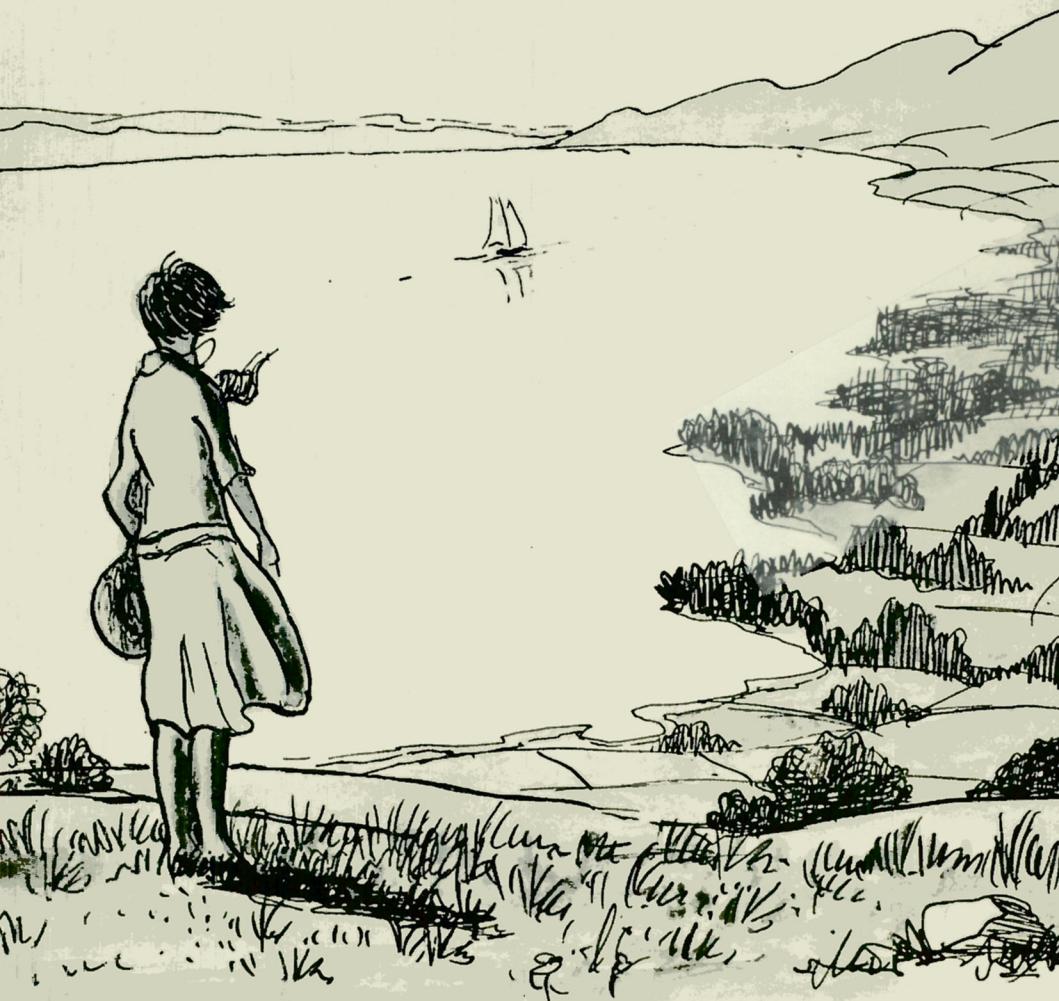


Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 13, Number 2, 1993



On the top of M'Queen's farm.

This is where we had a good view of Beaver Cove, Borsdale, Barach and Borsdale hills which are bar the view of the Sydney, tho could see faint smoke curling up from the Steel Works or Coal mines. Across the lake is Borsdale and the distant hills are that of Victoria County.

Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 13, Number 2, 1993

Cover Illustrations:

On the top of McSween's Farm, 1924: sketch by Christine MacKinnon (courtesy of Ron and Ruth MacKinnon).

Sister, Brother-in-law, niece and I out for a walk on the sea-shore, 1927: sketch by Christine MacKinnon (courtesy of Ron and Ruth MacKinnon).

To Our Readers

The *Nova Scotia Historical Review* publishes scholarly articles on every aspect and period of Nova Scotia history, and welcomes contributions from everyone interested in the subject. The *Review* has a special mandate to publish non-professional and/or first-time authors, whose work can benefit particularly from the rigorous but sympathetic literary editing provided by the *Review* to all its contributors.

The *Nova Scotia Historical Review* is indexed in the *Canadian Magazine Index* and the *Canadian Periodical Index*, and is available on-line in the "Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database." Back issues are available in microfiche from Micromedia Limited, 20 Victoria Street, Toronto, Ontario M5C 2N8.

The *Nova Scotia Historical Review* is made possible by a grant from the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism and Culture.

Editor – Barry Cahill

Literary Editor – Lois Yorke

Book Review Editor – Allen B. Robertson

Business Manager – Stephen Crowell

Secretary – Francine Hannam

Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly/Review

Back Issues Available

Quarterly

Volume 2 — Number 4
Volume 3 — Numbers 3 and 4
Volume 4 — Numbers 1, 3 and 4
Volume 9 — Numbers 3 and 4
Volume 10 — Numbers 2, 3 and 4

Available at \$4.00 each or \$7.00 for two.

Review

Volume 3 — Number 2
Volume 4 — Number 1
Volume 6 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 7 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 8 — Number 1
Volume 9 — Number 1
Volume 10 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 11 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 12 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 13 — Number 1

Available at \$10.00 per copy.

From:

Nova Scotia Historical Review
Public Archives of Nova Scotia
6016 University Avenue
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 1W4

Contents

Nova Scotians Come to an Ohio College

Erving E. Beauregard 1

Lord William Campbell, Governor of Nova Scotia, 1766–1773

Francis A. Coughlan 11

“There is no doubt of my Cape Breton allegiance”: Remembering

Father R.J. MacSween

Kenneth Donovan 31

A Scandal in Chignecto: The Reverend Alexander Robinson Affair

Eldon Hay 45

Mine Operators and Mining Leases on Nova Scotia’s Sydney Coalfield, 1720 to the Present

Hugh Millward 67

The Family Economy and Boy Labour in Sydney Mines, 1871–1901

Robert McIntosh 87

The Tyranny of Capital: Nova Scotian Miners under the Stars and Stripes, 1884–1885

Peter R. Shergold 101

James Umlach and his Descendants in St. Mary’s River and the West Cape

Joyce Hemlow and Iris Shea 105

Book Reviews

Allen B. Robertson 127

**Tear-Out
Subscription Renewal Form**

Name

Address

Province/State

Postal Code/Zip

- I enclose \$20.00, 1 year, 2 issues
- Enter my subscription
- Renew my subscription
- Change my address

Send to:

Nova Scotia Historical Review
Public Archives of Nova Scotia
6016 University Avenue
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 1W4

Call For Papers (and Art)

Callaloo: A Journal of Afro-American and African Arts and Letters, based at the University of Virginia, invites submissions of articles, bibliographies, review essays, and interviews for a special issue on **Black Nova Scotian (Africadian) Literature, History, and Culture** to be guest edited by George Elliott Clarke. Papers on any aspect of this topic are invited. Subjects could include specifying the location of Black Nova Scotia (Africadia) within the African Diaspora, especially in regard to Canada, African America, the Caribbean, and Sierra Leone; the current "Cultural Renaissance"; gender constructions; urban-rural aspects; class and economic dynamics; the State and Black Nova Scotians (Africadians); and other topics.

Given the past emphasis on sociological study of Africadians, scholars should focus their attention on Africadian involvement in the arts--within the general categories sketched above.

Africadian writers are invited to submit poetry, short fiction, and excerpts from works-in-progress. Please enclose a SASE.

Africadian visual artists are invited to submit high-quality reproductions of their work. Please enclose a SASE.

Papers should follow MLA format, with three copies sent to the following address by May 1, 1994:

George Elliott Clarke
Department of English
Queen's University
Kingston, ON
K7L 3N6

Ph: (H) 613-567-6051

Nova Scotians Come to an Ohio College

Erving E. Beauregard

It's a long way from Cape Breton Island to New Athens, Ohio, but in the years between 1891 and 1913, twenty-four Nova Scotians--twenty-three men and one woman--made the lengthy trek there, in search of higher education. With the possible exception of one individual, all remained in the United States after graduation, contributing substantially to their chosen professions in their adopted country.

The initial attraction in the United States was Franklin College of New Athens, Ohio. Founded in 1825 as Alma College, it claimed to be the oldest private non-denominational institution of higher learning in the Buckeye State. However, its trustees, administration, faculty and students came, to a considerable degree, from a number of Presbyterian bodies--Associate Presbyterian, Associate Reformed, Covenanter and Presbyterian U.S.A.

Franklin survived two crises in the nineteenth century. In one case, the college's uncompromising stand favouring the immediate abolition of slavery had caused a secessionist movement which established a rival college, Providence, in the same town, New Athens. However, Franklin prevailed over Providence, gaining its then main building in the controversy. Another crisis was the almost total departure of the male student body to join the Federal forces in the American Civil War.¹

Recovery came in the 1870s, but by 1887 Franklin College again faced problems. A popular president and the institution's first lay leader, Dr. Andrew F. Ross, had died in office, having served five years. His successor, the Reverend Dr. George C. Vincent, a strict disciplinarian, experienced student unrest. The next president, Dr. William Brinkeroff, also died in office, after only one year. His successor, the Reverend John G. Black, resigned after one year.²

Erving E. Beauregard is Professor Emeritus of History at The University of Dayton in Dayton, Ohio.

1. A. F. Ross, "Historical Sketch of Franklin College," in *Report of the Proceedings of the Semi-Centennial Celebration of Franklin College, New Athens, Harrison County, Oh* (Banesville, Ohio, 1875), p. 13; Rev. William Wishart, letter to Professor A. F. Ross, New Athens, 11 Nov. 1861, in John F. Campbell Collection, Cadiz, Ohio; Walter G. Shotwell, "Oration," in *The Ross Movement: Poem and Oration of the Unveiling Exercises, June 24, 1880 at Franklin College, New Athens, Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1880), p. 22; *Cadiz Republican* (Cadiz, Ohio), 12 Sept. 1872.

2. Rev. Robert Gowan Campbell, letters to Rev. Dr. A. D. Clark, New Athens, 7 Jan. and 5 Apr. 1884, Campbell Collection; Rev. George C. Vincent, letter to Rev. Dr. A. D. Clark, New Athens, 9 May 1881, Campbell Collection; S. B. Shotwell, Jr., letter to Mr. S. B. Shotwell, Sr., New Athens, 22 Mar. 1882, Shotwell Papers, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio; *Franklin College Register: Biographical and Historical by the Board of Trustees* (Wheeling, West Virginia, 1908), pp. 14-16; *Cadiz Republican*, 20 Mar. 1879, quoting *Banesville Enterprise*; *Freeport Press* (Freeport, Ohio), 2 Sept. 1880, 3 Feb., 17 Feb. and 26 May 1881, 23 Mar. 1882; *New Athens Hair-Pin*, I, 1 (July 4, 1878), 1, 4 (this was the sole issue of a satirical four-page paper published by "The Society of Obscure Inquiry").

Thereupon, in 1887, the Reverend William A. Williams took the Franklin helm. Holder of A.B. and A.M. degrees from Franklin, Williams went on to graduate from Western Theological Seminary and became a minister in the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. He taught Greek and English at his alma mater from 1880 to 1886.³

Williams proved a workhorse. He carefully studied the curriculum and then, with the support of the faculty and approval of the trustees, he added a program leading to the Bachelor of Philosophy degree. He also introduced a three-year music programme, a two-year normal course, a one-year commercial course, and a one-year elocution programme. Other additions included the Department of Art and the Department of Shorthand and Typewriting. All this was accomplished, furthermore, without detracting in any way from the standard programmes leading to the A.B. and S.B.⁴

The curriculum drew students. In Williams's first year the enrolment rose from forty-two to ninety-six. Thereafter, the figure rose every year, reaching one hundred and sixty-four in 1890, the largest number in Franklin's history.⁵ This took place despite competition from "great and wealthy institutions and also from two other colleges, Scio and Hopedale, in the same [Harrison] county."⁶

President Williams actively recruited students. Among his devices was the newspaper; this included not only the local press but the national as well. A budget of \$7,000 in advertising meant insertions in 7,000,000 copies of newspapers. One such item was a five-line advertisement carried in the *Chicago Interior*. A Nova Scotia businessman visiting Chicago read the advertisement and upon his return home mentioned it to his nephew, Alexander D. MacKay of Lake Ainslie, Cape Breton Island. This prospective student and his parents, of Scottish ancestry, were impressed by the apparent low cost of obtaining an education at Franklin College: \$130.80 a year sufficed for tuition, board, room, books and laundry.

3 *Franklin College Register*, p. 167.

4 *Franklin College Catalogue, 1900-1901*, pp. 16, 17, 20; Dr. Thomas M. Sewell, letter to John C. Stiers, New Athens, 27 Mar. 1902, Mrs. Fred W. Phillips Collection, Zanesville, Ohio.

5 *Franklin College Catalogue, 1890-1891*, p. 8.

6 Rev. Dr. W. A. Williams, letter to Rev. George E. Henderson, Camden, New Jersey, 2 Dec. 1935, John C. Spring Collection, Winter Park, Florida.

However, the MacKays wished to know more about the comparative value of a degree obtained from Franklin. They knew a member of their church who was an alumnus of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, the oldest English college in Canada. In turn, this person highly recommended Franklin because one of the latter's alumni had been an outstanding instructor at King's. This was William A. Hammond, a native of New Athens, who graduated from Franklin in 1880 and then studied at Harvard College and the University of Leipzig. He taught at King's from 1885 to 1888, and then returned to Leipzig, graduating Ph.D. in 1891; in 1892 he joined the Cornell University Department of Philosophy, where he went on to publish several books.⁷

Alexander D. MacKay from Inverness County thus enrolled at Franklin in 1891 and graduated A.B. in 1895. He was joined by his cousin, Donald C. MacLeod from Lewis Mountain, who also graduated A.B. in 1895. Between 1898 and 1913 MacKay and MacLeod were followed by twenty-two other Nova Scotians, all but two of whom hailed from Cape Breton. Word of mouth of the good but inexpensive education available at Franklin brought a steady stream from the far-away northeast to little New Athens. All twenty-four Nova Scotians left Franklin with a bachelor's degree.⁸

The Nova Scotians took an active part in life at "Old Franklin," as the institution was affectionately known. Sports attracted several. MacKay and D. C. MacLeod played in the hilarious Franklin-Bethany College football game in 1894 at Bethany, West Virginia. Bethany won 16-4. Franklin scored on a mistake by the referee: "A punt rolled over the goal line where Franklin recovered it and claimed a score. The referee didn't know the rules and allowed a touchdown." Thereupon a fight erupted.⁹ During this period President Williams, like presidents Woodrow Wilson of Princeton and William Rainey Harper of Chicago, strongly defended football whenever

7 Alexander D. MacKay, letter to Rev. Walter G. Ramage, Demos, Ohio, 3 Mar. 1902, Lloyd E. Martin Collection, Portsmouth, Ohio; *Franklin College Catalogue, 1890-1891*, p. 26; *Franklin College Register*, p. 82.

8 Rev. George E. Henderson, letter to Dr. Harvey G. Furbay, New Athens, 19 June 1916, Spring Collection; *Franklin College Register*, pp. 73, 96, 115, 117, 118, 119; "Franklin College Class List," in H. Dwight Ballentine, ed., *Muskingum College Alumni Directory 1837-1963* (New Concord, Ohio, 1963), pp. 314-316.

9 Kent Kessler, *Hail West Virginians!* (Parkersburg, 1959), p. 62.

vehement attacks blasted the sport because of the violence resulting from such manoeuvres as the flying wedge.¹⁰

A football fracas in 1900 involved the Franklin team, including this time three Nova Scotians, Dwight S. Kelly, Angus MacIver and David P. MacQuarrie. In 1899 Franklin had inflicted a humiliating defeat on the Carrollton (Ohio) Athletic Club. The latter now sought revenge, but the score was 0-0. Thereupon the Carrollton players and "almost every able-bodied citizen of Carrollton" attacked the Franklinites.¹¹

In 1894 a controversy over a popular Franklin professor attracted the attention of two Nova Scotian students. Thomas M. Sewell, a Union veteran and Franklin graduate, had joined the Franklin faculty in 1869, earning esteem as professor of mathematics and astronomy. In 1894 Sewell was inducted into Freemasonry. This caused consternation in certain United Presbyterian circles where there lingered animosity toward secret societies, this hostility being especially prevalent among those who had been members of, or whose lineage went back to, the Associate Presbyterian Church. The latter body had utterly condemned Freemasonry. The two Nova Scotian students, Alexander D. MacKay and Donald C. MacLeod, whose parents and relatives were Freemasons, backed Sewell. President Williams, minister in the Presbyterian Church--which professed no bar to Masonic membership--supported Sewell and the struggle subsided.¹²

In 1896 another controversy engaged the attention of two Nova Scotian students. This time, President Williams and Professor Sewell were on opposite sides. Brought up in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Sewell gravitated toward free thinking. Eventually he espoused evolution. This definitely aroused Williams, an arch-conservative, but he could not silence the Civil War veteran because Sewell's objective method in the classroom won the students' respect and support, including that of the Nova Scotians, John W. and Malcolm M. MacPhail. Moreover, Vice-President Robert Gowan Campbell, although himself an anti-evolutionist, backed Sewell, his long-time colleague and friend; Sewell's scholarly approach to the subject

10 Rev. Dr. William A. Williams, letter to the editor, *New Athens Herald*, 30 Nov. 1894.

11 *Clonian*, 1901, p. 99 (Franklin's yearbook); Rev. David P. MacQuarrie, letter to Rev. John W. MacPhail, New Athens, 2 Nov. 1900, Martin Collection.

12 Professor Thomas M. Sewell, "Memorandum," 13 Oct. 1894, Phillips Collection.

had won Campbell's confidence. In the end, Sewell remained on the faculty.¹³

In another controversy the two MacPhails did not support the faculty member concerned, namely the Reverend J. B. Hawk, Instructor in Biblical Study. A Kentucky native and Methodist Episcopal minister, Hawk was a graduate of Scio College. By 1895 he began to expound in the classroom on textual criticism, based primarily on his reading of Kuenen's *Religion of Israel*. President Williams condemned his actions, and Hawk's abstruse approach worked against student support. Colleagues considered him courageous but again, his deeply-felt presentation won little backing; in 1897 Hawk felt it best to depart.¹⁴

In 1899 eight Nova Scotian students participated heroically in one of the major disasters to strike Old Franklin. A tower, consisting of a cupola about ten-foot square with belfry above, surmounted the main college building. As related by J. Alvin Gordon (Franklin '95), one or two students lived in the cupola, caring for the building as a substitute for their tuition. A kerosene stove heated the cupola and

either through accident or neglect the stove became overheated about mid-morning of November 29, 1899, setting the bell tower afire. New Athens possessed no fire fighting equipment able to handle a fire at such height and so the flames proceeded, against feeble resistance, from tower to roof to third floor and thence to the basement. By nightfall on the 29th, little remained of the main college building [other] than four shattered walls and a pile of blackened, smoking timbers.¹⁵

The disaster was complete. An eyewitness reported that students and townspeople courageously entered the inferno and hurled a number of books from the third floor, but could save only a fraction. Practically all furniture was lost, and the college's notable collection of scientific instruments and specimens also went up in smoke. The Nova Scotians were among those

13 Rev. Dr. Robert Gowan Campbell, letter to Rev. J. A. Alexander, New Athens, 20 Mar. 1896, Campbell Collection.

14 Rev. J. B. Hawk, letter to Rev. Dr. W. G. Waddle, New Athens, 17 May 1897, Campbell Collection.

15 Charles A. Wallace, "A History of New Athens, Ohio" (manuscript, n.d.), pp. 118-19; in the possession of Mr. Wallace, Cadiz, Ohio.

brave persons entering the blaze. They were Dwight S. Kelly, Angus MacIver, Kenneth E. MacLeod, Malcolm M. MacPhail, David P. MacQuarrie and Hector K. MacQuarrie.¹⁶

Nova Scotians continued to enroll at Franklin under the later presidents R. Barclay Spicer, the Reverend Newton B. Kelley and the Reverend Dr. Alvin M. Campbell, during the years between 1901 and 1912. Each student graduated with a degree, most obtaining an A.B.; all did well academically,¹⁷ and all participated in extra-curricular activities. Each joined either the Jefferson Literary Society or the Philosophic Literary Society, keenly participating in the groups' events--debates, orations and essay contests. Some of the students helped to found the Oratorical Association, which arranged intercollegiate speaking contests.¹⁸

Sports activities also continued to attract the Nova Scotians. Three--Malcolm A. Matheson, Duncan G. MacLennan and James M. MacQuarrie--played in a remarkable football game against Bethany College in 1907. Franklin lost the contest, which lasted only twenty-eight minutes: "The quarters were shortened because Franklin had to catch a train."¹⁹ Some Nova Scotians played basketball, the sport being introduced in 1906 for men;²⁰ others joined the baseball team, a popular pastime in New Athens and vicinity. At the 1912 commencement, two Nova Scotians--Peter W. Macaulay and John A. Shaw--played for Franklin against Dennison Athletic Club in an interesting game: here the immortal Denton T. ("Cy") Young, who had "commenced his baseball career with Franklin College," now ended his phase as a Franklin pitcher.²¹

After 1913 no additional Nova Scotians attended Franklin College. Its isolated location proved a factor, particularly the lack of a railroad into the

16 Rev. Paul Hollingshead, interview by the author, 26 May 1977, Morristown, Ohio.

17 Rev. Dr. Robert Gowan Campbell, letter to Rev. Dr. John W. Eicher, New Athens, 9 Sept. 1914, Spring Collection. Williams resigned in Dec. 1900 in order to return full-time to the Presbyterian ministry.

18 *Ibid.*; Henderson to Furbay, 19 June 1916; *The Crescent*, I, 1 (Dec. 1901), 19 (a student monthly publication at Franklin).

19 Kessler, *Hail West Virginians!*, p. 64.

20 Henderson to Furbay, 19 June 1916.

21 *Cadiz Republican*, 20 June 1912.

town.²² Canada's participation in World War I also contributed to the drying up of the once-fertile recruiting ground of Cape Breton.²³ Moreover, a presidential scandal at Franklin raised the eyebrows of parsimonious Nova Scotians. In June 1912, Eugene M. Baxter took over the helm of Franklin. He arrived with great fanfare. Grandiose plans appeared: marked increase of faculty; more curricula, including civil and electrical engineering; new buildings and equipment; moving the college to Steubenville or East Liverpool, Ohio; financial support from Andrew Carnegie; and big-time football to fill the coffers of academe's "New Zion." However, the projects collapsed. Baxter's inordinate absences from New Athens and his questionable handling of the college finances led the trustees to dismiss him.²⁴ His successor, William W. Hughes, tried valiantly to save the institution, changing it to a junior college in 1918, but the situation proved hopeless. Franklin closed in 1921, merging with Muskingum College in 1927.²⁵

All the Nova Scotian graduates of Franklin spoke highly of their alma mater: "The academic atmosphere was excellent";²⁶ "Life was exhilarating in the classroom and enjoyable outside";²⁷ "The small classes appealed to

22 Wallace, "A History of New Athens, Ohio," p. 131.

23 Maud W. Elder, letter to Professor M. Emma Blackwood, New Athens, 17 May 1915, Campbell Collection.

24 Rev. Dr. Robert Gowan Campbell, letter to Mr. R. W. Barricklow, New Athens, 10 July 1912, Campbell Collection; Dr. Thomas M. Sewell, letter to Rev. John J. Stewart, New Athens, 9 July 1914, Spring Collection; *Cadiz Republican*, 23 Apr., 27 Aug., 24 Dec. 1914, 20 Apr. 1916; *The Franklin*, V, 1 (Sept. 1912), 1, and VI, 2 (Oct. 1913), 2; *Franklin College Catalog, 1914*, pp. 32-37, 74; *Franklin College Catalog, 1915*, p. 9.

25 Rev. Dr. Robert Gowan Campbell, letter to Mr. John C. Stiers, New Athens, 14 Aug. 1916, Phillips Collection; *ibid.*, letters to Rev. Dr. William A. Williams, New Athens, 21 June 1918, 12 Sept. 1921, Spring Collection; Rev. Dr. George E. Henderson, letter to Rev. Dr. William A. Williams, New Athens, 29 May 1919, Spring Collection; *Founder's Day, Muskingum College, Ninetieth Anniversary Program and Franklin College Merger, Brown Chapel, Thursday and Friday, March 17th and 18th, 1927*, p. [3]; *Cadiz Democrat Sentinel* (Cadiz, Ohio), 30 May 1918; *Cadiz Republican*, 17 May, 21 June, 30 May 1918; *The Franklin*, IX, 3 (Nov. 1916), 1.

26 MacKay to Ramage, 3 Mar. 1902.

27 Rev. Charles C. MacLean, letter to Mr. William H. Martin, Naples, New York, 13 July 1905, Martin Collection.

me";²⁸ "The religious life in New Athens was fine";²⁹ "Professor Sewell was a gem of a man";³⁰ "I think Dr. [Robert Gowan] Campbell was a great man. He was master in manifold fields--Greek, Latin, Hebrew, German, theology, philosophy, psychology."³¹ In return, the Nova Scotians earned respect. Administrators and faculty viewed them as first-rate students;³² fellow classmates liked them;³³ townspeople had no complaints.³⁴ One citizen remarked, "The Nova Scotians cause no trouble. I wish those chicken-stealing Franklin students would be like them."³⁵

Each of the twenty-three Nova Scotian alumni and one alumna had a successful career. Twenty entered the ministry--fifteen in the Presbyterian Church U.S.A.; three in the United Presbyterian Church; one in the Presbyterian Church of Canada; and one in the Methodist Episcopal Church. The one Nova Scotian alumna, Dolena MacIver, became an educator. Another graduate took up law; a second, medicine; and a third, mining engineering. Interestingly, twenty-three of the twenty-four Nova Scotian graduates of Franklin made their careers in the United States.³⁶ Thus, between 1891 and 1913 twenty-four Nova Scotians attended little Franklin College of New Athens, Ohio. All graduated. All became good citizens.

28 Rev. John W. MacIver, letter to Rev. William L. McCormick, Allegheny, Pennsylvania, 21 Feb. 1912, Martin Collection.

29 Rev. Angus J. McInnis, letter to Professor A. Wadsworth Wallace, Leetonia, Ohio, 21 June 1915, Campbell Collection.

30 Rev. David P. MacQuarrie, letter to Miss Audrey M. Hunt, Pittsburgh, Pa., 9 Jan. 1909, Martin Collection.

31 Rev. Dr. Donald C. MacLeod, letter to Mr. James C. Eaton, Washington, D.C., 11 June 1918, Campbell Collection.

32 Rev. Dr. Alvin M. Campbell, letter to Professor Thomas M. Sewell, Reinbeck, Iowa, 10 May 1916, Phillips Collection; Elder to Blackwood, 17 May 1915.

33 Margaret K. Patton, letter to Rev. Dr. Robert Gowan Campbell, New Athens, 7 Oct. 1913, Campbell Collection; Rev. John W. Witherspoon, letter to Rev. John J. Srodes, Butler, Pennsylvania, 4 Oct. 1921, Spring Collection.

34 Rev. Dr. Newton B. Kelley, letter to Professor Thomas M. Sewell, Washington, Kansas, 24 Aug. 1917, Phillips Collection.

35 Related by R. Barclay Spicer, in letter to Professor A. Wadsworth Wallace, Baltimore, Maryland, 12 Apr. 1921, Campbell Collection.

36 *Franklin College Register*, pp. 73, 96, 115, 117, 118, 119; "Franklin College Class List," in *Muskingum College Alumni Directory 1836-1963*, pp. 314-316; correspondence, files and records in the author's possession.

Appendix						Year of Death
Name	Year of Birth	Birthplace	Degree	Profession	Residence	
Fraser, Charles D.	1876	South Highlands, Inverness County	Ph.B.	Presbyterian Minister	Dalton, OH	1928
Kelley, Dwight S.	1873	Annapolis Royal, Annapolis County	A.B.	Methodist Episcopal Minister	Goshen, OH	
Macaulay, Donald A.		Port Morien, Cape Breton County	L.B.	Mining Engineer		1941
Macaulay, George S.	1879	Glace Bay, Cape Breton County	A.B.	Presbyterian Minister	Roxbury, MA	1948
Macaulay, Peter W.	1888	Glace Bay, Cape Breton County	A.B.	Presbyterian Minister	Cleveland, OH	1969
MacIver, Angus	1877	Cranberry Point, Victoria County	A.B.	Physician	Marysville, OH	1956
MacIver, Dolena	1882	South Cove,	L.B.	Educator	Columbus, OH	1957
MacIver, John W.	1878	Victoria, Victoria County	A.B.	Presbyterian Minister	Allegheny, PA	1954
MacKay, Alexander D.	1870	Lake Ainslie, Inverness County	A.B.	Presbyterian Minister	Reynoldsville, PA	1945
MacLean, Charles C.	1877	Lake Ainslie, Inverness County	A.B.	Presbyterian Minister	Naples, NY	1948
MacLennan, Duncan G.	1886	Grand River, Richmond County	A.B.	Presbyterian Minister	Troy, MO	1954
MacLeod, Donald C.	1869	Lewis Mountain, Inverness County	A.B.	Presbyterian Minister	Washington, D.C.	1942

Appendix (Cont'd.)						
<i>Name</i>	<i>Year of Birth</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Degree</i>	<i>Profession</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Year of Death</i>
MacLeod, Donald W.	1876	North River, Victoria County	Ph.B.	Presbyterian Minister	Columbus, OH	1946
MacLeod, Kenneth E.	1879	Sydney, Cape Breton County	A.B.	Presbyterian Minister	Steubenville, OH	1933
MacPhail, John W.	1870	Medford, Inverness County	B.S.	Presbyterian Minister	Pittsburgh, PA	1922
MacPhail, Malcolm M.	1877	Upper River Denys, Inverness County	A.B.	Presbyterian Minister	Boston, MA	1940
MacQuarrie, David P.	1876	Middle River, Victoria County	A.B.	Presbyterian Minister	Pittsburgh, PA	1943
MacQuarrie, Hector K.	1878	Middle River, Victoria County	Ph.B.	Lawyer	Uniontown, PA	
MacQuarrie, John M.	1887	South Highlands, Inverness County	A.B.	Presbyterian Minister	Albany, NY	1956
MacRury, J. Allison	1877	Port Morien, Cape Breton County	Ph.B.	Presbyterian Minister	Greenlawn, NY	1962
Matheson, Malcolm A.	1879	Little Narrows, Victoria County	Ph.B.	Presbyterian Minister	St. Louis, MO	1937
McInnis, Angus J.	1884	South Cove, Victoria County	A.B.	Presbyterian Minister	Leetonia, OH	1927
Morrison, John N.	1884	Glace Bay, Cape Breton County	A.B.	Presbyterian Minister	St. Louis, MO	1966
Shaw, John A.	1889	Grand River, Richmond County	A.B.	Presbyterian Minister	Folansbee, W.VA	1965

Lord William Campbell, Governor of Nova Scotia, 1766-1773

Francis A. Coghlan

Before the development of a professional class of colonial administrators, the British government filled the ranks of colonial governorships from two sources: one, the placemen who abounded in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century politics; and two, serving officers of the Army or the Navy. There was, of course, overlapping between these two sources, officers on half-pay being eager seekers of the emoluments of public office. The army was the favoured source, moreover, because of the governor's role as commander-in-chief within each colony. As governors, these individuals were responsible for the defence, with inadequate resources, of more than thirty colonies, against the Dutch, the French, the Indians and the Spaniards. On the eve of the American Revolution, several colonies were given native sons as governors, notably Thomas Hutchinson in Massachusetts and John Wentworth in New Hampshire; but Nova Scotia, because of its strategic importance, continued to be governed by officers not on the active service list.

The range of colonial governors in the pre-revolutionary era varied enormously--from the transvestite governor of New York, Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, to the earnest and committed Lord Dunmore of Virginia. Few were as foolish as patriotic Americans later concluded, but there was a natural dichotomy of interests between the imperial government, which regarded colonial affairs unrealistically--for example, the desire to enjoy good relations with the Indians--and the local power élites anxious to advance their economic interests and to expand their political influence. By dexterous use of friends in Parliament and in government, they could frustrate those activities of a governor who did not suit them, a goal which they could also achieve through the elected colonial Assembly.

To assume, however, as Thomas H. Raddall did in his besotted centenary history of Halifax, that a colonial governor such as Lord William Campbell was but a figurehead and that the real power lay in the hands of Michael Francklin, the lieutenant-governor, is nonsense.¹ That there were limitations on the power of any colonial governor is true, but insofar as he was free to work, Campbell governed vigorously and ably. Since his salary was paid by

Dr. Francis A. Coghlan is Professor in the Department of History at the University of New Brunswick, Fredericton.

1 Thomas H. Raddall, *Halifax Warden of the North* (Toronto, 1971 [repr.]), pp. 71, 75.

London, and not by the provincial legislature--as was the case with several other American governors--Campbell at least avoided that embarrassing situation, and exercised such power as that degree of independence conferred.

Born ca. 1730, Campbell was the fourth son of John, fourth Duke of Argyll, Scotland's premier peer. Since 1689 the Argylls had dominated Scottish politics, and Campbell's father was no exception. A longtime member of Parliament, he was one of sixteen elected Scottish peers in the House of Lords; a member of the Privy Council, enjoying easy access to the King; and a minor member of the government. Outside Parliament he was one of the purveyors of influence, in American slang 'a bagman'.

As a younger son, under the English system of primogeniture, William Campbell had to make his own fortune, although he was assisted by his father's influence. Educated in boarding school, he remembered vividly one unfortunate incident, in which he leaped out of a window, misjudged his fall and caught his eye on a railing--an injury which troubled him for the rest of his life. Entering the Royal Navy as a young midshipman in 1745, Campbell sailed in 1752 for India, where he spent eight years contributing to the frustration of French designs on that continent. By his own account, he was active in the taking of Gorina. With insufficient British troops, the British commanders Robert Clive and Eyre Crowe, made use of sailors as part of the land forces; indeed, there was often inter-service rivalry between Clive and Admiral Pocock as to which branch would capture first the forts along the Hugli River.

Campbell was in charge of a naval detachment at the storming of Budge Budge and other forts on the Hugli, during the campaign against the Nawab of Bengal which followed the tragedy of the Black Hole of Calcutta. Although the latter may have been unintentional, it forced the Nawab to ally himself with the French, which made his overthrow imperative for English policy in Clive's view. Campbell was present at the naval action against the Comte D'Aché at the mouth of the Hugli on 23 March 1757, following the capture of Chandernagore. On 23 June 1757, he was participated in the great British victory of Plassy, when a force of 2,800 defeated 60,000--a triumph which determined British control of India for nearly 200 years. In 1759, in another naval battle against the Comte D'Aché in Indian waters, Campbell was wounded. Returning to England, he took part in the unsuccessful attack on Belleisle off the Brittany coast or, as he put it, "successfully covered the

landing." His promotion to Post Captain was gazetted in 1762.²

Following the Belleisle disaster, Campbell was sent to the American station as captain of HMS *Nightingale*. On a visit to South Carolina he fell in love with, and married on 17 April 1763, Sarah Izard, daughter of Richard Izard, one of the wealthiest planters in that province.³ Campbell's active service abruptly halted on the return of peace in 1763, when the postwar reduction of the naval establishment forced junior captains to seek alternative careers. Campbell now turned his attention to politics, which he hoped would advance his interests, either in the senior service or in government. Naturally, he fell into a pocket borough in Parliament, Argyllshire, to which he was elected in 1764.⁴ But an unpaid political career offered no income, and possibly realizing his utter inexperience as a politician, Campbell was amenable to appointment to a colonial governorship, if one were available to be offered.

Campbell's brother-in-law, Henry Conway, was a major figure in British politics in the middle years of the century; when the Marquis of Rockingham took office, on 8 July 1765, Conway was appointed Secretary of State for the Southern Department, the duties of which included administration of the colonies. Conway had been second-in-command of the Army at the attack on Belleisle. After taking office, moreover, Conway immediately moved the successful repeal of the *Stamp Act*, a thorn in the side of British-American relations, and established himself as a strong supporter of American colonial rights. Conway was moved to the Northern Department [Foreign Office] in 1766. He was not happy with the friction of politics, however, and after quarrelling with William Pitt the Elder retired in 1768. One of his last actions as colonial secretary was the pleasant task of securing the appointment of his brother-in-law Campbell to the fortuitously vacant governorship of Nova Scotia, succeeding Colonel Montagu Wilmot, who had died in office in May 1766.

2 Campbell to Viscount Hillsborough, 13 Apr. 1771 [a copy of his list of services submitted to justify either a return home or leave in the south], Colonial Office 217/48/43, Public Record Office (PRO).

3 There are three dates for the marriage. St. Philip's, Charleston Parish registry, gives 17 April 1763, which is undoubtedly correct.

4 *Dictionary of National Biography*, IV, 976-82. In Parliament Campbell was in the news only once, when he dived into the Thames at Henley and saved a servant of Lord Palmerston's from drowning, while he himself was boating with his wife and niece. Given his gallant service record and this example of personal bravery, Campbell would have been regarded as a hero in later times. See *Annual Register*, 31 Aug. 1765.

Lord William Campbell's commission as governor was dated 11 August; it was a speedy appointment, coming only weeks after the news of the vacancy became known. Unquestionably the need to replace a deceased governor in a strategic colonial location speeded up the process, which included the King's personal consent. To increase the sense of urgency, a new lieutenant-governor, Michael Francklin, had also been appointed at the end of July. Francklin, visiting England at the time of his appointment, was an Englishman who had settled in Halifax some dozen years earlier and had rapidly become the community's wealthiest merchant.⁵ Both men had their reasons for hurrying to assume office, Francklin attempting to get an edge on Campbell, while his Lordship was anxious to do his duty as became a former naval officer and to master the intricacies of his new career. As he wrote to Lord Shelburne, the new Secretary of State for the Southern Department, not even his wife's expecting their second child would delay his departure.⁶ His relatively late arrival in Halifax, on 26 November 1766, via HMS *Glasgow*, suggests that either bad weather had delayed the sailing from Milford Haven, or that it had been necessary to await the departure of a Royal Navy vessel from that port, in order to arrive in a manner befitting a newly-appointed royal governor.

Campbell was approximately thirty-six years old and young and vigorous by nature, which were assets in that rather difficult climate. Nova Scotia's eighth governor since the Conquest, Campbell had come to a thinly populated colony, the inheritor of an uneasy relationship with aboriginal Indians and old settlers of French Acadia. Councillor Benjamin Green, the Administrator *pro tempore*, had estimated the population in 1766 as 11,272, of whom 1,159 lived in Cumberland County and 297 at Maugerville in Sunbury County, both being in the northwestern part of the province, which later became New Brunswick; due north, Ile-St-Jean (Prince Edward Island) was virtually unpopulated except for a scattering of refugee Acadians.⁷ Most of the population was thus centred on Halifax, which was dominated by a merchant clique resentful of any undue interference in their management of the colony by a governor, whom they supposed would be either temporary or short-lived.

5 CO 217/44, microfilm, National Archives of Canada (NAC).

6 Campbell to Earl of Shelburne, 27 Feb. 1767, CO 217/45. The child was born in his absence, 7 Sept. 1766.

7 Greene to Henry Conway, 21 Aug. 1766, CO 217/44.

Michael Francklin was able to reach Halifax ahead of Campbell, and pointedly reminded the Earl of Shelburne, that "I gave up the administration" to Campbell.⁸ His purpose was twofold: to assert that he, Francklin, was capable of governing independently and to remind Shelburne of his presence. Campbell, four days later, recounted his swearing-in and ominously remarked that "by virtue of his [Francklin's] great connections in Trade, and very extensive possessions of lands in this Province, [he] has procured from thence, such an overbearing influence as cannot but prove very detrimental in general..." Campbell distrusted Francklin's pre-eminence, which made it possible for the latter to sit as "Judge and Arbitrator in Causes where his own interest is most immediately concerned."⁹ Lord William further pointed out that many of the province's tradesmen and merchants were in debt to Francklin, as were several members of the Council, of which Francklin himself had been a member. As a good Navy man who wished to run a tight ship, and one who had enjoyed for many years the captain's absolute authority, Campbell could not easily share the power of his office. However, with two years of parliamentary experience behind him, Campbell was prepared to get on well with the Assembly, which represented a broader constituency than the Council, dominated as the latter was by the Halifax mercantile élite.

Among Campbell's Royal Instructions was an emphatic order to preserve good relations with the Indians, along with a caution that they must be prevented from any association with the French at St-Pierre et Miquelon; also included was an interdiction on Nova Scotian trade with the last remaining French possession. Another problem facing Campbell was the British government's requirement that the Nova Scotia Legislature pass laws for a two-year period, so that Royal Assent could more conveniently be obtained. The Assembly responded by enacting all laws to expire at the end of two years. Campbell asked London and the Assembly that a suspending clause be added at the end of each act, so that laws could remain in force should the governor and council choose.¹⁰ This request, however, was not granted during Campbell's tenure.

8 Francklin to Shelburne, 1 Dec. 1766, CO 217/44.

9 Campbell to Shelburne, 5 Dec. 1766, CO 217/44.

10 Shelburne to Campbell, 19 Feb. 1767, CO 217/44.

Lord William immediately campaigned for development of Nova Scotia's up-country, which stretched from Cape Breton Island to the interior of the future New Brunswick, and asked for special financial assistance for this purpose. He wanted to use quit rents or revenue from the coalmines to build roads, but this proposal was refused because of the general expense of maintaining the colonies; in Lord Shelburne's view, Nova Scotia already received an ample grant of moneys from Britain.

Campbell continued to urge upon the British government the need for roads. Without them, farmers could not get their produce to market and ended up selling it to shrewd New England traders who then brought part of it into Halifax for sale. Even the proprietors and merchants who lived in Halifax suffered, because they could collect neither "profits arising from the money laid out on their improvements," Nor debts owed them in outlying areas. Campbell wanted to use soldiers to build roads, because their pay was so much less than local labour, and again proposed using income from the coalmines in Cape Breton to pay these road-builders at the rate of a shilling a day.¹¹

Unfortunately Campbell's letter crossed with one from overseas, stating that the government expressly forbade such an initiative. In the opinion of Whitehall, it should be enough to encourage the inhabitants to work hard and "contribute cheerfully" towards the development of agriculture and the fisheries.¹² The notion that any population would pay taxes "cheerfully" could exist only in the impractical mind of a bureaucrat, so naturally nothing came of it.

Campbell had been appointed to a colony which he already knew well from his previous tours of duty as part of the Royal Navy. Early in his tenure, he also expressed his intention of visiting every settlement and township in the province, as well as his conviction of Nova Scotia's superiority to the other American colonies. In his words, Nova Scotia was not only the equal in the "soil and situation it possessed," but it had more Ports of safety for ships of any size than any other province of America and almost at the entrance of those is blessed with those inexhaustible mines of fish, which furnish all

11 Campbell to Shelburne, 21 May 1767, CO 217/44.

12 Shelburne to Campbell, 26 May 1767, CO 217/44.

Europe with that commodity and ought to be the first nursery of seamen to supply...the British Navy." Referring to the disadvantages of frontier settlements "encumbered with a heavy load of debt," Campbell requested special consideration on the part of the home government for this colony, which had always shown "a most noble and submissive obedience," unlike the ungrateful colonies elsewhere. (He was referring to the reluctance of New England and Pennsylvania to support the British effort in the recent war.) Campbell also requested permission to use surplus troops from the Cape Breton garrison, not required for duty, to work the island's coalmines, and he asserted with ardour that such a colliery would not compete with England.¹³ Not easily dissuaded, however, the governor intended that the profits from this venture would be used to build his proposed roads.

Alas, poor Campbell! he did not appreciate the determination of colliery owners in Britain to protect their interests: in the mercantile environment of the day, however, any American product which could compete on the British market was to be suppressed. Vast opportunities for colonial enterprise still remained, but it was nevertheless frustrating when a practical plan such as Campbell's was refused outright, and so little consideration given to the needs of the people involved.

Campbell suffered defeat also at the hands of the entrenched Halifax rum-distilling interests in the person of John Butler and John Fillis, both MHA, when the Assembly, with the governor's support, passed a bill for higher taxes on locally produced rum and lower taxes on imported rum. Campbell apparently thought cheaper rum was desirable and viewed the bill especially as an attempt to break the Butler-Fillis monopoly. Their agent in London, Joshua Mauger, MP, successfully petitioned the Lords of Trade to have the legislation annulled, on the grounds that it would damage Nova Scotia's trade with the West Indies. Campbell was on leave in London at this time and ably defended his view that the Act represented "the united voice of the whole Legislative Assembly of the Province"--but lost the argument regardless, even though the colony needed extra revenue to fund its debt of £28,000.¹⁴

Lord William had returned to England in November 1767, by way of New York, leaving Lieutenant-Governor Franklin in control and not expecting

13 Campbell to Shelburne, 27 Feb. 1976, CO 217/45/167.

14 Campbell to Shelburne, 7 Sept. 1767; Campbell to Viscount Hillsborough, 19 Feb. 1768, CO 217/45.

much business to be transacted during the winter. He had requested leave in order to bring his wife and children back to Halifax, but the opportunity to promote personally the cause of the colony was not lost during his long stay in Britain. Campbell was anxious to make Whitehall aware of the feeble condition of Halifax's defences, which depended on wooden fortifications which had rotted so thoroughly that--had the guns emplaced there been fired--they would have fallen through the platform. He again urged the need for roads in order to develop the colony's economy.¹⁵ While no action was immediately forthcoming on the fortifications, Campbell was successful on his second attempt in obtaining an additional £500 road allotment from HM contingency fund, to be drawn on after the governor's return to Nova Scotia and to be accounted for accurately by voucher; Campbell was successful as well in securing an additional £100 from the same source for presents for the Indians.¹⁶

A voyage of five weeks and four days brought Campbell back to Halifax, where with his wife and children he established a small court around which local high society could congregate. Early in his term of office, Campbell and Francklin had jointly decided to improve the town. Sidewalks were repaired, and Pleasant (Barrington) Street was planked "from the Parade to...the foot of the present Inglis Street"; this walk was for many years known as "The Mall."¹⁷ Campbell--as was usual among his class--loved horse-racing, so he and Richard Bulkeley, Secretary of the province, established a racecourse on the North Common where meetings were held in the spring and autumn.¹⁸ Campbell and Bulkeley also combined forces to try to establish an academy at Windsor, securing the Assembly's consent to use the Cumberland County land reserves for this purpose. Although the initiative was approved the "Seminary" was not launched until 1788, a decade after Campbell's death. Lord William had been attracted to Windsor both as a summer residence and as a suitable venue where the Halifax nabobs might gather. In a memorial to Lord Hillsborough, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies--whose name

15 Campbell to Hillsborough, 19 Feb. 1768, CO 217/45.

16 Hillsborough to Campbell.

17 James S. Macdonald, "Memoir of Lieutenant Governor Michael Francklin, 1733-1782," in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, XVI (1910), 24.

adorns townships and counties from Nova Scotia to Florida--Campbell reiterated his request for a new road which was "to run from Birch Cove near Halifax to Fort Sackville being five miles and is very necessary to be made as thereby communication will be opened with the five townships of Windsor, Newport, Falmouth, Horton and Cornwallis.¹⁹

The colonial government's problem in undertaking inland improvements such as roads stemmed from a decline in the size of the annual grant from London. Whereas in 1760 it had stood at £17,057.8s.9d, it had fallen to £5,703.14s.11d by 1764, when an attempt was made to bring the grant into line with those made to the other colonies. Further reductions were deemed necessary as the home government tried to rescue its finances from the ongoing crisis precipitated by the Seven Years' War. Even so, additional grants of £7,000 in 1765 and £8,008.12s.7d in 1766 were necessary to cover expenses left over from previous years. During Campbell's tenure, the grants fluctuated from £3,895.1.11d, which was the parliamentary grant for the civil establishment of 1768, to £4,911.14s.11d. in 1774.²⁰ However, during his stay in England, Lord William had secured the government's assurance of the additional sums mentioned above, and further assurances that the Nova Scotia Assembly "may rely on His Majesty's Grace and Favour in everything that can be done to promote the happiness and interest of their constituents..."²¹ Campbell asked for the additional money to be sent directly to him--"Otherwise I cannot answer for the proper expenditure thereof..."²² As if to confirm his scepticism, the governor found on his return to Halifax that Franklin had set up an administration for Saint John's Island and had thereby exhausted the colony's contingency fund. Campbell was immediately ordered by Hillsborough to discontinue this unsanctioned expenditure, allowing only a surveyor's account for the Island. Lieutenant-Governor

18 Thomas H. Raddall, *Warden of the North*, pp. 71-73.

19 Campbell to Hillsborough, 7 Mar. 1768, CO 217/45/74.

20 Hillsborough to Franklin, 26 Feb., 1768, CO 217/45; L. H. Gipson, *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*, IX (New York, 1956), 147.

21 Hillsborough to Campbell, 15 June 1768, CO 217/45/61.

22 Campbell to Hillsborough, 9 Mar. 1768, CO 217/45/47.

Francklin was, as a result, in general disfavour with the Colonial Office in London. The governor was nevertheless permitted to complete his contract for Cape Breton coal; no further mining was to be undertaken without the home government's express consent.²³

One of Campbell's continuing concerns during his governorship was the removal of troops from Nova Scotia without his being consulted. The necessity of increasing the garrison at Boston, as a result of unrest there over the stamp duty, resulted in a reduction of garrisons both in the interior of the province and at Halifax itself. Campbell first objected to such measures as the removal of the Annapolis Royal and other peripheral garrisons. Later he was furious when Captain Hyde Parker, of the Royal Navy frigate *Boston*, ordered the removal of the 64th and 65th Regiments to Boston. Although Campbell was personally fond of Parker, the governor had received no notification from General Thomas Gage (the commander-in-chief) or any other senior officer. Campbell believed, moreover, that the Indians were keenly aware of the colony's resulting weakness, because they had become more forceful in demanding provisions. Campbell nevertheless, in the same dispatch, requested increased aid for the Indians, mindful of their distress over the course of a long, bitter winter. He recognized that the colony was expected to become financially independent, but feared the £100 requested for the Indians would be quickly exhausted. Campbell had attended Indian councils, at which time he urged them to become farmers like their "Brethren the English"--and he remained naively optimistic that this advice would be accepted.

The governor was congratulated by Hillsborough for his actions relative to Francklin and the coalmines, but was reminded that Indian affairs were the responsibility of two superintendents, whose jurisdiction covered all the colonies. Sir William Johnson in New York was the appropriate authority, and he had already appointed a deputy for Nova Scotia.²⁴ Campbell was also thanked at this time for a report on affairs in Boston which he had tendered, and which was considered important enough to be presented to the king.

23 Hillsborough to Campbell, 12 Sept. 1768, CO 217/45.

24 Hillsborough to Campbell, 13 May 1769, CO 217/46/101. Removing the garrison from Annapolis made a saving of £611 a year. Hillsborough to Marquis of Granby, 29 July 1769, CO 217/46/131; Campbell to Hillsborough, 18 Apr. 1871, CO 217/48/24; Campbell to Hillsborough, 13 Jan. 1769; Hillsborough to Campbell, 1 Mar. 1769, CO 217/46/24/99.

Since Hillsborough was one of the most violently anti-American of the king's ministers, we may assume that Campbell's report had reinforced his prejudice.²⁵

The desire for a financially self-sufficient colony was backed by the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, who, through their Assembly, had assumed the cost of salaryng two assistant Supreme Court judges and supporting justices of the peace and collectors of impost and excise. The Assembly also supplemented the pay of the Attorney-General and the Treasurer and occasionally voted "premiums" in order to encourage agriculture and the fisheries, as well as supporting various internal improvements.²⁶ It was not enough, however, and for decades the British government continued to subsidize both this and other American colonies. Hence Campbell's frequent appeals, to which Hillsborough remained largely indifferent. So too was the rest of His Majesty's Government, in response to a 1765 request from the Legislature, through Campbell, to increase representation in the Assembly from twenty-four to thirty members, and specifying further increase to forty as new townships were established. The provincial Act for this purpose was disallowed as an infringement on the prerogative, and Campbell was forbidden to assent to any Act of this nature in future.²⁷ Actually the governor showed considerable sympathy for the Assembly, and generally preferred to collaborate with it rather than the Council.

Once securely established in Halifax with his family Campbell made the defences of the town his primary concern: "Since the demolition of Louisburg," he wrote, "Halifax may be looked upon as the northern Key of his Majesty's American Dominions," especially since the Halifax naval dockyard--the only one in the American colonies--had been established. The swift movement of troops to Boston in Commodore Hood's ships had already shown the town's strategic value, as well as saving the government £5,000 in transportation costs.²⁸

25 "Hill Wills," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, IX, 878-79.

26 Gipson, *The British Empire*, IX, p. 147.

27 *Ibid.*, 152.

28 Campbell to Hillsborough, 13 Jan. 1769, CO 217/46/107.

Campbell had the chief engineer of the province, Captain-Lieutenant William Spry, prepare a report in 1768 on the cost of repairing the defences, which concurred with Campbell's own opinion on the necessity for completely rebuilding the fortifications: "all the batteries were decayed and none of them commanded the ship channels because of buildings in the way." The cost would be £5,850, cheaper than the previous plan for periodic maintenance required every five years--submitted by his predecessor, Lieutenant Gothar Mann, in 1766. The report also recommended building an ambitious fortification on Citadel Hill to accommodate 1,200 men and 120 cannon, including provisions for a year's siege; the cost would be approximately £6,000 a year to maintain it, but since Halifax then had "no defence at all," it seemed a reasonable request.²⁹ The chief engineer of Great Britain in turn reported to the Master-General of the Ordnance, the Marquis of Granby, that the defences in Halifax were useless, but that he did not see the point of "works on the Hill behind the town." However, Captain John Brewse of the Ordnance office in London recommended that Spry's report be adopted--although, as former chief engineer in Nova Scotia, Brewse thought that "the harbour was too large to be fortified or adequately defended against a superior naval force..."³⁰

While awaiting London's action on these recommendations Campbell pushed on with his plans to visit the different areas of the colony and to proceed ahead with road construction. Both projects left him out of pocket financially. In order to visit the northern areas of the colony and to conduct surveillance on St-Pierre et Miquelon, the governor was obliged to hire a schooner because all naval vessels were on active service in Boston. That way he could obtain his own intelligence, without relying on Indians and Acadians or smugglers, none of whose accounts were trustworthy. Hillsborough was not impressed; he had not ordered the survey, "and therefore I am at a loss to know how your Lordship will be reimbursed the expense already incurred."³¹ There were indeed no rewards for initiative, but only repeated instances of this type of ominous reply--yet Hillsborough was

29 W. Spry's report, 31 Dec. 1768, CO 217/46/107.

30 Report of W. Skinner, forwarded by the Master General of the Ordnance, 13 Feb. 1770; Report of John Brewse, 9 Jan. 1770, CO 217/47/7-11.

31 Campbell to Hillsborough, 20 Mar. 1769; Hillsborough to Campbell, 7 June 1769, CO 217/46/109.

noted for his lack of both tact and knowledge of human nature. As for the road-building programme, Campbell pushed on with "frugality," but Francklin had already spent £220 of the designated £500, during Campbell's absence in Britain, and the governor subsequently spent £100 of his own money to complete the work. Hillsborough, having already informed Campbell that the contingency article in the parliamentary grant had been discontinued, so that there were no such funds to pay for the hiring of a schooner, now informed him that the same stipulation applied to roads. Furthermore, he could not suggest any means to reimburse Campbell, unless the latter could obtain funds from a lottery authorized by the Assembly.³²

On 9 April 1770, the Assembly having sat for five years, and in Campbell's opinion having become adverse to adopting proper measures to finance and support the government, he dissolved it and called elections.³³ After the new Assembly met in June, Campbell cautiously decided that it was not infected "with that licentious principle" to be found in New England. Although it passed an Act for raising funds for road and bridge construction by means of a lottery, Campbell was dubious about the long-term prospects of this venture.³⁴ Two years later he reported the failure of the scheme to Lord Dartmouth, the newly-appointed Secretary for the Colonies, "for want of the number of adventurers"; nor did the governor expect a new tax to raise the necessary funds. Asking instead for an additional grant of money from Parliament, Campbell informed Dartmouth that the work completed could be destroyed by winter weather, and that failure to build roads forced the farmers to trade with New England, "which commerce is very detrimental to this Province."³⁵ Campbell's request was for nearly £4,800 including £500 for roads and £100 for Jonathan Binney, who had been supervisor of the fishery at Canso for eight years but who had received no recompense other than the salary of a deputy collector of customs. Campbell credited Binney with settling local Acadians on farms or in the fishery and thereby

³² Hillsborough to Campbell, 18 Apr. 1769, CO 217/46/131; 6 Mar., 1770, CO 217/48; 11 Apr. 1770, CO 217/47/21.

³³ Campbell to Hillsborough, 26 Apr. 1770, CO 217/47.

³⁴ Campbell to Hillsborough, 13 June 1770, CO 217/47/48; 5 July 1770, CO 217/47/50-54.

³⁵ Campbell to Earl of Dartmouth, 27 Nov. 1772, CO 217/49/1.

maintaining law and order, as well as protecting the fishery from French incursions. As so often occurred, however, Campbell's request arrived after the annual estimates had been presented to Parliament; consequently, Dartmouth rightly expressed little hope for these extra sums being granted.³⁶

Among the frustrations of colonial administration at this time, the failure of both colonial legislatures and imperial government to finance development appeared the most detrimental. Surely nothing could be more reasonable than defence, but repeatedly the colonial governors were warned not to expend money without London's prior consent, which was but grudgingly given. Campbell was alerted to possible dangers from Spain or France, especially when Spain seized the Falkland Islands in 1770. Since Halifax itself seemed at risk, the governor held a council-of-war, at which it was decided that the batteries on the eastern and western shores of Halifax Harbour and on George's Island be put in immediate readiness. Six thousand fascines were built for that purpose and new gun-carriages ordered, as well as an entrenchment on Citadel Hill; the cost was estimated to be £913.³⁷ Once again Hillsborough sent a cautionary letter, requiring that Campbell obtain the prior approval of the commander-in-chief of the Army for such improvements. Campbell mistakenly took this to mean General Gage, commanding in North America, and delightedly informed the Secretary of State that Gage had "expressly recommended these measures."³⁸ Similarly frustrating was Campbell's attempt to prevent smuggling in the northern part of the province. He recommended the stationing of armed schooners to patrol the area from Canso to the Bay of Chaleur. Campbell also hoped as an incidental benefit to be able to report accurately on the quantities of fish taken and dried, which he believed to be equal to that of Newfoundland. Hillsborough, however, poured cold water on the scheme asking for details of the contraband trade rather than approving direct action. Smuggling traffic with the French islands of St-Pierre et Miquelon was a perennial problem, but Hillsborough seemed unaware that Campbell's instructions at the commencement of his governorship had included one article specifically

³⁶ Dartmouth to Campbell, 3 Feb. 1773, CO 217/49/15.

³⁷ Campbell to Hillsborough, 6 Apr. 1771, CO 217/48/33; 8 Apr. 1771, CO 217/48/27.

³⁸ Campbell to Hillsborough, 16 Sept. 1771, CO 217/48/63.

ordering him to prevent commercial intercourse and trade between Indians and Nova Scotians, and the French outpost. Campbell's attempts to enforce this policy became increasingly futile thanks to the withdrawal of Royal Navy vessels southward.³⁹

Another thorny issue was the distribution of land. The Surveyor-General of the King's Woods was John Wentworth, governor of New Hampshire. Hillsborough delivered a royal command that no more land was to be granted in Nova Scotia until Wentworth or a deputy had surveyed the area in question.⁴⁰ Campbell protested on several occasions that without a resident surveyor, land grants took too long to process and that would-be-settlers, discouraged, sought other colonies where procedures were less byzantine. Campbell was not informed that Hillsborough had appointed a deputy surveyor for Nova Scotia and the Massachusetts Bay colony--a Mr. Scamwell who, with the quirkiness of human nature, chose to reside in Boston. So the governor was moved to complain again to Hillsborough in 1772, when replying to the latter's proposal that some able emigrants from the Orkney Islands be settled in the Miramichi and at Caraquet: "There is," he wrote,

no surveyor of woods, in this Province, nor any Deputy, nor has it in any manner been signified to me what Tracts of Land have been surveyed by him; nor indeed, have I any knowledge of any such officer, or of any of his proceedings, except what I have received from your Lordship; that therefore I have it not in my power to attend to any proposals for the settlement of lands, let the persons be ever so capable.⁴¹

The governor furthermore objected to the policy of permitting the deputy to reside outside the province, and reminded Hillsborough that several proposals for settlement could not be sustained because of the delays in passing grants. Since Campbell had been on leave in Boston for several months in order to recoup his health, when he wrote these words, one wonders why he could not have obtained more information directly from Scamwell or Wentworth. The truth was that neither of them had pursued the

39 Campbell to Hillsborough, 1 Oct. 1772, CO 217/48/140-414; Hillsborough to Campbell, 9 Dec. 1772, CO 217/48/142; Royal Instructions to the Governor of Nova Scotia, 19 Feb. 1767, CO 217/44.

40 Hillsborough to Campbell, 3 July 1772, CO 217/48/130-131.

41 Campbell to Hillsborough, 14 July 1772, CO 217/48/130-131.

survey with the vigour required or expected. Not only was settlement thus artificially restricted, but Campbell also informed London that he could not reserve appropriate timberlands for the Royal Navy, as he was obliged to do. This problem would not be resolved until after the American Revolution, by which time it was particularly urgent, given the loss of the Georgia and South Carolina naval timber reserves.

Campbell also attempted to force the payment of quit-rents on granted land by taking action in the Court of Escheats and Forfeitures. Hillsborough refused to authorize this process, however, and suggested instead that the sale of land by auction would be a productive source of revenue for the colony⁴²--to which the governor replied that it would, in fact, produce little: "100,000 acres of wild land would bring £400 and if auctioned the buyers would form a combination to force the prices down, which would produce less than the previously mentioned sum."⁴³

Campbell's wounds acquired on active service in the Navy, and the trouble with his eyes exacerbated by the cold climate, led him to seek leave on several occasions, so that he could consult better doctors than those available in Halifax. Not long after his leave in England in 1768, Campbell spent a further month in Boston--for which Hillsborough reprimanded him for being absent without leave from the colony. Campbell neatly quoted back to the Secretary of State the Royal Instructions to him as governor which forbade his returning to Europe without HMG's express permission--but which made no mention of visiting adjoining colonies without special leave. When Campbell requested sick leave in 1771 it was granted--but only for Boston, where he remained from October until the following July. During Campbell's absence, his duties fell mainly to the senior councillor, treasurer Benjamin Green. Michael Francklin was again in England, but was ordered by Hillsborough on 3 December to return home. Francklin, however, did not reach Halifax until 2 June 1772, and since Campbell himself returned on 10 July it was not a long period.⁴⁴ Campbell's absences were not remarkable in a colony of such small population where little occurred--especially during the

⁴² Hillsborough to The Lords of the Treasury, 13 July 1771, CO 217/48/55.

⁴³ Campbell to Hillsborough, 16 Sept. 1771, CO 217/48/63.

⁴⁴ Campbell to Hillsborough, 13 Apr. 1771, CO 217/48/41; Benjamin Green to Hillsborough, 18 Oct. 1771, CO 217/48/76; Hillsborough to Francklin, 3 Dec. 1771, CO 217/48/78.

winter--which would require immediate action in peacetime. His record compares favourably with those of other governors of the period.

Another notable event of Campbell's governorship involved the loss of HMS *Granby* on Sambro Ledge off Halifax in 1771. This catastrophe required immediate action by the governor. Commodore James Gambier, commander-in-chief of the North American station, wrote bitterly of the loss of three petty officers, twelve seamen, the master--whose knowledge of the coast was excellent--and the best pilot in the area. Local fishermen looted the wreck, which went ashore on the beach, although £2,000 of the £2,700 on board was recovered; all other stores were lost. Gambier blamed the disaster on the inadequacy of the Sambro lighthouse, "which served no other purpose than the shameful one of putting money in the pockets of a nominee of the governor's, who has long acted with the most bare faced collusion, to the great danger of His Majesty's service."⁴⁵ It was asserted that in this instance there was no light, and "the captains of His Majesty's Ships are frequently obliged to fire at the Lighthouse to make them show a light..." Masters of merchant vessels were furthermore reported to have complained about being forced to contribute to a service which did not benefit them, and which in any case was supposed to be paid for by the government.⁴⁶

King George III, industrious as ever, read Gambier's report and ordered a "strict enquiry" to be held at a Council meeting in Halifax, with all Royal Navy captains then present in the Harbour required to attend. Lord Hillsborough added that "those who are guilty should be made public example of."⁴⁷ The dispatch does not suggest, however, that the latter attributed blame to Campbell, who quickly defended himself against Gambier's insinuation concerning his appointee as lighthouse-keeper. After describing the lighthouse, Campbell informed Hillsborough of the financial arrangements: the contractor charged a fee for "measuring" (i.e., surveying) merchant vessels, and from this income paid for the oil, a pilot and two attendants who were supposed to fire signal-guns; there was little or no profit to be made out of the contract. (Campbell estimated £40 a year, but out of

45 Gambier to Philip Stephens, 12 May 1771, CO 217/48, 35.

46 Earl of Sandwich to Hillsborough, 20 June 1771.

47 Hillsborough to Campbell, 3 July 1771, CO 217/48/45.

this came wages for the pilot and the two assistants.)⁴⁸

The Council met on 27 September 1771, Gambier being present for the occasion, and decided that his complaints were well-founded; the attendants were careless, bad oil was used--so that smoke from the lantern obscured the light--and the illumination created was too dim for the location, which was an often fog-bound coast. Council resolved to improve the light, but asked Gambier to intercede for more funds from the home government.⁴⁹ Three weeks later, Campbell wrote London to confirm that improvements had already been made and new regulations were being developed for management of the light, as proposed by the Council.⁵⁰

That Campbell was not wanting in humanity was proven by the support which he tendered to a plan developed by the Roman Catholic missionary, Charles-François Bailly de Messein, to move a considerable number of Indians into a township near Halifax, in order to improve their situation; it is true nevertheless that he also considered this project to be a useful 'pacification measure' for Europeanizing the aboriginal population. Campbell also tried to secure special grants of money or salaries for several deserving persons, including Bailly; the widow of the Church of England missionary, Jean-Baptiste Moreau, the pastor of Lunenburg; and the widow of Benjamin Green. Hillsborough promised to support all these individuals, but in the case of the Indians, Campbell's request was approved subject to the resettlement being accomplished without expense to the government.⁵¹

Another public servant indebted to Campbell was Captain Arthur Goold, who gave up his salary and emoluments as a Captain of Marines to serve as registrar of the colony; since this involved a reduction in pay, Campbell recommended Goold to the king and also appointed him as Benjamin Green's successor on the Council.⁵²

For a variety of reasons, which probably included the education of his son,

48 Campbell to Hillsborough, 28 Sept. 1771, CO 217/48/68-9.

49 Report of the Council of Nova Scotia, 27 Sept. 1771, CO 217/48/70.

50 Campbell to Hillsborough, 16 Oct. 1771, CO 217/48/72.

51 Campbell to Hillsborough, 22 Dec. 1770, CO 217/47; Hillsborough to Campbell, 4 May 1771; Dartmouth to Campbell, 3 Feb. 1773, CO 217/49/15.

52 Campbell to Hillsborough, 1 June 1769; CO 217/46/146; Hillsborough to Campbell, 18 Jan. 1770, CO 217/47/1; Campbell to Dartmouth, 26 Oct. 1772, CO 217/48/148.

his own indifferent health and his wife's desire to move back to her native South Carolina--or, failing that, to England--Campbell applied for leave to return overseas. He intimated as late as September 1772 that he hoped to stay in Nova Scotia, "so long as his Majesty" was pleased to continue him there, but he emphasized that his health required treatment in Europe--in spite of the improvement which followed his sojourn in Boston. Both Hillsborough and Dartmouth pointed out that he could not return to Europe without resigning his post; permission to return was given, but he was not to use it unless he resigned.⁵³ The governorship of South Carolina, however, which Campbell had long sought, became vacant in 1773, and Campbell was appointed to it on 10 June.

Before leaving Nova Scotia Campbell applied for several land grants, including the site of the fort at Windsor, and fifteen acres on the Halifax peninsula. Then in August 1773 he reserved 400 acres in Cumberland Township and sent a further memorial requesting that Grand Manan Island be reserved to him pending royal approval. The Council concurred in all of these grants.⁵⁴ Campbell's motivation for the land-grab is unknown, but it seemed to indicate both confidence in the colony's future and perhaps even a desire to become involved in land speculation on a modest scale; he may even have contemplated spending his summers in Nova Scotia.

Francis-J. Audet has written of Lord William Campbell, "His seven years' governorship in Nova Scotia were uneventful."⁵⁵ Nevertheless, he governed honestly and justly and--sometimes at his own expense--tried earnestly to develop the resources and encourage settlement of the province. He improved not only roads but also the appearance and the defences of Halifax, and he left the colony both prosperous and peaceful. He knew that with more liberal funding, there was much which could be done. Furthermore, he was governor during the erection of the first public buildings in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island--symbolically a church, a court-house and a jail in that order,

53 Dartmouth to Campbell, 4 Nov. 1772, CO 217/48/136; Hillsborough to Campbell, 9 Dec. 1772, CO 217/48/142.

54 Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova-Scotia, or Acadie*, (Halifax, 1866), II, 510.

55 Francis-J. Audet, *Governors, Lieutenant Governors and Administrators of Nova Scotia, 1604-1932* [typescript, n. d.], p. 66. See also John Bartlet Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia* (New York, 1937), *passim*.

so that he presided over the establishment of civil government in that future province. His concern for education would ultimately bear fruit in King's College, and most of his public works goals would also be met. Statues have been erected to honour men who have done less for their country. Campbell's career in South Carolina was brief and unsuccessful, terminated as it was by the Revolution, which cut short his own life: he was wounded yet again as a volunteer in the siege of Charleston in 1776. Once again, as in Nova Scotia, Campbell was correct in his military and political diagnoses of the American situation. Sadly, it was too late to cure the political malaise which engulfed him. In normal times, Campbell's term as governor in South Carolina would have been a happy culmination to a distinguished career, for his sense of fair play led him to ask for concessions to that colony as he had done in Nova Scotia, and his fondness for and kindship with Americans would have reinforced his just and honest conduct of the colonial government.

“There is no doubt of my Cape Breton allegiance”: Remembering Father R. J. MacSween

Kenneth Donovan

The Reverend Roderick Joseph MacSween, 1915–1990

In his latest book, *Paradise: Essays on Myth, Art and Reality* (1992), the eminent Canadian author and critic Louis Dudek has high praise for the late Father R. J. MacSween, describing him as

a poet of real power and conviction. In his four published books during his lifetime, *The Forgotten World* (1971), *Double Shadows* (1973), *The Secret City* (1977), and *Called from Darkness* (1984), there are poems far more beautiful, more finished, than any other poet in Canada—I say any other poet—has written in this time....R. J. MacSween, in his small corner in Nova Scotia, quite neglected and passed by in his lifetime, alone has a classical strength of thought, and a tragic dimension, that make for a higher formal poetry....And his own unconsciousness of his merits only adds to the power of his words. He is our Gerard Hopkins, our Emily Dickinson, our Thomas Hardy, all rolled into one. And he is better than modernist, for being just a touch of pre-modern; and also perhaps somewhat indebted to Ezra Pound....

There is nothing trivial about MacSween's poetry. It is directed toward ultimate things, toward the great mysteries of life and death, entangled in the human and the everyday. One cannot live with such poetry without being gradually raised to its own level of concern, being transformed by the poet's quiet questioning and probing mind, as one dwells on one poem or another from day to day.

Like many students who attended St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, I first met Father Rod through his Modern Poetry course. Coming from Ingonish in northern Cape Breton, I can still recall fellow Ingonisher Barry Whitty insisting in September 1969 that I take English 350. Why not, I thought. Entering my third year of university, I was working towards an honours degree in history. To my delight, I soon discovered that MacSween's Modern Poetry (encompassing both Modern British and American Poetry, as well as the Short Story) was not merely another English course. The professor was, furthermore, a force to be reckoned with. Over six feet tall and weighing three hundred pounds, Father Rod was an imposing figure who had a commanding presence. He also possessed a searing wit to match his immense girth.

Kenneth Donovan is an historian at Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site and a member of the Department of Humanities at the University College of Cape Breton. His latest work includes a contribution to *Louisbourg: An Eighteenth-Century Town* (Nimbus, 1991).

1 Louis Dudek, "In the Tragic Mode: The Poetry of R. J. MacSween," in Louis Dudek, *Paradise: Essays on Myth, Art, and Reality* (Montreal, 1992), pp. 102–103.



Father R.J. MacSween. Sketch by Anna Syperek, courtesy *The Antigonish Review*.

No one wanted to be the butt of that wit. Coming from a small community and having entered university from Grade Eleven, I was only nineteen, shy and retiring, and still working on developing a measure of self-confidence. Sitting near the back of the class with Lawrence Barron and Neil DeCoff, the three of us generally kept a low profile, only answering questions when called upon. With over thirty people in the room, it was relatively easy to remain discreet. In our class that year, there was a tall and vivacious female basketball player--Dianne Orsini from Welland, Ontario--who inadvertently arrived late for class a few times. She was 'marked' for the rest of the year with the MacSween wit, singled out for being too tall, a high scorer, part of the losing or winning team from the previous game, etc.

The teasing, the repartee, the long pause and the eloquent gestures were always tempered, however, with an impish sense of humour: "I don't know if anybody realizes how much fun I get out of a class," noted Father MacSween; "In fact it's the nearest thing to a Charlie Chaplin show. We do so much laughing...."² Father Rod did not get the nickname 'Moonbeam' for nothing. A consummate showman in class, he had been teaching for twenty-two years when I met him in 1969 and, at age fifty-five was just approaching the height of his intellectual prowess. He founded the *Antigonish Review* in the following year (1970). Bristling with laughter and good will, MacSween created, in his Modern Poetry, a course which was a delight, something to look forward to with keen anticipation, because the class was so entertaining. Most memorable for me, though, was the sheer love of poetry that he inspired in those of us willing to listen and reply to his challenge.

In a perceptive and articulate fashion, Father Rod's undergraduates were guided with a steady hand through the interpretations of scores of poets and authors spanning the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Encouraging participation from students, he then challenged us to develop and defend our own perspectives on what we had read. It has been estimated that Father MacSween taught and counselled upwards of 10,000 students between 1948 and his retirement in 1983. Yet he never tired of the classroom, despite the fact that he never once, during his thirty-five years at St. F.X., took sabbatical leave. His passion for teaching reflected his love for people and his intense

2 Patrick Walsh, "R. J. MacSween in Conversation with Patrick Walsh," in *The Antigonish Review*, 87-88 (Fall 1991-Winter 1992), 247 (article originally publ. 1980). This double issue of *The Antigonish Review* was dedicated to an examination and celebration of R. J. MacSween's life within the Canadian cultural community.

desire to pass on his knowledge to his students. Father Rod's reading of Gerard Manley Hopkins's "The Wreck of the Deutschland," John Keats's "Ode on a Grecian Urn," and T. S. Eliot's "The Wasteland" stand out in my memory; and his class remains one of the highlights of my nine years in university. When I told him this in the mid-1980s, he was touched and thanked me for such kind words. Obviously, his long and distinguished teaching record meant a great deal to him.

After graduation from St. F.X. in 1971, I went on for graduate work in history at the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton and at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario; eventually, I was hired as an historian at the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park. Devoting full-time effort to research and writing, I was finally ensconced in my beloved Cape Breton, where I also taught history part-time at the (then) College of Cape Breton. I did not meet Father MacSween again until 1982, when my brother Stewart returned from Ireland. Father Rod had been Stewart's mentor at St. F.X. and they maintained close contact as Stewart pursued graduate studies in literature at the University of Ottawa and at University College, Dublin. Upon returning to Canada, Stewart became a reporter at *The Casket* in Antigonish, and was eventually hired as a lecturer in the English department at St. F.X. The stage was now set for my years of friendship with R. J. MacSween.

Having remained generally quiet in English 350, and not having seen Father Rod in twelve years, I doubted if he would remember me. Before our first meeting, I casually remarked to Stewart (in confidence) that "MacSween wouldn't know me from a hole in the ground." My brother immediately mentioned this to MacSween, of course, and for the next two or three years I was treated to the wry humour of Father, who invariably greeted me with the salutation "Hello, 'hole in the ground,'" always followed by a big grin. Over the next eight years, until his death in 1990, I was fortunate to share a warm personal relationship with this man of such great erudition. I was, of course, only one among his thousands of friends; nevertheless, before long our acquaintanceship developed special dimensions. Father MacSween came regularly to our home for discussions and spent parts of his summer holidays together with my family. I consider myself fortunate indeed to have shared such a friendship.

During the initial years we had many energetic debates, as well as occasional arguments on various topics. Upon reflection, there was little room for 'small talk' in our conversations, at least in the first few years. This was because I would prepare for these social occasions by reading three or four books on a particular subject, in an attempt to get 'primed' for our ensuing discussions. Such efforts on my part were usually futile in any debate with Father Rod, because he had such a broad intellectual repertoire to draw upon. He could undermine virtually any argument with humour--a devastating manoeuvre, particularly because it usually appeared when one least expected it.

Although we had little time for 'small talk', Father MacSween was nevertheless a remarkable conversationalist who could speak with people on any level. He had a genuine concern for others and a willingness to help those in distress. Sister Margaret MacDonnell, former chair of the Celtic Studies Department at St. F.X., recently reminisced that Father Rod served as chaplain for women students at Mount Saint Bernard College (on the St. Francis Xavier campus) for over three decades. "Until recent years," she wrote, "he would return to his office at the Mount in the evening for an hour or two to be available to those who chose to drop in for a visit, to seek aid with an assignment, to chat, or to have their handwriting analysed. It was a way to open dialogue that inevitably ensued."³ It was also an approach which invariably 'worked.'

One of our earliest and ongoing philosophical discussions focussed on "The Study of Literature as an Élitist Preoccupation." Father MacSween argued that such was the case because, prior to widespread education in the twentieth century, most people's lives were mundane and ordinary, hardly worth the effort of scholarly investigation. Invariably, people were preoccupied with putting enough food on the table and raising their families. My perspective--that of the historian--was opposed to MacSween's literary one. Adopting the methodology of the 'Annales School,' the new social history of the 1970s attempted to explore the lives of the poor and the inarticulate. Utilizing such data as vital statistics, probate records, land transactions and court records, this new scholarship recognized the central role of the family in moulding society. By producing microstudies on local communities, the methodology could be applied to Louisbourg and to other

3 Margaret MacDonnell, "Father MacSween at Mount St. Bernard," in *ibid.*, p. 292.

early communities throughout the western world.

This discussion concerning the merits of studying the ordinary person went to the heart of my relationship with Father MacSween. He had devoted most of his life to analyzing the literature of the masters; I had spent much of my adult life examining the 'ordinary people' of the new social history. Moreover, I argued strenuously that St. Francis Xavier University, with few exceptions, had ignored the history of Cape Breton--where most of its students had come from since the late 1850s. The province of Nova Scotia, with a current population of 887,000 people, has fourteen degree-granting institutions; Cape Breton Island, with 177,000 people, did not receive one until 1982. Previously, Cape Bretoners seeking university degrees had to leave the Island and few were encouraged to study their history.

Such opinions were not taken lightly by Father Rod. As for the academic world, he saw little indication of dedicated cultural activism within that community; moreover, he had little patience for those who taught from September to April and then took the remaining four months off. "Don't go to universities to find people to get things done in the community," he remarked to me on more than one occasion. At the time, I had some difficulty appreciating such a perspective. Yet with hindsight it makes sense: here was further proof of a man of high standards, perception and self-discipline, one who could speak to almost any conceivable topic. His sharp wit and intellect intimidated intellectual lightweights in the university community: he could cut to the quick and detect pretentiousness in a flash. Consequently, MacSween could and did make enemies, especially among insecure colleagues.

Gradually, my dialogue with Father MacSween outgrew that of student and professor. As an aspiring scholar involved in the Louisbourg project, I began to publish widely in historical journals throughout the United States and Canada. In this progression, I was not alone; using the resources of over a million pages of documentation gathered in France and England during the 1960s, plus an excellent library focusing on eighteenth-century Europe and North America, the 'Louisbourg School' of historiography began to emerge.

Christopher Moore produced his award-winning *Louisbourg Portraits* (1982); A.J.B. Johnston's *Religion in Life at Louisbourg* and B.A. Balcom's *The Cod Fishery of Ile Royale* appeared two years later. In 1985 I edited *Cape Breton at 200: Historical Essays in Honour of the Island's Bicentennial 1785-1985*, the first collection of original historical essays to be published on Cape Breton. This was followed by Debra McNabb and Lewis Parker's *Old Sydney Town: Historic Buildings of the North End, 1785-1938* (1986). I had helped to guide this latter work through the research and publication process and was gratified when the book won a number of juried prizes, including an international award. In 1987 the social and economic history of eighteenth-century Cape Breton was featured in the *Historical Atlas of Canada*. These publications were accompanied by dozens of shorter articles in historical journals, on topics ranging from astronomy and family life to class and social structure in early Cape Breton.⁴

With his inquisitive mind and insatiable quest for learning, Father Rod devoured this new material delineating the eighteenth-century Cape Breton experience. He queried me extensively on such diverse historical research topics as music, dining and drinking, games and gaming, and slavery. It fascinated him that his homeland was now being presented from an intellectual perspective. It was exciting indeed to have someone of his stature interested in this work. Drawing upon his wisdom and wide experience, he urged a more reflective look at the primary evidence and emphasized the search for a broader context.

Father Rod was proud of his Island heritage: "There is no doubt of my Cape Breton allegiance," he wrote recently; "My early years have given me an indelible stamp, and no span of time away from Cape Breton could ever erase it."⁵ Yet in his published work, he devoted little attention to this background. Of his more than one hundred reviews and essays and his six books, only the novel, *Furiously Wrinkled* (1976), is located in Cape Breton. Could it be that this man of profound learning was too preoccupied with the world of literature to be concerned with his own relatively modest

4 For a listing of historical works published on Cape Breton, 1980-1989, see Kenneth Donovan, ed., *Cape Breton at 200: Historical Essays in Honour of the Island's Bicentennial 1785-1985* (Sydney, 1985), pp. 247-261; and Kenneth Donovan, ed., *The Island: New Perspectives on Cape Breton History 1713-1990* (Fredericton and Sydney, 1990), pp. 299-325.

5 Lesley Choyce, ed., *The Cape Breton Collection* (Porter's Lake, N.S., 1983), p. 122.

background? I thought so, but did not dare to voice my suspicions. In any event, Father MacSween would have been neither convinced nor perturbed by such a suggestion.

For me, these later meetings with Father Rod were passionate encounters, a form of intellectual feast and fermentation. I remember especially our last meeting, in April 1990. I had just completed two essays on Cape Breton culture. The first, "May Learning Flourish": the Beginning of a Cultural Awakening in Cape Breton during the 1840s," documented the extent of the Island's intellectual development in the first half of the nineteenth century. Relying on material from a newly discovered contemporaneous newspaper, *The Spirit of the Times*, and on other supplementary evidence, the article demonstrated a gradual development of cultural institutions--schools, churches, libraries, agricultural and literary societies, newspapers, books and pamphlets--in Cape Breton from 1820 to 1850. The second essay, "Reflections on Cape Breton Culture," was a wide-ranging piece examining Island culture over the past three centuries, especially the development of music, dance, theatre, literature, crafts and the visual arts. Considerable attention was also devoted to Cape Breton's cultural revival over the past thirty years. Father MacSween and I, over the course of several previous meetings, had discussed the contents of these two articles during their formative stages. Upon reading the completed work, including the second article--in which he himself was featured--Father Rod judged them to be "good material" and urged me to press on. In December 1990 the articles were published as part of a new book which I edited, entitled *The Island: New Perspectives on Cape Breton History 1713-1990*.

Meanwhile, as I worked to incorporate into the second essay the role of the visual arts in Cape Breton, Father MacSween thought that I should mention the work of Christine MacKinnon. During our last meeting in April 1990, he mentioned that MacKinnon had once sketched a portrait of his own grandfather, George Nicholson (1840-1932), and that this portrait was still hanging in the family home in North Sydney. Father MacSween had fond memories of this man. Having moved in 1919 from Ironville, on the Bras d'Or Lake, the MacSweens remained briefly in Grandfather Nicholson's

house until they were able to establish themselves in Glace Bay. Though only four at the time, Father Rod could recall how his grandfather swept him up in his arms and gave him a big warm hug. An accomplished carpenter and woodworker, George Nicholson also played the violin.

Married in 1876, George and Catherine (Johnstone) Nicholson reared six children, including Mary Jessie--Father MacSween's mother--and Patrick, who eventually served as President of St. Francis Xavier University from 1944 to 1954. It was he who encouraged his nephews Rod and Mike to enter the priesthood. And it was Pat Nicholson who, upon discovering how well-read his nephew Rod MacSween was, urged him to come to St. F.X. in 1948. Father MacSween, however, recalled his arrival from a slightly different perspective:

I think Dr. Nicholson picked me because of my library. He'd come down to where I was staying and looked at my books, at a time when I was only a young priest. There was a look of envy in his eye. I'm serious. I think he believed that my books should be up at St. F.X., not down in New Waterford, where they were. So, he just figured out some way of getting them up here. He concluded that I had to go along. He used to come into my room, again and again, and walk around looking at my books. Then he told a friend of mine that a man with such a library should be up at St. F.X.⁶

After learning about the existence of the MacKinnon sketch, I went with Father MacSween the following day to North Sydney to visit Mary Gillis, a granddaughter of George and Catherine Nicholson and the present owner of the family home. There on the kitchen wall was the portrait; composed on a brown paper bag in 1924, the sketch was a mixed medium of pencil and charcoal. I included that sketch, along with one of Father MacSween's poems, in *The Island*, published in December 1990; sadly, he did not live to see it.

I have since learned a good deal about the artist Christine MacKinnon, and have come to view her life and work as emblematic both of my special relationship with Father MacSween, and of his with Cape Breton. A first cousin to MacSween, Christy Rosalie MacKinnon was born in Beaver Cove on 28 October 1889, the daughter of Joseph D. and Mary (Johnston) MacKinnon. One of twenty-one children, she lost her hearing at the age of two, the result of

⁶ Walsh, "MacSween in Conversation," p. 235. Father MacSween left a library of over 15,000 volumes to St. Francis Xavier University, and it has been estimated that he also gave another 10,000 books to the library, to students, and to friends during his forty-six years in Antigonish.

contracting either scarlet fever or mumps. She received her early education under the tutelage of her father, the local school teacher, eventually known as 'Professor' John D. MacKinnon. Alexander Graham Bell, from his summer residence across the water from Christy's home at Beaver Cove, took an interest in Christy and her sister Sadie, who was also deaf due to the epidemic of 1891. Bell visited the children in their home in 1897 and Joseph MacKinnon also took his daughters over to Bell's estate, 'Beinn Bhreagh.'

Partly through the influence of Bell, Christy moved to Halifax in 1900 where she enrolled in the School for the Deaf and graduated in 1908. An early affection for art was nurtured by her family and those responsible for her schooling. In view of her emerging artistic talent, Christy was accepted to study at the Victoria School of Art and Design (where training coincided with her academic program at the School for the Deaf).

In 1912, Christy travelled to the United States on a scholarship to study at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, where she graduated in 1915 with a concentration in drawing and portrait painting. After graduation, Christy moved to New York City where she resided until 1919. There she continued her studies, freelancing as an illustrator and working in an art shop. In 1918 she enlisted in the War Work for Women unit of Barnard College, a predecessor of the Women's Land Army.

While in New York, Christy occasionally returned home to visit her family at Beaver Cove. On 25 July 1917 she paid a visit to Alexander Graham Bell at his summer retreat. Bell wrote:

Yesterday we received a visit from Miss Christine MacKinnon. She was accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. MacKinnon of Alberta (her brother and sister-in-law) and by two young men (cousins) also MacKinnons... . Christine MacKinnon turned out to be the best pupil of the Halifax School for the Deaf. She reads the lips well and talks quite intelligibly. Her defects of speech seem to result more from the unphonetical nature of our alphabet than from any difficulty in pronouncing the elements of speech. She is an artist and is now supporting herself in New York. She is spending the summer vacation with her people at Beaver's Cove, C.B. I have given her an order for a picture story, *Cinderella*, to be told in pictures without words--simply a series of pen and ink sketches.⁷

Three years after visiting Bell, Christy returned to Canada and taught at

⁷ Alexander Graham Bell Papers, Horne Notes, 26 July 1917, in Vol. 105, p.16; Alexander Graham Bell National Historic Site, Baddeck, Nova Scotia.



Christine Rosalie MacKinnon (1889–1981), courtesy David Cadegan MacLennan.

the Halifax School for the Deaf from 1920 until her marriage in 1928 to John Maxcy, a painter from Blissville, Long Island, who was also deaf. For the next twenty years she worked in New York as a professional artist with the F.A.O. Schwarz toy company. After the death of her husband in 1952, Christy retired to Massachusetts with her sister Sadie, and there she continued to record in art and writing the life of a child who was deaf at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Since my last meeting with Father MacSween in April 1990, I have discovered almost five hundred of Christy MacKinnon's sketches, paintings and drawings, scattered among the homes of her relatives in Sydney Mines, Antigonish and Boston. The majority of her extant work portrays growing up in the Beaver Cove area from the 1890s to the 1920s. Her work is a celebration of the joys of rural life. Subsequent research will place MacKinnon's artistic endeavours in the broader context of women artists who came from Cape Breton. Virtually all of those coming from the Island during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were formally trained, the daughters of the financial and social élite. Sent to Europe, central Canada or the United States to study in art schools or under private tutors, many of these young women became accomplished artists. Although talented, Christy MacKinnon was hardly typical, since she was deaf and came from a modest background. Like so many young women who migrated from Atlantic Canada to New England at the turn of the century, she fondly remembered her homelife. There is little doubt that Christy's deafness heightened her perceptive awareness and this is evident in her art. Her paintings are delightful: they have a heart-warming quality reflecting the love of family, the beauty of everyday life, and the strong sense of place conferred by growing up in Beaver Cove and the Boisdale area.

I dedicate this research on Christy MacKinnon to the memory of Father MacSween and our last meeting. He would, I think, be pleased. It is my further hope that, in some small way, I have touched the life of this remarkable man. In 1988-89 Father Rod published twenty-two articles in *The Casket*, describing his recollections of life in Cape Breton shortly after the First World War. It would be a fitting and significant gesture to the memory of this great man if these articles were to be published in a collected monograph. Father MacSween's early years left an "indelible stamp" on him, one which "no span of time away from Cape Breton could ever erase." I hope that my research on the Island that was his home will help to repay the years of dedication and self-sacrifice exemplified in the life of this gifted teacher and humanitarian.



Rev. Alexander and Mary Anna Robinson, ca. 1854, courtesy Frank Robinson, Coquitlam, B.C.

A Scandal in Chignecto: The Reverend Alexander Robinson Affair

Eldon Hay

The Reverend Alexander Robinson (1819–1886) was a colleague of Alexander Clarke, the founding father of Reformed Presbyterianism in the Chignecto Isthmus region of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.¹ The Irish-born Clarke came out to Saint John in 1827, visited Chignecto that autumn and moved permanently to Amherst in 1828. He laboured for twenty years as a missionary of the Irish Reformed Presbyterian Synod, after which his name was struck from the rolls on account of his having voted in the Nova Scotian Responsible Government election of 1847. In 1848, he joined the New Light Reformed Presbyterian [RP] Synod in the United States--a branch of the RP movement which permitted its members to vote (orthodox RPs did not exercise the elective franchise).

In his earlier years as a missionary, Clarke had agitated for assistant clergy, but few were sent by the Irish Synod to Chignecto--indeed only one, the Reverend William Sommerville, father of Reformed Presbyterianism in western Nova Scotia. By joining the American Synod, Clarke hoped to receive more help, and in this he was not disappointed. Irish-born clergy soon began arriving via the United States to expend energy on behalf of the RP cause in Chignecto: the original three of a significant number were Henry Gordon, who came for a year, 1848 to 1849; William Stavely Darragh, who ministered from 1849 to 1859 and then left the RP church; and Andrew R. Gailey, who served from 1850 to 1853. Alexander Robinson came in 1855 and remained in the region until his death in 1886. His career has been only briefly sketched by local historians.

In Shemogue and Port Elgin, New Brunswick, "for six years Mr. Robinson continued faithfully and eloquently to preach the gospel until about 1862 when he retired from the active work of the ministry and purchased a farm at Murray Corner where he continued to live until his death in 1886."² This short span of apparently fruitful activity, followed abruptly by Robinson's retirement to the staid life of a gentleman farmer, is the theme developed by

Professor Eldon Hay is a member of the Department of Religious Studies at Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick. This article has been developed from his forthcoming book, *The Chignecto Covenanters: A Regional History of Reformed Presbyterianism in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, 1827 to 1905*.

1 See the author's "The Reverend Alexander Clarke and the Cumberland Covenanters," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 12, 1 (1992), 96–118.

2 W. M. Burns, *The History and Story of Botsford* ([1933]; repr. Sackville, 1962), p. 46.

other regional historians.³ From the pens of discreet local annalists, there is no explanation of the word 'retirement.' The result, nevertheless, seems passing strange given the chronic shortage of clergy serving the Chignecto RP cause. No replacement came to Shemogue, where Robinson had laboured, until 1864.⁴ Nor does any reason for the premature retirement originate from family tradition; there is, however, a suggestion that the relationship between Robinson and Rev. Alexander Clarke was less than cordial.

The purpose of this article is to tell the secret history of Alexander Robinson, and particularly to answer the following begged questions: Why did Robinson retire? Why would he withdraw after such an apparently successful ministry? How could the RP movement, desperate for clergy, spare such a competent representative? What lies behind the family tradition of differences between Robinson and the founding father of Reformed Presbyterianism in Chignecto, Rev. Alexander Clarke?

Fortunately for the historical biographer, Alexander Robinson kept a common-place book;⁵ very little, however, is known of his early life in Ireland, where he was born in 1819,⁶ one of several children.⁷ Presumably he received his early education in Ulster. He sailed for America in 1849, landing in Philadelphia where, in 1850, he commenced theological studies at the RP

3 "Mr. Robinson retired from the ministry in 1860": William Duncan and Mary Lane (née Duncan), "Our Presbyterian Heritage," 3 vols. (ca. 1964), pp. 2, 10: Mount Allison University Archives [hereafter MAA]; Robinson "retired and purchased a farm at Murray Corner where he continued to live until his death in 1886": Frank E. Archibald, "The Reformed Presbyterian Church in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia or The Covenanters in the Lower Provinces" (B.D. thesis, Pine Hill Divinity Hall, 1934), p. 30.

4 Samuel Crothers Murray was born at Shemogue on 26 July 1857 and may well have been baptized by Robinson, though there is no record. Murray writes, "My first recollection of church going was on the 'monthly instalment plan,' but we got a great *Instalment*....At that time we had no settled pastor." The time referred to may well be 1862-63, after Robinson had "retired to farm." Murray continues: "The congregation had enjoyed the services of a *local minister* for a few years, but there was a prolonged vacancy, about the time I was able to have an appreciation of church going": Samuel Crothers Murray, "A Biography [sic]" (ca. 1940), pp. 30-31: MAA.

5 Commonplace-book [1852-1884]: typed transcript, MAA. Original held by Mrs. Frances Wood, Winnipeg, Man.

6 *Ibid.*, A-12. There is a posthumous note which records: "The Rev Alexander Robinson Died Nov 19th 1886 Age in Aug 67 years." This is the basis for dating Robinson's year of birth as 1819.

7 *Ibid.* Robinson named two brothers, "William & John" (B-6) and, at the time of his father's death, also noted "his [father's] children" (A-8).

seminary.⁸ Robinson became secretary of his class. One of the statements which he signed in that capacity addressed the death of a popular professor, Samuel Brown Wylie.⁹ Obviously Robinson thought highly of this venerable teacher: "What a brilliant light has been extinguished in the Reformed P. Church by the death of that most devoted and eminent servant of God."¹⁰ While a student, Robinson had some responsibility in connection with the Sunday School of the First RP Church, Philadelphia, and wrote a letter to the church newspaper concerning it: "I do so, Mr. Editor, not only because it may please you, but also hoping that it will stir up others to go and do likewise."¹¹

In January 1854, Robinson married Mary Anna Robinson,¹² who had also been born in Ireland and who had the same last name as himself.¹³ Family tradition relates that, at the time of their marriage, Alexander Robinson's "object was to become a missionary to India."¹⁴ To this intention Mary Anna Robinson was very firmly opposed; her husband "always resented that they hadn't gone."¹⁵ In the spring of 1854, the Robinsons moved to Michigan, where Robinson was "occupying a missionary station, at Green Bay."¹⁶ There

8 *Ibid.*, B-4, A-20. "The Seminary," in *Banner of the Covenant* (Jan. 1850), p. 32: "The Sessions of the Theological Seminary were commenced at the appointed time, the first Monday of December [1849]. [Alexander Robinson was] in attendance."

9 Alexander Robinson, "Proceedings of The Students of The Eastern Seminary of The Reformed Presbyterian Church," in *Banner* (Jan. 1853), pp. 20-21.

10 Commonplace-book, A-5: entry of 15 Oct. 1852.

11 "The Sabbath School of the First Reformed Presbyterian Church," in *Banner* (May-June 1853), pp. 137-38.

12 Commonplace-book, A-10: entry undated.

13 "Lived For Over Forty Years At Little Shemogue: Mrs. Mary Anna Robinson Passed Away at Waskada, Man. at Advanced Age," in *Sackville Post*, 2 Feb. 1920, p. 1.

14 Letter, Frank Robinson, Coquitlam, B.C., to author, 21 Aug. 1987.

15 Letter, Millie Spence, Murray Comer, N.B., to author, 2 Sept. 1987.

16 Report of the Reformed Pittsburgh Presbytery, as noted in "General Synod Minutes," in *Banner* (July 1855), p. 213.

the couple's first child, Lavinia, was born in November.¹⁷ From Michigan, the Robinsons were supposed to go to Shemogue, New Brunswick, but apparently they returned instead to Pennsylvania *en route* to New Brunswick.

Licentiate Robinson came "for the first time to Murray's Corner on Sabbath at 11 o'clock A.M. the first day of July 1855."¹⁸ He immediately set to work, largely in Shemogue and Port Elgin, where his efforts were crowned with success by a large Communion service in the former community at the end of August 1855. Clarke was enthusiastic about the event: "Since the year '31, when the Supper was first dispensed there...we have many times enjoyed much of the Divine goodness on communion occasions....But never before, neither there, nor on any other such occasion, have we seen and felt as we did, and as all seemed to do at the last communion there."¹⁹ The person chiefly responsible for the large crowd and for thirty-three new members, six adult baptisms and a number of infant baptisms, was Alexander Robinson:

It is but just to say that, as far as the means...are concerned, much must have been owing to the untiring labours of Mr. Robinson. 'In season and out of season,' from the very day on which he arrived, he has preached the gospel 'from house to house.' Every house, family and individual--saint and sinner--Protestant and Papist, was ferreted out, around and along an extensive range, and freely and faithfully dealt with about matters of life and death.²⁰

Mary Anna Robinson came for the first time to "Murray's Corner October 4th,"²¹ [1855], some three months after her husband. She had apparently delayed in Pennsylvania for a specific reason, because two days after the successful communion service at Shemogue, the Robinsons' daughter Lavinia "died August 28th 1855 aged 9 months & six days. Her remains rest in Plimith Cemetery near Spring Mills, Montgomery Co., Pa. A small marble stone at the head & foot mark the grave."²²

17 Commonplace-book, A-10: entry undated.

18 *Ibid.*, A-21: entry undated.

19 Alexander Clarke, "Harvest in the North," in *Banner* (Nov. 1855), pp. 342-43.

20 *Ibid.*

21 Commonplace-book, A-21: entry undated.

22 *Ibid.*, A-14: entry undated.

Despite this family tragedy, there followed a few years of relative calm in the Robinson home; by early 1860, Mary Anna had given birth to three more children: Marianna, John Alexander and Cochrane Campbell.²³ The Robinsons purchased a farm at Shemogue,²⁴ in doing which they were emulating the example of the first missionary, Rev. Alexander Clarke, who had also needed to supplement his meagre income by part-time farming. As circumstances were to prove, however, the farm was a mixed blessing, for it plunged Robinson into debts from which he never fully escaped.²⁵ Family tradition relates that Robinson was also a doctor. It is unlikely that he was a qualified medical practitioner, however, although his commonplace-book contains remedies "for a cough," "For bowel complaint," and other prescriptions.²⁶ Most likely Robinson was an herbalist, or a practitioner of homeopathic medicine.

Robinson worked hard extending the Port Elgin mission station.²⁷ Having been called by the Shemogue and Baie Verte [Port Elgin] congregations in 1856, he was ordained on 1 June in New York City; and on 14 July was installed as pastor of Shemogue and Port Elgin.²⁸ In March 1857 a new church was opened in the latter community, Robinson presiding. Although an anonymous account of the event gives prominence to the chief missionary, Rev. Alexander Clarke, Robinson's contribution was not overlooked:

On the forenoon of the day, the Rev. Alexander Robinson, the minister...after the 67th Psalm was sung, preached from 1st Kings, 8th chapter, 27th verse: 'But will God indeed dwell on earth.' These words, connected as they are with one of the most wonderful manifestations of the Divine Presence on earth, under the Mosaic economy, the dedication of the Temple, led the speaker to

23 Born 27 Dec. 1856, 30 Dec. 1858, and 11 Jan. 1860, respectively: commonplace-book, A-10, 11.

24 8 Oct. 1858 was the date of execution of the deed, which was registered on 23 June 1859: Westmorland County Registry of Deeds, Book NN, p. 456.

25 Mortgages executed by Robinson are recorded in *ibid.*

26 Commonplace-book, A-5, 7: entries undated.

27 The mission station at Port Elgin was not new; Port Elgin had formerly been named Gaspereaux, and appeared as such in RP sources.

28 "Ordination of Robinson," in *Presbyterian Witness* (Halifax), 14 June 1856, p. 94. "Installation of Rev. A. Robinson," in *Banner* (Nov. 1856), pp. 302-03.

show, that although God condescended to dwell in a house made with hands, still his infinitude was such, that the heaven of heavens cannot contain him. On this part of his subject he was truly eloquent. He led the minds of his hearers into the vast ethereal regions, with innumerable worlds moving in infinite space, which comprise the universe, with Heaven at its centre....He showed that God manifested in Christ, ever dwells in the heart of his people....The discourse was listened to, by a crowded house, with marked attention.²⁹

Together with Clarke and the Reverend Archibald Thomson (who had come to minister in Goose River [Linden] and River Hebert in 1858 and who left Chignecto in 1870), Robinson participated in the inauguration of the Eastern Presbytery in 1859;³⁰ the jurisdiction embraced all the Reformed Presbyterian congregations in Cumberland and Westmorland counties.³¹

In 1860 the relative calm and outward appearance of success of the Robinson family were rudely and irrevocably terminated.³² The first intimation of trouble was given by Robinson himself, in the course of providing the Eastern Presbytery with a routine statement

regarding the interests of Religion in the entire field of his labors. Mr. Robinson was heard at considerable length, afterwards the members of his session expressed their opinions as to the state of religion within the bounds of the congregation. Matters of a local & sessional nature were referred to next meeting of Presbytery....Presbytery sympathises deeply with Mr. Robinson because of the slanderous reports of a few malignant persons tending to impair his usefulness.³³

29 "Dedication of the Port Elgin Church, Westmorland County, New Brunswick," in *Banner* (June 1857), pp. 192-94. The actual opening took place on 8 Mar. 1857.

30 *Presbyterian Witness*, 24 Sept. 1859, p. 154.

31 Minute book of the Eastern Presbytery of the General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America (1859-1887) [hereafter Eastern Presbytery Minutes]; photocopy, 82 pp.; typed transcript, 53 pp., MAA. The presbytery endured until 1905, but the extant minutes end in 1887, at which time they were removed from Chignecto by Clarke's successor, Rev. Samuel Darrah Yates, whose grandson, John Copeland Yates, York, Pennsylvania holds the original.

32 For assistance in sorting out the various aspects of the Robinson affair, I am glad to acknowledge the advice of D.G. Bell, professor in the Faculty of Law, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N.B.

33 Eastern Presbytery Minutes, Shemogue, N.B., 6 Mar. 1860.

When the Presbytery met at Jolicure on 1 May 1860, William Duncan, Clerk of Session of the Shemogue congregation presented

a petition from the Elders of the Chimogue [sic] congregation, praying for a dissolution of the pastoral tie between them, as the representatives of the people, & the Rev. Alexander Robinson their pastor, N.B. This petition was presented by the mutual consent of the pastor & the elders.³⁴

The Presbytery accepted this petition, although no immediate action was taken, it being agreed that there would be a meeting in Shemogue in July "to investigate the whole matter so far as it refers to Mr. Robinson & the people."³⁵ Those decisions having been made, an announcement followed in the Presbytery minutes that a *fama clamosa* ("a clamorous, scandalous report"³⁶) "concerning the pastor of the Refd. Presb. congregation in Chimogue seems to be in circulation":

Therefore Resolved, that the Session of the above mentioned congregation prepare an article of indictment, accompanied with the names of as many witnesses as possible, in order to [make] a thorough investigation of the entire matter, & that the clerk of Presby[tery] furnish the clerk of the Chimogue congregation with a copy of these Resolutions.³⁷

The Shemogue session, moderated by senior presbyter Rev. Alexander Clarke, implemented this resolution at its 2 July meeting, although the specific contents of the *fama clamosa* remained undisclosed; nevertheless, it was further "resolved that A Libel and citation be served on the Rev. A. Robinson, and citations be sent to...[certain] witnesses."³⁸ At the 10 July meeting of the Eastern Presbytery, moderated by Rev. Clarke and with Rev. Robinson attending, the eight elders who had subscribed the petition to dissolve the pastoral relation were polled; they were asked to state "whether the feeling of the people towards Mr. Robinson be any better or worse since

34 *Ibid.*, Jolicure, N.B., 1 May 1860.

35 *Ibid.*

36 James T. Cox, ed., *Practice and Procedure in the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1948), p. 782.

37 Eastern Presbytery Minutes, Jolicure, N.B., 1 May 1860.

38 Shemogue RP Session Minutes: typed transcript, MAA.

the last meeting" of Presbytery. One elder declined giving an opinion; seven, however, affirmed that "the state of feeling [was] worse." Having decided that dissolution was the most appropriate action to take, Moderator Rev. Clarke, "by prayer, and in the name of the Head of the Church, dissolve[d] the connexion between the Rev. Alex. Robinson & the people in a constitutional way."³⁹

The contents of the *fama clamosa* were then made public: "At the desire of the Rev. Alex. Robinson & with the concurrence of Mr. Duncan, Elder, & also in compliance with the action of Presbytery at its last meeting...the following libel against Mr. Robinson was presented by Mr. Duncan":

Whereas familiarity with female servants of such a nature as to give reason to imagine is injurious to your standing as a minister of the gospel & brings Scandal to the Church, and whereas you Rev. Alexander Robinson are charged with said offence by *Common fame*, therefore you should be proceeded against by the censures of the house of God designed as they are for your edification & not for your destruction. The specifications of the charge against you, are, that in the month of December 1858 you were found in your stable scuffling with your servant girl Ellen McGinnis. In the month of January 1859 you were seen in your stable with the said Ellen McGinnis between two cows you having your arm upon her shoulders talking. And again, in the same year & about the same time a noise of scuffling was heard in your stable and you were seen scuffling with the said Ellen McGinnis. And lastly on or about the 10th of January last you were seen crouched down beside Elizabeth Niles your servant girl, who was in the position of milking & you had your arm lying upon her bosom.

With all this you are charged, and an opportunity is now afforded of presenting your defence if any such you have to make.⁴⁰

Robinson was being accused of what is now known to the Criminal Code as sexual assault. "After a long & most minute examination" by various members of Presbytery, the following was unanimously passed:

Resolved that inasmuch as nothing really affecting the moral character of Mr. Robinson has been advanced by the witnesses: Therefore it is resolved that a certificate of character be given to Mr. Robinson, that he may consistently with the dignity of the Christian profession exercise the office of the ministry in whatever places the providence of God may hereafter call him to.⁴¹

39 Eastern Presbytery Minutes, Shemogue, N.B., 10 July 1860.

40 *Ibid.*

41 *Ibid.*

Rev. Archibald Thomson, Clerk of Presbytery, subsequently published a letter incorporating the above resolution, giving as his reason that "various reports are in circulation to the injury of the character and usefulness of an esteemed brother in the ministry."⁴²

Despite the dissolved pastoral relationship between the Shemogue RP congregation and Robinson, he was still partly employed by the Eastern Presbytery; when either Clarke or Thomson supplied at Shemogue, "the pulpit of the minister officiating there [was] occupied by the Rev. Alexander Robinson."⁴³ Robinson also attended meetings of the Eastern Presbytery during 1860–63, and was listed in General Synod minutes as a minister serving in the Eastern Presbytery from 1860–62. At the Presbytery meeting of 3 March 1863 the clerk was again "authorized to give a certificate of character & standing to the Rev. A. Robinson, on application in the event of his removing from the bounds of...Presbytery."⁴⁴ Robinson was present at this church court and relations between him and his clerical colleagues seemed cordial enough.

By the time of the next Presbytery meeting, on 28 April, however, the situation had altered. Robinson was not present; he had applied to the clerk for a certificate of character and standing, "but was refused on the ground that, since last meeting a criminal action was in process against him, & inasmuch as said process still impends in the civil court, therefore, resolved that further consideration in the matter be deferred...until his standing in relation to the church be better established." Furthermore, probably as a result of the clerk's refusal of a certificate, "Mr. Robinson intimated his intention of changing his mode of public service in the spring, & of going out of the Province." Presbytery therefore "resolved that Mr. Robinson receive no appointments from us."⁴⁵ This measure amounted to a *de facto* suspension—Robinson could not minister within the jurisdiction, nor receive a demit on leaving it. The decision was relayed to and confirmed at the next annual meeting of the General Synod, at Cedarville, Ohio, in May 1863; Robinson's

42 *Presbyterian Witness*, 1 Sept. 1860, p. 139.

43 *Eastern Presbytery Minutes*, Amherst, N.S., 20 Nov. 1860.

44 *Ibid.*, Amherst, N.S., 3 Mar. 1863.

45 *Ibid.*, Amherst, N.S., 28 Apr. 1863.

name thereupon disappeared from the Eastern Presbytery roll of ministers.⁴⁶

The Eastern Presbytery afterwards became harsher in its attitude and action towards Robinson, as evidenced at its July meeting:

Whereas, the Rev. Alex. Robinson has been charged upon oath with a crime which is a sin against God & a scandal to the Church, therefore Resolved that the said Rev. Alex. Robinson be furnished with a libel specifying the particular sin, or sins wherewith he is charged, and that he be summoned to appear at our next meeting of Presby[tery] to answer to the indictment.

Further,

Whereas the Rev. Alex. Robinson has been charged upon oath before a civil magistrate of a crime that is a sin against God & a scandal to the church therefore Resolved, that the aforesaid Rev. Alex. Robinson be suspended from the exercise of the functions of the sacred ministry until he be able to place himself in a proper position before the Presbytery. (Mr. Robinson having acknowledged the justice of this cause.) Accordingly Mr. Robinson was in the usual manner suspended.⁴⁷

Although the rationale was not clearly stated, Presbytery undoubtedly suspended Robinson on the grounds of immorality⁴⁸--the *de facto* suspension had therefore become *de jure*. An August *pro re nata* meeting [a meeting to deal with an emerging matter] was called in Shemogue for the purpose of investigating the charges brought against him: "libel & summons to attend this court were served on Mr. Robinson" and requisitions upon other key figures involved. When Presbytery convened, "Mr. Robinson acting, as he states, under legal advice, put in the hand of the Clerk, a protest & appeal against the Presbytery's further action in the matter": the Presbytery turned down Robinson's appeal, thinking it best to proceed with the investigation.

46 General Synod Minutes, 1863: Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh [hereafter RPTS].

47 Eastern Presbytery Minutes, Shemogue, N.B., 20 July 1863.

48 There were three kinds of offences outlined in *The Discipline of the Reformed Presbyterian Church* (New York, 1850), pp. 12-13: "Heresy, which consists in maintaining errors contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and condemned in the subordinate ecclesiastical standards--*Immorality* [i.e., sexual impropriety]--and *Contempt* for the established order of the church." Heresy was never a factor in Robinson's case, nor--in the first instance--was contempt.

Robinson, rebuffed, withdrew from the ecclesiastical court, but was requested “to return & wait during the examination of witnesses”; his reply was, “Let them take their own course, I will take mine.” The Presbytery resolved “that all unmarried people be removed from the presence of the court”; then

Mary Stillman was examined minutely & at some length by the Moderator. The evidence as subscribed by the deponent is in the hands of the clerk....Moved & seconded, that further consideration in this matter be deferred, by this Presbytery, until the first meeting of General Synod, to whom the Presbytery would refer the whole matter for advice & direction.⁴⁹

The context makes clear that Mary Stillman was the person laying the criminal charge against Rev. Alexander Robinson.

Mary Stillman’s public declaration against the accused was sharply felt by, and thus drew a correspondingly pointed decision from the Presbytery--the matter had moved out of *Common fame* (idle or malicious gossip)--into a recognized and respectable public forum. The substance of the criminal charge is not known, though its general character can be ascertained through familiarity with the personal history of Mary Stillman. In turn, information about Stillman and her family can be gleaned from the census returns of 1851 and 1861 for Botsford Township, Westmorland County.

The Stillman name appears first in the census of 1851. There were a family of eight--David, the father, was 41, Irish and a farmer. His wife Sarah, 38, was also Irish; and the children were Nancy, 11; John, 9; Mary, 7; Sarah, 5; George, 3; and an infant Samuel.⁵⁰ By 1861 the Stillmans were no longer listed as a family, though the cause of the breakdown or removal is not known. In that year, three of the Stillman siblings were servants in Botsford households: John, now said to be 20, in the Abner and Mary Trenholm household; Sarah, now said to be 17, in the William and Emma Wells home; and Mary, said to be 18 and a Methodist, in the home of Rev. Alexander and Mary Anna Robinson, Reformed Presbyterians.⁵¹ The evidence of the census returns, the original *fama clamosa* and the Eastern Presbytery minutes, clarify

49 Eastern Presbytery Minutes, Shemogue, N.B., 18 Aug. 1863.

50 Wayne A. Gillcash, ed., *The New Brunswick Census of 1851: Westmorland County* (Fredericton, 1981), 1, 59.

51 1861 Westmorland County Census, Botsford Township (National Archives of Canada, MG 9, A 12 [11]), pp. 16, 11 and 20 respectively [mfm. at MAA].

that Mary Stillman, a domestic servant in the Robinson household, alleged some kind of sexual assault upon her by Rev. Robinson and that she took action which culminated in criminal proceedings in the period March-April 1863.⁵²

The situation caused a protracted three-way struggle among the Eastern Presbytery, the General Synod and Rev. Robinson, which continued virtually until Robinson's death in 1886. The "painful and troublesome case"⁵³ was exacerbated by poor communication between the two church courts, presbyterial and synodical, and irregular attendance at Synod by Eastern Presbytery delegates. For its part, Presbytery wanted the General Synod to decide the issue, because of the Presbytery's "numerical weakness and especially because of the complicated character of the evidence."⁵⁴ Despite the large turn-out of Shemogue elders when it was decided to dissolve the pastoral tie,⁵⁵ the Presbytery often operated with two ministers but only two or three ruling elders. At one key juncture, a decision was "carried by three affirmative votes against one negative,"⁵⁶ suggesting either a numerical weakness within Presbytery or abstention due to the complexity of the case.

Thomson's leaving in 1870 and Clarke's dying in 1874, moreover, caused Presbytery to become disorganized because there were no regularly settled clergy in the region: the General Synod "*Resolved*, That the Northern and Philadelphia Presbyteries be directed to furnish certificates to Rev. S.D. Yates [Clarke's successor, who came in 1875] and George W. Brownell

52 The charge had not yet been laid when the Eastern Presbytery met at Amherst, 3 Mar. 1863; it was so, however, by the time it met again at Amherst on 28 Apr. Certain other developments can only be conjectured—notably that the young woman domestic perhaps had support from an official in Botsford, such as a Justice of the Peace (e.g., John Trenholm, assuming he was still alive at the time), who either was convinced of the truth of the allegations or was already hostile to Robinson. It has proved impossible to examine pertinent court records, which were stored in the Westmorland County court-house in Dorchester, destroyed by fire in June 1965; see *Tribune-Post* (Sackville), 30 June 1965, p. 1.

53 Report of the Eastern Presbytery, in General Synod Minutes, 1865, p. 22: RPTS.

54 Eastern Presbytery Minutes, Shemogue, N.B., 26 Oct. 1864.

55 At the meeting of Presbytery at Shemogue, 10 July 1860, no less than eight ruling elders were in attendance—an artificially inflated number suggestive perhaps of collusion or preconcert.

56 Eastern Presbytery Minutes, Baie Verte, N.B., 1 May 1872.

[Chignecto-born RP licentiate, later minister] with the view of the reorganization of the Eastern Presbytery."⁵⁷ The General Synod's Committee on Discipline kept urging the Eastern Presbytery to decide the issue, presumably because they were geographically closer to the focus of contention, and often because of inadequate documentation. In 1865, for example, when Eastern Presbytery was not represented at General Synod, the Discipline Committee reported that we "do not find any papers on the table of Synod such as are referred to in the Report of the Eastern Presbytery....In this condition of things it is impossible for Synod to act in the case."⁵⁸ Synod demanded that Robinson was "to submit himself to the decision of his Presbytery in the Lord, to follow no divisive courses, to avoid all appearance of evil, and so to labor for a restoration of a good minister of Jesus Christ."⁵⁹ Presbytery echoed this general theme: Robinson should "put himself in a proper relationship to the Eastern Presbytery, and show by his walk and conversation, that he is determined to live a life of godliness."⁶⁰

Robinson's attitude to both courts was erratic. On one occasion it was noted that "the petition from Mr. Alexander Robinson is respectful",⁶¹ and in answer to a question put to him in Presbytery by Moderator Rev. Alexander Clarke, as to "if he [Robinson] felt sorry for his errors and omissions since his suspension[,] petitioner answered in the affirmative."⁶² Conversely, "the course of the Rev. A. Robinson...in manner and spirit, as expressed in his paper, is highly censurable, and he is hereby directed to cultivate a more Christian spirit, and practice a course of conduct in harmony with charity and good order."⁶³ Robinson's appeals for full restoration were addressed to the Synod, since he complained that the Eastern Presbytery was "prejudiced

57 "General Synod Minutes," 1877, in *Reformed Presbyterian Advocate*, 11 (July–Aug. 1877), 216.

58 Additional Report of the Committee on Discipline, in General Synod Minutes, 1865, p. 33: RPTS.

59 Decision in Case of Rev. A. Robinson, in General Synod Minutes, 1864, p. 20: RPTS.

60 Eastern Presbytery Minutes, Baie Verte, N.B., 1 May 1872.

61 Report of the Committee on Discipline, in "General Synod Minutes," *RP Advocate*, 5 (July–Aug. 1871), 223.

62 Eastern Presbytery Minutes, Baie Verte, N.B., 1 May 1872.

63 Report of the Committee on Discipline, in "General Synod Minutes," *RP Advocate*, 17 (July 1883), 230.

against him, and [would] not give him a fair and impartial hearing."⁶⁴ Stung by this accusation, the Eastern Presbytery denied it and countered by charging Robinson with unfairness: "Presbytery would remark, that, although the utmost candour and impartiality were ever manifested towards Mr. Robinson by all its members, yet they have met with difficulties where none should have existed, and have had to bear a large amount of abuse, where praise instead of blame should have been given."⁶⁵ At times the Presbytery even found him untrustworthy; when Robinson presented a document to an October 1864 meeting, it was rejected because "the whole thing is his own production."⁶⁶ Within the Eastern Presbytery, moreover, Robinson could find no support among the lay persons in the various congregations. During the short period in the late 1870s when the suspension was temporarily lifted (see below), "Rev. A. Robinson...applied for appointments. The different congregations now under care of the [Eastern] Presbytery were well represented at this meeting. The matter was laid before them, and not one of the congregations desired the services of Mr. Robinson."⁶⁷

There were two matters, however, in which Robinson demonstrated no ambiguity. He consistently and "solemnly denied that the crime with which he had been charged, and for which he had been suspended [had any basis in fact]."⁶⁸ Robinson also persistently appealed to Synod, year after year, for removal of the suspension and full restoration. Robinson was determined to minister--in 1868 he applied through Wallace Presbytery for admission into the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America.

64 *Ibid.*, 1873, in *RP Advocate*, 7 (July–Aug. 1873), 239.

65 Report of the Eastern Presbytery, in *General Synod Minutes*, 1865, p. 22: RPTS.

66 *Eastern Presbytery Minutes*, Shemogue, N.B., 26 Oct. 1864.

67 George W. Brownell, report of Commission to Reorganize the Eastern Presbytery, in "General Synod Minutes," *RP Advocate*, 12 (July–Aug. 1878), 204.

68 Report of Commission on Case of Mr. Alex. Robinson, in "General Synod Minutes," *RP Advocate*, 8 (July–Aug. 1874), 248.

Not having a certificate of standing, however, he was denied accreditation.⁶⁹ In 1875 he applied through Wallace Presbytery of the newly-formed Presbyterian Church in Canada for admission, but again he was rebuffed.⁷⁰

Robinson's attempts at restoration to the pastoral ministry of the RP Church received sympathy at the meeting of Synod in 1873, and on the recommendation of the Committee on Discipline, Synod resolved to appoint a commission, "clothed with Synodical power...to meet at a time and place convenient to the parties, to investigate and issue the case, and report their action to the next meeting of General Synod."⁷¹ The commission was made up of the Reverends Nevin Woodside and Samuel M. Ramsey; moreover, the commission sat in Amherst, reaching a conclusion with a conditional recommendation for the 1874 Synod. The condition had to do with the behaviour of Rev. Robinson between the August 1873 meeting of the commission and the May 1874 convocation of Synod:

The Commission appointed by General Synod to investigate and adjudicate the case of Alexander Robinson, would respectfully report that they met in Amherst, Nova Scotia, August 4th, 1873. The Rev. Dr. Clarke being present, was invited to sit with us as a consultative member. Mr. Robinson having been notified to appear, presented himself, and was heard in his own defense. After

69 Wallace Presbytery [Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America] Minutes, 1 Dec. 1868: Maritime Conference Archives, Halifax [hereafter MCA]. The margin carries the notation "Letter from Mr. Robinson." The minute reads:

The Rev. W.S. Darragh read a letter from Mr. Robinson formerly connected with the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and gave verbal explanation anent the same. The Presbytery agreed that, waiving the question of jurisdiction as to which this is a good reason to be doubtful, Mr. Robinson being resident in New Brunswick[,] inasmuch as Mr. Robinson neglected to avail himself of the means of redress afforded by his own Church, and as this Presbytery have no available means of coming to a true decision in the matter, they cannot entertain his case, and that Mr. Darragh be authorized to write him to this effect.

70 Wallace Presbytery [The Presbyterian Church in Canada] Minutes, 6, 7 and 8 Oct. 1875: MCA. The final resolution, 2 Nov. 1875, reads:

After reasoning the Presbytery agreed unanimously to the following measure: the Presbytery sympathizes with the Rev. A. Robinson, yet as he is presently under suspension by his own church, they cannot entertain his application. They would recommend him to take the proper steps to have this suspension removed, and when this is done they will be prepared to deal with his application on its merits.

71 Committee on Discipline, in "General Synod Minutes," *RP Advocate*, 7 (July-Aug. 1873), 239.

having been heard at considerable length, he was questioned closely as to his course of life during his long suspension. It appeared upon his own statement that he had never prohibited any of his family attending public worship, and that family religion was carefully attended to by him. He also solemnly denied the crime with which he had been charged, and for which he had been suspended. Furthermore, it appeared that the charge had never been proven, either in the civil or ecclesiastical courts. Mr. Robinson then presented a paper signed by himself, in which he expressed deep sorrow for having neglected the injunctions of Synod, and promising strict compliance in the future.

With this as background, the commission resolved:

WHEREAS, Rev. A. Robinson, after lengthened conference with the commissioners, has expressed his sorrow for neglecting the directions of Synod, and has pledged himself to attend regularly in future the preaching of either Dr. Clarke or Rev. S. Boyd; therefore,

RESOLVED, That we recommend Mr. Robinson's suspension to be removed by the competent authority, under the direction of the General Synod, at their meeting in May, 1874, should evidence be furnished that this promise has been fulfilled.⁷²

In August of 1873, therefore, it looked as if the long suspension might indeed be lifted--if Robinson fulfilled his pledge to attend ordinances conducted by Rev. Alexander Clarke or Rev. Samuel Boyd (who had come to Shemogue as RP pastor in 1864). The commission meeting in August 1873 had a positive and optimistic outlook; an outlook which, nevertheless, had been dashed by the time the 1874 Synod met: "As no evidence, however, has been furnished your commissioners, either by Mr. Robinson or by any other parties, of his [Robinson] having lived up to his written pledge, we would recommend that the whole case be dropped, and no further notice taken of it."⁷³ Despite this major setback Robinson remained unrelenting, asking yet again at the 1875 Synod "for the removal of the suspension." Again he was rebuffed: "as Synod has already finally settled this matter, we [the Committee on Discipline] make no recommendation."⁷⁴

Somewhat surprisingly, Robinson's attempts at restoration to the ministry

72 Report of Commission on Case of Mr. Alex. Robinson, in "General Synod Minutes," *ibid.*, 8 (July-Aug. 1874), 248.

73 *Ibid.*

74 "General Synod Minutes," in *ibid.*, 9 (July-Aug. 1875), 257.

of the RP Church were finally rewarded in 1876. Two things had happened since the findings of the 1873 commission. First, Alexander Clarke had died--undoubtedly a chief protagonist in the long altercation. Secondly, Robinson had finally been acquitted of the criminal charge against him. At the General Synod meeting in 1876, lacking again any Eastern Presbytery representation, the Committee on Discipline reported,

[I]n regard to the petition of Rev. Alexander Robinson, of Chimogue, N.B. asking for the removal of the sentence of suspension under which he still lies, which paper was by this venerable body referred to the committee--that they had given to it the most careful consideration. Your committee was embarrassed in coming to a conclusion by the fact that they could not have before them the records of the Eastern Presbytery relating to this case. After obtaining all the information they could...the following points in favor of granting the prayer of the petitioner seem to them to be fully established:

1. That fact that there is no adequate proof that the petitioner is really guilty of the original charge upon which the act of suspension was, as we understand the case, founded. This clearly appears from *his acquittal by a competent civil tribunal* [italics added] after a full investigation of the case, and also from the statements of your commissioners appointed in 1873 to investigate the case, and who declared before your committee that no proofs of his guilt were presented before them.
2. The fact that, as far as circumstances permitted, the petitioner complied with his pledge given them then, that he would wait upon the public ministrations of Rev. S[amuel] Boyd--which condition being complied with, the late venerable Dr. Clarke considered to be the only condition necessary to his being relieved from the sentence of suspension.
3. The declaration by said [1873] commissioners, that had they possessed the evidence that is now before us they would have reported favorably on this case.
4. The love he has shown for the church, the cordial and hearty manner in which he subscribes to her standards, his patient submission to her discipline in all respects, so far as your committee has any evidence, for the long period of twelve years [1864-1876] seem to argue in his favor.

On the other side there is only a general statement of a partial want of that dignity and gravity in his general demeanour that should ever characterize the minister of Christ. There is no charge brought before us of any vicious course of conduct on his part during the time of his suspension.

For these reasons, the committee recommended to Synod,

That whereas the discipline of the church is intended for the edification, and not the destruction of her membership; and whereas, in the judgement of your committee any indiscretion that petitioner may have been justly charged with has been sufficiently rebuked, and as there is no evidence of actual guilt on his part, and as the discipline of the church, we think, has been fully vindicated already in this case; therefore, (Resolved), That the prayer of the petitioner be granted.⁷⁵

Synod thus formally removed the suspension; yet "from this action Rev. A[rchibald] Thomson dissented, and desired that his dissent be recorded."⁷⁶ The Scale of Supplies Committee nevertheless made the following assignment: "Rev. A. Robinson--June, Pittsburgh; July and August, Western; September to December, Eastern; the remainder of the year to the Executive Committee."⁷⁷ So Alexander Robinson was reinstated and sent to work in various presbyteries far distant from Chignecto. For the first time since 1862, moreover, his name appeared on the Eastern Presbytery roll of ministers--but without a congregation; his address given as "Shimogue, Nova Scotia [sic]."⁷⁸

Although the stigma of criminality and the embarrassment of suspension, both of which had hung over Robinson for so long, were now removed, the relief and satisfaction which he must have felt were of short duration. In the autumn of 1876, Robinson preached acceptably in both the Pittsburgh and Western presbyteries, though no calls were issued to him; he then returned to the Eastern Presbytery, where difficulties again befell him--as was reported at the 1877 meeting of the General Synod.

The Synod of that year addressed two matters pertaining to Robinson: first, he had claimed \$104.00 from the Board of Domestic Missions "for time

75 Report of the Committee on Discipline, in "General Synod Minutes," *ibid.*, 10 (July-Aug. 1876), 241-42. Because of the fire in the County Court-House at Dorchester in June 1965, the relevant court records are not extant.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 242. Since leaving Chignecto in 1870, Thomson had been ministering in Potsdam, New York; his attitude towards Robinson had clearly undergone a sea change since 1860, when he publicly defended Robinson in the *Presbyterian Witness*.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 266.

78 *Ibid.*, p. 271.

spent in the Eastern Presbytery, and [this claim] was allowed."⁷⁹ (In spite of the allowance of the claim, however, the money was not immediately paid.) Secondly, the Committee on Discipline noted that there were

conflicting and irreconcilable statements from Revs. S.D. Yates [Clarke's successor in Amherst] and Alex Robinson--the former averring that 'A. Robinson never appeared before us in due order, nor applied for work in the usual way'; and the latter, after speaking of filling his appointments in the Pittsburgh and Western Presbyteries, saying, 'but the appointments for the other three months to the Eastern Presbytery I could not fulfil, because the court did not, in accordance with Synod's decision, give me any opportunity.'⁸⁰

The Discipline Committee did not wish to adjudicate this matter, so the Synod appointed another commission to "adjust matters [in the dispute between Yates and Robinson]."⁸¹ This Commission--consisting of Rev. George W. Brownell, resident missionary in the Eastern Presbytery, and Ruling Elders Kiever Hunter of Goose River and Stephen Peacock of Shemogue--reported at the 1878 Synod, their having examined the conflicting statements made by Rev. Yates and Rev. Robinson, respectively: "The statements of Mr. Yates were endorsed, as Mr. Robinson did not apply in the proper way for appointment."⁸² At the same meeting, it became transparently clear that no congregation in the Eastern Presbytery desired the services of the restored Rev. Robinson; "he was therefore referred to the Executive Committee of the Board of Domestic Missions for appointments."⁸³ The Commission's report was accepted and the Commission discharged. When the motion to accept the report was considered, however, as reported by the *New York Times*, "an amendment was put forward that the resolution of the Synod last year giving \$104 to Mr. Robinson be rescinded." The amendment was supported, "on the ground that the grant was made on

79 "General Synod Minutes," 1877, *ibid.*, 11 (July–Aug. 1877), 221.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 215. (Yates was Clarke's successor at Amherst.)

81 *Ibid.*

82 Commission to Re-organize the Eastern Presbytery, in "General Synod Minutes," *ibid.*, 12 (July–Aug. 1878), 204.

83 *Ibid.*

condition that Mr. Robinson did certain services, and these services had not been done." On the other hand, as a colleague pointed out, "it would be a strange proceeding to say that the money which had been promised by the Synod should not be paid." Rev. Archibald Thomson intervened in the discussion and declared that "the whole history of Mr. Robinson and his conduct in the Eastern Presbytery did not warrant the Synod in paying him money. He had not been a blessing to the district in which he labored, but a curse."⁸⁴

The final decision taken with regard to payment of the \$104 was that "the claim of Rev. A. Robinson was ordered to be paid *pro rata*, provided he give a receipt in full."⁸⁵ Robinson seemed thus to have been placed on the horns of a dilemma: if he produced receipts for work done, he would be paid. Since it appeared that he had not done any remuneratory work, however, he could produce no receipts. Robinson was a minister in good standing, residing in the Eastern Presbytery, yet none of the unsupplied congregations there would have him. Once again Robinson was checkmated--or the match was at least a stalemate.

He could appeal directly to Synod, however, and he did so--as reported at the 1879 and 1880 meetings; the latter, on the recommendation of its Committee on Discipline, instructed the Eastern Presbytery "either to give him [Robinson] appointments to preach, or...to give him a certificate [of standing] if worthy."⁸⁶ The impasse continued. In 1883, the Synod again directed the Eastern Presbytery "to investigate his case and deal with it in accordance with the law and order of the church."⁸⁷

At a meeting in the autumn of 1883, and in accordance with Synod's directive, the Eastern Presbytery considered the Robinson case once more. The result was that the clergyman was once again suspended, this time on the grounds of "*contempt* for the established order of the Church":⁸⁸

84 "Reformed Presbyterian Synod: Third Day's Sitting--A Pastor Who Was Not A Blessing, But a Curse," in *New York Times*, 19 May 1878, p. 5. (Rev. A. Thomson supplied the headline.)

85 "General Synod Minutes, 1878," in *RP Advocate*, 12 (July-Aug. 1878), 222.

86 "General Synod Minutes," in *ibid.*, 14 (July-Aug. 1880), 206.

87 Report of the Committee on Discipline, in "General Synod Minutes," *ibid.*, 17 (July 1883), 230.

88 *Discipline of the RP Church*, p. 13.

The charge preferred was 'Persistent contempt of ordinances, since his restoration in 1876, coupled with the absence of that general integrity and good moral conduct requisite in the minister of Christ.' Mr. Robinson appeared, and was heard in his own defense, but could give no reason or give any satisfaction which did not, in the judgement of Presbytery, tend to aggravate, instead of mitigate, the charges against him. Whereupon Presbytery suspended Mr. Robinson from the exercise of ministerial functions.⁸⁹

The Presbytery's punitive action did not end there: "We petition Synod at its next meeting to depose him from the office of the ministry."⁹⁰ At the 1884 meeting of Synod, this petition was referred to and considered by the Committee on Discipline; Synod approved its recommendation, which included the suspension, but declined to countenance deposition. Though the Presbytery duly gave him a hearing, moreover, they had "suspended Mr. Robinson without giving him [the requisite] ten days' notice to prepare for trial." On the other hand, "there can be no doubt that there has been on Mr. Robinson's part persistent disregard and contempt of ordinances."⁹¹ Robinson appealed against the suspension in both 1885 and 1886, but on both occasions Synod disallowed the appeal. Rev. Robinson died on 19 November 1886, thus ending the affair in perhaps the only manner in which it could have terminated.

Alexander Clarke had had complimentary remarks to make about Robinson during the latter's early career in Chignecto. The criminal charge and its aftermath, however, had consigned the pair of them to a bitter and lifelong dispute. It is ironic that the two clergymen, such bitter antagonists for the last decade of Clarke's life, should be honoured on the same memorial

89 Report of the Eastern Presbytery, in "General Synod Minutes," *RP Advocate*, 18 (July-Aug. 1884), 230.

90 Eastern Presbytery Minutes, River Hebert, N.S., 16 Oct. 1883. Presbytery could suspend on its own authority, but was able to depose only with the concurrence of Synod.

91 Report Concerning Mr. Robinson, in "General Synod Minutes," *RP Advocate*, 18 (July 1884), 222.

cairn in the present-day Pioneer Cemetery at Murray Corner.⁹² Another Chignecto Covenanter clergyman, the Reverend Samuel Rutherford Stormont (who had been inducted into the Goose River [Linden] congregation in 1880), has left us with this charitably discreet and refracted appraisal of Robinson:

He was a man of considerable ability...and when he entered the ministry his preaching was not without acceptance....At the time of his death Mr. Robinson was under suspension by his Presbytery. He seemed to feel deeply his position, but from some cause or other he appeared never to be able to reach that plane of Christian and ministerial standing that would have given his brethren confidence in his ministerial usefulness.⁹³

An eloquent preacher in his early Gospel ministry--yet 'retired' to life on the farm; a subsistence farmer--yet perpetually hounded by creditors; a self-declared faithful minister--yet twice suspended and once nearly deposed by the RP Church: Rev. Alexander Robinson's last twenty-six years must have been burdensome. Nor did he die a happy man. Yet his faith seemed unimpaired: "O Lord, I am a stranger on this earth. Hide not thy face from me."⁹⁴

92 One of the plaques reads, "The first church in Botsford Parish was erected and dedicated here in 1831 by Rev. Alex. Clarke D.D. 1795-1874." The other reads, "In memory of Rev. Alex. Robinson, 1816-1886. First resident minister of the Reformed Presbyterian Congregation of Shemogue. 1858-1861." The cairn was dedicated by (Little) Shemogue United Church congregation on 28 July 1940, "in honor of the 110th anniversary of the beginning of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Shemogue": "Commemoration Service held at Murray Comer," in *Sackville Tribune*, 29 July 1940, p. 1.

93 *RP Advocate*, 21 (Jan. 1887), 25.

94 Commonplace-book, A-18; cf. Psalm 143, 7: entry of 21 Sept. 1882.

Mine Operators and Mining Leases on Nova Scotia's Sydney Coalfield, 1720 to the Present

Hugh Millward

The Sydney coalfield of Nova Scotia was the earliest such area worked in North America, and became the most thoroughly developed Canadian coalfield in terms of both capital and human resources employed. As with any coalfield, seam geology, the surface configuration of land and sea, and changing mining technologies all had strong influences on the three-dimensional sequence of coal exploitation.¹ But the spatial evolution of the coalfield was also greatly influenced by government leasing policies, and by the strategies which mining companies employed to obtain leases on attractive coal reserves. Leasing policies allowed and often encouraged lease speculation, and led to a pattern and sequence of mine development which was considerably less than optimal. The aim of this article is to reconstruct the pattern of leaseholdings through time, and thereby to show that the changing lease arrangements had a clear impact on the scale and capitalization of the coal companies, and on where and when mining activity occurred.

The Period of Mining Monopolies, 1720–1858

The Sydney coalfield is located on the north-east coast of Cape Breton Island, where three major seams outcrop near the shore and dip steeply under the sea (Figure 1). The field owed its early development to the clear visibility of coal seams exposed in the cliffs, plus its close proximity to the major French fortress of Louisbourg, forty kilometres along the coast. The French viewed the coal as a strategic resource, and thus their single coastal mine (number 1 on Figure 1), established in 1720, was worked under direct government supervision.

When the English occupied Cape Breton during the years 1745 to 1749, their garrison was supplied in the same manner, with English troops supervising experienced French miners. After the final English conquest in 1758 and continuing until 1784, the home government refused to grant leases to local merchants who, "with fair encouragement, would have worked the

Hugh Millward is Professor of Geography at Saint Mary's University, Halifax.

1 For a general discussion of coalfield development, see A. Hay, "A Simple Location Theory for Mining Activity," in *Geography*, 61 (1976), 65–76; and Hugh Millward, "A Model of Coalfield Development: Six Stages Exemplified by the Sydney Field," in *Canadian Geographer*, 29 (1985), 234–248. For a specific discussion, see Hugh Millward, "Mine Locations and the Sequence of Coal Exploitation on the Sydney Coalfield, 1720–1980," in Kenneth Donovan, ed., *Cape Breton at 200: Historical Essays in Honour of the Island's Bicentennial 1785–1985* (Sydney, 1985), pp. 183–202.

mines efficiently.”² The government mines, which were worked by soldiers during this period, operated intermittently, wastefully and with inadequate protection from smugglers. Indeed, coal smuggling (or “piracy”) was a logical consequence of tight-fisted government control; considerable markets for cheap coal existed in Halifax and New England, and since coal was exposed all along the uninhabited coast encompassed by the Sydney coalfield, little effort was necessary to obtain it illegally.

In 1784 Cape Breton Island became a separate colony, and government policy regarding the coal trade again shifted. The first governor, Lieutenant-Colonel J. F. W. DesBarres, was an experienced surveyor who was well acquainted with the coal seams. He retained government control of mining operations and initiated major coal workings north of Sydney Harbour (number 2 on Figure 1). His successors, however, felt that more revenue could be gained by charging royalties on the production from leased seams; consequently, the King’s Coal Mines were worked over the period 1788 to 1826 by a succession of short-term lessees, interspersed for brief periods by direct state operation.³ Coal royalties were the colony’s only source of revenue, and the financial mismanagement of the mines which ensued was a major reason for the re-annexation of the island to Nova Scotia in 1820.

The new administration began by making the same mistakes as the old, namely providing short-term leases and demanding excessive royalties. Richard Brown, writing in the 1870s, saw the problem clearly: “It could not be expected that men of capital would employ their money in an undertaking of magnitude under a lease of five or seven years; and it is equally certain that, without capital, the mines could not be worked with profit.”⁴ The necessary capital became available in 1827, but not as the result of any conscious policy change. Rather, it was due to a bizarre and complicated exercise of royal prerogative, by which a single company acquired long-term leases for all the coalfields in Nova Scotia.⁵ Under this arrangement, the

2 Richard Brown, *The Coalfields and Coal Trade of the Island of Cape Breton* (London, 1871), p. 58.

3 For a list of lessees, see Brown, *Coalfields*, p. 73, and C. O. MacDonald, *The Coal and Iron Industries of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1909), p. 11.

4 Brown, *Coalfields*, p. 67.

5 A thorough account of this episode is given in J. S. Martell, “Early Coal Mining in Nova Scotia,” in D. Macgillivray and B. Tennyson, eds., *Cape Breton Historical Essays* (Sydney, 1980), pp. 41–53.

General Mining Association (GMA) paid a low fixed annual rent to the Nova Scotia government, and in return was allowed to mine large quantities of coal free from royalties. The GMA monopoly was initially useful for the province also, since the company was able to initiate long-term planning and pour much capital into developing the Sydney coalfield. However, there was increasing local resentment against the advantageous terms which the GMA had secured. Under a negotiated agreement ratified in 1858, the GMA surrendered all its claims through the existing lease, and in return received various new thirty-year leases to specified areas within which it had already developed working collieries (areas 1, 2, and 3 on Figure 2, totalling 33 square miles).⁶ The GMA thus lost none of its active mining areas, and had an assured tenure of large reserves. In addition, it had negotiated an end to the annual fixed rent, and a reduction of royalties on its coal sales.

Independents versus the GMA, 1858–1893

With the ending of the GMA monopoly, the provincial government was required to administer coal-mining rights in Nova Scotia. No machinery for this existed, so it was with some urgency that the "Act giving effect to the surrender...of the Mines..." was enacted in 1858 (*Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1858*, chs. 1 and 48), in order to cope with the flood of speculative interest. Under the regulations of this act, mining rights were secured by an individual or company in three steps: a one-year search licence, a two-year mining licence, and then a mining lease.⁷ The last-mentioned were for only one square mile each, and were terminated in 1886 (to correspond with the GMA leases; see below). These leasing arrangements caused considerable confusion and litigation in the frenzied period of speculation and prospecting after 1858. While being satisfactory for the small-scale mining operations contemplated by local entrepreneurs, the leases were clearly not suitable for the development of large mines by large companies. Development costs for deep mines, for example, required large output and substantial reserve areas; hence the small leases became a hindrance, and there were strong pressures for lease amalgamation.

6 For a detailed account of the events leading up to the final settlement, see Brown, *Coalfields*, pp. 100–110.

7 Regulations for the Leasing of Mines, 15 Nov. 1859, in RG 21, Series A, Vol. 4, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

A large number of individuals and companies were engaged in mining development and/or lease speculation during the period from 1858 to 1893. **Figure 2** and **Table 1** present the bare facts,⁸ but to make sense of these, some generalizations must be ventured. Three stages of activity may be discerned during this period, reflecting a general shift from small to moderately sized lease areas; from local entrepreneurial investment to the involvement of outside interests; and from a dearth of capital to a situation of substantial investment.

In the first stage of activity, roughly from 1858 to 1863, both short-term lease speculation and the development of rudimentary mines were undertaken by local entrepreneurs. Indeed, the distinction between speculator and mine-developer was very hazy during this stage, since all new owners engaged in evaluation and prospect work, and the difference between a prospect pit and a producing pit was largely one of intent. Examples of the more speculative type of leaseholder were Simon Gotreau (area D on **Figure 2**), Marshall Bourinot (L), and Messrs. Roach and McInnis (E), all of whom sold out within four years. The more serious mine-developer was exemplified by Charles Campbell, who acquired several leases but then sold two (areas B and C) in order to concentrate his efforts at the most promising (A, which had both the thickest seam and the largest seam acreage).

The second stage, between approximately 1863 and 1873, was one in which outside capital--generally from Halifax, Boston, or New York--was sought in order to enable the sinking of shaft mines and the building of transport facilities. Local entrepreneurs either sold out directly to outside interests, or brought in outside partners.⁹ As examples, Marshall Bourinot's Blockhouse mine (L) was sold to a New York company, while Messrs.

8 Information for compilation of the early lease maps (1865, 1875 and 1890) and **Table 1** was culled from various secondary sources, including Brown, *Coalfields*, map facing p. 166 and text on pp. 115-136, 143-145; and MacDonald, *Coal and Iron*, pp. 21-36 and 99-105. The original lease books are the major primary source, but unfortunately lease areas are described therein by metes and bounds rather than by map. However, the Brown map and other sketch maps in the survey records (PANS RG 21, Series C, Vol. 112 and Series A, Vol. 4) were combined with the lease areas shown on the 1874/5 and 1898 Robb and Fletcher one-inch geology maps, thus leaving only a few offshore areas to be plotted from lease descriptions. Particularly useful for lease transfer information was PANS RG 21, Series C, Vol. 93. Lists of coal leases for 1874 and 1890 (PANS RG 21, Series A, Vol. 41, file 1) gave important data on lessees, lease numbers and lease areas, against which other information could be correlated.

9 Details of these transfers are given in Brown, *Coalfields*, pp. 116-134, and in the original lease records, PANS RG 21, Series C, Vol. 93.

Archibald and Moren (area H) joined company with investors from Halifax and New England to form the Little Glace Bay Mining Co.¹⁰ The American investors later withdrew, formed their own Caledonia Co., and acquired an adjacent lease area (I). Another important sell out occurred when the International Co.--a New York interest--acquired the Cadougan and McLeod property (G). The London-based Glasgow and Cape Breton Coal Co. acquired an inland lease (Q) directly, but under dubious circumstances.¹¹

Of course, not all local leaseholders were able to attract outside capital, and some did not even desire it. The lease areas on the North Side were on thin lower seams with little coal acreage; they attracted no investors until the Toronto Coal Mining Co. of Cape Breton acquired the Collins lease (D) in 1882.¹² On the South Side, the poorly placed Wilson property (N) attracted investment (a New York company), while the nearby Tracey colliery (O) was unable to do so, owing to a shale parting in the seam; it subsequently closed. Over the entire Sydney coalfield during this period, the only local company which was able to raise funds and compete effectively with outside investors was Archibald's Gowrie Coal Mining Co. (area M).

The third stage of activity was one of company failures and amalgamation. This lasted from about 1873 through to 1893, and represents a shakedown caused by deteriorating market conditions and the expense of capital requirements for improved transport and shipping facilities. The first major amalgamation occurred in 1874, when the Glasgow and Cape Breton Co. acquired two poorly-capitalized and defunct neighbours (the Emery and Lorway companies, areas R and S), and also purchased and combined areas J and K. The company name was changed in 1881 to the Sydney and

10 MacDonald, *Coal and Iron*, pp. 21 and 24.

11 The Glasgow and Cape Breton Co. was granted a mining lease by Robert Robertson, Commissioner of Mines, without having previously held a search licence. Both Robert Weatherby and Charles Beamish had earlier held search leases which included the area in question (area Q). After Weatherby selected his mine lease (area W), Beamish applied for the lease of area Q, which was refused. The provincial government, defending against Beamish, based its case on the fact that area Q was a *reserve*, set aside in 1867 for any company which would begin a railway from Sydney Harbour to Morien Bay within two years. The Commissioner was seen as having the right to dispose of leases at will, and was not bound to follow the steps outlined in the lease regulations. The Glasgow and Cape Breton Co. had been incorporated in Sept. 1868 for the purpose of building the railroad, and had commenced work on it, so the case was decided in its favour (PANS RG 21, Series A, Vol. 39, Doc. 55).

12 PANS RG 21, Series A, Vol. 4, file entitled "Works and Mines 1892."

Louisbourg Coal and Railway Co. (SLCR on **Figure 3**). Companies mining large reserves of thicker seams were able to stay afloat during this stage, without resort to amalgamations or takeovers. These included the Gowrie Company, Caledonia Co., Little Glace Bay Co., International Co. and Victoria Co. (area F). Others, however, with smaller reserves or thinner seams, or without the capital for improvements, ceased production. For example, the South Head mine (area N) closed in 1877, the Collins mine (D) in 1878, the Black Rock colliery (B) in 1874, and the New Campbellton colliery (A) in 1875. The Blockhouse mine (area L), though working the excellent Harbour seam, was forced to close in 1888 owing to exhaustion of its small reserve acreage (compare **Figures 1** and **2**).

In 1886 all leases were renewed or surrendered, depending on whether they were actively being worked by the leaseholder. Several major changes came about as a consequence, the most important being the GMA's forfeiture of the Lingan lease and its seaward extension (areas 2 and 5 on **Figure 2**). This extensive tract had received some belated attention from the GMA in 1884, but the resulting Barachois mine was too little and too late to prove the company's good faith. The area was then amalgamated with the adjacent Victoria leases under the ownership of the Low Point, Barrasois, and Lingan Company (LPBLM on **Figure 3**). That this company was under-capitalized is indicated by the fact that it continued to operate offshore workings of the New Victoria mine, but failed to open up rich landward reserves of the Harbour and Phalen seams. Another important lease consolidation was the acquisition of the Blockhouse property by the neighbouring Archibald Company, who thereby extended their reserves on the Phalen seam (compare **Figures 1, 2** and **3**).

Most leases surrendered in 1886 were acquired by speculators, and it is about this time that the distinction between operator and speculator became clearly evident. Prior to 1886, very few lease-owners had been able to avoid the necessity of making at least a show of production. The requirement for active production was apparently not enforced for all offshore leases, however, so that while the Sword area (T) lapsed in 1886, the large Ross family tracts (X and Y) were retained. A large section of area Y lay well offshore and was obviously held in the hope of future sales to either the GMA or the Victoria Company.

The name of Supreme Court judge Robert L. Weatherbe appears frequently in the lease records during this period. In 1891 he acquired, but

never worked, area W. He went on to purchase the old Wilson property (N), and then picked up the lapsed Sword-area lease (T). Weatherbe was clearly interested in long-term appreciation on the value of his speculative holdings. As in the case of the Ross family, his strategy was to acquire offshore reserves which would eventually be required for the continued seaward development of large mines. He was partially successful, in that the Dominion Coal Co. subsequently purchased the Sword area during the 1890s.¹³

Domco, Scotia, Dosco and Devco, 1893 to the Present

The weeding-out and consolidation process of the seventies and eighties culminated in wholesale amalgamation in 1893, when a syndicate of mine owners (see Figure 4) formed the Dominion Coal Company (Domco), which requested and received from the government a special 99-year lease (rather than the regular 20-year lease) on its amalgamated holdings.¹⁴ From 1893 onward, the coalfield was thus dominated by two giant companies: Domco on one side of Sydney Harbour, and on the other the GMA and its successor after 1900, the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Co. (Scotia). Each side attempted to guarantee its future coal reserves, and if possible limit the reserves available to its competitor. Landward coal reserves were largely exhausted by this time, so offshore lease areas became vital pawns in a game of corporate chess; wherever possible, the strategy was to block offshore extensions of the competitor's mines, while simultaneously adding lease areas to extend one's own holdings seaward. Once this game of 'beggar-my-neighbour' began, it led rapidly to an irrational and highly disruptive pattern of lease areas.

Up to 1900, Domco was more aggressive than the GMA in acquiring lease acreage, through the purchase of existing speculative leases, plus ten square

13 After World War I, Dominion also purchased the Weatherbe holding at Old Bridgeport (area W), and his one-square-mile sea area lying between the Sword area and North Head. For additional information on Weatherbe, see P. Girard, "Weatherbe, Sir Robert Linton," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, XIV [forthcoming].

14 Chapter 21 in C. W. Vernon, *Cape Breton, Canada, at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (Toronto, 1903), provides a thorough, factual account of Domco's first decade. For a longer view, and also one highly favourable to the company's policies, see F. W. Gray, "Fifty Years of the Dominion Coal Company, Ltd.," in *Canadian Mining and Metallurgical Bulletin*, 373 (May 1943), 226-232. A critical reappraisal is provided by D. Frank, "The Cape Breton Coal Industry and the Rise and Fall of the British Empire Steel Corporation," in *Acadiensis*, 7, (1977), 3-34.

miles of new leases offshore from Glace Bay, thus enabling undersea extension of its major mines. At the same time, it acquired large offshore holdings which culminated in a stranglehold over the workings of the most important GMA mine (the Princess, number 14 on **Figure 1**). But when Scotia took over from the GMA, it countered by outflanking Domco offshore from Glace Bay (see the 1915 situation in **Figure 3**). This strategic acquisition threatened the future of Dominion's No. 1 and No. 2 mines (numbered 3 and 10 on **Figure 1**), and was sufficient to force a sub-lease from Domco to enable extension of the Princess workings off Sydney Mines. However, this sub-lease came too late to save Scotia's Lloyd Cove mine (number 20 on **Figure 1**), which closed in 1916, once its workings reached the inter-company line.

The spatial competition between Domco and Scotia was a fundamental aspect of the broader struggle between these two conglomerates: without assured reserves of coal to enable seaward extension of their mines, the vertically-integrated edifice which each company had developed had no basis. Conversely, however, when adverse market conditions following World War I forced an uneasy 'marriage of convenience' between the two companies, the lease war was settled by a redistribution of offshore leases. The initial merger, in 1920, created the British Empire Steel Corporation, or Besco.¹⁵ Besco was a holding company: as **Figure 4** shows, Domco and Scotia continued under separate management. The dramatic lease-swap which they immediately implemented can be appreciated by comparing the 1915 map (**Figure 3**) with the 1930 map (**Figure 5**). By this redistribution both companies were enabled to plan a rational pattern of coastal mines, each possessing a reserve area with a shore frontage of one-and-a-half miles. The lease-swap was particularly vital for the continued operation of Scotia's Princess mine, and of Domco's No. 1 colliery. The latter, which prior to 1921 had virtually exhausted its offshore reserves, was assigned an additional area large enough to warrant building a new shaft closer to the face (No. 1-B mine, numbered 33 on **Figure 1**).

During the 1920s, poor trading conditions and severe labour problems beset the coal companies, leading to the reorganization of Besco as the

¹⁵ Details of the protracted dealing required to create Besco are given in Frank, "The Cape Breton Coal Industry," and in J. Mellor, *The Company Store: James Bryson McLachlan and the Cape Breton Coal Miners 1900-1925* (Toronto, 1983), pp. 117-121.

Dominion Steel and Coal Co. (Dosco) in 1928 (**Figure 4**). Domco and Scotia continued as separately managed companies, but the latter's Sydney coal operations were hived off as Old Sydney Collieries Ltd. in 1938.¹⁶ The inter-company lease boundary was adjusted and smoothed at this time, to allow the continued extension of the Princess mine towards the north-east. Thereafter lease areas remained stable, until a completely new leasing regime was established upon the transfer of Dosco's mining interests to a federal Crown Corporation, the Cape Breton Development Corporation (Devco), in 1968 (**Figure 5**). The provincial government undertook to issue no further coal leases or mining permits without Devco's approval. Devco remains the only underground mine operator, though it has sub-let areas of near-surface coal for strip-mining and has contracted coal-recovery from mine waste.

The Independents, 1893 to the Present

While the two giant companies acquired all reserves of the thicker and more valuable seams, they showed little interest in exploiting the thinner and often unreliable lower seams (i.e., those outcroppings south of the Phalen). In particular, Domco neglected the Tracy seam on the South Side, and both the GMA and Scotia overlooked seams lower than the Harbour on the North Side.¹⁷ While these seams could be mined at a profit--providing the scale of operations was suitably modest--the big companies were interested only in large volumes of output generated through deep mining, which required mechanization and substantial investment; only the thickest and purest seams could produce sufficient return to make such investment worthwhile.

The independent companies were local concerns, often founded by local merchants. Their capital requirements were modest, but as shallow reserves were depleted they were forced to increase their scale of operations, thus causing various mergers and lease transfers. Most activity by these companies was on the North Side, on a series of small leases just south of the GMA/Scotia block (**Figures 3 and 5**). The companies involved, and the

¹⁶ Old Sydney Collieries was a production company only; it did not acquire its own coal properties, but leased them from Scotia. See W. F. Carroll, *Report of the Royal Commission on Coal, 1946* (Ottawa, 1947), pp. 147-151.

¹⁷ At least they did until 1913, when the Jubilee mine began producing from the Indian Cove and Collins seams.

property transfers between them, are shown on the left-hand side of **Figure 4**.

On occasion the large companies found it profitable to grant sub-leases to independents. This was especially prevalent on the North Side, where Scotia abandoned its attempt to work seams lower than the Harbour in 1925 (when it closed the Jubilee mine, numbered 25 on **Figure 1**). Its reserves of these lower seams were thereafter rationed in a series of sub-leases to the Bras d'Or Coal Co. and the Indian Cove Coal Co., thus allowing the Toronto mine (numbered 4) and the Indian Cove mine (numbered 16) to extend their workings northward beneath Scotia's own mines. This added four decades to the life-span of both the mines and the communities which depended on them.

Domco was more guarded in its relationships with smaller competitors, largely because lower seams on the South Side were thicker and potentially more attractive. The conglomerate was more aggressive in acquiring landward reserves as well, and failed only to acquire leases on the very deep Tracy seam. Even here, however, Domco managed to cripple fatally a mining venture launched by the Cape Breton Coal, Iron, and Railway Co., by both contesting the latter's lease and denying the competing company use of Domco's rail line and shipping pier. The result was the ghost town of Broughton.¹⁸

Under the Devco lease, several companies have carried out small-scale 'scavenging' operations, either strip-mining along formerly neglected seam outcrops, or reworking waste heaps to recover coal. Strip-mine operators have worked on sub-leases on Boularderie Island (Brogans and the provincial Crown Corporation, Novaco) and along the Gardiner seam near Reserve (Pioneer Coal), while coal-recovery contractors have reworked waste materials at The Summit (Selminco), Sydney Mines' Pitt St. (Selminco and Coastal), and the former Sydney Mines Wash Plant (Gael-Tech).

¹⁸ Broughton's story is told in Brodie Printing Service Ltd., *The Deserted Town* (Glace Bay, 1970). It was planned as a massive company town for some 12,000 people, and was intended to serve the Cape Breton Coal, Iron, and Railway Co.'s large Broughton mine. This slope mine was developed on the Tracy seam, but the company was never able to secure clear title to lease area 188, which was claimed by Domco. As a result, the mine had virtually no reserves available to it. In addition, CBCIR was unable to secure Domco's agreement to use the S. and L. railway, and failed to raise sufficient capital to build its own line from Sydney to Louisbourg. Thus the mine was unable to develop, and when it closed in 1907 the partially built town closed with it.

Summary

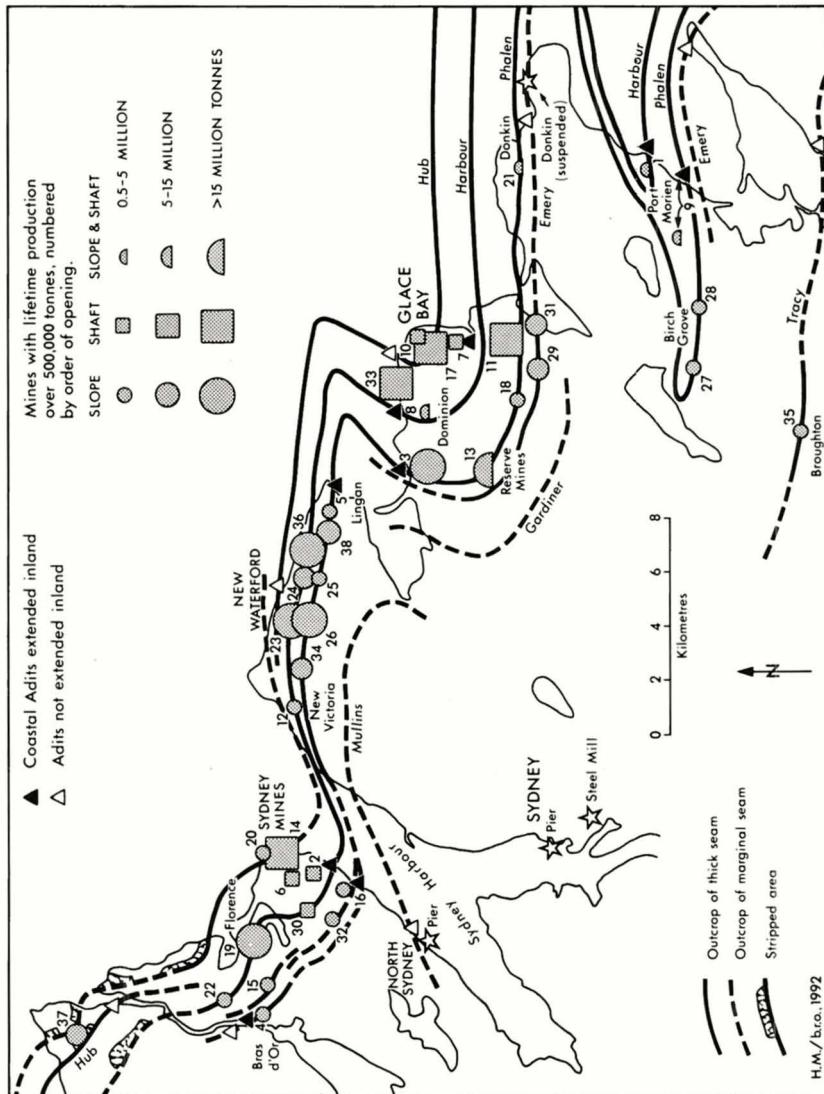
The task of turning Sydney's coal resources into assets was undertaken initially by governments, which owned the mineral rights. As the early strategic importance of coal declined, however, first the mines were leased out to contractors, and then the mineral rights themselves were leased to a single company, the General Mining Association. However, both the government monopoly and the private monopoly which replaced it delayed development of the coalfield; under the former arrangement, short-term contractors had no incentive to invest, while under the latter, a single company had no need to compete for markets and thus was content to develop only a handful of mines.

Sydney coal became so commercially attractive, however, that the legal monopoly was broken in 1858, ushering in a period of rampant speculation and enterprise. Many individuals and companies investigated prospects, acquired leases, raised capital and developed collieries. In these early stages of commercial development the resource was easily accessible, and could be mined by local entrepreneurs with little capital. But as shallow reserves were depleted, huge infusions of money were periodically necessary to purchase equipment for deep mining.¹⁹ The economies of scale thus necessitated larger mines with larger output, forcing individual entrepreneurs to sell to non-local companies, and these companies later to amalgamate or sell to even larger concerns. In the process, a distinction developed between operating companies, which were forced to increase the size of their lease blocks (often through amalgamation), and local speculators, who sought strategically-located leases which would later be required by operating companies for extension of their underground workings.

The 'shakedown' period of the late 1800s culminated in two large companies, which between them controlled all viable landward reserves. They pursued identical and mutually-detrimental lease-acquisition strategies, as they attempted to extend their coal reserves offshore. However, their mutual stranglehold on key mines eventually forced some crucial lease concessions, and was a contributing factor in the final amalgamation, through which all high-quality coal reserves came under the control of a single company. Once this overall control was achieved, a more rational pattern of mines and mining reserve areas was implemented.

19 See Millward, "A Model of Coalfield Development."

To conclude, this historical study has demonstrated how the mechanisms or procedures by which a public mineral resource is allocated for exploitation can strongly affect the spatial sequence, scale and timing of that exploitation. In particular, this case study shows how the size of lease areas, and the conditions under which lessees retained control of leases, significantly affected decisions regarding whether or not to invest, as well as how large mining ventures should be. Small leases allowed many to compete, but led to undercapitalized ventures, excessive speculation, myopic decision-making and an exploitation sequence which was wasteful of the resource. By contrast, monopoly control of the resource inhibited development and had various negative features--beyond the scope of this article--relating to excessive control over the social, economic and physical environment of the mining region.



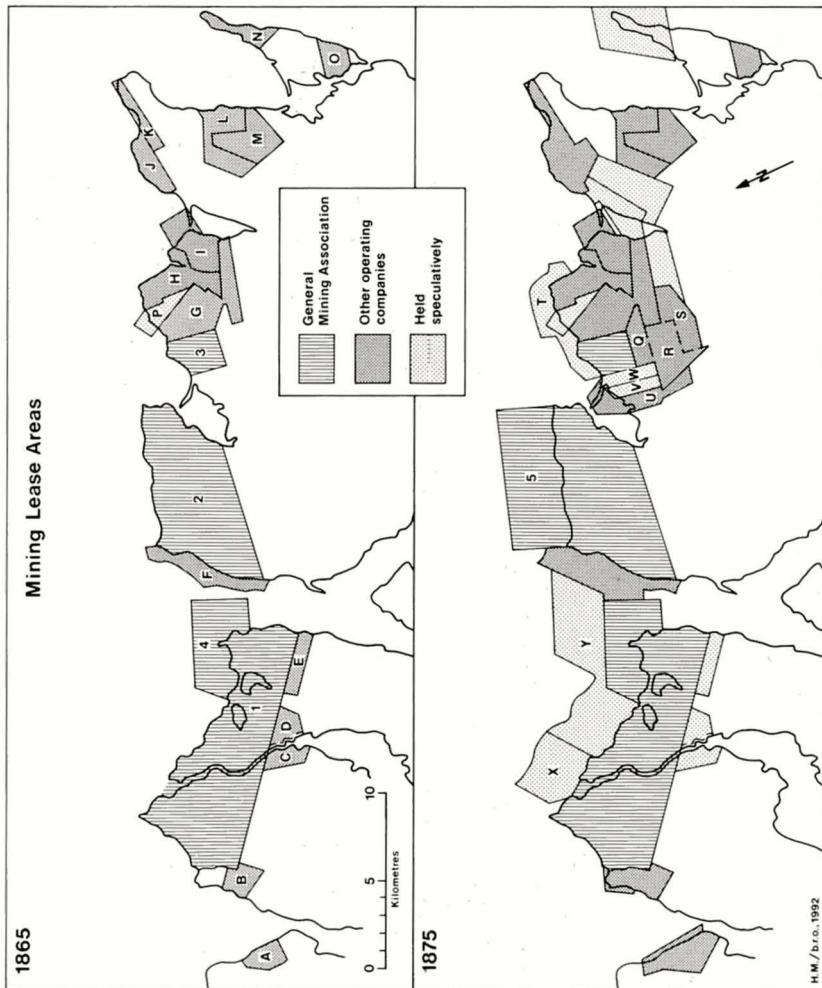


Figure 2: Mining lease areas in 1865 and 1875.

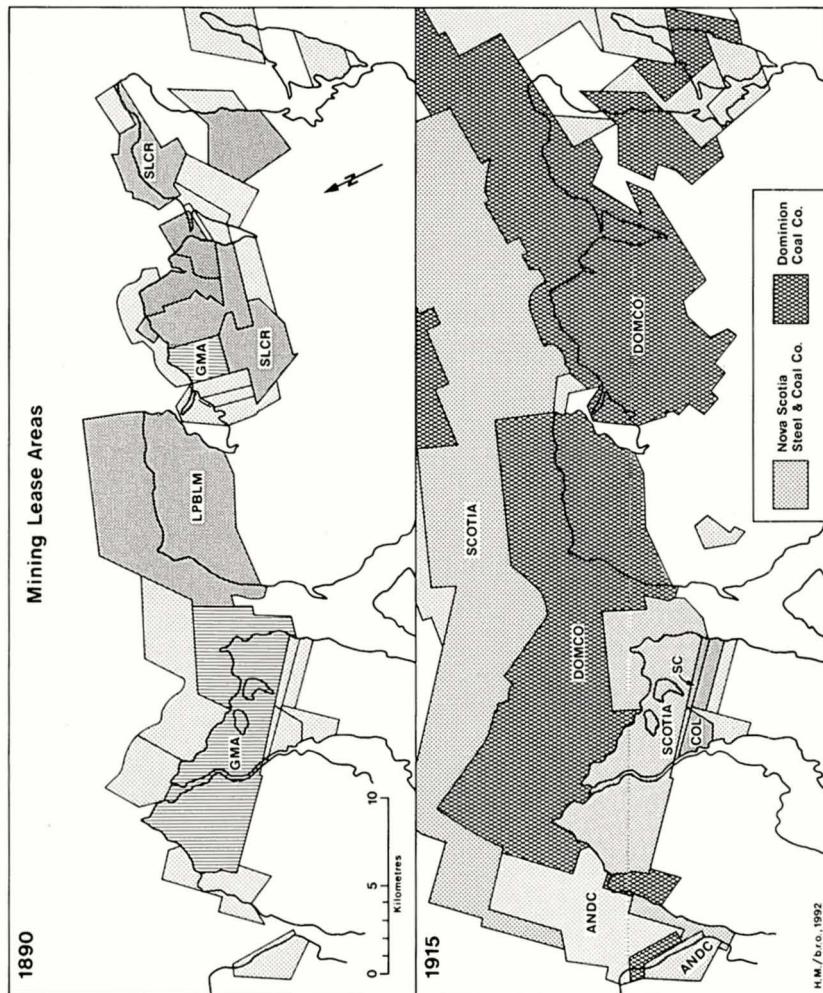


Figure 3: Mining lease areas in 1890 and 1915.

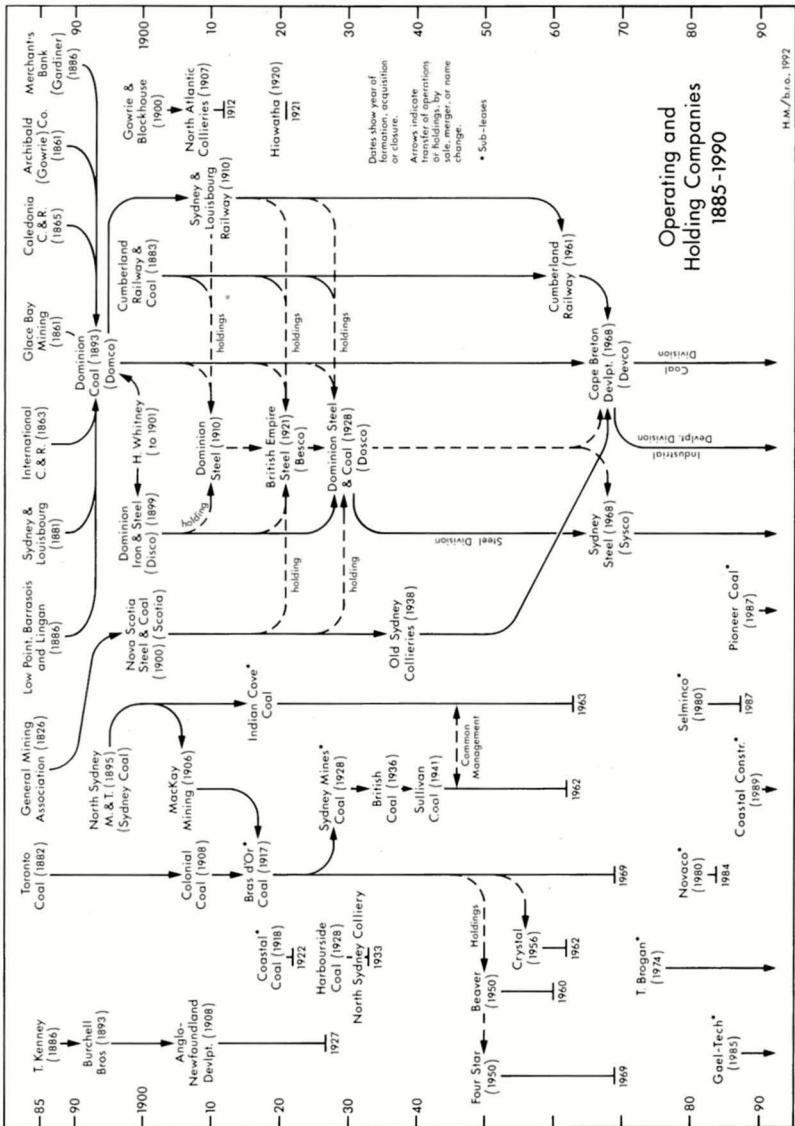


Figure 4: Operating and holding companies, 1885-1990.

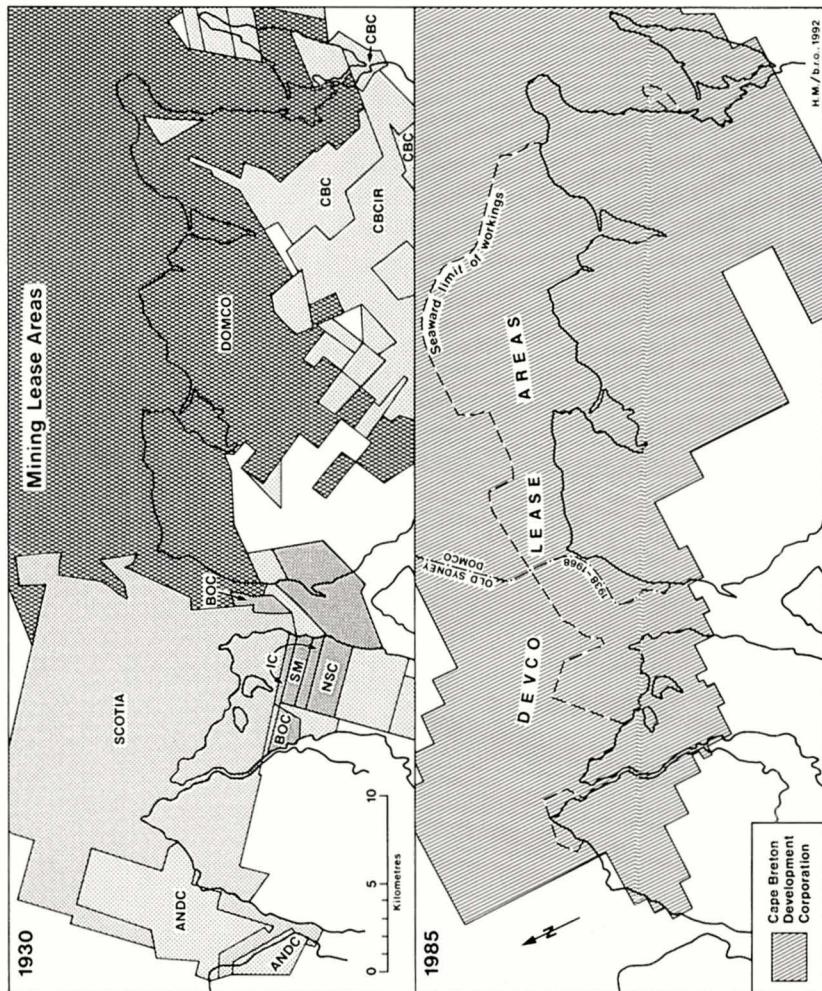


Figure 5: Mining lease areas in 1930 and 1985.

TABLE 1
Important Mining Lease Areas in the Period 1858-1893

Letter or Number Key (see lease maps)	Original Area (Sq. Miles)	Original Lessee (with date)	Transfers up to 1893 (with dates)
1	17	General Mining Association (1858)	None
2	14	General Mining Association (1858)	Low Point, Barrasois & Lingan Co. (1886)
3	2	General Mining Association (1858)	International Co. (c. 1891)
4	5	General Mining Association (1865)	None
5	10	General Mining Association (1865)	Low Point, Barrasois & Lingan Co. (1886)
A	1	C. J. Campbell (1862)	T. Kenney (1886?), Burchell Bros. (1893)
B	1	C. J. Campbell (1864)	W. Ross (1867)
C	1	C. J. Campbell (1862)	J. Matheson (c. 1865)
D	1	S. Gorreau (1859)	P. Collins (1863), A. T. Todd (1864), Toronto Coal Mining Co. (1882)
E	1	Roach & McInnis (1863)	R. J. & J. L. Ingraham (1866), GMA (1886), Hamilton et al. (1889)
F	2	J. Fraser, H. Paint, & H. Ross (1863)	Victoria Co. (c. 1865), Low Point, Barrasois & Lingan Co. (1885)

TABLE 1 (Cont'd.)
Important Mining Lease Areas in the Period 1858-1893

Letter or Number Key (see lease maps)	Original Area (Sq. Miles)	Original Lessee (with date)	Transfers up to 1893 (with dates)
G	4	Cadougan & McLeod (1858)	International Co. (1863)
H	2.2	E. Archibald & J. Moren (1858)	Glace Bay Mining Co. (1861)
I	2.1	Caledonia Co. (1865)	None
J	1.4	Clyde Co. (1863)	Halifax Coal and Iron Co. (c. 1872), Cape Breton Co. (1874), Sydney & Louisbourg C. & R. Co. (1881)
K	1	H. Ross (1862)	Schooner Pond Co. (1872), Cape Breton Co. (1874), Sydney & Louisbourg C. & R. Co. (1881)
L	2	M. Bourinot (1859)	Blockhouse Mining Co. (1863), Archibald Co. (1886)
M	2	T. Archibald & Co. (1861)*	None
N	1	Wilson's Co. (1863)	South Head Co. (1868), R. Weatherbee (1875?)
O	1	McLeod & Tracey (1864)	None

TABLE 1 (Cont'd.)
Important Mining Lease Areas in the Period 1858-1893

Letter or Number Key (see lease maps)	Original Area (Sq. Miles)	Original Lessee (with date)	Transfers up to 1893 (with dates)
P	1	A. Campbell (c. 1863)	International Co. (1886?)
Q	1	Glasgow & Cape Breton C. & R. Co. (1871)*	Cape Breton Co. (1874), Sydney & Louisbourg C. & R. Co. (1881)
R	2	Emery Mining Co. (1872)	Cape Breton Co. (1874), Sydney & Louisbourg C. & R. Co. (1881)
S	2	Lorway Mining Co. (1869)	Cape Breton Co. (1874), Sydney & Louisbourg C. & R. Co. (1881)
T	3	W. Sword (1867)	Weatherbe & Hendry (1886)
U	2	Burchell Bros. (1868)	Gardiner Coal Mining Co. (1873) Merchant's Bank of Canada (1886)
V	1	Moore & Moseley (1873)	None
W	1	Weatherbe & Kirby (1871)	None
X	3	Ross & Moore (1867)	None
Y	10	P. Ross et al. (1871)	Sydney Coal Mining Co. (1872)

* Also known as the Gowrie Mining Co.
 ** Also known as the Reserve Mining Co.

The Family Economy and Boy Labour in Sydney Mines, 1871-1901

Robert McIntosh

The history of the labouring family is the history of its struggle to subsist. This struggle is developed within the context of the family economy, and is expressed by the set of strategies employed by the family to match its consumption needs with the available labour resources. This article examines the use of one of these strategies, namely child wage-labour, over the last three decades of the nineteenth century. It focuses on Sydney Mines, Nova Scotia, where the employment of boys in the coal mines was a prominent feature of the local economy. The article will argue that conventional assumptions linking the employment of children with family survival need to be reconsidered. In Sydney Mines, at least, subsistence was not contingent on children's earnings; rather, child labour was only one of many tactics to which families resorted in early industrialized Canada in their search for marginally more security.¹

The slow expropriation from the land and its resources which accompanied the transition to industrial capitalism gave wage labour a central place among family survival strategies. The existing literature highlights three aspects of this process.² First, it points to the rise of the view that the adult male ought to be able to support his family on his wages alone. By World War I, as Wally Seccombe has argued persuasively, "the notion that the wage earned by a husband ought to be sufficient to support his family without his wife and young children having to work for pay [was] a pervasive and fervently held proletarian ideal throughout the developed capitalist world."³ In the struggle for subsistence, men were to labour for wages outside the household; women and children were to attend to domestic tasks.

Robert McIntosh is an archivist in the Government Archives Division of the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

1 Other aspects of the family economy--patterns of consumption, reproduction and household structure, non-wage forms of income, etc.--are not discussed here.

2 The rural family economy had its own set of challenges. See Chad Gaffield, "Schooling, the Economy and Rural Society in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," in Joy Parr, ed., *Childhood and Family in Canadian History* (Toronto, 1982), pp. 69-92; Chad Gaffield, "Boom and Bust: The Demography and Economy of the Lower Ottawa Valley in the Nineteenth Century," in Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers/Communications historiques* (Ottawa, 1982), pp. 172-95; Normand Séguin, *La conquête du sol au XIXe siècle* (Quebec, 1977).

3 Wally Seccombe, "Patriarchy stabilized: the construction of the male breadwinner wage norm in nineteenth-century Britain," in *Social History*, XI, 1 (Jan. 1986), 54. Discussion of the emergence of the male breadwinner wage norm is found also in Michelle Barrett and Mary McIntosh, "The 'Family Wage': Some Problems for Socialists and Feminists," in *Capital and Class*, 11 (1980), 51-72.

Secondly, research focusing on the major urban centres of Montreal and Toronto has emphasized that for all but a narrow and privileged segment of the working class, the adult male's wages were inadequate to support a family--at least not until well into this century.⁴ The ideal family survival strategy therefore could not be followed.

As a consequence and thirdly, the working-class family necessarily adopted other means to survive; the staggering variety of these adaptive manoeuvres testifies to the resourcefulness of the family as an independent social and economic unit. We have learned, for example, of the special problems presented by winter; of the importance of pigs, cows, boarders, and family use of charitable institutions; of household sharing; and of the non-wage contributions of children to the family economy.⁵ More commonly, however, historians have grappled with the place of secondary wage-earners in the family economy. Women's paid labour, in particular, has been explored in a growing literature.⁶

Relatively limited attention has been paid to the place of child labour in the family economy. Historians of the working class, noting that the use of child labour was greatest among families headed by labourers or semi-skilled workers, have tied the practice closely to family need. Some researchers have

4 Bettina Bradbury, "The Working-Class Family Economy, Montreal, 1861-1881" (Ph.D. dissertation, Concordia University, 1984), pp. 84-161; Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929* (Toronto, 1974), pp. 30-42; Michael J. Piva, *The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto-1900-1921* (Ottawa, 1979), pp. 27-60. By 1928, one historian has argued, "it was possible, for the first time, for the average male manufacturing worker to raise a family on his wages alone." See Bryan Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980* (Toronto, 1983), p. 192.

5 Judith Fingard, "The Winter's Tale: The Seasonal Contours of Pre-Industrial Poverty in British North America, 1815-1860," in Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers/Communications historiques* (Toronto, 1974), pp. 65-94; Bettina Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows, and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival among Montreal Families, 1861-1891," in *Labour/Le Travail*, 14 (Fall 1984), 9-46; Bettina Bradbury, "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness, and Poverty, Montreal, 1860-1885," in Parr, *Childhood and Family*, pp. 109-28; Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornstein, "Family Coresidence in Canada in 1871: Family Life-Cycles, Occupations and Networks of Mutual Aid," in Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers/Communications historiques* (Vancouver, 1983), pp. 30-55; John Bullen, "Hidden Workers: Child Labour and the Family Economy in Late Nineteenth-Century Urban Ontario," in *Labour/Le Travail*, 18 (Fall 1986), 163-87.

6 Many of the central themes are discussed in Bettina Bradbury, "Women's History and Working-Class History," in *Labour/Le Travail*, 19 (Spring 1987), 23-44. See also the articles in the "Special Issue on Women and Work," in *Labour/Le Travail*, 24 (Fall 1989).

simply noted that the poorest segments of the working class were most likely to place their children on the labour market. At other times a stronger claim is made, namely that child labour was necessary to family subsistence.⁷

Sydney Mines, as its name indicates, was a mining town, located on the north side of Sydney Harbour. The General Mining Association, the mines operator, was the only employer of note in the community. It established itself there in the 1820s, rapidly extending and upgrading the mines already at the site. By 1871 the GMA employed 460 workers, who supported a population of 2,300 in the immediate area. A rapidly expanding demand for coal swelled the mines workforce to 700 and the local population to 3,200 by 1901.⁸ The centrality of the mines in the community's economy put a number of constraints on family survival strategies. Most importantly, because women were not employed in Nova Scotian mines at this time, the wage-earners in Sydney Mines were overwhelmingly male. In the single-industry

7 In the first category, see Bradbury, "The Working-Class Family Economy," pp. 213-25; Bettina Bradbury, "Women and Wage Labour in a Period of Transition: Montreal, 1861-1881," in *Histoire sociale-Social History*, XVII, 33 (May 1984), 115-31; Jane Synge, "The Transition from School to Work: Growing Up Working Class in Twentieth Century Hamilton, Ontario," in K. Ishwaren, ed., *Childhood and Adolescence in Canada* (Toronto, 1979), pp. 249-69; Rebecca Coulter, "The Working Young of Edmonton, 1921-1931," in Parr, *Childhood and Family*, pp. 143-59; Dominique Jean, "Le recul du travail des enfants au Québec entre 1940 et 1960: une explication des conflits entre les familles pauvres et l'Etat providence," in *Labour/Le Travail*, 24 (automne 1989), 91-129. In the second category, see Bettina Bradbury, "The Family and Work in an Industrializing City: Montreal in the 1870s," in Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers/Communications historiques* (Saskatoon, 1979), p. 85; Frances H. Early, "The French-Canadian Family Economy and Standard of Living in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1870," in *Journal of Family History*, VII, 2 (Summer 1982), 180-99; Lorna F. Hurl, "Restricting Child Factory Labour in Late Nineteenth Century Ontario," in *Labour/Le Travail*, 21 (Spring 1988), 118.

8 On the origins of the GMA, see D. A. Muise, "The General Mining Association and Nova Scotia's Coal," in *Bulletin of Canadian Studies*, VI, 2/VII, 1 (Autumn 1983), 70-87. On its subsequent history, see Ian McKay, "The crisis of dependent development: class conflict in the Nova Scotian coalfields, 1872-1876," in Gregory S. Kealey, ed., *Class, Gender, Region: Essays in Canadian Historical Sociology* (St. John's, 1988), pp. 17-30. Population figures are for the Sydney Mines census subdivision and are drawn from the manuscript census. See National Archives of Canada (NAC), RG 31, Manuscript Census, Sydney Mines, 1871-1901. Employment figures are drawn from the *Report on the Mines of Nova Scotia*, 1871, p. 36, in *Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, 1872; Mines Report*, 1901, p. XIV, in *ibid.*, 1902.

coal town, there was very little alternative work for wages available to women.⁹

The level of the adult male wage income was always of critical importance to family survival strategies. Two factors acted to depress the miner's earnings, thus making his take-home pay approximate far more closely that of the urban unskilled labourer (with whom child labour was generally associated in late nineteenth-century Canada) than that of the urban skilled worker, to whom the miner likened himself. First, his labour was subject to strong seasonal rhythms. Even into the twentieth century, mine work slowed appreciably in Cape Breton over the winter, when ice closed the ports; the mines at Sydney worked on average perhaps 250 days annually over the last decades of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ Secondly, the miner's pay packet was subject to a number of deductions--for powder, oil, the school, the colliery doctor, even for the maintenance of clergy; these expenses might amount to thirty or forty dollars annually, exclusive of rent. The miner was also subject to fines (levied most commonly when the tubs of coal he sent up contained too many impurities). Among nineteenth-century workers, the miner was not exceptionally well paid.¹¹

Although women and girls had little access to wage labour in Sydney Mines, the colliery offered many opportunities for the employment of boys (see **Table A**). Most of the smallest pit boys were employed as 'trappers,' opening and closing the doors used to channel fresh air throughout the mine

9 Women were excluded from mine work until World War II, when specified surface jobs were made available to them. See David Frank, "The Miner's Financier: Women in the Cape Breton Coal Towns, 1917," in *Atlantis*, 8, 2 (Spring 1983), 139. Various interpretations of female exclusion from British mines are offered in Jane Humphries, "Protective Legislation, the Capitalist State, and Working Class Men: The Case of the 1842 Mines Regulation Act," in *Feminist Review*, VII (Spring 1981), 1-33; Angela John, *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Women Workers at Victorian Coal Mines* (London, 1980); Robert Colls, *The Pitmen of the Northern Coalfields: Work, Culture and Protest, 1790-1850* (Manchester, 1987), pp. 133-4; Jane Mark-Lawson and Anne Witz, "From 'family labour' to 'family wage'? The case of women's labour in nineteenth-century coalmining," in *Social History*, XIII, 2 (May 1988), 151-74.

10 Nova Scotia, *Mines Reports*, 1871-1901, *passim*.

11 The comparison is drawn from evidence presented before the federal labour commission, and published in Greg Kealey, ed., *Canada Investigates Industrialism* (Toronto, 1973). Miners' earnings compared poorly with those of Toronto carpenters (p. 77), London iron-foundry men (p. 126), Montreal moulders (p. 248), or St. John brass-founders (p. 317). See the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour, *Nova Scotia-Evidence* (Ottawa, 1889) [hereafter Labour Commission, *Evidence*], p. 423, for one miner's account of his earnings.

workings; others might run errands, or couple together tubs filled with coal. Older boys laboured at the removal of coal from the underground rooms where it was cut, to the mine surface. Many of these boys led horses which pulled tubs laden with coal along underground light-rail lines. Still older youths might labour as assistants to miners (who were often older kin), loading tubs with coal.¹²

Table A
*Percentage of the Underground Workforce Comprised
 by Boys, Sydney Mines, 1871–1901*

1871	22.2
1876	27.6
1881	23.3
1886	26.9
1891	26.8
1896	19.0
1901	17.3

Source: Nova Scotia, *Mines Reports*, 1871–1901. In these reports, boys were defined as under eighteen years of age.

There were relatively few jobs in the mines for the youngest boys, who were confined to trapping and a handful of other jobs. Only when a child reached a certain size and intelligence, explained miner Elisha Paul in 1888, was he able to drive a horse, let alone perform more onerous work. At the same time, the relatively low pay received by the smallest boys may have encouraged families to delay sending them into the mines. As indicated on Table B, drivers earned twice the amount that trappers did.¹³ Only at the age of fifteen were a clear majority of boys in Sydney Mines employed (see Table C).

12 The links between mining technology and the employment of boys are developed further in Robert McIntosh, "'Grotesque Faces and Figures': Child Labourers and Coal Mining Technology in Victorian Nova Scotia," in *Scientia canadensis*, XII, 2 (Fall/Winter 1988), 97–112.

13 Extant time sheets for January 1858 indicate that the collieries at Sydney Mines employed only twenty trappers; ten years later, manager R. H. Brown noted that ten trappers were used over two shifts (more than ten boys may have been employed, of course, for this work). See Beaton Institute, MG 1, E59 f(48), Workmen's Time Books, Sydney Mines, Jan. 1858; Public Archives of Nova Scotia [PANS], RG 21, Series A, Vol. 38, No. 11, Diaries of Richard H. Brown, entries for 6, 8 June 1878; Labour Commission, *Evidence*, pp. 269–70.

Table B
Boys' Daily Pay, Cape Breton, 1888

Occupation	Cents per Day
Trappers and Couplers	32-40
Drivers	60-85
Labourers	85-100

Source: Edwin Gilpin, "Coal Mining in Nova Scotia," in *Transactions of the Canadian Society of Civil Engineers*, II (1888), 377.

Table C
Age of Entry into Labour Force, Sydney Mines, 1871-1901

	1871	1881	1891	1901
13-year-olds	1/25	0/47	9/42	7/33
14-year-olds	7/24	0/43	15/32	14/37
15-year-olds	14/25	26/37	31/40	21/36
16-year-olds	25/28	30/38	28/36	24/31
17-year-olds	21/24	17/20	30/39	27/35

These figures give the proportion of employed boys as recorded in the manuscript census for Sydney Mines for the 'employable' age brackets. For instance, in 1871, one of twenty-five thirteen-year-olds was recorded on the census as employed. Documented child labour below the age of thirteen was rare. **Source:** Sydney Mines, MSS. Census, 1871-1901. Data appearing on subsequent tables is drawn from the same set of sources.

Few legal impediments existed to the employment of boys in late nineteenth-century Nova Scotia. The first provincial Mines Act, in 1873 ("Of the Regulation of Mines," 36 Vic., Cap. 10, Sec. 4), stipulated a minimum age of ten for employment underground; amendments in 1891 raised the age to twelve. Very few boys prohibited from the mines under the Act could be usefully employed there.¹⁴

¹⁴ On the genesis of the first Nova Scotian Mines Act, see Donald MacLeod, "Colliers, Colliery Safety and Workplace Control: The Nova Scotian Experience, 1873 to 1910," in Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers/Communications historiques* (Vancouver, 1983), pp. 232-3. Not until 1923, when the minimum age for underground employment was raised to sixteen, would the Mines Act have excluded large numbers of boys. See *Labour Gazette*, 1923, p. 353.

As long as school attendance was voluntary, it also constituted no obstacle to child labour. A province-wide system of public schools, supported by local assessment, was established in the 1860s, supplanting earlier, informal means of learning. Provisions for compulsory education (outside of Halifax), however, were not enacted until 1883. Even then, local school authorities only had the right to compel the attendance--and for only eighty days annually--of seven- to twelve-year-olds, children for the most part too young to be useful in the mines.¹⁵

Only late in the century, when the Nova Scotian school legislation was amended in 1895 ("An Act to amend and consolidate the Acts relating to Public Instruction," 58 Vic., Cap. 1, Sec. 84), were incorporated towns--Sydney Mines was incorporated in 1889--empowered to compel children aged from six to sixteen to attend school at least 120 days per year. Provisions were also put in place to enforce attendance: truancy officers were authorized to arrest children absent from school; their parents were subject to fines; and the child, as a last resort, could be imprisoned.¹⁶

Yet even this legislation did not necessarily exclude boys from the mines, since it allowed a variety of means to exempt children from its compulsory attendance clauses. Family poverty might be pleaded, for instance. Alternatively, even if boys observed the law, attendance at school (which was only required for 120 days a year) might still be combined with work in the mines. In late nineteenth-century Cape Breton, as one contemporary observer noted, boys attended school on days when the pit was idle.¹⁷

15 As early as mid-century, miners were contributing toward the maintenance of a schoolmaster. See PANS MG 1, Vol. 151, F/1866, R. Brown Sr. to R. Brown Jr., 21 Dec. 1866; P. L. McCreath, "Charles Tupper and the Politics of Education in Nova Scotia," in *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, I, 3 (Sept. 1971), 203-24; William B. Hamilton, "Society and Schools in Nova Scotia," in J. Donald Wilson *et al.*, eds., *Canadian Education, A History* (Scarborough, 1970), pp. 86-105; *Statutes of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1883), 46 Vic., Cap. 17, "An Act to Secure Better Attendance at Public Schools."

16 *Statutes of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1895), 58 Vic., Cap. 1, "An Act to amend and consolidate the Acts relating to Public Instruction," Sec. 84; David Frank, "Company Town/Labour Town: Local Government in the Cape Breton Coal Towns, 1917-1926," in *Histoire sociale--Social History*, XIV, 27 (May 1981), 181.

17 *Statutes of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1895), 58 Vic., Cap. 1, "An Act to amend and consolidate the Acts relating to Public Instruction," Sec. 84; C. O. Macdonald, *The Coal and Iron Industries of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1909), p. 48.

Given all these variables, there existed numerous opportunities for boy wage-labour in Sydney Mines. Who then took advantage of them? The existing literature, which has highlighted family need, would point in the direction of low-income households. One means available to analyze the factors shaping family use of boy labour is to compare those families which sent 'eligible' boys (those aged thirteen to seventeen inclusive) out to work with those families which did not. A computer-readable dataset has been assembled which incorporates information recorded on Schedule One of the Canadian manuscript census. All individuals resident in the Sydney Mines census subdivision have been included in this dataset for the years 1871, 1891 and 1901.¹⁸

This dataset indicates that there were 101 families with 'eligible' boys living in Sydney Mines in 1871; 138 in 1891; and 131 in 1901. Over the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, approximately sixty percent of these families consistently sent at least one of them out to work (see **Table D**). Attempts were made to correlate child labour with family dependants (those listed to be without an occupation). If family need were a prominent motive for boys to be sent to work, presumably more boys would be working within larger families. However, no clear trends have emerged from the data.

18 The census has its drawbacks: it reveals only what people chose to declare. It is also unhelpful with respect to casual or subcontracted (often women's) labour. Angela John, for instance, has pointed to the non-inclusion of women in the earliest British censuses if they were working in the pit for their miner-husbands (John, p. 24). On neither of these counts, however, should major problems loom regarding the reporting of boy labour. Enumerators were local residents, acquainted with the community. Boy wage-labour was common enough in Sydney Mines not to be considered blameworthy at this time. In determining whether boys were to be recorded as employed, the enumerators' instructions were clear: regular labour for wages (the conditions under which most pit boys worked) was to be reported; they made provision also for those circumstances where a miner might bring his son into the mine as his helper. "when sons follow the professions or occupations of their fathers, and are associated with them, the same description is to be inserted [for the boy as for the father]." See "Manual Containing 'The Census Act' and Instructions to officers employed in the taking of the First Census of Canada, 1871," in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1871, Vol. 4, No. 64, No. 19, p. 134.

Table D
Sydney Mines Families with 'Eligible' Boys, 1871-1901

	Total	Percentage Employing Boys
1871	101	59.4
1891	138	63.
1901	131	60.3

Boy labour was also correlated with the number of employed adults (eighteen years of age and over) in the household (see Table E). If need were a strong motive for boy labour, we could expect that the greater the number of employed adults residing within a household, the lower the likelihood would be of boys being employed. In fact, the opposite was evident: the likelihood of the family employing at least one eligible boy increased with the number of employed adults (to three).

Table E
Boy Labour and Employed Adults, 1871-1901

	One	Two	Three
1871	56.1 (41)	64.0 (25)	66.7 (21)
1891	61.5 (65)	72.3 (47)	66.7 (18)
1901	51.1 (47)	66.7 (36)	66.7 (24)

Percentage of families in each category (i.e., with one, two or three employed adults) which employed at least one eligible boy. The absolute number of families follow in parentheses. The small number of families with no employed adult, or with more than three, are excluded from this Table. Unless noted otherwise, figures are presented similarly in subsequent tables.

The large number of adults in Sydney Mines households is likely attributable to the lengthy co-residence of young people within the parental home, where they generally remained until marriage (or until they left the community, a possibility we can neither exclude nor examine statistically). In Sydney Mines, only when men were in their mid-twenties were more of them married than single.¹⁹

19 Sydney Mines, MSS. Census, 1871-1901.

The interrelation between family need and child labour can be most closely examined for 1901, when the census recorded individual income for the previous year. If we focus simply on the income of the household head (almost always the father), we find that boy labour was almost as likely to be employed by household heads in the highest income bracket as by those in the lowest (see **Table F**). It was not simply for immediate financial considerations that boys were brought into the mines: if it were, we could expect the incidence of child labour to decrease in the highest income category.

Table F
Boy Labour and Income of Household Head, 1901

	Under \$350	\$351 to 450	Over \$450
1901	66 (53)	52.2 (46)	62.5 (32)

Indeed, the evidence indicates that the families enjoying the greatest aggregate income were those which made most use of boy labour (see **Table G**). The miner who "get[s] comfortable," heard the federal Labour Commission in 1888, "is a man that has a number of boys." Added mine manager H. S. Poole: "I am under the impression that a man who has a large family of boys, when they are large enough to act as drivers and loaders, is the man who makes the money as a rule."²⁰

Table G
Boy Labour and Total Household Income, 1901

	Under \$700	\$701 to 1,300	Over \$1,300
1901	51.7 (60)	64.4 (45)	73.1 (26)

The pattern of the use of boy labour in Sydney Mines thus challenges conventional links between family need and child labour. In Sydney Mines, only sixty percent of families employed any of their 'eligible' boys in any census year over the last three decades of the nineteenth century. At the same

20 Labour Commission, *Evidence*, pp. 365, 359.

time, fewer than one-half of all boys 'eligible' for work (i.e. aged thirteen to seventeen) were reported to be employed. Clearly, labouring families in Sydney Mines survived in the absence of their boys' earnings.²¹

This conclusion also appears to lend weight to the contemporary views of child-labour critics, who were quick to condemn working-class parents for the alleged exploitation of their offspring. Families in Sydney Mines sent their boys to labour in the mines in an increasingly hostile social environment. As the nineteenth century approached its close, the child-welfare movement extended its traditional concern with neglected, abandoned or abused children to include labouring children.²² Women's groups, like the Halifax Local Council of Women, increasingly expressed their concern over child labour.²³ The emergent social gospel movement, whose energies were organized in 1909 under the auspices of The Moral and Social Reform Council of Nova Scotia, sought also to suppress child labour.²⁴ The child-welfare movement was institutionalized nationally in 1921, as the Canadian Council on Child Welfare.²⁵

One of the reasons child labour persisted, in the eyes of social reformers, was because of their idle, greedy and/or unthinking working-class parents: "Some [parents] are concerned with the immediate financial return," ran a typical complaint, "and are willing to sacrifice their children's future for the

21 Sydney Mines, *Mss. Census, 1871-1901*.

22 Nova Scotia had the first Children's Protection Acts in Canada, passed in 1880 and 1882. The Halifax Society for the Prevention of Cruelty, founded in 1876, was particularly active in its efforts on behalf of neglected and abused children. See Judith Fingard, *The Dark Side of Life in Victorian Halifax* (Porters Lake, N.S., 1989), p. 171.

23 *Halifax Herald*, 24 Mar. 1909, p. 9.

24 *Ibid.*, 22 Jan. 1909, p. 6.

25 See R. L. Schnell, "A Children's Bureau for Canada: The Origins of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare, 1913-1921," in Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert, eds., *The Benevolent State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada* (Toronto, 1987), pp. 95-110.

present enjoyment of added luxuries or comforts."²⁶ It was commonly observed--and deplored--that working-class parents were among the principal opponents of legislation aimed to restrict children's employment.²⁷ Increasingly, parents of working children were condemned for their alleged exploitation of their offspring. Evidence that children's earnings were not necessary to family survival only added to the rancour reformers directed against the parents of labouring children.

There are a number of grounds on which we can take issue with such condemnation. Before doing so, it is important to consider the impact the child labour experience had on the future of young boys. The informal mine apprenticeship which the pit boy underwent, in contrast to many other children's jobs, led directly to adult employment. In fact, it likely enhanced the youth's ability to find adult work as a miner. Some pit boys even went on to take up managerial positions in Nova Scotian mines.²⁸ Unless it is argued that life as a miner was a life forfeited, the objection cannot be made that child labour in the coalfields 'sacrificed' boys' future. At the same time, it must be noted that parents were clearly steering their sons away from the mines by the second or third decade of this century.²⁹

Before passing judgement on working-class parents, three points remain to be considered. First, the Sydney Mines census data indicate simply that families *survived* in the absence of boys' earnings. Can working-class parents be reproached for seeking more than merely to subsist? Trade-union leader

26 J. P. Cowles, *The Juvenile Employment System of Ontario* (Ottawa, 1923), p. 5. Margaret Mackintosh was typical of a generation of reformers early in this century who condemned "short-sighted" parents for resorting to child labour. See Margaret Mackintosh, *The Social Significance of Child Labour in Agriculture and Industry* (Ottawa, 1924), p. 5. Within the mining community itself, concern was periodically expressed over the age at which boys entered the labour force. One miner argued as early as 1890, for instance, that "parents sent their boys to work at too early an age." See Labour Canada Library, Hull, Québec: [Nova Scotia] Provincial Workmen's Association, Annual Meeting of the Grand Council, *Minutes* (1890), p. 221.

27 See, e.g., Lorna F. Hurl, "Overcoming the Inevitable: Restricting Child Factory Labour in Late Nineteenth Century Ontario," in *Labour/Le Travail*, 21 (Spring 1988), 87-121.

28 E.g., James Baird, who started work at eleven as a driver, and Henry Swift, who entered the mines at twelve. See *Canadian Mining Review*, (1894), p. 64; R. A. H. Morrow, *The Story of the Springhill Disaster* (St. John, 1891), pp. 121-2. See also James Cameron, *The Pictonian Colliers* (Halifax, 1974), pp. 65-8.

29 Ian McKay, "The Realm of Uncertainty: The Experience of Work in the Cumberland Coal Mines, 1873-1927," in *Acadiensis*, XVI, 1 (Autumn 1986), 25-6.

John Moffat described the miner's goal as "a good, comfortable home, education, music, good literature, [and] insurance with sufficient wages to lay by to help out in old age."³⁰ Surely this was a reasonable objective?

Secondly, subsistence offered no buttress against the loss of the family breadwinner. All mining families faced daily the prospect of such loss. Mine accidents took their toll. More difficult to establish now was the price in men's lives exacted by mining-related illnesses such as 'blacklung.' In light of the persistent threat of the disability or death of the family breadwinner, the family reasonably sought to make provision against his possible removal from the workforce. The mine, described by Ian McKay as a "Realm of Uncertainty," was an exceptionally dangerous workplace.³¹

A third factor is of particular importance. Parents necessarily looked to their own future. In the mines, men aged rapidly; by the age of forty or forty-five, union official Dan Livingstone reported in 1919, a miner was considered old. Although we know far too little about the survival strategies of the elderly, we do know that the prospect of lost independence, of being thrown on the uncertain means and patience of family and friends, deeply concerned the mining community. Even worse was the spectre of forced reliance on government support; at that time in Nova Scotia, this meant the Poorhouse. "I know," claimed one miner in 1919,

that when a man gets old he cannot earn sufficient money to keep him, and then he falls back on his sons and daughters, or if he has no sons and daughters who are willing to share their lot with him, he must go to the Poor House, and when a man works hard all his life and there is nothing ahead of him but the Poor House I think it is a disgrace, and I think that we, as voters, should hang our heads with shame to see our old men going under.³²

30 Cited in Robert Drummond, *Reflections and Recollections of a Former Trades Union Leader* (Stellarton, c. 1926), pp. 184-5.

31 McKay, "The Real of Uncertainty."

32 An inquiry into old-age pensions for miners was conducted in 1908. It strongly urged that a pension scheme be established. Nova Scotia Commission on Miners' Old Age Pensions and Relief Societies, *Report* (Halifax, 1908). Over a decade later, when the federal (Mathers) Royal Commission on Industrial Relations toured provincial coalfields, miners made repeated reference to the pensions inquiry, expressing their disappointment that the province had failed to act. NA, RG 33, Series 95, [T. G. Mathers] Royal Commission on Industrial Relations, *Minutes of Evidence*, 1919, pp. 3690-1, 3894. The quotations are from pp. 3703, 3707, and 3693.

Working-class parents were necessarily sensitive to the need to make provision against what one miner labelled their "declining years." Reformers may have been right to claim that working-class families could 'manage' (i.e. subsist) in the absence of their children's earnings; they were very wrong to claim that child labour was consequently unnecessary.

In fact, the reverse is true: boy labour was a mark of prudence on the part of labouring families. That brief period of relative affluence during which the family had wage-earning co-resident sons was when provision had to be made for life's contingencies. In the short term, it was a buttress against the illness or accidental death of the principal breadwinner. In the long term, it helped parents meet the challenges of ageing. Families, in initiating their boys to the mines in late nineteenth-century Nova Scotia, thus helped to bridge the gap between a hand-to-mouth existence and a limited security.

The Tyranny of Capital: Nova Scotian Miners under the Stars and Stripes, 1884-1885

Peter R. Shergold

The Civil War years were difficult ones for the American coal industry. Many miners left for the battlefield, while immigration into the coalfields from the British Isles declined, deterred by the outbreak of hostilities. Those miners who remained at the pits, however, enjoyed rapidly rising wage rates. In Pennsylvania's Schuylkill County, for example, the rate for cutting a yard of coal increased from \$4.00 in 1860 to \$14.00 in 1869. This temporary improvement in earnings nevertheless did not prevent industrial agitation. In the Pennsylvania anthracite region, violence and 'Molly Maguirism' were rampant. Furthermore, not all miners were attracted by the call to colours. Indeed, in 1863 there were draft riots against the Conscription Act. For several months after August of that year the military had to be posted in the state's anthracite towns, and troops were sent against miners in Tioga County. With simmering unrest and underground labour in short supply, coal production was significantly disrupted; munition works ran short and coal which sold at \$3.20 a ton in 1859 brought \$8.59 by 1864.¹

To the Nova Scotian coal industry these problems represented opportunity. Already the provincial product had made substantial inroads into the American market. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, against which the Pennsylvanian coal-owners had actively campaigned, allowed Canadian coal to enter the United States duty free. Now, as Pennsylvanian output slumped, sea-borne coal from Nova Scotia gained a virtual monopoly of the New England market. Between 1854 and 1866 the province's exports to the United States more than doubled. The future for coal exports appeared bright.²

The dramatic collapse of the Confederacy and cessation of internecine warfare saw those optimistic hopes rudely shattered. Coal production in Pennsylvania rose rapidly. The consolidation of railroad lines lowered transportation costs to such an extent that American coal from the interior could be sold cheaper than the Nova Scotian product.³ American mine

Peter R. Shergold is an economic historian on the faculty of the University of New South Wales, Kensington, Australia.

1 Peter Roberts, *The Anthracite Coal Industry* (New York, 1901), p. 110; Anthony Bimba, *The Molly Maguires* (New York, 1970 edn.), p. 28; McAlister Coleman, *Men and Coal* (New York, 1943), p. 37; Joseph Rayback, *A History of American Labor* (New York, 1966 edn.) pp. 109-110.

2 W. A. Easterbrook and Hugh G. J. Aitken, *Canadian Economic History* (Toronto, 1958), pp. 244-249.

3 Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (New Haven, 1940), pp. 161-162.

owners also sought to re-establish their dominance in the domestic market through the imposition of a protective tariff. In 1866 import duty was fixed at \$1.50 per ton on both bituminous and anthracite coal. Without such tariff deterrence, argued the Maryland producers, coal from Nova Scotia would be "imported to the Northern cities [of the U.S.A.] at far less cost than it can be produced from our coal fields." The competitive potential of Nova Scotian coal continued to be a bugaboo to which American coal producers periodically made reference in the nineteenth-century, but from the late 1860s it was never to pose a genuine threat.⁴

In Nova Scotia the impact of these changes was dramatic. As the American export market shrank, mine shafts were closed; unemployment rose; the annual earnings of miners plummeted. Many workers, including large numbers of recent migrants from the British Isles, packed their bags. A steady stream headed south to work in the very mines whose competition had effectively ruined the export prospects of the Nova Scotian industry.⁵

By 1870 the U.S. Census recorded 781 Nova Scotian-born individuals in Pennsylvania, representing some 7.8% of that state's 'British American' population. By 1880 the number of Nova Scotians had increased to 927. Of the 5,363 Canadians who were engaged in paid labour, 289 were listed as miners--more than in any other male occupation except labourer. Over the next decade, numbers remained stable. By 1890, some 5,691 male Canadians were working in Pennsylvania, of whom 1,158 were engaged in mining or agriculture.⁶

The experiences of the Nova Scotian miners who migrated south to find employment have not been completely lost to history. In 1884 and 1885 the Pennsylvania Bureau of Industrial Statistics sought testimony on the relative conditions of labour in the Keystone State. To this end it distributed a questionnaire to wage-earners, which amongst other things asked: "if for any extended period you were employed at wage-labor in Europe, state where and

4 Katherine A. Harvey, *The Best-Dressed Miners: Life and Labor in the Maryland Coal Region, 1835-1910* (Ithaca, 1969), pp. 145, 158, 163 and 279.

5 Hansen, *The Mingling*, pp. 161-162.

6 U.S.A., Department of the Interior, Census, 1870, Vol. 1, p. 754; Compendium, p. 397; 1880, Vol. 1, pp. 492 and 843; 1890, Compendium, Part III, pp. 520-523. It should be remembered that numbers of the British-born miners had also worked in Nova Scotia before heading to Pennsylvania.

what was your occupation, and your condition then compared with your present condition in this country." Some forty-five English, Welsh and Scottish workers responded. So too did two Nova Scotian miners, undeterred by the explicit emphasis on trans-Atlantic experience.⁷

For both, life in Pennsylvania had proved a disappointment. One, employed in Dubois, had risen to become a district secretary of the Miners and Laborers' Amalgamated Association. He had four children at school, and one who contributed wages to the family income. He intended to return to Nova Scotia as soon as possible. The second, aged 65, was at work in Esson near Pittsburgh. He was married with nine children, not one of whom earned income. Neither miner believed that they had materially improved their lot by migration. They had found employment but not, it would appear, an acceptable standard of living. The Esson miner, in brief prefatory comments, complained that three of his children should be attending school but were not, "for want of means to buy warm clothing and books." However, dissatisfaction with life south of the border was not based exclusively upon comparison of real wage rates or earnings. Of more importance was the loss of the freedom both felt that they had suffered under the "boasted republican government" of the Stars and Stripes: they argued that there had been less "tyranny of capital" under the Union Jack of Nova Scotia. Their fragmentary reflections, brief as they are, put at least some words into the mouths of those whom historians too readily characterize as the inarticulate.

Miner, DuBois, Clearfield Co. Was employed in Nova Scotia for a number of years, and was better off there than here. Will go back there as soon as I am able to go and take my family with me, as I found less tyranny by capital under the union jack than I have found by capital under our own stars and stripes. In Nova Scotia I was allowed to exercise any right guaranteed to a British subject by law, and my employers did not dare to say me nay; but here, under our boasted republic government, I am completely blacklisted and denied employment at my trade, for the reason that I am district secretary for the M.&L.A.A. [Miners and Laborers' Amalgamated Association].

Miner, Esson, Allegheny Co. I never was in Europe, was born in Canada. Worked at mining in Nova Scotia, both in the coal mines and gold mines. Came to this country eight years ago. My condition there was better as a coal miner

7 Pennsylvania, Secretary of Internal Affairs, Bureau of Industrial Statistics, *Annual Report*, 1884, p. 55; 1885, pp. 123-125.

than my present condition here. The cost of living there was not near as high as here, and work, as a general rule, was steady. House rent there is not half as high as here. There is not so much petty tyranny used there as here.

We had not a conspiracy law there to harass the miners with the same as here in Western Pennsylvania. Here, in the time of wage disputes, the operators generally trump up a charge of conspiracy against the men that take leading part, get them arrested, and put them in jail in order to intimidate the rest; they have either to lay in jail or get bail for their appearance at court, and many times men who are good citizens are thus dealt with when there are no grounds nor proof against them. When the trial comes up, and the coal operators and their coal and iron police cannot prove the charge against them, the cost of such trial is thrown on the county were they reside. On the other hand, they can conspire together if one of them discharges a man because he knows or says too much, the other ones will not hire him; thus many a good and loyal citizen of this free country is forced to submit in silence for fear of himself, wife, and little ones being deprived even of the scanty living which we get from our toil. This is the way the conspiracy law works among us. In my opinion, the only way to remedy this evil is to erase the law from the statutes of the State.

The hours of coal miners at work are very hard to get at owing to the time of going to work being so irregular. They will be going to their work all hours, from one o'clock, A.M., till seven, A.M., but where I am working at present I think the hours will be from eleven to twelve hours per day. The miners in this district are very poorly paid; at present we are paid two and a half cents a bushel of seventy-six pounds screened over one and a half inch screen, and get no pay for what goes through said screen. In the first of the year 1882, the price for the same coal, run over the same kind of a screen, was four cents per bushel of seventy-six pounds. You can see the sweeping reductions we have suffered since that time. Arbitration and conciliation are far ahead of strikes, in my opinion. The coal miners of the Monongahela river have just ended a very hard fought strike to maintain their wages, but after suffering privations and even hunger in their families for months, they were defeated, and had to return to work at the terms of the coal operators. The miners wanted to submit their case to arbitration, but the operators would not consent to abide by the decision of the umpire.

The labor laws of this State, in my opinion, are very good if they were enforced, but we can see them violated every day, and no penalty inflicted for violating the same. The mining law, if it was enforced, would do, but it is left with the miners, in a great many cases, to enforce it, and they are not prepared to do so for the want of the means.

Immigrant labor, I believe, will regulate itself through time, but will cause a great amount of hardship before that time comes. This immigrant labor is teaching the employers a lesson of late, such as the trouble they had in Cleveland and the present trouble they have in the coke regions of this State with their imported labor. If I had kept an accurate account, I could have done more justice in filling up this circular, but I never saw one of these before.

James Umlach and his Descendants in St. Mary's River and the West Cape

Joyce Hemlow and Iris Shea

James Umlach (*ca.* 1759–1855), coaster, trader and explorer, was the second son of the Scottish soldier and settler John Umlach (*ca.* 1726–1821) who after the Siege of Louisburg (1758) settled first in East Chester and finally in St. Margaret's Bay.¹ In the late 1790s, James with his future father-in-law, James McDaniel (*ca.* 1752–1822),² explored the eastern shore of Nova Scotia, evidently stopping for a number of fishing seasons in Liscomb Harbour, probably on Amelia Island, later known as Hemlow's Island. Not far from lucrative fishing grounds, the inner side of that island offered a safe haven and a comparatively gentle shoreline on which to land, camp and process fish which, dried or salted, could be marketed in Halifax. In a deed of 1796 by which Hemloe and McDaniel acquired land on St. Mary's river, they are described as "of Liscom Fishermen."³

The capacious haven, first called Amelia, then Franklin's Harbour, was formed and shielded from the open Atlantic by two islands: Liscomb (nearly two miles in length) and Amelia (over a mile long and containing 285 acres). The harbour was further protected at its eastern entrance by Redman's Head (to anticipate future names), giving shelter to Lower or Little Liscomb and its fleet of family fishing boats. On the west, an elongated rise of land five miles in length terminated at Smokey Head and Liscomb Point, promontories on the wide western entrance to the harbour. In storm, breakers dashed high over the bluffs, visible for miles, while the harbour within was relatively calm. The sheltered West Side was a land base, the nearest possible to the teeming fishing grounds: Mackerel Shoal and among others, Laing, McKinlay and Sand Shoals. As early as 1765 George Smith and his brothers obtained from the Governor-in-Council (Montagu Wilmot) three thousand acres on the West

Joyce Hemlow, Greenshields Professor Emerita, McGill University, Ph.D., LL.D., F.R.S.C., has returned to her native Nova Scotia. Iris Shea (*née* Umlah) is a freelance genealogical researcher in Halifax.

1 Joyce Hemlow, "John Umlach (*ca.* 1726–1821); a 'Native of Scotland,' Soldier and Settler," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 10, 1 (June 1990), 35–52.

2 Joyce Hemlow and Iris Shea, "The Umlachs and the McDaniels of the West Cape of St. Mary's River," in *ibid.*, 11, 2, (Dec. 1991), 115–136.

3 Registry of Deeds, Halifax County, Book 36, p. 363. Throughout this article, the surname spelling variations contained in primary-source documents have been retained. As well, and in order to distinguish between the two, St. Mary's River has been used consistently to refer to the region, while St. Mary's river refers to the river itself.

Side as a "Fishing Lot,"⁴ when three acres would amply have served that purpose. Until the lamentable decline of the fishery, homesteads grew up and flourished all along that shore. A deep channel, moreover, running for miles along the West Side, provided anchorage for ships of almost any draught,⁵ including in early days foreign sword-fishing fleets and three-masted lumber carriers bound for England.⁶

It is not surprising that the prospective settlers Umlach and McDaniel should have thought of applying for land there. Umlach "bided his time" but McDaniel sent off an unsuccessful application on 25 August 1801,⁷ little knowing that in the prodigal regime of Governor Wilmot (1763-1766), 25,000 acres of Liscomb land had been doled out. Indeed, during Wilmot's term of office approximately three million acres of provincial land were granted unwisely to recipients unable or unwilling to honour their obligation with respect to clearing, cultivation and settlement.⁸ So it was with the Liscomb land.

Twenty thousand acres on the northeast of Liscomb Harbour had been awarded on 21 October 1765 to Sir Richard Spry, Commodore and Commander-in-Chief of the Coast of North America, and later Admiral of the Red. In Nova Scotia he had served under Admiral Boscawen at the reduction of Louisburg (1758), but in 1766 he was sent by the Admiralty to the Mediterranean, dying on his hereditary estates in Cornwall, England in 1775. His Liscomb grant, left unimproved, was escheated in 1784.⁹

A second grant, however, though smaller than the above, still stood in the way of settlement. This was the two thousand acres awarded on 10 November

4 RG 20, Series A, Land Grants, Book 7, p. 182 (mfm.), Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

5 *Nova Scotia (S.E. Coast) and Bay of Fundy Pilot* (4th ed.; Ottawa, 1966), pp. 47-50.

6 Ruth (Rumley) Legge's unpublished "Brief History of Sawmills at Liscomb Mills, Nova Scotia" is a welcome study of an early industry in the region.

7 The record of McDaniel's petition, rejected on 17 Dec. 1801, was formerly in PANS RG 20, Series C, Vol. 171a.

8 Phyllis R. Blakeley, "Wilmot, Montagu," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, IV (Toronto, 1979), 663-4.

9 "Spry, Richard," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 53, pp. 432-33. The grant is in PANS RG 20, Series A, Book 6, p. 524 (mfm.); the escheat in PANS RG 1, Vol. 377, doc. 68.

1764 to the Right Worshipful William Spry, LL.D., Judge of His Majesty's Court of Vice-Admiralty over all America.¹⁰ Judge Spry and his wife, a relative of the statesman William Pitt, arrived in Halifax Harbour in September 1764; on 2 October he opened the Court with high ceremony and waited for cases to appear. His jurisdiction included the robust ports of Boston, New York, Charleston and Philadelphia, where in pre-revolutionary years resentment against the British imposition of taxes was gaining momentum. To the colonials to the south, Halifax seemed cold and remote, and the new judge an additional "symbol of imperial rule." They sent few cases to Dr. Spry. In 1766 his court was all but idle and in January 1767 he sailed out of Halifax Harbour, presumably bound for England. Furnished with a new appointment as Governor of Barbados, he sailed into Carlisle Bay on 19 February 1768, was received with due ceremony and paid a salary of £2000 per annum. He died there on 4 September 1772.

The late governor's sister Anne, co-applicant for the Liscomb grant of 1764, had married in December of that year Major-General Joseph Goreham, who had extensive land grants of his own.¹¹ Anne died pre-1787 and the unclaimed Liscomb land continued in its wild state for nearly half a century until in 1810 settlers in the vicinity of Liscomb, impatient at the unavailability of the advantageous coastal site, complained to the Court of Escheats and Forfeitures; the grant of 1764 was revoked on 7 April 1810. It was at this point that James Umlach, apparently aware of these proceedings, sent in a successful application for Liscomb land; on 5 September 1811 he was granted five hundred acres--two hundred on the mainland and three hundred encompassing Amelia Island (285 acres) and Hog Island (15 acres).¹²

This, however, was for the future. Thwarted as they thought in the 1790s

¹⁰ The grant is in PANS RG 20, Series A, Old Book 6, p. 493 (mfm.); also in Minutes of Council for 10 Nov. 1764 and 5 Nov. 1765 (PANS RG 1, Vol. 211, pp. 395 and 435). The escheat is in PANS RG 1, Vol. 377, doc. 158. Spry's short career in Nova Scotia is examined by Carl Ubbelohde, *The Vice-Admiralty Courts and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1960), pp. 1-80; for his final years as governor of Barbados, see Robert H. Schomburgk, *The History of Barbados* (London, 1971), p. 332.

¹¹ For Ann Spry's share of the Liscomb land grant, see n. 10 above; for her marriage, see *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, IV, 308.

¹² PANS RG 20, Series A, Land Grants, Book B, p. 69 (mfm.).

for land in Liscomb, Umlach and McDaniel had sailed on to St. Mary's river where on the West Cape in the 1790s Jonathan Binney and his sons were selling thousand-acre lots on the river front, to the number of ten. In 1792, James's brother John Umlach (ca. 1758-1849) had already purchased the advantageous Lot No. 2 and would acquire before 1801 three thousand acres of river frontage. James had married on 15 July 1795 McDaniel's daughter Ann (ca. 1776-1856) and at the age of thirty-six he was anxious to settle down with his young wife on land of his own. Accordingly, on 2 July 1796, James Hemloe and James McDaniel "of Liscom Fishermen" purchased from Binney the two Lots 5 and 6 for £10. Later on, in 1810, James would join his brother-in-law Henry McDaniel (1787-1842) in the purchase of Lot No. 4.¹³

Faced with a primeval forest of a thousand acres and the laborious reality of homesteading, James had first to fell the trees and clear intractable land characterized by its "stoniness"--boulders and rocks of all sizes on the surface and beneath it. A lasting witness to this effort are durable stonewalls (four or five feet in width and about the same height) extending for 1,200 feet or more along the upper edges of the field as eventually cleared.¹⁴ He had then to build a dwelling house, a barn, a woodhouse and probably a boat house, as "by water" was the chief means of travel in his day.

Statistics concerning cultivated acreage and agricultural produce had to wait for the census of 1861, six years after James's death, but the figures given then can probably be taken as a fair account of Hemloe's farm after sixty years of work on it. By 1861 four acres had been cleared and cultivated, the yield in hay being four tons; in potatoes 60 bushels; oats, twelve; and turnips, eight. In the barn were six head of cattle, two pigs and a horse.¹⁵ This was a viable farm affording a "living" in the literal sense of the word, one which was certainly supplemented by the salmon fishery and offshore, catches of cod and haddock.

James, however, was neither a farmer nor a fisherman, but a "trader" and so designated in the baptismal record (29 November 1818, St. George's Anglican, Halifax) of his son James. For the coastal trade he would have

13 Hemlow and Shea, "Umlachs and McDaniels," pp. 117-119.

14 The soils are described by J. D. Hilchey *et al.*, *Soil Survey Guysborough County, Nova Scotia* (Truro, 1964), pp. 25-27. The authors are grateful to L. Palmer Croft of Liscomb for the survey and measurements.

15 Cf. Hemlow and Shea, "Umlachs and McDaniels," p. 131 and n. 54.

required a vessel. In late life, according to the 1835 register of shipping for the Port of Halifax, "James Henlon [sic] et al" replaced a vessel he must have had for a long time by a new ship, the *Industry* (47 tons), built on the St. Mary's river.¹⁶ Brought up in East Chester and St. Margaret's Bay, he seems to have had skills in sailing and navigation sufficient to have secured his safety for nearly a century.

From early times, river boats were the means of transport and communication. Along the St. Mary's river certainly, settlers on Binneyland would else have been separated, the one family from the other, by long stretches of primeval forest. This isolation Henry McDaniel, as one of the Surveyors of Roads in the township, tried to remedy through the years by work on a road between his own place on Lot 4 and Hemloe's on Lot 5 or 6.¹⁷ As well, in 1823 he attempted to cut some kind of path from Hemloe's farm all the way to Liscomb Harbour, a distance of some six miles. In this effort he was joined by Hemloe himself, who in 1827 made one of his few appearances in the township book as Surveyor of the Road (a three-mile track) from his home to the Liscomb road. As a neighbourly act, he also opened in 1833 and 1836 a "stepping path" from his own house across the West Cape to Gegoggan Bay where lived his niece Ann's first family, the Maras.¹⁸ Such were the labours incumbent upon the early settlers on the West Cape.

The isolation and solitude, if felt by his wife and young family, were, however, relieved by the constant arrival of settlers for the east side of the river, some of them refugee Loyalists in their shift from the American states to the Nova Scotian coast and then from west to east along that coast. By comparing an early census or List of Heads of Households for 1792 in Queens and in Shelburne Counties (Sable River, Great Port Jolly, Ragged Islands and Jones Harbour) with the Index Sheet of Crown Land Grants (No. 101) for what is now St. Mary's River, Sonora and Port Hilford, one may see that an entire colony had moved like migrating birds from west to east, in this case to St. Mary's River and Indian Harbour. These heads of families

16. Canada. Department of Fisheries and Marine. Shipping Register, Port of Halifax, Vol. 26 (PANS mfm.).

17. Township Book, St. Mary's, Guysborough Co., in PANS MG 4, Vol. 138.

18. Hemlow and Shea, "Umlachs and McDaniels," pp. 129, 131-133.

included Ira Pride, Robert Dixon (Dickson), Joseph Mills, James Mills, John McDerham (McDiarmid), Hugh Kennedy, Allan Kennedy and Jacob Rude.¹⁹ With these families--at least with the Prides, Mills, McDiarmids, Kennedys and Mitchells--the young Hemlows growing up (or their descendants) would one day find friends or choices in husbands and wives.

From the same direction came the staunch refugee Loyalist Joseph Ely (b. in 1765 in Pennsylvania) who, having served for a year and a half with the British forces during the American Revolution, was awarded a grant of land in Queens County, Nova Scotia; the grant proving invalid it was, on Ely's petition, replaced on 3 November 1815 by a grant of 250 acres in St. Mary's River.²⁰ Ely's Cove can still be seen on maps of the region.

From Connecticut there came, after some years spent at Louis Head, Shelburne County, a family of Prydes, originally from Yorkshire, England.²¹ In the summer of 1810 Elisha Pride (d. 1845) sailed in a large open boat from Louis Head to St. Mary's River, his passengers including his eldest son Ira (b. 1 Oct. 1801), his second son Elisha (b. 31 Oct. 1806), three other children and a family of Dicksons related to the Prides by marriage.²² Land was a first consideration, and on 20 August 1811 Pride obtained a grant of four hundred acres on the east side of the river.²³ Able and energetic, he took an active interest in local affairs, serving in the township as Constable, Assessor and Collector of Taxes, School Trustee, Overseer of the Poor, and Surveyor of Highways.²⁴ Though not primarily a farmer, he sent in an application to

19 For these families see the census of 1792, PANS RG 1, Vol. 444, Nos. 52 and 57; and also the Index Sheet of Crown Land Grants, No. 101, Department of Natural Resources.

20 PANS RG 20, Series A, Vol. 58, Petition No. 2088.

21 The authors are grateful to John R. Pride of St. Mary's River, Nova Scotia, for access to family papers recording the emigration of the Yorkshireman John Pryde to the American Colonies in 1638. His descendants settled in Salem, Massachusetts, and later in Connecticut, from whence came Captain Ira Pryde, probably an Empire Loyalist, to settle on Louis Head, Shelburne Co. It was his son Elisha who moved to St. Mary's River; a widower then, he remarried and raised a second family of seven children.

22 Edna (Bums) Jordan, "History of St. Mary's River and Sonora, 1765-1967," in PANS MG 4, Vol. 295, doc. 63.

23 PANS RG 20, Series A, Land Grants, Book B, p. 78 (mfm.).

24 PANS MG 4, Vol. 138.

government for a grant to Wedge Island which, not needing to be fenced, he envisaged as a pasture for sheep. Learning that the island was reserved for a lighthouse, he kept tenaciously to his purpose, leasing it for pasture.²⁵

Pride's chief interests, however, were in shipbuilding and the Labrador fishery, interests that were reflected commercially in an 1811 account from a Halifax merchant, wherein such items as a barrel of tar, nails, codlines, salt and a bolt of "Ravens Duck" (sail cloth) were set against his delivery on 28 August of "20 Quintals [two tons] Codfish."²⁶ With his son Ira in 1822 he built a two-masted schooner, the *Harmony* (44 tons), sold in the following year. In 1824 he built the *Dove* (64 tons) and in 1837 the *Reform* (28 tons), both ships probably destined for that same Labrador fishery, where tons of fish could be caught in a very short time for sale in Halifax.²⁷

Besides the Prides, Mills, McDiarmids and Kennedys, there emerge from the township and district records, as well as from the Index Sheets of Crown Land Grants, various additional names to be allied later with the Hemlows: Gunn, Hartling, Hawbolt, McCutcheon, Pye and Redman.²⁸ Genealogies are not easily compiled for remote settlers in Nova Scotia before churches and roads were built. With respect to the sacraments, baptisms could be postponed until fair wind and weather permitted sailing to a baptismal font, or until circuit missionaries arrived on the scene. Marriages too could wait. But with burials there could be no delay, neither in summer nor in winter; the alternative was interment in a field or clearing, without benefit of clergy and--to the frustration of genealogists--without any official or permanent burial record.

On the outer islands of the Eastern Shore, on the capes or headlands and in quiet old fields, a mound or a row of parallel mounds marked with rough-hewn and half-submerged headstones attests to deaths and burials in the far-away past. So it is in the field of the "first settler" on the West Cape of St.

25 PANS RG 5, Series P, Vol. 57, docs. 38, 39.

26 PANS MG 100, Vol. 209, doc. 45.

27 *Shipping Register, Port of Halifax*, Vols. 24 and 28 (PANS mfm.).

28 PANS MG 4, Vol. 138 and RG 34-322, Series P, Vols. I and II; and the Index Sheet of Crown Land Grants, No. 101, Department of Natural Resources, Nova Scotia.

Mary's river, James Umlach.²⁹ About a hundred yards in a southerly direction from his dwelling-house is a knoll or rise in the land, the level top of which (measuring some 14 x 22 feet) was the family burial ground. Visible there at the present time are nine graves, carefully marked at the head and at the foot by heavy hand-hewn stones. Six such mounds (from six to seven feet in length) are possibly the graves of James himself, his wife Ann and four of their teen-aged or adult children who died at home. At the foot of these larger graves is a row of three mounds (three or four feet each in length), almost certainly the graves of three of the sons of James and Ann who died in infancy or childhood.³⁰

James Umlach's family of eleven children may now be recorded (as far as yet recovered), first in a genealogical table and then in a narrative of his descendants to the third generation. Omitted are the families of Henry Hemlow and William Hemlow, as well as Elizabeth Hemlow's second family, all of whose histories belong to Liscomb.

James Umlach (Hemloe or Hemlow), b. *ca.* 1759 in Philadelphia; d. 5 Nov. 1855 (*Presbyterian Witness*, 9 Nov. 1855); m. 15 July 1795 Ann McDaniel, who was b. *ca.* 1776 and d. 25 Apr. 1856, age 80. Eleven children:

1. Elizabeth, bapt. 11 July 1797 (St. Paul's Anglican, Halifax); d. 20 June 1868, age 73 (gravestone, St. Luke's Anglican, Liscomb); m. first, **Jonathan Mitchell**, bapt. at Aboyne, Aberdeen Co., Scotland; of St. Mary's River (*fl.* 1817, 1830). Four children:
 - 1a Jonathan McKay (*fl.* 1832, 1843), said to have emigrated to Australia as a sheep farmer.
 - 2a James, b. *ca.* 1825; *fl.* 1853; said to have d. in Boston.
 - 3a Mary Ann, b. *ca.* 1825; *fl.* 1871; m. 19 Oct. 1841, **George Crooks** of Liscomb, who d. 11 May 1868, age 69 (gravestone, St. Luke's, Liscomb).
 - 4a Walter Freeman, b. 24 July 1830 in Scotland; d. Apr. 1915, age 86 (gravestone, St. Luke's, Liscomb); m. 12 Nov. 1857, his cousin **Isabel McKinlay née Hemlow**, who was b. *ca.* 1828 and d. 3 Sept. 1898, age 70 (gravestone, St. Luke's, Liscomb).

29 James was credited as "the first settler" in the area and so he must have been in the year 1796; see *Presbyterian Witness* (Halifax), 29 Dec. 1855, p. 207.

30 For the measurements of the burial ground, the authors are indebted to L. Palmer Croft.

Elizabeth m. secondly, 11 June 1833 (Marriage Licenses, PANS RG 32), **Christopher Redman II** (*fl.* 1819, 1843), mariner, of St. Mary's River. The couple settled on a headland at the eastern entrance to Liscomb Harbour and there three sons were born: Henry (1835–1917), William (1836–1868) and Alexander (b. *ca.* 1837; *fl.* 1910), the history of whose families belongs to the Liscomb section of the story.

2. James, bapt. 13 July 1798 (St. Paul's, Halifax); d. pre-27 Nov. 1818 (date of baptism of a second James) and likely *ca.* 1816 (year of birth of second James).
3. John, bapt. 3 Aug. 1800 (St. Paul's, Halifax). No further information.
4. Henry, bapt. 22 Aug. 1802 (St. Paul's, Halifax); d. 28 Mar. 1878 (Probate Court, Estate Papers); m. first, *ca.* 1828, **Hannah Kennedy**, who was b. *ca.* 1804 and d. 20 Feb. 1868 (gravestone, St. Luke's, Liscomb). She was the daug. of Allan Kennedy of Sable Island, Queens Co., later of Indian Harbour (now Port Hilford), Guysborough Co. Five children, a son and four daughters. Henry m. secondly, 8 Feb. 1869 (PANS, RG 32, Guysborough County Marriage Register), **Elizabeth McDiarmid**, b. *ca.* 1815 and d. post-1891, daug. of Ranald McDiarmid, St. Mary's River. Henry and his children belong to the Liscomb story.
5. Ann Jane, b. 1804, bapt. at age 14 months on 14 Nov. 1805 (St. George's Anglican, Halifax); d. 30 Apr. 1828, age 23 (*Acadian Recorder*, 3 May 1828); bur. in St. Paul's Cemetery, Halifax; m. 18 Dec. 1820 (Township records, PANS), **Hugh McCutcheon**, shoemaker, Halifax, later of Sherbrooke, who drowned accidentally, 23 Dec. 1847 at the Commercial Wharf, Halifax (Coroner's Inquest, 24 Dec. 1847, PANS; and *Acadian Recorder*, 2 Jan. 1848). Three children:
 - 1a James Henry, b. 30 Nov. 1824; bapt. St. Paul's, Halifax; d. 6 Jan. 1905 (*Presbyterian Witness*, 21 Jan. 1905); m. first, *ca.* 1846, **Ann Scanlon** of Wine Harbour, Guysborough Co., who d. 1861. Eight children.
 - 2a Ann Catherine, b. *ca.* 1827; bur. at age 17 months in St. Paul's Cemetery, Halifax.
 - 3a Mary Jane, b. 8 Sept. 1829; bapt. St. Paul's, Halifax; *fl.* 1902; m. 27 Dec. 1847, **John Farrell** of Saint John, N.B. She was

remembered in the will of her brother James (above), signed 18 Dec. 1902.

McCutcheon m. secondly, 11 June 1863, Annabella McQuarrie of Caledonia (*Presbyterian Witness*, 27 June 1863), who was b. 1839 and d. 1929. Six children.

6. Isabella, b. *ca.* 1808; d. 28 Mar. 1834 (*Acadian Recorder*, 3 May 1834); m. 24 June 1826 (St. Paul's, Halifax), **Benjamin Hooper Knodel**, bapt. 24 Aug. 1806 (St. Paul's, Halifax) and d. pre-1866. Three children:

- 1a Mary Ann Elizabeth, b. 18 Aug.; bapt. 27 Sept. 1829 (St. George's, Halifax). Died young.
- 2a Susanna Sarah, b. 18 Aug., bapt. 27 Sept. 1829 (St. George's, Halifax); *fl.* 1833-36.
- 3a Isabella Helen, bapt. 15 Apr. 1832 (St. George's, Halifax). No further information.

Benjamin Knodel m. secondly, 3 Oct. 1838, Hannah Mailman *née* Rudolph (*Halifax Pearl*, 1 Oct. 1838). Three or more children.

7. Mary, bapt. 10 Sept. 1809 (St. Paul's, Halifax); d. 28 Sept. 1838, age 27 (*Acadian Recorder*, 20 Oct. 1838); m. first, **Elisha Pride II**, who was b. 21 Oct. 1806 at Louis Head, Shelburne Co. and came with his parents to St. Mary's River, 1810; he d. pre-1833. One son:

- 1a William, b. 17 Oct. 1829 (St. Paul's, Halifax); d. 5 Jan. 1910, age 81 (*Evening Mail*, 10 Jan. 1910).

Mary m. secondly, 16 Oct. 1833 (*Acadian Recorder*, 9 Nov. 1833), **James Callupy**, bapt. 31 Aug. 1803 (St. Paul's, Halifax), schoolmaster at Sherbrooke, 1833-1838; he was bur. Jordan River, Shelburne Co., 5 Sept. 1865 (Christ Church Anglican, Jordan River). Three children:

- 2b James William, b. 2 July; bapt. 2 Nov. 1834 (St. Paul's, Halifax); d. pre-1854.
- 3b John Richard, b. 18 Apr.; bapt. 14 Sept. 1837 (Christ Church Anglican, Guysborough).
- 4b Henry, b. *ca.* 1838; *fl.* 1871. No further information.

Callupy m. secondly, 4 July 1839, **Marie E. Holden** of Jordan River, Shelburne Co.; she was b. *ca.* 1820 and bur. 2 Dec. 1886 (Lockport Anglican). Eight children.

8. Edward, bapt. 16 June 1810 (St. Paul's, Halifax). No further information.
9. William Thomas, b. 15 Oct.; bapt. 30 Oct. 1814 (St. Paul's, Halifax); d. 20 Aug. 1885, age 70 (gravestone in St. Luke's, Liscomb); m. 29 Oct. 1840 (St. Paul's, Halifax), **Mary Crooks** of Liscomb Island, b. ca. 1821 and d. 10 Aug. 1892, age 71 (gravestone, St. Luke's, Liscomb). Four children: one daughter and three sons, whose histories belong to the Liscomb story.
10. James, b. ca. 1816; bapt. 27 Nov. 1818 at two years of age (St. George's, Halifax). No further information.
11. Thomas, b. 9 June; bapt. 25 Nov. 1817 (St. Paul's, Halifax), noted as the tenth child [baptized].

As may be observed, the mortality was very high. The loss of five sons in infancy, boyhood or young manhood, together with the early migration of the surviving sons Henry and William to Liscomb, ended the male Umlach line on the West Cape of St. Mary's river. The Umlach story on the river must turn instead to the careers of the married daughters and their sons, the grandsons of James Umlach, and particularly the grandsons James Henry McCutcheon and William Pride.

Having no use for large tracts of land either for himself or for his heirs, James Umlach in May 1837 sold to his brother-in-law Henry McDaniel for £50 the upper part of Lot 4 of Binneyland which they had purchased jointly in 1810.³¹ James had still in hand not only his home-farm, but also the five hundred acres in Liscomb that he had obtained as a grant in 1811. In the years 1824 and 1847 he conveyed these Liscomb lands to his two surviving sons; and on 5 December 1829 "The said James Hemloe for the dutiful and affectionate conduct of the said Henry Hemloe [cedes to him] for the consideration of five shillings...the Tract [of land which within the boundaries specified contains] 200 acres more or less...together with a small island called Sheep Island containing four acres."³² This latter conveyance coincided with the infancy of Henry's only son James, whose birth may have compensated the elder James in some small measure for the two sons of that

³¹ Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Guysborough Co., Book B, p. 251.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 122.

name he had lost. The township records confirm the settlement, for in the years 1831-33 Henry was appointed Surveyor of Highways from Sherbrooke to Liscomb.³³

To his younger surviving son William, James conveyed with some delay, on 25 September 1847, not the whole but a half-interest in Amelia Island and Hog Island for £5. For some reason he seemed displeased with William, but perhaps the birth of the latter's third son, baptized on 30 December 1850 and named James, may have softened his heart a little, for on 18 July 1853 he conveyed to William full interest in the islands (three hundred acres in all) for £20.³⁴

Of James's four daughters, three died in their twenties. The eldest and apparently the strongest, Elizabeth, married Jonathan Mitchell, who according to family history, hailed originally from Aberdeen, Scotland.³⁵ A woodsman and sawmiller, he signed with others in 1819 a petition to government requesting permission to place booms on the river at such times and places as would prevent the loss of logs.³⁶

Jonathan is to be distinguished, however, from the three Scots brothers, William, Andrew and John Mitchell, millwrights, who *ca.* 1810 emigrated from Nigg, Kincardineshire, to Nova Scotia. Among their energetic enterprises in Guysborough County was the sawmill they established temporarily on the Old Mill Brook flowing from Mitchell Lake (probably named after them) to Mill Cove, on the eastern shore of St. Mary's river. Congenial as a Scot, perhaps, and certainly as a woodsman familiar with the area, Jonathan may

33 PANS MG 4, Vol. 138.

34 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Book B, pp. 234 and 442.

35 Significant in the story of the Mitchell family is the record of the birth of at least one of the children in Scotland. The Canadian census of 1901 notes the birth of Walter Freeman Mitchell in Scotland, 24 July 1830, and his emigration to Nova Scotia in 1831. Family records compiled by Mary Mitchell (1894-1981), great-granddaughter of Jonathan Mitchell, supply biographical details probably authentic though undated.

36 PANS RG 5, Series P, Vol. 119, doc. 54.

have been in their employ and as such conveniently at hand to witness, along with the Scotsman John Mitchell, a document by which in 1821 Andrew Mitchell disposed of the sawmill.³⁷

After a sojourn in Scotland Elizabeth Mitchell returned in 1831,³⁸ and in 1833 married Christopher Redman, mariner; the story was to take a new turn. Lacking vital statistics other than the marriage date above, one may follow the vicissitudes of the new family to some extent in census reports. In the 1838 enumeration, Christopher Redman appears as head of a family comprising a wife and three males under fourteen years of age (Jonathan McKay, James and Walter Freeman Mitchell); one female over fourteen (Mary Ann Mitchell); three males under six (the Redmans, Henry, William and Alexander).³⁹ The locale was still St. Mary's River, but by 1843 Christopher, described in the marriage register of St. Paul's, Halifax, as "of Liscomb," had moved his family to unclaimed land at the eastern entrance to Liscomb Harbour, a promontory known ever after as Redman's Head. And in the General Session of the Court of the Peace for that year he was granted leave to work out his statute labour on a road leading from his home on the Head to the main Liscomb road, a distance of some two miles.⁴⁰ In 1865 the three Redman sons successfully applied for a land grant of one hundred acres at Redman's Head.⁴¹

Presumably the son of the Christian Redman whose burial on 6 September 1779 is recorded in the registers of St. Paul's Anglican, Halifax, Christopher

37 Vital statistics as derived from the Church of Scotland Index, O. P. Registers of Kincardinshire; Scotland; and made widely available by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormon). These records include the birthdates of brothers Andrew and John, sons of Alexander Mitchell and his wife Janett *née* McDonald of Nigg, Kincardinshire, Scotland, 6 Mar. 1778 and 7 May 1780 respectively. The third brother William (*fl.* 1810-1869), conjecturally baptized in his mother's parish, gave the name Alexander to his eldest son born in Nova Scotia. William was active in civic affairs in the county and the interesting enterprises of all three millwrights may be traced in a series of deeds, including those relating to the sawmill they built and later sold in St. Mary's River. This last conveyance, signed by Andrew Mitchell and witnessed by John and Jonathan Mitchell, is in the Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Book A, p. 290. The names again appear in juxtaposition in an 1826 petition for improvements on the river, PANS MG 1, Vol. 3092, doc. 2.

38 See n. 35.

39 A copy of the census for the year 1838 is in PANS RG 1, Vol. 449, No. 149.

40 PANS RG 34-322, Series P, Vol. 1.

41 PANS RG 20, Series A, Land Grants, Book 3A, p. 60 (mfm.).

or Christian II (*fl.* 1819, 1843) had been living for some time in St. Mary's River, having signed in 1819 the petition (above) concerning the placing of booms on the St. Mary's river. His sisters Hannah, Ann and Susan by their marriages of the early 1800s to local settlers had long been established in the region.⁴² Christopher, a somewhat shadowy figure, was later to perish in a violent incident at sea. According to a story known to his great-grandson Henry Redmond of Sydney, Nova Scotia, he was the victim of a shipboard mutiny; his body, wrapped in sail cloth, washed ashore, it was said, at Canso.⁴³

Of the Mitchell sons, Jonathan McKay seems to have left St. Mary's River permanently before 2 November 1847, for by that date what seems to have been the original Mitchell homestead at the outlet of Mitchell Lake was appropriated by John Robar.⁴⁴ According to Mary Mitchell's memorabilia, Jonathan left Nova Scotia in favour of sheep farming in Australia, an emigration that gains some credence from the recorded sailings in the mid-nineteenth century of Nova Scotian ships to Australian ports.⁴⁵ His brother James, on Mary Mitchell's authority, died in Boston. The two younger children growing up on Redman's Head and marrying in Liscomb or its environs would play integral roles in that rising community.

In the 1871 census Elizabeth stands alone as head of the family. "Relict of Christopher Redmond" is carved on her gravestone, set rather apart in the cemetery of St. Luke's Anglican, Liscomb. Few if any now will remember her relationship to two of her sons also buried there, William Redmond and Walter Freeman Mitchell; or to two of her brothers also interred there, Henry Hemlow and William Hemlow. Lost to common memory as well are her two

42 Hannah Redman m. *ca.* 1808 Alexander Rudolph, who in 1813 obtained a land grant in St. Mary's River (Book 2, p. 35). The township records show on 13 Nov. 1816 the marriage of Susan Redman to John Robar, and on 6 June 1811 that of Ann Redman to Jacob Nauffis, whose previous marriage to Maria Gross took place in the Old Dutch Church, Halifax, 29 July 1787: see Terrence M. Punch, *Religious Marriages in Halifax, 1768-1841, from Primary Sources* (Halifax, 1991), p. 115.

43 Oral history; no published document.

44 See petition by James McDaniel (1814-1892), 2 Nov. 1847, for land on the west of Mitchell Lake, St. Mary's River (PANS RG 20, Series E, F/1598).

45 See Terrence M. Punch, "Nova Scotians to Australia--1852," *Nova Scotia Genealogist*, 1986, IV (1), 16-19; and Jeannine Henry, "Australians/New Zealand/Nova Scotians," in *ibid.*, 1988, VI (3), 145-50.

hardy pioneering efforts, first in the primeval forest and then on a bold headland facing the open sea.

Elizabeth's sister Ann Jane married on 18 December 1820 Hugh McCutcheon, a shoemaker who plied his trade in Halifax, Sherbrooke and Sonora. In the 1820s the couple lived on Upper Water Street, Halifax, where three children were born, James Henry and two daughters. At age twenty-three Ann Jane died in 1828; her gravestone and that of her daughter Ann Catherine are in St. Paul's Churchyard, Halifax.

After this loss, Hugh McCutcheon returned to Sherbrooke and among the neighbours who helped to care for his young children was Alexander Murdoch (ca. 1777–1854), who sponsored James and saw to it that he went to school. The school records of St. Mary's for the year 1833 accordingly show James McCutcheon (aged 9), Emma and William Murdoch (also aged 9) and Mr. Murdoch, "Parent" to all three; their teacher was James Callupy. In such excellent hands James studied so diligently and well that in 1850, with a certified ability to teach "Orthography, reading, writing, English grammar and Arithmetic," he himself became the master of a school at the lower part of St. Mary's River for at least two terms of three months each, at a salary of £2.10s paid by the inhabitants, and with a provincial grant of £2.⁴⁶

A young man in his twenties, strong and alert, James McCutcheon was appointed year after year in the General Sessions of the Court of the Peace to a series of district offices, including Overseer of the Salmon Fishery (1851–53), constable at the mouth of the river (1854), and in his thirties Harbour Master, Surveyor of Highways and Assessor (later, Reviser) of district rates. During the years 1861–71 he was appointed Surveyor of Lumber, Inspector of Beef and Pork, Fence Viewer and Inspector of Fish; and in the newly formed municipality he was Harbour Master and later Keeper of the Rolls for statute labour.⁴⁷ On 1 October 1867, widely respected and trusted, McCutcheon was appointed by the provincial government as Magistrate or Justice of the Peace and sworn in on 3 December 1867.⁴⁸

These civic duties would seem to have absorbed only a part of his

46 School Lists, District of St. Mary's, Section No. 1, PANS RG 14, Vols. 13–14, *passim*.

47 For the district, PANS RG 34–322, Series P, Vols. I and II; for the municipality, PANS RG 35–322, Series P, Vol. I.

48 PANS RG 34–311, Series J, F/2.

energies, however. Alive to the economic boom in Goldenville, Sherbrooke and its environs, he went into merchandizing and ran packet boats to Halifax for supplies which in the sixties he retailed at an outlet or store on the lower part of St. Mary's river.⁴⁹ That lucrative business he expanded when on 25 March 1873 he had the opportunity to purchase for \$1,100 from Alexander McDonald, J.P., merchant at Sonora, a most advantageous commercial site, already comprising a general store with a wharf and outbuildings situated on an acre of land.⁵⁰ "He made a wonderful store," wrote Edna Jordan; "People came from all over the County in boats to buy from him."⁵¹

Realizing that profits could be increased if his vessels bringing goods for sale in Sonora could return to Halifax loaded with such marketable cargoes as fish, beef and lumber, he attended auctions all along the shore, bidding on boats, herring nets and cattle (oxen, heifers, cows), the latter destined to be fattened and butchered, probably for the Halifax market. For himself and his large handsome presence, as well as for the cash in his pockets, he must have been welcomed at such sad sell-outs of old coastal homesteads.⁵²

McCutcheon married twice: first Ann Scanlon of Wine Harbour, who, the mother of eight children, died in 1861;⁵³ and secondly, on 11 June 1863, Annabella McQuarrie of Caledonia. He had in all fourteen children, to survivors of whom he bequeathed substantial legacies in his will signed on 18 December 1902.⁵⁴ His property included a wharf, a store with surrounding buildings, and the land on which they stood; two dwelling houses (the old and the new) and five or six tracts of land, including woodland at Mitchell Lake. His legacy in public service to the region is incalculable. He died on 6 January 1905 at age 80, "a kind and loving father....A large family mourns

49 *Hutchinson's Nova Scotia Directory for 1864-65* (Halifax, n.d.).

50 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Book F, p. 19. McDonald d. ca. 1879.

51 Jordan, "History of St. Mary's River and Sonora."

52 See Bills of Sale (1868-69), Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Vol. E, p. 257.

53 For this information the authors are grateful to Mrs. F. M. Hilchie of Sackville, a descendant of James H. McCutcheon.

54 Probate Court, Sherbrooke, Vol. 1, p. 254.

his loss."⁵⁵

Mary, fourth daughter of James Hemloe of the West Cape, married first Elisha Pride II, born 31 October 1806 at Louis Head, Shelburne County;⁵⁶ probably engaged as was the elder Pride in the Labrador fishery, Elisha II may have perished at sea, leaving his widow and a son William, born in 1829. Mary married secondly on 16 October 1833, James Callupy, a schoolmaster at Sherbrooke in the years 1833-38. At the home of the schoolmaster young William would have had advantageous instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, and in the Sherbrooke school records of 1833 the young scholar appears under the sponsorship of the schoolmaster as "Parent."⁵⁷ Mary, by 1838 the mother of three Callupy children, died of consumption on 28 September of that year.

As an orphan nine years of age, William Pride was taken in by his aging grandparents James and Ann Hemloe and brought up lovingly perhaps, but very strictly (to judge from relevant records) in the large dwelling with "Hemloe's place" inscribed over the door. At the age of eighteen he inherited, on certain specified conditions, his maternal grandfather's farm, lands and dwelling house on St. Mary's river. By the terms of the deed of 4 May (reg. 8 July) 1847, "the said William Pride Junior is from this day forward to live with and abide by the said James Hemlow. [He is] to work for and maintain and dutifully obey and kindly treat and do all in his power to make and keep comfortable during their natural lives the said James Hemlow and Nancy his wife."⁵⁸ Young William, with Pride and Umlach blood in his veins, had stamina and ability. He would do very well and be widely known and respected as "Squire Pride," Justice of the Peace, being commissioned to that office, as his family proudly related, by Joseph Howe himself.⁵⁹

James Umlach died in his own home on the West Cape of St. Mary's river on 5 November 1855 at the age of 97. "The first settler on the river," according to the *Presbyterian Witness* of 29 December, he had lived and worked there for almost sixty years and certainly since his purchase of land in

55 *Presbyterian Witness*, 21 June 1905, p. 24.

56 The authors are grateful to Mrs. Victor Kaiser for the birthdate of Elisha Pride II.

57 PANS RG 14, Vols. 13-14, *passim*.

58 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Book C, p. 307.

59 A reminiscence to be found in the Pride family papers kindly lent to the author by John R. Pride of

1796. "A saint of a man," according to the testimony of his great-granddaughter Mary Jane Pye *née* Pride (1867-1970),⁶⁰ he had learned enduring patience, perhaps through sorrow and bereavement, and certainly through daily labour on the vast hard wilderness and limitless ocean. His widow Ann *née* McDaniel died on 23 April 1856, at the age of 80. The mother of eleven children, she had lost five sons and three daughters before she died. Her surviving daughter, Elizabeth (Mitchell) Redman and her two surviving sons, Henry and William, had long since settled in Liscomb. The St. Mary's homestead and lands went to her grandson, William Pride.

At the age of twenty-three, William had married on 2 December 1852 Caroline, daughter of the late Captain Gaspar Salzman of Country Harbour.⁶¹ Pride's family as shown in the 1871 census consisted of six sons and a daughter, Mary Jane. There was need of food. He enlarged and improved the Hemloe farm and increased the yield. From four acres of cultivated land as reported in the 1861 census, the acreage in 1871 had grown to fifteen, with six additional acres in pasturage. The yield in hay doubled (eight tons); oats nearly trebled (30 bushels); potatoes increased to seventy bushels, but turnips dropped to five. In a stable and outbuildings Pride had two horses, a carriage and a sleigh; of "waggons and sleds," three; and of "pleasure and common boats," four. In the barn were four head of cattle and nine sheep; in the pig sty, four pigs. Produced in the household--the province of the wife and daughter--were twenty-eight yards of homespun and 150 pounds of butter.⁶²

As a base for the cottage economy of the Eastern Shore, the soil--with fertilizer and an inordinate expenditure of manual labour in clearing away rocks and boulders--will yield a living for a family and sustenance for livestock, which in return will contribute a full share in beef, pork, mutton, hides, milk, cream, butter, cottage cheese, wool and, not to be despised, manure, the best possible additive to the shallow acidic soil. For more sophisticated manufactured goods, stoves, furniture and machinery, cash was necessary, and a lucrative source of income in the early days on St. Mary's

Sherbrooke, Guysborough Co., Nova Scotia. Joseph Howe was Provincial Secretary in the years 1850-53.

60 *Ibid.*

61 So stated in William Pride's obituary, *Evening Mail* (Halifax), 10 Jan. 1910, p. 6. Salzman had perished in 1835 in a shipwreck on Sable Island sands.

62 For readings of the elaborate census of 1861 and of 1871 with respect to farming, fishing and other

river was the teeming salmon fishery. Offshore was the ground fishery, cod, haddock and pollock and in season, schools of herring and mackerel. For the salmon, mackerel and herring fishery, Pride was well equipped in 1871 with 180 fathoms of "nets and seines of all sorts." His catch as reported for that year was fifteen quintals of cod, one quintal of haddock, seven barrels of herring and five of salmon, along with such by-products as "sounds and tongues" (seven barrels) and fish-oil (ten gallons). Ten cords of firewood in the yard promised comfort for the winter.

While the patriarch James Umlach was kept comfortable, young William Pride, at his coming of age in 1850, was promptly appointed to four onerous offices in the district: Overseer and Assessor of the Salmon Fishery, Pilot on the river and Surveyor of Highways from Broad Cove to Hemloe's place--which offices, particularly those relating to the roads and the salmon fishery, he continued to hold through the years. In 1851 he served as Overseer of the Poor; in 1854 as Constable at the mouth of the river; and in 1857, at the early age of twenty-eight, he appears in the proceedings of the General Sessions of the Court of the Peace as Magistrate or Justice of the Peace. A substantial landowner with the prestige of family possession of land down to the third generation, he was known respectfully as "Squire Pride." In later years, according to his obituary, he served as Harbour Master and Pilot Commissioner.⁶³

One of Squire Pride's major contributions to the commonweal was a ferry service for passengers and vehicular traffic across the St. Mary's river. Established *ca.* 1850, the ferry crossed a comparatively narrow stretch of the river from Pride's wharf on the west bank to a docking area on the property of one Jacob Nauffts II on the east side, Pride's partner in the enterprise.⁶⁴ It was not until 1870 that the populace of Sherbrooke could celebrate the

industries, the authors are indebted to Keith Parker Smith.

63 PANS MG 4, Vol. 138; RG 34-322, Series P, Vol. I-II; RG 35-322, Series P, Vol. I; and *Evening Mail*, 10 Jan. 1910, p. 6.

64 The docking area belonged to the early German settler Jacob Nauffts I, who had applied successfully in 1839 for 400 acres of river frontage, land that according to his petition, he had by that date occupied for 26 years (PANS RG 20, Series U, doc. 244). His capacious homestead is described in a deed of maintenance, 1854 (Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Book C, p. 483). For land he formerly held in Halifax Co., see Registry

opening of a bridge that, supported by granite piers, was strong enough to hold the heaviest traffic of the time.⁶⁵ For about twenty years before then, Pride's ferry had carried heavy traffic across the river, and long after the bridge was built the ferry was still often favoured. Its advantages in the saving of time and effort were obvious and Pride's venture had been encouraged from the first by both the local and the provincial governments.

When in 1853 wear and tear on the initial equipment proved costly, Pride and Nauffts evidently addressed a petition for aid to the House of Assembly or to the relevant Committee on Navigation, two of whose members, embarrassed at having misplaced the petition, were pleased to grant on 25 February 1854 the £7.10s requested, not only for one year but for two.⁶⁶ In a petition of 20 January 1864 the ferrymen, mentioning that they always "Conveyed her Majesty's mails" free of cost, continued with some account of the expenses they incurred: "[We] had to keep a scow as well as boats in repair without any aid from the county...but have so much ice to contend with for several months of the year that a boat will have to be condemned after two or three years at the farthest."⁶⁷ In December 1876 ferry rates were approved locally in the General Sessions of the Court of the Peace:⁶⁸

Passengers each	5 ^{ds}
Horses & Cattle	10 ^{ds}
Horse, Carriage & Driver	10 ^{ds}
Double team waggon	
heavy load and driver	10 ^{ds}

Joseph Nauffts II apparently died in the 1870s. For years before this, however, Squire Pride had acquired (or used) as an eastern docking area what seems to have been unclaimed river frontage to the south of the Nauffts property. Pride was referred to as ferryman until 1909, the year preceding his death, when he was succeeded by his son Solomon Ezrom, who in 1925

of Deeds, Book 29, p. 216. See also n. 42 (above).

65 PANS MG 1, Vol. 3092, docs. 9, 10; for the gala opening, see *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 20 Aug. 1870, p. 2.

66 PANS RG 5, Series P, Vol. 47, doc. 37.

67 *Ibid.*, Vol. 59, docs. 180, 219.

handed over the service to his kinsman Arthur Pride. For years the provincial government subsidized ferries until it was decided in 1954 to reduce the number and the cost. The last ferryman on No. 12 (Pride's ferry as numbered in the provincial list) was Joseph E. Ray, who received a subsidy until the cut-off date of 1 April 1954, a date probably marking the end of the century-old enterprise initiated by Squire Pride *ca.* 1850.⁶⁹

With the farm, the fishery and the ferry, "Pride's Place" on the West Cape could have offered a living, though not an easy one, to a number of his sons, three of whom, as may be seen from the father's obituary, were by that date located as far away as California and Chicago.⁷⁰ His eldest son, Captain James Gaspar, settled in Halifax, but perished in a spectacular shipwreck near Herring Cove, Halifax County, on 6 November 1894.⁷¹

Squire Pride lived on in his home on the West Cape of St. Mary's river for a decade into the twentieth century, "one of the best known and most highly respected residents of that locality," according to his memorialist in the *Evening Mail*. He died on 5 January 1910, aged eighty, "a staunch conservative" and "a devoted member of the Church of England." A modern memorialist might speak of his intelligence, energy, probity, credibility and charisma. The Victorians put it better: "[He was] a sterling man, heartily liked and genuinely esteemed wherever known."

The year 1996, completing a span of two centuries since James Umlach settled on the West Cape of St. Mary's river, will see the near obliteration of his efforts and those of his grandson Squire Pride--the large Hemlow-Pride home gradually demolished board by board and carried away by scavengers, and the encroaching forest about to cover as with a curtain the once active stage and as well the silent graves in the old field, their stories still untold.

68 PANS RG 35-322, Series P, Vol. II, pp. 184, 397.

69 For details on the closure of Pride's ferry, the authors are grateful to Keith Parker Smith for successful searches in the assorted government documents, PANS RG 7, Vol. 428.

70 *Evening Mail*, 10 Jan. 1910, p. 6.

71 For the shipwreck, see *Acadian Recorder*, 6 Nov. 1894, p. 3; 7 Nov., p. 3; 8 Nov., p. 2; 10 Nov., p. 3; and 12 Nov., p. 3. There were no survivors; Captain Pride's body was found, but not that of his son Thomas Bernard, aged 12.

Book Reviews

Allen B. Robertson

The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783-1870, by James W. St. G. Walker. ISBN 0-8020-7402-2. University of Toronto Press, 1992. xxvi + 438 p., paper, \$19.95.

Colchester Men: Biographical Sketches, by Colchester Men Committee of the Colchester Historical Society. Tribune Press, Sackville, N.B., 1993. 137 p., illus., paper, \$[?]. Available from Colchester Historical Society, Box 412, 29 Young St., Truro, N.S. B2N 5C5.

Farm, Factory and Fortune: New Studies in the Economic History of the Maritime Provinces, edited by Kris Inwood. ISBN 0-919107-38-9. Acadiensis Press, Fredericton, N.B., 1993. viii + 274 p., paper, \$19.95.

Index to Estates 1762-1992 Hants County Court of Probate, by Hantsport and Area Historical Society. Hantsport and Area Historical Society, Hantsport, N.S. 1992. viii + 204 p., paper, \$20.00. Available from the Society: P.O. Box 525, Hantsport, N.S. B0P 1P0.

Land of My Fathers: Shelburne County Nova Scotia's Early Welsh Settlers, Volume 2, by Eleanor Robertson Smith. ISBN 0-9691913-8-3. Stoneycroft, Yarmouth, N.S., 1993. xv + 157 p., illus., paper, \$20.00.

Myth and Milieu: Atlantic Literature and Culture 1918-1939, edited by Gwendolyn Davies. ISBN 0-919107-37-7. Acadiensis Press, Fredericton, N.B., 1993. iv + 209 p., illus., paper, \$16.95.

New England Planters in the Maritime Provinces of Canada 1759-1800: Bibliography of Primary Sources, compiled by Judith Norton. ISBN 0-8020-2840-3. University of Toronto Press, 1993. xix + 403 p., cloth, \$125.00.

On Track: The Railway Mail Service in Canada, by Susan McLeod O'Reilly. ISBN 0-660-14005-5. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, P.Q., 1992. 151 p., illus., paper, \$[?].

Pictorial History of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax, Nova Scotia, by J. Philip McAleer. ISBN 0-929112-19-9. Technical University of Nova Scotia, Halifax, N.S., 1993. 159 p., illus., paper, \$15.00.

A Tale of Two Centuries: Truro Presbytery--Oldest in Canada by Truro Presbytery History Committee. ISBN 0-919488-39-0. Tribune Press, Sackville, N.B., 1993. 264 p., illus., paper. *A Tale of Two Centuries: Truro Presbytery--Oldest in Canada: A Pictorial Supplement*. ISBN 0-919488-37-4. vii + 72 p., illus., paper. \$15.00 a set [volumes not sold separately]. Available from Rev. Murray Favier, Secretary, Truro Presbytery, 29 Allison Avenue, Truro, N.S. B2N 4L4.

It has now been four years since I accepted the position of Book Review Editor of the *Nova Scotia Historical Review*. During that time I have been in the enviable position of sampling the wide range of publications devoted to the study of Nova Scotia, its people and heritage. The mandate of the *Review* dictates breadth of inclusiveness: contributions of articles from amateur authors as well as seasoned professionals; genealogies; local histories; sports; literature; geography; the military--all from the pens of Maritimers or for Maritimers. Popular appeal combined with high editorial standards have made the *Review* one of the best forums for eastern Canadian literary and historical cultural expression. Here one can find professional historians' contributions alongside the well-crafted prose of graduate students. It is that contrast which has been the hallmark of the *Review*. It is produced in Nova Scotia, for Nova Scotians and about Nova Scotians, while at the same time attracting contributors from across Canada and the United States.

Similarly, the books reviewed have been as diverse in subject matter as the articles. A listing of only a few of the publishers represented includes both desk-top and large established regional presses: Tribune (Sackville); Stoneycroft (Yarmouth); Acadiensis (Fredericton); Nimbus (Halifax); Breton Books (Wreck Cove); Lancelot Press (Hantsport); Nova Scotia Museum (Halifax); and the New Brunswick Museum (Saint John). The *Review* regularly receives new books from McGill-Queen's, University of Toronto Press and the Canadian Museum of Civilization, as well as from the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) It is highly gratifying to realize that the only Nova Scotian historical journal is well respected across provincial and international borders.

At the same time as it is being recognized by authors and publishers "from away," the *Review* has been able to inform readers about the rapidly expanding Novascotiana bookshelf. This book reviewer relies on publishers' catalogues, visits to local bookshops and personal contacts with authors themselves in order to keep up-to-date in the field. It is my special responsibility, and a goal of the *Review*'s editors, to promote with deserved recognition Nova Scotia's small presses. We believe that the "Book Reviews" article promotes both authors and Maritime businesses in their contributions to regional culture. After all, if we cannot support our own publishing enterprises, who will? In this decade of uncertainty, it would be a disservice to Nova Scotians to deprive them of the *Nova Scotia Historical Review*--an established premier vehicle for eastern Canadian authors and for pride in Nova Scotia's heritage.

Three historical and genealogical societies have been especially active in making information about their counties more readily available to the public. Colchester has been admirably served by the Colchester Historical Society, western Hants County by the Hantsport and Area Historical Society, and the South Shore by the Shelburne County Genealogical Society. From the first of these societies comes a useful "who's who" under the title, *Colchester Men: Biographical Sketches*. The Chair of the research committee, Frances Langille, explains in the "Foreword" that the volume is a summary of material collected from the files of the Colchester Historical Museum Archives at Truro. Covering the years 1700 to 1960, *Colchester Men* is an attempt to be as ethnically diverse as possible in order to promote the heritage of all county citizens. Though this collection of sketches does not pretend to be anything more than a handy reference guide and a booster for the CHM's Truro archives, it is in fact more than its compilers modestly admit it to be. The biographies each include one or more printed bibliographic sources for further reading. Wherever possible, moreover, photographs have been included, which greatly enhance the format.

Two centuries offer sufficient scope for a wide range of occupations to appear in the biographies. There are merchants, clergymen, educators, politicians, artists, athletes, military veterans and authors. The variety of such biographies as found in *Colchester Men* follows the model used by Allan Marble in his *Nova Scotians at Home and Abroad* (1977), though Dr. Marble had the good sense to include both men and women. It is to be hoped that the Society will be able to follow up their work with a companion volume,

"Colchester Women."

Not surprisingly for a county which received large numbers of Scottish and Irish settlers during the mid-1700s and early 1800s, Celtic surnames are to be found in abundance. That does not exhaust the list of ethnic origins by any means. Micmac representatives, for example, include artistic or cultural luminaries such as Raymond Cope and Alan Syliboy. Jeremiah Jones, a World War I veteran, is the only Afro-Nova Scotian represented. A particularly unfortunate omission is the Reverend Dr. Edwin Howard Borden (1869-1953), a native of Truro and the first indigenous Black to graduate from Acadia University, who went on to have a distinguished career as a Baptist educator in the United States. Rather than being seen as a token inclusion, however, the Jones entry is a clarion call by the Society for details on other Colchester Afro-Nova Scotian careers. The way to publicize such a lack of information is to advertise it in order to attract public attention. In this respect the Colchester Historical Society accomplishes two purposes through *Colchester Men*: providing a research source and stimulating further studies.

Another type of "who's who" guide is the alphabetical listing to Hants County probate records compiled by the Hantsport and Area Historical Society. *Index to Estates 1767-1992: Hants County Court of Probate* is an extensive file guide to 10,155 entries. The microcomputer benefits accruing to historical research are readily apparent in this sizeable undertaking, accomplished through the expertise of indexing coordinator Leland Harvie. The *Index* is primarily a finding guide, but the minimal information per entry can be exploited for several purposes even without consulting the actual wills or estate papers in Windsor (or on microfilm at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia). Here is a research tool to determine male-to-female ratio in estate management; surname occurrence; scarcity or high survival of records per decade; and areas of concentration for probate processing.

The *Index to Estates* is a good example of practical contributions to academic research by non-professional associations. Genealogists will, of course, see the value of the *Index* immediately. It was the user needs of Hantsport family-history researchers which first inspired preparation of the list. The Society can now 'wave the flag' to alert historians that they too can benefit from the *Index*. There are, however, drawbacks and limitations to the *Index*. As an alphabetical file list there is no indication of the extent of material per file (i.e., whether a single document, or a "fat file" of several centimetres). Yet the same criticism can be levelled at file lists generated by

the Public Archives, such as those prepared for the County Court or Inferior Court of Common Pleas. Nor can one find notations for estates probated outside Hants County: during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, for example, it is not unusual to find estate records of Hants County residents filed in Halifax. That type of information, of course, is outside the scope of the *Index*. Finally, the probated estates do not represent all estate transfers by will or other forms of generational inheritance. For example again, land conveyed by deed during an owner's lifetime to one or more children does not have to be included in the probate process and thus effectively disappears. (One may wish here to consult recent articles in the *Review* on inheritance, authored by Julian Gwyn, Fazley Siddiq and Phyllis Wagg.) One's attention having been drawn to what one should not expect to find in the *Index*, and to its minor limitations, the reader is reminded again of its primary goals and value. Now the hope is that similar research guides for the province's remaining seventeen counties will be compiled.

From the South Shore comes a volume under the title, *Land of My Fathers: Shelburne County Nova Scotia's Early Welsh Families*, Volume 2. The story of immigration to the province is greatly facilitated by an understanding of who the people were, how they fared over several succeeding generations and how quickly (or otherwise) the particular ethnic group began to integrate into the surrounding cultural mosaic. Eleanor Smith has woven together the seams of earlier and present-day family historians to provide us in Volume 2 with accounts of the Harris, Powell, Jenkins and Thomson clans who first settled at Welsttown. The high quality of Volume 1 is maintained by its companion.

Throughout *Land of My Fathers*, photographs of architecture and individuals add welcome graphic detail to the genealogical/biographical text. This is a continuing trend among the better genealogies being published today in Nova Scotia. Readers want to know "who" someone was, that is, a person's career, writings, special abilities (singer, athlete, painter), as well as his/her role in the community. Ann Harris, née MacKay (1825-1904), for example, is remembered thus: "very talented in spinning, weaving and knitting and with these primitive resources she amply provided the home comforts of a large and happy family..." (p. 20). Her being a native of Wales, it is also to be wondered what culinary traditions "Auntie Ann" brought with her to Nova Scotia.

It is such insights as these which are the strength of *Land of My Fathers*.

Meticulous documentation of sources is included throughout. This can be neither too highly praised nor can its importance be repeated often enough as methodology for all family historians. *Land of My Fathers* has thus retrospectively laid the basis for the academic study of Welsh immigration, such as Peter Thomas produced in his *Strangers from a Secret Land* (Toronto, 1986). One wants to know how long Welsh continued to be spoken, the nature of the oral and artifactual traditions which the settlers brought with them, and about many other related issues. A demographic and migration pattern data bank has been well provided for through this contribution from the Shelburne County Genealogical Society; publicizing it, moreover, reflects the strength of this journal's mandate.

The United Church of Canada has been encouraging the members of its various presbyteries to write historical accounts of their local churches. Truro Presbytery has responded to that challenge with a two-volume set, *A Tale of Two Centuries: Truro Presbytery--Oldest in Canada*. Moving from the first to the second, the *Supplement* is a good example of an architectural survey. Wherever possible, the committee which prepared *Two Centuries* has used both older and contemporary photographs of churches now making up the presbytery. Here is an excellent sampling of Presbyterian and Methodist ideas of what church buildings should look like. Wood is by far the dominant building material, while the presence or absence of a steeple provides clues in regard to the tension between the ecclesial meeting-house tradition and ecclesiastical "church-as-institution" architecture. The Malagash Methodist Church, built in 1885 (p. 19), is typical of the Methodist chapel/meeting-house tradition. By contrast, the Shubenacadie Presbyterian Church, built in 1869 (p. 39), is nineteenth-century neo-gothic. The *Supplement*'s last section is a portrait gallery of ministers and missionaries; readers who recall previous reviews of monographs on Methodist and Presbyterian women missionaries serving overseas will see here Truro Presbytery's volunteers in the missionary course, such as Jean Whittier (missionary to India) and Miriam Fox (missionary to Korea).

The main text of *Two Centuries* addresses the triple task of providing background histories for the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, and then the record of the United Church from 1925. Nor is a fourth strand entirely neglected, in the shape of early Congregationalists. The Presbytery itself covers parts of Colchester, Hants, Halifax and Cumberland Counties. *Two Centuries* is a useful reference tool because the committee saw the wisdom of

including a select bibliography of printed sources, though a brief discussion of archival sources would also have been helpful. The Maritime Conference Archives of the United Church of Canada, located in Halifax, is a significant repository of original synod, presbytery and conference minutes, biographical materials, correspondence, journals, yearbooks, etc. It is obvious that research trips to the Conference Archives formed part of the basis for *Two Centuries*; what has been missed is an opportunity to bring to public attention the historical treasury which can be found in Halifax.

The bias of the early printed histories and archival sources has inevitably resulted in a history of the men who led the churches in the Presbytery. Certainly ministers, elders and stewards were drawn exclusively from among the male members of the respective denominations. This imbalance is partly redressed in accounts of women missionaries, though one might wish to know more of Women's Auxiliary societies and prayer groups during the 1800s and 1900s. Having made this essential point it is also necessary to state that, as a local history, *Two Centuries* answers a chronic need in provincial church history. In one volume the researcher, student or scholar can consult material on origins, development and changes in church life, be it in Rawdon, Tatamagouche, Stewiacke, Noel or Truro.

A very different view of church history is taken in J. Philip McAleer's *A Pictorial History of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax, Nova Scotia*. McAleer, a professor of architectural history at the Technical University of Nova Scotia, is a specialist in church architecture. He has brought his extensive background to this visual history of Halifax's oldest building; St. Paul's Church was originally erected in 1750. Though there have been changes over the past 243 years, enough of the original structure and appearance (both external and internal) remains to enable one to be transported back to the eighteenth century. McAleer has made excellent use of sketches, prints, photographs and architectural plans to guide his readers through the successive external/internal changes undergone by the fabric of St. Paul's. The purpose of the book is to educate the casual visitor, those Nova Scotians interested in the province's built heritage, and the professional student of architecture. The illustrative plates are individually described and documented, while the entire text provides a coherent continuous narrative. McAleer's meticulous research in vestry minute-books and secondary sources is evident from the high quality throughout. If the reader is inspired to search further into colonial Nova Scotian or Halifax architecture, there is a

select bibliography to conclude the presentation.

St. Paul's Church has attracted the attention of historians from the late nineteenth century onwards. McAleer has not sought to replace R. V. Harris's *The Church of Saint Paul* (1949), which was more a bicentenary commemorative history of the parish and a collective biography than an inquiry into the building. The *Pictorial History* is focused chiefly on architecture and represents several years' intensive study. Earlier articles by McAleer on St. Paul's have appeared in *The Journal of Canadian Art History* (1984) and the *Nova Scotia Historical Review* (1989).

Minute attention to detail may be cited as typical of the author's approach. The eye of the reader is directed to the overall design, then to window design, vaulting, column decoration, even pew arrangement. Nor is St. Paul's viewed in isolation. Visual representations of contemporary church architecture from the mid-1700s are provided from Rhode Island, London, Boston and Québec City. This comparative contextual exercise allows us to appreciate St. Paul's unique features while at the same time demonstrating how its construction related to eighteenth-century building styles. McAleer rightly observes as well that historic restoration is a complex issue when applied to St. Paul's. The church reflects the growth of its parish as well as changing architectural and ecclesiastical tastes. To 'restore' the structure to its pre-1800 appearance would destroy the evidence of its intrinsic, cumulative historical worth.

Lest anyone think that McAleer has omitted something of importance, it should be pointed out that topical appendices cover the stained-glass windows and interments under the church proper, and provide a glossary of architectural terms. It is only to be regretted that all of the windows carrying images have not been photographed for inclusion. The heavily-decorated interior doors have also not been treated, nor are there descriptions of the memorial tablets. The last, it is true, may arguably belong to 'decorative' or mortuary art rather than architecture as such. Despite these cavils, the book is well worth reading at leisure or perusing with exacting scrutiny.

The recent National Postal Museum publication of *On Track: The Railway Mail Service in Canada*, by Susan O'Reilly, will attract the railway enthusiast and philatelist alike. It delivers a strong whiff of nostalgia for the days when postal delivery by rail was efficient, frequent and competitive for the railway companies. *On Track* is a visually-oriented presentation which grew out of research for an exhibit at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa. The result is not so much a continuous narrative as a guided exhibit tour,

interspersed with interviews of former railway postal clerks from across the country, including Nova Scotia. It is social history by intention, and a philatelist's delight by design.

On Track is also part reference book. Interspersed throughout are chronological summaries of railway and postal history highlights. Both are of crucial interest for the student of railway-delivered mail. For example, as early as 1840 the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railway was paid £52 annually to convey closed mailbags on a daily basis. Thirteen years later, mail was being sorted and stamped with a railway postmark on the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad. The earliest postmark yet discovered is for 22 October 1853. Somewhere a philatelist lives in hope of finding a frank antedating that one. Federal union (1867) greatly increased the requirements and responsibilities involved in postal mail delivery. It is perhaps by now forgotten that the Intercolonial Railway not only carried people and manufactures; written communications were also regular baggage on cars specifically designated as travelling post offices.

O'Reilly ensures that the most basic points are covered in *On Track* in order to make it accessible to young readers and adults alike. Who would not be intrigued to learn the terrific impact which the mail-order business had on railway postal volume? Sears, Eaton's, seed companies and a host of other firms could efficiently deliver by rail and thus communicate with their customers. Record-keeping, mailbags, postboxes and postal lock boxes all make an appearance. It is difficult indeed to avoid getting carried away with philatelic enthusiasm and private museum obsession as each page of *On Track* is turned.

Finally, the interviews with postal clerks carry one beyond official annual reports to "what it was really like" to work, eat and sleep in the mobile post-offices. It was not an ideal working environment to travel in cramped quarters with poor lighting and the ever-present danger of derailment. Yet, as O'Reilly observes, a camaraderie developed among the clerks which made even the bad times bearable. Lest the reader think that Nova Scotians have been overlooked, here are the names of four clerks interviewed at Halifax: Guy Rounsefell, Frank Peebles, Clarence Tobin and William Earle.

From railway nostalgia the focus shifts to *Myth and Milieu: Atlantic Canadian Literature and Culture 1918-1939*, edited by Gwendolyn Davies of Acadia University. This collection of papers from the second Thomas H. Raddall Symposium held at Acadia University (1993) is unified by its

concentration on the interwar years as experienced on the east coast of Canada. The marginalization of the region's cultural worth can only be addressed by both examining the validity of the centralist assumption and pointing out the vibrant literary and cultural tradition which still held to a transatlantic vision and cultivated pride in regional heritage. *Myth and Milieu* contributors examined those issues through visual and aural imagery (Ian McKay, Margaret Conrad, Mark Blagrave, C. Ruth Spicer); literature and culture (Clara Thomas and John Lennox, Carole Gerson, Elizabeth Miller, Nancy Vogan); the specific examples of Lucy Maud Montgomery (Elizabeth Epperly, Alan Young, Diane Tye) and Frank Parker Day (Andrew Seaman, John Stockdale, Lewis Poteet); and the poetry of the interwar period (David Pitt, Alexander Kizuk). The unique benefits accruing from academic conferences are obvious in *Myth and Milieu*, in light of these multifaceted approaches to the conference theme.

Without slighting the contribution of any presenter, this review will highlight two articles which may particularly draw readers to the book. Clara Thomas and John Lennox's "Rhodenizer's *Handbook*," is an astute analysis of one Nova Scotian's attempt to place Atlantic Canadian literature in some kind of relation to Canada as a whole. The *Handbook of Canadian Literature* (1930) by Vernon Rhodenizer was an obvious choice for the second Raddall Symposium by publication date and subject. Rhodenizer's goal was set out in his "Prefatory Note": "it attempts three things not found elsewhere in combination,--a fresh and significant synthesis of biographical and historical details, a simple and practical guide to the appreciation of literary art, and an independent and judicial critical evaluation of the work, of the authors discussed" (p. 5). Finally, Rhodenizer sought to guide readers through impressionistic writing (journals, biography, history) towards creative fiction in a search for a Canadian national ethos or identity. Thomas and Lennox allow latitude for that 1920s Canadian nationalist theme while noting Rhodenizer's careful attention to the value of regional identity.

The *Handbook* was one of only a very few texts then available in universities for the use of Canadian professors teaching Canadian literature. That fact alone places Rhodenizer in a special category. His own attempts to evaluate critically recent novels such as the *Jalna* saga of Mazo de la Roche challenged other English-Canadian scholars to refine their own critical techniques. This broad approach taken by Rhodenizer in the *Handbook* is appreciated by Thomas and Lennox. It is to be regretted, however, that they

did not seize on Rhodenizer's Maritime sections both as prelude to the 1920s and as normative of cultural expression.

Lewis Poteet's essay on regional dialect, "Local, Specific and Elaborate: The Craft of Words on Nova Scotia's South Shore," is very much an exploration of linguistic context. Literature which is to be an expression of a people must be informed not by the English of academics but by the parlance of folk culture. Poteet rightly notes Thomas Raddall's awareness of that need for verisimilitude in the interest of realism in his own historical novels (e.g., *His Majesty's Yankees*, 1942). It is nevertheless a far older literary device than authors' usage in the interwar years. Thomas Chandler Haliburton's *The Clockmaker* and *The Old Judge* of the mid-1800s are distinctive for their use of exaggerated New England and English dialect as transplanted to Nova Scotia. Poteet has moved beyond this historical application, however, to stress the elaborate descriptiveness of dialect in relation to literature's tension between sparseness and ornamentation. The literary-critical approach sheds very different light on the creative artistic use of dialect.

Vernacular does not develop without context. Poteet draws attention to the persistence of Elizabethan and eighteenth- century idiom. There is also the influence of occupational folkways which colour the vocabulary and at the same time fix one with a sense of place. That aspect of historic present runs as a theme through *Myth and Milieu*; place provides orientation, a source of expressiveness, and a distinct character. From these various strands the creative writer is in a better position to compose a work which is vital rather than superficial.

The remaining articles in *Myth and Milieu* carry one from aural to graphic images of literature and culture. Political satire is elicited from the cartoons of Donald McRitchie and Robert Chambers, while motion pictures are explored in an examination of cinema in Saint John; the visuals of G. Horne Russell (illustrator and artist) complement both. Lucy Maud Montgomery as observer of contemporary events and women's oral narrative traditions introduces the prolific legacy of that Maritime author and one-time resident of Halifax. Novels and poetic expression permit interprovincial comparison through articles on the poet E.J. Pratt, the novelist Frank Parker Day and Molly Beresford. Finally, music draws the reader back into oral tradition, from music education to the folk-music collecting activity of Helen Creighton. The 1920s and 1930s, marking the passage from Victorian and Edwardian values to modern materialistic secularism, left an indelible mark

on all aspects of society. *Myth and Milieu* bears the reader along through those years towards a better understanding of the role of tradition and the individual talent.

A more prosaic conference than the one which gave rise to *Myth and Milieu* took place at Saint Mary's University in 1990. The collected papers have been edited by Kris Inwood as *Farm, Factory and Fortune: New Studies in the Economic History of the Maritime Provinces*. Fourteen scholars contributed articles which cover colonial agriculture, nineteenth-century industrial development in the Maritimes and early twentieth-century capitalist enterprise. Inwood's introductory synopsis explains that the principal purpose of the conference was to explore why, in the late nineteenth century, outmigration from the Maritimes took on such large proportions. The answer is thought to lie in limited regional economic development, resulting in restrictions on individuals trying to earn surplus capital or even a living wage. By focusing on economic history, it is hoped that a generally agreed upon interpretation can be arrived at which will satisfy the academic community. Since two historians gathered together represents three interpretations, however, the challenge in *Farm, Factory and Fortune* is formidable.

Arguments about Maritime economic viability haunt historians of both the pre- and the post-Confederation periods. Alan MacNeil, in the lead article, "The Acadian Legacy and Agricultural Development in Nova Scotia, 1760-1861," attempts to show that, as retarded as agricultural output was in Annapolis Township (his case study), it would have been even more so had not the Acadians made their initial exploitative efforts in farming, limited lumbering and dyke construction. Eighteenth-century census returns, combined with the 1827 and 1861 detailed statistics, are used to chart livestock production, crop output and arable improvement. MacNeil's particular contribution is his call to consider seriously to what extent the New England Planters of the 1760s benefited from the Acadian legacy. Marsh reclamation, orchards, farm buildings and cattle were acquired in varying degrees by the new settlers.

The pressing questions are to what degree did Acadian farming enable the Planters to engage in intensive crop production, without their being diverted by land clearing; and were there large numbers of cattle still surviving to add to the immigrants' own stock. According to MacNeil's reconstruction, the answers are affirmative; the Planters' own output, in comparison to that of later Loyalist settlements on unimproved lands (1783-85), was substantially

more advanced. That initial spurt of production can only be explained through acquisition of the heritage of Acadian cumulative agricultural efforts. Nineteenth-century declines in per capita agricultural output in Annapolis Township reflected the loss of this original advantage.

Pioneering academic scholarship usually raises as many questions as it attempts to answer; MacNeil's article is no exception. His interest in the percentage of cleared arable land owned by Annapolis Township settlers is not presented in relation to lot distribution. Barry Moody has examined Annapolis County's township survey divisions ("Land, Kinship and Inheritance in Granville Township, 1760-1800," in Margaret Conrad, ed., *Making Adjustments: Change and Continuity in Planter Nova Scotia 1759-1800* [1991], pp. 165-79). Here land was divided in long strips which fronted on the Annapolis River and extended back to the mountain ranges. Any new settler acquired Acadian dykeland improvements, as well as lowland naturally devoid of heavy timber growth. Conversely, MacNeil's comments on the decline in land clearance in the nineteenth century do not take into account the North Mountain range; one cannot farm the side of an escarpment, so land clearance is meaningless. In regard to cattle-raising, moreover, insufficient attention has been given to cattle importation from New England, though it must be allowed that documentation is not extensive. Comparative studies with other townships settled by New England Planters would, however, have partly compensated for the vagaries of record non-preservation.

Unfortunately for MacNeil, he did not have access to material on Falmouth Township, which was closer to Annapolis in livestock emphasis than to the crop-growing plantations at Horton and Cornwallis. Estate records for Mount Denson and Castle Frederick, census returns and colonial correspondence confirm that large numbers of cattle were imported from New England (see Allen Robertson, "Tenant Farmers, Black Labourers, Indentured Servants: Estate Management in Falmouth Township, Nova Scotia": paper presented at the third New England Planter Conference, October 1993, Wolfville, N.S.). Sheep and swine production numbers were also relatively high. It is instructive, however, that Falmouth bears out MacNeil's observation that food grains took second place after stock-raising and hay production.

The other contributors to *Farm, Factory and Fortune* encountered the same challenges as MacNeil: the need for reassessment and the tension

created by contending interpretations. Nonetheless, as a body, the other ten articles have broadened our understanding of regional economic dynamics and the linkages to the eastern North American market-industrial-agricultural network. Beatrice Craig and T.W. Acheson complement MacNeil's "Acadian Legacy" in their examinations of New Brunswick agriculture, both of which emphasize the relationship between farm output (type, quantity, profits) and viable market demands beyond the locality. Upper Canadian wheat production and the expenses of transportation were two factors, among others, which determined the contours of agricultural development in the Maritime region. Mining, capital investment and gender in the workplace carry the succeeding articles through to the twentieth century. These studies by Marilyn Gerriets, Del Muise, E.R. Forbes, Ken Cruikshank, James Irwin and Kris Inwood are rounded out by Quigley, Drummond and Evans's joint article on the banking system and the Maritime economy (1895-1935), and by Gregory Marchildon's examination of regional capital investment (1890-1914).

To mark the bicentenary of the Sierra Leone migration by Afro-Nova Scotians (1792), University of Toronto Press has reprinted James Walker's excellent monograph, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783-1870*. This classic was first published in 1976 at the same time as a complementary study by Ellen Gibson Wilson (*The Loyal Blacks*). The latter historian was chiefly interested in the career of John Clarkson, of whom she subsequently wrote a biography. By comparison, James Walker focused on the experience of Black refugees and slaves who arrived in Nova Scotia after the American Revolution and what disappointments, as well as aspirations, induced so many of the free Blacks to try life in Africa. Nearly 1,200 of them set sail in January 1792 from Halifax. The exceptional value of Walker's study lies in his continuative history of their experience in Sierra Leone.

Their nine-year stay in Nova Scotia was a uniformly unhappy one. They consistently received less land from government than did non-Blacks, their pecuniary assistance was less, the land they received was usually inferior, and there were unscrupulous individuals willing to take advantage of the illiterate to bind them into lengthy periods of indentured servitude (a state bordering on slavery). Even their settlements, as Walker points out, were on the ghettoized margin of the main Loyalist towns. Walker explores in detail the impact which this treatment had on a sizeable minority population trying to

adjust to life in a new colony, a cold climate and the transitional state from slavery to freedom.

Walker concedes (as did Ellen Wilson) that it was religious organization among the Blacks which created a cohesion and sense of direction in the face of adversity. Non-Blacks were at first the principal preachers or missionaries, but they were joined early on by evangelists from within the Black settlements. David George, Moses Wilkinson and Boston King were only three of the most prominent among those missionary preachers who sought converts. It was such effective leadership among Blacks in Nova Scotia which took advantage of English abolitionist proposals to found a colony for free Blacks in Africa.

The shared refugee experience and self-organization in Nova Scotia forged a group-consciousness which kept the Nova Scotians (as the Sierra Leone settlers called themselves) aware of their North American past, in relationship to other inhabitants of Sierra Leone. It is certainly appropriate for *The Black Loyalists* to have been reprinted at a time when we look to reorganization in many African states and the reassessment of links between them and Canada. Among Afro-Nova Scotians there is a justified sense of pride in the fact that, in the 1790s, so many Blacks took charge of their own destiny. It is too often overlooked, however, that the 1792 migration was a serious blow to the Blacks who remained in Nova Scotia, bereft of spiritual and community leadership. Not until refugees from the War of 1812 arrived in the province did Afro-Nova Scotians recover in numbers and in leadership potential.

A significant publication relevant to colonial Nova Scotian studies was released this year as another University of Toronto Press imprint. *New England Planters in the Maritime Provinces of Canada 1759-1800: Bibliography of Primary Sources* was compiled by Judith Norton on behalf of the Planter Studies Centre at Acadia University. It is indeed noteworthy that a large, central Canadian publisher has been willing to undertake the printing of a work devoted not to Loyalists but to their predecessors, the Planters. In Maritime Canada, recent historiography has experienced a renaissance in Planter studies—migration, settlement, family networks, architecture, religion, economics, self-government, social hierarchy and rites of passage. Three triennial conferences devoted to the Planter experience have been hosted at Acadia (1987, 1990, 1993), resulting in an increase in scholarly articles on these immigrants and their society. It is to be hoped that the *Bibliography*

will more firmly entrench the Planters in Canadian history texts.

At the outset it must be clearly understood that this source-book is not a bibliography. The *Bibliography* is, in fact, a catalogue of manuscript and printed sources; it is not a select guide to articles, theses and books on Planters. Secondly, there is no overall attempt to describe archival materials at the fonds or collection level. Individual items or documents are numbered (a valuable enough guide to the extent of the materials one must search), but there is no synopsis of the contents of larger units. Under Kings County entries, for example, references are made to the Chipman family fonds at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. This rich source is not in itself described, so that researchers remain unaware that the fonds contains about 4.7 metres of textual records dating from 1759 to the 1850s, and encompassing, in effect, the documentation generated by the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and the Inferior Court of Common Pleas. Description and overall extent would have enhanced the value of the *Bibliography* for sources such as these.

There is a systematic arrangement of material in the *Bibliography* by broad categories (government documents, personal papers, business records, society records) and formal subdivisions (acts and proclamations, township books and vital statistics). Each entry is given with its archival reference code, physical form (original, microfilm copy, transcript), outside dates, number of items and number of pages. Combined with indices for Planters, Non-Planters, Subjects, etc., the *Bibliography* is a guide which historians and genealogists alike will want to consult. Its special advantage is that Norton consulted archival holdings in both the Maritimes and New England, in order to bring together a comprehensive listing in one volume. It is the integration of New England and Maritime primary sources and scholarly studies which will advance the cause of Planter historiography.

The purpose of the *Bibliography* is to facilitate New England Planter research. It is true that the conventional inventory entries or subdivisions will not restrict the Planter scholar in reinterpreting eighteenth-century society. Additional access points or subject headings, however, would have shown a greater degree of sensitivity to current trends in historiographical analysis. The subject index has extensive references under "Women," but no headings for children (except for "Child maintenance"), family life, Afro-Nova Scotians or Blacks (except as slaves), homosexuality or politics. Much of that material, however, can be found in the *Bibliography* through a page-by-page scan.

These limitations aside, the potential offered for revisionist historiography is immense, based on the extensive inventory entries to be found in the *Bibliography*. It is in this regard that Judith Norton and the Planter Studies Centre are to be congratulated for making this comprehensive volume available to the wider community. We at the *Nova Scotia Historical Review* count it as our own service to Nova Scotians to bring to their attention books such as the Planter *Bibliography*, genealogies, local histories or indeed any book which celebrates the province's heritage; to promote Maritime publishers; and to encourage authors from whatever background to contribute to our eastern Canadian cultural renaissance.



ISSN 0227-4752

© 1993 Public Archives of Nova Scotia



Sister, Brother-in-Law, niece and I
Out for a walk on the Sea-shore.

BEAVER Done July-Aug. 1927.