more pronounced, but sometimes verged on eccentricity. Where once he was content to go for long walks and buy food which he distributed to poor people he happened to meet along the way, the aging printer now got the idea of providing for the spinsters of Halifax, a project that might have led to embarrassment all round. The handsome, learned, and calm John Howe, Loyalist printer, died at the end of 1835. His much better known son, Joseph Howe, paid him a fitting tribute, which we may quote as his epitaph:

> My Father was my only instructor, my play-fellow, almost my daily companion. To him I owe my fondness for reading, my familiarity with the Bible, my knowledge of old Colonial & American incidents and characteristics. He left me nothing but the example and the memory of his many virtues, for all that he ever earned was given to the poor.

* * * *

John Howe, Sr., was born at Boston, Mass., 14 Oct 1754, and died at Halifax, N.S., 29 Dec 1835. He married (1st) 7 June 1778, Martha Minns (1760-25 Nov 1790), daughter of William and Sarah (King) Minns, of Boston and Halifax. By this marriage there were six children:

1. Martha Howe, born at New York, 25 Dec. 1779, died at Halifax, 19 Jan 1799; married 25 Dec 1797, Edward **SENTELL** (born at Windsor, N.S., 18 Mar 1771), son of William and Ruth (Church) Sentell. After Martha's death, Edward Sentell married Sarah Moody Dove, and in 1812 removed to Colchester County, N.S. Martha (Howe) Sentell left one child:
   1) Martha Ruth Sentell, bapt. 16 June 1799 (St. Matthew's, Halifax).
2. Sarah Howe, born 2 Sep 1782 at Halifax, died 23 June 1783, aged 10 months.
3. John Howe, Jr., born 8 Sep 1784, died 18 Jan 1843; succeeded his father as King's Printer and postmaster-general in 1818, and held those appointments until his death in 1843. He married 16 Oct 1808, Henrietta "Hetty" Hians (2 Aug 1790-9 Apr 1840), daughter of Capel and Martha Hians of Halifax. They had nine children:
   1) Martha Jane Howe, bapt. 27 Oct 1809, died 9 June 1845; married 30 Dec 1837, Capt. Henry McCrae **WATSON**, R.N., who died at the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa. They had issue, three children.
   2) John Howe, bapt. 6 Feb 1811, died in infancy.
   3) Catherine Howe, bapt. 29 Mar 1812, died in infancy.

4) John Howe, born at Halifax, 3 June 1814, died at Saint John, N.B., 3 Jan, 1898. From 1836 to 1876 he was postmaster of Saint John, N.B. He married 5 June, 1838, Mary Elizabeth White, daughter of James White, Esq., the high sheriff of Saint John. They had five children:
   1a) Elizabeth White Howe, born 5 July 1840: married 19 Feb 1862 William **ARCHDEACON**, R.N., of England.
   2a) Louisa Catherine Howe, born 22 Feb 1842; married 8 Apr 1863, Thomas Townshend **Handford,** Esq., lawyer, Saint John, N.B., Issue.
   3a) Sarah Georgina Howe, born 29 Aug 1844, living 1909 at Halifax; married 4 Sep 1872, Charles Edward **BROWN,** druggist at Halifax. Issue.
   4a) Arthur Howe, born 22 Sep 1852; married Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Charles and Mary Elizabeth Doherty of Saint John, N.B. They had five children.
   5a) Joseph Howe, born 5 Aug 1855; an inspector in the North West Mounted Police. He married 19 Apr 1898, Agnes Mary Cameron of Trenton, Ontario, and they had:
      1b) Joseph Howe, assistant commissioner of the R.C.M.P., born 1899 at Regina, died 14 Dec, 1971; married Marion Grace Harrison of Ottawa. No issue.
      2b) Audrey Josephine Howe, born in Regina, died in London England, 31 Jan 1963; marmied Reginald A. **CAMIDGE** in Hong Kong. One daughter.
5) Catherine Howe, born 17 Nov, 1816, died at Lower Horton, N.S., 10 Jul 1866; married (1st) 17 Nov 1842, Joseph A. **SIEVEWRIGHT,** merchant at Halifax. They had three daughters. Catherine (Howe) Sievewright married (2nd) W. W. **WARD** of Lower Horton, N.S.
6) William Minns Howe, barrister-at-law, born 7 Dec, 1817 at Halifax, died at Summerside P.E.I., 5 Jun 1888. He was educated at Kings College, Windsor, and was referred to as "a classical scholar of some note". He married 25 Jul 1845, Catherine Louisa White, third daughter of James White, Esq., high sheriff of Saint John, N.B., sister of the wife of his brother, John Howe (above). Their four children were born in Saint John previous to their move to Charlottetown, P.E.I. in 1854, and were:
   1a) James William Howe, barrister, born at Saint John, N.B., 2 Nov, 1848, died at Summerside, P.E.I. 10 June 1889. He was Stipendiary Magistrate of Summerside from 1875 to 1886.
   2a) a daughter, aged 6 to 16 years in 1861.
   3a) John Howe, living in New York as an adult in 1888.

4a) Arthur M. Howe, in hospital in New York in 1888.

7) Sarah Minns Howe, born 8 Jan 1820, died 18 Sep 1889; married 21 Jan 1847, John Edward **HOSTERMAN**, manufacturer at the North West Arm, Halifax (bapt. 3 Nov. 1816, died 18 Jun 1887), son of Thomas and Eliza (Etter) Hosterman of Halifax. They had issue, three sons.

8) Henrietta "Hetty" Howe, bapt. 28 Nov 1824; married 1 Jan 1851, Henry Phipps **OTTY** of Saint John, N.B. They hal issue, one daughter

1a) Elizabeth Crookshank Otty, born 1851; married 1877, Alfred W. **SAVARY** of Digby, judge, historian and M.P.

9) Charlotte Howe, born 3 May 1830, died 24 May 1911; married at Saint John, N.B., 21 Aug 1858, Charles Owen **HOSTERMAN**, of North West Arm, Halifax (29 Sep 1834-7 Mar 1870), son of Thomas and Eliza (Etter) Hosterman of Halifax, younger brother of the husband of her sister, Sarah Minns Howe (above). They had issue, four sons and two daughters.

4. William Howe, assistant commissary-general at Quebec, born in 1786, died at Halifax, 12 Jan 1843, unmarried.

5. Jane Howe, born in 1788, died at Digby, N.S., 23 May 1865; married 25 July 1816, Capt. William Austen, her stepbrother (See Appendix A below).

6. David Howe, born at Halifax, 10 Nov 1790, drowned at St. Margaret's Bay, N.S., in 1826. He was in partnership with his brother, John Howe, Jr., then left Halifax to operate a newspaper at St. Andrew's, N.B. in 1820. He returned to Halifax in 1825. Following his death, his widow for several years conducted a private school in Halifax. He married 9 Oct 1813, Elizabeth M. Gethens (born Halifax 27 Mar 1789, died at New York 29 Nov 1866), only child of Capt. Jacob and Elizabeth (Tuffs) Gethens of Philadelphia. Capt. Gethens was lost at sea. Elizabeth M. Gethens had married (1st) Edward Best FitzGerald of the Commissariat Dept., who was drowned in Halifax Harbour leaving her a widow with two sons. She had thus lost her father and two husbands to the Atlantic. David and Elizabeth Howe had nine children:

1) David Howe, who always called himself "John C. Howe", born at Halifax, 10 May, 1814, died at Niagara Falls, N.Y., 29 Apr 1863, where he had practiced medicine for several years. He had no family.

2) William E. C. Howe, born 9 Apr 1815, died 8 Jun 1886, probate judge at Halifax. He was educated at Kings College, Windsor, and married 1 Jun 1848, Margaret Nixon (born Edinburgh, Scotland 12 Nov, 1818, living Halifax in 1897), niece of Judge William Sawers, and daughter of Joseph and Susanna Frater (Sawers) Nixon. They had issue, seven children:

1a) William Sawers Howe, born Halifax 12 May 1849, died St. Thomas, West Indies 19 Nov 1866. At his death he was a Captain in the 2nd Brigade, H. M. Artillery.

2a) Douglas David Howe, deputy registrar of probate at Halifax, born 4 Jul 1850, died Halifax 19 Feb 1934, without family. He married (1st) 29 Jun 1889 Sarah Ann Church (died 23 May 1893), daughter of Thomas and Mary Church of Falmouth, N.S., and widow of Alonzo Payzant. Douglas Howe married (2nd) to Josephine Martha Ross (born at St. Croix, N.S., died at Grand Pre, N.S., 19 Feb, 1944, in her 83rd year).

3a) Elizabeth Margaret Howe, born 8 Jan 1852, died 24 Feb 1868.

4a) Isabella Nixon Howe, born 14 Nov 1853, living 1897 at L'Equille, Annapolis County, N.S.; married 8 Sep 1874, James **PENNINGTON** (born London, England, 16 Sep 1843), son of Albert and Margaret (O'Sullivan) Pennington. They had nine children.

5a) Henry Joseph Howe, born Nov 1855, died 22 May 1859.

6a) Francis Crossley "Frank" Howe, born 4 July 1857, living 1897 in San Francisco, California; married 9 Dec 1883, Sarah Jane, daughter of Thomas and Alice Barbour of Sydney, N.S. They had issue:
1b) William Joseph Howe.
2b) Alice Margaret Howe, living 1931.

7a) Agnes Purvis Howe, born 12 May 1859; married (1st) May 1881, William Dunn **WARD** (born Scotland 1856, died at Boston, 14 Jan 1890). She married (2nd) 27 Oct 1896, William **HOLLOWAY**, son of William and Isabella (Sutherland) Holloway of Halifax.

3) Charles Cassimir Stewart Howe, bapt. 15 Apr 1816, died in 1819.

4) Elizabeth Mary Howe, bapt. 13 July 1817, dead by 1865; married — **RANDALL** of Newfoundland. Issue.

5) Mary Jane Howe, bapt. 27 Sep 1818, dead by 1885; married — **STEWART** of Illinois. Issue.

6) Charles Cassimir Stewart Howe, bapt. 25 July 1820, commanded a packet ship out of Liverpool, England. Capt. Howe died unmarried, in the Bay of Biscay.

7) Louisa Howe, dead by 1885; married Alfred **RANDALL** of Chicago. Issue.

8) Harriett Howe, dead by 1885; married — **NEWTON** of New Orleans. Issue.

9) Augusta H. Howe, living 1885; married — **LEONARD** of South Brooklyn, N.Y. She had issue.

We revert now to John Howe, Sr., the Loyalist printer. Following the death of his first wife, Martha Minns, he remarried, 25 Oct 1798, Mary Ede Austen, one of the daughters of Capt. William Ede of London, England, and his wife, Sarah Hilton of Maryland. She was the widow of Henry Austen (See Appendix A). Mary Ede Howe died 14 Feb 1837, aged 74 years. By her, John Howe, Sr., had issue, two children:

7. Sarah Foster Howe, born 1800, died during her passage from Liverpool, England, to Lima, Peru. She was buried somewhere in Virginia in 1824. She married in 1822, Daniel **LANGSHAWE** of Saint John, N.B. No issue.
8. Joseph Howe, the distinguished Nova Scotian politician, author and journalist, born at the North West Arm, Halifax, 13 Dec 1804, died at Government House, Halifax, 1 June 1873, three weeks after becoming the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia. He had a son born previous to his marriage, for whom see Appendix B.
   Joseph Howe married 2 Feb 1828, Catherine Susan Ann McNab (12 May 1807-5 July 1890), only daughter of Capt. John McNab and his wife, Ellen Davis. Capt. McNab, of the McNab's Island family, was stationed on garrison at St. John's, Nfld., when Susan Ann was born. Joseph and Susan Ann (McNab) Howe were the parents of ten children:

1.) Mary Howe, born 9 May 1829, died 12 May 1829.
2. Ellen Howe, born 3 Dec 1830, died 5 Feb 1910; married 22 Oct 1851, Cathcart **THOMSON**, son of James Thomson of Spital, Jamaica, and his wife, Christian Renny of Falkirk, Scotland. Cathcart Thomson was thus a first cousin of Hon. William Young, who was premier and later chief justice of Nova Scotia. Cathcart and Ellen (Howe) Thomson had issue, four sons and two daughters.
3. Mary Howe, born 29 Nov 1832, died 1 Nov 1853, unmarried.
4. Joseph Howe, born 7 July 1834, died 24 Aug 1888 at Cookstown, Queensland, Australia. No family.
5. Sophia Howe, born 13 Aug 1836, died 13 Sep 1837.
6. James Howe, born 24 July 1839, died 14 Oct 1839.
7. Frederick Howe, bapt. 24 Dec 1840, served in the American Civil War, then drifted about for a number of years, finally died about 1887-1889 in the United States. No family.
8. Sydenham Howe, dominion auditor, bapt. 19 Mar 1843 at Halifax, died at Middleton, N.S., 14 Apr. 1929, last survivor of the family of Hon. Joseph Howe. He was a founding member of the Nova Scotia Historical Society and served for several years as its secretary. He married his first cousin, 26 Apr 1870, Fanny Westphal McNab (3 Feb 1844-23 Jan 1920), daughter of James B. and Sarah (Currie) McNab of Cornwallis and Dartmouth, N.S. They had issue, six children:
   1) Philip Westphal Howe, born 17 Feb 1871, died 16 Feb 1890.

2) Sydenham James Howe, born 21 Mar 1872, living 1931 in Jamaica; married 9 June 1897, Georgiana, daughter of Dr. William and Sarah (McKenzie) Mitchell of New Glasgow, N.S. They lived at Sherbrooke, N.S. for a few years before going to Jamaica.
3) Mary Emilie Howe, born 6 Dec 1874, died 23 Feb 1877.
4) Joseph Howe, born 25 July 1877, died 6 Apr 1903 at Middleton, N.S., unm.
5) John Ross Howe, staff sergeant, B.W.I. Regiment, born 20 Nov 1881, died at Kingston, Jamaica, 23 June 1918.
6) Fanny Myrtle Howe, nurse in World War I, born 25 Aug 1883, died 27 Oct 1966 at Middleton, N.S., unmarried.

9. John Howe, born 16 May 1864, died, 20 June 1856.
10. William Howe, born at Halifax 27 July 1848, died at Ottawa 28 Apr 1890; married (1st) 23 Sep 1873, Helen F. Ross (died 11 Mar 1877, aged 23), daughter of Rev. Principal James Ross, D.D. They had two children:
    1) Josephine Howe, born at Ottawa 17 Sep 1874, died at Calgary, Alberta, 24 July 1909, unmarried.
    2) Helen Howe, born at Ottawa 22 Feb 1877, died at Calgary, March 1968. She was the last surviving grandchild of Hon. Joseph Howe. She married April 1919 (as his second wife), Arthur C. **HARE,** veteran of World War I. He died at Edmonton, Alberta, in June 1919, only two months after his marriage. They had a posthumous daughter,
    1b) Helen Ross Hare, born at Calgary, 31 Jan 1920.

    William Howe married (2nd) 4 Mar 1884, Maggie, daughter of Robert Clark of New Edinburgh, Ottawa, but by her he had no further issue. After his death, Maggie (Clark) Howe married, 16 Oct 1897, Alexander, son of G. F. Burnett.

APPENDIX B — The Family of Edward Howe of Maitland, Hants County

The Will of Catherine Susan Ann, widow of Hon. Joseph Howe, is dated 12 Apr, 1887, and proved on 24 Jul, 1890. A number of children and grandchildren are named in this Will including "Mary, daughter of the late Edward Howe of Maitland". This Edward Howe died on 28 Feb, 1860, and his death notice in the **Christian Messenger** reads: "Died at Maitland on 28 Feb, Edward Howe, son of Hon. Joseph Howe, after a long and painful illness". Edward is buried in St. David's United Church Cemetery in Maitland and his stone indicates that when he died on 28 Feb, 1860, he was 36 years old, suggesting that he was born about the year 1824.

Edward married 14 May, 1850 at Musquodoboit to Elizabeth (ca. 1835-26 Jul, 1887), daughter of John McDougall. After Edward's death, Elizabeth married 11 Feb, 1868 Timothy O'Brien, a storekeeper in Maitland. The children of Edward Howe and Elizabeth (McDougall) Howe were:

1. Captain Joseph Howe, born 18 Feb, 1852, died 20 Jan, 1922 at Maitland, married 20 Sep, 1885 at Port Townsend, Western Territories, Australia to Jane (27 May, 1856-3 Sep, 1944), daughter of Alexander and Nancy (McCallum) Ross of Maitland. At the time of the marriage, Joseph was Captain of the British barque "Isabel" and he pursued a career as a mariner for the remainder of his life. His wife, Jane, accompanied him on his many voyages to distant points of the globe, however they made their home in Maitland when not at sea. Their only child was:
   1) Joseph Gordon Howe, born ca. 1902, died 24 May, 1969 at Maitland, married Dorothy Maude Rands (ca. 1906-31 Oct, 1965), daughter of George and Maria Rands of Halifax. Gordon and Dorothy lived at Maitland where Gordon carried on an Insurance business. No issue.
2. Mary Howe, born 18 Feb, 1854 at Maitland, died 7 Mar, 1932 at Truro. She was educated at Maitland, Mount Allison Academy, and at a private School in Halifax. She later trained to be a Nurse in Orange, New Jersey and worked in that profession in Pennsylvania for 32 years. Some time after 1922 she returned to Maitland where she lived with Mrs. Joseph Howe. She was unmarried. One person who knew her commented that Mary Howe was "a lovely lady, very distinguished".
3. Edward Howe, born 24 Jul, 1856 at Maitland, died 7 Feb 1940 at Stewiacke, married (1st) 15 Mar, 1883 at Maitland to Margaret Hannah (1857-8 Mar, 1888), daughter of John and Eliza (Johns) Drillio of Maitland. When Margaret died, the family was living in Moodyville (near Vancouver), British Columbia, where Edward was employed as a railway worker. Edward then went to Boston, and about the turn of the century came to Elderbank, Halifax County, where he worked as a farmer and carpenter. He married (2nd) to Elizabeth M. (1863-1912), daughter of John and Sarah Cruikshank of Elderbank and shortly before her death, moved to Stewiacke, where he was engaged by George Lewis to build a new factory. Edward married (3rd) Mary (called Maisie) Layton (ca. 1870-20 Mar, 1957), daughter of Jonathan and Jessie (Burnett) Layton of Middle Musquodoboit. Edward had children by his first wife only and these were:
   1) Elizabeth (Libbie) Howe, born 1885 at Maitland, died 15 May, 1960 at Halifax, married (1st) Lewis H. Murchy (1878-1923), and (2nd) 15 Jul, 1925 A. Earl Murchy (1892-1961). Libbie had eight children by the first marriage.
   2) Maggie Howe, born ca. 1888, died Apr, 1902, in her 14th year.
4. Captain John Howe, born ca. 1859, died Jul, 1928 at Weymouth, England. John followed the sea all his life, and at one time was in the employ of Pickford and Black of Hali-

fax. Sometime between 1896 and 1902 he went to England, and later sailed out of Cardiff, Wales. His obituary indiccates that he was married and survived by his wife as well as one daughter, but their names have not been ascertained.

Appendix A—The Family of Henry AUSTEN and Mary Ede

Henry **AUSTEN** was born at Cork City, Ireland, in 1742, the son of Joseph Austen and Elizabeth Whitcraft. His grandfather, Joseph Austen (1682-1760) had been sheriff (1718) and mayor (1730) of Cork. Henry Austen died at Halifax, 10 Feb 1788. He married at Halifax, 2 Aug 1780, Mary Ede (1762-14 Feb 1837), daughter of Capt. William and Sarah (Hilton) Ede. After Austen's death, Mary (Ede) Austen remarried, in 1798 John **HOWE** (above). Henry and Mary (Ede) Austen had issue, five children, who were thus half-brothers and sisters to Joseph Howe:

1. Mary Austen, bapt. 8 July 1781; married 24 June 1802, John **LETSON** (15 June 1780-2 Apr 1826), son of Robert and Elizabeth (Norris) Letson, of New York. John Letson died at Miramichi, N.B. in 1826, leaving no family.
2. Sarah Austen, bapt. 29 Sep 1782, died in April 1828; married 24 Jan 1824, George Martin **JOST** (16 July 1792-5 Oct 1882), son of John Caspar and Catharine (Hirtle) Jost of Guysborough, N.S. Their two children died in infancy.
3. Joseph Austen, bapt. 11 Mar 1784, died at Victoria, B.C., in 1871; married, and left issue.
4. Henry Austen, born 29 May 1786, died at Dartmouth, N.S., 6 Feb 1859; married Susannah (born 1783), daughter of Robert and Elizabeth LETSON, and had issue.
5. William Austen, master mariner, born 26 Oct 1787; married (1st) 1 Mar 1809, Mary Anne Mansfield (1790-4 Feb 1812), daughter of Isaac Mansfield, and had one child:
   1) Mary Anne Mansfield Austen, bapt. 10 June 1810.

   William Austen married (2nd) 25 July 1816, his step-sister, Jane Howe (1788-1865), daughter of John Howe, the Loyalist, by his first wife, Martha Minns. They had issue, three children.
   2) John Greene Austen, bapt. 1 June 1817, died in childhood.
   3) Sophia Minns Austen; married Robert S. **FITZRANDOLPH**, merchant, Digby. No issue.
   4) Sarah Austen, drowned, buried 17 Oct 1883; married (as his second wife) John **DAKIN** (born 1804), son of Daniel and Sarah (Warwick) Dakin. No issue.

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Mr. Ross Graves, Upper Stewiacke
Mrs. Lois Kernaghan, Halifax

Genealogical Note

Descendants of John Doane, Governor of Plymouth Colony in 1633, met at Wheaton College in Norton, Massachusetts, from August 5-8. Harvey R. Doane of Halifax, Nova Scotia was among the nearly 300 members of the Doane Family Association of America who participated in this 63rd National Reunion.

A large contingent of Canadian Doanes, in a Bicentennial tribute, joined their American cousins for a trip to the Doane Homestead and monument on Cape Cod and for a visit to Plymouth. Other entertainment, besides the visiting and tracing of lines of ancestry, included music, tennis and swimming. Featured speakers at this four day reunion included Eleanor Doane, President of the California Chapter; Gilbert H. Doane, Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists; Doris Doane of the Cape Cod National Seashore; David McFall of Toronto, Canada; and Richard K. Doane, former columnist of TV GUIDE.

Volume II of *THE DOANE FAMILY* genealogy, just published, was available along with reprints of Volume I. Doanes who are interested in obtaining a copy of either Volume I or II may contact Mrs. Frank E. Barrows, 124 Eldredge Dr. Vistal, NY 13850.

The 1978 reunion will be held in Santa Ana, California. Doane descendants interested in the Association or in attending the 1978 reunion should contact Harvey R. Doane, 967 Ritchie Drive, Halifax, Nova Scotia or Oscar W. Doane, 68 Standish Way, West Yarmouth, Mass. 02673, President of the Doane Family Association of America.

Contributors

TERRENCE MICHAEL PUNCH was born in Halifax and received his early education in Halifax public schools. He received degrees in Arts and Journalism from St. Mary's University in 1964, and the degrees of Bachelor of Education and Master of Arts since that time.

He is a member of the Canadian Historical Association, the Irish Genealogical Research Society, the Historical Association, the Nova Scotia Historical Society, the Charitable Irish Society, and was elected a life Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquarians of Ireland in 1963. Mr. Punch was a member of the Centennial Committee of the N.S. Teachers' Union in 1966-67, and was winner of the first prize in the historical article section of the literary contest held in 1975 by the Nova Scotia branch of the Canadian Authors' Association and the Department of Recreation.

He contributed a genealogy of the Tobin family to the *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly* in March, 1975. He lives in Armdale with his wife, Pam, and three young children.

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

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

He is presently in the Masters degree course at the University of New Brunswick.

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

He is a member of the Canadian Historical Association.

PAUL MATTHEW GOUETT was born in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. He attended St. Mary's Redemptionist Seminary, Brockville, Ontario; St. Mary's University, Halifax, where he was granted the degree of Bachelor of Arts and Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario where he was granted the degree of Bachelor of Education.

Articles by Mr. Gouett have appeared in the Lunenburg Progress Enterprise, the Social Studies Review and Lighthouse.

He is a member of the Algoma Historical Society and is interested in collecting folk songs and antiques.

Mr. Gouett is a teacher and lives in Halifax.

LYALL GARTH CAMPBELL was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia where he received his early education. He attended Dalhousie University there and was granted the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Mater of Arts in History. A Bachelor of Library Science was granted from the University of Toronto. He is the recipient of several scholarships and grants.

Mr. Campbell's article, Shipwrecks and the Colonization of Sable Island appeared in Canadian Historical Magazine and a book, *Sable Island, Fatal and Fertile Crescent* was produced by Lancelot Press in 1974.

Mr. Campbell is a writer and librarian and lives in Montreal.

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

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

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

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

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

He has written numerous scientific abstracts and papers pertaining to medical research and is the author of a book on Genealogy, published in 1966.

Mr. Marble is chairman of the Genealogy committee, Nova Scotia Historical Society and is a member of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science and the Royal Philatelic Society of Canada.

Book Reviews

LORNA INNESS

Annapolis Valley Saga, By Malcolm Cecil Foster,
Edited and illustrated by Howard Lewis Trueman,
Paparback, 224 pages, published 1976
Lancelot Press $4.50

This is a book of boyhood recollections carried into adulthood and eventually old age. It is the story of the life of an Annapolis Valley farmer, his wife and their children over a period covering the turn of the century.

This story has been edited by Howard L. Trueman from a larger manuscript. The story is written as though it was an old man's account of his life, "but it was actually written by his third son as a record of the days of his father's childhood and maturity." Trueman comments that this has been done so well that, if one did not know otherwise, it would seem like an authentic autobiography."

What particularly interested Trueman was that this was the story, not so much of a Maritimer leaving the province to find success elsewhere, but of the family background, "the inspiration and sacrifices" of the parents who started some of these people on their careers.

The farmer's true name was Delacy Evans Foster and he married a girl named Mary Sophia Vroom. They are buried at Middleton. For the purposes of the book, however, their names are William Henry and Elva Banks and the story begins with young William's arrival at the Banks household in Middle Clifton in July 1856.

The reader follows Banks to school, with his flustered introduction to the stern, forbidding teacher:

"My name is William Henry Banks, and I was five years old the day the brown cow calved." And the studies: "reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammer," with algebra and geometry in the ninth grade. And reading from the "old Royal Readers . . . full of . . . plenty of Addison, Pope, Scott, Dryden, Shakespeare, Milton, Burke, Pitt, Macaulay and all the truly great authors." . . . "They gave us some excellent reading and

a contact with . . . a vocabulary that the youngsters of today never even heard about."

Banks describes the chores and the fun of growing up on a farm and we share his experiences on his first job, and his first horse, the roadster Kitty. Kitty was to play a part in his courting, although he didn't know it when he bought the horse from a neighbor's boy.

Banks decided to settle down and began looking seriously for his farm when he met a young girl, Elva, who was visiting Clifton. They began their life together on a small farm bought from an older couple. There was plenty of work to be done to repair the house, to fix up the fields, to plant a garden, repair fences and clean up and replant the orchards.

With the arrival of the children, there were the added responsibilities and the sacrifices necessary to handle them. Moreover, when the children showed promise and potential there were more sacrifices to obtain for them the higher education which was in time to see sons established in careers in chemistry and teaching at Yale and a daughter with musical talent and a proficiency in German with a teaching career of her own.

From birth to retirement with its move from the farm on South Mountain to a town, the passing of Elva and the old man's death at 95 years of age—the book is indeed a saga of an Annapolis Valley life.

The author of the book was the old farmer's third son, Malcolm Foster, born in 1894. He attended Middleton High School and graduated in science from Acadia University. He followed teaching at Acadia and Mount Allison with post-graduate studies at Yale, interrupted for service with the American army in World War I. He taught at Yale and at Wesleyan University. During retirement, he became interested in compiling the story of his father's life and Dr. Foster was working on the manuscript when he passed away in 1952.

The book's editor, Howard Trueman, is a graduate of the Nova Scotia Agricultural College and Guelph University. Dr. Trueman has had a distinguished career in agricultural extension and administration and has served as executive director of the Canadian Hunger Foundation and has been honored for his work on world food problems.

He is the son of Dr. John M. Trueman, a former principal of the Nova Scotia Agricultural College. He is a grandson of Howard Trueman whose account, The Chignecto Isthmus and its First Settlers was out of print for many years until its facsimile reprint edition was issued several years ago by the Mika Publishing Company of Belleville, Ontario.

God and the Devil at Seal Cove, By Angus Hector MacLean
Paperback, 127 pages, published 1976
Petheric Press, $3.95

Like the Annapolis Valley Saga, this book is an account of a boyhood near the turn of the 19th century. In this instance, however, the boyhood was spent in the tiny community of Seal Cove, Cape Breton.

Angus Hector MacLean was another Nova Scotian who was raised in a small community and who left it to seek higher education and whose chosen work led him into far-off places.

After serving during World War I as a medical orderly, MacLean returned to the Presbyterian College at McGill University. This was followed by study for his doctorate at Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, with the aid of a scholarship.

Then came a career in teaching which led in 1950 to Dr. MacLean being appointed dean of the Theological School of St. Lawrence University in New York State.

When Dr. MacLean retired from that post, he became director of religious education at a church in Cleveland, Ohio. There, while working on this, the third of the books dealing with his life and beliefs, Dr. MacLean passed away. This account of Dr. MacLean's early life in Cape Breton has been completed and published by his widow, Ruth R. MacLean.

In opening his narrative, Dr. MacLean observed that "God and the Devil were at Seal Cove some time before I was, and they were my familiars throughout my childhood. They came with the Scottish Highland people . . . " Moreover, he noted that the Devil "played a necessary role in the drama of life and death. I soon learned that I owed my being to this God and that I was herded into the straight and narrow paths by the Devil for the good of my soul and the peace of the community."

At Seal Cove, "all people, even the most flagrantly sinful, were regular church attendants. One might be sinful but one didn't challenge or repudiate God."

School for the young MacLean and the other boys and girls of Seal Cove, indeed of the whole area, was a one-room affair, when a teacher could be found. In time MacLean mastered the copy book maxims and the fundamentals of arithmetic and geography and sought better teachers and a better quality of education. It was not easy.

One year "at an excellent city school" and a meeting with Dr. T. Chalmers Jack, whose "Greek and Hebrew were as good as his English, which was superb", served to open for MacLean "a way out of the maze of circumstances that imprisoned and wasted so many good minds and spirits."

And all the while he was seeking further knowledge, there were the stirrings of motivation which were to lead the young MacLean into the field of religious education.

Much of the book is an account of life in a farming community, of the tasks and the pleasures, the "characters" which could be found in most rural communities, the pastimes and pranks of young people in the days before radio, television, movies and stereo record players.

Of his childhood, MacLean has written "I was a happy child, and have always been happy about my childhood and my people . . . " and, "What more can one's people do than enrich one's memory?"

The two other books which deal with various periods of Dr. MacLean's life are The Wind in Both Ears (Beacon Press, 1965) and The Galloping Gospel (Beacon Press 1966).

Tried Recipes from Domestic Science School, Halifax, N.S.
Paperback, 48 pages, reprint, published 1976
Petheric Press, $1.

When almost a whole generation has been raised on instant and frozen foods, convenience package dinners, take out service and fried, always fried foods, it might seem that the fine art of domestic science belongs to some dim past age.

Perhaps it does, although the rising prices of foodstuffs and the greater general awareness of the need for proper nutrition seem to be combining to make more people, men as well as women, interested in the "old ways" and the foods and cooking methods of other days.

Back in the early years of this century, when woman's place was unquestionably in the home, and most of the time in front of the cook stove, the training of young girls in the complexities of domestic science was a serious business.

In Halifax, such courses were taught in special rooms at St. Patrick's Boys School. However, in 1906, a separate building on Cunard Street was fitted out as a school for domestic science and classes were moved there.

That same year, the principal of the school, the first of its kind in Canada, gathered the recipes used by the students and compiled a tiny booklet.

It contained guidance for everything from soup making to basic meat dishes, to fancy desserts, to cooking for invalids. Approximate costs per serving were worked out and make interesting comparisons today. The portions are tiny (if I remember correctly from my own domestic science days we always whittled things down to individual portions), but today's reader can easily make the necessary adjustments.

Although it is used for other purposes today, the building at 5557 Cunard Street still stands. The recipes are still sound, that is, if you can get things like fresh buttermilk or cream and other staples the way grandmother used to get them.

Through Dirty Windows, Harry D. Smith
Paperback, illustrated, 83 pages, published June, 1976
Lancelot Press, $2.95

One of the "Horatio Alger"-type success stories in this province belongs to Dr. H. D. Smith, former president of the University of King's College and now the provincial Ombudsman.

That young Harry Smith of Halifax would ever achieve academic prominence or distinction was not at all certain. In the days of the great depression, higher education was not easily acquired by the sons of the less than rich.

Young Harry graduated from the Halifax Academy and, then, because jobs were hard to find and because he was undecided about his next course of action, Smith repeated grade XI.

When, one day, a local business firm approached the principal of the Academy with the offer of a job for a likely young lad, Smith was invited to apply. What followed in the next two years forms the subject of his delightful little book, Through Dirty Windows.

It was Smith's first job, his introduction to the world of the factory and store. For the firm, Clayton & Sons., combined both the clothing manufacturing plant and the store in dingy, Victorian red buildings which along Barrington Street and back up the hill, along little streets which formed a busy community of shops and houses and which long since have been swept away by bulldozers and submerged by the tall concrete of Scotia Square.

Smith writes with humor of his first interview with the elderly Clayton brothers. The young lad was scrubbed and decked out in his best suit. It was a solemn moment for the boy, yet he was able in later years to recall its humorous overtones.

He was only dimly aware that the position of very junior clerk was his when one of the Clayton brothers observed "We already have two Harrys, so you'll have to be Henry."

So began for young Smith an introduction into a new world, the world of the factory and the shop as he learned the ropes beginning with the most menial of chores. It was, in a sense, the experience needed to start him on a firm course toward later success.

He saw at first hand the drugery of the work for slim wages. In those days, such things as pensions, workmen's compensation, paid sick leave, MSI, were unknown. He saw what happened when people gave their lives to low-paid jobs, with long hours and relatively no future.

On the other hand, on his off time, Smith took part in football games on the Studley campus at Dalhousie University and the contrast between factory life and campus life was brought home to him more vividly each week.

"I had been drifting," he recalls in his book. "And the dingy outlook helped to sharpen my ambition and gave me an almost instantaneous desire to get ahead, to earn money so that I could get through college and amount to something."

Obviously Smith succeeded, after about a year and a half at the Clayton establishment, he attended Dalhousie, going on to specialize in modern languages, to a teaching career which led to the presidency of King's College, among other posts.

Now, as the first Ombudsman for the province of Nova Scotia, Smith deals daily with the problems of people in all walks of life. And he finds now that many of the things he learned at Claytons—about life, about people and their hopes, ambitions and worries—come back to him.

The book is a slim one, and it covers the brief period in Smith's life when he worked at Claytons. But in those day Claytons was a major Halifax industry and in telling its story and part of his own, Smith is adding another piece to the written history of the port city.

Abbie Lane of Halifax, by C. Bruce Fergusson
Paperback, 40 pages, illustrated, published July 1976
Printed by Lancelot Press, $1.95

The face of the late Abbie Lane looks out from the cover of this book—direct, interested, open, as she was in life. And the story, brief though it is, is an interesting look at the career of this remarkable woman.

Dr. Fergusson traces an outline of the family heritage of Abbie Lane and of her difficult youth, with the stress of family problems.

But determination to succeed was a hallmark of Abbie Lane and she attended the Success Business College at Truro and, on graduation, began a career in business.

Marriage to Frederick Lane, a young man building a financial career, and the arrival of young children kept Abbie busy but did not relegate her interests entirely to home and family.

She remained active in the outside world around her. She was interested in politics, in war work, in community activities. She worked as a journalist with the Halifax Chronicle and the experience gave her a deeper awareness of community and civic problems and an interest in them.

In due course, this greater interest led her to seek civic office, a move in which she was successful. And she became the second woman to serve as an alderman in the city of Halifax.

She was interested, among so many things, in the mentally ill and it is more than fitting that Halifax's modern hospital for those so afflicted should be known as the Abbie J. Lane Memorial Hospital.

Mrs. Lane's untimely death in 1965 removed from the scene a tireless worker for many causes. In the time before

the movement for women's Lib, she was a staunch defender of the talents of women and a worthy example.

While this is a brief book, its 40 pages contain the story of an outstanding woman.

History of Stellarton, By Aubrey Dorrington
Paperback, 144 pages, published 1976
Printed by the Advocate Printing and Publishing Company Ltd., Pictou, $5.

To the number of small, often privately published, local histories add History of Stellarton, by Aubrey Dorrington.

Aubrey Dorrington was Stellarton-born and he received his education in town schools.

He began work as an engine driver in the Allan Shaft in 1932. On attaining his coal miner's certificate, he worked as a contract miner.

He served with the Pictou Highlanders during World War II. He founded the Order of Stellarite, composed of 60 prominent local citizens, in 1971.

His interest in the history of his native town led to this book which is a comprehensive record of many aspects of Stellarton's history and people.

His purpose was towfold: "preserving the history of the town . . . for future generations" and giving "the stranger in our midst a thumbnail sketch of our industrial, cultural and religious background."

It is, Dorrington states, a "statistical history", and he notes that it does not "follow the narrative form" in some places because "it was felt that articles by other writers would be interesting and informative . . . "

Among aspects of Stellarton which Dorrington includes in this history are: pioneers, coal mines and railways, early industries, churches, schools, fraternal orders and clubs, the military, bands, theatricals, sports, libraries, newspapers, airplanes and air cadets, the mining museum, tram cars, various social and community groups, the origin of street names, old residents and miscellaneous history briefs.

There are biographies of well-known citizens who have contributed to the growth of Stellarton and there is a bibliography.

Scottish Highlanders and the American Revolution,
By G. Murray Logan
Paperback, 139 pages, published August 1976
Distributed by H. H. Marshall Ltd., $5

This is an amount of the Highland Immigrant Regiment 1774-1783 raised in Scotland and used in the American Revolution. It is however, more than that. It is a picture of the general pattern of Highland emigration to the New World at a time when the clan system having been destroyed in reprisal for the rebellions in Scotland, men began to turn to the New World.

Between Friends/Entre Amis, the National Film Board
Hardcover, 263 plates, published June 1976
McClelland & Stewart Ltd., $29.50

A major publishing success this year has been Between Friends/Entre Amis, the special volume "produced to honor the American Revolution Bicentennial and . . . as an enduring expression of the friendship of Canadians for the people of the United States of America."

The book presents a vivid photographic study of the miles of border between the two countries. Geographically, therefore, there is little in it peculiar to the Maritimes.

The book, however, presents the work of a number of photographers who were sent out to record their impressions, not only of the geographic border, but of the people and life in the land along the border.

Photographs of signposts and ads, therefore, vie with studies of people, of roads leading anywhere, of vast stretches of country—forests or tundra or farmland.

Accompanying the photographs are captions taken from the sayings and writing of famous people, in French and English, with a separate translation sheet provided.

The foreword to the book has been supplied by Prime Minister Trudeau who calls the book "a celebration" and notes that it is about people and "it is about the boundary itself, which both links these people and helps to define their separate national identities."

The book was prepared by the Still Photography Division of the National Film Board of Canada. Like Canada—A Year of the Land, also prepared by the film board, this is a first-rate work, a monumental volume lovingly assembled.

The book is now in its second edition, the first having been distributed and largely sold. It will increase in price in the second and later editions and its place as a collector's item is assured.

Nova Scotia Government Services Guide
Paperback, 108 pages, 2nd. edition published 1976
Nova Scotia Communications and Information Centre, $2.

Finding the right person at the end of a telephone or in an office in the world of government departments, agencies and offices can be confusing enough to people who deal with such groups every day. To someone who has only occasional dealings with government, getting in touch with the right people can be difficult at best.

To help sort things out a little, the Nova Scotia Communications and Information Centre has produced a small, spiral-bound booklet with a wealth of information.

Between the table of contents at the front of the book and the index at the back you can find almost anything.

The various agencies, departments, boards and councils are listed alphabeticly.

The contents table lists Housing Commission on page 58 and an enquiry about co-op housing, directed to the index, will refer the reader to page 58. Pages 58 and 59 list not only the minister, executive director and members of the provincial housing commission, but the directors and or co-ordinators of such programs as the land bank program, land servicing program, co-operative (self-help) housing program and the regional offices of the public housing commission.

The functions of the various councils, agencies and boards are outlined briefly and the various branches and their directors are listed under the departments responsible for their operation.

The variety of government departments which influence the life of the average citizen is amazing as a glance at the contents table will show: agriculture and marketing, boxing authority, consumer affairs department, crown lands, education department, editorial office, energy council, fisheries department, Halicon, public health department, Human Rights Commission, Industrial Estates, lieutenant-governor, management and computer services, municipal affairs department, ombudsman, Public Archives, purchasing agency, racing commission, recreation department, registry of regulations, tourism department, treasury board and workmen's compensation. Nor is that the full list!

By the way, in case you weren't aware of it, there IS a registry of regulations. It was set up in 1973 to help sort out the growing complexity of government regulations.

Mother Teresa, Her People and Her Work, By Desmond Doig
Hardcover, 175 pages, illustrated, published 1976
Collins,

At the recent Habitat conference held in Vancouver, one of the most respected speakers was Mother Teresa of Calcutta.

Again, early in August, at a portion of the 41st Eucharistic Congress, Mother Teresa spoke to a meeting at Philadelphia "exploring how women can respond to the hungers of the human family."

She was so tiny she had to stand on tiptoe to reach the microphone to make herself heard. But her deeds have carried her name around the world, spreading her message of love for humanity far beyond the boundaries of her chosen homeland. Her work and her sense of humanity have crossed not only national boundaries but theological ones as well.

The story of this remarkable woman is told in this new book by Desmond Doig who has been a friend of Mother Teresa's for some 27 years and who has seen much of her work at first hand. As a Calcutta newsman, Doig was the first journalist to write about Mother Teresa and his book shows his understanding of her work and her sense of mission.

Mother Teresa traveled far to find her place in life. Born in what is now Yugoslavia, the young girl had a religious dedi-

cation and she entered the Irish Order of the Sisters of Loreto.

In due course, she was sent to teach in Darjeeling. Then, she went to Calcutta to the Loretto Convent, "an oasis of well-kept buildings, emerald lawns and smartly uniformed children," set in some of the worst slums to be found in the world.

It was not long before it was clear that her work was to be directed outside those well-kept buildings and away from the emerald lawns. With a special dispensation from Rome, Mother Teresa set out into the streets of Calcutta to begin her ministry to the poor, the ill, the suffering.

At first the tools available were "a few tablets of aspirin, bandages, iodine, and the powerful will to help." Small enough, perhaps, but the will was strong and from these small beginnings came the Missionaries of Charity which now operate in many parts of the world where the need is great.

Writing of Mother Teresa, Doig describes her as "Small Faded pink, well-scrubbed. Blue eyes. A character of wrinkles." . . . more urgent, more tired, more deeply lined, perhaps, but still dynamic, still strong, still determined. Always wonderfully compassionate. Her smile is a benediction."

Now there are others to help with the work, but Mother Teresa is much in demand—to inspect, to teach, to speak, to attend conferences, to open new centres.

And of her remarkable faith, she states simply: "I see Christ in every person I touch because He has said: 'I was hungry, I was thirsty, I was naked, I was sick, I was suffering, I was homeless and you took me in . . . ' It is as simple as that. Every time I give a piece of bread, I give it to Him. That is why we must find a hungry one, and a naked one. That is why we are totally bound to the poor."

The book is beautifully illustrated in both black and white and color photographs.

Bread and Molasses, By Andy MacDonald
Paperback, 138 pages, published 1976
Musson Book Company, $6.95

Well, what would you have done if you had been born into a family of 11 living in a dingy area of North Sydney while your coal mining father struggled to keep bread on the table during the years of the great depression?

Probably the average boy would have done many of the things Andy MacDonald and his brothers did, but not many people would have lived through that time and be able today to write about it with such perception and humor.

MacDonald, who now lives in New Brunswick and tends a farm and a yardful of lifesize "character" dolls he makes out of old junk, has recalled some of the experiences of his childhood and retold them in Bread and Molasses.

It isn't all hilarity. Many of the episodes are touched with sadness, invoking in today's reader a sense of wonder at the hardship so taken for granted as a way of life.

MacDonald's father was a stern disciplinarian and a thrifty man who, perhaps hard by some standards, worked to keep a roof over his family and food on the table.

If there wasn't always enough food for growing children, there were local wakes to be attended with refreshments to supplement a meagre diet.

And while the pranks the MacDonald boys played may have seemed daring to them, how mild they are by today's standards? Playing hookey, dodging their father's wrath, the first experiments with tobacco—funny as recounted here, yet the pranks young boys have played for countless generations.

Initiative, enterprise and resourcefulness were in generous supply, whatever else might have been lacking, at the Shore Road home of the MacDonald family.

MacDonald's writing is down-to-earth, Saturday night yarnspinning at the general store style, natural, earthy, warm and human.

Ultimate North, By Robert Mead
Hardcover, 312 pages, illustrated and maps, published May 1976
Doubleday Canada Ltd., $11.50

Even with today's aids and conveniences, following the canoe route of trade and explorer Alexander Mackenzie down the river which bears his name from the Athabasca to the Arctic Ocean is no mean feat. It calls for skill, determination, the ability to endure, resourcefulness and a healthy understanding of and respect for nature and her laws.

For the American writer, editor and outdoorsman, Robert Douglas Mead, and his eldest son, the dream was to re-trace by canoe the route taken by MacKenzie in 1789.

"Mackenzie's account of his journey, "writes Mead, "published in the first year of the nineteenth century, is still the truest description of the country and its people, from the seat of a canoe. It and they have not changed much, though just how much was one of the things I hoped to learn, one of the unknowns we were committing ourselves to as Mackenzie had."

The trip was a year in actual preparation and Mead goes into some detail about the supplies and gear the two men used.

Realization of the immensity of the project brought natural fears for the outcome but no less an outdoorsman and canoeist than Sig Oslon, who introduced the Mead family to canoeing when the author was a boy, gave encouragement.

Mackenzie launched his canoes on the morning of June 3rd., 1789, while the Meads left on June 5th, 1974, 200 miles upstream. A Mackenzie's starting point.

Mead works into his narrative the pertinent details of Mackenzie's trip, his canoes, his observations, and the background to the explorer undertaking the voyage which, it was hoped, might lead to the Northwest Passage.

But for the Meads there were the encounters with people along the way, incidents which make up much of the interest of the book.

Of his observations of the people of the Northwest Territories, Mead writes: "half of them are Indians and Eskimos, passively worked on by social theories devised in Ottawa, caught between a past no longer recoverable and a future they have not yet learned to live in."

The reminders of the past were vivid: "Occasionally we passed a trapper's cabin, long since abandoned, the roof falling in . . . "

It was a test of endurance which prompted Mead at one point to observe "I would keep going. I felt the exhilaration that always rises to difficulties that can be faced with mere labor, mere endurance, a feeling that goes very far back to the severity or gentle encouragement of doting parents . . . "

Throughout his account of their trip, Mead compares notes with Mackenzie's journal. Ninety-six days after leaving his Philadelphia home, Mackenzie and his son returned. But the experiences, the sights of their trip provide the memories which last a lifetime.

In recounting many of them in this book, Mead has not only added an interesting chapter to the literature of the Northwest, but written a book which many an armchair traveler will find of considerable interest.

In case any reader has a more than armchair interest Mead gives his own observations about undertaking such a journey and some valuable advice. Moreover, as he puts it, "This book is a record of quite modest abilities made good by the sort of usually sensible judgment that you form unconsciously from a lifetime of experience."

Also in the appendix is Mead's list, with personal observations, of the books which he read as preparation for his voyage.

Throw Out the Life-Line Across the Dark Wave, By Green Head
Paperback, 20 pages, illustrated, published 1976
Published for the Westport United Baptist Church by Green Head, Westport, $3

"There is a calm for ev'ry earthly sorrow
In this wondrous Refuge of the soul,
And a hiding place from ev'ry tempest,
Where no swelling tide of woe can roll.
"The eternal God is thy Refuge,
And underneath are the everlasting arms."

This tiny green-covered pamphlet, with its photograph of the Westport Baptist Church on Brier Island, is a "history in religious verse" of the church and some of its people.

Its location at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy has given Brier Island a role in many dramas of the sea. The islanders, 11 miles from the mainland of Nova Scotia, have faced isola-

tion in more ways than geographically. Yet such was the enthusiasm of their faith and religious zeal that for some 10 years Baptist members of the early settlement on the island sailed more than 20 miles to Weymouth each week to attend service.

In 1809, the Westport Baptist Church was founded by Rev. Peter Crandall who served as its minister until 1825.

Three days before Christmas, December 22nd, 1850, the present Baptist church was opened for Divine Worship. The church was built "halfway up from the harbor to the hilltop cemetery; a haven symbolically stationed between the waters of the frigid Fundy, where converts were totally immersed for baptism, and the final resting place for those who died on the land."

The financial arrangements for the new Church are interesting. "The expenses for lighting, heating, housekeeping and building, repairs were raised by fixing a tax or rental fee on each pew which was collected once a year. Smaller low-income families helped support their pew fees by renting seats to transients and travellers." It was not until 1925 that pew fees were abolished.

The book recounts the history of the organization and administration of the church. It is noted that the church figured in the early life of Capt. Joshua Slocum, the first man to sail alone around the world. Slocum's father was a deacon of the church. Pew No. 13, the one in which Joshua Slocum worshipped as a lad, is marked today with a bronze plaque.

There are two pages devoted to a list of Brier Islanders lost at sea, as well as an 1882 newspaper account of the double drowning of the two young children of Capt. Wilson Denton.

The booklet is illustrated with photographs of the church and of rubbings of gravestones, and scenic shots of the area.

The pen name of the author of the book, Green Head is taken from that part of the island where 130-foot cliffs form a miniature Giant's Causeway rising from the sea.

The proceeds from the sale of the book are to be used for the maintenance of the church. Copies of the book may be obtained from: Westport Baptist Church, Digby County, Nova Scotia, B0V 1H0.