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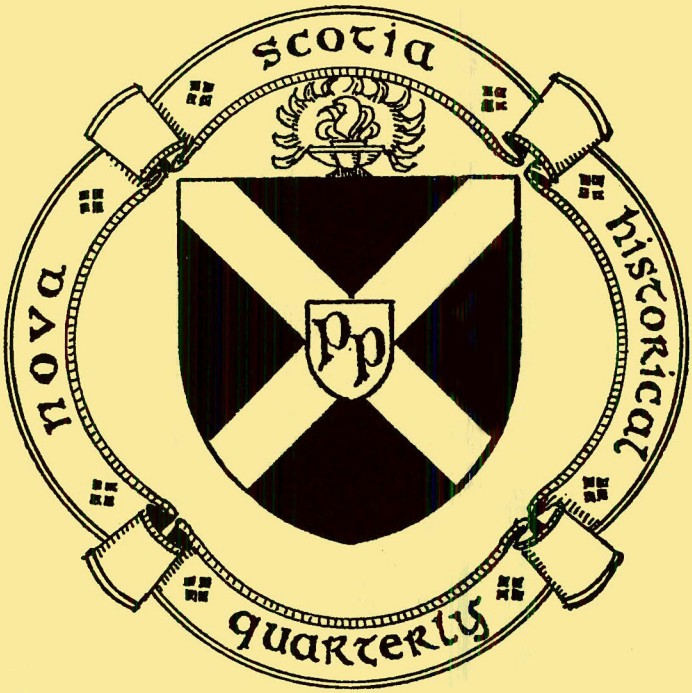

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Contents

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Nova Scotia And The Reciprocity Negotiations, 1846 - 1854: A Re-Interpretation

R. H. McDONALD

The story of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 and Nova Scotia's involvement with it are familiar to students of the period.[1] The story appears straightforward enough. Nova Scotia came to support a reciprocity treaty with the United States because of commercial uncertainty and financial depression in the years following Britain's adoption of free trade. This support dissipated after 1851 with the return of prosperity and a growing fear that exclusive fishing privileges would be lost. According to D. C. Masters, who has written the standard account of the reciprocity negotiations, "the question under consideration between 1850 and 1854 was whether or not to accept a treaty involving not only reciprocity but also the opening of the fisheries."[2] To such an agreement, he concluded, "Nova Scotian opinion proved decidedly opposed."[3] But was Nova Scotia really as "decidedly opposed" to the surrender of the fisheries and to the concept of reciprocity with the United States as this analysis suggests? That is the hypothesis that will be tested here.

It is the contention of this author that historians have tended to confuse opposition to the concept of reciprocity with opposition to the actual Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. While Nova Scotians debated the advantages and disadvantages of particular terms the majority was convinced of the benefits of freer trade with the United States and was willing to surrender the fisheries to achieve that end. What upset many Nova Scotians in 1854 was less the terms of the treaty themselves than the manner in which it had been forced upon them. A close analysis of the entire reciprocity issue suggests that the majority of Nova Scotians espoused the idea of reciprocal free trade with the United States. By 1850 reciprocity was both logical and desirable for Nova Scotia.

To understand Nova Scotia's conversion to reciprocity one must recognize the uniqueness of Nova Scotia's economy vis a vis the other British North American colonies.[4] The United Canadas and New Brunswick were much harder hit by Britain's adoption of free trade than Nova Scotia because of their heavy dependence on British perferences. The Montreal merchants, for example, were convinced that their economic livelihood had been destroyed by free trade. Such was not the case in Nova Scotia, where a more diverse and flexible economy permitted a more moderate and reasoned response. In many ways, as far as Nova Scotia was concerned, the British mercantile system had disintegrated long before 1847. Beginning with the reciprocity agreement of 1830 Nova Scotian protection in the West Indian market had begun to disappear. By the early 1840's most of the preferential duties levied in the islands had been revoked so that Britain's adoption of free trade had little effect on that market.[5] In addition, the West Indian market had declined in importance while the American, British North American and international markets had increased greatly in value. Thus Nova Scotia had the least to lose by Britian's adoption of free trade. Anything which contributed to expanded foreign markets and

freer trade would benefit Nova Scotia and reciprocity certainly would contribute to that end.

In the years before Britian's adoption of free trade, economic ties between Nova Scotia and the United States had grown dramatically.[6] Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Harvey gave the following figures for Nova Scotia's trade in 1847:[7]

IMPORTS

From:	Estimated Value in Sterling	Vessels	Tons
Great Britain	330,915	217	63,366
British Colonies:			
West Indies	28,850		
North America	187,590	1,975	135,019
Elsewhere	4,110		
United States	309,383	1,901	167,138
Foreign States	171,106	264	25,387
Total	1,031,954	4,357	390,910

EXPORTS

To:	Estimated Value in Sterling	Vessels	Tons
Great Britain	71,804	275	67,049
British Colonies:			
West Indies	202,415		
North America	237,004	2,032	149,524
Elsewhere	6,587		
United States	474,950	2,075	192,085
Foreign States	38,309	85	6,805
Total	1,031,069	4,467	415,463

Yet, these figures, while indeed revealing, do not tell the entire story. Many of the American cargoes which entered the province do not appear in the official estimates because they were imported illegally. All the available evidence suggests that this smuggling was very extensive.[8] The Halifax *Times,*

for example, estimated that Nova Scotia actually was importing twice as much from the United States as from Great Britain.[9] Nova Scotian dependence on American products was widespread:

> An American citizen travelling through the country and stopping occasionally . . . on his route, whether at public or private houses, would be puzzled to define where lay the distinction between the British and United States subject, from the objects around him. If he examined the paper which covered the walls—the clock that gave him an idea of time—the prints which adorned his chamber —the glass in the windows—the catches to support the sashes—the paper upon which he wrote—the Provincial newspaper he reads, (press, type and paper)—the bible and historical book, the novel and the annual—he will find each and all invariably of United States manufacture. The chair upon which he sits—the table off which he eats, and the table covers—the sofa—the couch— . . . are all productions of the same country . . . the Franklin stove . . . which warms the rooms, and the cooking stove which adds to the economy of the kitchen, the hearth brush and the corn broom, the bucket and the bellows—came from the United States. The flour of which his bread is made is a product of Ohio. Suppose him to take a walk into the fields and barns of the Farmers,—he knows this to be a United States thrashing machine—that plough, cultivator, and straw cutter, were made in Boston—that half a dozen dung forks, and the four or five hay forks, the reaping hook and the scythe, gave unequivocal evidence of the same workshop . . . Brother Jonathan does not fail likewise to carry on a flourishing trade . . . in tea, brandy, gin, tobacco and boots and shoes . . . "[10]

Britain's move in the direction of free trade had been closely followed in the Nova Scotian press. By 1848 a rather vigorous theoretical debate developed between the Tory and Liberal papers over the issue. In general the Liberal papers argued for free trade while the Tory papers stood for protection.[11] What worried Tory newspapers such as the Halifax *Times,* were the political implications of free trade. As far as the *Times* was concerned, free trade was the first step towards the eventual economic integration of the North American continent which in turn would pave the way for annexation.[12] The Liberal press, on the other hand, felt the fears of the *Times* were baseless. They argued that free trade was in the best interests of the colony.[43]

The debate over free trade ultimately found its way into the Assembly. The same diversity of opinion that had characterized the newspaper debate was evident in the Legislature.[14] The local government was faced with the problem of deciding how to regulate the commerce of Nova Scotia in these changed circumstances. After much debate and discussion the Assembly decided to remove all imperial duties and replace them with a small revenue tariff on imports. All nations were to be put on an equal footing and the freest possible trade, especially with the other British North American Colonies, was to be encouraged.[15]

A certain amount of resentment and disillusionment was evident in Tory circles over Britain's actions.[16] S. L. Shannon, a Halifax merchant, reported from England that there was a growing feeling "of the uselessness of the colonies to the Mother Country."[17] Independence was contemplated for the colonies whether they wanted it or not. "Even our best friends think that our resources would be better developed in connection with the United States," Shannon lamented.[18] Nevertheless while some Nova Scotians were rather despondent over Britain's change in policy there is no evidence to suggest that this led to any widespread support for annexation to the

United States as was the case in the United Canadas and New Brunswick.[19] Most became convinced that an agreement could be reached with the Americans that would be economically profitable and at the same time ensure the political independence of Nova Scotia. Reciprocity, therefore, not annexation became the goal of Nova Scotia from the beginning.[20]

Support for a reciprocal agreement with the United States grew rapidly in Nova Scotia, particularly when the economy took a downturn after 1847.[21] The *Novascotian,* for example, reported in May that "reciprocal trade between these colonies and the neighboring Republic would prove a blessing to both.[22] Interest was expressed in working together with the other British colonies to secure reciprocity. Samuel Cunard, a leading spokesman for the Halifax merchant community, suggested such a course to Joseph Howe in June of 1848. At that time he urged Howe "to bring it before the Lieutenant-Governor at once, that this province may not be excluded from any arrangement that may be made."[23] The advantages were obvious to Cunard. The export of fish and coal would, he predicted, increase four fold.[24] Most of the press gradually swung over to support freer trade with the Americans.[25] "The question requires no discussion," the *Morning Courier* commented, "there is no negative side to it."[26]

Interest in and support for reciprocity continued to grow throughout 1849. The Attorney-General, J. B. Uniacke, suggested as early as January that a Committee be appointed to investigate the potential for a reciprocal trade agreement with the United States.[27] Many felt that Nova Scotia should coordinate her efforts in this matter with the other British colonies. As a result Nova Scotia was pleased when arrangements were made by Canada to meet with the other colonies in Halifax to discuss reciprocity. Many were hopeful that a united front could be created. "A reciprocal free trade with the twenty millions of people living along side of us, would

give us all we want," the *Novascotian* concluded.[28] Nevertheless, some reservations were expressed. Even at this stage many realized that the Americans would undoubtedly demand some relaxation of the fishing restrictions imposed upon them.[29] On this matter most appeared to remain open-minded.

The coastal fisheries, which had become so crucial to Nova Scotia were still regulated by the rather ambiguous Convention of 1818. According to that agreement the Americans had supposedly surrendered all fishing rights and privileges within three marine miles of the coast of British North America.[30] Unfortunately for Nova Scotia the effectiveness of this agreement had been seriously compromised by the inclusion of a provision to allow American fishermen entry to any bay or harbour in British North America "for the purpose of shelter and repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood, and of obtaining water . . . "[31] This provision facilitated widespread abuse of the territorial limit and guaranteed the Americans almost unlimited access to the valuable inshore fisheries. American infiltration was further aided by a disagreement over whether the three mile limit followed the contours of the coast or was measured from headland to headland.[32] As a result of these ambiguities Nova Scotia found itself competing with Americans for control of the inshore fisheries. Having already learned to live with American competition Nova Scotians viewed with anxiety and concern any changes which might weaken their position in the fisheries.[33] This apprehension was apparent at the Intercolonial meeting of 1849.

The Conference assembled early in September at Halifax and most of the debate centered on the arrangement of a duty free list of natural products with the Americans.[34] While the United Canadas wanted free entry for their agricultural and forest products Nova Scotia was most anxious to obtain free entry for her fish and coal.[35] The resolutions passed by

the Conference dealt exclusively with the desirability and necessity of a free exchange of natural products.[36] Even though many of the delegates realized that the Americans would raise the question of the North Atlantic fisheries no official mention was made of the subject in the adopted resolutions.

Despite the failure to reach formal agreement on the fisheries question a great deal of discussion took place on the issue. The Nova Scotians were acutely aware of American desire to gain legal access to the inshore fisheries. The important question for Nova Scotia was what she might receive in return? Much of the debate, as a result, centered upon this question of concessions. The Nova Scotian representatives were interested in altering American commercial regulations in their favour.[37] They hoped to obtain American registry for locally built vessels. This would be of tremendous advantage to Nova Scotia shipping interests since it would allow them to participate in the American coasting trade. In addition, this would provide a great stimulus to the shipbuilding industry throughout the colony. The privilege of American registry and the entrance to American coastal trading thus became two of the main goals for Nova Scotian negotiators in the discussions over reciprocity.

While many Nova Scotians were clearly reluctant to surrender the fisheries, much of their hesitation disappeared over the winter of 1849-50 with the worsening economic situation. In December of 1849 Lieutenant-Governor Harvey informed Lord Elgin that while Nova Scotia was very eager to obtain a reciprocal exchange of natural products she did not want to surrender the fisheries until the local legislature could discuss the matter.[38] That opportunity came at the session of 1850 when resolutions favouring reciprocity were laid before the Legislature. Nevertheless there is evidence to suggest that even before this debate began many had already made up their minds. Harvey candidly informed Elgin that

while the topic of surrendering the fisheries had not been raised in the House as yet he had "reason to believe that respectable majorities would support their surrender"[39]—a view that was confirmed in the subsequent debates.

In general, the lengthy discussion of the resolutions revealed widespread support for the concept of reciprocity with the United States. This was particularly the case with the "outport" members. Representatives from Yarmouth and Pictou played prominent roles in supporting the resolutions. Given the historic and economic backgrounds of these communities their positions are understandable.[40] Yarmouth, for example had a long history of personal and financial ties with New England. J. B. Uniacke was stating a well known fact when he commented upon the "growing and vast trade" of Yarmouth with the United States.[41] Thomas Killam, the local representative in the assembly delivered a "very argumentative speech" in favor of the freest possible trade with the United States [42] A similar position was taken by the members from Pictou who were very eager to obtain free entry for local coal exports. G. R. Young, the senior member, openly admitted that "provided the American Governmeent will admit our staple productions coal and fish free of duty . . . I would be prepared to enter into a treaty to admit vessels to a participation in the rights of fishery."[43]

The debate over reciprocity centered around the resolutions passed at the Intercolonial Conference in September. Yet the resolutions were altered in a very subtle and significant manner by adding an important "preamble." That "preamble" specifically mentioned the desirability of acquiring access to the privileges of American registry and coastal trade.[44] Most of the discussion in the legislature revolved around the issue of adequate compensation for the fisheries. As Harvey commented to Elgin: "The fisheries . . .. are not named in the resolutions, but the policy or impolicy of their surrender on any terms was freely debated in both houses."[45]

As far as Harvey was concerned a sizable majority was willing to surrender the fisheries, especially if the Americans repealed their bounties on fish. He cautioned Elgin, however, "not to consent to yield the rights of fishery on any less favorable terms, than the free admission of our agricultural productions, wood and fish, and *if possible* to stipulate for the admission of other articles, particularly coal, and for a free coasting trade and the reciprocal registry of vessels."[46] From the debates it would appear that many were willing to settle for even less than the resolutions demanded. When J. W. Johnston introduced an amendment to exclude the Americans "unless all the terms of the resolutions" were agreed upon, it was decisively defeated in the Assembly.[47] The original resolutions were then passed; twenty-nine in favour, sixteen opposed.[48]

Further insight into the nature of the resolutions and the legislature's position upon them is provided by William Young, the Speaker of the House. Young departed for the United States shortly after the close of the session to consult with the British negotiators and explain Nova Scotia's position. Writing to Sir Henry Bulwer, the British minister to the United States, Young informed him "of what I believe to be the views of the majority of the Executive Government and Legislature of Nova Scotia."[49] While admitting that Nova Scotia was very eager to obtain American registry and coastal trade, Young indicated that "neither the one nor the other is to be regarded as a *sine qua non* in the measure of reciprocity."[50] "What the people of Nova Scotia stipulate for as indispensable," Young confided, "is the free admission of their leading agricultural products, fish, fresh and aired—wood, including lumber and fire wood."[52] While it appears Young might have understated the Nova Scotian demands slightly it seems certain that Nova Scotia was willing to surrender the fisheries for something less than the entire list contained in the resolutions.

The Nova Scotian press reacted in a very positive fashion to the reciprocity debate. The *Eastern Chronicle,* for example, expressed the hope that all would be aroused "to the absolute necessity of directing their powers and energies to the attainment of free economical intercourse and reciprocity of trade with the United States."[53] Given the advantages which Pictou would gain if coal were admitted duty free to the United States it is not difficult to understand the *Chronicle's* and indeed eastern Nova Scotia's support for reciprocity.[54] William Young, the member from Inverness, openly admitted that he had made a trip to eastern Nova Scotia to ascertain public opinion and that "they were almost unanimously in favor of the concessions, if the duties were removed from our products."[55] As far as the *Eastern Chronicle* was concerned, reciprocity was "the only means of relief from our present depressed state; and it is the duty of every well wisher of his country immediately to set himself to the task."[56]

Similar support for reciprocity came from the Halifax press, led by the *Novascotian.* According to that newspaper "the advantages accruing to the British North American colonies, particularly Nova Scotia, from having an extended . . . market open for their products are so apparent that it is difficult to comprehend how any man could be so obtuse as to dissent from the principles contained in the Reciprocity Resolutions."[57] The main objection to the resolutions, the loss of the fisheries, was shown to be misleading and illusory. Since the Americans were never effectively excluded from the inshore fisheries, the *Novascotian* argued that any increased competition would be more than balanced by the advantages of free entry to the American market.[58] Yet reciprocity involved more than the fisheries. As a result the *Novascotian* published a lengthy analysis showing how other sectors of Nova Scotia's economy would benefit. It concluded that agriculture, commerce, mining and shipbuilding would all profit tremendously.[59]

All the available evidence suggests that by 1850 the vast majority of Haligonians supported reciprocity in principle. Even the Tory merchantocracy and their organ, the *British Colonist,* had been converted.[60] According to David Sutherland, in a recent study of the Halifax merchants, "the traditional protectionist mentality of the city's merchant community had been eroded through the 1840's as exports of regional staples to Great Britain and the British West Indies entered what appeared to be a long term slump."[61] As a result Halifax's commercial élite, with the exception of a small group of protectionists manufacturers, gradually came to support reciprocal free trade with the United States. "Parochial protectionism was futile," Sutherland concluded; "Nova Scotia could prosper only by seeking out expanded external markets."[62]

Despite Nova Scotian enthusiasm for reciprocity, the American Government reacted every coolly to British overtures on the subject. Domestic politics, especially the delicate balancing of sectional interests within the union, were preoccupying the American administration.[63] To them reciprocity was of minor importance. The result was that significant concessions were not forthcoming on their part. Many Nova Scotians were very disappointed by this turn of events.[64] In these changed circumstances Nova Scotians became reticent to a surrender of the fisheries. Reciprocity was still the goal; the question was, would the Americans offer adequate compensation for the fisheries.

As optimism for an agreement faded Nova Scotia sought to clarify its position for the British negotiators. In a long despatch to Lord Elgin, Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Harvey explained his government's attitude. Nova Scotia had no objections whatsoever to a free exchange of natural products. If the fisheries were to be surrendered, however, adequate compensation must be obtained.

> The repeal of their bounties and the free admission of our fish by the Americans might and probably would, be regarded as placing the fish trade on a legitimate footing, and if disposed to so shape their legislation, there would, I apprehend, be no objection to meet them on fair terms. If, however, the duty on fish only is withdrawn, and our catch can but enter the American markets in competition with their own protected by high bounties then it becomes my duty to state that the close fishery ought not to be yielded,—at all events not until there is an opportunity of counselling the Legislature of Nova Scotia again.[65]

Given the importance of the fishery to Nova Scotia Harvey urged Elgin to pry additional concessions from the Americans if at all possible. In particular, the Nova Scotians were interested in American registry, coastal trade and the inclusion of coal on the free list. The point that was emphasized continually was that the fishery should not be surrendered without "substantial equivalents" and only after consultation with the Nova Scotian legislature.

Closely related to the growing support for reciprocity in Nova Scotia was an increasing desire for a rail link with the American eastern seaboard. Nova Scotians, it seems, were very desirous of utilizing railways to enhance their geographic position. When John Alfred Poor, a Maine railway entrepreneur, suggested constructing a line from Halifax to Portland there was a surge of interest in Nova Scotia[66]—an interest enhanced when the British proved unreceptive to plans for a rail link with Quebec. "A great future full of hope and promise, is opening for us," the *Novascotian* commented.[67] More importantly it was a future that seemed inextricably bound up with that of the United States. "With Halifax as the Atlantic terminus," the *Novascotian* predicted, "we might expect instead of a weekly, a daily arrival of steamers at this port, filled with passengers and valuable freights, destined for

the chief cities and marts of the neighbouring Republic."[68] It would appear that in 1850 many Nova Scotians viewed their economic future as closely intertwined with that of the United States.

The issue of the rail link, however, produced a regional split within the colony. In this sense it was quite different from the general attitude toward reciprocity. Halifax and eastern Nova Scotia steadfastly supported the Maine project since these areas stood to gain most from it. South shore ports, such as Yarmouth, on the other hand, argued against it since they could see no value in it for them,[69] Nevertheless, plans went forward to construct the line and an international convention was held at Portland in July 1850. Unfortunately trouble developed in Nova Scotia over the financing of the project and when the government sought to intervene the whole project came apart. Nonetheless, debate over the issue, illustrated very clearly the economic outlook of many Nova Scotians.

J. W. Johnston, the leading Tory spokesman in the colony, presented a particularly interesting and articulate analysis. He openly championed the Maine line over the Quebec scheme. As far as he was concerned commercial union with the United States was the surest guarantee of provincial economic expansion.[70] His complete reversal, from earlier expressions of suspicion and hostility towards the United States was nothing short of remarkable.

> Our people are at present closely connected with the neighbouring republic—and their requirements demand that connection should become more intimate—less restricted. Sir, let Nova Scotia occupy the same relative commercial position to the Republic as that filled by either of the States of the Union, and her progress will be far, far greater. So far from exhibiting towards the United States, anything like jealousy or dislike, our peo-

ple look upon their inhabitants as brethren, admiring the spirit of industry they exhibit, and wishing to strengthen the bonds of social relationship now existing between this province and that mighty country. All these considerations force us to the conclusion that it is unwise and unfair to speak of the United States as an alien and foreign country.[71]

If Johnston's attitude towards the United States had changed, the same was true of many others in the colony. Certainly, the widespread support for the concept of reciprocity would indicate this. Yet, despite Nova Scotian enthusiasm for the concept, the Americans continued to turn a deaf ear to all positive suggestions for an arrangement. As a result Nova Scotia sought to strengthen her bargaining position in the negotiations. The first move in this direction came from the Fishery Committee in the Assembly. They argued that in view of American intransigence they "deem it their duty to impress upon this legislature the necessity of increased vigilance over the reserved fishing grounds."[72] It was hoped that such a policy would bring the Americans to their senses. By the summer of 1851 a provincially chartered schooner, the *Telegraph,* began patrolling the fishing grounds.[73]

Hopes for reaching an agreement were temporarily rekindled in the fall of 1851 when the Americans expressed renewed interest in the idea.[74] Further encouragement was derived with the publication in the United States of I. D. Andrews' study on reciprocity for the American government. Andrews showed conclusively the great value of trade between the British North American colonies and the United States. He emphatically urged the Americans to move in the direction of freer trade.[75] It seemed to many that the American government had finally come to its senses. By December the *Eastern Chronicle* reported that in the United States reciprocity had "more strength and a greater number of advocates than it has ever had hithertofore."[76]

While 1851 witnessed continued support for the concept of reciprocity it also saw the first organized opposition appear. It emerged in Halifax and seemed to crystalize around the commercial and mercantile interests of the city.[77] Traditionally conservative, this group felt that with the return of better times reciprocity was not the urgent necessity it had once been. Besides, they were worried about the concessions that the Americans might offer. In January of 1852 a petition was drawn up "protesting against any concessions to the Americans in the matter of the fisheries" on the ground that "unless the fishing grounds on the shores of these Northern Colonies, are reserved for the exclusive use of British subjects, they will cease to be of any value to your petitioners or to the British Crown."[78] While the petitioners approved of a reciprocal agreement with the United States which would lower the high tariff, they submitted "that to concede to the United States a participation in our fisheries in return for exemptions from duty . . . could only be regarded as another mortifying proof of a readiness to comply with the demands of the American government, however unreasonable and unjust.[79] The petition clearly illustrated continued support for the concept of reciprocity with the United States; what was feared most was an unprofitable settlement.[80] In particular, the mercantile community was worried that American registry and coasting privileges would be withheld. Under these circumstances they felt that Nova Scotia should oppose "such a reciprocity convention as was likely to be proposed."[81]

The opposition to reciprocity originated in and crystalized around the Halifax area. No organized protest developed outside the capital. Reciprocity continued to find its greatest support in the outports of the province. The *Eastern Chronicle* quickly reacted to the "prophets of doom" in Halifax. "Their minds never rise beyond corn brooms, Yankee buckets and pegged shoes," the *Chronicle* commented. "To put money into the pockets of a few shoemakers, coopers, and other

artificers, this class of legislators will make our farmers and fishermen pay a double price for those necessaries of life." As far as the *Chronicle* was concerned interests "must not be sacrificed to those of a few."[82]

A growing number of Nova Scotians, despite their desire for reciprocity, were becoming increasingly impatient with American intransigence by 1852. When hope for an agreement again faded many argued that stronger pressure should be exerted upon the United States in the hope of bringing her to terms. The obvious way to do this was to exclude the Americans more effectively from the inshore fisheries. "We hope to see the fishery regulations vigorously enforced," the *Eastern Chronicle* reported, "and every impediment (which does not infringe on the peace of the two nations) thrown in the path of our American neighbours . . . until they render a quid pro quo by admitting us to their markets."[83] The British government concurred with Nova Scotia on the need for enforcement and for the first time since 1818 provided adequate protection for the Nova Scotia fishery.[84] Needless to say this change in tactics aroused a great deal of hostility in the United States. Nova Scotians on the other hand were overjoyed with the results. "The old maxim, better late than never, was never more applicable than in the present case," declared the jubliant editor of the *Eastern Chronicle*.[85]

While there was widespread support for the policy of enforcement many hoped that it would merely be a temporary measure and that the Americans would be brought to terms. David Berrs, a fisherman from Cape Canso, continued to favour surrender of the fisheries because the Americans "have already what you would give them, and we are without any equivalent."[86] Paul Crowell, another fisherman, tended to agree: "There is but little doubt the Americans would enjoy some of the privileges which now belong to British subjects; but could we receive something equivalent for these privileges . . . this might . . . bring Nova Scotia on a level with other

countries, and prevent our young men from leaving the province."[87] Similar sentiments were expressed by the *Yarmouth Herald*. The *Herald* concluded "that the attention now being directed to it (fisheries) will hasten the establishment of reciprocal free trade . . . which we think would prove to their mutual advantage."[88]

The strict enforcement of the fisheries regulations appears to have hardened many Nova Scotians to demand substantial concessions from the Americans. This was a very natural development since they now felt themselves in a stronger bargaining position than ever before. With the return of "good times" by 1852 Nova Scotia could afford to wait until the Americans conceded to their demands. While claiming to be still in favour of reciprocity the *Novascotian,* for example, called for a stronger line in negotiations.[89] Nothing should be surrendered without adequate compensation; Nova Scotians must evaluate the terms for themselves. The Nova Scotian's great fear was that Britain would reach an agreement without consulting the local authorities.[90]

Despite this hardening position the concept of reciprocity still had great appeal in the colony. The fisheries, however, had become the symbol of Nova Scotia's future; they could not be sacrificed without adequate compensation. Joseph Howe explained the situation in 1853. As far as he was concerned there was little chance the Americans would settle the issues in dispute on "fair terms." Since the "opening of the United States market to our fish would alone be no equivalent for yielding the shore fishery" Howe concluded that Nova Scotia had no alternative but to enforce the fishery regulations as effectively as possible.[91] Nevertheless, he hoped that the Americans would eventually come to their senses and negotiate seriously for "extended freedom of trade."[92]

As 1853 progressed the debate over reciprocity intensified. The most vocal organ in favour of an arrangement was

the *Eastern Chronicle*. It claimed that the fisherman of the colony had nothing to fear from reciprocity.

> But suppose that reciprocity was conceded, and that our American neighbours were permitted to land on our shores for the purpose of curing their fish, and to do by law what they now frequently do by stealth . . . Then with a removal of the duty on our fish, which must necessarily accompany the measure, the whole union would be thrown open for a market; . . . we cannot imagine anything to prevent a flourishing and profitable business being done . . . In six months, half a million of dollars would be expended along our coast by Americans in erecting stations, buying or building vessels, and other preparations for an extensive trade. Our Iron bound coast from Cape Canso to Cape Sable would be teeming with the busy hum of commercial activity and toil . . . and every harbour would have its villages gradually growing into towns, instead of a few miserable bark huts that are now to be seen.[93]

Not content with this analysis the *Chronicle* ran a series of articles showing exactly how reciprocity would benefit the different occupational groups within the colony.[94] It emphasized the fact that most of the opposition to reciprocity was centered in Halifax and that it was based on the selfish concerns of the Halifax commercial élite. Those entrepreneurs, it argued, would suffer because of increased American competition. This in turn would be of benefit to those in the outports, particularly the fishermen. "They would find that they were no longer under the necessity of relinquishing to the Halifax merchants, on their own terms, the proceeds of their annual catch," the *Chronicle* concluded. "They would find a choice of markets, with better prices, at their own doors. They would find at home that employment which many of them now go abroad to seek."[95] Confidently the *Chronicle* predicted that "if the issue were put to the country . . . the almost unanimous response would be in the affirmative."[96]

Despite the appeal of reciprocity many remained very skeptical due to the intransigence of the Americans on the matter of concessions. Many were also coming to feel that Nova Scotia could survive without reciprocity. In the changed circumstances Nova Scotia could well afford to wait out the Americans. The irony of the situation was that Nova Scotian attitudes had become completely irrelevant. Britain had decided that reciprocity was necessary and had reached an agreement with the Americans on 5 June 1854.[97] As a result the Nova Scotians were faced with a *"fait accompli."* The question was what would they do next? Their reaction to the agreement says much about their overall attitude towards closer economic relations with the United States.

Reaction to the treaty was varied as might have been expected. The *Eastern Chronicle,* while disappointed with the clauses affecting colonial shipping, on the whole was pleased. "We confess," the *Chronicle* admitted, "that the terms of the proposed reciprocity are not so largely favourable to the people of the lower provinces as was expected . . . Yet, we believe the good sense of the people will perceive that the measure will confer upon them many real advantages which it would be folly for them to despise."[98] Considering the amount of support given to reciprocity throughout 1854 and Pictou's growing dependence on coal exports their reaction was not unexpected.

More interesting was the position assumed by the *Novascotian,* since its reaction illuminates the Halifax perspective somewhat. To begin with that paper publicly admitted that reciprocity was in the interest of all concerned.[99] This was quite an admission from a newspaper which only a month earlier had opposed surrendering the fisheries.[100] The only logical explanation would seem to be that the *Novascotian* had felt that the colony should drive a harder bargain and that until she received all that she wanted the fisheries should be held back. Faced with the realiy of a treaty her position

mellowed. By August the *Novascotian* was claiming that the Halifax press was not unalterably opposed to the treaty. While admitting that it was extremely disappointed that American coastal trade and registry had not been included in the agreement the *Novascotian* emphasized that it would not "reject the treaty because it is less liberal in its provisions than we could have desired."[101] By September of 1854 the *Novascotian* was even more firmly committed to the treaty. "What this Country has long been languishing for is a remunerative and steady market," the paper commented, "and this grand desideratum is at length within our grasp, if we will but accept the proffered boon . . . let us divest our minds of the notion that its advantages are all on the side of the Americans and that we Provincials are about to be jockeyed in the reciprocity question."[102] Again, this would seem to indicate that a lot of the *Novascotian's* opposition to reciprocity had been over particular terms. The newspaper was not opposed to the concept of freer trade or a closer economic arrangement with the Americans; it merely felt that under the changed circumstances Nova Scotia should drive a much harder bargain.

Support for the treaty developed slowly throughout the summer and fall of 1854 in spite of the fact that it was not all that had been hoped for. In a letter to the *Yarmouth Herald* one local fisherman explained why he favoured the agreement. The losses, he explained, were "more imaginary than real;" the fisheries were not being surrendered for a "mess of pottage,"[103] Quite the contrary. As fas as he was concerned the treaty offered real advantages and was "devoutly wished for by the people of Argyle."[104] Yet, the people of Argyle were not alone. "If the question were to be decided by the voice of the people," the *Eastern Chronicle* commented, "the ratification of the treaty might be regarded as a certainty."[105] By the fall newspapers in Pictou, Halifax and Yarmouth were supporting the treaty. "That a measure so advantageous to all

these provinces will be ratified . . . we have not the slightest doubt." commented the *Yarmouth Herald*. "The colonial journals with very few exceptions, declare in favor of the Treaty."[106]

Before the treaty could become law it had to be ratified by the Nova Scotian Legislature. The ensuing debate clearly reflected the attitudes of Nova Scotia's leading politicians on the concept of reciprocity with the United States. William Young, the recently appointed government leader, privately admitted "that a considerable majority will close with the offer and that Johnston himself (leader of opposition) who threatens hard will yield to the strong feelings and the coercive power of his own agricultural constituents."[107] What angered Nova Scotian politicians was not so much the treaty itself but the manner in which it had been negotiated.[108] This explains much of the hostility in the local Assembly. Its honour had been insulted because its members had not been consulted when their interests were at stake. Nova Scotia had suffered an injustice. The source of irritation, the *Novascotian* explained was "the manner of doing the thing, altogether irrespective of the value of the thing itself."[109] Consultation had not taken place. "Our fisheries were bartered away, not only without our consent, but even the terms of surrender were never, until within a few days communicated to those most interested."[110]

As might be expected politicians such as Joseph Howe reacted violently against this slight to their colony even though they supported the concept of reciprocity.

> I [Howe] look upon the manner in which the treaty has been consumated as one of the grossest insults that I have ever known to have been perpetrated in a colony. And I say that I would not hesitate to forego the advantages of the treaty for one year or seven years in order to teach these men in England who undertake to barter

away our property—that we know our rights, and knowing, dare maintain them. Sir, I have no hesitation in saying also, that when I look at the summary mode in which our dearest interests are trifled with—while I feel more and more as a Nova Scotian, I feel less and less as a British subject.[111]

Despite such indignation at the manner by which it was achieved, support for the treaty continued to grow.[112] While not as generous as might have been expected the treaty did offer substantial advantages to Nova Scotia in regards to expanded markets for her fish, coal and forest products. Hence in spite of anger with the British over the negotiations, the treaty was ratified by a healthy majority in both Houses of the Legislature.[113]

On the whole, most historians have under-estimated the support for reciprocity in Nova Scotia after 1850 and misread the apparent opposition which appeared after the treaty was announced. While many debated the advantages and disadvantages of particular terms most were convinced of the benefits of freer trade with the United States. This was especially the case in the outports of the province which never faltered in their support. The distinction however, must always be drawn between the concept of reciprocity and the actual Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. This distinction was clearly made by the *Novascotian* and its assessment applies equally well to many other "opponents" of reciprocity at the time: "Mr. Johnston and Mr. Howe, having recorded their objections voted to the last, not against Reciprocity which both favoured, but against what they conceived to have been an insult and an unauthorized alienation of our territory."[114]

FOOTNOTES

1. For a complete listing of the books and articles on the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 see Claude Thibault (Compiler), **Bibliographia Canadiana** (Toronto, 1973) pp. 343-344. The two standard accounts remain D. C. Masters, **The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854** (London, 1936) and W. Easterbrook and H. Aitken, **Canadian Economic History** (Toronto, 1956) pp. 244-249, 361-365.
2. D. C. Masters . . . p. 24.
3. **Ibid.**
4. Insight into the British North American economy and Nova Scotia's position in that economy can be found in the following works: W. Easterbrook and H. Aitken, **Canadian Economic History** (Toronto, 1956); G. Tucker, **The Canadian Commercial Revolution, 1845-1851** (New Haven, 1936); S. A. Saunders, **The Economic History of** the **Maritime Provinces** (Ottawa, 1939) and H. A. Innis, **The Cod Fisheries** (New Haven, 1940)
5. H. A. Innis . . . p. 343.
6. See the Appendicies in I. L. MacDougall, "Commercial Relations Between Nova Scotia and the United States, 1830-1850" (Dalhousie, M.A. 1961) or R. H. McDonald, "Nova Scotia Views the United States, 1784-1854" (Queen's, Ph.D., 1974) Chapters 4 and 5.
7. (C.O. 217/199) p. 285, Harvey to Grey, October 18, 1848 or **Report of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia** (1948) pp. 14-42.
8. W. M. Whitelaw, for example, described the Bay of Fundy as a "sea of smuggling." **(Maritimes and Canada Before Confederation,** Toronto, 1966) p. 64. Evidence of extensive smuggling can also be found in the **Yarmouth Herald,** November 13, 1848 and **Novascotian,** July 14, 1852. H. A. Innis also describes extensive smuggling. See **Cod Fisheries** (Toronto, 1940) pp. 331-350.
9. **Times,** September 21, 1846.
10. **Ibid.**
11. Among the leading Tory papers were the **British Colonist, Mirror, Morning Herald, Morning Post** and **Times.** Leading Liberal papers included the **Novascotian, Eastern Chronicle, Yarmouth Herald, Sun,** and **Morning Chronicle.**
12. **Times,** September 29, 1846.
13. See for e.g. **Novascotian,** May 15, 22 and October 16, 1848; **Yarmouth Herald** June 19 and December 11, 1848; and the **Eastern Chronicle,** September 21, 1848.
14. See for e.g. **Debates** for March 9, 1847 on the "New Commercial Policy" as reported in the **Novascotian,** March 22, 1847.
15. W. M. Whitelow . . . pp. 83-86.
16. See **Debates,** March 9, 1847 as reported in **Novascotian,** March 22, 1847.
17. (P.A.N.S., M.G. 1, **Shannon Collection,** Vol. 805, No. 13), S. L. Shannon to J. N. Shannon, February 12, 1848.

18. **Ibid.**
19. Compared to other British North American colonies Nova Scotia's reaction was rather tempered. One does not find any annexation clubs forming as was the case in the United Canadas and New Brunswick. See S. Wise and R. C. Brown, **Canada Views the United States** (Toronto, 1967) pp. 44-98.
20. As mentioned in footnote 1 a great deal has been written on reciprocity. For more detailed information on Nova Scotia and reciprocity see: W. E. Corbett, "Nova Scotia Under the Reciprocity Treaty of 1844" (Acadia, M.A., 1941); I. L. MacDougall, "Commercial Relations Between Nova Scotia and the United States, 1830-1854" (Dalhousie, M.A., 1961) and S. A. Saunders, "The Maritime Provinces and the Reciprocity Treaty" **(Dalhousie Review,** October 1934, Vol. XIV) pp. 355-371.
21. D. C. Masters, **Op. Cit.,** p. 16.
22. **Novascotian,** May 22, 1848.
23. **(P.A.N.S., R.G. 1, Vol. 257, No. 122),** Samuel Cunard to Joseph Howe, June 19, 1848.
24. **Ibid.**
25. See for example: **Yarmouth Herald,** June 19, 1848 and the **Eastern Chronicle,** September 21, 1848. Not all newspapers were immediately converted. The **British Colonist** maintained a protectionist stand throughout 1848.
26. **Morning Courier,** December 21, 1848. Further evidence of the growing support for reciprocity can be found in Lieutenant-Governor Harvey's analysis of the situation. **(P.A.N.S., Lieutenant-Governors Correspondence,** R. G. 1, Vol. 121, Harvey to Grey, October 18, 1848).
27. **Debates,** as reported in **Novascotian,** January 29, 1849. The Committee was composed of the Attorney-General, Messrs. Marshall, Taylor, Killam, Huntington, Hon. G. R. Young and Mr. Mott.
28. **Novascotian,** August 27, 1849.
29. **Ibid.**
30. To compensate the Americans the British gave them fishing and drying rights in Newfoundland and Labrador. For details of the Convention see A. L. Burt, **The United States, Great Britain and British North America** New Haven, 1940) pp. 418-420.
31. **Ibid.**
32. Nova Scotia disaffection with the Convention is described in detail by D. C. Harvey, "Nova Scotia and the Convention of 1818" **Transactions of Royal Society of Canada,** 3rd Series, **Vol. XXVII,** 1933) pp. 57-73.
33. For a description of the growth of the Nova Scotian fishery see H. A. Innis, **The Cod Fisheries** (New Haven, 1940) pp. 227-249, 331-356.
34. For a detailed account of the Halifax Conference see Walter Corbett . . . pp. 44-48.
35. Fish for example, was subject to a 20% American tariff. **(Journals of Assembly,** 1848 Appendix 72, Report of Committee on Fisheries).

36. Resolution one dealt with the need and desirability for a free exchange of natural products. Resolution two urged the British government to begin negotiations on such an agreement. Resolution three listed the proposed imports: Grain and bread stuffs of all kinds, vegetables, fruits, seeds, hay and straw, salted and fresh meats, butter, cheese, lard, tallow, hides, hides, horns, wools, undressed skins and furs of all kinds, iron, copper, lead, grindstones, coals, lime, ochres, gypsum, rock salt, wood, timber and lumber of all kinds, firewood, ashes, fish, fish oil, train oil, spermoreti oil, head matter and blubber, fins and skins, the produce of fish or creatures living in the water. Resolution four recommended that the Colonial Legislatures remove all duties on the listed articles. (**See Lieutenant-Governor's Correspondence,** Vol. 1A, R.G. 2, Resolutions of Conference of September 1849 on Reciprocity).
37. G. N. Tucker, **The Canadian Commercial Revolution: 1845-1851** (Toronto, 1964) pp. 106-107.
38. (P.A.N.S. **Lieutenant-Governor's Correspondence,** R.G. 1, Vol. 121), Harvey to Elgin (Confidential) December 13, 1849.
39. (P.A.N.S., **Lieutenant-Governor's Correspondence,** R.G. 1, Vol. 121), Harvey to Elgin, February 20, 1850.
40. For information on Yarmouth see J. Campbell, **History of County of Yarmouth** (Saint John, 1846) while for Pictou consult D. Campbell and R. A. MacLean, **Beyond the Atlantic Roar** (Toronto, 1974).
41. **Yarmouth Herald,** April 11, 1850.
42. **Novascotian,** March 4, 1850.
43. **Debates,** Thursday, February 28 (as reported in **Novascotian,** March 25, 1850).
44. That preamble reads as follows: Whereas in consequence of the recent changes in the Navigation Laws and the Commercial Policy of the British Empire, it has become necessary to secure more extended markets for the natural produce of British North America, by a reciprocal free exchange of such products with the United States; and to have the coasting trade arranged between this and the adjoining provinces and the United States on fair and equitable terms, and to obtain from the Government of the United States such modifications of their Laws as will admit colonial built vessels to the privilege of Registry . . . **(Journals of House of Assembly,** 1850) pp. 516-517.
45. (P.A.N.S. **Lieutenant-Governor's Correspondence,** R.G. 1, Vol. 121) Harvey to Elgin, March 9, 1850.
46. **Ibid.**
47. **Debates,** Friday, March 1, (as reported in **Novascotian,** March 25, 1850).
48. **Novascotian,** March 4, 1850.
49. (P.A.N.S., **R.G. 1, Vol. 259, No. 39)** Young to Bulwer, June 17, 1850.
50. **Ibid.**

51. **Ibid.**
52. **Ibid.** This view was reinforced by Young in a letter on July 3, 1859. (P.A.N.S., **R.G. 1, Vol. 259, No. 54,** Young to Harvey, July 3, 1850.)
53. **Eastern Chronicle,** February 21, 1850.
54. It is surprising how little attention has been paid to the importance of reciprocity in the Pictou area. Neither G. A. Patterson in his **History of the County of Pictou** (Montreal, 1877) nor J. M. Cameron in **Pictou County's History** (Kentville, 1972) even mention reciprocity. R. M. Guy, "The Industrial Development and Urbanization of Pictou County in 1900" (Acadia, M.A., 1962) also fails to deal with the issue.
55. **Debates** for February 26 (as reported in **Novascotian,** March 11, 1850).
56. **Eastern Chronicle,** February 21, 1850.
57. **Novascotian,** April, 1850.
58. The point should be emphasized that support for reciprocity was widespread. Both the **Yarmouth Herald** and the **Eastern Chronicle,** for example, vigorously supported the concept of reciprocity and the passage of the resolutions. The speeches of the local members on the resolutions were reprinted in detail. See: **Yarmouth Herald,** April 1, April 18 and May 16, 1850. **Eastern Chronicle,** February 21, March 28, 1850.
59. **Novascotian,** April 1, 1850.
60. Originally the **British Colonist** supported protection over free trade. By April of 1850, however, the paper was supporting the principle of reciprocity with the United States.(**British Colonist,** April 20, 1850. Their main fear was that Nova Scotia would be compelled to accept an unfair reciprocity agreement. (See for e.g. **British Colonist,** April 23, 1850; July 2, 1850; December 19, 1850 and December 28, 1850).
61. David A. Sutherland, "The Merchants of Halifax, 1815-1850: A Commercial Class in Pursuit of Metropolitian Status" (Unpublished Ph.D., University of Toronto, (1975) p. 414.
62. **Ibid.,** p. 417.
63. For an explanation of the American position see D. C. Masters . . . Chapter 111 and L. B. Shippee, **Canadian-American Relations,** 1849-74 (New Haven, 1939) Chapter 1 and 11.
64. See for example the **Eastern Chronicle,** May 2, 1850 or a letter from T. A. Stayner to Wm. Stairs expressing his personal disappointment (P.A.N.S., **Stairs Collection,** M.G. 1, Vol. 880, No. 127, T. A. Stayner to Wm. Stairs, May 15, 1850).
65. P.A.N.S., **Lieutenant-Governor's Correspondence,** R.G. 2, Vol. IA), Harvey to Elgin, July 25, 1850.
66. For complete information on Poor and his plan see Brian Young, "John Alfred Poor" in the **Dictionary of Canadian Biography,** Vol. X, (Toronto, 1972) pp. 590-592. For some local reaction to the project see **Novascotian,** July 15, 1850.

67. **Novascotian,** July 22, 1850. Many other examples can be presented illustrating enthusiasm for the rail link. Both the **Chronicle** and the **Sun,** for example, defended it vigorously.
68. **Novascotian,** July 22, 1850.
69. Yarmouth Herald, September 26, 1850.
70. For a more complete analysis of Johnston's conversion to commercial union see D. Sutherland, "James William Johnston," **Dictionary of Canadian Biography,** Vol. X, p. 386.
71. **Debates** as reported in **Novascotian,** January 5, 1852.
72. **Journals of Assembly,** 1851, Appendix 73.
73. (P.A.N.S., **R.G. 1, Vol. 260, No. 119**), Provincial Secretary's Office, July 10, 1851.
74. This renewed interest was shown during an unofficial meeting in Boston. An account of that meeting can be found in the **Eastern Chronicle,** September 25, 1851.
75. For further information see I. D. Andrews', **Report on Trade and Commerce of British North America** (Washington, 1851). So impressed was the American government with Andrews' work that they urged him to complete an even more extensive study. The result was the **Trade and Commerce of the British North American Colonies** (Washington, 1853).
76. **Eastern Chronicle,** December 9, 1851. Similar optimism can be found in the **Novascotian,** December 15, 1851.
77. For an analysis of the opposition to reciprocity see D.C. Masters . . . pp. 19-27, Walter Corbett . . . pp. 51-53, 60-62 and I. L. MacDougall . . . pp. 177-184.
78. (P.A.N.S., **R.G. 1, Vol. 261, No. 30**), William Pryor and William Lawson to Joseph Howe, January 20, 1852.
79. **Ibid.**
80. In the accompanying letter with the petition Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Harvey explained that the signers would not settle for anything less than the terms laid down in his 25 July 1850 despatch **(Lieutenant-Governor's Correspondence,** R.G. 1, Vol. 121, Harvey to Grey, February 19, 1852). Harvey's successor, Sir Gaspard le Marchant made the same point in November of 1852 when while reviewing the reciprocity issue he emphasized Nova Scotians would oppose surrender of the fisheries unless some substantial concessions were made by the Americans. **(Lieutenant-Governor's Correspondence,** R.G. 1, Vol. 123, Marchant to Packington, November 22, 1852).
81. This position on adequate compensation for the fisheries was articulated by the **British Colonist.** See **British Colist,** May 24, 1851; December 16, 1851; February 19, 1852, June 26, 1852 and September 4, 1852.
82. **Eastern Chronicle,** April 1, 1852.
83. **Ibid.,** May 27, 1852.
84. In addition to British help in the form of patrol vessels the provincial government voted £3,000 for coastal protection.
85. **Eastern Chronicle,** July 28, 1852.

86. **Journals of House Assembly,** 1852, Appendix 25.
87. **Ibid.**
88. **Yarmouth Herald,** August 5, 1852. A similar position was assumed by the **British Colonist.** See **British Colonist,** June 26, 1852.
89. **Novascotian,** August 2, 1852.
90. This fear comes most clearly in official despatches to the home authorities and British negotiators. See for example: **(Lieutenant-Governor's Correspondence,** R.G. 1, Vol. 123, Despatches of Marchant for September 2, 1852 and February 17, 1853).
92. J. Chisholm, **The Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe,** Vol. 2 (Halifax, 1909), Speech to the Assembly in the spring of 1853 on Free Trade.
93. **Eastern Chronicle,** January 17, 1853.
94. These articles appeared in the **Eastern Chronicle** throughout May and June of 1854. They showed that fishermen were only one of many occupational groups in the colony. The effect of reciprocity on farmers, seamen, woodsmen, shipbuilders and miners was analysed. The general conclusion was that reciprocity would be of tremendous benefit.
95. **Eastern Chronicle,** May 18, 1854.
96. **Ibid.,** June 1, 1854. It should be emphasized that the **Eastern Chronicle** was not alone in its support of reciprocity during the 1852-1854 period. The **Yarmouth Herald,** for example, continued to support the concept of reciprocity while demanding greater concessions from the Americans. (See **Yarmouth Herald,** August 5, 1852, November 11, 1842, September 7, 1854 and October 12, 1854).
97. For a detailed description of the final negotiations see D. C. Masters . . . pp. 65-86. A copy of the agreement which provided for a free exchange of natural products can be found in Appendix A of Masters.
98. **Eastern Chronicle,** August 3, 1854.
99. **Novascotian,** August 3, 1854.
100. See for example, **Novascotian,** July 17, 1854.
101. **Novascotian,** August 14, 1854.
102. **Ibid.,** September 4, 1854.
103. Letter to Editor, **Yarmouth Herald,** August 21, 1854.
104. **Ibid.**
105. **Eastern Chronicle,** August 10, 1854.
106. **Yarmouth Herald,** September 7, 1854.
107. (P.A.N.S., M.G. 2, **Wm. Young Papers, Doc.** 473,) Young to Perley, June 10, 1854.
108. See the lengthy discussion of this matter in **Novascotian,** October 9, 1854. (Also P.A.N.S., M.G. 2, **Wm. Young Papers,** Doc. 619, Young to Ross, November 14, 1854).
109. **Novascotian,** October 9, 1854.
110. **Ibid.**
111. **Debates** as reported in **Novascotian,** December 13, 1854.

112. The role of I. D. Andrews in assuring passage of the treaty through the Nova Scotian legislature is still not clearly resolved. It does seem certain that Andrews indeed did supply monetary aid to certain wavering politicians and newspapermen, but it is impossible to know exactly who they were or how many people were involved. For further information see: W. D. Overman, "I. D. Andrews and Reciprocity in 1854: An Episode in Dollar Diplomacy" (**C.H.R.**, Vol. 15, 1934) pp. 248-263; D. C. Masters, "A Further Word on I. D. Andrews and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854" (**C.H.R.**, Vol. 17, 1936) pp. 159-167, and Irene Hecht, "Isreal D. Andrews and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854: A Re-Appraisal" (**C.H.R.**, Vol. 44, 1963) pp. 313-329.
113. The Assembly voted 34-12 to ratify the treaty, while the Legislative Council voted 16-2 in its favour. (**Lieutenant-Governor's Correspondence**, R.G. 1, Vol. 123, Marchant to Grey, December 13, 1854).
114. **Novascotian**, March 20, 1865.

The History of The Apple Industry of Nova Scotia - Part 3

KEITH A. HATCHARD

THE STARRS OF STARR'S POINT

An unfortunate feature of the history of human warfare has been the way in which circumstance or choice has split up friends, and even members of the same family, and placed them on opposing sides. There was much evidence of this in the American Revolutionary Wars of the late eighteenth century. Many New Englanders caught up in the struggle found themselves in sympathy with the revolutionaries and many chose to remain loyal to the King. Likewise there were many who just happened to find themselves in the wrong place at at the wrong time.

Such was the experience of Joseph Starr (1757-1840), a member of the New England family that emigrated to Cornwallis, Nova Scotia, to farm, and in time, to play a leading role in the development of the provincial apple industry.

The Starrs, along with so many of the New England settlers, came from families that had contributed with distinction to the life of the Old World. Dr. Comfort Starr, of Ashford, Kent, had been warden of St. Mary's Church, and, in

addition to ministering to the sick, he had acquired considerable material wealth and affluence. When he emigrated to Connecticut in 1634, Doctor Starr was able to afford the cost of bringing three servants along with him.[1]

The Starrs were prominent in the early development of the New England colony. Dr. Thomas Starr served the community as a physician and his son, Samuel (1640-1687), married Hannah Brewster, a granddaughter of William Brewster of the Mayflower, the spiritual leader of the fledgling colony. Samuel Starr's son, Captain Jonathan Starr married Elizabeth Morgan, and their son, Samuel (1699-1786) was the father of the two brothers, Samuel and David, who were the founders of the Nova Scotia branch of the family and the initiators of its involvement in the development of the Annapolis Valley apple industry.

Many of the descendants of Doctor Comfort have forged distinguished careers for themselves in the United States. Moses Allen Starr,[2] (1854-1932), was born in Brooklyn, New York. He was the son of Egbert and Charlotte Starr of Middlebury, Vermont and a direct descendant of Dr. Comfort Starr. Following an early period of interest in the study of history he became fascinated by the nervous system and spent the rest of his life studying it. He completed his studies in North America and Europe and became an early pioneer in the field of cerebral localisation. His work helped build the foundation that was later to be built upon by Dr. Wilder Penfield and all the other great neurologists. Dr. Moses Starr was the author of many publications on neurological subjects and, towards the end of his career, he was a much sought after teacher at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York City.

Frederick Starr,[2] (1858-1933), was born in Auburn, New York. He was the fourth child of the Reverend Frederick Starr, a Presbyterian minister, and Helen Strachan Mills.

Frederick was also a direct descendant of Dr. Comfort Starr and, during his lifetime, he demonstrated many of the eccentricities of behaviour that are more usually associated with his English cousins. He never wore an overcoat, refused to use the telephone and often referred to himself as the 'lone star(r)'. He was, however, one of the pioneers in the field of anthropology and he spent thirty-one years teaching the subject at the University of Chicago. He travelled extensively in his later years and gained international attention as a defender of human rights and minority groups. He wrote numerous books on the subject of anthropology with special emphasis on the Japanese with whom he lived for many years. He died a bachelor, in Tokyo, in 1933.

Now, let us give consideration to the branch of the Starr family that settled in Nova Scotia. Samuel Starr (1728-1799) was the leader of the batch of emigrants that were offerred land in Nova Scotia after the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755. The New England colony had sent a delegation to Nova Scotia to inspect the land, and, as a result of their report, Samuel Starr had selected the point of land between the Canard and Cornwallis Rivers for his habitation. This area has been known since that time as Starr's Point. It had previously, during the time of the Acadians, been known as Boudreau's Point.

Major Samuel Starr had married Abigail Leffingwell at Norwich, Connecticut, in 1749. He built his home at Town Plot, on the bank of the Cornwallis River, and, three years after his arrival, he invited his younger brother, David, to join him. David Starr. (1742-1837), married Susanna Potter at Halifax in 1770, and, it was from these two brothers that the Nova Scotia branch of the Starr family spread far and wide.

The story of Joseph, (1757-1840), the second son of Samuel and Abigail Starr, highlights the divisiveness of war.

Joseph was only two years old when his parents emigrated to Nova Scotia and he was left behind to be educated in Connecticut. The outbreak of the Revolutionary War created considerable torment in the mind of young Joseph. He had been raised and educated by friends who were now displaying strong revolutionary sympathies against the Crown. These sympathies would, naturally, place them on the opposing side to his family in Nova Scotia. Samuel wrote to his son directing him to return home and Joseph made preparations to leave. He refused to enlist in the revolutionary forces and was imprisoned, along with the crew of a sloop from Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. Joseph organized an escape from the wooden jail, in which they were held captive, with the help of a pocket knife, which he had managed to keep hidden on his person. The escapees made their way back to the ship, overpowered the prize-crew, and set sail for Nova Scotia. Joseph Starr made the overland trek to his family home after bidding farewell to his fellow adventurers at Yarmouth.

The Nova Scotia countryside was very wild in those days and it was an extremely dirty and dishevelled Joseph Starr that finally arrived at Town Plot. Not one of the family recognized him and he asked for refreshment. This was given to him and, as he sat in the corner, the old negro servant of the family suddenly burst out with "It's Massie Joe. I see him laugh."

Joseph Starr later married his first cousin, Joanna Starr, the daughter of Jonathan and Sarah. They had eight children and their seventh child, Richard (1799-18?) was responsible for establishing the family's link with Willowbank Farm on the bank of the Cornwallis River. It is not certain who the original owner of Willowbank farm was. It was called Boudreau's Bank by the Acadians and was bounded at the time of the arrival of the New England settlers in 1760 by French willow trees some of which were sixty feet tall and four feet wide. There were some hostile Indians and a few Acadians

lurking around when the settlers arrived and it is reported that they stole up the river quietly and moored their boats to the huge willow trees in the dusk in order not to attract attention to their arrival. This spot continued to be the main ferry point across the river until 1834 when a bridge was constructed across the river at Port William. The large house at Willowbank was at one time used to billet married British officers. Colonel Richard Starr purchased Willowbank Farm in 1868. He had married Tamar Troop of Bridgetown, N.S. in 1829 and with his son Charles Richard Henry (1843? - ?) kept the Willowbank Farm in the Starr family for many years. It is now owned by Mr. David Johnson who, along with his farm foreman, Mr. Earle Schofield, is only too happy to introduce visitors to the past glories of Willowbank Farm. Colonel Richard was the first of the Starr family to really devote himself to the apple industry and it was he along with his sons, Robert William and Charles Henry, that were most instrumental in organizing the display at the International Exhibition in London in 1862 that was such a sensational success and earned the Province's fruit industry an international reputation for the first time.

The adventurous spirit which characterised the Starrs was much in evidence in the person of Samuel Starr (1790-1864), the son of Joseph Starr. He showed early promise as a businessman in Halifax but found the life of bustling seaport a little dull for his temperament and, in his early twenties, he shipped out for Demerara in Guiana, South America. He set up business as a builder and contractor and proceeded to contract yellow fever on three separate occasions. The last occasion was in 1821 when he happened to find himself thirty miles back in the hinterland jungle building a residence for sugar workers. He was extremely weak and fearing that he was not going to recover, he asked his fellow workers to ship him down river to Georgetown. Luckily there was a Nova Scotian brig in the harbour loading molasses.

Samuel Starr took passage aboard the vessel, the mate of which, along with one of the seamen, had also contracted yellow fever. The journey home must have been a nightmare one. The seaman died and the mate was still desperately ill when they reached Halifax. Samuel Starr, however, had begun to show amazing signs of recovery from the time the brig reached Halifax and he retired to the family homestead at Cornwallis where he worked the family homestead for more than forty years.

Major John Edward Starr (1831-1901), the son of Samuel Starr, married Martha Eaton in 1860. He established a Province wide reputation as a breeder of Durham grade cattle and was later appointed overseer for the fisheries of King's County under the Dominion Government. Major Starr served as adjutant for the 68th Battalion of the King's County Volunteers for many years.

One of the Halifax members of the family, John Starr, was prominent in the hardware business in Halifax for many years. He opened a branch of the business in Dartmouth and in the early 1860s he went into partnership with John Forbes to form the Starr Manufacturing Company. John Forbes went on to design the 'Acme' Starr skate which in the late nineteenth century earned Dartmouth an international reputation as the locale with the best skate available in the world at that time. John Starr had relinquished his interest in the business after a short while but it was the Starr name that caught world-wide attention and the business, which no longer produces skates, is known as the Starr Manufacturing Company to this day.

Thus, it was from the two founding members of the family, Samuel and David, that the two main branches of the family emerged. David Starr had eight children, forty-six grandchildren and twenty-six great grand-children living during his lifetime. Three of his sons became successful Halifax merchants and one of them, Colonel John Starr served as

a member of the Provincial Parliament. His grandson, the Hon. John Leander Starr was made a member of the Legislative Council in 1841.

The family of Samuel Starr stayed closer to the homestead and forged the strongest links with the Cornwallis fruit-growing industry. Major Samuel Starr (1728-1799) had built the original Starr homestead at Starr's Point. It was a large, square. 'brick-nogged' house, with nine rooms and a studded door, two inches thick. He was a true friend to the poor and oppressed, with whom he was extremely popular. They once carried him through the village shoulder high for having successfully defended a neighbour in a 'usurious interest' case that had been brought against him.

Thus, from two emigrant brothers, members of a family which had shown leadership both in the Old World and the New there emerged another Nova Scotian heritage which not only advanced the development of the fruit-growing industry, but also contributed many useful citizens to advance the development of a new nation.

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When Victor Hugo's daughter was a Haligonian

ROBERT PATON HARVEY

Cunard's wharf on a spring day in 1866 was a busy place. It was particularly a bustle when the regular steamer to Liverpool was preparing to make its trans-Atlantic run. Sailing ships could be seen in the harbour. Then as now seagulls drifted in the breeze overhead, and as the morning fog lifted, the Dartmouth shore grew more and more visible.

The wharf was crowded. Carriages and wagons drew up and cargo of every description was unloaded and stowed away in the ship for England. Passengers assembled and cheerful words were exchanged between those about to leave on a holiday abroad and their friends and family remaining ashore. Businessmen rechecked their luggage to make sure all papers and documents of importance were included for their meetings in the old country.

Thomas O'Brien, a coachman, was on the wharf as well. He positioned his carriage to give his passenger a clear view of all those who boarded the ship. His charge was an attractive woman in her mid-thirties. She had fine features which were partially hidden by a veil and surrounded by wavy, jet black hair. She was dressed in dark clothing and carried an umbrella though the morning gave no indication of rain.

O'Brien casually observed the dockside activities, gazed from time to time at the harbour waters and exchanged greetings with the other coachmen coming to and from the ship. His passenger, seated amid her trunks and valises, appeared, like so many that morning, ready to board the vessel for England.

The activity slowed. Some of the voyagers now appeared on the deck and were waving to the small groups of friends and family still on the dock. The ropes were let go and the ship began to maneuver into the stream.

Thomas O'Brien already had his back to the harbour. He had headed his horse off the wharf and up the hill into the city, with his passenger still seated among her belongings, unchanged except that perhaps her eyes were less frantic and her countenance more tranquil. This scene was to be repeated often that spring.

Who was the mysterious woman who frequented Cunard's wharf and gave every appearance that she was about to take passage for abroad? To Henry Hesslein, the manager of the Halifax Hotel on Hollis Street where she had registered in late July of 1863, she was "Miss Lewly". To her fellow guests at that establishment, including romantic Southern refugees and Confederate agents, she was "the mysterious French Miss". To her various landlords and to the small circle with whom she came in contact during her Halifax stay, she was "Madame Pinson". To her family in Europe, she was "Dédé". To generations of Haligonians over the last century, she has been a subject of much interest for she was the heroine of what may be the strangest and most poignant story ever to have been set in this storied, old garrison town. She was the tragic Adèle Hugo, daughter of Victor Hugo.

The first thirty-three years of her life were spent under the domination of her often preoccupied father and family. During the last forty-three years of her life, she was confined

to an asylum for the insane. But, in between, from 1863 to 1872, she tasted independence and freedom. It was all the liberty she would ever know and it was tragically consumed in pursuing a love which in reality had never been or at least was no more for anyone, except herself.

A revolutionary cannonade had heralded her birth in Paris on the night of the twenty-eighth of July, 1830. The temperature that day reached a sweltering ninety degrees, and it was equalled in intensity only by the July Revolution which reached its climax that night and would exchange Charles X, King of France, for the Duke of Orleans, as Louis Philippe, King of the French.

Adèle was the last of the Hugo children. The oldest, a boy, had died in infancy in 1824, but Adèle had two brothers, Charles and François-Victor, and a sister, Leopoldine. Domestic life was relatively tranquil, and their father enjoyed his young family for "they were free to climb into his study, draw houses and *bon hommes* on the margins of his manuscripts and he cared little."

Tragedy entered all their lives in 1843 when the favorite, Leopoldine, and her husband of only seven months were drowned in a boating accident on the Seine. This was a particularly difficult period for the young Adèle just entering her teens. Her grief stricken father tried to make her a replacement for her older sister, with whom he had had such a special relationship and Adèle was not prepared for this responsibility.

In the revolutionary year of 1848, the entire family became involved with the journal, L'Evénement, in which Adèle had had two articles published. As the political climate grew more conservative in France with the return of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, first as President and then as Emperor, Adèle's brothers were sent to prison for the liberal nature of

articles authored by them. With the *coup d'etat* of the second of December 1851, Victor Hugo fled France for Brussels.

Adèle, now nearly twenty-two, was caught up in this turmoil and cut off from the world she had known. For the next months she lived a sparse existence in Paris with her mother, seeing to the closing up of the family home and the auctioning of their belongings. With the release of her brothers in the spring of 1852, Victor Hugo decided to reunite the family in exile not far from his beloved France.

He chose British Crown territory in the outer reaches of the Gulf of Saint Malo, between the ancient French provinces of Normandy and Brittany. Here in the Channel Islands, first at Jersey and then at Guernsey, he established his exile amid his family circle which included Juliette Drouet, his mistress, and some three score of refugees of the empire. The Hugos were forced to leave Jersey in 1855 due to some indiscreet, public comments from the patriarch of the family over a visit of Queen Victoria to the Emperor Napoleon.

A year before their departure for Guernsey Adèle had met a young Englishman, Albert Andrew Pinson. He had come to "Marine Terrace", the Hugos' rented home, a half dozen times that summer to take part in the séances of the *tables tournantes* with which some of the family amused themselves. Adèle was attracted to him. He seemed to be for her the manifestation of her elusive ideal man. Possibly she envisioned for herself a romantic fulfillment of her sister's brief love which had ended in tragedy a decade before. At any rate the relationship was kept alive in the next years with occasional visits and letters.

In the year of their meeting, Pinson had become an ensign in the West Yorkshire Militia at Doncaster. In 1856 he transferred to the Sixteenth Foot Bedfordshire Regiment. In March, 1858, he became a Lieutenant and was sent to Ireland until April of 1861 at which time he was posted to Aldershot, England, for the remainder of the year.

During this period Adèle's health deteriorated. It became clear that the exile suited no one except the creative father of the Hugo family; however, Adèle was not without her champion. Her mother frequently tried to bring her husband to a realization of their daughter's condition. In one note she wrote of Adèle:

> I can see that her periods of deep depression are becoming more frequent . . . a small garden to look after and tapestry work to do . . . These are things that cannot by themselves provide sufficient mental stimulation for a young woman of twenty-six . . .

In 1856 Adèle suffered a complete nervous breakdown and was forbidden from taking part in any activity, even to playing the piano which was so great a part of her life. In 1859 as a result of a general amnesty granted by the Emperor, the family could have returned to France. However, Victor Hugo spurned the offer with the phrase:

> When liberty returns, I shall return!

The exile was now self-willed and all the more unpalatable to the family. As indicated by her mother, Adèle did not improve:

> She thinks a great deal and her ideas often erroneous—since nothing flows in from the outside to modify them —become like burning lances.

One such unmodified idea was her love of Albert Pinson. In May, 1861, Adèle slipped away to the Isle of Wight. Albert it will be recalled, had been posted a month earlier to Aldershot less than seventy miles away. After her return to the family on Guernsey, she summoned up enough courage to tell her father that she now considered herself engaged to Pinson. He did not approve of a foreign marriage.

A year passed and in the late spring of 1863, Adèle, then nearly thirty-three, decided to assert her independence

and took advantage of the family's absence from Guernsey on "le grand exode annuell" to leave and find Pinson.

She went to England to the consternation of her father. It appears he had been arranging for suitors to woo Adèle and he records in his notebook proposals of marriage from at least five gentlemen, French and Italian. On the twenty-fifth of June Adèle wrote to her brother, François-Victor, that she was about to leave for Malta to marry Pinson. Either she did not know at that moment where he was or she was misleading her family delibrately. It was then with great surprise that a letter arrived from a mutual English friend revealing that Adèle had gone to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Through this mutual friend Adèle's parents at once sent their consent to a marriage which they believed and now hoped was about to occur.

Adèle had taken passage on the *Great Eastern* for New York and then had come down the coast to Halifax where she established herself at the Halifax Hotel. She announced this to the family by a letter which arrived at Guernsey on August fourth. An arrangement was made to send her money in the amount of twenty-five pounds a month, and by early October, the family believed Adèle to be married. To make this as respectable as possible a formal announcement of an engagement appeared in the *Gazette de Guernsey* on the ninth of October, 1863. At this time, Adèle's brother wrote to Pinson demanding legal proof of the marriage.

On the seventeenth of October, 1863, in the same newspaper, a marriage notice appeared, stating that the two had wed in Paris on the seventeenth of September. Such a struggle to keep up appearances and to legitimatize the situation indicates that the news of November must have been extremely unpleasant to the family. In a letter to his mother, François-Victor explained that "Le mariage n'est pas fait."

The family had its worst fears confirmed from several sources including a letter from Pinson himself who was sur-

prised that they could have supposed that such a marriage had taken place. By the end of the year, the family was preparing for what they anticipated would be Adèle's return in shame. A shame which the family hoped would be kept private. They determined to keep Adèle at a distance for six months, travelling in Europe and then her return to the family could be explained by a divorce for as François-Victor noted "le divorce en Amérique est chose aisée et fréquente," or as Victor wrote to his wife in December 1863 "The only difference will be that she will go by the name of Madame Adèle . . . ".

In the meantime, Adèle was languishing in Halifax without the strength of character to break off the futile attempt to win Pinson. She had left the Halifax Hotel for more modest lodgings with Richard and Sarah Saunders who lived in a rented cottage at 33 North Street (5220 North Street, on the south side, east of Brunswick Street). She obtained these lodgings through the French cook at the hotel who knew Saunders as he was a part time waiter. While she had taken the name Miss Lewly at the Halifax Hotel, she received mail from her family addressed to Madame Pinson. The Saunders did not know who she was. To them she was a handsome French woman who spoke broken English, gave evidence of a refined background and was living a cloistered existence in her sparse room, eating little, writing reams of pages and being visited infrequently by a Lieutenant Pinson.

Pinson had been stationed in Halifax since early 1862 as a result of the strengthening of the British garrison due to the increased hostility between Britain and the United States over incidents such as the celebrated "*Trent* Affair", resulting from the American Civil War. He claimed he visited Adèle to try and persuade her to return to her family; however, the Saunders noticed that what money Adèle had seemed to be gone after his visits. After a short while Pinson ceased to appear. Adèle occupied herself with trying to catch glimpses

of Pinson in the street or by listening to Richard's descriptions of the various banquets he attended as a result of his employment at which very often Pinson was a guest.

At night Adèle would stalk the streets lurking in the area of public balls, entertainments and banquets. She often dressed in male clothing, complete with high silk hat for these nocturnal rambles, no doubt to assure some means of safety in the dark streets. On at least one occasion she confronted Pinson. This was outside "Bellevue", the residence of the military commander of the region, Major General Charles Hastings Doyle. Before Pinson returned to the party, they exchanged words across the street on the site of the old Poor House burial ground, now occupied by the Memorial Library.

Adèle was getting nowhere. Her mental health worsened. Her diet, which had been largely confined to bread and butter and chocolate cakes, was even further neglected. She took less care of her appearance and became quite eccentric in her manner. She continued to shadow Pinson's movements, dressed in male attire or a faded ball gown. She is said to have appeared in the streets in a garment fashioned from material salvaged from a packing case and held together with pins. At one point she pleaded with her father to send five hundred francs to pay an individual to induce Pinson to marry her while in an hypnotic trance. Her father demanded the presence of two witnesses and a clergyman—the latter presumably to take advantage of any momentary lapse on Pinson's part.

The Saunders, a young, newly married couple about Adèle's age, came to her aid and provided some care. Then the French cook from "Bellevue", while on a visit to secure Richard's services for some function, noticed some of Adèle's letters waiting to be mailed. He recognized that the letters were addressed to Victor Hugo. The Saunders had not noticed this nor would it have mattered for they didn't know who Victor Hugo was.

On being told of his importance, Sarah wrote to the address on the letter explaining the difficult circumstances of the young lady in their care. They received a quick reply and in the next months came to act as intermediaries between the Hugos and their daughter in that they were engaged to provide her with extra food and clothing and care. It is important to note that the Saunders still did not know the true identity of their special boarder. Adèle had not told them and the letters they received from her brother never acknowledged Adèle to be Hugo Kin. She was portrayed as the unfortunate daughter of close friends.

Besides being unable to communicate effectively with Pinson, Adèle learned soon after her arrival that he was engaged to be married to a prominent Dartmouth girl. It is generally believed that Pinson's intended was Agnes Johnston, daughter of a premier of Nova Scotia, J. W. Johnston of "Mount Amelia". Adèle sought legal advice from two Halifax lawyers, Robert Motton and P. H. LeNoir. She revealed her identity to them in confidence, and explained that Pinson had signed a marriage agreement with her in secret. She suggested as well that it was his father who stood in the way of the marriage and because Pinson depended on him for financial aid, he dared not displease him and had allowed himself to be posted to Nova Scotia before fulfilling his promise to her for a public wedding. There is little or no documentation to support this story; however, letters were sent to "Mount Amelia", and the engagement was ended forthwith while Miss Johnston made an extended tour of the continent.

She was probably saved from a lifetime of unhappiness as Pinson had an unsavory reputation which was attested to by many who came to know him. A brother officer in later years described him as a "great dandy" and revealed that his nickname in the regiment was "the count" from his aristocratic tastes which he could not support from his own means.

He was said to dye his hair and mustache and to paint his face to disguise the crowsfeet, all of which might give away his true age.

Adèle lived in various parts of the city during her residence of almost three years. When the Saunders left their North Street cottage, Adèle accompanied them to their new house in the center of town at 42 Sackville Street. This move occured in the mid-spring of 1864 and in all she was to remain with this family some eighteen months to the end of that year, during which time the Saunders' daughter, Grace, was born. Adèle grew to trust these good-hearted people and although we do not know when or even if she told them of her true identity, she did tell them of her sister's death and showed them family photographs and some of Leopoldine's jewelery which she carried with her.

A fire on Sackville Street alarmed Adèle who feared for the loss of the many bundles of her writings, particularly her autobiography which she carried on her person at all times. She therefore left the Saunders at the end of 1864 though she continued to keep in touch with them. There are reports of her living during the next months on Granville Street or Brunswick Street and one substantiated story of her dwelling at 38 Pleasant Street (1106 Barrington Street) at the north west corner of Green Street. There in a three-storey frame house lived James Kerr, inspector of customs, his wife, Jane, and their children, Emma, Frances, and Clifford. Clifford's daughter still recalls the family tradition of Adèle occupying one of the front rooms and spending much of her day watching the street to see who was promenading to and from Kissing Bridge and beyond to Point Pleasant.

Her other principal residence was at 46 Cornwallis Street (5453 Cornwallis Street) in the home of Robert and Ellen Motton, the parents of her lawyer. She was there by the fall of 1865 and her brother corresponded with the Mot-

tons in an effort to have her supplied with better food and a heater for her room. She left the Mottons for a time early in 1866 to live on a small farm about two miles from the city but remained in contact with them. It became known at this time that Pinson's regiment was to be transferred in June, 1866. It was during this period that Adele frequented Cunard's wharf and was ready to leave at a moment's notice if Pinson took passage to England on leave before his new posting.

Pinson did leave Halifax but with his regiment for Barbados. Adèle soon afterwards ended her residence in Halifax and sailed to the West Indies. Her life there was unchanged except that the climate was much warmer and her dark, heavy clothing of velvets, satins, and silks were noticed, not only as they had been in Halifax as faded and past their best days, but also that they were totally unsuited to the region. She had rooms with a Mrs. Chadderton. Her true identity again was unknown and she continued to be addressed as Madame Pinson. Pinson was unchanged and was degarded as a "gentleman jockey", a reputation he had acquired earlier from his competition in the horse races on the Halifax Commons. Adèle communicated less frequently with her family but continued to receive financial support. After her mother died in 1868, she received the interest on 75,000 francs, about 3750 francs a year. Pinson became a Captain in 1867 and left Barbados in 1869. In that year he retired from the Army and the next year married a Miss Catherine Edith Rotburgh of Hamstead in England, a daughter of a Lieutenant-Colonel, who had in her own right, it was said, a yearly income of 15,000 pounds, and was a suitable mate for "the count".

But what of Adèle who now lived out her fantasy alone in a strange land for she did not return to Europe in 1869 as had Pinson. Possibly her mental state did not permit her to organize such a venture. Her own family had become ac-

customed to her absence and no longer believed her promises to return. Her mother and champion was dead. Her father was again preoccupied by the political upheaval in France, resulting from the Franco-Prussian War which broke out in July of 1870. For the time being Adèle seems to have been forgotten.

The elder Hugo returned to France following the defeat of Napoleon III and the Second Empire at Sedan in September of 1870. The Hugos were in Paris and on active service during the famous seige which lasted from that September to the twenty-ninth of January, 1871. Two months later Adèle's brother, Charles, died having never fully recovered from the effects of the privations caused by the siege.

Within the year Adèle was returned to France. The exact circumstances are unclear. What is known is that she travelled under the care of a former slave woman, Mme Celine Alvarez Baa. Whether this woman made contact with the Hugos in much the same manner as the Saunders in Halifax, or whether Victor Hugo initiated the arrangements for Adèle's return is not known. There is some evidence to suggest the former. At any rate Adèle was in France by February of 1872, nine years after her flight. She was now in her forties. Her mother and brother were dead. Her romantic ideals had exhausted her.

Physically she regained her strength but her mental state was such that she required continual care. This her father provided through the best doctors and the best institutions. He visited her frequently and after 1873, with the death of his son François-Victor, she was all he had. His visits to her generally left him in a state of despair and gloom as she never improved and continued to be visited in her mind by invisible spirits. He wrote, "my poor daughter more dead than any dead could be".

Adèle was forgotten beyond her family until the death of her father in 1885 reminded the world that she along with Charles' two children were Victor Hugo's only heirs.

In Halifax the newspapers carried interviews with several who knew her, including her lawyer and Sarah Saunders whose daughter managed to find some of the letters that had been received from the Hugos twenty years before, and James Gossip, stationer and book seller, who had supplied her with writing paper two or three times a week. There was something of a Hugo revival as many learned for the first time of the strange story that had taken place in their city. Again Adèle was forgotten and when the story was once again revived in the early years of the century, she was believed to be dead. But she lived on, playing the piano, writing, walking in the garden and occasionally seeing a new production of one of her father's plays until her release through death in 1915, at the age of eighty-five.

By some measures, her life counted for little. Yet her life was made of the best stuff of history, a good story that demands no complicated analysis, just basic human curiosity as one reflects on a time when Victor Hugo's daughter was a Haligonian.

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Glenwood, Yarmouth County 1895-1909

HELEN S. RICKER

My impressions of Glenwood, Yarmouth County, during the period that I remember, from 1894 to the year I went away, 1909.

In the year 1875 the community of Argyle in Yarmouth County, Nova Scotia, was divided and a section west of the Argyle River was designated Glenwood. Glenwood included the mainland from McKinnon's Neck (where the Webster summer home is now located) along the main road to Eelbrook, and Roberts Island, an island about six miles long lying very close to the mainland. Near the northern end of the island the Goose Bay dyke connects with the mainland, and near the centre of the island another dyke forms a causeway by which the road leads to the main road at Glenwood corner. A channel drains the dyked land and is carried through an abboiteau in the causeway. The place is hilly, rocky and beautiful.

At the time covered by this sketch there were fourteen houses on the mainland and twenty-seven on the island. Family names were Allen, Crowell, Goodwin, Kenney, Langthorne, Morrell, Pitman, Roberts, Ricker, Sargent and Whitehouse.

There was a small general store at the corner where the Roberts Island road joined the main road, owned by Arthur E. Allen, who was also the postmaster. Across the corner was a larger general store with delivery service, owned by T. R. Goodwin. A community hall was across the road from where Ernest Raynard now lives. A shoemaker's shop operated by James Pitman was on the corner where the road to Glenwood Park turns off from the main road. I remember when a small child, going with my older sister and our father to Mr. Pitman's to get our feet measured for the heavy cowhide boots which we wore in the winter. This shop went out of business in 1908. The church was the same building that is standing now. The school was on the island, near the entrance to the road across the causeway.

Mr. Allen, mentioned above, was postmaster until about 1903, when he moved away and was succeeded by Forrester Ricker, who had the office in his house. For several years, beginning in 1900, there was a post office on Roberts Island, near the lower end of the island. Theodore Kenney, the first postmaster, and Benjamin Crowell, his successor, both kept the office in their homes. Mail delivery here was only twice a week, Wednesday and Saturday, which were the "boat days", the steamer arriving at Yarmouth from Boston on those days. Mail came by train to Argyle Station and was delivered to the post office at Glenwood every day by horse and carriage, driven by three brothers in succession, James, Roy and George Frost, sons of George Frost, who had driven the Frost Brothers coaches. James and Roy were singers, with strong tenor voices, and they were often heard singing as they drove the mail alone in the evenings.

Recreation for the young people was not financed. There was skating in the mile-long lake in Roberts Island and on Ricker Pond, coasting on the steep hills, bicycle riding, occasional parties with games and music in the homes, chopping parties, social evenings in the community hall for raising

money, picnics and fishing. Sometimes a Mr. Mack from Mill Village would bring his magic lantern (ancestor of our projectors) and give an evening's entertainment in the community hall, crowded with excited children and their parents. Admission fee was reasonable, four cents for children. Once a week the Lodge met, DeLaTour Lodge #230 International Order of Good Templars. At the Lodge sessions the young people had experience in presiding over a meeting and writing minutes, and they were exposed to the dignity and beauty of formal ritual. A few summers Mr. and Mrs. Emerson Roberts had an ice cream parlor in their home, open Saturday evenings, with home made ice cream. Music was both vocal and instrumental. There was one piano in the place, Lindsay Goodwin's, and about a dozen organs. Boys with musical tendencies would play the accordion or jew's harp or mouth organ. Ten-cent sheet music from relatives in Boston brought the popular songs, School Days, The Old Gray Bonnet, The Shade of the Old Apple Tree, Redwing, etc. In the 90's a singing school, reading music by sight without an instrument, was taught by a travelling teacher, Mr. Hall from Yarmouth.

Weddings were usually simple, a church wedding with conventional bridal costume was almost unknown. Usually the wedding was at the home of the bride, or the couple went to their minister and had the ceremony performed at the parsonage, without a reception.

The school was a one-room building, accommodating about 30 pupils. The teachers during this period were Minnie Jordan 1895-96; Bessie Sutherland 1896-97; Mary Hilton 1897-98; Nellie Ryer 1898-1900; Lela Hatfield 1900-1901; Winnifred Wyman 1901-1904; Charlotte Young 1904-1906; Florence Porter 1906-1907; Lora Doane 1907-1908; Pearl Floyd 1908-1909. Emma McCarthy substituted for part of a term. The Inspector was W. H. Munro, of Yarmouth, a gruff, one armed elderly man of whom we stood in awe. He was succeeded in 1907 by C. S. Bruce of Shelburne.

Besides the staple subjects we had sight-singing by tonic sol-fa method, patriotic programme on Empire Day, May 23; marching, calisthenics, memorizing selections from Royal Readers, such as Gray's "Elegy", Pitt's "Reply to Walpole", Cowper's "We Are Seven", Scott's "Breathes there a Man with Soul so Dead". In the spring the first thing in the morning was "nature observations", when we reported, for record in the register, the first robin, or Mayflower, or snake or piping of frogs, etc. Most of the pupils left school at grade 8. A few took grade 9, and a very few took grades 10 and 11. Those untrained teachers (hopelessly untrained by modern standards) turned out grade 9, 10 and 11 students who had no serious difficulty with Provincial Examinations. Perhaps there was a little too much satisfaction when we knew that some students who had been educated properly at Yarmouth Acamedy had not done so well.

From the open doors of the school house we would sometimes see a group of three or four French women passing, wearing long black dresses to their ankles and large black silk kerchiefs over their heads. They would have come from Morris Island, an all-French island west of Roberts Island, coming across by row-boat to Sharp Point near the lower end of the island, then walking two miles or so to Glenwood corner to do their shopping.

Often at recess several of the girls would call on "Aunt Susan", who lived alone very near the school (see Seasoned Timbers, II, page 147.) She was a plain-spoken old lady who did not hesitate to tell the girls what was wrong with their dresses or their hair arrangement or anything else that attracted her attention.

Our doctor was Dr. W. H. Bent, a native of Digby, who lived at Argyle. He was a friendly, elderly, unmarried man, well known as being an inveterate talker. Those who preferred another doctor would have Dr. Pennington or Dr. Miller

from Tusket, or Dr. Fox from Pubnico. When there was serious illness the neighbours planned on being helpful. If a patient was critically ill and required constant watching, a neighbour would go and take an all-night shift, making it possible for the family to get a night's sleep.

Public transportation until 1897 was by coach. James Frost of Argyle, who kept a hotel, had a son David who was manager of Atlantic House in Shelburne, and sons George and James Robert who were drivers of coaches. This family operated the coach line between Barrington and Yarmouth making a trip each way every day.

Two rival railroad companies started construction of railroad lines southerly from Yarmouth, one following near the shore, the other farther inland. Jackson Ricker (my father) in his book "Historical Sketches of Glenwood and the Argyles" gives particulars of the activities of these companies. The road which would have come through Glenwood near the end of the Roberts Island road was abandoned in 1895, the unfinished road bed providing a cart road through the pastures for a long time. The other road was completed, the first passenger train coming through in 1897. Argyle Station was the one used by Glenwood people. Private transportation was largely by foot. There were a few horses, used for farm work and for driving, but mostly oxen were used for farming and people walked. A number of families lived two or more miles from school, post office and church but did not consider it too far to walk.

The Church was Free Baptist until 1905, at which time two Baptist bodies in the Maritime provinces united and became the United Baptist Church. Glenwood church was included in a pastorate with Central and Lower Argyle. Pastors during this period were Rev. J. W. Freeman 1895-99; Rev. J. K. West 1900-1902; Rev. S. A. Thurlow 1903-04; Rev. Joseph Wilson 1904-05; Rev. G. M. Wilson 1905-09. The

church organist was Mary Jeffery. At the preaching services hymns were sung to such strong dignified tunes as Austria, Duke Street, Louvain, Antioch, Coronation, etc. Sunday school was every Sunday the year around. There would sometimes be a Sunday School concert, a group of the children going to the home of a brisk little maiden lady, Lucinda Ricker, to be put through their practising. A Sunday School picnic or church supper would be at The Oaks, the home of Maxwell Sargent and his sister Lavinia, where the Oaks cabins are now.

Living was comfortable according to the standards of the time, modern comforts that were unknown were not missed. Houses were well-built and would accommodate fairly large families, furnishings were adequate. Furniture and dishes could be handed down from generation to generation, which meant that if a modern antique dealer could have had a free hand in the living rooms, pantries and china closets of the Glenwood matrons he would have found a real hunting-ground. Food was abundant and good. Some families would have to consider grocery bills, but the average family had what they wanted, hearty dinners, beans and brown bread, plenty of cream on their strawberries and whipped cream on their Washington pie, plenty of pastry iced cakes, cookies and hot biscuits. In most homes there were not many books, reading was mostly newspapers, the Yarmouth papers (Herald, Telegram, Light) and the Family Herald and Weekly Star. World news came through the papers and we were interested in the Spanish American War, the relief of Ladysmith, the assassination of President McKinlay, the Dreyfus case, Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee and Lipton's "Shamrock races.

Housewives were assisted in their shopping by peddlars. Pedlar Dan, Peddlar Joe, William Star, Raymond and Gabriel Saab (changed to Sapp) called at all of the homes. Star had a horse and cart, the others carried packs on their backs.

They were foreigners, some Jews, some Syrians. I remember in our kitchen a dark-complexioned peddlar sitting, with his big canvas pack spread out on the floor, piled up with underwear, stockings, children's clothes and all kinds of odds and ends. Half a dozen or so children, including our neighbours, standing around to see what he had and what would be bought.

This is not a good farming district, but a few men made their living principally by farming, supplemented by fishing or lumbering. Products sold included cattle, hay, butter, eggs, strawberries, blueberries, a few vegetables and apples. The dykeland between the island and the mainland, bounded on the north by the dyke built in 1887 by The Goose Bay Dyking Company, and on the south by the causeway, was an important source of hay. In the summer the most of the hay was stacked and left to be hauled off in the winter when the ground was frozen and more suitable for hauling heavy loads. It was a disaster when on Nov. 25, 1901, in a heavy storm, the dyke broke and the land covered with water. The stacks of hay drifted around and a great quantity of hay was lost. The next year, 1902, the dyke was repaired and after about two years the soil was sufficiently free from salt and producing grass again.

Nearly everyone had a small vegetable garden, a cow or two, and hens. Almost every property included a woodlot. Some men cut logs themselves and sold them, for lumber or wharf logs or poles for fish traps. Others sold timber standing, to Dickie & McGrath, operators of a saw mill at Tusket, who would put a crew of men in the woods in the winter to get out the logs.

Several men went fishing on the Banks, going to Gloucester, Mass. in the spring and shipping on fishing vessels there, as cooks or fishing hands, and spending the summer on the Banks. In the fall, before coming home, they went

shopping, and those who were fortunate enough to belong to their families had new clothes from Boston. There was one resident who was a Captain, sailing a fishing vessel to the Banks, Capt. Thomas Goodwin. His house is shown in Seasoned Timbers # 2, p. 145. Lobster fishing was important, and a number of men were engaged in it, in the early winter and again in the spring. Live lobsters were shipped to Boston. Row-boats being used rather than the motor boats which fishermen have now, it was necessary to be fairly near to the fishing grounds. Several shanties were built at the lower end of Roberts Island, where the men spent the week-days. There were three or four men who had shanties on Gull Island, about 10 miles down the harbor, where they took their families for the season, leaving the school children with aunts or grandmothers. Smelts were caught in the channel outside the causeway, in winter through holes in the ice, those seasons when there was sufficient ice. Each year a number of men were employed for about three months with the Cranberry Head mackeral trap at Pembroke.

There were two instances of death by drowning.

A fishing schooner "Orinoco", Capt. Wm. Larkin, master, sailed from Gloucester for the Banks. On August 11, 1909, about 25 miles off Cape Sambro the vessel capsized and sank and six men were drowned, including Howard Whitehouse, William Hatfield and Bernard Crowell of Glenwood. Whitehouse left a widow and family of five, Hatfield a widow, Crowell was unmarried.

On July 15, 1896, Walter Kenney, 9 year old son of Herbert Kenney, was drowned when he and another boy were playing with rafts, crossing the lake, each with his own raft.

* * * *

Glenwood is still here, changed but beautiful.

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The North Shore Langilles of Nova Scotia

G. BYERS

The Edict of Nantes in 1598 assured religious freedom for the Protestants of France. This toleration was revoked in 1685. French and some German Protestants become subject to renewed attack. The disputed territory between France and the Duchy of Wurttemberg, including the town of Montbeliard, was the centre of bitter controversy. Continued persecution, forced baptism, political strife between the Duke of Wurttemberg and Louis XIV of France, and the burning of Protestant churches made life unbearable. Having decided to leave the land of their birth, the Huguenots accepted a British offer to settle them in the New World. Thus in 1751, these dissenting Protestants loaded their belongings onto rafts and drifted down the River Rhine to Rotterdam, at its mouth.

David Langille (son of Daniel), his son Jean Jacques (John James) his half-brother Matthew, and his cousins Leopold and David were among the migrants. On the way down the Rhine (says Patterson), David met and fell in love with the widow of a Spanish gentleman. She had with her a son Jacques (James). David and his lady, Marie Catherine, married while in Rotterdam. The British loaded the settlers and shipped them near to Portsmouth, England. Finally four ships were dispatched to take the anxious settlers, after a miserable winter, to America. Two vessels headed for Halifax, and two veered south for The Carolinas.

Aboard the "Sally" bound for Halifax were David Langille, aged 34, farmer, from Dompierre Outre Les Bois, near Montbeliard, his wife, Marie Catherine, his son, John James, aged 16, and his stepson, James, whom David took as his own. The "Sally" loaded at Portsmouth on 30 May 1752, sailed a week later, and arrived in Halifax after a long voyage of 14 weeks. Although 158 persons sailed, only 118 disembarked at Halifax, 40 having died on the long crossing of the Atlantic.

Aboard the "Betty" were Leopold Langille, aged 24, his wife Margaret, Matthew Langille, farmer, aged 26, David Langille, aged 31, joiner, and wife Catherine. The "Betty" loaded on 16 May 1752, and arrived in Halifax ahead of the "Sally" after a voyage of nine weeks and five days. Seven persons died en route, and 154 arrived at Halifax.

David's wife, Marie Catherine, gave birth to a daughter on 16 September 1752, shortly after their arrival at Halifax. The infant, Margaretta, lived but seven days, having died on 23 September. Six days later, Marie Catherine followed her infant to the grave. Both are buried in St. Paul's Cemetery, Halifax.

The immigrants remained in Halifax for the winter. Another death is recorded on 23 March 1753, of Catherine Langille, wife of David Langille of the "Betty". In late Spring of 1753, the Langilles, now somewhat depleted in numbers, gladly departed for their final home—so they thought—in Lunenburg.

Leopold Langille, son of David and Catherine (Bouthenot) Langille, remained in Lunenburg, married three times, and the Langilles of the South Shore are descended from this man. David Langille of the "Betty" disappears from the record and is said to have been killed while on an Indian expedition near Lunenburg.

On 24 December 1753, David Langille of the "Sally" remarried for the third and last time in St. John's Church, Lunenburg. By this wife, Marie Catherine BEZANSON, David had 12 children.

In 1771, after 18 years in Lunenburg, 14 families under enticement from Col. J. F. W. DesBarres set sail once more. Their destination: DesBarres' vast 20,000 acre estate of "rich and goodly land" at Tatamagouche on the North Shore of Nova Scotia. Their plight in Lunenburg apparently had not been to their satisfaction. Included in this small band of seatossed immigrants were David Langille, his son John James, now married with a family, his son James, unmarried, and his brother Matthew, now married with a family. Others in the band were George TATTRIE, George GRATTO, George MATTATALL, James BIGNEY, Peter MILLARD, and John MILLARD, all with families. It is interesting to note the intermarriages that had taken place among these families during their years in Lunenburg.

Upon arrival in Tatamagouche, David Langille settled on the "Lombard Place", John James settled near him on the French River, and Matthew settled on a site where Tatamagouche now stands. John James and David remained in Tatamagouche.

DesBarres was unwilling to sell his land and wished to keep his settlers as tenants. However, there was much good land available. The young men of these families grew up and looked eleswhere for land outside the boundaries of the DesBarres Grant. The first to depart on yet another migration were George Frederick Langille, son of Matthew, aged 22 years, the brothers John Frederick and John George PATRI-

QUIN and James GRATTO. It is interesting to note that James Gratto's wife, Mary, and John George Patriquin's wife, Catherine, were sisters to George Frederick Langille. In 1785, they departed to Deception River, now River John, and built log huts at Smith's Point. Matthew, the father, followed them to River John in 1795, where he died at the home of his son George Frederick in 1800. He is said to be the first person buried in the old River John graveyard.

Four of David's sons by his third wife, John Frederick, John David, John George, and John Louis, removed to River John in 1792 and took up lands at Louisville. A fifth son John Nicholas, removed to the U.S.A. and was never heard of again.

John James Langille, eldest son of David, had five sons and two daughters. The eldest son, George, removed to River John in 1792, but stayed only a few years. He moved in 1815 to New Annan to the west of Tatamagouche and is the ancestor of the Langilles of that part. Three other sons, David, James and Joseph, settled in River John, Frederick, the youngest son, removed to the U.S.A.

James Langille, only son of David by his second marriage, apparently remained with his father in Tatamagouche until he married. He removed to Point Bruley (Brule Point) in 1790 and is the ancestor of the Langilles of that part and many of those in Cumberland County.

David Langille Sr. died in July 1804, aged 86 years, owing the world £95/10/0 and leaving the world 1 cow, 1 bed, 2 sheep and other household chattels.

The story of the Langille family is of significance and interest to Tatamagouche and River John historically, socially, and genealogically.

Four of the first ten families to set foot on these serene hills were of the name LANGILLE . . . in 1771, two years even before the "Hector" landed in Pictou. This small band of families remained rather isolated with the occasional infusion of a family (Patriquin, Perrin, Joudrey, Jollimore) until 1809 when the first Scots began to arrive. During this time there was of necessity much intermarriage among these families to the extent that all of them are related beginning with the first generation. In fact, the Langille family was so large that there was much intermarriage within itself. The families were also very large in pioneer days. The Langille family is thus very widespread and interspersed with many families of eastern Cumberland, north Colchester and western Pictou counties.

The family of Matthew Langille, David's brother, is not given here. Suffice it to say that it too was large.

David Langille by his three wives had a total of 15 children. It is interesting to note that there is a 40 year difference in age between his first and last child. This further confuses the genealogy because this resulted in many inter-generation marriages. Through his six producing sons, David Langille had 50 grandchildren bearing the name Langille and more than 245 greatgrandchildren. (This does **not** include countless descendents through daughters who took other names and son Nicholas who went to the U.S.A.)

His family of seven sons and eight daughters were:

1. John James Langille was born in Dompierre Outre Les Bois, France, in 1736. As a boy of 16 he came with his father to Halifax in 1752 aboard the "Sally". He removed to Lunenburg with his father in 1753 and married Eve LEAU, daughter of George and Eve Leau [Lowe] on 4 May, 1763. With his young family of four he removed to Tatamagouche with the other Montbeliardians in 1771 and settled on the French River. Three more children were born to John James and Eve after their arrival on the North Shore. John James died in 1794.
   (1) Jean George bp. 17 Mar 1765; m. Mary HAYMAN and had seven sons and five daughters.
      (1a) Nancy b. 1787, d. 1871; m. Patrick CARROLL b. , d. Jan, 1839. Removed to Carroll's Corner, Halifax County. Six children.
      (2a) Catherine b. 1792, d. ; m. David TATTRIE, son of George and Elizabeth (Langille) Tattrie, b. 1790, d. 2 May 1849. 11 children.
      (3a) Edward b. 1795, d. 3 Jan 1873; m. Susan McBURNIE, daughter of Robert and Mary McBurnie, b. 1798.
      Issue: Edward, Robert, George, David, Alexander, Sarah, Agnes, Barbara, Susan, Christopher, Catherine, Margaret, Ellen.
      (4a) Christopher b. 1797, d. ; m. Catherine MATTATALL, daughter of George and Margaret (Langille) Mattatall, b. 1803.
      Issue: Barbara, George, Mary, Susan, John.
      (5a) Louis b. 1799, d. ; m. Elizabeth LANGILLE, b. 1799, d. 19 July 1874.
      (6a) John b. 1801, d. ; m. Nancy HAYMAN, daughter of William and Margaret Hayman, b. 1804, d. 19 Nov. 1874.
      Issue: Alexander, Isabel, Eleanor, Margaret, Elizabeth, Mary, Agnes, Jane, Olive, Catherine.
      (7a) Barbara b. 1803, d. 29 April 1870; m. Thomas RUSHTON.
      (8a) George b. 1805, d. ; m. (1) Catherine TATTRIE, daughter of Louis and Eleanor (Patriquin) Tattrie, b. 1816. d. 10 Oct. 1864. 13 Children. m. (2) Margaret TATTRIE Catherine's cousin, daughter of George and Margaret (Mattatall) Tattrie, b. 1808, d. 14 Sept 1874. No issue.
      Issue: James, Christopher, Henry, Susan, Mary, Laura, Hannah, Alexander, Stephen, infant, Ellen, Samuel, George.
      (9a) Alexander b. 1808, d. 1893; m. Margaret Jane RICHARDS, daughter of John and (Henderson) RICHARDS, b. 1809, d. 1897.
      Issue: Joseph, David, Catherine, Archibald

(10a) David b. 1809, d. 20 April 1876; m. Rose RICHARDS, daughter of John and (Henderson) Richards, b. 1810, d. 22 Feb 1890.
Issue: Alexander, George, William, John, Elizabeth, Barbara Ann, Nancy, Hannah, Jennie, Mary, Jane.

(11a) Susannah, b. 1811, d. ; m. Danford PATRIQUIN, son of John Frederick and Catherine (Bigney) Patriquin, b. 1804.

(12a) Elizabeth b. 1817, d. ; m. John FISHER, b. 1815. Five children.

(2) Marie Catherine bp 26 July 1767.

(3) John David bp. 10 Jan 1769, d. ; m. Mary MILLER and had at least five sons.

(1a) Christopher b. 7 May 1791, d. 14 April 1846; m. Nancy CORBETT b. 7 April 1791.
Issue: William, Jane, Mary, Susan, Alexander, Jessie, George, Archibald, Christopher.

(2a) Ephraim b. 1801, d. 29 Sept 1868; m. Mary GRATTO, daughter of George and Elizabeth (Langille) GRATTO, b. d. 1871.
Issue: Jane, Agnes, Martha, David.

(3a) David b. , d. , m. 30 June 1834, Elizabeth BIGNEY.
Issue: Thomas, George, Rachel, Effie, William T., Jane, Margaret.

(4a) James b. , d. 1884; m. Catherine LANGILLE, daughter of John George and Catherine (Perrin) Langille 1802, d. 7 Oct. 1874.

(5a) Benjamin b. 1816, d. ; m. Hannah TATTRIE, daughter of Louis and Eleanor (Patriquin) Tattrie d. 1871.
Issue: Laban, Charlotte, Louis, Charles, James, Elizabeth, Alma.

(4) Marie Madeline, bp. 1 Mar 1772.

(5) James b. 1773, d. 1861; m. Agnes Nancy PATRIQUIN, daughter of John George and Marie Catherine(Langille) Patriquin, b. 1789, d. 1871. James was known as "old Jim". He went with his brother George to New Annan, then later removed to Brook's Road, River John. James and Nancy had seven sons and five daughters.

(1a) George b. 1808, d. 21 May 1876; m. 28 Feb 1833, Lydia LANGILLE, daughter of Alexander and Janet (Gourley) Langille. b. 1814, d. 10 Nov 1904. This family lived in North Earltown, George was known as "Mountain George".
Issue: Laban, Amos, Esther, James, Louisa, Jacob, Reuben, Mary, Isabel, Joshua, Solomon, John, Lydia.

(2a) Jacob b. 1809, d. ; m. Eleanor SUTHERLAND, b. 1808, d. 1866.
Issue: James, Lee, Mary, Christine, Phoebe, Martha, Jacob, Esther.

(3a) James b. 1810, d. 19 Oct 1897; m. Mariah LAUNDER, daughter of Andrew and Isabella (Halliday) Lauder, b. 1815, d. 17 Nov 1877.
Issue: Mary Jane, Robinson, Andrew, Abram, Hiram, Alfred, Georgenna, James, Nancy, Ellen, Agnes, Adeline, Mizi.

(4a) Sarah b. 1811, d. 8 Nov 1883, Reuben LANGILLE, son of Alexander and Janet (Gourley) Langille, b. 1808, d. 13 Nov 1863. Six children.

(5a) Lucy b. 4 April 1812, d. 19 Aug 1909; m. Christopher (Christy Freda) LANGILLE, son of John Frederick and Susan (Mattatall) Langille, b. 9 June 1808, d. 29 May 1890. 11 children.

(6a) Mary b. 5 June 1816, d. 8 Oct 1862; m. 15 Aug 1835, Ephraim PATRIQUIN, son of David and Catherine (Perrin) Patriquin, b. 18 Oct 1814, d. 18 Feb 1913. Nine children.

(7a) Christopher (Christy) b. 25 Jan 1820, d. 10 Nov 1900; m. Catherine LANGILLE, daughter of John David and Louisa (Perrin) Langille, b. 23 Oct 1818, d. 28 Nov 1895.
Issue: Esther, Joseph, William, Clarence, Pamela, Jane.

(8a) Abram ("Little Abe") b. 1822, d. 1917, m. Catherine LAUDER, daughter of Andrew and Isabella (Halliday) Lauder, b. 1819, d. 1899.
Issue: Virginia, Bertha, Paul, Ann Jane, Addison, Daniel.

(9a) Joseph b. 1824, d. 19 July 1871; m. Nancy MacDONALD, b. 1833, d. 31 Jan 1881.
Issue: Ann, Mary, C. Albert, Rose, Margaret, John, Joseph, Abram, Catherine.

(10a) Isaac b. 26 Oct 1826, d. 1906; m. 24 Jan 1849, Isabella FAIRWEATHER, daughter of David and Janet (Ross) Fairweather, b. 27 Mar 1831, d. 1912.
Issue: James, Maria, Catherine, Ann, Ebenezer, A Ashford, George, Sarah, Isaac T., Evelina, Bruce.

(11a) Eleanor b. 1831, d. 1928; m. James MORRISON; b. 1827, d. 1912.

(12a) Agnes b. 1832, d. ; m. David FAIRWEATHER, son of David and Janet (Ross) Fairweather, b. 19 Jan 1835.

(6) Joseph b. 1775, d. 1835, married Phoebe PATRIQUIN, daughter of George and Maria Catherine (Langille) Patriquin, b. 1785, alive in 1871, "Aunt Phoebe" is said to be the first white child born in River John. They had four sons and three daughters.

(1a) Catherine b. 1806, alive in 1871, unmarried.

(2a) John b. 1808, d. 1 Mar 1897; Jane MURRAY, b. 1813, d. 4 Oct 1891.
Issue: Eliza Jane, Sophie.

(3a) Elizabeth b. 1811, d. 19 July 1896; m. Ephraim LANGILLE, son of John George and Catherine (Perrin) Langille, b. 1801, d. 9 Mar. 1869. Nine children.

(4a) Phoebe b. 1813, d. 11 Sept 1894; m. Abraham LANGILLE, son of John George and Catherine (Perrin) Langille, b. 1 April 1810, d. 2 Feb 1887. Nine children.

(5a) David b. 1815, d. 1899; m. (1) 1837 Eleanor PERRIN, daughter of John Peter and Elizabeth (Gratto) Perrin, b. 1817, d. 1851. Five children. He m. (2) Ann MacKENZIE, b. 1821, d. 1923. Four children.
Issue: John Peter, Elizabeth, Charles, Solomon, Eleanor, Ann, Emma Jane, Robert, Alexander.

(6a) Joseph b. 1817, d. 1 Mar 1886; m. Mary HENRY, b. 1817, d. 12 Jan 1892.
Issue: Sabrina, Mary, William, Ebenezer, Martha, Margaret, James David..

(7a) Solomon b. 1819, d. 4 Mar. 1886; m. Sarah PATRIQUIN. Remarried to Elizabeth .
Issue: Jonathan, James, Josiah, infant, Elizabeth, Catherine.

(7) George Frederick, b. 1777, d. 1835; m. Susannah Catherine PERRIN, 3rd daughter of John George and Catherine (Jollimore) Perrin, b. 4 Apr 1786, d. 1870-1880, in Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A. George is said to have died on a canal boat on the way from Nova Scotia to Buffalo, New York.

(1a) Joseph b. 20 Sept 1802, d. 22 June 1879; m. Aschsah BIGNEY, daughter of Peter and Althea (Stevens) Bigney, d. in Cambridge, Ohio, in 1840.
Issue: Hannah, Daisy, Franklin, Arthur, Louetta, Joseph, Daniel.

(2a) Hannah

(3a) Daniel

(4a) Benjamin b. 22 Nov 1815, d. 1 Dec 1892; m. Mary PERRIN, daughter of James and Eleanor (Byers) Perrin, b. 1825, d. 10 Mar 1888. Both are buried at Fort Meigs Cemetery, Perrysburg, Ohio, U.S.A.
Issue: David, William, Benjamin, Ellen, Ida, Alma, Daniel, Josephine, Joseph, Richard, Oliver.

(5a) George b. . Removed to Iowa.

(6a) Lydia b. 25 July 1821, d. 5 Jan 1880; m. 9 June 1837, Thomas SCOTT, b. 6 Sept 1810, d. 4 Aug 1880. Six children.

(7a) Susannah

(8a) Matthew R. b. , d. ; m. Sephronia ———, b. 1810.

(9a) Stephen b. 1831, d. ; m. Catherine PERRIN, daughter of James and Eleanor (Byers) Perrin.
Issue: Susan, Charles, Frederick, Lewis, Letey.

(10a) Child died in infancy.

2. James Langille, only son of David's second marriage, was from four to twelve years of age when he arrived in 1752 at Halifax, Nova Scotia. His name appears in the North Shore records on 17 Jan 1792, when he was granted 180 acres of land by J. F. W. DESBARRES through Wellwood WAUGH. Point Bruley (Brule Point) was within the Des-Barres Grant and James was apparently satisfied to deal with his landlord rather than move to new land outside the grant.
Little is known about this man. His wife's name was Jane, probably the daughter of one of the Montbeliard immigrants from Lunenburg. In 1802 and 1815 he gained 300 and 600 acres resp. on Brule Point, thus, in effect, having acquired the whole of the Point. In 1817, within three days in August, James Langille made three grants of land to three of his sons Thomas, David, and Isaac. Although no record can be found of the death of either James or Jane, it can be assumed that they were the first buried in the old cemetery on Brule Point. At least four sons and one daughter were born to James and Jane Langille. Their descendents spread widely, especially into Cumberland County, the adjacent county westward.

(1) Mary Ann b. d. ; m. Peter MATTATALL, son of George and Margaret (Langille) Mattatall, b. 1782, d. 1870. Nine children.

(2) Isaac b. 1788, d. 10 Sept 1865; m. Margaret DUNN, daughter of James and Elizabeth Dunn, b. , Oct 1879. Isaac inherited 162 acres of land at the end of Brule Point in 1 August 1817. There he lived his life. They had six sons and five daughters.

(1a) William b. 1815, d. ; m. Jane JOUDREY, daughter of George and Elizabeth (Langille) Joudrey, b. 1815.
Issue: Robinson, Morris, Susan.

(2a) Jane b. 1816, d. ; m. David TEED, b. 1810. Three children.

(3a) Michael b. d. ; m. Susan ———.
Issue: Franklin, William.

(4a) Isaac b. 1820, d. ; m. Mary MATTATALL, daughter of James and Elizabeth Mattatall, b. 1821, d. 23 May 1873.
Issue: Orin, Alexander, Patrick, Elizabeth, Levi, Caleb.

(5a) James b. 18 Oct 1821, d. 18 Jan 1885; m. Ellen LANGILLE, daughter of Edward and Elizabeth (Mingo) Langille, b. 1824, d. 19 Sept 1874.
Issue: Nicholas, Elizabeth, Daniel, Oswald, William, James, Sarah, Mary, infant, Nathaniel, Amelia, Jemima.

(6a) Mary b. 1824, d. 28 Oct 1919; m. James LANGILLE, son of David and Mary (Joudrey) Langille, b. 1824. Six children.

(7a) Lucy b. d. ; m. William JOLLIMORE, son of George and Catherine Jollimore.

(8a) Peter b. 1834, d. 14 Feb 1920; m. Elizabeth DUNN, daughter of James Dunn, b. 1836.
Issue: Leander, Louisa, Charles, Ann, Elizabeth, Jane, Clara, James Isaac.

(9a) George "Captain" b. 1835, d. 1901; m. 6 Feb 1859, Margaret WEATHERBY, daughter of William and Elizabeth (Turnbull) Weatherby, b.
Issue: Hudson, Howard, Chester, Milligan, Leona, Mabel.

(10a) Margaret b. 1836, d. , unmarried.

(11a) Elizabeth b. 1841, d. 1876; m. William JOUDREY, b. 1836. Two children.

(3) Thomas was born in 1792, d. 10 July 1876. He m. Mary SALISBURY, daughter of William and Elizabeth (Millard) Salisbury, b. 1794, alive in 1871. This family removed to Wentworth, Cumberland County. Many of the Langilles on the North Shore of this county are descended from this man. Thomas originally inherited 150 acres on Brule Point from his father James in 1817. This land extended from the marsh to the eastern boundary of the present Golf Course. Thomas and Mary had eight sons and two daughters.

(1a) Thomas b. 1810, d. ; m. Nancy Ann RINDRESS, b. 1814, d. .
Issue: George, Olive, William, James, Alfred, Robert, Albert, Mary, Lewis.

(2a) Samuel b. d. ; m. Eleanor JOUDREY.

(3a) James b. 1815, d. 1884; m. Catherine HAYDEN, b. 1814
Issue: Thomas, Mary, Henry, Louisa, Samuel, Margaret, James, David, Rachel.

(4a) Robert b. 1820, d. ; m. Margaret ———, b. 1820, d. .
Issue: Jacob, Eliza, Robison, Angus, George, Susanna, Eliza Jane, Fletcher.

(5a) George b. 1821, d. 18 Dec 1873; m. Margaret HEIGHTON.

(6a) Mary b. 1826, d. ; m. Benjamin LANGILLE, son of Nicholas and Ruth (Dunn) Langille, b. 1821. Six children.

(7a) Alexander b. 1828, d. 1910; m. (1) Christina McBURNIE b. 1835, d. . 11 children. He m. (2) Mary McKEAN b. 1854, d. 1882. Five children.
Issue: Mary, Catherine, Anthony, John, Mar-

garet, Thomas, William, Agnes, Alexander, Frederick, Christina, Elizabeth, Rose, George, Two infants.

(8a) Johan

(9a) Elizabeth b. d. ; m. David TEED.

(10a) William b. 1831, d. ; m. Mar 1860, Sarah Tweed, b. 1841.
Issue: Martha, Samuel, Thomas, Adelaide, Beaufort.

(4) David was born 1793. His wife was Mary JOUDREY, b. 1802, alive in 1871. David inherited 162 acres of land in the center of Brule Point extending from the present Golf Course to the Jollimore Road. This land was deeded to David in 1817 and bridged the land between his brothers Isaac and Thomas. David and Mary had a large family, most of whom remained on Brule Point, the only Langilles remaining in that place to this day. David died in 1879 and is presumed to be buried in the old Langille cemetery which is on his original property. David and Mary had eight sons and three daughters.

(1a) Kenneth b, 1818, d, 1884; unmarried

(2a) John b. 1820, d. ; unmarried.

(3a) David b. 1822, d. ; m. Elizabeth DUNN, b. 1822
Issue: Kenneth, Michael, Albert, Charlotte, Robert, Richard, George, Catherine.

(4a) James b. 1824, d. ; m. Mary LANGILLE, daughter of Isaac and Margaret (Dunn) Langille, b. 1824, d. 28 Oct 1919.
Issue: Patrick, Duncan, Lewis Palacier, Jessie, Semple, Margaret.

(5a) Minor b. 1826, d. 1879; m. Mary MARSHALL, b. 1826.
Issue: James Duncan, Wilkins, Margaret.

(6a) Eliakim, Died young.

(7a) Susan b. 1832, d. . Unmarried.

(8a) Margaret b. 1833, d. 15 Nov 1884; m. Samuel BUCKLER, b. 1832, d. 17 May 1900. Ten children.

(9a) Nelson b. 1834, d. 7 Oct 1893; Sarah McBURNIE, b. 1843, d. 13 Aug 1918.
Issue: Hannash, Daniel, Oliver, Margaret, Mary, Agnes Sarah, Susan.

(10a) Charlotte, b. 1842, d. ; m. 21 Feb 1865, Isaac TEED, b. 1840. Two children.

(11a) William b. 1846, d. ; m. Jan 1869 Amarella TEED, b. 1852, d. .
Issue: Ellie, Minerva, Sydney, William, Ida, Burton, Maude, Seymour, Lawrence.

(5) Nicholas was born in 1801, the youngest son of James and Jane Langille of Brule Point. The family lived at Brule. Nicholas m. Ruth DUNN, daughter of James and Elizabeth Dunn, b. 7 April 1801, d. 11 April 1874.

Both are buried at the Brule Corner cemetery. They had a large family that spread widely. Five sons and four daughters.

(1a) James b. 1819, d. ; m. Eleanor MATTATALL, b. 1819,
Issue: Archibald.

(2a) Benjamin b. 1821, d. ; m. Mary LANGILLE, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Salisbury) Langille, b. 1826. It is from this man that the Brentwood Langilles are descended.
Issue. James, William, Rebecca, Phoebe, Ruth, Matthew.

(3a) John T. b. 1823, d. ; m. Esther ———, b. 1825. Lived in New York, U.S.A.
Issue: William, Effie, Margaret, Elizabeth, Evelina, David.

(4a) Elizabeth Jane b. 1826, d. ; m. Alexander LANGILLE.

(5a) Catherine b. 1829, d. ; m. John LANGILLE, son of John and Susan (Heighton) Langille, b. 1825. Seven children.

(6a) Nathaniel b. 1831, d. ; m. Pauline ———. Lived in Fairhaven, Conn., U.S.A.

(7a) Mary Jane b. 1832, d. 17 June 1896; m. 21 Jan 1865, John LANGILLE, son of David and Catherine (Patriquin) Langille, b. 1834, d. 5 May 1893.

(8a) Archibald b. 1838, d. 17 Nov 1884; m. 15 Dec 1864, Margaret LANGILLE, daughter of David and Elizabeth (Bigney) Langille, b. 1839.
Issue: Lavinia, Clarence, John Collie, L. E., infant daughter.

(9a) Hannah b. , d. ; m. Alexander PORTER.

3. Margaretta b. 16 Sept 1752, d. 23 Sept 1752 in Halifax. David Langille Senior had 12 children (five sons and seven daughters) by his third wife Marie Catherine BEZANSON. The first ten children were born in Lunenburg and the last two, being sons, were born in Tatamagouche.
4. John Nicholas bp. 28 June 1755. Removed to U.S.A.
5. Catherine bp. 24 May 1757.
6. Marie Magdelena bp. 4 Oct 1758; m. 24 Dec 1778, Samuel FISHER, of Stewiacke, son of William and Eleanor (Archibald) Fisher. They had three sons and five daughters.
7. Marie Elizabeth bp. 22 May 1760; m. George TATTRIE, b. 1732, d. 1827. Marie Elizabeth was married in 1784, being George Tattrie's third wife and much younger than her husband. Three sons and seven daughters were the result of this union.
8. John Frederick bp. 2 Nov 1761. See Appendix A.
9. Marie Catherine bp. 6 Jan 1764
10. Margaret bp. 7 Nov 1765; m. Peter HIND, of River John. Ten children.

11. Catherine Margaret bp. 25 Sept 1767, d. 1854.
12. Susanne Catherine bp. 15 Oct 1769.
13. John David, "Big Miller", bp. 17 Aug 1771, d. ; m. Catherine Louisa PERRIN, daughter of Christopher and Catherine Dauphinee) Perrin, b. 2 Mar 1782, d. . They had five sons and six daughters.
    (1) James b. 7 May 1799, d. 20 Aug 1820; unmarried.
    (2) Christopher b. 11 Feb 1801, d. 27 Feb 1876; m. 3 Mar 1825, Jane JOUDREY, b. 1805. They had five sons and four daughters.
        (1a) Oliver b. 3 Aug 1826, d. 18 Oct 1897; m. 18 June 1853, Mary Jane HENRY, b. 1836, d. 4 Dec 1883. Issue: Ella, Morley, William H.
        (2a) David b. 24 June 1828, d. 22 May 1877; m. Mary BOWSON, b. 1835. Issue: Mary, Havelock, Bliss, Anita, Eliza, Henrietta, Charles, Crawford, Banford.
        (3a) Banford b. 1830, d. 1855; unmarried.
        (4a) Mary b. 28 Sept. 1831, d. 8 May 1900; unmarried.
        (5a) Lavinia b. 1836, d. 1854; unmarried.
        (6a) George b. 16 Oct 1838, d. 24 Jan 1922; m. Lucinda MARTIN, daughter of William and Mary Martin of Alma N.B., b. 6 May 1853, d. 25 Jan 1937. Issue: Lavinia, Edgar, Irene, Beaufort, Edna, Alberta, Francis.
        (7a) Susan b. 1841, d. ; m. 18 Dec 1868 Simon GEDDES, b. 1845.
        (8a) Sarah b. Feb 1843, d. 14 May 1930.
        (9a) James b. 25 March 1845, d. 1920; m. Sarah HARDING. Removed to Tusket, N.S. thence to Oregon, U.S.A. Issue: William, Herbert, Douglas.
    (3) Jacob, b. 1805, d. 1887; m. Eleanor PATRIQUIN, b. 1804, d. 1861. Drove by oxcart to Quelph, Ontario. They had at least three sons and three daughters.
        (1a) Josiah b. 1831, d. 1831.
        (2a) Mark b. 1833, d. 1833.
        (3a) Mary b. 1839, d. 1900.
        (4a) Christy Ann b. 1841, d. 1924; m. 20 June 1867, John DOUGLAS, b. 1839, d. 1931.
        (5a) Susan b. 1842.
        (6a) James b. 1850.
    (4) Lucy b. 3 Feb. 1809, d. ; m. George JOLLIMORE, b. 1812. Two children.
    (5) David b. 1810, d. ; m. Mary Ann NASH, b. 1815. They had three sons and three daughters.
        (1a) David b. 1845, d. ; m. 12 Jan 1869, Eliza Jane WATT, daughter of William and Jane (Redmond) Watt, b. 1848. Issue: Alice, William, Jonathan, Laura, infant.
        (2a) Sarah b. 1847.

(3a) Emma b. 1849, d. 30 April 1872; m. David LOGAN, b. 1848.
(4a) Leonard b. 13 Feb 1850, d. 30 April 1892; m. Ann FOGO, b. 1861, d. 1949.
Issue: Charles, Gordon, Olivia, Elsie, Edward.
(5a) Jonathan went to U.S.A.
(6a) Laura

(6) Susan b. 1811, d. 1891; m. Abram TATTRIE, son of Louis and Eleanor (Patriquin) Tattrie, b. 1809, d. 1893. 12 children.

(7) Mary b. 1814, d. 19 Jan 1874; m. 2 Sept. 1831,Henry DWYER. Four children.

(8) Isabella, b. 1816, d. ; m. George LOGAN, b. 1816. Eight children.

(9) Catherine b. 23 Oct 1818, d. 28 Nov 1895; m. Christopher LANGILLE, son of James and Nancy (Patriquin) Langille, b. 25 Jan 1820, d. 10 Nov 1900. Nine children.

(10) George b. 26 April 1821, d. 1882; m. 1847, Margaret BURNS, b. April 1827, d. 1911. They had nine sons and two daughters.
(1a) Ada b. 1846; m. a McGill
(2a) Howard b. 1848, d.
Issue: Margaret, Louise, Ann, Morton.
(3a) Hortenze b. 1851, d. ; m. 7 Jan 1873, Peter BARRETT, son of John and Susannah Barrett. One child.
(4a) Theodophilus b. 1852; m. a TAYLOR. Went to New York.
(5a) Theodore b. 1853, d. 1853.
(6a) John b. 1855, d. ; unmarried.
(7a) Melanthon b. 1857
(8a) Cranmer b. 1859, d. ; m. Mary ———. No issue.
(9a) James b. 11 Oct 1862, d. 29 May 1929; m. Naomi BOWLES.
Issue: Vera, Lillian, Mary Jean, Marie, James, Thoria, George.
(10a) Morton b. 1866, d. 1881.
(11a) Leopold b. 1868, d. 1870.

(11) Hannah b. 1822, d. ; m. George BIGNEY, son of George and Eleanor (Millard) Bigney, b. 1818, d. 1898. Seven children.

14. John George b. 1773, d. 1864; m. Marie Catherine PERRIN, daughter of Christopher and Marie Catherine (Dauphinee) Perrin, b. 27 Dec 1789, d. 1849. George was an elder in the River John church and was "considered as a man that feared God and all his house'. They had four sons and six daughters.

(1) Elizabeth b. 1799, d. 19 July 1874; m. Louis LANGILLE, son of John George and Mary (Hayman) Langille, b. 1799.

(2) Ephraim b. 1801, d. 9 Mar 1869; m. Elizabeth LANGILLE, daughter of Joseph and Phoebe (Patriquin) Langille, b. 1811, d. 19 July 1896. They had eight sons and one daughter.

(1a) Levi b. 1830, d. 1898; m. (1) 2 July 1857, Mary Elizabeth PATRIQUIN, daughter of Ephraim and Mary (Langille) Patriquin, b. 22 Oct 1838, d. 29 Sept. 1862. Two children. Levi m. (2) 21 Feb 1867 Esther Ann LANGILLE, daughter of George and Catherine (Tattrie) Langille, b. 1841, d. 1916. Five children.
Issue: Sarah, Adeline, Matilda, Mary, Etta, Roach, Sedgewick.

(2a) Esther b. 1832, d. ; m. Jacob PATRIQUIN, b. 1831, . Five children.

(3a) Albert b. 1833, d. 20 Oct 1915; m. 20 May 1869, Rebecca PERRIN, daughter of George and Roseanna (Redmond) Perrin, b. 1844, d. 31 Mar 1925.
Issue: James, Bertha, Clara.

(4a) Ephraim b. Mar 1840, d. 8 Oct 1904; m. Marry Ann GRAIG, b. 1843, d. 1927.
Issue: Amanda, Priscilla, Sabrina, Gilbert, Calvin, Hiram, Stuart, Luther, Leslie, Florence, Jane,

(5a) Daniel, b. 1842, d. 1866; unmarried.

(6a) Danford b. 1844, d. 31 Mar 1924; m. Elizabeth CRAIG, b. 1847, d. 25 Jan 1896.
Issue: Howard, Laura, Clarence, Smith.

(7a) Giddi, b. 1849, d. 3 May 1902; m. Jane LANGILLE, daughter of Louis and Susan (Langille) Langille, b. 1852, d. 3 Nov 1935.
Issue: Carl.

(8a) James, b. 1852, d. , m. 19 Dec 1883, Amelia LOGAN, daughter of George and Elizabeth Logan, b. 1858.
Issue: Chester, Harry.

(9a) Robert b. 1854.

(3) Catherine b. 1802, d. 7 Oct 1874; m. James LANGILLE, son of David and Mary (Miller) Langille.

(4) Mary b. 1804, d. 1866; unmarried.

(5) Nelson b. 1806, d. 10 June 1876; m. Grace ROGERS, daughter of David and Nancy (Clarke) Rogers, b. 1805, d. 5 June 1871. They had one son and five daughters.

(1a) Lucretia, b. 1836, d. 1805; m. 30 Dec 1858 James HOLMES, b. 1832, d. 1920. Four children.

(2a) A twin sister of Lucretia's died in infancy.

(3a) Archibald b. 1837, d. 1855; unmarried.

(4a) Elizabeth Ann b. 1839, d. 12 Mar 1874; m. William LANGILLE, son of George and Mary (Gratto) Langille, b. 1836, d. 1869. Two children.

(5a) Isabella b. 1844, d. ; m. George LANGILLE, son of George and Elizabeth Langille, b. 1841. Two children.

(6) Sarah b. 30 Mar 1807, d. 25 April 1884; m. James LANGILLE, son of Louis and Margaret (Perrin) Langill,e, b. 12 Oct 1807, d. 1883. Six daughters.

(7) Abraham, b. 1 April 1810, d. 2 Feb. 1887; m. Phoebe LANGILLE, daughter of Joseph and Phoebe (Patriquin) Langille, b. 1813, d. 11 Sept 1894. They had seven sons and two daughters.

(1a) Joseph b. 6 Sept 1838, d. 16 July 1885; m. Nancy Ann MACINTOSH.
Issue: Howard, Elizabeth, Minerva, Vernley, William, Ann, Ida.

(2a) Elizabeth b. 6 Mar 1840, d. 1 Aug 1896; unmarried.

(3a) Charles b. 20 Jan 1843, d. 26 July 1919; m. 1 Jan 1873, Susan LANGILLE, daughter of William and Lucy (Patriquin) Langille b. 1850.
Issue: Henry, Nancy.

(4a) Nelson b. 7 May 1845, d. 24 Feb 1866; unmarried.

(5a) Stewart b. 20 June 1847, d. 20 June 1872; unmarried.

(6a) Lucy Jane b. 21 Aug 1848, d. 17 June 1889; unmarried.

(7a) Hope b. 10 Feb 1851, d. 23 Aug 1928; unmarried.

(8a) Abram b. 24 June 1853, d. ; unmarried.

(9a) John William, b. 30 June 1855, d. 15 June 1856.

(8) Isaac b. 1811, d. 3 Jan 1877; m. Susan LANGILLE daughter of John Louis and Margaret (Perrin) Langille, b. 1809, d. 1893. They had six sons and seven daughters.

(1a) William b. 1836, d. 1900; m. 3 Sept 1872, Jane DONALDSON, daughter of David and Mary (Hutchinson) Donaldson, b. 1846.
Issue: Herbert, Isaac, Elizabeth, Mary, Margaret, Clair.

(2a) Isaiah b. , d. ; unmarried.

(3a) Robert b. 1838, d. 1932; m. 30 Jan 1873, Susan MACGREGOR, b. 1849, d. 29 May 1919.
Issue: Alexander, Nina, Josephine, Christina, Thomas, Lily, William.

(4a) Elizabeth b. 1840, d. 22 Feb 1876; m. William JOUDREY. Five children.

(5a) George b. 1842, d. 19 April 1875; unmarried.

(6a) Alexander b. 1844, d. 1797; m. 23 June 1871, Marie Margaret LANGILLE, daughter of Isaac and Isabella (Fairweather) Langille, b. 1853.

(7a) David, b. 1847, d. 15 Jan 1871; unmarried.

(8a) Mary b. 1848, d. 1 Sept 1875; unmarried.

(9a) Susan b. 1849, d. ; m. David BIGNEY. Nine children.

(10a) Martha b. 1850, d. 2 Jan 1877; m. 14 June 1871, George Logan son of David and Isabella (Langille) Logan, b. 1848. Nine children.
(11a) A twin of Martha died in infancy.
(12a) Ellen b. 1853, d. 1922; m. David L. BIGNEY.
(13a) Marion b. 1855.

(9) Susan b. 1818, d. 1904; m. Louis LANGILLE, son of John Louis and Margaret (Perrin) Langille, b. 1818, 1894. 11 children.

(10) Lucy b. 1820, d. ; m. William LANGILLE, son of Louis and Margaret (Perrin) Langille, b. 1811. Eight children.

15. John Louis, "Big Louis", was born in 1775, d. 1860. He m. Mary Margaret PERRIN, daughter of George and Catherine (Jollimore) Perrin, b. 23 Dec. 1784, d. 1860.

(1) Robert b. 1801, d. ; m. (1) Mary TATTRIE, daughter of Louis and Eleanor (Patriquin) Tattrie, b. 1812 d. 9 May 1848, m. (2) Louisa BIGNEY, daughter of James and Lucy (Perrin) Bigney, b. 1802. They had four sons and two daughters.
(1a) Robert b. 1827, d. ; m. Caroline JOUDREY, daughter of George and Elizabeth (Langille) Joudrey, b. 1837, d. 16 May 1871.
Issue: Eliza, John, Israel, Lavinia, infant.
(2a) Abram b. 1829, d. 6 July 1873; unmarried.
(3a) Susan b. 1831, d. 1857; unmarried.
(4a) Elijah b. 1834, d. ; m. 5 Oct. 1865, Mary Ann MACDONALD, b. 1834.
Issue: Jessie, Robert.
(5a) Hannah b. 1840.
(6a) James b. 1843, d. ; m. 17 Nov 1870, Ann GRATTO, daughter of Frederick and Eleanor (Murphy) Gratto, b. 1850.

(2) George b. 1802, d. ; m. Elizabeth TATTRIE, daughter of Louis and Eleanor (Patriquin) Tattrie. They had four sons and four daughters.
(1a) Ellen b. 1836, d. 1921.
(2a) David b. 1840, d. ; m. Amelia LANGILLE, b. 1843.
Issue: Joseph, Catherine.
(3a) Hugh b. 1842, d. 1857.
(4a) Margaret b. 1844, d. 1923.
(5a) Elizabeth b. 1845, d. 1899; unmarried.
(6a) Amelia b. 1847, d. 1923; unmarried.
(7a) Nathan. To U.S.A.
(8a) William b. 1854, d. 1937; m. Jessie Ann BAIN, b. 1862, d. 1944.
Issue: James A., An infant son.

(3) David b. 1803, d. 29 Sept. 1889; m. Catherine PATRIQUIN, daughter of John Frederick and Catherine (Bigney) Patriquin, b. 1806, d. 1890. They had seven sons and six daughters.

(1a) James b. 15 Jan 1829, d. ; m. (1) Catherine LANGILLE. No issue. He m. (2) Elizabeth Jane LANGILLE, daughter of Edward and Elizabeth (Mingo) Langille, b. 1825.
Issue: James, Lucy, Alonzo, George.

(2a) Mary b. 1828, d. 10 April 1906; m. 6 July 1868, James MATTATALL, son of William Mattatall, b. 1825, d. 27 Dec. 1908. Six children.

(3a) David b. 15 Jan. 1830, d. 14 Sept. 1907; m. (1) Elizabeth FAIRWEATHER, daughter of David and Janet (Ross) Fairweather, b. 12 Jan 1837, d. 27 Mar. 1876. Six children. He m. (2) 15 Feb. 15, 1877, Mary Jane LANGILLE, daughter of Reuben and Sarah (Langille) Langille, b. 1839 d. 1 July 1882. Two children. He m. (3) 21 Dec. 1882, Christine SUTHERLAND, daughter of William and Isabella (MacKenzie) Sutherland, b. 1837. No Issue.
Issue: Bayne, Mary, Catherine, Jemima, Ross, David, Priscilla, Joel.

(4a) Mark b. 1831, d. ; m. (1) 15 May, 1859, Mary Ann BROWN, daughter of Hugh and Mary Ann (Langille) Brown, b, 1838, d, 19 Jan 1871. Five children. He m. (2) 18 Feb 1875, Effie MORRISON, daughter of James and Sarah (Henderson) Morrison, b. 1826. No issue.
Issue: Eliza, Mariah, Elizabeth, Bertha, James.

(5a) John, b. 1834, d. 5 May 1893; m. 21 Jan 1865, Mary Jane LANGILLE, daughter of Nicholas and Ruth (Dunn) Langille, b. 1832, d. 17 June 1896.
Issue: Burton, Susan.

(6a) Isaac b. 1836, d. 13 Feb 1913; m. Elizabeth DOUGLAS, b. 1837, d. 11 May 1890.
Issue: Christine, Baxter.

(7a) Catherine b. 1838, d. ; m. 5 Feb 1868, Abram WEST, b. 1829. Four children.

(8a) Eliza b. , d. ; m. Henry MUNROE. Three children.

(9a) Esther, b. , d. ; m. 8 Sept 1864, Hugh Brown.

(10a) Elizabeth b. 1844, d. ; unmarried.

(11a) Jacob, b. 1846, d. 1915; m. (1) 10 Feb 1869, Willena GEDDES, daughter of Robert and Rebecca (Dean) Geddes, b. 1849, d. ; He m. (2) Lucy GRATTO, b. 1862, d. 1914.
Issue: Rebecca, Adell, Murray, Eleanor, Laura, Roderick, James.

(12a) Sarah b. 1847, d. ; m. Alexander MURRAY. One child.

(13a) Baxter b. 1849, d. 1920; m. Margaret LANGILLE. No issue.

(4) Alexander b. 1805, d. ; m. Margaret TEED, b. 1808. They had at least three sons and three daughters.
(1a) Joshua. To New Zealand.
(2a) Lavinia. To New Zealand.
(3a) Amos b. , d. ; m. Caroline ROGERS.
(4a) William
(5a) Maria
(6a) Catherine b. 1833.

(5) James Louis, "The Singer", b. 12 Oct 1807, d. 1883; m. Sarah LANGILLE ,daughter of John George and Catherine (Perrin) Langille, b. 30 Mar, d. 25 April 1884. They had six daughters.
(1a) Martha b. 24 Oct 1844, d. 11 Sept 1911; m. Robert MINGO, b. 1846, d. 1939. Seven children.
(2a) Mary Ann; m. Thomas BROWN. One child.
(3a) Susan b. 1839, d. 6 Feb 1936; m. Robert STEVENSON, b. 1838, d. 16 Jan 1903. 11 children.
(4a) Catherine b. ; m. (1) Levi PATRIQUIN. No issue. She m. (2) William BIGNEY. Five children.
(5a) Sarah b. ; m. John BARKER. Three children.
(6a) Helen b. 1848; m. 5 May 1820, Alexander MORRISON, son of James and Sarah (Henderson) Morrison, b. 1839. Seven children.

(6) Susan b. 1809, d. 1893, m, Isaac LANGILLE, son of John George and Catherine (Perrin) Langille, b. 1811, d. 3 Jan 1877. 13 children.

(7) William b. 1811, d. ; m. Lucy LANGILLE, daughter of John George and Catherine (Perrin) Langille b. 1820. They had two sons and six daughters.
(1a) Mary b. 1841, d. ; m. 24 Mar 1870, Michael CONNOR, b. 1842.
(2a) Margaret b. 1843.
(3a) Silas b. 1746, d. 1847.
(4a) Susan b. 1850.
(5a) Martha b. 1853.
(6a) Ellen b. 1860.
(7a) Caselda b. 1862.
(8a) Johan b. 1764.

(8) Louis b. 1818 d. 1890; m. Susan LANGILLE, daughter of John George and Catherine (Perrin) Langille, b. 1818, d. 1904. They had seven sons and five daughters.
(1a) Catherine b. 1847, d. 1926; m. 16 June 1874, Finley MACINTOSH, b. 1847, d. 1939.
(2a) Marion b. 1848, d. ; m. David SMITH.
(3a) Susan b. 1849, died young.
(4a) Phoebe b. 1850, d. ; m. Robert BAIN, Moved to Wisconsin.
(5a) Jane b. 1852, d. 1935; m. Giddi LANGILL9, son of Ephraim and Elizabeth (Langille) Langille, b. 1849, d. 3 May 1902. One child.

(6a) Gordon b. 1854, d. 1842, m. 26 July 1883, Christine LANGILLE, daughter of Isaac and Elizabeth Langille, b. 1864, d. 1941.
Issue: Lawrence, Leslie, Finlay, Austin, Robin, Pearl, Mabel, Stella, Ethel, Vera, Vida, Lulu.
(7a) Adam Arch. b. 1856, d. ; m. Evelyn MUNROE. No issue.
(8a) James b. 1858. To Wisconsin.
(9a) Stewart. To Wisconsin.
(10a) Cyrus, b. , d. ; m. Louisa LANGILLE. daughter of Danford and Elizabeth (Craig) Langille.
Issue: Lawrence, Cora, Stuart, Dora, Ann.
(11a) Louis b. 1861.
(12a) Angus b. 1863.

APPENDIX A.

8. John Frederick Langille presents a problem when the data from various sources is matched with the data of such noted genealogists as Winthrop Bell and Canon Harris.
Both Winthrop Bell and the Langille genealogists Drs. Jansen of Chicago list a John Frederick Langille b. 1761, d. 1767. Canon Harris lists two children of David and Catherine Langille named John Frederick, the second son obviously named for a deceased brother. It is interesting to note that both Rev. George Patterson in his "History of the County of Pictou" and F. H. Patterson in his "History of Tatamagouche" mention a John Frederick Langille who lived with his brothers near River John.
A close survey of the record shows that there indeed was a John Frederick Langille who not only grew to manhood but also had a large family. No record can be found which links his birth and death. Thus it is conjecture where this man fits in David's family of 15 children. However, it is possible that both the above mentioned sons were one and the same, that the death record in 1767 is not applicable to any of David's children, and that John Frederick's birth date is indeed 1761.
John Frederick Langille married Susannah Catherine MATTATALL, b. 1769, twin sister of Elizabeth Catherine Mattatall and youngest daughters of George and Catherine (Iselin) Mattatall.
At least eight children were born to John Frederick and Susannah Langille. The spread in years indicates that there were probably other children.
(1) Mary b. 1786, d. 1877; m. George FFSTER.
(2) Frederick b. 1790, d. , m. Mary Elizabeth PATRIQUIN, daughter of John Frederick and Catherine (BIGNEY) Patriquin, b. 1795. They had at least four sons and two daughters.
(1a) Frederick b. 1811, d. ; m. Lucy ———. b. 1815.
Issue: Susan, Frederick.

(2a) David ("Butcher"), b. 1821, d. ; m. Susan TATTRIE, b. 1827, daughter of Louis and Eleanor (Patriquin) Tattrie.
Issue: Martha Jane, James, Julia, Sommerville, Joshua, Bertha, Clarence, Margaret, Etta.

(3a) Matthew b. 1826, d. ; m. Ellen BIGNEY, daughter of George and Eleanor (Millard) Bigney, b. 1837.
Issue: James, Susan Jane, Ellen, Mary Elizabeth, D. Lorenzo, George B.

(4a) Mary b. 1830
(5a) James b. 1834.

(6a) Susan.

(3) Edward (Ned) b, 1794, d. ; m. Elizabeth MINGO, daughter of Matthew Mingo. They had at least three daughters.

(1a) Ellen b. 1824, d. 19 Sept 1874, m. James LANGILLE, son of Isaac and Margaret (Dunn) Langille, b. 18 Oct 1821, d. 18 Jan 1885. Twelve children.

(2a) Elizabeth Jane b. 1825, d. ; m. James LANGILLE, son of David and Catherine (Patriquin) Langille, b. 1829. Four children.

(3a) Elizabeth b. 1838.

(4) John b. 1798, d. 28 Oct 1876; m. Susan HEIGHTON, daughter of Henry Heighton, b. 1799, d. 1875. They had seven sons and three daughters.

(1a) Edward b. 1820, d. ; m. 3 Sept 1862, Margaret LANGILLE, b. 1825.
Issue: James, Jane, Benjamin, Catherine, Susan.

(2a) John b. 1825, d. ; m. Catherine LANGILLE, daughter of Nicholas and Ruth (Dunn) Langille, b. 1829.
Issue: Elizabeth, Ellen Jane, Susannah, Rebecca, Amos, James, Elizabeth.

(3a) Nelson b. 1826, d. 1923; m. Catherine HEIGHTON, b. 1828, d. 1894.
Issue: Henry, Colin, Christy Ann, William A. Mary.

(4a) Jacob b. 1827, d. ; m. Esther Margaret ———. b. 1832, d. 1863.
Issue: Celesta, Welsford, Albert, Charlotte, Frank.

(5a) Harvey b. d. 4 Mar 1894; m. Etta ———.

(6a) Mary b. 1830, d. ; m. Harry KELLY.

(7a) George b. 1831, d. ; m. Elizabeth ———.

(8a) Hugh b. 1832, d. ; m. Elizabeth LANGILLE, b. 1830.
Issue: John, Mary, Evelina.

(9a) Sarah

(10a) Ann, b. 1839.

(5) Samuel b. 1804, d. ; m. Elizabeth ———.

(1a) Edward, b. 1840.

(6) Christopher b. 9 June 1808, d. 29 May 1890; m. Lucy

LANGILLE,daughter of James and Agnes (Patriquin) Langille, b. 4 April 1812, d. 19 Aug 1909. They had four sons and seven daughters.

(1a) James b. 6 Feb 1832, d. ; m. Ellen ———. b. 1844.
Issue: Lucy, Alonzo, George.

(2a) Jacob, b. 30 April 1834, d. ; m. Ellen ———. b. 1842.
Issue: Johanna, James, Ephraim, Mary Jane.

(3a) Elizabeth b. 28 Mar 1837, d. 1860; unmarried.

(4a) Ephraim b. 26 Dec. 1839, d. old age; unmarried.

(5a) Agnes b. 28 April 1841; m. K. AMON.

(6a) Louisa, b. 14 Oct 1844.

(7a) Eleanor b. 14 April 1846; m. Simon CAMERON, son of David and Jane (Hayman) Cameron, b. 1844.

(8a) George W. b. 8 July 1850.

(9a) Johanna b. 30 May 1853, d. 1856.

(10a) Christy Ann, b. 10 Feb 1855, d. 10 Oct 1949; m. Alexander HEIGHTON, son of George and Mary (Walen) Heighton, b. 15 June 1856, d. 11 Aug 1925. Eight children.

(11a) Phyllis b. 8 Nov 1858, d. 6 June 1954; m. Joseph LANGILLE, son of Christopher and Catherine (Langille) Langille, b. 1849, d. . Nine children.

(7) George b. 1809, d. ; m. Miribut———, b. 1812.

(1a) George b. 1841, d. ; m. Isabella LANGILLE, daughter of Nelson and Grace (Rogers) Langille, b. 1844. Issue: Alonzo, Jane.

(2a) Alexander b. 1849.

(3a) Susan b. 1852.

(8) Isaac, b. , d. ; m. Susan BIGNEY, daughter of John George and Agnes (Langille) Bigney, b. .

(1a) Susan b. 1842.

(2a) Jane b. 1850.

(3a) George b. 1852.

CEMETERIES

Pictou County: River John, Louisville, Millbrook, Scotsburn, West Branch, Haliburton Brook, Stellarton, Westville, Toney Mills, Black River.
Colchester County: Truro, Onslow, Tatamagouche, Brule, Brule Point, Waldegrave, Sand Point, Middleton, Barrachois, Denmark, French River, Balfron, Bayhead, Waugh's River, The Falls, Belmont, Tatamagouche Mountain.
Cumberland County: Pugwash, Golf Shore, Malagash, Wallace, Wentworth, Middleboro.

CHURCH RECORDS

Tatamagouche Methodist
River John Circuit
Tatamagouche Sharon (United)
River John Presbyterian (St. George's)
River John United (Salem)
Truro Anglican (St. John's)
Londonderry Anglican (St. Paul's)
Pugwash Baptist (St. John)
Wallace Methodist

CENSUS RECORDS

1770 Census of the towns of Donegal, Truro, Onslow
1827 Census of Wallace
1838 Census of Tatamagouche, New Annan, Earltown, Pictou Township
1861 Census for Earltown, New Annan, Waugh's River, Tatamagouche, Cape John, Wallace, Wentworth
1871 Census for Colchester Pictou, Cumberland and Halifax
1871 Census for Colchester Pictou, Cumberland and Halifax Counties

LAND RECORDS

Pictou County, 1770-1840, 1841-1860, 1861-1880, 1881-
Colchester County, 1771-1860, 1861-1871, 1871-1890
Cumberland County, 1820-1860
Land Grant Papers, P.A.N.S., 1775-1799
Crown Grants, P.A.N.S.

VITAL STATISTICS

Marriage Bonds for Nova Scotia, 1763-1863
Births, Marriages and Deaths for Pictou, Colchester and Cumberland Counties for 1864-1877
Marriage Records for Pictou, Colchester and Cumberland Counties for 1850-1912
Township Books for Londonderry, Truro, and Onslow
Inventory of Manuscripts

WILL AND PROBATE RECORDS

Cumberland County, 1842-1872
Colchester County, Estate Book, Will Book
Pictou County, Wills and Estate Papers, Probate Record Office

MAPS

Church's maps of Pictou, Colchester and Cumberland Counties
DesBarres land grant map by Byers and Clarke, 1976
Meachem, J. H., "Illustrated Atlas of Pictou Co.", 1879

BOOKS DIRECTORIES

Hutchinson's Nova Scotia Directory, 1864-1865
McAlpine's Directory for Nova Scotia, 1868-1869
Patterson, F. H., "History of Tatamagouche", 1917
Miller, T., "Historical and Genealogical History of the First Settlers of Colchester County", 1873.
Gordon, L., "Early Settlers of River John"

FAMILY LETTERS, CORRESPONDENCE, PERSONAL NOTES

Notes of Dr. Winthrop P. Bell, P.A.N.S.
Notes of Canon Harris, P.A.N.S.
Notes and Scroll of Drs. Jansen, Chicago, U.S.A.
Mr. Gordon Haliburton, U. South Africa
Mrs. Dorothy MacInness, Summerland, British Columbia
Mrs. Barbara Johnson, North Weymouth, Mass., U.S.A.
Mrs. Dorothy Tadlock, Lacey, Washington, U.S.A.
Mr. Mach Langille, Brantford, Ontario
Mrs. Louise Langille, King City, Ontario
Mrs. Hilda Langille, River John, Nova Scotia
Mrs. Garfield Steeves, Truro, Nova Scotia
Miss Emily Mingo, Truro, Nova Scotia

NEWSPAPERS

Obituaries, Halifax Chronicle-Herald, Truro Daily News, 1970;
Pictou Bee, July 12, 1837, Nov. 15, 1837, Aug. 26, 1835, Feb. 15, 1837, Jan. 20, 1836;
Colonial Patriot, Sept. 12, 1831.

Contributors

RONALD HAROLD MacDONALD was born and received his education in Halifax. He graduated from St. Patrick's High School and attended St. Mary's University on scholarship where he was granted the degree of Bachelor of Arts with Honours in History. He attended Dalhousie University also on scholarship and was granted a Master of Arts degree followed by a Doctorate from Queens University.

He is a member of the Canadian Historical Association. His work has appeared in the Dalhousie Review.

Dr. MacDonald is employed by Parks Canada in Halifax.

KEITH ALFRED HATCHARD was born at Poole, Dorset, England and received his early education there. He attended Sir George Williams University and Saint Mary's University where he was granted the degree of Bachelor of Commerce and Master of Business Administration.

He has written numerous University papers and is interested in local history and genealogy.

Mr. Hatcher is Senior Contracts Administrator at Hermes Electronics Ltd. of Canadian Marconi Company and resides in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia.

ROBERT PATON HARVEY was born at East Chester, Nova Scotia, but grew up in Halifax and attended Dalhousie University, from which he was granted the degrees of Bachelor of Arts in 1966, Bachelor of Education in 1967 and Master of Arts in 1972.

Mr. Harvey is a member of the Nova Scotia Historical Society and a member and past president of the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax. He is a history teacher and chairman of the Social Studies Department at Sackville High School in Lower Sackville where he resides with his wife and three daughters.

HELEN SOPHIE RICKER was born in Glenwood, Yarmouth County, Nova Scotia and received her early education there. She attended Success Business College in Truro and joined the office staff of News Publishing Co., Ltd. in Truro. Later on she became a company officer and staff member of Truro Printing & Publishing Co., Ltd.

Miss Ricker is a former member of the Cape Sable Historical Society and Colchester Historical Society and is now a member of the Yarmouth Historical Society.

Miss Ricker is retired and is again living in Glenwood, Yarmouth County, where her main interests are in records and family genealogies.

GERALD EUGENE BYERS was born in Truro in 1941. He received his early education in the Truro schools, and is a graduate of the Nova Scotia Agricultural College, Acadia University, Wolfville, and North Carolina State University at Raleigh, where he received a Master of Science. Mr. Byers is presently employed with the N.S. Department of Agriculture and Marketing in Truro.

He is an active member of the Colchester Historical Society and has been researching North Shore families for the past ten years.

Book Reviews

LORNA INNESS

Edible Wild Plants of Nova Scotia, By Heather MacLeod and Barbara MacDonald
135 pages, paperback, illustrated, published 1976 Nova Scotia Museum $3.60

Whenever I see people gathering cat tails from a nearby swamp, it serves as a reminder that not only are the reeds useful for decoration, parts of the plant are edible. In fact, the Indians used the cat tail in several ways as a diet staple.

Interest in wild plants and their medicinal and food qualities has grown in recent years and this new book is a useful guide for the would-be plant harvester.

The authors of this book stress that it includes information about "only some of the many wild edibles which may be found in our province. In one summer's work it was impossible for us to experiment thoroughly with all of them." They have included in detail only those plants which they tried, "and found to be worthwhile mentioning."

The authors give helpful hints about the right season in which to gather the plants and how to bring out the flavor.

The plants are divided into woodland edibles, such as the popular fiddleheads, the not so familiar partridge berry and Indian cucumber; foods from fields and waste places, such as wild strawberries, raspberries, caraway and the common wild rose so noted for the vitamin content of the rosehips ("you can obtain as much Vitamin C in three small rosehips as you would in one large orange"); plants from ponds and streams —cattails, native watercress and mint; delicacies from the seashore—beach peas and dulse among them; fruits of bogs and barren lands—cranberries, foxberries, crowberries and others.

There is a list of other useful plants. Equally important are the pages devoted to plants to avoid. Mushrooms provide the classic example of the importance of proper recognition of wild plants to be eaten. This book gives other examples; 20 plants ranging from "somewhat poisonous" to very poisonous.

There is also a glossary of terms which will be useful for the beginner.

The edible plants are illustrated in line drawings by Dean Brousseau which add to the attractive quality of the book. It's a little larger than pocketsize but still convenient to pack in a haversack.

The book was published by the Nova Scotia Museum as part of the Education Resource Services Program of the Department of Education.

The Blasty Bough, edited by Clyde Rose
219 pages, paperback, published 1976
Breakwater Books Ltd., Newfoundland

This book is a collection of remarkable poems, assorted writings—even a short play—by and about Newfoundlanders and their way of life. Even Percy Janes' poem about Toronto shows a Newfoundland viewpoint.

The writings are divided under three general classifications—creative, scholarly and folk—and authors represented include Ray Guy, Harold Horwood, George Story, Wilfred Wareham, Patrick O'Flaherty, Al Pittman, Len Margaret, Gary Saunders, Percy Janes, Anne Hart, Bernice Morgan, Michael Cook and Helen Porter.

Ray Guy's description of life on a "second class" railway, "No More 'round the mountain, We'll be ridin' CN busses," was first published by the St. John's Evening Telegrah in 1967. The story was judged the best feature story in Canada in that year and won the National Newspaper Award.

In an explanatory note about the blasty bough from which the book's name is taken, it is stated that the bough is "the dry red branch of a confeir (the spruce or fir) which, used as kindling, burns with a quick, bright flame." So, in a figurative sense, does the work in this book.

Down By Jim Long's Stage, By Al Pittman
hardcover, illustrated, published 1976
Breakwater Books Ltd,, Portugal Cove, Newfoundland, $5.95

This is a delightful, colorful (the illustrations are by Pam Hall) collection of rhymes "for children and young fish."

Adults who find themselves reading to children will probably be equally enamoured of Zoro, the smelt with the Walter Mitty complex who thought he was a swordfish; Cora and Laura, and travelling old Uncle Tom Cod.

Good fun for very young children.

Tamped Clay and Saltmarsh Hay, by Robert Cunningham and John B. Prince,
280 pages, paperback, illustrated, published 1976
Brunswick Press, Fredericton, N.B., $12.50

This collection of writings about artifacts of New Brunswick is a Maritime equivalent of the Salt or Foxfire books. The title comes from the materials, tamped clay and saltmarsh hay, with which the Acadian settlers insulated their dwellings.

The authors note that the broad range in a province rich in artifacts made it necessary to limit their field. They have accordingly "used only data found on Chignecto Isthmus. "Anyone who has marvelled at the beauty of the wind-swept, open stretches of the Tantramar Marshes will revel in the gleanings of historical information provided here."

The authors go into detail about Acadian methods of construction, their homes, tools, furniture. Other sections of the book deal with the role played by the axe, other tools, woods and their uses, nails, and the household items such as soap, candles, weaving, glass, tin and silver.

Readers interested in old furniture will find several chapters of this book of special interest, in particular, the geneaology of New Brunswick furniture,

Photographic documentation for this book was made possible by assistance from the Canada Council. The photographs are by H. Lindsay Smith and the sketches, unless otherwise attributed, are by Robert Cunningham.

As with the Pictou County furniture project—display and book—much of the material in this work came from private homes. The authors acknowledge this, stating that "we are particularly grateful to collectors who, regardless of the nuisance created in their homes, permitted us to examine and photograph cherished and sometimes fragile antiques."

Robert Cunningham, a steel company executive, lives in Sackville. His hobby is woodcarving and collecting information about early techniques used by craftsmen. John Prince is a retired forest products engineer who lives in Moncton.

That Far Greater Bay, by Ray Guy
150 pages, paperback, illustrated, published 1976
Breakwater Books Ltd., Portugal Cove, Newfoundland

On doing nothing: "The sooner the knack of doing nothing dies away the more frantic the attempts to get it back. When sticking your head in an empty pork barrel and yelling, or clouting an empty oil drum with two rocks no longer does the trick there is a desperate tendency toward 'high fidelity' gramaphones, 'quad' stereos, amplified guitars and echo-chamber howls . . . "

Such is the philosophy of Ray Guy concerning modern civilization and many of its works, a philosophy which winds its way through the pieces found in this book,

The book is the second collection of "essays" on Newfoundland life by Guy, a native of Come-By-Chance, who is a

free-lance writer and a journalist with the St. John's Telegram. The first collection was entitled Sea Urchins and it, too, was edited by Eric Norman.

Ray Guy, with an eye to the time gaps since first publication of some of these pieces, urges readers "to try and recall and appreciate the times and the circumstances under which it (the piece in question) was cranked out."

For the benefit of readers who have their own Guy favorites, some of the pieces included in this collection are The Card-Carrying Liberal, On Bringing Joy to the Culturaly Deprived, Outharbor Menu, Lines Upon the Viking Relics at L'Anse Aux Meadows, 'Twas a Rough Night and Arr, B'y, We Had It Hard in Them Days.

The book has been so well received by those Upper Canadians and others that Guy has been awarded the 1977 Stephen Leacock Medal for Humor on the strength of it.

Beautiful Upon The Mountains, By M. Allen Gibson
64 pages, paperback, illustrated, published August 1977
Lancelot Press, Windsor $2.00

Dr. Gibson has dedicated this story to Cyrus Eaton and to Anne Eaton, "Who shares with her husband a prophet's zeal and with all of us the inspiration of a magnificent spirit." It is as a prophet and a magnificent spirit that Dr. Gibson has portrayed this remarkable man who went from the small community of Pugwash to become one of the industrial giants of the United States.

Dr. Gibson notes that Cyrus Eaton, whose business interests have made it necessary for him to spend much of his time in industrial centres, "has an undying love affair with his native province, and that he feels that Nova Scotians should "speak constantly of the beauty" of this province, a quality shared with Joseph Howe, after whom Cyrus Eaton's father was named.

The story of the Eaton family is told briefly and mention is made of their strong links with the Baptist heritage.

Also told in this book is the story of Cyrus Eaton's quest for world peace and the origins of the Pugwash conferences and Dr. Gibson writes that "The subjects which have claimed the attention of the Pugwash conferees have been those of universal concern. From the threat of nuclear conflict to the desirability of an educational opportunity for people of all ages, the conferences, assembled in an atmosphere of informality, have come to grips with the great issues confronting mankind."

Dr. Gibson has been minister of the United Baptist Church in Chester for 30 years. He was born in Sydney Mines, grew up in Wolfville, and graduated from Acadia University and the Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, Massachusetts.

He is the author of several books and pamphlets, Train Time and The Bells of Chester among them. He is well-known throughout the province for his weekly column in The Chronicle-Herald and The Mail-Star, entitled Churches By The Sea.

Nova Scotia Fakes & Forgeries, By Capt. R. B. Mitchell, R.D.
49 pages, paperback, illustrated, published 1976
Scotia Stamp Studio, 1723 Barrington St., Halifax, N.S.

Captain R. B. Mitchell, R.D. is a member of the Nova Scotia Stamp Club, the Royal Canadian Philatelic Society and the British North America Philatelic Society. Illustrations in this book are of stamps from the author's own collection.

Capt. Mitchell states that the practice of forging early stamps in this province was so common that in the later 1800's, "the first treatise on forgeries, written by E. L. Pemberton, was published . . . closely followed, in 1865, by T. Dalston's illustrated work, How To Detect Forged Stamps.

Why was this so? The era, notes Capt. Mitchell, was a "forger's paradise; communication between the New and Old Worlds was slow and uncertain, stamp collecting was becoming increasingly popular but authentic knowledge of the world's stamps was limited to a very few dealers and advanced collectors."

This booklet deals with the pence issues 1851—57, the forgers and their work, with personal background of forgers and information about forgeries of the 1d, 3d, 6d and 1/ stamps.

Also studied is the cents issue 1860-63, again with information about individual forgers and their work; bisects and odd bits of stamp lore.

In addition to reproductions of stamps, there is a chart of cancellations.

Capt. Mitchell states that he "would be most grateful to receive information and specimens of any authenticated fakes and forgeries of Nova Scotia stamps not listed" in his book for possible use in a forthcoming book about fakes and forgeries of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.

Nineteenth Century Pictou County Furniture, The Hector Centre Trust
59 pages, paperback, illustrated, published August 1977
Hector Centre Trust

This booklet has been prepared to coincide with an exhibit, researched and built by the exhibits committee of the Hector Centre Trust at Pictou, which has been on display this summer. The publication has been made possible through financial support from the museum assistance program of the National Museums of Canada.

The project organizers note that they were "inspired by the loving labors of former Pictonian George McLaren" (to whom this booklet is dedicated) "who had done research on the cabinetmakers of Pictou County."

The workers set out to complete work begun by the late expert on local historical furniture and became detectives seeking examples of the work of some 27 cabinetmakers who had flourished in the county. They soon found "twice as many" craftsmen, many of them hitherto unknown, which led them through "a maze of historical research."

The booklet gives historical background about the woods used by the various craftsmen, about mills and woodworking

plants. There are many photographs of items of furniture, some of them solid and utilitarian, some of them strikingly beautiful with graceful lines and ornate carving,

The booklet contains a map of Pictou County showing the location of major 19th-century furniture makers. It also contains a study quiz, and lists of resource persons and sources.

The authors observe that "they" gained our most valuable clues during fireside chats, calls to rural relatives and by tracking down leads from auctions, acquaintences and friends of friends."

It is the hope of the people who prepared the exhibit and the booklet that readers will take the project into its next stage. "People who see the furniture on exhibit," (and presumably also read the book) "will search their own attics and bring forth more furniture of the past."

Apples, Peaches and Pears, By Elizabeth Baird
96 pages, paperback, illustrated, published August, 1977
James Lorimer & Co., $5.98

Apples, peaches and pears were chosen for this collection of "great Canadian recipes" because they are the three major fruit crops in Canada.

In a brief introductory note, author Elizabeth Baird touches on the historical background of the varieties in this country, noting that with apples and pears, a major problem was finding varieties which could "withstand the Canadian winters. Apple stocks were imported from Russia (summer Red Astrachan and Transparent), from Sweden (the very popular Duchess of Oldenburg), from the U.S.A. (Rhode Island Greening, the Northern Spy, Wealthy, Winesap, and Yellow Newtown) and of course from England and France. One early native Canadian variety, the Fameuse, Pomme de Neige or Snow Apple, had been around since about 1700. Both it and its descendent, the St. Lawrence, were very hardy apples, . . . The Snow Apple was in fact the major nineteenth-century dessert apple, while the Baldwin and Russet were the favorite winter apples, and the Red Astrachan, the prime summer apple . . ."

There is a brief reference to the fact that the French settlers at Port Royal in 1632 planted orchards, but the major role played by Prescott in the development of the Annapolis Valley as a major growing area are overlooked, unfortunately. This would have added interest to the book for Maritimers.

The recipes are divided into general classifications, such as: cakes, muffins and assorted breads and pastries, pies, puddings, ice creams, pickles, preserves, candy and drinks. Mrs. Baird also gives examples of using these fruits with meals.

Recipes came from private collections of friends and from old cook books, from the files of women's groups, from professional cooks. The recipes range from the standard basic apple and peach pies and cranberry apple bread to more exotic dishes such as apple ginger ice cream, apple honey sherbert, and pear and elderberry pie.

This is Mrs. Baird's second book devoted to a particularly Canadian style of cooking. Her first book was Classic Canadian Cooking and it has been reprinted in paperback.

Mrs. Baird, who believes that Canadian cooking has its own unique style based on its rich heritage of cooking traditions, mainly in baking and preserving, plans to add further books to her collection and to teach preserving this fall in Toronto.

Marine Mysteries and Dramatic Disasters of New England, By Edgar Rowe Snow
238 pages, hardcover, illustrated, published 1976
Dodd, Mead & Company, New York.

This is another in the collection of tales of the sea and the eastern coast of the United States by a man with a knack for story-telling and an enthusiasm for things strange.

The tales in this volume encompass the sea and the coastal community from Maine to Florida.

I particularly liked the story of Fanny Campbell of Lynn, Massachusetts, who could row, ride, shoot and "handle a sailboat with the best of men," and whose youthful sweetheart, William Lovell, was captured by pirates and eventually imprisoned in a Havana jail. While he languished in jail, Fanny heard of his plight and, transforming herself into a "Capt. Channing," set sail with a stalwart crew and rescued her lover. After many adventures, they reached Lynn and were married, but Fanny kept her seafaring exploits a family secret.

The book will provide light, entertaining reading for all who love the sea and a good yarn.

Your Family History, By C. I. Matthews
144 pages, hardcover, illustrated, published 1976
G. R. Welch Co. Ltd., $10.95

Tracing a family tree is a fascinating endeavor and can provide much satisfaction. While it is easier for those people experienced in this work, lack of such training need not be a barrier. Given a lot of enthusiasm for hard work, the determination not to be easily discouraged by road blocks and dead ends, and some pointers in the right direction, anyone can try tracing family history.

This book is one of the useful guides which can point the way. Mrs. Constance Matthews, is the wife of the housemaster of an English college. She is an active member of the Society of Genealogists and is also the author of several previous books: English Surnames, How Surnames Began and How Place-names Began.

Mrs. Matthews observes concerning tracing a family tree that "there is a lot of chance in it as well as hard work." Working from the standpoint of a beginner, Mrs. Matthews discusses how to go about tracing a family history and how to keep records. This last is of paramount importance as many a beginner has soon found himself swamped with material and become mired down in the business of indexing and

cross-indexing. This is one field where jotting notes on the backs of old envelopes won't do.

Mrs. Matthews discusses the principal sources of records —primarily in Great Britain, The national records, parish registers, wills, libraries, other parish records and other sources of material.

She gives some useful advice to overseas visitors to Britain and a list of principal libraries, record offices and repositories in London, beyond London, in counties and principal cities. She gives addresses, as well in Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, Erie, the Channel Isles and the Isle of Man, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and the United States.

There is also a book list which gives further reading which may provide the would-be genealogist with helpful clues.

Much, however, may be done locally. Most people have some idea of at least two or three generations and there are older family members who can be consulted. Mrs. Matthews writes: "Go through old letters, diaries, albums, newspaper cuttings, books, and anything that may have inscriptions. It used to be the custom to enter personal history in the family Bible and where these have been kept they can prove invaluable. Visit churchyards and study tombstones. Try everything."

"The immediate business of genealogy," she comments, "is not to speculate about remote origins, but to start with what we know for certain . . . establishing each foothold firmly as we go and hoping that from it we will see the way to the next."

Majesty, Robert Lacey
382 pages, hardcover, illustrated, published 1977
Hutchinson of London $14.95

This year has seen the publication of many books on the Royal Family but few of them are as well-researched, thoughtful and well-written as Robert Lacey's study, Majesty, subtitled Elizabeth II and the House of Windsor.

Lacey's book is the product of several years of research and interviews with many people in or connected with the royal household.

He begins his book with historical background building up personalities behind the textbook figures of Victorian and Edwardian times down to the crisis of the abdication and the cataclysm of world hostilities which came so soon after George VI reluctantly assumed the throne with the observation that although he did not seek the job, he would give his life to clearing up "the mess."

Lacey shows the depth of family feeling in the palace and how, despite the rigors of formality, the dislocation of war and the press of public life, the king and queen still found time to give the young Princess Elizabeth and her sister, Princess Margaret Rose, a warm, loving and stable home background.

The unique difficulties involved are underlined, for example by the observation of the princess's 13th birthday when the Scots Guards band played selections from Rose Marie to entertain her, the town of Windsor was decked with flags and she was still dressing in the youthful style of her nine-year-old sister. The shadow of events and responsibilities to come was present, however, as she began special studies in British constitutional history with the vice-provost of Eton.

Lacey shows the depth of family feeling in the palace and Princess's own strong feelings of duty and responsibility, led to the repeated dedications of her life and endeavors to keep "the solemn promises" she made at the time of the Coronation.

Her dedication and her unfailing habit of "doing her home work" on the many complex matters which daily come to her desk earned her the admiration of Churchill, who commented "What a very attractive and intelligent young woman," following one audience, and the respect of Harold Wilson who was once caught unprepared to discuss a state matter. From that time on he took care to be thoroughly briefed before consulting the Queen.

In the story of the 25 years of Elizabeth's reign, Lacey deals with the changing pattern of events and conditions in general, including the changing attitudes toward monarchy. He also discusses various crises—family, national and international—which have flared up and made headlines around the world.

Moreover, Lacey presents a knowledgable and intimate portrait of the Royal family as a family, at the same time avoiding the pitfalls of sensationalism.

Information concerning the royal duchies, the Royal Family and taxation, the order of succession and the royal houses since William I are given in the appendices, and the notes on sources are in themselves of more than passing interest.

Lacey, who left a job as editor with the Sunday Times in 1974 to research this book, is also the author of biographies of Robert, Earl of Essex, and Sir Walter Raleigh.

Animals, Man and Change, by Hugh R. MacCrimmon
160 pages, hardcover, illustrated, published March 1977
McClelland & Stewart Ltd., $10.

This account is subtitled Alien and Extinct Wildlife of Ontario and devotes a chapter to each of 28 species of animals, fish and birds to be found in Ontario.

A map shows range and there is historical background showing how man has affected the creature in question—by over-hunting or fishing it, by changing its environment, by resettling it successfully or unsuccessfully.

Prairie chickens, first reported in Ontario about 1828 were killed by the wagonload south of the Great Lakes in the 1850s. Seen rarely by 1894, the birds were adversely affected by hunting and by "intensification of agriculture" which altered tracts of grassland which had provided a suitable environment for the birds. Prairie chickens suddenly reappeared in

Ontario in 1925 but, although hybrids survived, the true prairie chicken is now generally considered to be extinct in that province. Its death, notes MacCrimmon, "has been caused by an uncompromising environment."

Occasionally there is a story which gives a note of hope rather than sadness. The eastern cougar, long thought to be extinct, has been reported over a large section of the Maritimes in recent years, sufficiently to become the subject of special studies at the University of New Brunswick.

Dr. MacCrimmon is a professor in the College of Biological Sciences at the University of Guelph. He earned his Ph.D. for research on the Atlantic Salmon.

MacCrimmon comments that "natural ecological change is a very slow process and alters the species composition of local fish and wildlife populations only over long periods of time." He cites the role of man's intervention "in the ways of nature through the manipulation of the environment and the introduction of alien species" as the cause of "rapid and remarkable changes in Ontario fauna over the past century."

The book provides a timely and useful look at changes affecting fish and wildlife in one Canadian province—it is however only one province. There is nothing to suggest that the picture is much better in other parts of the country.

The Salt Book, edited with an introduction by Pamela Wood
430 pages, paperback, illustrated, published July 1977
Doubleday Canada Ltd.—$6.50

Anyone who has known the fascination of the Foxfire books will welcome this volume which moves the locale to Maine. Pamela Wood gives due credit to the Foxfire influence and the work of Eliot Wigginton.

This enchanting book concerns itself with "lobstering, sea moss pudding, stone walls, rum running, maple syrup, snowshoes, and other Yankee doings."

Concentrating on the sea, the book shows readers how to build a lobster trap, a task using skills well known to Nova Scotian fishermen. A distinct feature of fishing community life, here as in Maine, is the growing pile of fresh new wooden traps behind a house or barn as the fishermen works through the winter to have the proper number of traps ready for the opening of the season.

There are stories about fishing and the people for whom it is a way of life. Sea harvesting has not always been limited to fish—in the time of prohibition cargoes from the sea frequently came in kegs, casks and bottles, and there are some lively stories about the old rum-running days.

The land section covers everything from barns and barn raising to snowshoe making, the fine art of building stone walls, the institution of the Town Meetin' and the home arts of making honey, cottage cheese and maple syrup.

This is a profusely illustrated, entertaining look at a way of life not totally unlike that found in Nova Scotia.

Canals of Canada by Robert F. Legget
261 pages, hardcover, illustrated, published 1976
Douglas, David & Charles Ltd., $10.50

An interesting chapter of Canadian history is written in the building and operation of this country's canals and it forms the subject of this comprehensive study.

In the introduction, the author enthuses about canals, calling them "one of the glories of the land that is Canada," And from the literary aspect, canals have not been written about or glorified to the extent that railways have, for example. Canals have been the Cinderellas of transportation.

Canada's canals, it is noted, differ from those in Europe in two unique ways. They represent "improvements to navigation on existing natural waterways, either in the form of bypasses around rapids or short cuts between adjacent bodies of water, existing waterways being sometimes improved for even this type of canal." Further, while some early canals were privately operated, "most of the country's artificial waterways were built as public works by governments. Since the time of Confederation the canals of Canada have been publicly owned . . . "

The book is divided into two sections, part one dealing with canals in the Maritimes (the Chignecto, St. Peter's, Shubenacadie and Canso); the water route to the U.S., canals for defence, canals along Indian routes, the Georgian Bay ship canal and some minor canals.

The second part of the book is devoted to canals in the St. Lawrence system, the Seaway and the Welland canal.

The pages dealing with the Shubenacadie Canal conclude with the observation that the remains of the locks "are mainly hidden in the woods," and that the waterway is used by local canoe clubs. It adds that there are "great hopes" that the canal will be restored for both historical and recreational purposes, "Visitors who have seen its old locks will certainly share these hopes so that, although most Canadians who have ever heard of the Shubenacadie Canal assume that it disappeared long ago, the old canal may yet have a useful but different life ahead of it." It is a hope shared by many in this province.

The book concludes with some notes on the text worth reading by the serious canal enthusiasts; some statistics about canals; (St. Peter's, for example, was opened in 1769. In 1875, 807 vessels—30,581 tonnage and 18,116 freight tonnage—used the canal.); and canals in use in 1974.

Robert Legget retired in 1969 as director of the National Research Council's division of building research, a post he had held for 22 years. He graduated in civil engineering from Liverpool University and worked in Britain and Canada before a lectureship at Queens University led to a distinguished academic career. He is the author of Railroads of Canada.