Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 14, Number 1, 1994

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The destruction of the cupola of St. George's Anglican Church (Halifax), 2 June 1994 (Paul Darrow Photos. Courtesy *The Daily News*, Halifax, N.S.)

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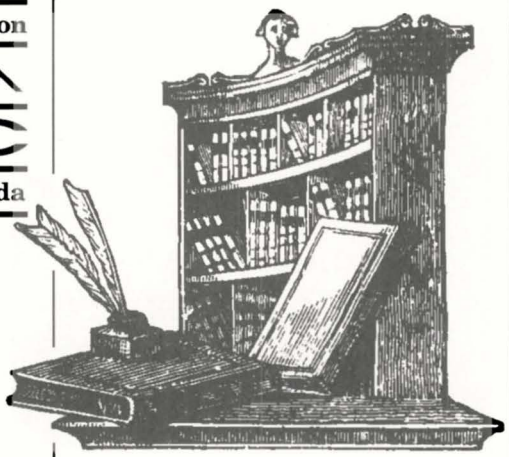

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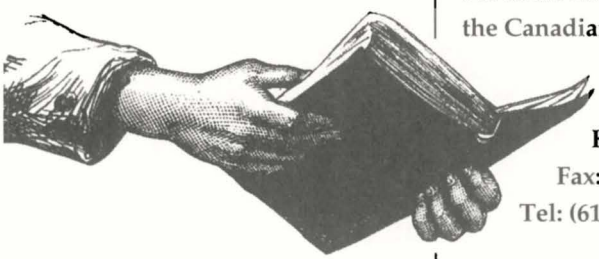

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Conference on the Contribution of Presbyterianism to Atlantic Canada

Conference Notice

A conference on "The Contribution of Presbyterianism to Atlantic Canada" will be held at Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, Canada from 18 through 20 November 1994. The keynote speakers will be Dr. John S. Moir and Principal William Klempa; other contributors will include George Rawlyk, John Webster Grant, Douglas F. Campbell, Gwendolyn Davies, Barbara Murison, Mary Rubio, Laurie Stanley-Blackwell and Stewart D. Gill (Melbourne, Australia). Further information can be obtained from Dr. C.H.H. Scobie, Chair, COPAC Committee, Department of Religious Studies, Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, Canada, E0A 3C0.

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James Bruce, Shelburne's First Collector of Customs

Marion Robertson

Following the long years of the American Revolution, in 1783, many Loyalists, disbanded soldiers and freed Blacks came to the Port Roseway area of southwestern Nova Scotia seeking a new homeland. As the months passed others also came seeking a refuge. Among them were Loyalists from East Florida, where they had taken refuge during the Revolution. These included Robert and George Ross, whose sturdy old store and house still stand beside Charlotte Lane, a symbol of early Shelburne which is today a museum. Others came with Thomas Courtney, Jr. in a company of forty-six from St. Augustine. Still others came who had been in West Florida: John Allen Martin and later, James Bruce and his family who came in 1785, when James Bruce was appointed the first Customs Officer for the Port of Shelburne.

Many years later, in 1830, James Bruce's son, Archibald Scott Bruce, then in Lunenburg, remembering his family and his father's long years of service under government, wrote of his father's youth, of his years as Customs officer in Pensacola, West Florida; of his plantations near the broad waters of the Mississippi; and of his mother, Isabella Sinclair, born in the Castle of Dunbeath.[1]

Dipping his pen in ink, Archibald Scott Bruce began to write about his father: "My father was born [at] Mains of Pitfour, near Aberdeen, North Britain." Pitfour, where James Bruce was born, was a large estate divided into farms for tenant farmers; on the Mains of Pitfour was the large residence for the tenant farmers, for "Every Nobleman's House (in Scotland) hath what they call the Mains where their labourers, Grooms and Everybody belonging to the stable and poultry reside."[2] Here on the Mains of Pitfour lived young James Bruce; "In the early part of his life," wrote his son, he "was a writer to the Sygnet [Scottish solicitor or 'law agent'] which not liking he entered into

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Marion Robertson, CM, winner of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society's Centenary Award in 1978 for her history of early Shelburne, Nova Scotia, was invested with membership in the Order of Canada in September 1993. (The author would like to thank Barry Cahill and Bill Camp for their assistance.)

1 In 1952 Mr. Arthur Bruce, then Customs Officer for the port of Shelburne, brought to the author to copy a memorandum written in 1830 by Archibald Scott Bruce (ca. 1769–1841) about his father, James Bruce, and his long years of service under government. The holograph had been given to him by Mrs. Agnes Ryan of Halifax in 1929. A photocopy of the author's handwritten transcription is in PANS MG 50, vol. 1, file 2 (Genealogical Manuscripts Collection).

2 *Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol. 6. *Burke's Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (Vol. 1), 1875, p. 430--without giving a date--states that the Ferguson Family acquired the estate of Pitfour, County Aberdeen.

the navy as Captain's Clerk. Was in that situation to Captain Fortesue then commanding a Frigate of 44 [guns] at the taking of the Island of Gorce on the Coast of Africa. At the Peace in 1763 was Private Secretary to Admiral Adam Gordon through whose interest he procured the appointment of Collector of His Majesty's Customs for the Port of Pensecola [*sic*] in the Province of West Florida in 1764."

On his appointment as Customs Officer for the Port of Pensacola in the Province of West Florida, James Bruce was appointed to the Council by the Governor on 22 November 1764. To confirm his appointment he addressed a letter to the Lords of Trade in England. Bruce's appointment was confirmed on 7 February 1769 in a letter from Secretary of State Hillsborough to John Eliot, Governor of West Florida. He was to have precedence at the board next to the Chief Justice of West Florida.[3]

His childhood on the Mains of Pitfour, and his father's having been a tenant farmer, gave to James Bruce the desire for a plantation where he could grow corn, indigo and sweet potatoes, and have many hogs and "a likely horse." In 1773 he established a plantation at considerable expence on a tract of land granted to him by the crown on 14 May 1772: 1,200 acres on the River Amit near the waters of the Mississippi. Besides his acres on the River Amit Bruce had sixty acres of cleared land for sewing indigo seeds, and 100 acres of rich corn land cleared for planting, all of which yielded him an income of £2,000 per annum.[4]

All went well with James Bruce until 4 February 1778, when a party of American patriots under the command of James Willing came down the river Mississippi bearing a commission from the Continental Congress authorizing them to break up every plantation whose owner was known or considered to be inimical to the cause of American independence. On account of Bruce's position as Customs Officer and member of the Council of West Florida, Willing hurled his troops across Bruce's plantation at Manchack, killed his "Stock of every kind, wantonly tore up and destroyed his fences, set fire to and burned his house, negro huts, Barns, store houses, out houses,--in short every thing that had the appearance of a settlement." In his storehouses Bruce had upwards of 300 bushels of Indian corn, seeds of indigo for planting,

3 A copy of the warrant was attached to Archibald Scott Bruce's memorandum written in 1830.

4 AO 13/25, p. 77, PRO [Public Record Office]. Statement by James Bruce of his losses (mfm. at PANS). (Bruce's claim for compensation was rejected.)

farming implements, iron works and timber squared to erect four sets of indigo vats, to be made French fashion.

When they had devastated his plantation at Manchack, the patriots fell upon Bruce's plantation on the River Amit, burning and destroying a dwelling house, four Black slave houses, a fowl house, a mill house, bushels of shelled corn, his plantation tools, his pewter plates, knives and forks, 200 to 300 hogs and "1 likely horse." Bruce's losses, attested by John Rowley, who had been overseer of his plantations, were valued by John Mitchell and James Amos at £9,146.1.

Amid the destruction, the burning of his houses, his Black slave huts and the slaughter of his hogs, Bruce, "at great expence and risk," rescued thirty working slaves and placed them on a plantation he owned on the River Mobile, where they worked two years before the settlement was broken up by the Spaniards; Bruce lost everything he had except his slaves, "whom he had the good fortune of securing." "No other settler on the river shared in any degree in an equal severity of Fate." Bruce had a wife and two young children, and had always hoped to provide affluent support--"now no hope of doing so."[5]

As Customs Officer and member of the Council, James Bruce continued to reside in Pensacola until the reduction of the town and final loss of the province to the Spaniards. His son Archibald, remembering West Florida, wrote in his memoirs:

> The Governor of the Province Peter Chester, Esq, and the Chief Justice, Mr Clifton, shortly after the taking of the Province, proceeded to England, and my Father, being the Senior of His Majesty's Council, the Spanish Governor insisted on his taking on him the management of the Government, especially for the purpose of procurring the means of conveying away the poor British Subjects to the nearest British Settlements which were St Augustine in East Florida and Charlestown in South Carolina.

During the years of the American Revolution, Governor Patrick Tonyn of East Florida had issued proclamations offering shelter to Loyalists in St. Augustine and in the pinelands of East Florida and on plantations.[6] Here James Bruce, and those who went with him, sought refuge and were issued

5 *Ibid.*

6 Marion Robertson, *King's Bounty: A History of Early Shelburne, Nova Scotia.* (Halifax, 1983), p. 78.

rations from the King's Bounty of provisions.[7]

In 1782 James Bruce left East Florida for England to present a statement of his losses as a Loyalist. In London, on 22 August 1782, Bruce presented a memorial certified as true on the oath of John Rowley, who had been overseer of his plantations, to the Lords Commissioners of HM Treasury asking them to afford him some adequate provision or relief. Hearing of his great losses, their lordships allowed Bruce temporary subsistence or relief of £100 per annum, which was continued until his departure from England in 1785.[8]

When Bruce and other refugees who had lived in West Florida were told that the Board investiging the losses of the Loyalists had passed a resolution not to receive any general claims for loss of property in West Florida, he and other former residents of West Florida, together with Governor Johnstone, who had been the first governor of West Florida, called on Secretary of State Lord Sydney in order to request his assistance in obtaining compensation for their losses. They were given "some assurance of hope," and in the meantime they lived without relief or compensation.[9]

On his appointment under the imperial customs establishment as Collector of Customs for the Port of Shelburne (Port Roseway renamed), James Bruce set sail for Nova Scotia bearing a letter from Lord Sydney, dated Whitehall, 24 April 1785, to Governor John Parr recommending him for appointment to the vacant seat in the Council of Nova Scotia: "a proper warrant shall be laid before His Majesty for his Commission thereto."[10] On his arrival in Halifax on 10 June, Bruce presented Lord Sydney's letter to Governor Parr, who hesitated to make such an appointment because of the distance from Shelburne to Halifax and "declined giving any further answer."[11] Deeply disturbed, Bruce wrote on 22 June 1785 to Under-Secretary of State Evan Nepean, stating that the passage from Shelburne to Halifax might be made in

7 *Ibid.* Distribution of rations by the Commissary General of New York.

8 AO 13/25, p. 77, PRO (mfm. at PANS).

9 *Ibid.*

10 CO 218, Vol. 25, p. 506, PRO (microfilm at PANS).

11 CO 217, Vol. 57, p. 279, PRO (microfilm at PANS). Bruce to Evan Nepean, Halifax, 22 June 1785.

twelve to twenty-four hours. If advised in advance Bruce could attend meetings of the Council. "My being the first Revenue Officer of a new and respectable Establishment in the Province under his Government," Bruce had pointed out to Parr, "should be sufficient Inducement for his appointment to the Council."[12] Parr still hesitated to confirm Bruce's appointment to the Council, and when he and John Creighton of Lunenburg failed to attend meetings of the Council, Lieutenant-Governor Parr, on 3 January 1788, appointed others in their place "on the ground of their absence, and the difficulty he found from their non-attendance."[13]

On the evening of 22 June 1785,[14] James Bruce and his family set sail for Shelburne, he as the first Collector of Customs for the newly established Customs office at Shelburne. They were many hours at sea until they came to the entrance of Shelburne Harbour, known in earlier days as "Port Roseway," from the French *Port Razoir* (for the razor clams still found in sand edging the shore of the harbour). To the west, as the vessel's bow turned into the harbour, was the elongated Port Roseway Island, Rosaway, Roseneath--in later years McNutt's Island, where Alexander McNutt and his brother Benjamin lived as early Scots-Irish settlers. At the northern tip of the island, False Passage ebbed and flowed between the island and the mainland, as the tide swung westward along the coast. Here were early Scots-Irish settlers who had been attracted to the area by Alexander McNutt, and a number of settlers from New England: the Doanes, the Dexters and the Demings among others. Along the shore northward was Point Carleton (Fort Point), fortified with cannon to protect the harbour from invaders. Beyond Point Carleton the northern waters of the harbour, divided by Harts Point, sheltered the waters of Birchtown Bay, where hundreds of freed Blacks had been sent in the late summer of 1783. They were not Loyalists--as many others who came to Shelburne were not Loyalists--but Blacks who had been the slaves of rebels, and who had escaped their masters and been given protection behind the British lines in New York. During the long years of the American Revolution the Continental Congress had issued a proclamation that any slave of a Loyalist who could escape would be protected behind their lines of defence.

12 *Ibid.*

13 Beamish Murdoch, *History of Nova-Scotia* (Halifax, 1869), Vol. 3, p. 58.

14 Bruce to Evan Nepean: *supra*, note 11.

Many escaped and were protected by the Americans. The British were soon aware that these refugee slaves were a great help to the Americans. There were also slaves of rebels to attract, so the British commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton, issued a proclamation offering protection behind the British lines to all slaves of rebel masters, and those behind the rebel standard who could escape. Many came; at the end of the war, in order to save them from re-enslavement by their former masters, the new British commander-in-chief, Sir Guy Carleton, gave these refugee slaves certificates of freedom. They were sent to Nova Scotia to settle land west of the new town of Shelburne, which they named Birchtown in honour of Brigadier-General Samuel Birch, commandant of New York, who had been kind to them and had found for them places of shelter--houses deserted by the rebels--where they could live.[15]

Along the eastern shores of Shelburne Harbour, as James Bruce and his family watched the coast line, were--here and there--fields of cleared land where those who had been granted fifty acres of land for farms were struggling to clear the rocky soil for hay and gardens. Above Sandy Point was the new town of Shelburne. How eagerly James Bruce and his wife must have searched the waterfront for a glimpse of someone they had known in West Florida--for John Allen Martin, or the Ross Brothers, Robert and George. The wharf lots along the west side of Dock Street were the busiest part of the town--not the sterile street of today with only a barrel factory at the northern end of the wharf lots, a symbol of busy activity, a dory shop open as a museum, and a restaurant at the southern tip of the street. In the early days, wharves of logs and stone landings jutted out from the wharf lots into deeper water;[16] for hither came the fishing boats with their catch and here were storehouses for fishing gear, tubs of bait, fish hooks and fish lines. Here the merchants had warehouses for their goods as they were unloaded from vessels leaning against the wharves, on one of which was the store of Richard Townsend and his son Richard.[17]

Onto one of the many wharf lots edging Dock Street James and Isabella Bruce and their children stepped ashore to begin life in the new town of

15 On this subject generally, see Chapter Four of Robertson, *King's Bounty*, 83–106.

16 Map of wharf lots, Shelburne waterfront: Provincial Map Collection, PANS.

17 *King's Bounty*, 202.

Shelburne. They first lived in a rented house on King Street.[18] In 1787 James Bruce bought from Richard Hall, one of the early merchants of Shelburne, Lot no. 16, Letter A, South Division--a lot which had been granted to Peter Lynch, who had sold it to Richard Hall in 1786.[19] It was a lot (as were all town lots) 60 feet by 120 feet, and situated on the northwest corner of Mowat and St. John's Streets. Here James Bruce built a small house, consisting of four rooms and a kitchen,[20] which suggests that it may have had a long, salt-box roof extending over the kitchen at the back of the four rooms. Captain William Booth of the Royal Engineers, when stationed in Shelburne in 1789, sketched in his journal the house of James Bruce; it appears pressed against the southeast corner of the lot. To the rear of the house, near the northern boundary of the lot, was a small building[21] which was used by James Bruce as a barn for housing a milch corn and a flock of fowl.[22]

The Customs House office was on Mowat Street, near the southern end of the street. Besides James Bruce, as Collector of Customs, there were other officials: John Allen Martin, Comptroller; Richard Brazil, Clerk of the Customs House; George Drummond, surveyor and searcher; lawyer Richard Combauld, solicitor of Customs; John Sargent and Thomas O'Brian, tide- and land-waiters. In July 1786 the Customs district for the Port of Shelburne was greatly expanded to include Digby, St. Mary's Bay, Clare, Yarmouth, Barrington, Shelburne, Green Harbour, Ragged Islands, Sable River and Port l'Hebert--all other areas of the province being under the jurisdiction of Halifax.[23]

Prior to the imperial establishment of a Customs House for the port of Shelburne, an officer was sent from Halifax to collect import and export dues. When the citizens of Shelburne learned that the fees collected in Shelburne were sent to Halifax they protested vigorously, believing that the

18 Assessment roll, Town of Shelburne, 1786.

19 Shelburne County Deeds, Vol. 3:88 and Vol. 2:532.

20 Shelburne County Administrations: estate of James Bruce.

21 Acadia University Archives--William Booth "Rough Memorandums" [Journal], vol. 6.

22 *Supra*, note 20.

23 *King's Bounty*, 237.

fees should remain in Shelburne for the benefit of the town. So they requested a Customs House for the town of Shelburne. They protested as vigorously in the autumn of 1785, when they learned that the revenue collected in the Shelburne Customs office was also to be sent to Halifax--"thrown into the Provincial Treasury."[24] Some of the merchants found ways to evade paying the fees of the Customs office. One of them instructed the captain of his schooner returning from Philadelphia, "You will endeavour to enter this harbour in the Evening and should you have goods not fit to be brought up to the Town you will put them on the shore at our store on McNutt's Island taking care to be gone from thence before daylight."[25]

Others besides local merchants were smuggling merchandise into the port of Shelburne in the spring of 1792. American fishermen, James Bruce discovered, were smuggling in merchandise but he had only a small boat with which to go after them. He appealed to the authorities in Halifax to send an armed vessel to the Shelburne area. The American fishermen were not only smuggling merchandise into the area; they were also digging boat loads of clams from the clam flats. The people of Port La Bear (Port l'Hebert) protested vigorously that the Americans should be allowed to dig clams in the local clam flats. When the Americans were told to "desist," they laughed and went on digging clams. Sometimes there were as many as twenty and more foreign fishermen digging buckets and buckets of clams. The complaints were confirmed by Roderick MacLeod, master and owner of the schooner *Nancy* (Shelburne), who saw twelve vessels manned by American fishermen on 25 and 26 June 1792, each of which--he was told by the inhabitants of Port l'Hebert--had on board a crew of six to nine, going on shore in their boats, and gathering "from the flats...all the clams they could carry in their boats." Bruce's appeal for an armed vessel was favourably received by the new Loyalist Lieutenant-Governor John Wentworth, who, with the advice of the Council, ordered an armed schooner to Shelburne "to aid and assist the Collector in his duty."[26]

In addition to his duties as Customs Officer for the port of Shelburne, in 1788 James Bruce was appointed deputy postmaster for the town by the

24 *Ibid.*

25 *Ibid.*, 238.

26 CO 217/63, PRO (mfm. at PANS).

General Post Office in London. He was to carry to the post office all letters and bags of mail received from incoming vessels. The latter were to be opened and carefully examined for revenue due from any recipent of mail delivered at the post office.[27]

Like the many others who owned a coasting vessel sailing out of Shelburne to near and distant seaports, James Bruce owned the schooner *Charlotte*, which he employed along the south shore of Nova Scotia and in trade with Boston, exchanging Irish butter and herring for cotton and ship iron for use in the Shelburne shipyards.[28]

There are a few glimpses of James Bruce and his family in those early years at Shelburne. Turning to his mother's side of the family, her son Archibald wrote in his memoirs, "My mother was born in the castle of Dunbeath, County of Caithness, North Britain, her father was the late Sir William Sinclair of Dunbeath and Canesbay, County of Caithness, who died in poor circumstances." Her brother John, "not being desirous of assuming his just title, joined the Army, was a captain in the 60th or Royal American in the year 1786 then stationed in the Island of Jamaica, and having a desire of seeing my mother then in Shelburne had procured leave of absence to proceed to England and on his way to Nova Scotia was never after heard of."

There is an old tale in Shelburne that in the early years there was a woman who used to climb a high hill to watch the harbour for a ship that never came. Perhaps it was Isabella Bruce, who climbed the long hill of St. John's Street to watch for her brother whose ship never came into Shelburne Harbour.

James Bruce and his wife Isabella Sinclair had three children: a son Archibald Scott, and two daughters, Charlotte Mary, who married James Creighton, Jr. of Lunenburg and died in 1808, aet. 32;[29] and Betsey (probably named Elizabeth), who was mentioned in Simeon Perkins's *Diary*, when she and her sister came to Liverpool from Shelburne in McNutt's schooner.[30]

As an acute observer of Shelburne society, William Booth considered James Bruce to be one of its principal citizens. As leading citizens of

27 *King's Bounty*, 188.

28 *Ibid.*, 231.

29 *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette* (Halifax), 20 September 1808.

30 *Diary of Simeon Perkins*, [Champlain Society ed.] vol. 1797–1803, p. 421.

Shelburne, Bruce and Stephen Skinner--whom William Dyott considered the "only people tolerably decent in Shelburne"--dined with HRH Prince William Henry when he was in Shelburne to inspect the 6th Regiment of Foot then stationed in barracks on the western shore of Shelburne Harbour.[31]

After many years in His Majesty's service, James Bruce died on 25 November 1804, and is buried in Christ Church burial ground beside his wife Isabella, who had died in 1801, aet. 50. His estate was valued at £301.17.9 by George Ross and George Gracie. Each of the four rooms of Bruce's house and the kitchen were carefully assessed for the value of their furnishings: mahogany tables and Windsor chairs, a dumb waiter, an oval looking-glass, a mahogany tea chest, silver teaspoons and silver sugar tongs, and a silver soup ladle; decanters and tumblers in the dining-room, fire tongs, shovels and a poker at each of the fireplaces.

In the fourth room were Bruce's large bedstead and curtains, and a camp bedstead with wool mattresses, bolster and pillow; blankets and a counterpane. There were the clothes he had worn: a suit of green superfine cloth, vest and breeches; two pair of old Nankeen breeches, one pair of buckskin breeches, a swan down vest, a silver watch gib, and many other items of clothing--but no shoes.

In the kitchen were the accumulated items of those years: copper and iron tea kettles, an iron frying pan, a copper coffee pot, heavy iron pots, kitchen tables, smoothing irons and stand, milk kettle, a brass wash kettle, brass candlesticks and two pairs of snuffers, six waiters, andirons and tongs. All these and the contents of the four rooms were valued by the appraisers at £85.10.9. The house which Bruce had built on the corner of Mowat and St. John's Streets was valued at £200. He had also purchased three town lots, a log cabin and two town lots each with a house, which were valued as being worth £12. There were also Bruce's milch cow and fourteen fowls, worth £4.7.0.[32]

In the years since James and Isabella Bruce lived in the house which James Bruce erected at the corner of Mowat and St. John's Streets, the building has ceased to be; a sturdy 2 1/2-storey house with wide gable ends east and west, and an ell at the back, now stands where the Bruce house once

31 William Booth, Journal, 3 June 1789; William Dyott, *Diary*, 1788, p. 36.

32 *Supra*, note 20.

stood. After some years the house built by James Bruce was lost by his son Archibald on a promissory note on the house for £30 in 1812. Dorcas Thomson claimed the house as hers, when in 1823 the money borrowed had not been repaid.[33] Archibald Bruce was tardy like his father in paying debts; only in 1791 did James Bruce pay £309.1.0. to J. Hannay in satisfaction of a debt owing since 1769.[34]

With the passing of Isabella and James Bruce, two were gone who had watched the town slip from the prosperous, stable town which Bruce believed he was to serve as Collector, to a mere shadow of its first years. Shelburne even in its heyday never achieved the vast numbers in population which many believe it did. A careful muster of persons living in Shelburne in 1784, made under the direction of Colonel Robert Morse of the Corps of Engineers, enumerates 6,329 residents in the town, and 1,521 freed Blacks living in Birchtown.[35] When James Bruce died in 1804 there were a few hundred living in Shelburne, while Birchtown had lost many of the freed Blacks, who had gone to Sierra Leone in 1792 in search of a homeland in Africa. There are many reasons for the rapid decline of Shelburne. Perhaps the experience of those who came, when they discovered their expectations were not to be fulfilled by those in authority, shattered their belief in the cause they had supported, and in the town of Shelburne, which they believed would be upheld for their benefit. There is little left of the town which James and Isabella Bruce knew. The wharves and stone landings reaching out into the harbour, where ships came with imports to be examined by the Customs Officer and from which ships sailed with exports, of fish and timber are gone. Some of the houses they knew, which were but shells of houses in their day, having only two or three rooms finished where the family lived,[36] have been finished; they impart to Shelburne a glimpse of its past--of the expectations of its founders, who believed that they were founding a "Loyalist City."

It would seem there are no descendants of James and Isabella Bruce now living in Shelburne, for only their son Archibald Scott remained there

33 Shelburne County Deeds, Vol. 7:328.

34 PANS, S. B. Robie fonds--MG 1, Vol. 793, doc. L.

35 *King's Bounty*, 79.

36 William Booth, Journal, 22 March 1789.

(unmarried but not childless), working in the Customs House for many years as Comptroller. He had a son Archibald, born in 1807, who was drowned in 1820. There is no further record of Archibald's daughter, Mary Ann, who was baptized in 1796--her mother's name not recorded, only the statement that she was a daughter of Archibald Scott Bruce, Esq.[37] The father eventually removed to Lunenburg, where he married (aet. 62) in March 1832 and died in February 1841.[38]

37 For the family of Archibald Scott Bruce, only *his* name is recorded in Christ Church's baptism and burial records.

38 *Nova Scotia Vital Statistics from Newspapers, 1829–1834* (Halifax, 1982), p. 77 (#1777); Nova Scotia Vital Statistics from Newspapers, 1840–1843, (Halifax, 1985), p. 47 (#862). The marriage register of St. John's (Anglican) Church, Lunenburg, states that "Archibald Scott Bruce, *Bachelor* [italics added], of this Parish, Sub. Collector of His Majesty's Customs, and Janet Sinclair, at present of this Parish, were married in this Town by Banns, with Consent of all parties, By me, Jas. C. Cochran, Rector. In the Presence of Alexr. Forsyth; Sophia Bruce": mfm at PANS.

This evidence suggests that Bruce's daughter Mary Ann was illegitimate, which in turn may account for her mother's name not being recorded in the baptismal register of Christ Church (Anglican), Shelburne.

White Niggers, Black Slaves: Slavery, Race and Class in T.C. Haliburton's *The Clockmaker*

George Elliott Clarke

The first writer from British North America to achieve sustained and substantial international recognition, Thomas Chandler Haliburton (1796–1865)--a native Nova Scotian--consummated his literary career during a period of intense debate over slavery: namely, 1823 to 1860. He often discusses the "peculiar institution" in his histories and in his humorous *Clockmaker* and *Attaché* sketches. Moreover, Blacks are a frequent presence in his works. Yet, scholars have seldom addressed Haliburton's views of slavery,[1] and they have scarcely noted his treatment of New World Africans, mainly African-Americans and Africadians.[2] The lack of critical attention to these matters is not unusual. African-American novelist Toni Morrison observes that "in matters of race, silence and evasion have historically ruled literary discourse."[3] An interrogation of Haliburton's views of slavery, race and class can yield a sharper view of his ideology. This essay attempts, therefore, to sound Haliburton for answers to the questions which Morrison applies to American literature: "how is 'literary whiteness' and 'literary blackness' made, and what is the [political] consequence of that construction?"[4] Principal attention will be accorded the First Series (1836), Second Series (1838) and Third Series (1840) sketches that Haliburton published under the generic title, *The Clockmaker; or the Sayings and Doings*

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1 As noted below, Haliburton's views of slavery receive brief consideration in the work of his only major biographer. See V. L. O. Chittick, *Thomas Chandler Haliburton ("Sam Slick"): A Study in Provincial Toryism* (New York, 1924), pp. 469, 560–561. Two other scholars have examined Haliburton's use of Black English. See Elna Bengtsson, *The Language and Vocabulary of Sam Slick*, I (Upsala, 1956), pp. 46–47; J. L. Dillard, *Black English: Its History and Usage in the United States* (New York, 1973), pp. 103, 108; Dillard, "The History of Black English in Nova Scotia--A First Step," *Revista Interamericana Review*, 2,4 (Winter 1973), pp. 510, 514–515.

2 Throughout this essay, I use four terms to refer to persons of African descent. "New World Africans," a word borrowed from Marlene Nourbese Philip, refers to all persons of African descent in the Americas. "African-Americans" covers those whose New World homeland is the United States. "Africadians" is a word I have coined to stress the historic presence of Blacks in Nova Scotia. Finally, I use "Blacks" as a generic term distinguishing New World Africans from whites. See Nourbese Philip, *She Tries Her Tongue, Her Silence Softly Breaks* (Charlottetown, P.E.I., 1989), p. 13; George Elliott Clarke, ed., *Fire on the Water: An Anthology of Black Nova Scotian Writing*, vol. 1 (Lawrencetown Beach, N.S., 1991), p. [9].

3 Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge, MA., 1992), p. 9.

4 Morrison, *Playing*, p. xii.

of Samuel Slick, of Slickville, and a Second Series (1844) sketch from Haliburton's work, *The Attaché; or, Sam Slick in England.*

Any consideration of the political import of race in Haliburton must recognize the fact that race consciousness suffuses his work. Indeed, John Daniel Logan terms Haliburton's major character, Sam Slick, an itinerant Yankee clock pedlar, "the spokesman of Haliburton as a social and political critic of the civilization of all the Anglo-Saxon peoples"[5]--that is to say, of Anglo-North Atlantic civilization. Though Logan's ethnocentricity is "racy" and "occasionally outrageous to the modern sensibility,"[6] he emphasizes valuably Haliburton's pan-Anglicism and his prophecy of "the greater empire of the British peoples, a world-wide Anglo-Saxon unity."[7] Haliburton dreamt of a kind of transatlantic Britain, one that would fully embrace its North American colonies as equal extensions of itself. According to his biographer, V. L. O. Chittick, Haliburton even welcomed the notion of an "Anglo-Saxon union" which would entail "an *entente cordiale* between the United States and Great Britain."[8] However, his critique of transatlantic British civilization, a critique which Chittick sees as moving progressively outwards from a Nova Scotian focus in the First Series to an American focus in the Second and a British focus in the Third,[9] often involves a comparison with the plight or status of New World Africans and a discussion of slavery. This fact could hardly be otherwise, given--as Morrison suggests--"the hopelessness of excising racial considerations from formulations of white identity."[10]

Certainly, Haliburton might have been expected to tussle with slavery and the larger issue of the place of Blacks in society. He came of age in a colony where slavery existed and Blacks, especially near his birthplace of Windsor, were numerous. In fact, Haliburton probably encountered Blacks at a young

5 John Daniel Logan, *Thomas Chandler Haliburton* (Toronto, 1923), p. 124.

6 Richard A. Davies, ed., *On Thomas Chandler Haliburton: Selected Criticism* (Ottawa, 1979), p. 5.

7 Logan, *Haliburton*, p. 25.

8 V. L. O. Chittick, *Thomas Chandler Haliburton ("Sam Slick"): A Study in Provincial Toryism* (New York, 1924), pp. 551–52.

9 Chittick, *Haliburton*, pp. 306–07.

10 Morrison, *Playing*, p. 21.

age. His grandfather, William Haliburton, a New England Planter who came to Nova Scotia in 1761 to take up a grant of seized Acadian lands, arrived with his wife, Lusannah (Lucy), and "two Negro servants."[11] If, as a boy, his grandparents were, as his genealogist states, "the fixed stars in his firmament,"[12] Haliburton may well have met their "servants." Even if he had not, he would surely have encountered other Blacks in the area, for, following the Revolutionary War, Loyalists brought slaves to Windsor in 1783 and 1784.[13] Free but landless Black Loyalists also "went to Windsor."[14] Additionally, after the War of 1812, several Black Refugee families "were settled on the outskirts of Windsor at Three Mile Plains," where "they were a dependable labour source."[15] During his 1815 tour of "Acadie," Mgr. Joseph-Octave Plessis noted the presence of Blacks at Windsor and their availability as cheap household help:

> Partout des nègres de tout âge et de tout sexe. Ils y sont extrêmement nombreux et dans les villes et dans les campagnes. Comme leur vêtement coute peu de chose, qu'on peut les mal nourrir sans conséquence, et qu'enfin leurs gages sont toujours médiocres et leur travail assidu, on regarde avec raison comme une économie de les préférer aux autres Domestiques.[16]

11 Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, *History of King's County, Nova Scotia: Heart of the Acadian Land* (Salem, MA., 1910), p. 68; Chittick, Haliburton, pp. 8–9.

12 Gordon M. Haliburton, "Family Influences on Thomas Chandler Haliburton in Windsor," *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 12,1 (1992), p. 20.

13 Gwendolyn Vaughan Shand, *Historic Hants County* (Halifax, 1979), pp. 23, 24.

14 James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone*, 1783–1870 (1976; repr. Toronto, 1992), p. 31.

15 Shand, *Historic*, p. 25.

16 Joseph-Octave Plessis, "Voyage de 1815 en Acadie de Mgr Plessis," *Les Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne*, 11,1–3 (mars-sept. 1980), p. 197. I am indebted to Dr. Sally Ross for bringing this reference to my attention.

Given the easy availability of their labour, it is possible that one or more Windsor-area Blacks served as domestics in Haliburton's childhood home. Indeed, if later experience is any indication, the likelihood of this connection is great, for local historian Gwendolyn Vaughan Shand wrote in 1979 that many Windsor-area Blacks "have been employed by Hants County families over four of [*sic*] five generations."[17]

In any event, Haliburton was likely in casual contact with African-Americans, most newly-liberated from slavery, at least no later than 1815. For one thing, in his 1829 history of Nova Scotia, Haliburton labels the Black Refugees of 1815 as generally "improvident and indolent," but allows that "there are many good labourers and domestic servants among them, who find employment at a good rate of wages."[18] Possibly Haliburton based his observation on firsthand experience; he was the operator of a gypsum quarry at Newport Landing,[19] and may have lived in Newport between 1816 and 1821.[20] Since both sites are located near the Africadian communities of Three Mile Plains and Mount Denson, it is probable that Haliburton employed Black men as miners and Black women as domestics. Furthermore, as a circuit judge from 1829 to 1841, "Haliburton was required to travel extensively in north-central Nova Scotia, usually on horse-back, to hear minor cases...."[21] In this capacity he would have met not only Africadian witnesses and accused, but probably also stable-keepers, berry-, basket-, and

17 Shand, *Historic*, p. 25.

18 Thomas Chandler Haliburton, *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova-Scotia*, vol. 2 (Halifax, 1829), p. 293.

19 After his 1816 marriage to Louisa Neville and their settling near Newport Landing, Haliburton became interested in mining gypsum. Some of the evidence exists in the form of records of his real estate transactions:

> At the registry of Deeds of Hants County, there is recorded on September 6, 1818, a conveyance in which Haliburton sold land to Thomas Smith of Newport. He received the 'Plaister of Paris', or gypsum with right of entry, in order to lay a road from "such quarries of T. C. Haliburton to the highway."

See Shand, *Historic*, p. 95.

20 Richard A. Davies, ed., *The Letters of Thomas Chandler Haliburton* (Toronto, 1988), p. 4. Haliburton moved to Annapolis Royal in July 1821.

21 Thomas Chandler Haliburton, *Recollections of Nova Scotia: The Clockmaker; or The Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick, of Slickville*, [First Series, 1–21 (1835–1836)] (Ottawa, 1984), p. 3.

mayflower-vendors, maids, servants and porters. Joseph Howe notes the presence of berry-vendors--"a goodly bevy of sable beauties"--near Halifax in his 1828 *Western Rambles*, while later, in 1872, W. O. Carlisle produced a sketch entitled, "Negresses Selling Mayflowers on the [Halifax] Market Place."[22] Moreover, the *Clockmaker* sketches narrate several incidents in which the peripatetic Slick meets Africadian maids and servants, a fact which likely matches Haliburton's direct experience. For instance, in the First Series sketch, "Fire in the Dairy," Slick, at a barn near Parrsboro, trips and falls against a Black maid, Beck, sending her tumbling head first into a swill tub.[23] Given Haliburton's interaction with at least some servants and labourers, it is an exaggeration to assert that "nothing in his [Haliburton's] life...had afforded him a close look at the life of the 'lower orders.'"[24]

Slavery was also part of Haliburton's universe. His grandparents' Black "servants" might well have been slaves, for "servant" was a common euphemism for "slave."[25] Moreover, slavery was technically legal in Nova Scotia until its effective abolition by Act of Parliament in 1833. J. J. Stewart notes that, only two years after its founding, "Halifax appears...to have been quite a slave mart; for, in the Boston papers of the summer of 1751, there appears an advertisement of 'a lot of negro slaves from Halifax,' said to be mechanics."[26] T. Watson Smith says that "the terms 'slave' and 'the property of' appear almost as frequently in the official records of early Shelburne as

22 Joseph Howe, *Western and Eastern Rambles: Travel Sketches of Nova Scotia*, [1828, 1829–1831], M. G. Parks, ed. (Toronto, 1973), p. 55; Suzanne Morton, "Separate Spheres in a Separate World: African Nova-Scotian Women in late-19th-Century Halifax County," *Acadiensis*, 22,2 (Spring 1993), p. 72.

23 Thomas Chandler Haliburton, *The Clockmaker; or the Sayings and Doings of Sam Slick, of Slickville*, [First Series] (Halifax, 1836), p. 186. All subsequent references to *The Clockmaker* will simply provide the "series" number and, where necessary, the place and year of publication.

24 Rhonda Bradley, "A Blazing Rage: T. C. Haliburton's *Reply to the Report of the Earl of Durham*," *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 12,1 (1992), p. 94. Janice Kulyk Keefer points out that Haliburton "was absolutely at home--as his travels as a court judge would have made him--in analysing the nature and psychology of settled communities...." Haliburton was not completely ignorant of the lives of the masses. See Keefer, *Under Eastern Eyes: A Critical Reading of Maritime Fiction* (Toronto, 1987), p. 45.

25 Frank Stanley Boyd, Jr., ed., *McKerrow: A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia, 1783–1895*, by Peter E. McKerrow [1895], (Halifax, 1976), p. xviii; T. Watson Smith, "The Loyalists at Shelburne," *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 6 (1888), p. 74.

26 J. J. Stewart, *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 6 (1888), p. 99.

one would expect to see them in those of a southern slave-holding city."[27] A professional historian, James Walker, insists that "despite the relative insignificance of slavery in the province...Nova Scotia was a slave society displaying the crude traits of all such societies."[28]

This characterization of colonial Nova Scotia as a slave society where slavery was--paradoxically--unimportant offers a clue to the province's own conflicting positions--and those of Haliburton--on slavery. The antiquarian jurist William Renwick Riddell sums up the province's contradictory attitude toward slavery in this way: "It was recognized that slavery might exist in Nova Scotia, but it was made as difficult as possible [in civil litigation] for the master to succeed on the facts."[29] Haliburton describes this situation in similarly contradictory terms:

> Formerly there were negro slaves, who were brought to the country by their masters, from the old colonies, but some legal difficulties having arisen in the course of an action of trover, brought for the recovery of a runaway, an opinion prevailed that the Courts would not recognize a state of slavery as having a lawful existence in the country. Although this question never received a judicial decision the slaves were all emancipated. The most correct opinion seems to be, that slaves may be held in the Colony; and this is not only corroberated [*sic*] by the construction of several English Acts of Parliament, but by particular clauses of the early laws of the Province.[30]

Since Haliburton was still able to give his considered opinion in 1829--as a lawyer and (until October) a member of the Assembly for Annapolis County--

27 Smith, "Loyalists," pp. 74–75.

28 Walker, *Black*, p. 41. Boyd denies that Nova Scotia was a slave society, arguing that free Blacks outnumbered slaves and that slavery "never had a legal structure to support its practice." See Boyd, ed., *McKerrow*, p. xxi. However, slavery did enjoy the important legal recognition that "slaves could be bequeathed as part of an estate." See Walker, *Black*, p. 41.

29 William Renwick Riddell, "Slavery in Canada," *Journal of Negro History*, 5,3 (July 1920), p. 368.

30 Haliburton, *Historical*, vol. 2, p. 280.

that slaves could be held in Nova Scotia, slavery was a *laissez-faire* matter: if a slave-master could hold on to his slaves, so be it. If he attempted to sell his slaves in other jurisdictions or to recapture escaped slaves, however, the courts would frequently obstruct his wish.[31] But even though Nova Scotia was not fully a slave society in law, it was one in attitude. Walker writes that "in a society conditioned to thinking of Blacks as slaves, their claims for equality were not always to be taken seriously by white individuals or even by white officialdom."[32]

Haliburton imbibed such attitudes naturally for they were very much in the air. In a 1992 paper, historian Allen B. Robertson states that Nova Scotians tolerated slavery because their society was "a peculiar blend of bondage and freedom."[33] Slavery, "even as a lifetime of servitude without contract, appeared to fit naturally into this spectrum of freedom and bondage."[34] Moreover, it was a reflection of social order, of hierarchy: "apprenticeship, indentured servitude, and slavery...completed the network of relationships which had roots in medieval and Tudor-Stuart society."[35] In this "ideal," top-down social arrangement, slavery was acceptable. Haliburton at times professes a similar view. Though Chittick argues that "slavery in the abstract [Haliburton] neither approved of nor attempted to justify,"[36] he could and did license it in the abstract--as a form of tradition and as the type of an ideal, orderly, patriarchal society in which workers are cared for by their superiors.

31 Walker, *Black*, pp. 41, 50–51; Boyd, *McKerrow*, pp. xxi–xxii.

32 Walker, *Black*, p. 42.

33 Allen B. Robertson, "Bondage and Freedom: Apprentices, Servants and Slaves in Colonial Nova Scotia": paper presented to the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, 16 Jan. 1992, p. 1 [ms.].

34 Robertson, "Bondage," p. 2.

35 Robertson, "Bondage," p. 3.

36 Chittick, *Haliburton*, p. 560.

Hence, in "Slavery," an 1838 sketch, Haliburton bids Slick observe that slavery--if reformed--would be "nothin' more than sarvitude in name, and somethin' quite as good in fact."[37]

Yet, Haliburton did not conceive slavery as a *practical* institution. In his 1829 history of Nova Scotia he writes, "the effect produced by this latent abandonment of slavery is...beneficial to the Country."[38] He provides the potential investor in slavery in Nova Scotia with this advice:

> The individual who contemplates an establishment of this kind, takes into consideration the cost of the necessary number of slaves, in the same manner as he calculates the cost of the land...Independent, therefore, of political and moral considerations, such a system is by no means suitable to a Colony like Nova-Scotia, where there are few branches of business requiring a regular body of labourers, and where their clothing and provision is attended with so much expense.[39]

Here Haliburton stresses pragmatic rather than moral reasons for renouncing slavery in Nova Scotia. While Chittick says that Haliburton took neither side in the slavery debate, he admits nevertheless that the Nova Scotian sympathized with the Southern slave-holder:

> But plainly from his avowed conviction that the American negro was better off on the plantations than elsewhere, he was skeptical of any reform that would permit him to desert the South; and from his insistence that the planters had shown only "meekness and forebearance" in opposition to the "violence and fury" of their adversaries it is manifest where his sympathies lay....[40]

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37 Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, Second Series (London, 1838), p. 107.

38 Haliburton, *Historical*, vol. 2, p. 280.

39 Haliburton, *Historical*, vol. 2, p. 281.

40 Chittick, *Haliburton*, p. 561. In a late work, published six years before the outbreak of the American Civil War, Haliburton writes that "slavery in the abstract is a thing that nobody approves of, or attempts to justify." However, he goes on to justify it as a practice inherited from tradition: "We all consider it an evil--but unhappily it was entailed upon us by our forefathers, and has now grown to be one of such magnitude that it is difficult to know how to deal with it..." See Haliburton, *Nature and Human Nature*, vol. 2 (London, 1855), p. 319. The same equivocation occurs in the 1838 sketch, "Slavery," in which Slick declares, "I'm no advocate of slavery, squire, nor are any of our folks; it's bad for the niggers, worse for the masters, and a cuss to any country; but we have got it, and the question is, what are we to do with it? Let them answer that know,--I don't pretend to be able to." See Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, Second Series, pp. 107–108.

In fact, Haliburton's support for slave-holders and enmity towards abolitionists bestrides his literary career. In 1829 he claims that "on this subject [of slavery] there prevailed much romance and false sentiment in Nova-Scotia, as well as in England."[41] In his 1855 work, *Nature and Human Nature*, Haliburton, *per* Slick, offers a similar judgment: "If the slaves have to mourn over the want of freedom, the planters may lament the want of truth in their opponents...."[42] Throughout his career, if Haliburton was consistent in anything, it was in his support of the slave-holders' "traditional" right to hold their slaves.

Indeed, Haliburton saw in slavery a reflection of the type of paternalistic social order which he believed to be the epitome of human organization. For him, as for other white, slavery-era writers and philosophers, "the slave population, it could be and was assumed, offered itself up as surrogate selves for meditation on problems of human freedom, its lure and its elusiveness."[43] Liberty, enterprise and social order were the crucial concerns, and in slavery Haliburton discerned metaphors of the 'Just Society.' In this utopia freedom is qualified, and one must qualify for it. White skin is one qualification, but upper-class membership is another. This society's motto is summed up in the presciently Orwellian notion, trumpeted by the Richmond [Virginia] *Enquirer*, that "freedom is not possible without slavery."[44]

While Haliburton seeks the construction of utopia through his writings, his project is complicated by the realization that the ideal, slave-holding society had once existed, but had been partially overthrown by the American Revolution, while its remnants elsewhere were imperilled by creeping republicanism. Thus, his texts are laments for the imminent decline and fall of the Holy British Empire. Yet they are also elegies for the circumambient world-view which his forebears had defended--those for whom "the Crown in North America [had] clearly represented peace, order, and good government, while the republican turbulence in some of the British colonies in New

41 Haliburton, *Historical*, vol. 2, p. 280.

42 Haliburton, *Nature*, vol. 2, p. 320.

43 Morrison, *Playing*, p. 37.

44 Quoted in James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (1982; repr. New York, 1983), p. 141.

England, eventually leading to revolution, [had meant] the violation of life-long principles; the arbitrary confiscation of property; exile; or death."[45] Haliburton strove to remain true to this anglophile, slavery-tolerating, Tory and Planter-Loyalist vision throughout his life.

Thus, Haliburton campaigned perpetually in favour of a monarchic, publicly-oriented meritocracy. His quest for a balance between aristocratic rule and popular representation corresponded to his search for a like balance between white freedom and Black slavery.[46] The key to these efforts was "reform," but reform tempered by respect for tradition, especially Loyalist tradition, a notion malleable enough to allow Haliburton to champion both progressive and conservative measures at different times. For instance, while a member of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, from 1826 to 1829, Haliburton defended the cause of Catholic equality *and* the Royal prerogative.[47] His inconsistent politics reflected the struggle between "an inflexible and a liberal conservatism," which "in varying degrees of intensity dominated Nova Scotian politics for the first half of the 19th century."[48] This psychological conflict played out within Haliburton the artist and his work, and it reflected similar stresses felt by Southern slave-holders, especially the subgroup who grounded their ideas, says historian James Oakes, in seventeenth-century Tudor-Stuart views emphasizing élitist, "paternalistic" political leadership and a disdain for industrialization and urbanization.[49] The adherents of this ideology promoted traditionalist, authoritarian paternalism and opposed reformist, populist liberalism.

45 Haliburton, *Recollections*, p. 3. Haliburton inherited such notions from his forebears. Gordon Haliburton stresses that "Haliburton was born a part of this [New England Planter] community, and since his Loyalist mother died a few weeks after his birth, it was his father's Planter family which preserved and shaped him into the precocious boy he became." See Gordon Haliburton, "Family," p. 20.

46 The idea of balance figures in Haliburton's assertion that "the planter has rights as well as the slave, and the claims of both must be well weighed and considered, before any dispassionate judgment [about slavery] can be formed." Even so, Haliburton would weight any such deliberation in the planter's favour. See Haliburton, *Nature*, vol. 2, p. 320.

47 Chittick, *Haliburton*, p. 87.

48 Brian Cuthbertson, *The Old Attorney General: A Biography of Richard John Uniacke* (Halifax, [1980]), p. 42.

49 Oakes, *Ruling*, pp. 192–93.

Like paternalistic slave-holders, a group with whom he had much in common, Haliburton thus found himself fighting rearguard actions against populist reformers. Also like the slave-holders, moreover, he sought to preserve a hierarchical social order while arguing for individual economic advancement. For instance, at the close of the original series of *Clockmaker* sketches, which appeared in Joseph Howe's *Novascotian* (1835–36), Slick's last words are *"look to yourselves and don't look to others,"*[50] a liberal, self-help creed which mirrors what Oakes sees as the slave-holders' robust "ethos of individual achievement."[51] Janice Kulyk Keefer argues that Haliburton and his fellow Nova Scotian author, the Reverend Dr. Thomas McCulloch, share "a conservatism which prizes the cult of individual initiative and industry, the stability of social rank and occupation, and the maintenance of strict controls as to who should be allowed to assume and initiate political office and action."[52] She also notes Haliburton's ideological preference for "the stratification of classes, the jealous preservation of barriers to position and power...."[53] Southern slave-holders were equally conservative: they upheld the chief barrier to the mass expansion of their class, mainly, the lack of capital.[54]

To flesh out a point sketched above, Haliburton shared the paternalistic slave-holders's belief that merit--interpreted as white skin, maleness, European ancestry and social rank--determined one's special freedoms, privileges, rights and responsibilities. Oakes states that "paternalists assumed humanity's inherent inequality and tended to be suspicious of, if not hostile to, democracy"; they also supported "the free-market economy" and "white supremacist values."[55] In their eyes, their possession of the right attributes made them fit to rule a hierarchical society, yet one "bound by interdependent human relations and reciprocal relations."[56]

50 Haliburton, *Recollections*, p. 116.

51 Oakes, *Ruling*, p. 126.

52 Keefer, *Under*, p. 45.

53 Keefer, *Under*, p. 46.

54 Oakes, Ruling, pp. 126–27.

55 Oakes, *Ruling*, p. 194.

56 Oakes, *Ruling*, p. 193.

Such notions were fundamental to Haliburton, who champions a sort of medievalized, industrial society. In the First Series *Clockmaker* sketch, "Sayings and Doings in Cumberland," Haliburton's *alter ego* Slick announces--in italics--this aristocratic precept: *"All critters in natur are better in their own element."*[57] The proverb is fleshed out in the Second Series sketch, "English Aristocracy and Yankee Mobocracy," in which, Slick, playing some backwoods Socrates, reports the political thought of a minister, the Reverend Mr. Hopewell, who imagines a society of aristocratic communards: the first link in the chain of society is the "King," "the next link" is the nobility, then "an Established Church," then the gentry, then "the professional men, rich marchants, and opulent factorists," and next the "people's nobility," an estate produced by means of marriages between nobles and commoners.[58] Here Haliburton adumbrates an idea of order which was a first principle for paternalistic slave-holders. Oakes advances the example of David Gavin, a South Carolina slave-holder, who "spoke favorably of 'free' government but opposed 'mob-o-cratic' rule and supported property restrictions on the franchise."[59] John Saffin, another knight of slavery, attacked the idea of universal liberty because it denied "the Order that God hath set in the World, who hath Ordained different degrees and orders of men."[60] For Haliburton, as for slave-holders, servitude and slavery were literal, clanking symbols of the Chain of Being that bound all together.

This belief had consequences. For the slave-holders, says Oakes, "the principle of social equality was not only alien; it was the equivalent of disruption, chaos, and anarchy."[61] To attack slavery was, therefore, to endorse social disintegration. In his 1989 study of the birth of modern African-American literature, Donald A. Petesch affirms this view:

57 Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, [First Series], p. 81.

58 Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, Second Series, pp. 217–21.

59 Oakes, *Ruling*, p. 194.

60 Quoted in Oakes, *Ruling*, p. 3.

61 Oakes, *Ruling*, pp. 4–5.

62 Donald A. Petesch, *A Spy in the Enemy's Country: The Emergence of Modern Black Literature* (Iowa City, 1989), p. 60.

> ...since the South was predisposed to images of hierarchical orderliness derived from the medieval period, and since there were always questions regarding whether blacks actually belonged to the same species as whites--in view of these attitudes, the social control and discipline of slavery were deemed necessary, and its overturning implied chaos, anarchy, race war.[62]

Haliburton expresses similar fears in "Cumberland Oysters produce melancholy for[e]bodings," a First Series sketch. After wolfing down a mess of oysters at the Pugwash Inn in Amherst, and observing an Africadian waiter, Slick suffers an apocalyptic vision of an impending race war in the United States: "I expect the blacks will butcher the Southern whites, and the northerners will have to turn out and butcher them again; and all this shoot, hang, cut, stab, and burn business, will sweeten our folks' temper, as raw meat does that of a dog...."[63] Similarly, one slave-holder believed that Black liberation would bring "the horrors of all Rapes, Murders, and Outrages, which a vast Multitude of unprincipled, unpropertied, revengeful, and remorseless Banditti are capable of perpetrating."[64] For Haliburton, America's heterogeneity is the source of this incipient Götterdämmerung: "Well, I guess we have the elements of spontaneous combustion among us in abundance; when it does break out, if you don't see an eruption of human gore, worse than Etna lava, then I'm mistaken."[65] The mixing of classes and races was, Haliburton implies, a recipe for social catastrophe.[66]

Despite such warnings, the attempt to maintain a rigidly stratified social structure while simultaneously championing equality of opportunity was bound to fail. Oakes observes that slave-holders were "poor conservatives," for, "in resisting economic decline, they were not arguing for social stasis....They proposed the building of railroads and canals to facilitate the growth of a flourishing market economy, and in many cases they suggested

63 Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, [First Series], pp. 57–58.

64 Oakes, *Ruling*, p. 32.

65 Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, [First Series], p. 57.

66 Haliburton's bellicose meditation might also have been occasioned by memories of the Nat Turner Insurrection of 1831, in Virginia, in which slaves massacred fifty-five whites.

[manufacturing] alternatives to agriculture itself."[67] So long as ostensible conservatives assisted the move towards an industrial economy, they assisted the rise of liberal democracy. The resultant dissolution of the cherished old order, moreover, led to their adoption of reactionary positions. Indeed, the more paternalistic slave-holders "felt themselves rejected by their fellow Southerners, the more strident they became, for theirs was a dying philosophy, not an emerging one."[68] Haliburton was no different. On the one hand, as Daniel Royot argues, Haliburton "took it for granted that...urbanization and industrial development were detrimental to rural communities but imperative."[69] On the other hand, as literary historian and editor Richard A. Davies states, Haliburton was "unable to co-ordinate his interest in mechanical advances with the political changes that accompanied them....The ultimately self-defeating nature of Haliburton's provincial (i.e. colonial) Toryism cannot be denied."[70] Yet, his quixotic tilting against the windmills of modern change won Haliburton a deathless reputation as the last of the 'fundamentalist' Tories.[71]

Slavery was one of the issues upon which Haliburton decided to make a last stand in defence of the vision of the good--that is to say, of the traditions--upheld by his Planter and Loyalist forebears. For them, as for himself--along with his paternalistic slave-holder confreres, the institution of slavery was a vital bulwark against the dangerous, modern forces of egalitarianism.

In fact, Haliburton was so notorious a defender of slavery that he won the

67 Oakes, *Ruling*, p. 90.

68 Oakes, *Ruling*, p. 196.

69 Daniel Royot, "Sam Slick and American Popular Humour," *The Thomas Chandler Haliburton Symposium*, April 27–29, 1984, University of Ottawa, Frank M. Tierney, ed. (Ottawa, 1985), p. 133.

70 Richard A. Davies, "Haliburton's Letters," *The Thomas Chandler Haliburton Symposium*, p. 34.

71 For instance, Haliburton's "violent denunciation of Lord Durham's Report arose from a desperate need to defend the Loyalist Tory world and its vision...." See Bradley, "Blazing," p. 94. By the time he died in 1865, following a six-year period as a Conservative member of the British House of Commons, Haliburton "was chiefly conspicuous for his stubborn and almost unique adherence to, and advocacy of, the principles of an outworn and utterly discredited type of Toryism..." See Chittick, *Haliburton*, p. 646. Yet, Haliburton was not so reactionary as is commonly thought. For example, he corresponded with a "wide array" of friends, "not all of them politically like-minded people and some of them...conservatives of broad sympathies." See Davies, "Letters," p. 35.

enmity of the African-American abolitionist Samuel Ringgold Ward. In his 1855 *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro: His Anti-Slavery Labours in the United States, Canada, & England*, Ward attacks Haliburton for having made racist remarks at a meeting which both men attended in London in June 1853, on the promotion of Black education in the West Indies.[72] Ward's lengthy, firsthand account of Haliburton's comments highlights--and critiques--the judge's racism. Though Ward refers mistakenly to "C. S." Haliburton, there is no doubt he means the author of *The Clockmaker* sketches:[73]

> ...he ridiculed the idea of a *college* for Negroes. A school of an ordinary sort would have met his approval, but a *college* was generally understood to be a place for the education of a *gentleman*--a gentleman, among that race, was entirely out of the question. He was neither an Englishman nor an American, having been born "along shore," in Nova Scotia: but he was free on that occasion to say, that he shared in the prejudices generally entertained by Americans in regard to Negroes; and could not regard such feelings as unnatural or unjustifiable, but as inevitable. The idea of mixing with Negroes was, naturally, to a white man, altogether and unconquerably repulsive....He made another point, about the ruin of the West India planters by emancipation, which showed but too plainly that, to the heart's core, he was entirely with and for slavery, and that it was next to impossible to find a more malignant enemy to the Negro than the Honourable C.S. [*sic*] Haliburton.[74]

Ward's report illuminates some of the tenets of Haliburtonism: the self-conscious colonial identity, the defence of race (and class) distinction, the sly endorsement of slavery by way of questioning abolition, and the use of racist caricature (in this case, the congenitally "savage" Black) to rationalize prejudice. Haliburton was no friend of abolition, but his own battle--the struggle to recover and repair the Toryism of his forebears--was a lost cause.

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72 Samuel Ringgold Ward, *The Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro: His Anti-Slavery Labours in the United States, Canada, & England* (London, 1855), pp. 259–60. I am indebted to Mr. David States for bringing this work to my attention.

73 Ward identifies Haliburton in this sentence: "It is to be hoped that Englishman, especially English noblemen, will not suppose that Mr. C.S. [*sic*] Haliburton, the author of "Sam Slick" and some other such productions, is a fair specimen of colonial judges, nor of colonial feeling." Thus, Sam Ward did confront "Sam Slick." See Ward, *Autobiography*, p. 263.

74 Ward, *Autobiography*, pp. 260–61. Ward also cites Haliburton's comments as "a specimen of colonial pro-slavery obliquity." See Ward, *Autobiography*, p. 259.

Nevertheless, though their world view was collapsing before the forces of modernity, Haliburton and the paternalistic slave-holders went down fighting in the very manner which Ward rightly found so repugnant. They seized upon the promotion of racist stereotypes and caricatures as one strategy by which to defend their interests. Their resort to racist imagery was a natural consequence of their belief in white supremacy, and they disseminated these images so astutely that they gave birth to an enduring myth--the pastoral Plantation Tradition--which held that Blacks were happy in slavery, loved their masters, and were comic bumblers in managing their own affairs. Haliburton and his fellow slavery apologists were popularizing "comedic" Black images at the very moment when the South's long struggle to maintain slavery was entering its most decisive phase. They used these images not only to "sell" slavery and a hierarchical social order, but also to lampoon threatening ideas.

Not surprisingly then, Haliburton employs racist caricatures throughout his work. In a First Series *Clockmaker* sketch, "Sister Sall's Courtship," Slick's father's servant, the presumably dark-skinned January Snow, is a stereotypical picture of fear: "Presently in runs old Snow, with his hair standin up an eend [*sic*], and the whites of his eyes lookin as big as the rims of a soup plate."[75] In "The White Nigger," another 1836 sketch, Slick states that he and his fellow Americans "deal only in niggers,--and those thick skulled, crooked shanked, flat footed, long heeled, wooly headed gentlemen, don't seem fit for much else but slavery...."[76] His Menippean train of adjectives recalls similar epithets from the American South. The lengthy 1838 sketch, "Training a Carriboo" [*sic*], offers a discourse on the trade in "nigger flesh," in which Slick observes that "niggers don't shew their age like white folk, and they are most always older than they look."[77] Another 1838 sketch, "Slavery," discusses Blacks who resemble "black japanned tea-trays in the sun."[78] Especially repellent images occur in the Third Series sketch, "The Black Brother," in which a minister's hand is branded "raw nigger

75 Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, [First Series], p. 124.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 176.

77 Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, Second Series, p. 35.

78 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

meat" and his person is called "scentoriferous."[79] Haliburton's depictions of Blacks are often as vile as the racist caricatures typical of Nazi, anti-Semitic propaganda.

Haliburton exploits racist imagery deliberately to support the notion that Blacks were inherently suited for slavery. This point is underscored in "Slavery," an 1838 sketch, in which Slick encounters, at an inn between Kentville and Wilmot, Scip (presumably a shortened form of the common slave name, "Scipio"). The escaped slave of Slick's brother, Josiah, Scip agrees happily to return to his former condition because "notwithstanding all the sweets attending a state of liberty, [he] was unhappy under the influence of a cold climate, hard labour, and the absence of all that real sympathy, which, notwithstanding the rod of the master, exists nowhere but where there is a community of interests."[80] This portrait presents slavery as a type of benign, communitarian institution. As well, Scip's ecstatic welcome of his ex-master's brother parallels similar accounts in plantation romances. When Scip recognizes Slick, "he suddenly pulled off his hat, and throwing it up in the air, uttered one of the most piercing yells I think I ever heard, and throwing himself upon the ground, seized Mr. Slick round the legs with his arms."[81] The "creature" then exclaims his pleasure at seeing Slick again, and continues "incoherently asking questions, sobbing, and blaming himself for having left so good a master, and so comfortable a home."[82] *George Balcomee*, an 1836 novel by slavery apologist Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, stages a similar scene, in which a master records the pathetic sycophancy of an aged slave:

> As he spoke thus in a tone of reverential affection, I held out my hand to him. He took it, and drawing it strongly downward to accommodate the lowness of his prostration, bowed himself upon it, and pressed it to his lips. I felt a tear upon it....[83]

79 Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, Third Series (London, 1840), pp. 53, 45.

80 Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, Second Series, p. 99.

81 *Ibid.*, p. 97.

82 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

83 Quoted in Petesch, *Spy*, p. 5.

Haliburton shared the slave-holders's romantic dream of a deistic white supremacy--compassionate, but harsh when necessary, and he expressed his allegiance to this vision with some consistency. The ideas which Slick bruits in "Slavery" echo Haliburton's assessment, given nine years earlier--in 1829--of the plight of the Black Refugees:[84]

> At Preston and at Hammond Plains, in the neighbourhood of Halifax, there were settlements, composed wholly of Blacks, who experienced every winter all the misery incident to indolence and improvidence, and levied heavy contributions on the humanity of their more frugal neighbours. In some instances they have sighed for the roof of their master, and the pastimes and amusements they left behind them.[85]

The sentimental, paternalistic notion that Black slavery can be superior to Black freedom is a constant in Haliburton.

This idea also animates the sketch, "Training a Carriboo," in which Slick tells the instructive tale of a freed slave, Pompey, who, being old and infirm, cannot care for himself. Pompey comments, "...I buy freedom, and now I starve."[86] In the same sketch, Haliburton has Slick attack republicanism by arguing that, since experts are needed to select a fine horse or a good Black slave, a layman cannot possibly know how to choose a good member of the Upper Canadian legislature, that is to say, a "carriboo." Here Haliburton suggests that slavery preserves the virtues of hierarchy and *noblesse oblige*. Of course, his four-square defence of the institution is more an attempt to forestall the destabilizing consequences of abolitionism and other levelling reforms, than it is to present slavery in a realistic manner. Clearly, if slavery had been as beneficial as Haliburton often portrays it, Blacks would not have been trying to escape, and poor whites would have been flocking to be enslaved.

Though Haliburton uses racist imagery to uphold slavery, he also occasionally employs it to spur white colonists to greater industry and to

84 This point proves that Slick often presents views--especially in the post-1836 writings--which match those of his creator.

85 Haliburton, *Historical*, p. 292.

86 Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, Second Series, p. 37.

denounce the unfair treatment of white workers and colonists by white capitalists and imperialists. From time to time, the voice of white supremacy and Anglo-Saxon unity is uttered through a Black mask. Haliburton's work then becomes the literary equivalent of black-face minstrelsy, a popular form of mid-nineteenth-century North American vaudeville theatre, "originated and usually performed by northern whites"; it featured the use of "burnt cork makeup and exaggerated stereotypes of blacks for mostly comic effect...."[87] As a kind of minstrelsy-in-print, the sketches become carnivalesque masques in which Sam Slick plays Sambo. Viewed this way, the interplay between an establishment figure like the Squire, and Slick, resembles that between the straight man and the black-face joker on stage. Even Slick's speech, a macédoine of "American dialect, provincial English, and the jargon of Negroes, fishermen and seamen,"[88] can seem, when compared with Standard English, much like "...the dialogue of black characters...construed as an alien, estranging dialect made deliberately unintelligible by spellings contrived to disfamiliarize [*sic*] it...."[89] Such comparisons are reasonable given that Haliburton's literary career coincided with the first flowering of the minstrel show. Moreover, he was conversant with the form: some of the songs and spirituals which punctuate his texts were brought to his attention by "the spring-time Nova Scotian visitations of the travelling American circus, with its coloured entertainers as described in *The Old Judge*."[90]

Yet, if the minstrel performance is read as the depiction of a blackened whiteness, that is to say, as a subversive means of scrutinizing a degraded or fallen racial "whiteness," then some of Haliburton's texts, including those

87 Jim Hornby, *Black Islanders: Prince Edward Island's Historical Black Community* (Charlottetown, 1991), p. 83. The shows seem to have begun in the 1840s. See Neil V. Rosenberg, "Ethnicity and Class: Black Country Musicians in the Maritimes," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 23,1 & 2 (Spring/Summer 1988), p. 142.

88 Emile Montégut, "Un Humoriste Anglo-Am[é]ricain. Haliburton," *Revue Des Deux Mondes*, 5 (1850), repr. "Extracts from Selected Contemporary Reviews/Critical Essays," *On Thomas Chandler Haliburton: Selected Criticism*, Richard A. Davies, ed. (Ottawa, 1979), p. 72.

89 Morrison, *Playing*, p. 52.

90 Chittick, "Books and Music in Haliburton," *The Dalhousie Review*, 38 (1958), p. 215. Haliburton might also have gathered some of his songs from the Africadians whom he encountered in Windsor, Annapolis Royal and Halifax, and on his travels as a circuit judge. Interestingly, in the 1836 sketch, "The Dancing Master Abroad," set in Amherst, Slick hopes that the Black cook "would give over singing that are everlastin dismal tune..." See Haliburton, *The Clockmaker*, [First Series], p. 83.

which seem most blackly anti-Black, become radical affirmations of the artificiality--and thus instability--of racial and class identity. Such readings are possible because, as Robert Cantwell asserts, "the racial attitudes symbolized by black-face placed the performer, whatever his background or temperament, among his audiences, not among the people he parodied."[91] Another analysis pictures the minstrel as "a symbol for the audience's class frustrations."[92] Morrison, moreover, holds that "in minstrelsy, a layer of blackness applied to a white face released it from law."[93] Thus, as a harlequinesque figure of blackened whiteness, the black-face minstrel was free to explore social issues and taboos. Certainly, Haliburton employs the freedom of a black mask to explore class issues. His work vindicates Morrison's belief that the "Africanist idiom" was and is used "to reinforce class distinctions and otherness as well as to assert privilege and power."[94] Haliburton's Black characters serve, in fact, as surrogate critics of the white, Anglo-Saxon community. They function as signs and warnings: if white Anglo-Americans fail to achieve the vision of socio-economic and political unity and organic community which Haliburton promotes, then they will become like niggers--like slaves. Hence, for Haliburton, as for the paternalistic slave-holders, the Black body represents, to cite Frantz Fanon, "an object capable of carrying the burden of original sin."[95] It becomes a metaphor of the Fall, a witness to the loss of grace.

In his work Haliburton employs this metaphor in three distinct ways: 1) to shame white Nova Scotians to become more productive; 2) to gauge or protest against capitalist oppression of the white poor and white workers; and 3) to critique British imperial policy towards the British North American colonies. These three broad functions of blackness-as-metaphor sometimes contradict each other, due to the tension between Haliburton's liberal and conservative tendencies. For instance, Haliburton applies the metaphor in the

91 Robert Cantwell, *Bluegrass Breakdown: The Making of the Old Southern Sound* (Urbana, Ill., 1984), p. 265.

92 See Gary D. Engle, cited in Petesch, *Spy*, p. 107.

93 Morrison, *Playing*, p. 66.

94 Morrison, *Playing*, p. 52.

95 Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, Charles Lam Markmann, trans. (1952; repr. New York, 1967), p. 192.

First Series *Clockmaker* sketches in order to spur Nova Scotian colonists to adopt the liberal programme of industrialization and economic growth.[96] Paradoxically, however, the promotion of an industrialized colony could only vitiate conservative, paternalistic ideals. Thus, in his later sketches, Haliburton uses blackness-as-metaphor to argue nostalgically for a return to the Eden of a pastoral, agrarian and organic conservatism.

In the 1836 sketch, "The Silent Girls," nevertheless, Haliburton, writing in a liberal vein, has Slick agitate for a robust Nova Scotia. Speaking in tones reminiscent of minstrelsy, Slick relates this joke-parable to "blue-noses":

> A little nigger boy in New York found a diamond worth 2,000 dollars; well, he sold it to a watchmaker for 50 cents--the little critter did'nt know no better. *Your people are just like the nigger boy, they don't know the value of their diamond.*[97]

Thus, white Nova Scotians wear figurative black-face due to their failure to initiate aggressive economic reforms. Slick proceeds to ask, "do you know the reason monkeys are no good? because they chatter all day long--so do the niggers--and so do the blue noses of Nova Scotia--its [*sic*] all talk and no work...."[98] Due to their lack of capitalist resolve and ingenuity, white Nova Scotians resemble "niggers."

"Conversations at the River Philip," another 1836 sketch, introduces a central idea for Haliburton: the relative equivalency of both white wage labour and Black slavery. Here Slick makes the following observation:

> We [Americans] have two kind [*sic*] of slaves, the niggers and the white slaves. All European laborers and blacks, who come out to us, do our hard bodily work, while we direct it to a profitable end....[99]

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96 Haliburton even reveals a degree of liberal assimilationism, a symptom of colonial anxiety: by promoting industrialization, he suggests his accord with the notion that "the colonized [Nova Scotian] is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's [Britain's] cultural standards." See Fanon, *Black*, p. 18.

97 Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, [First Series], p. 17.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

99 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

This point is stressed in yet another First Series sketch--"Mr. Slick's Opinion of the British" in which Slick, quoting President John Adams, suggests that Irish workers are a better bargain than Black slaves, for the Irish "work better, and they work cheaper, and they dont live so long," while Blacks, "when they are past work hang on for ever, and a proper bill of expence they be."[100] Slick implies that paternalistic slavery treats slaves better than the "free labour" system treats white workers: slaves receive perpetual care even "when they are past work." In the later sketch, "Slavery," Slick alleges bluntly that "a labourer is a slave," but one who is not cared for as well as a bondsman.[101]

The idea that slaves are better treated than lower-class whites attains dramatic endorsement in "The White Nigger," an important 1836 sketch.[102] Slick opens the piece by extolling the beauties of the Declaration of Independence, particularly the affirmation that "all men are created equal." The Squire counters that the document's principal author, Thomas Jefferson, should have qualified "men" with "white," given that America "tolerates domestic slavery *in its worst and most forbidding form.*"[103] Tellingly, the Squire criticizes that slavery which fails to fulfil the paternalistic social ideal that masters care for their "servants." However, Slick's rebuttal stresses that American slavery is more humane than the treatment which Nova Scotians mete out to their own poor whites. He declares that "we [Americans] deal in black niggers only, but the blue noses sell their own species--they trade in white slaves."[104] Slick continues on to describe one of the "human cattle sales" which he had witnessed the previous autumn: the auctioning, by Deacon Westfall, of the labour of aged, impoverished Jerry Oaks, for six

100 *Ibid.*, p. 92. In a January 1824 letter to Judge Peleg Wiswall, Haliburton classes both poor Irish immigrants and Black Refugees as undesirables: "...low Irish--disbanded soldiers--hungry adventurers, & Chesapeac [*sic*] blacks are not the class of emigrants we want..." See *The Letters of Thomas Chandler Haliburton*, Richard A. Davies, ed. (Toronto, 1988), p. 16.

101 Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, Second Series, p. 107.

102 Chittick claims that "no more telling indictment of social heartlessness in Nova Scotia has ever been written..." See Chittick, *Haliburton*, p. 191.

103 Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, [First Series], p. 176; my italics. Jefferson was, incidentally, a major slaveholder.

104 *Ibid.*, p. 177.

shillings per week for one year. Though the sale would jeopardize the old man's life, separate him from his wife, and expose him to ridicule, it had gone ahead because, as Westfall had explained, "can't afford it, Jerry--can't afford it, old man...."[105] Knowing that poor white Nova Scotians were, at this time, sold annually on Sessions day, to the lowest bidder for a year, Slick turns the table on the Squire: "...I guess you need'nt [*sic*] twitt me with our slave-sales, for we deal only in blacks; but blue nose approbates no distinction in colours, and when reduced to poverty, is reduced to slavery, and is sold--*a White Nigger*."[106] Haliburton's invention of the "white nigger" suggests, radically, that class determines race: as the white falls in social status, the blacker he or she becomes.

Indeed, Haliburton recognizes that, in the new, industrializing economy, one is the sum of one's capital. The more one has, the "whiter" one is. Haliburton even views slaves as capital assets: "slave labour...resembles profit on stock or capital, more than labour properly so called...."[107] Slave-holders agreed: one advised that "the best stock, in which he can invest Capital, is, I think, negro Stock...negroes will yield a much larger income than any Bank dividend."[108] Yet, if people can represent capital, then blackness and whiteness become liquid and convertible assets.[109]

This thesis emerges forthrightly in a vital 1844 sketch in *The Attaché; or, Sam Slick in England*. "English Niggers" extends, across the Atlantic, ideas bruited in earlier sketches. Here Haliburton critiques both liberal reformism

105 *Ibid.*, p. 178. Daniel Royot's description of Jerry Oaks as Westfall's "black slave," and of both characters as "American," are intriguing errors in his otherwise fine 1985 essay. See Royot, "Sam Slick and American Popular Humour," p. 131.

106 Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, [First Series], p. 181. Another account of Nova Scotian town auctions of the poor is given in Malcolm Cecil Foster, *Annapolis Valley Saga*, Howard Lewis Trueman, ed. (Windsor, N.S., 1976), pp. 89–95. On this subject generally see Alan B. Sprague, "Some American Influences on the Law and Lawcourts of Nova Scotia, 1749–1853," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 12,2 (1992), pp. 13–14. The late Judge Sprague described the customary institution of the poor farm as "semi-slavery."

107 Haliburton, *Historical*, pp. 280–281.

108 Qtd. in Oakes, *Ruling*, p. 73.

109 In his 1969 autobiography, Iceberg Slim, an African-American ex-pimp, endorses this truth. He states that white America only accepts those who have "a white skin, or a bale of scratch [money]." As a Black man, his "passport" to a good standard of living, to white "Heaven," is money. See Iceberg Slim [Robert Beck], *Pimp: The Story of My Life* (1969; repr. Los Angeles, 1987), p. 146.

and British colonial policy: "Now the English have two sorts of niggers--American colonists, who are free white niggers; and manufacturers' labourers at home, and they are white slave niggers."[110] Ensconced in London, Slick opens the sketch by pillorying factories and abusive labour practices. He charges that the urban proletariat--"misfortunate niggers"--are "a long chalk below our slaves to the south, and the cotton-manufacturers are a thousand times harder task-masters than our cotton planters, that's a fact."[111] When the Squire protests, exclaiming that "*We* [the British] have no slaves,"[112] Slick segues from his blackening of white labour to a similar blackening of white British American colonials such as the Squire. In a lengthy discourse, Slick critiques the notion of British and British North American unity. He attacks the Squire's use of "*We*," asking "How can you call yourself a part of an empire, in the government of which you have no voice?..."[113] Slick defines the "colonial 'Our'" as the eventual decline of the Squire's own family, after his death, "into the class of labourers," a status which Slick equates with slavery.[114] Slick also observes that, while African Americans are ostensibly free in the Northern United States, they cannot fill a number of offices because of general discrimination. Likewise, he says, "a white colonist, like our free black nigger," faces de facto discrimination:

> [He] may be a member of Parliament, but he can't get there; he may *be* a governor, but he guesses he can't, and he guesses right; he may marry an English nobleman's darter, if she'd only have him; he may be an embassador to our Court at Washington, if he could be only appointed; he may command the army or the fleet, if he had the commission; and that's his condition.--A colonist and a free nigger don't differ in anythin' but color: both have naked rights, but they have no power given 'em to clothe those rights, and that's the naked truth.[115]

110 Haliburton, *The Attaché; or Sam Slick in England*, Second Series, vol. 2 (London, 1844), p. 213.

111 *Ibid.*, p. 208.

112 *Ibid.*, p. 208.

113 *Ibid.*, p. 210.

114 *Ibid.*, p. 211.

115 *Ibid.*, pp. 213–214.

Slick's identification of expatriate white colonists with Blacks is subversive. It calls into question the viability of any real distinction between black and white. Haliburton seems to suggest that it is oppression, powerlessness and poverty which determine "blackness"--that, in short, racial categories are *constructed*, rather than fixed by nature.

Haliburton closes the sketch by allowing Slick to focus on the plight of the "manufacturin' slave."[116] He classes as the worker's greatest enemy the factory-owner who violates "a law of natur'," "a law written in the works of God," namely, that all beings must "feed, nurture, and protect, those they spawn, hatch, or breed."[117] Since, for Haliburton, "natur" is a synonym for order, he presents liberal, *laissez-faire* economics as its violation. Hence, the manufacturer "won't listen to no reason, don't see no necessity, and hante got no affections."[118] Like the unfeeling master who frees old, lame Pompey without making any provision for his care, like Deacon Westfall who sells Jerry Oaks into servitude--the factory owner, writes Haliburton powerfully,

> calls together the poor, and gives them artificial powers, unfits them for all other pursuits, works them to their utmost, fobs all the profits of their labour, and when he is too rich and too proud to progress, or when bad spekelations has ruined him, he desarts those unfortunate wretches whom he has created, used up, and ruined, and leaves them to God and their country to provide for.[119]

It hardly need be said that this vision of a capitalist is a far cry from the benign "factorist" in the ideal society laid out by Haliburton in his 1838 sketch, "English Aristocracy and Yankee Mobocracy."[120]

Slick goes on to damn the factory owner as a "Liberal," a "Reformer," who "under that pretty word does all the mischief to society he can."[121] He also equates factories with slave ships, and noting the British role in

116 *Ibid.*, p. 217.

117 *Ibid.*, p. 218.

118 *Ibid.*, p. 218.

119 *Ibid.*, pp. 218–219.

120 Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, Second Series, pp. 217–221.

121 Haliburton, *Attaché*, Second Series, pp. 219–220.

suppressing the slave trade by seizing and boarding vessels on the high seas--tells the Squire, "there should be cruisers sent into those manufacturin' seas" and inspections conducted to ensure the workers are being treated properly.[122] He even advocates stringing up "some of the cotton Lords with their own cotton ropes...."[123]

Slick closes this vital sketch with pithy advice which would not have been out of place in the 1848 *Communist Manifesto* of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: "When a man collects a multitude of human bein's together, and founds a factory, the safety of the country and the interests of humanity require there should be some security taken for the protection of the misfortunate 'English Niggers.'"[124] Haliburton's metaphor of blackened whiteness, extended to workers and colonists alike, assists his articulation of what appears to be a markedly progressive conservatism. "English Niggers" was understandably singled out as an objectionable essay by *The Spectator*, the anonymous reviewer for which alleged that it is "distinguished by its virulent declamation against the manufacturers, and the gross ignorance or audacious misrepresentations of some of the statements."[125] Of course, as J. Edward Chamberlin suggests, in societies constructed on the idea of a Black-bottomed hierarchy, "the notion that indolent blacks...might be better off--better fed and in better health--than industrious whites at home in Great Britain was deeply disturbing."[126]

Nevertheless, Haliburton's seemingly "progressive" critique of *laissez-faire* capitalism must be read in the context of pro-slavery propaganda which attacked American and British factory work as a worse oppression than slavery. For instance, Petesch points out that "George Fitzhugh, the southern sociologist, writing a decade before Marx, [cites] many of the sources later employed by Marx in order to excoriate industrial capitalism."[127] Accordingly,

122 *Ibid.*, p. 224.

123 *Ibid.*, p. 224.

124 *Ibid.*, p. 226.

125 *The Spectator*, 854 (9 November 1844), p. 1073, repr. Davies, "Extracts," p. 71.

126 J. Edward Chamberlin, *Come Back to Me My Language: Poetry and the West Indies* (Toronto, 1993), p. 23.

127 Petesch, *Spy*, p. 4.

in "English Niggers," Slick posits the notion of an idyllic slavery in which the master always cares for the slave, both being bound by a "common interest."[128] Haliburton's avant-garde conservatism was nostalgic protest.

Perhaps in spite of himself, Haliburton suggests, especially in "English Niggers," that colonist, worker and Black suffered similar disregard and that slavery and industrialism might both be oppressive systems (the latter taking precedence in Haliburton's scale of injustice). Since Haliburton confesses, albeit metaphorically, that whites can experience "Black"-like states and feelings of disenfranchisement, then no exploitative institution--slavery, wage slavery or poor colonial government--could be justified. Even though Haliburton attempts at times to condone slavery, the "good" slave-holding society which he posits--the old, Tudor-Stuart and Planter-Loyalist regime--had passed away and could not be restored. Ultimately, then, Haliburton's evocation of blackness-as-metaphor is ironic.

Yet, because of his revolutionary understanding of the new fluidity of class, Haliburton turns blackness into a generalized sign of oppression, of enslavement--a status metaphorically available to all in the new liberal, capitalist democracies, where all may now descend to the level of workers or slaves. Thus, for Haliburton, blackness becomes a light illuminating the flaws in Nova Scotian political economy, American republicanism, British imperialism, liberal reformism and *laissez-faire* economics. Of course, Haliburton seeks to call attention to the breach in "natur'," that is to say, in the natural order of things, which was causing Nova Scotia to stagnate, America to slide toward civil war (which Haliburton lived to see), Britain slowly but surely to lose its remaining American colonies, and the worker to slip into a state of degradation. So long as his Anglo-American audience failed to heed his warning, they would continue to slide down the chain of being--becoming, in the end, titular slaves and metaphorical niggers, having lost their

128 Haliburton, *Attaché*, Second Series, vol. 2, p. 223.

whiteness: an identity interpreted finally as an economic construct.[129] Literary "blackness" and literary "whiteness" turn out to be categories which run constantly together. Though Haliburton, like the paternalist slave-holders, had sought to fix "black" and "white" in their "proper" places in a stable, orderly and hierarchical society, by the end of his career, he knew that the dynamism of an increasingly modern capitalist state pushes even these supposedly static opposites into a perpetual state of flux. The white, especially the lower-class white, faced the stark prospect of her or his eventual economic "blackness." The potential alliances between such apocalyptic viewpoints and those of southern United States writers, between Canadian genteel white racism and the "blacker" version of the South, and between "progressive" and reactionary conservatism, are striking in their implications.[130] Certainly, any notion that Canadian intellectuals have been impervious to expressions of race hatred must be laid to rest.

129 Québécois author Pierre Vallières, though likely innocent of any knowledge of Haliburton, arrived at a similar political use of the phrase "white nigger": "To be a 'nigger' in America is to be not a man but someone's slave... Even the poor whites consider the nigger their inferior... Very often they do not even suspect that they too are niggers, slaves, 'white niggers.'" See Pierre Vallières, *White Niggers of America: The Precocious Autobiography of a Quebec "Terrorist"*, Joan Pinkham, trans. (New York, 1971), p. 21. Given the radical import of Haliburton's "white nigger" idea, perhaps he should be considered an early post-colonial writer, a sort of British North American forerunner of V. S. Naipaul.

130 Studies of other prejudices voiced by Haliburton, especially against Catholics, francophones and white women, will likely reveal that he also uses these figures to represent "white" or "male" degradation.

"'Tin hat' on the disciples of Brigham Young": Nova Scotians, Mormons and Polygamy, 1920–1928

Gordon Pollock

The winter of 1920 had not been easy; January had been bitterly cold, while February was dominated by driving winds and snow that alternated with torrential rains. Nova Scotians knew, however, that weather at this time of the year was often capricious, something to be endured before winter blew itself out and the soft maritime spring appeared.

Perhaps thoughts of warmer weather had a tonic effect on Haligonians as they faced the snow and rains that February. Such fantasies also could have offset fears about the influenza epidemic that had ravaged the British Isles and now threatened closer to home; images of a brighter spring could also divert attention from the economic contractions in Halifax after a very prosperous war for the busy port. There were other distractions, of course; at the Orpheus Theatre, Dorothy Gish--"the screen's funniest comedienne in her funniest picture"--starred in *Turning the Tables*. At Acker's, a vaudeville house, blacked-faced minstrels Ray Stanley and Harry Dale headlined a cast of singers and jugglers, while at the Strand Miss Glad Moffat, prosaically hailed as "the Glad Singer of Glad Songs," topped the bill.

Local newspapers frequently provided Haligonians with as much entertainment as could be found in the city's theatres. In February 1920, the legal woes of Jack Dempsey, the American heavyweight champion and movie hero, were reported in great detail in the *Acadian Recorder*. The twenty-four-year-old Mormon had become a celebrity when he demolished the six-foot-six-inch Jess Willard in the third round of a championship bout at Toledo, Ohio on the Fourth of July, 1919. Capitalizing on Dempsey's instant fame, Hollywood had quickly signed the ruggedly handsome 'Manassa Mauler' to star in the *Daredevil Jack* action serial. It was understandable, therefore, why journalists pounced on the news in February that Dempsey had been indicted by a Grand Jury in San Francisco for conspiring to avoid the draft during the war. The charges, based solely on the testimony of the champ's ex-wife, aroused interest across the continent.[1]

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1 Maxine Cates alleged that in order to avoid military service her former husband falsely declared that he was the sole support of his father, mother, widowed sister and her two children. Brought to trial in June 1920, Dempsey was found not guilty of conspiring to avoid the draft and issuing false declarations. See *Acadian Recorder*, 28 Feb. 1920 and the *Morning Chronicle* (Halifax), 16 June 1920. William Harrison Dempsey, known as Jack, was baptized a Mormon in 1903, the same year that his mother's cousin, Reed Smoot, was elected to the US Senate from Utah. See Nat Fleischer, *Jack Dempsey* (New Rochelle, NY, 1972), p. 15.

Locally, City Council provided solid entertainment to readers of Halifax papers. "The City Fathers," reported one daily, "in special session last night to deal with special legislative matters did a lot of talking, and in many instances, two or three of them were on their feet at a time, and on one occasion four of the aldermen tried to speak at the same moment...."[2] While the major focus of Council's excitement at that 20 February session was a $500,000 spending package, aldermen did have an opportunity to limber up on a petition presented by Mormon missionaries who sought permission to distribute religious literature and to preach on the city's streets.

Council was aided in its deliberations on the Latter-day Saints' petition by a letter from the Anglican Archbishop of Nova Scotia and Metropolitan of Canada, the Most Reverend Clarendon Lamb Worrell. His Grace put the case against the Mormons forcefully:

> I think it would be a great mistake for the council to accede to the request of the Mormon society. It would not be in the interests of the city to give its streets for the propagation of a society of doubtful reputation and unsavoury history. If there were any adherents of the society in Halifax, it is probable that few would oppose their organization here. But to give them the privilege of the streets to advertise themselves is simply to give them an opportunity, directly or indirectly, to attack existing church organizations and to draw from them some of their weaker members.[3]

Worrell spoke with great authority in Nova Scotia. Elected to the see in 1904, it was he who had spearheaded the building of All Saints Cathedral in Halifax and had presided over its opening in September 1910. In 1915 Clare Worrell had been named Archbishop of Nova Scotia and Metropolitan of Canada, the first bishop to be so elevated in the long history of that church in the province. From Bishop's Lodge on Lucknow Street in south-end Halifax, Worrell led the Anglican communion and commanded respect from Nova Scotians of all faiths. His letter to City Council was, therefore, significant. With no attempt at subtlety, Archbishop Worrell directed Council's attention to the Mormons' Achilles heel: "It matters little which of their tenets they refrain from preaching while seeking for followers. The trend of their

2 *Acadian Recorder*, 21 Feb. 1920.

3 The Most Reverend Clarendon L. Worrell to Alderman John S. Power, Chairman, Laws and Privileges Committee, City of Halifax; in Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS], RG 35–102, Series 13, Vol. 29, Doc. 74, and quoted in *Halifax Herald*, 20 Feb. 1920.

teachings is well known and I do not consider it well to encourage their establishment here or anywhere else in Canada." The *Herald* reporter covering the Council meeting picked up the Archbishop's implication and declared "the day when respectable Haligonians maintain their seraglio is still far distant....A letter from the Archbishop of Nova Scotia [has] put, in the vernacular, the 'tin hat' on the disciples of Brigham Young."[4]

The Archbishop's communication to City Council struck a responsive chord with Nova Scotians. Like him, most politicians, clergy and citizen groups in the province remained convinced that Mormonism meant polygamy and the enslavement of young, unsuspecting women by devious Elders of the Utah based-church. Plural marriage, established early in the life of the organization but publicly acknowledged only in 1852, was to non-believers the most recognizable and repugnant element of LDS doctrine. Although suspended in 1890 by the church President after three decades of legislative pressure by the United States Congress, charges of polygamy continued to be thrown contemptuously at LDS missionaries in the post-world-war era.

Worrell, an Upper Canadian by birth, might have sensed the mood with regard to the Mormons in the province, but he remained ignorant of the LDS presence in Nova Scotia's past. Although there were no members active in the province in 1920, Mormons and their book of American scripture were no strangers to the area. First preached in Halifax in the summer of 1843 by Robert Dickson, a native of Onslow Mountain near Truro, and by James Alonzo Jerman of New York City, there had been a small but vigorous LDS branch in the city until May of 1855. In those twelve years American missionaries, joined by occasional British Elders and local activists, had preached the restored gospel in Yarmouth, along the bays and harbours of the province's Eastern Shore, on the Fundy coast, in the hamlets of Cape Breton, and in the streets of the capital city.

Mormonism in those years attracted a broad range of Nova Scotians: farmers and town dwellers, tenants and land owners, political sophisticates and naïve rustics. Not members of some Victorian underclass, seeking in religion power and status denied them by the world, these converts to the faith of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young resembled their neighbours in virtually ever way. Research on the social and economic status of Nova Scotian Mormons has yielded no characteristic that would allow an observer

4 *Ibid.*

to identify converts from their fellows.[5] In fact, the nascent Saints remained unrecognizable in Nova Scotian society until they formally accepted baptism. Then, if one believed their critics, deviant characteristics, unnoticed before conversion, became apparent to all observers. A mid-nineteenth century Halifax newspaper editor spoke for many when he dismissed contemptuously Mormon converts. To him, they were "weak pated creatures" who inhabited the "buck slums."[6] There were differences between Mormons and other Nova Scotians, but they were not those described by William Cunnabell in his *Morning Herald and General Advertiser*. Unlike their neighbours, the converts had a clear understanding of the significance of the golden plates found buried in a hillside in upper New York state. To them, this marked the restoration of prophesy, the end of almost 1,800 years of Christian apostasy, and the reinstitution of God's church in the modern world. Such momentous events were viewed by early Mormons as the beginning of the Parousia, the triumphant second advent, and the cataclysmic winding-up of temporal history.

Mormons had never been a major religious force in Nova Scotia. Subject always to the church's doctrine of the gathering, Latter-day Saints in the province had trekked to the centre of the church from that first preaching in July 1843. The Halifax Branch history, a journal containing detailed listings of members and their religious activities, makes frequent references to Saints who "left for the west."[7] There, in what was called the 'centre stake,' whether it was Nauvoo on the Mississippi or the Valley of the Great Salt Lake in the Rocky Mountains, the millenarian faithful would be safe from the holocaust they believed was soon to befall the earth. Finally, in the spring of 1855, the

5 See Gordon Pollock, "Roads to Zion: From the Maritimes to the Mountains of the West," unpublished ms. in possession of the author.

6 *Morning Herald and General Advertiser* (Halifax), 28 July 1843.

7 See "Halifax Branch History," typescript in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Archives [hereafter LDSA], Salt Lake City, Utah.

bulk of the remaining church membership left Nova Scotia, crossing the American plains to live in the mountain fastness of the new Zion.[8]

A few, however, remained behind on Nova Scotia's rocky Atlantic coast. John Weston was zealous in his support of his Mormon beliefs, yet stayed on his farm east of Dartmouth when his co-religionists set out for Zion in 1855. With his wife, Lavinia, and his nineteen-year-old son, he continued to work that land sixteen years later when the family was enumerated for the 1871 census of the new Dominion of Canada.[9] In that same year, other Mormons were located in Digby, Kings, Pictou and Yarmouth counties. Although widespread throughout the province, their numbers were small; only fifteen Mormons were recorded in Nova Scotia in 1871. In fact, John Weston's family may have been the lone followers of the Utah Saints among that corporal's guard of Mormons. Other Latter Day Saints in the province were probably members of the Reorganized Church, those who disavowed polygamy, the leadership of Brigham Young, and who were led by Joseph Smith's eldest son. Such confusion exists about the church because the subtleties of differences between strains of Mormonism escaped Canadian census-takers for more than a century. Furthermore, early census policy was inconsistent; Mormons were not included in the 1881 enumeration's classification of religions, but re-appeared in 1901. That census indicated seventy-three LDS adherents in the province, primarily in the River Philip area of Cumberland county, in Hants and Kings counties.[10] These Saints were certainly members of the Reorganized Church.

8 There is very little written about Mormons in the Maritime Provinces of Canada in the nineteenth century. For a brief description see Richard E. Bennett, "Plucking Not Planting: Mormonism in Eastern Canada, 1830–1850" in B.Y. Card, H.C. Northcott, J.E. Foster, Howard Palmer and G.K. Jarvis, eds., *The Mormon Presence in Canada* (Edmonton, 1990). For a more detailed analysis of Mormons in the Maritime Provinces during this period, see Pollock, "Roads to Zion."

9 Census of Canada, 1871, Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. Weston or Whiston (the names are used interchangeably) was converted to Mormonism in 1843 with his first wife, Helen Paton. Their son, William, migrated to the Utah Territory, was married and received his endowments in the Endowment House on Temple Square, Salt Lake City, 26 Mar. 1862. See *International Genealogical Index.*

10 In the 1891 Census there were, for instance, forty-seven LDS enumerated in Hants County, but Mormons were omitted from the census tabulations of religious sects in Canada. In the 1901 Census thirty-three LDS were enumerated in Cumberland County, twenty-five in Hants (concentrated in the Rawdon-Uniacke and Brooklyn areas), fourteen in Kings, and one in Colchester. Religious tabulations in the 1901 Census included these Mormons. Note that members of the Utah-based church are referred to as 'Latter-day Saints' while members of the Reorganized Church are known as 'Latter Day Saints.' It was not until the 1981 Census that this difference was reflected in Canada's statistics.

Archbishop Worrell knew nothing of this Mormon past in Nova Scotia and in this he was no different from most native-born Nova Scotians. They, too, had no knowledge of the church's previous activities in the province. It was this ignorance that impaired LDS growth locally in the post-war years; the church was perceived as alien to the culture of the east coast, and as a product of American fanaticism that could only appeal to weaker members of Nova Scotian society. Local resistance was based on more than ignorance, however. The widespread belief that Mormons, despite their protests, continued to follow perverted marriage practices presented insuperable obstacles for the American missionaries. This conviction insured that the church would be rejected by mainstream society, and would lead religious and lay leaders to impose barriers to the spread of Mormonism in Nova Scotia.

The Mormons had moved quickly to position themselves for growth in Canada following the Great War. Nephi United States Centennial Jensen was called by the General Authorities to head the Canadian Mission at the church's annual General Conference in April 1919.[11] Jensen, a 44-year-old Salt Lake City attorney and former Utah legislator, terminated his professional activities and travelled to Toronto, arriving there on 1 July. From his headquarters at 36 Ferndale Avenue he began to organize the missionaries who had been transferred to his command from the Eastern Mission and the Northern States Mission. In December 1919 Jensen was in Saint John, New Brunswick, proclaiming that area open to missionary activity. On 6 February 1920 the Nova Scotia Conference of the church was organized under the direction of Elder Andrew Sproul, a young American from southern Utah. Together, Sproul and missionaries Mark E. Petersen, Henry L. Baker and Hugh A. Reid set about to redeem the province, unaware of Nova Scotia's uncompromising attitude toward their church.[12]

In order to facilitate their work in Halifax, the missionaries wrote Mayor John Parker on 16 February seeking permission to preach on city streets. Two days later, their petition was considered by the Laws and Privileges

11 Nephi Jensen was born on 16 Feb. 1876, the centenary of American independence. His father, Soren Jensen, an immigrant to the US, felt he should mark the child's birth in an appropriate fashion, thus his distinctive given names.

12 Mark Edward Petersen achieved high rank within his church, being ordained one of its Twelve Apostles on 20 Apr. 1944. See Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History* (Salt Lake City, 1973), p. 591.

Committee of City Council. At that meeting, Sproul was allowed to address the committee and to answer pointed questions. The Elder denied that his church practised polygamy, informing the aldermen that Mormons had "repudiated it by manifesto in 1890."[13] Aldermen Charles Ackhurst and James Thompson seemed unconvinced of the church's motives and succeeded in having the Mormon petition referred to Council without recommendation, effectively condemning it to failure. In order to insure rejection, however, comments were sought from religious leaders in the city. Whether Archbishop Worrell's letter was the only response received in the two days between the Committee and Council meetings is not clear. No others were produced at Council, but with a letter from so powerful a cleric, probably no others were required.[14] During Council's discussions on 20 February, John Douglas, alderman for Ward 3, took up Worrell's argument. Acknowledging the possibility that Mormons might no longer favour polygamy--due in large part, he believed, to the pressure of criminal law--Douglas announced, "No citizen, to his knowledge, was a member of that faith and these four men should not be allowed to come here to obtain converts."[15] His colleagues agreed and the petition was denied.

Rebuffed by Halifax, the Mormon missionaries took their case across the harbour to Dartmouth. On Thursday 27 February the *Morning Chronicle* commented in its column, "News of Dartmouth Town," that "a Mormon delegation may appear before the Town Council at tomorrow night's meeting." There had been considerable talk about this possibility on the streets and in the cafés and, according to the report, "Very few citizens seem

13 PANS, RG 35–102, Series 13, A 4, City of Halifax, Laws and Privileges Committee Minutes, 1919–1940; 18 Feb. 1920. In the minutes of the meeting there is no indication that Andrew Sproul spoke in favour of his petition; however, an article in the *Morning Chronicle* on 20 Feb. 1920 indicated that Sproul's letter included a repudiation of polygamy. The Committee Minutes include Sproul's petition but there is no reference to polygamy or the 1890 Manifesto therein. Sproul did make these remarks at the committee meeting, however, and these comments were incorrectly reported in the *Morning Herald* as being part of the petition. Sproul wrote the mayor on 18 Feb. after the committee meeting, indicating that he did speak at the meeting and that in his remarks he addressed the issue of polygamy; see Sproul to Mayor, 18 Feb. 1920, in RG 35–102, Series 13, Vol. 29, Doc. 74.

14 Alderman Power wrote to leaders of the major faiths in the city on 18 Feb. seeking their views. The letter went to representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of England, Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists; see PANS, RG 35–102, Series 13, Vol. 29, Doc. 74.

15 *Acadian Recorder*, 21 Feb. 1920.

to be in favor of allowing the Mormons to hold meetings within Dartmouth's confines."[16] Members of the Ministerial Association were enraged at the prospect and wrote Council, stating their opposition to allowing Mormons the right to preach on the streets or to distribute their literature. As rumoured in the *Chronicle*, Andrew Sproul and his fellow Mormon missionaries indeed appeared at the Friday-night session of Council to present their petition. Sproul was allowed to address the meeting and, at the conclusion of his presentation, the missionary was again confronted by questions regarding polygamy. Once more, Sproul reported that the practice had ceased in 1890 and that his only aim in coming to Nova Scotia was to bring the teachings of his church to the province. When no further questions were raised, Sproul and his colleagues took advantage of the opportunity and distributed religious pamphlets to the members of Council. No decision on the petition was reached that night, but Mayor Henry Simpson promised to deal with the issue. With strong opposition from local clergy and no supporters to defend the interests of the Mormons or free speech, Dartmouth quietly followed the lead of Halifax and refused permission for street preaching.[17]

Denied access to the streets in both cities, the missionaries now employed the tactic of 'cottage meetings.' In the manner invoked today by cosmetic or cooking-ware distributors, interested citizens were prevailed upon to open their homes to the missionaries and to invite friends to come and hear them preach. The missionaries also rented halls, put about handbills advertising the meetings, and then preached to those who attended. Sproul reported to the missionary magazine, *Liahona*, that progress was being made and the Elders "now have a number of warm friends in Halifax and many opportunities of holding cottage meetings"; the report also noted that the regular hall meetings were "well attended."[18] While both types of meetings enabled Elders to make contact with potential converts, they seemed less effective in outreach than the prohibited street preaching and, most critically, produced no converts to

16 *Morning Chronicle*, 27 Feb. 1920.

17 *Acadian Recorder*, 28 Feb. 1920; Morning Chronicle, 1 Mar. 1920.

18 *Liahona: The Elders' Journal*, 17 (1920), 391.

the church.[19] Even the eloquent Nephi Jensen, who in Mormon-placed advertisements in Halifax papers was described as "a man of magnetic presence and a gifted pulpit orator," was unable to win converts to the church under these conditions.[20]

Jensen could, however, generate publicity. A lengthy interview with the Canadian President appeared in May 1920 in the Halifax *Herald* and its associated evening paper, the *Mail*. With the exception of a sub-headline that referred to "the Peculiar Characteristics of Mormonism," the newspaper article read like a church-issued public relations release. In it, President Jensen related the basic beliefs in the Book of Mormon, and the return of religious authority to the earth.[21] In contrast to previous newspaper coverage, this interview was uncritical and no doubt encouraged Mormons to think that attitudes among Nova Scotians were beginning to change.

Jensen's interview, however, provoked a fierce response from Lois Johnson, one of the many Reorganized Latter Day Saints in Cumberland county. Writing to the *Herald* in June, she protested Mormon activities in Halifax:

> Several people have spoken to me about the meetings now being held in your city by Elder Andrew Sproul of the Mormon church, Salt Lake City, Utah, and as there are a number of Latter Day Saints in Cumberland county and other parts of the province--some have wished the facts be made plain that they are not Mormons, and that the church in which they hold membership is an entirely different organization and differs on a number of vital issues from the church that has its headquarters in Utah. Some (who must be very ignorant of historical facts), go as far to say, 'there is no difference.'[22]

19 The first converts to the church in Nova Scotia in its twentieth century mission were Calvin and Bessie Fredericks of Hacketts Cove. The couple, aged 25 and 26 respectively, was bapt. on 21 Aug. 1921 by Elder Mark Lewis, nineteen months after the mission was established. Despite the efforts of the church to obtain the right to preach on the streets and to call on citizens, research has challenged the efficacy of such tactics in recruiting new members. See Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, "Networks of Faith: Interpersonal Bonds and Recruitment to Cults and Sects" in *American Journal of Sociology*, 85, No. 6 (May, 1980).

20 Copy of advertisement for Nephi Jensen's appearance at Aker's Theatre in Halifax, 16 May 1920; see Nephi Jensen file, box 2, folder 1, LDSA.

21 *Halifax Herald*, 18 May 1920.

22 *Ibid.*, 29 June 1920.

Mrs. Johnson distinguished her group from the Utah-based church by its decision to remain in the American midwest, its charitable work, its colleges, but most importantly by its opposition to polygamy. She alleged that plural marriage was not practised under Joseph Smith but was a variation introduced by Brigham Young after he had led his followers to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. Mrs. Johnson attempted to clinch this argument by pointing out that "Joseph Smith [had] been dead over eight years when the doctrine of polygamy was first taught by Brigham to his people in 1852."[23]

Even favourable newspaper articles had little positive impact on the Laws and Privileges Committee of Halifax City Council. Two weeks after the Jensen interview appeared, Andrew Sproul wrote a fervent letter to Mayor Parker, beseeching Council to alter its restrictive policy:

> We the so-called Mormon Elders have been in your city for nearly four months and have conducted ourselves in a manner that has caused your city government the least degree of trouble....We believe in obeying, honoring and sustaining the law where ever we go. In view of these facts, Your Worship, we pray for the privilege of speaking on the streets--a privilege that other religious teachers enjoy and a privilege that your law does not deny us.[24]

The young American believed that the missionaries' responsible behaviour had been noted publicly and that it was at variance with any charges levelled against them: "The papers treat us with respect and courtesy....They have learned that the 'Mormons' are not the bad people that tale bearers, busy bodies and scandal-mongers have represented them to be."[25] His plea had little impact on the Committee, who once again recommended that Council not allow Mormons to preach on the streets. At its 2 July meeting, City Council confirmed the Committee's recommendation and denied "permission

23 *Ibid.* Such an assertion does not merit serious consideration. Evidence is overwhelming that Joseph Smith taught, certainly in 1843 and perhaps even as early as 1831, that plurality of wives was consistent with scripture and God's wishes for his Saints. See B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana and Chicago, 1992) and Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City, 1992).

24 The letter was dated 1 June 1920 but appeared in the *Halifax Herald* on 20 July 1920.

25 *Ibid.*

for Mormon Elders to hold open air meetings on the streets of the City for the purpose of expounding their doctrine...."[26]

Nephi Jensen, more mature and experienced than Sproul, had also been frustrated by official Nova Scotia's uncompromising attitude. In a six-page, often bitter letter to Archbishop Worrell, Jensen bristled about the Anglican leader's description of Mormonism as being of "doubtful reputation and unsavoury history." "I challenge you to make out as good a bill of moral health for your church," he railed. "Do not misunderstand me. I do not mean to imply that an officer of the church in whose history 'Henry VIII' figured so prominently would not know something about churches of 'unsavoury history.' But I do wish to commend to you a bit of wisdom, 'Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones'."[27] Jensen then turned to the issue of free speech. His accusation against the Archbishop was stinging: "A minister of religion who will in the twentieth century, under the British flag, advocate the suppression of free speech certainly has little room to boast of either his Christianity or patriotism."[28]

Jensen's junior colleague, Andrew Sproul, also raised the issue of free speech with Mayor Parker: "All British and American law freely gives to every man the liberty to express and discuss his honest convictions, and this, in turn, implies that all citizens under the 'flag of the free' have the right to listen to and consider the opinions of others." In turning aside the Mormon request to preach on Halifax streets, city authorities "that would take away or curtail the freedom of discussion will also take away the opportunity of hearing discussion and this disposition is identical to that spirit of bigotry and gross intolerance, which always did exercise unrighteous domination and tyranny over the souls of men."[29]

Thwarted by Council, Sproul left Halifax and made his way home to Utah. A colleague who had served with him in Toronto and who had later presided in New Brunswick was appointed President of the Nova Scotia District in his

26 Halifax City Council Minutes, 2 July 1920 (mfm at PANS).

27 Nephi Jensen to the Archbishop of Nova Scotia, 11 March 1920, in Archbishop Clarendon Lamb Worrell's Papers, Diocese of Nova Scotia Archives [hereafter Diocesan Archives], Halifax, N.S.

28 *Ibid.*

29 *Halifax Herald*, 20 July 1920.

place. Elder Archie Boyack of Spanish Fork, Utah, quickly grasped the apparent intractability of the two major urban centres in the mission and instead dispatched two of his Elders to Windsor, the county town at the head of the Annapolis Valley. There the missionaries applied to the town authorities for permission to preach on the streets; rather than outright refusal, Mark Petersen and Henry Baker were told they could hold public meetings, on the condition that no local clergy objected. Petersen, a native of Salt Lake City and Baker from Rupert, Idaho, quickly met with ministers from all denominations in the town. In Windsor, there seemed to be a different attitude from the clergy of Halifax and Dartmouth. Boyack reported that clerical consent was readily given; in fact, he noted, "one of them especially seemed friendly and asked for a copy of the Book of Mormon." The local newspaper also seemed well disposed to the young Mormons and accepted and published announcements of their open air meetings.[30]

By the end of July, however, the spirit of cooperation had evaporated and had been replaced by outright hostility. Boyack complained that local clergy had mounted a campaign against the Mormons "to have their street privileges withdrawn and the newspapers refuse to publish any further advertisements for them."[31] The alteration in attitudes was reflected in a scathing letter to the local newspaper, written by the Reverend C. Paterson-Smyth, Rector of Windsor. The Anglican clergyman denounced the Elders and called his readers' attention "to some of the official teachings of the Mormons which is [*sic*] carefully left out of the literature which has been distributed around Windsor." Paterson-Smyth then attacked the Mormon concept of plurality of Gods and degrees of glory. He reserved his strongest assault, of course, for polygamy: "I believe the Mormon Elders claim that the Mormons do not now practice Polygamy. I have very grave doubts about it."[32]

The Town Council was in accord with the rector's views. At its meeting on 30 July, Mayor David Slack was asked "if he intended doing anything about removing the Mormons from Town." The Mayor responded to Councillor Walter Regan's question by indicating he had "no remedy to offer

30 *Liahona*, 18:99.

31 *Ibid.*

32 *Hants Journal* (Windsor), 4 Aug. 1920.

but thought them objectionable." Regan thereupon moved, seconded by Councillor Davison, that Elders Petersen and Baker be told to leave Windsor. Regan's motion was adopted by Council without further discussion.[33] According to Archie Boyack, a compromise was reached eventually, whereby the missionaries could go door- to-door distributing their tracts and were allowed to hold indoor meetings. Mormon public meetings were, however, banned in Windsor.[34] There is no reference to such an agreement in the Council Minutes nor, for that matter, is there any further discussion of Council's intemperate expulsion order.

Whatever compromise had been achieved in Windsor seemed vulnerable with the publication of a particularly vitriolic letter in the *Hants Journal* in mid-September. The author, a resident of Lake Bluff, Illinois, was enraged at the news that Mormon Elders were distributing tracts in the Nova Scotia town. Mrs. Sidey, who had read Mr. Paterson-Smyth's August letter, returned to the proposition he had advanced. She accused the Mormons of lying and deceiving new converts about the fundamentals of the church's doctrines: "Many people unite with the church not knowing the sacreligious [*sic*] things they believe," she protested. There was no doubt in Mrs. Sidey's mind that polygamy was at the root of Mormon beliefs: "Every Christian woman should know that Mormon teachings strike a direct blow at the sanctity of home life, in that it degrades women, making her [*sic*] merely an object for man's pleasure. They believe," she continued, "a woman lies in her grave until her husband calls her on the Resurrection Day. If she has no husband, or, if he is not a Mormon, then there is no hope of eternal life for her."[35] In Salt Lake City, the American correspondent confidently charged, polygamy continued to be practised in secrecy. For her, no measure was too drastic in dealing with the Mormons:

33 Windsor Town Council Minutes, 30 July 1920 (mfm at PANS).

34 *Liahona*, 18:99.

35 *Hants Journal*, 22 Sept. 1920.

> The Christian people of Nova Scotia should not allow Mormon literature or their missionaries to enter the country, or at least to have any religious privileges whatever, for Mormonism is blasphemy against the God that Christian people are trying to win the world for. They teach that both God and Jesus Christ are Polygamists....[36]

In October the Mormons were again under attack in a letter carried prominently in the *Wesleyan*, the official organ of the Methodist church in Nova Scotia. W.J. Dean of Truro castigated the LDS for their baseness: "We repeat without fear of successful contradiction that Mormonism is a crude sensuous 'religion' based on gross sexual relationships." Warming to his theme, Dean continued, "The more sensuous, if not sensual, a man is, the greater glory will he obtain after death. The more wives and children he has the higher his standing in heaven." With a flourish, the correspondent told his Methodist colleagues that in Mormonism, polygamy "is a deification of sex and sexual relations." A woman, he assured them, "is reduced to the place of a serf and is denied any proper control over her body or soul."[37]

The Mormons nevertheless continued to proselytize in Nova Scotia in the face of widespread public contempt and kept up their efforts to obtain the right to hold street meetings. Both objects were achieved, but slowly; no converts were won to the restored gospel in 1920; six adults and five children joined in 1921; and in 1922 only two converts were added to the roll of the Saints. In the decade of missionary activity following the Mormon return to Nova Scotia, a total of only seventy-four members of all ages were brought into the church, twenty-eight of whom were from the Halifax-Dartmouth area, seventeen from Windsor, and fifteen from the New Glasgow area. An additional thirteen members were scattered through other parts of the province. In 1928, the most productive year in the decade for the missionaries, thirteen new members were added.[38]

Progress was also slow toward the church's goal of preaching unrestrained on the streets of Nova Scotia's towns and cities. Dartmouth was the first to grant this right to the missionaries. In September 1920, Mayor Simpson

36 *Ibid.*

37 *Wesleyan*, 20 Oct. 1920.

38 Nova Scotia District Members (mfm 0002033), Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

fulfilled his earlier promise to deal with the issue and granted the Elders permission to hold street meetings. Convinced that the purpose of the preaching was "the salvation of souls," the mayor felt able to allow the Mormons freedom to hold street-corner meetings.[39] New Glasgow in the coal-mining district of Pictou county, also seemed welcoming to Mormon missionaries. Toward the end of 1920 the Elders had withdrawn from Windsor and moved to northern Nova Scotia. On 27 December, they reported that local newspapers "have given us fair treatment and the hall meetings have been successful."[40] If not friendly, the inhabitants of the small town at least seemed prepared to listen to the visitors: "Elders Mark C. Peterson [*sic*] and Henry L. Baker, Salt Lake City, Utah are in town and purpose [*sic*] staying here for some time," reported a New Glasgow journalist. The question of Mormon marriage practice, however, remained as important to New Glaswegians as it was to others in the province. "In conversation with them," the reporter noted, "they say polygamy is a thing of the past in their faith."[41]

Missionaries continued to preach the gospel in other sections of the province but as church membership rolls testify, the young Americans had little success. Undeterred, Elders distributed tracts and held meetings in Halifax, Dartmouth, New Glasgow, Stellarton and Windsor. It was there in the county town of Hants that violence broke out. Despite continued hostility to the Saints in the *Hants Journal* and among local clergy, a Mormon public meeting was held in May 1922 at Windsor's Lyric Theatre. Part of Nephi Jensen's regular tour through his mission, the meeting was well attended, according to Mormon reports, and included "a number of friends, investigators and curious people." The gathering proceeded undisturbed for an hour, when suddenly rocks were thrown against the doors of the theatre and through its windows. The missionaries attributed this bigoted outburst to

39 *Morning Chronicle*, 17 Sept. 1920. Simpson questioned the missionaries closely on their purpose in wishing to preach on Dartmouth streets. After considering their responses, the Mayor reportedly remarked, "You are alright."

40 *Liahona*, 18:52.

41 Quoted from an undated newspaper article, datelined New Glasgow, found in the Nephi Jensen file, LDSA. The reference to the opening of the mission in New Glasgow and the identification of Petersen and Baker as the missionaries, however, place the article's publication in Dec. 1920.

the local newspaper's campaign against them.[42] In July, the young men reported hostility as they distributed tracts through the town and in November a baptism provided the excuse locals needed to menace a Mormon Elder. The missionary journal, *Liahona*, shared that young man's experience in Windsor with its thousands of readers in the United States: "After the ordinance was performed, a crowd gathered and followed Elder Leland Slater down the street, taunting and shouting after him."[43] Slater was undeterred and remained active in the town over the next year.

In September 1923, Kilton Stewart, the presiding Elder in the Nova Scotia district, came to Windsor and held a Saturday-night meeting in the town park. The community once again provided a rough welcome. The meeting was disrupted "because of the confusion and strife caused by sectarian preachers who incited the crowd."[44] On Sunday night, members of the local clergy convened their own meeting in the park and attacked the church and its teachings. Stewart and his colleague, Millard Hatch, stood in the crowd, listening to the abuse that was heaped upon them. Rather than slink away, the two Utah men undertook to disprove the charges, but tempers flared and the police were called to break up the disturbance. Stewart and Hatch escaped the park, chased to their boarding-house by a rock-throwing mob.[45]

Mormon missionaries were not menaced in Halifax but they continued to be prohibited from preaching on its streets. In the spring of 1923, the Elders again petitioned Council. At the Laws and Privileges Committee on 18 May, Kilton Stewart spoke in favour of his church's request. The discussion at the Committee took a predictable and familiar turn: "Members of the Committee interrogated him on the standing of his church on the polygamy issue," the Halifax *Herald* reported. Stewart denied that "his people either taught it or practised it, or that they had done so for 32 years."[46] He also took the offensive and pointed out that Halifax persisted in prohibiting Mormon

42 *Liahona*, 19:517.

43 *Ibid.*, 20:279.

44 *Ibid.*, 21:174.

45 *Ibid.*

46 *Halifax Herald*, 19 May 1923.

street-preaching although the privilege "had been granted in several cities and towns of the province, and that no community had so far refused them." While not entirely accurate, his outburst did have a double impact. For the first time a reason was offered for the city's objection to street preaching and, more importantly, Council's solidarity on the issue collapsed.

At the Committee meeting, Alderman Andrew Finlay rose to respond to Elder Stewart's comments. To grant Mormons access to the streets, he argued, would "create dissention, and at the same time block street traffic."[47] While the second objection was easily understood and as easily disposed of, the alderman's first claim was more significant, reflecting as it did public concern in Nova Scotia over recent American actions. At the same time the Mormon petition was being discussed in Halifax, the Canadian government was preparing to respond to widespread concerns on the Atlantic coast resulting from the closure of American ports to Canadian fishing vessels. The American policy had terminated freedom of access granted to Canadian-registered vessels during the recent European war. Front-page headlines in the *Herald* on Saturday 26 May confirmed that the Canadian government had responded to the US actions and announced a similar closure of Canadian ports to all American vessels.

Contemporaneously, and certainly of greater concern to Halifax politicians, was the agitation in the Cape Breton coalfields, led by the local executive committee of District 26. The decision of this powerful union local in the summer of 1922 to bolt from the United Mine Workers of America and to affiliate with the Red International of Trades Unions had rocked Nova Scotia's industrial and political élite.[48] Provincial leaders were so concerned about the threat they had welcomed the dispatch of five hundred regular troops from garrisons in Halifax and Québec City in August. At the same time, the government of Nova Scotia employed existing legislation and organized a provincial police force, headed by Colonel Eric MacDonald of

47 *Ibid.*

48 The 1922 Convention accepted its Policy Committee's recommendation that application for admission be made immediately. The convention also endorsed the following resolution: "That we proclaim openly to all the world that we are out for a complete overthrow of the capitalist system and the capitalist state, peaceable if we may, forceable if we must and we call on all workers, soldiers and minor law officers in Canada to join us in liberating labor." See Minutes of the Convention, June 1922, p. 48, cited in C. B. Wade, "History of the United Mine Workers of America, District 26, 1919–1941," typescript, n.p. (PANS mfm W116).

Wolfville who, with ten non-commissioned officers of the R.C.M.P., provided leadership for the hastily recruited troop.[49] The provincial police had been deployed in Cape Breton in the late summer of 1922 against striking coalminers and in the face of Sydney steelworkers who had threatened to strike at Easter 1923.

New threats to public order surfaced in May of that year. MacDonald, a distinguished officer but one unsympathetic to what he perceived to be Bolshevism, conducted a night-time raid on District 26 headquarters on 15 May. With thirty mounted troopers, he swooped down on the executive of District 26, arresting them and others who were believed to be agitators. The trigger for this raid was an advertised series of meetings in the coalfields, at which the speaker was to be Thomas Myerscough, a United States citizen and the Secretary of the Communist Party of America.

The Glace Bay raid was widely reported in newspapers in the provincial capital. The *Morning Chronicle* informed its readers that MacDonald's troopers had turned up a substantial collection of "alleged communistic literature" and had found in a closet a large red banner.[50] The spirit of Bolshevism and a workers' revolution seemed no distant threat to some in Nova Scotia in May 1923 and to them foreign agents, particularly Americans, were contributing to the unrest; thus, the United States seemed to represent a severe threat to the Nova Scotian status quo at the very time American missionaries pressed for access to Halifax streets in order to hold public meetings. Merging these diverse concerns with their own deep suspicions of Mormonism, Alderman Finlay and his colleagues, A. A. Drysdale and Henry Colwell, voted to recommend rejection over the objections of their fellow committee member, Alderman Robert Guildford.[51]

The Mormon petition appeared on Council's agenda at its meeting of Friday 25 May and provoked procedural squabbling, charges of sedition and

49 See Don Macgillivray, "Military Aid to the Civil Power," in Don Macgillivray and Brian Tennyson, eds., *Cape Breton Historical Essays* (Sydney, 1980), p. 100.

50 *Morning Chronicle*, 12 May 1923; 16 May 1923. Nova Scotia's provincial police force was formed in Aug. 1922 to be deployed in the striking coalfields. Its May 1923 raid on the Glace Bay headquarters was a classic manoeuvre. Mounted troopers travelled from Sydney on the back roads at night in order to avoid alerting their targets, who were totally unprepared for the assault. The provincial police force was demobilized as quickly as it had been organized; by the end of May 1923, officials announced its demise.

51 City of Halifax, Laws and Privileges Committee Minutes, 18 May 1923.

revolution, and assertions of religious bigotry among local politicians. Beginning quietly enough, Alderman John Power, Chairman of the Laws and Privileges Committee, sought Council's approval to allow Elder Stewart to address the meeting. Alderman Guildford rose in support of the motion, but in his remarks indicated that he disagreed with the Committee's recommendation, which he termed "bigoted." Power responded immediately, denying his committee was motivated by religious prejudice. It acted, he asserted, only to prevent traffic congestion and from a fear that the street meetings might result in breaches of the peace.

Deputy Mayor Colwell sprang to his feet to amplify this latter fear. Pointing out that the Mormon representative was not a Canadian citizen nor a resident of Halifax, he angrily denounced the American missionary: "We should not allow these people to come here from the United States with their Red Flags." Creating a most unlikely linkage between Mormon missionaries and Bolsheviks, the deputy mayor asserted that "we have had trouble enough in Cape Breton and these people are likely to stir up trouble."[52] Colwell's outburst, greeted with stunned silence by most in the chamber, provoked gales of laughter from Fred Bissett. This alderman, who represented Ward 2, dismissed Colwell's charges as ridiculous and marvelled at his colleague's comparison of a religious sect to a group of revolutionaries.

It was an anti-climax when Kilton Stewart rose in the chamber to speak in favour of his church's petition. He calmly indicated that the missionaries proposed to do nothing contrary to the law, and vowed they would observe strictly the direction of traffic police. Certain of the aldermen, who seemed embarrassed or intimidated by the deputy mayor's outburst, spoke not about any perceived political threat posed by Mormonism, but returned to more familiar ground and questioned Stewart closely on the practice of plural marriage. Predictably, the missionary assured them that Mormons "did not preach, practice, or teach polygamy."[53] Whether as a result of a sincere belief that the Latter-day Saints represented no threat to the community or in reaction to Colwell's angry and wild accusations, six members of Halifax Council broke with past practice and dissented from the majority, voting in support of the Mormon request to hold street meetings.

52 *Morning Chronicle*, 26 May 1923; Halifax City Council Minutes, 25 May 1923.

53 *Ibid.*

Mormons nevertheless remained barred from Halifax streets until May 1928.[54] The Saints' long campaign to preach there succeeded not because significant elements of the population had embraced Mormonism, nor because City Council placed a greater emphasis on civil rights in the latter part of the decade than it had previously. Halifax City Council appeared merely to tire of denying access to the streets to a peaceful religious group who posed no conceivable threat to public order. The continuing evidence of the Mormons' responsible behaviour throughout this period weakened any criticisms lodged against them. Cynically, one might also argue that since the Mormons proved themselves virtually incapable of attracting adherents in those years, it was clear to all that they represented no threat to the Nova Scotia religious, social or political establishment.

Two significant issues arose from the Mormons' long campaign to preach on the streets of Nova Scotia and from their efforts to win converts to their church. The first turned on the authority of municipal governments to exercise control over those who wished to use the public streets--in effect, the municipality's ability to apply a corporate censorship on communication with its citizens. The second issue grew from conditions beyond any restrictions placed upon Mormon missionaries by civic authorities. The experience of the 1920s in Nova Scotia indicated that the greatest impediment to public acceptance of Mormonism arose from negative perceptions of doctrine--perceptions so deeply entrenched in the population that not even persistent missionary effort could erase them.

Nova Scotia's municipalities had broad powers to control public behaviour within their boundaries. Typical of that authority was the act incorporating Windsor, the site of so much anti-Mormon agitation. The Municipal Council's powers were enumerated in that legislation: "They shall have the power of enforcing due observance of the Lord's Day and of preventing vice, drunkenness, profane swearing, obscene language and every other species of immorality in the public streets and roads, and all places within the bounds of such town." The act continued by empowering the

54 In a Quarterly Report on progress in the Nova Scotia district, Elder Reed Collard indicated the missionaries had held successful street meetings in Halifax that had resulted in two baptisms. A review of the minutes of the Committee on Laws and Privileges and Halifax City Council Minutes from 1923 to 1931 reveals no reference to Latter-day Saints, nor any petition from the church to preach on city streets. See *Liahona*, 26:15; and Laws and Privileges Committee Minutes and City Council Minutes, Halifax.

Council to preserve "peace and good order in such streets, and roads, and taverns, and other places."[55] Similar powers were assigned to the towns of New Glasgow and Truro, two other locations where Mormon proselytizing occurred in the 1920s. In fact, virtually all municipalities in the province possessed these powers.[56]

The province's biggest municipality had, predictably, the largest and most complex act of incorporation. In the many consolidations of that act, the so-called Halifax City Charter grew to more than 400 pages by the outbreak of the 1914 war. It contained the general powers to regulate public behaviour included in other municipal acts, but became almost laughably detailed in its complexities. Charged with the power to protect streets, squares, sidewalks, pavements, and to manage all public real estate within its boundaries, the 1891 consolidation also authorized Council to regulate and prevent "the ringing of bells, beating of drums, shouting, or other musical noises in the streets, knocking on doors, or ringing of door bells."[57]

All who wished to use the public streets or to operate a hack, a theatre, a pool hall, or any other public entertainment, were required to seek authorization from the Laws and Privileges Committee of City Council. As the Mormon experience demonstrated, this standing committee evaluated requests and made recommendations to Council. If a positive recommendation was received from the committee and Council concurred, permission was granted or a license was issued upon payment of a fee. Council's authority in these matters was broad. In the 1914 consolidation of the Halifax City Charter, for instance, by-law 4, section 69, provided sufficient latitude to Council to prohibit any person or group from using the public streets for any purpose. Entitled "Crowding," the ordinance stated, "persons shall not stand in a group or near to each other in any street in such a manner as to obstruct a free passage for foot passengers...."[58]

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55 See *Statutes of Nova Scotia*, 1878, cap. 41, sec. 31, "An Act to incorporate the town of Windsor."

56 *Ibid.*, 1875, cap. 49, sec. 46, "An Act to incorporate the town of New Glasgow" and cap. 47, sec. 31, "An Act to incorporate the town of Truro."

57 *Ibid.*, cap. 58, 1891, "An Act to consolidate & amend the Acts relating to the City of Halifax," sec. 798 (10).

58 *Charter of the City of Halifax with the Ordinances and By-laws*, F.H. Bell and R.T. MacIlreith, revisers (Halifax, 1914), p. 313. This prohibition also appeared in the 1907 consolidation of the charter, p. 284.

An examination of the minutes of the responsible committee from 1919 to 1929 forces the conclusion that such ordinances were applied selectively. At the February 1920 meeting of the Laws and Privileges Committee, the occasion of the Mormons' first attempt to obtain permission to preach on the streets, the Salvation Army's petition to hold a tag day was approved. Technically, churchmen distributing tags and pedestrians stopping to contribute to the worthy cause violated Halifax's crowd ordinance. Yet, tag days sponsored by churches were frequent in Halifax and were routinely approved by civic authorities.[59] Selective application of by-laws was also evident concerning the ringing of bells within the city; that by-law was not applied to mainline Christian churches who regularly employed bells to call the faithful to services. Good sense would dictate that such an application would not only be arbitrary and foolish, but would also result in an avalanche of protests from influential members of the public as well as ordinary citizens.

Better sense seemed to prevail in Dartmouth; there an initial rejection of the Mormon petition was reversed within six months. Objections from the local ministerial association were received in February and Council considered their views carefully. The Town Council seemed less intimidated, however, by the Dartmouth clergy collectively than Halifax Council had been by a letter from one prominent cleric. Dr. Simpson, Mayor of Dartmouth, put the whole issue in perspective when he stated that the Mormon goal was merely to preach the gospel. He and his Council saw nothing in that objective contrary to Dartmouth's ordinances.

The Mormon experience in Halifax suggests a different attitude prevailed there. Sections of the City Charter and the ordinances passed by the Council to enforce them were applied consistently to keep Mormon missionaries off the streets of Halifax. Council and its committee can not, however, be accused of being biased only against the Mormons; at its July 1920 meeting--the occasion of the Latter-day Saints second unsuccessful application to preach on the streets--Richard Chisholm, described in Council documents as "a preacher of the Gospel," was also refused permission to hold open-air religious meetings in Halifax. Rather than indicating the committee discharged its duties fairly and with an even hand, the Chisholm case

59 See Halifax City Council Minutes, 10 April 1924 (I.O.D.E. Tag Day); 15 April 1924 (Boy Scouts); 5 June 1924 (Zion A.M.E. Church); 19 September 1927 (Seaview Baptist Church).

demonstrates only that an unaligned and probably unorthodox preacher was as unwelcome to official Halifax as were the Mormons.

Cries about free speech and rights under the British flag, made by Nephi Jensen and Andrew Sproul, did nothing to force changes in aldermanic opinion. Halifax City Council could turn such pleas aside with impunity. Aldermen knew that it was within their rights to enforce municipal ordinances and that their actions were widely endorsed by the electorate; in the process, civil rights seemed of less significance than the enforcement of laws. In this, too, the Council did not depart from common practice of the day and its attitude reflected prevalent concepts of justice. No matter how much in accord it was with public attitudes, there can be little doubt that Halifax City Council and its committee acted in an arbitrary manner in denying access to the streets, both to Mormon representatives and to others who offended civic concepts of public taste. In their behaviour, aldermen exercised no leadership role; on the contrary, they indulged widely held and popular prejudices.

The most prevalent belief about the Mormons was the enduring conviction that polygamy remained part of their doctrine. In almost every town they entered, Mormon Elders were questioned about whether they continued to be allowed more than one wife. Each time Mormons appeared before Halifax City Council, they were closely questioned about polygamy. Newspapers never seemed to tire of raising the issue of their marriage practices. Critics in the province alleged that missionaries withheld this aspect of doctrine from new adherents and, unfortunately for the Mormons in Halifax, Archbishop Worrell, a powerful foe, remained unmoved by their denials of those charges.[60]

In public presentations, Mormon Elders regularly referred to the demise of polygamy in 1890. At the semi-annual Conference of their church in October of that year, the Saints had listened intently to the message of President Wilford Woodruff, the fourth prophet and leader of the Mormons. In his statement, Woodruff denied rumours that plural marriages continued to be

60 Worrell's files, in fact, indicate that the Archbishop had more than a passing concern about Mormon sexual practices. Filed under Mormons in his papers is a reprint from *The Illustrated Police News* of 28 Oct. 1905 dealing with white slavery. Attached to this is information on William Irvine, a despoiler of young girls who held himself out as a modern messiah. The racy press of the pre-war period referred to Irvine as leading "No-sect Sect" or Modernized Mormonists. Other than this inference, however, there is nothing in the material to tie Irvine to the Latter-day Saints. See Diocesan Archives, Worrell Papers, "Mormons."

solemnized by the church and rejected assertions that its leaders taught, encouraged or urged the continuance of polygamy. He concluded his remarks by announcing to the assembled Saints,

> Inasmuch as laws have been enacted by Congress forbidding plural marriages, which laws have been pronounced constitutional by the court of last resort, I hereby declare my intention to submit to those laws, and to use my influence with the members of the Church overwhich I preside to have them do likewise....And I now publicly declare that my advice to the Latter-day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land.[61]

This statement, delivered before a capacity crowd in the great tabernacle on Temple Square, was accepted as "authoritative and binding" by a show of hands.[62]

Heber J. Grant, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1918 to 1945, accepted Woodruff's statement, the so-called Manifesto, and during his presidency moved vigorously against those who flouted it. Under Grant, the Mormons attempted to alter lingering negative images of the church and promoted their dedication to American ideals of patriotism, economic self-sufficiency, political responsibility, and importantly, to family values centred within monogamous relationships. Polygamy was contrary to the law of the state and, increasingly, the church under Heber J. Grant cooperated with law enforcement officials to root out those who defied that law.[63]

This was not, however, the perception of Mormonism held by the vast majority in Nova Scotia, in Canada, or even by some foreign governments. In the decades following the 1914–1918 war, LDS missionaries were sometimes denied entry to Canada by immigration officials. The United Kingdom was more rigorous in its actions in the years immediately after the World War; until the mid-1920s it enforced a policy of excluding LDS missionaries from

61 *The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints Containing the Revelations Given to Joseph Smith, The Prophet With Some Additions by His Successors in the Presidency of the Church* (Salt Lake City, 1968), pp. 256–257.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 257.

63 Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, pp. 341–345 and Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, pp. 284–294. It should be noted that the Supreme Court of the United States rendered its verdict on polygamy in 1885, five years prior to the issuance of the so-called 'Manifesto.'

admission to the country, based on a general understanding "that polygamy though not practised is still inculcated as part of the Mormon religious system."[64] Clearly, the vast majority of Nova Scotians in the 1920s also subscribed to this belief. Based on an earlier reality whose notoriety insured that it was not supplanted by the newer orthodoxy, their views, bigoted and unkind towards the Mormons, had certain legitimacy. Despite what Andrew Sproul and Kilton Stewart repeatedly maintained to Halifax City Council, it was no secret that Wilford Woodruff's 1890 admonition had not been followed by all within the church, including a number of its most senior leaders.

Contemporary research only expands what was common knowledge to the perceptive newspaper reader at the turn of the century. Kenneth Cannon indicated in his 1978 study of post-Manifesto cohabitation among the church's General Authorities that eleven leaders had fathered seventy-six children by twenty-seven plural wives during the years 1890 to 1905. A more recent study by Carmon Hardy has produced a list of 220 Mormons who married plural wives between October 1890 and December 1910.[65] Although Heber J. Grant, president of the church when Mormon missionaries returned to Nova Scotia, does not appear on the Hardy list of leaders who contracted post-Manifesto marriages, he was on Cannon's cohabitation list. There is no doubt that Grant remained a polygamist despite the 1890 statement. Comments attributed to him a year-and-a-half after the Manifesto indicated his belief that Woodruff's pronouncement did not preclude him from living with plural wives whom he had married prior to 1890: "He would see them dammed and in hell before he would agree to cease living with his wives or advise any other to do so," confided Apostle Abraham H. Cannon to his journal on 1 April 1892.[66] Subsequent events provided independent

64 R.C. Lindsay to Reed Smoot, 18 Mar. 1920, in Reed Smoot Papers, cited in Malcolm R. Thorpe, "The British Government and the Mormon Question, 1910–1921," in *Journal of Church and State*, 21, 2 (Spring 1979), 318. British policy was altered in May 1920 and thereafter missionaries were routinely granted entry visas. As late as 1933, however, LDS missionaries remained subject to immigration problems in Canada. See Canadian Mission, Quarterly Report, Dec. 1933 in "Manuscript History: Canadian Mission. History of the Canadian Mission," ed. Andrew Jensen, Mary K. Pye, Glynn S. Bennion, Earle E. Olsen, LDSA.

65 Kenneth Cannon II, "Beyond the Manifesto: Polygamous Cohabitation Among LDS General Authorities After 1890" in *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 46 (Winter 1978), cited in Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, p. 235 and Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II.

66 Abraham J. Cannon, "Journal," cited in Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, p. 235.

verification of Cannon's diary notation: Heber J. Grant was convicted of unlawful cohabitation in Salt Lake City in 1899 and was fined $100.[67]

There were other more widely reported incidents of post-Manifesto polygamy. The Senate hearing on whether the Mormon apostle, Reed Smoot, should be admitted as Utah's representative in the American upper chamber provided sworn testimony that the practice, denied by the church, continued to exist among many of its respected leaders. This highly publicized hearing was splashed periodically across newspapers in the United States and Canada from its commencement in January 1904 to its conclusion in February 1907. While Smoot was a monogamist and not in support of any violation of American law, those eager to discredit him used the hearings to hold up leaders of his church to intense public scrutiny. Sensitive to the negative impact of this experience, the church sought to defuse criticism early in the hearings. On Wednesday, 6 April 1904, the final day of the church's Annual Conference, President Joseph F. Smith proclaimed a second Manifesto. Denying that post-1890 plural marriages were officially sanctioned, Smith stated emphatically that any officer or member of the church who solemnized or entered into a plural marriage was liable to be excommunicated.[68]

This second Manifesto was intended to send a clear message to Mormons and non-Mormons alike, but it was overshadowed in the public mind by newspaper reports of the opening days of the Senate investigation. President Smith, the first witness at the Smoot hearings, had been through five very difficult days of testimony in Washington just weeks before issuing the second Manifesto. In a hostile environment he had publicly acknowledged his continued cohabitation with his five wives and the birth of eleven post-Manifesto children.[69] His personal honour had been sharply challenged by investigators who attacked him for disregarding his pledge to uphold the law, made when he had been granted amnesty for prior violations of polygamy-

67 *Ibid.*

68 Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, p. 260.

69 According to testimony elicited from President Smith at the Smoot hearings, his five wives gave birth to thirteen post-Manifesto children. If, however, one excludes his first wife, whom he referred to as his "legal wife," then his four plural wives gave birth to eleven children after 1890. See *Daily Echo* (Halifax), 10 Mar. 1904.

related statutes.[70] Non-Mormons might be excused, therefore, for giving no greater credibility to the 1904 prohibition than they had to the 1890 Manifesto.

It was this lack of credibility that shackled the church's attempts to enlist support and gain converts. When its missionaries came to Nova Scotia only sixteen years after the second Manifesto, memories of the sordid aspects of the Smoot hearings remained graphic to many in the province. One Halifax newspaper had carried on its front page President Smith's testimony before the Senate Committee, under headlines that shrieked: "HAS FIVE WIVES AND FORTY-TWO CHILDREN: Polygamous Marriages Still Countenanced and Encouraged in the Mormon Church."[71] The shrillness of such reporting not only titillated and repelled Haligonians in 1904, but also created memories whose vividness led municipal politicians, clergy and ordinary citizens a generation later to question missionaries closely on polygamy and to doubt any answer given by them. In the 1920s Nova Scotians were saying, in effect, "If the church leadership has so misrepresented the truth in the past, can rank-and-file missionaries now be believed?" Andrew Sproul missed this point entirely when he offered to file with Halifax authorities "a written statement repudiating polygamy, and undertaking to abstain from teaching it."[72] Rather than inspiring confidence and trust, his commitment only seemed consistent with previously discredited Mormon behaviour. Pervasive scepticism about Mormons and their teachings, articulated so forcefully by Archbishop Worrell and other critics, had great power among Nova Scotians simply because evidence seemed to abound that their apprehensions were anchored in fact.

70 Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, pp. 247–248.

71 *Daily Echo*, 10 Mar. 1904.

72 PANS RG 35–102, Series 13, Vol. 29, Doc. 74.

The brig James, *213 tons, built by Peter J. Brouard at Ship Harbour for Thoume, Moullin & Co., depicted passing Cape Porcupine in the Strait (Gut) of Canso between Cape Breton Island and the mainland of Nova Scotia.* Courtesy of the artist, Franklin J. Wright.

Some Guernsey Connections with Cape Breton Island

John Sarre and Lorena Forbrigger

Foreword by John Sarre

Many years ago I read with interest an article by Mr. T.F. Priaulx about the proposal that had been made in the 1860s to establish a town named Guernsey at present-day Point Tupper in Cape Breton Island, and when my wife and I decided to take a holiday in Canada we agreed to include a visit to Point Tupper. The nearer we came to it, the more we were given advice that we were wasting our time if we wanted to find Guernsey connections, as there was nothing there except an oil terminal, gypsum, heavy industry, etc. However, our persistence was rewarded because at Point Tupper we were directed to Mrs. Lorena Forbrigger and her husband. She is descended from two people with good Guernsey names, Bailleul (later Baillieul) and Brouard; she was very interested in the Island of Guernsey; and she had written a thesis on Guernsey Township, from which most of the information in the third part of this article has been taken. This present report, then, is the result of the friendship that developed between two families and of the research carried out from both Point Tupper and Guernsey.

Introduction

Cape Breton is an island forming part of Nova Scotia. It is separated from the mainland by the Strait of Canso, on which is situated the sheltered inlet named Ship Harbour, the town originally of the same name but since renamed Port Hawkesbury, and the adjoining headland named Point Tupper. Near the southern end of the Strait of Canso and off the south-west coast of Cape Breton Island lies Janvrin Island and the much larger Isle Madame, the latter with its small township of Arichat. This was an area in which Channel Island interests were particularly strong at the end of the eighteenth, and during the nineteenth century.

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Isle Madame

It is recorded that a Guernsey firm commenced fishing at Arichat in 1764, only six years after the French fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island had been taken by the English a second time; and that Guernsey and Jersey traders prospered there until the American Revolution, when their place of business was sacked and not rebuilt until after that war. Apart from this, the first major Guernsey connection with Isle Madame resulted from the association of several Guernsey merchants with the Jersey merchant family of Janvrin, some of whose members were established at Arichat by 1784.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Francis and Philip Janvrin owned a fishing establishment at Arichat and another (or a subsidiary) at Petit de Grat, a smaller port a few miles away; their brother John, a shareholder in some of their vessels, owned Janvrin Island. A notice of sale published in *Le Mercure* newspaper of Guernsey on 15 December 1821 described the establishment at Arichat as comprising a house, barns, wharfs, beaches, harbour, land, etc. A similar establishment at Gaspé in Quebec was also for sale.

The Carteret Priaulx Papers include letters written to Carteret Priaulx & Co., first by Francis Janvrin, and then from 1813 onward by Ph. & F. Janvrin & Co. These letters reveal that the business operated at, and in connection with, Arichat and Petit de Grat and was the concern not of the Janvrins alone, but also of an association of merchants named the 'Arichat and Gaspé Society'; its operations comprised the running of the Canadian fishery establishments, activities connected with the fishing trade and including the bringing in, salting, drying and exporting of fish, the provisioning and use of vessels, and the making of decisions respecting markets for both fish and other cargoes, such as salt, brandy and wine. The Janvrins were in effect the managers of, and at one time possibly majority shareholders in, the Society. A letter written to Francis Janvrin on 7 February 1811 from the guardians of Daniel Tupper's children, refers to the stock in houses, boats, ships, etc. owned by the Society, which was described as under Janvrin's "direction."

Most of the trading vessels operated by the Society were registered at Jersey in the names of Philip and Francis Janvrin (and so were referred to as 'Jersey vessels'); one at least was registered at London and one at Guernsey, but the ownership of all the Society's vessels so far traced included Guernsey representation. The Guernsey merchants who were partners with the Janvrin

brothers in the Society at various times were Carteret Priaulx & Co., William Peter Price, Daniel Tupper, John Elisha Tupper and members of the de Lisle family. In many of the letters from the Janvrins, however, there was a request to Carteret Priaulx & Co., seeking advice or asking the latter to consult "our friends" or "the concerned," i.e., the other partners; the wording suggests that Carteret Priaulx & Co. was the major or more active Guernsey partner at those times.

The delicate relationship between the Guernsey and Jersey firms is illustrated by the following example. A letter dated 18 October 1816 from Francis Janvrin referred to the suggestion made by Carteret Priaulx & Co. that the ship *Young Phoenix* of Jersey, 182 tons, should proceed to Newfoundland to load fish. Having set out a long list of reasons why the suggestion should not be pursued, Francis Janvrin then wrote, "Altho we have given you our Opinion on this Subject, still we beg to say that we shall do as you may think proper...." For a period extending from at least 1804 to the early 1820s, Carteret Priaulx & Co. and other Guernsey merchants had a substantial interest--and possibly at one time a majority interest--in the Arichat and Gaspé Society managed by Ph. & F. Janvrin & Co. It follows that they had a considerable involvement in the cod-fishing industry of Cape Breton Island, even though their names do not appear in that connection.

There were further Guernsey connections with Isle Madame after the departure of Le Rossignol, the Society's agent at Arichat, following the losses incurred by him and the arrival of Daniel Janvrin in 1816 to sort things out. A Mr. Paint of Guernsey (see below) was recruited to fill the post of agent, believed to be the first Guernseyman to do so; he also came out in 1816, although both he and Janvrin returned to the Channel Islands in January 1817.

Following a report received shortly thereafter from Daniel Janvrin, the Janvrin brothers wrote to Carteret Priaulx & Co. asking them to sound out Paint and try to secure him (i.e., to continue as agent), "as we are more or less at his mercy"; they felt that Paint was needed at Arichat for at least five years. The situation suddenly changed, however, for less than a fortnight later, on 5 February 1817, the Janvrins again wrote, "we have had a visit from Mr. Paint, to whom we gave the reception he deserves and would not pay him a farthing's salary before we were compelled to it by law." The correspondence at this point does not make it clear why Paint was suddenly in disgrace. Nevertheless, he was succeeded as agent by Peter de Lisle of Guernsey.

In the Public Archives of Nova Scotia there is a letter dated 23 February 1864 from Ferdinand Brock Tupper, a Guernseyman of note, to the Honourable Charles Tupper (no relation), then Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia, noting among other things, that "I spent nearly six years at Arichat from 1820 to 1825." This and other information shows that on the departure of Peter de Lisle, Ferdinand Brock Tupper became the Society's agent at Arichat, Petit de Grat and presumably Gaspé.

The Arichat establishment was sold by Ph. & F. Janvrin & Co. to John Janvrin of Janvrin Island in 1829, but it is not known at present when the Society was disposed of or ceased to exist nor, therefore, when Carteret Priaulx & Co. and their Guernsey partners ceased to be involved with the Cape Breton and Gaspé fisheries; it is possible, however, that this was in 1822 when the remaining Jersey-registered vessels in which they held shares became wholly owned by members of the Janvrin family, except for two in which Ferdinand Brock Tupper continued to have an interest. The shipping register for Sydney, Cape Breton shows that two small vessels, probably used for fishing, were registered in Tupper's name in 1824, and two larger vessels of 75 and 102 tons respectively, used in international trade, were also registered in his name in 1825. The two latter were afterwards sold, one in 1827 and the other in 1830.

Ship Harbour/Port Hawkesbury

When Ph. & F. Janvrin & Co. wrote to Carteret Priaulx & Co. on 5 February 1817, following Mr. Paint's visit to them, they also observed that on the very day Mr. Paint had landed in Jersey from Arichat, he declared he would not go back again as agent--but that if his father would advance him the money, he would go out and establish himself independently in their neighbourhood (i.e., near the Janvrin establishments). Could this possibly be the reason for the obvious displeasure of the Janvrin brothers at the time of Mr. Paint's visit? A week later, the firm wrote that he (i.e., Paint) had engaged some captains as well as men, and some people said their intention was to establish at Canso, others at Gaspé; in addition, Paint had purchased the *Charles* of Guernsey and another vessel expected from the Strait of Gibraltar with a cargo of salt.

"Mr. Paint" was Nicholas Paint, son of Nicholas, born in Guernsey in 1790; in 1814 he had married Marie Le Messurier of the parish of St. Pierre-

du-Bois. It has been found that whilst living in Arichat in 1816, he petitioned the government for two town plots in Ship Harbour (Port Hawkesbury) where he planned to establish himself as a merchant. Paint obviously felt there were opportunities to be taken, and he wisely prepared for his future whilst still in the employ of the Arichat and Gaspé Society as its agent.

The *Charles* was a vessel of 182 tons registered at Guernsey in 1817. It was owned by four partners of the firm which traded from Guernsey for the following nineteen years under the name of Thoume, Moullin & Co., namely James Thoume, Daniel Moullin, Nicholas Paint and John Brehaut, all of Guernsey. A second Guernsey vessel, the schooner *Harriet*, 183 tons, was also bought in 1817, while in the same year the shallop *A.B.C.*, of 46 tons and built at Petit de Grat, was registered at Sydney in the names of Nicholas Paint junior and the other partners in Thoume, Moullin & Co. In the years which followed, a Nicholas Paint was part-owner of all the vessels operated by the firm except one. In one instance he was described as "Nicholas Paint senior" and in another the owners were all noted as being merchants of Guernsey; since at that time Nicholas Paint junior was residing in Cape Breton, it appears that the Paint partner in the firm at the time the vessels were registered at Guernsey was Nicholas senior.

Nicholas Paint junior (the subject of much of the remainder of this article) emigrated to Nova Scotia and built a house on the Strait of Canso, north of Port Hawkesbury. In 1817 he requested land and adjacent water lots in Ship Harbour on behalf of the Guernsey firm Thoume, Moullin & Co.; a map of 1818 shows the property granted to be nine lots, both land and water. It seems that a new firm was formed, Thoume, Moullin and Company Fisheries, at first with the same partners as the Guernsey firm, plus two other Moullins. In the course of time, this Cape Breton firm erected a shipbuilding operation at Ship Harbour, and fishing establishments both there and at River Bourgeois. During the years 1819 to 1827, four vessels were registered at Sydney, Nova Scotia, in the names of the new firm's partners. These were small boats, ranging from 34 to 56 tons, and it is thought they were used for fishing in connection with the two establishments. Two others were owned solely by William Bailleul Moullin, then living at Ship Harbour. Little information has come to light so far about the activities of this firm.

No record has been found to substantiate that Thoume, Moullin and Company Fisheries built any vessels at Ship Harbour, but in 1819 Nicholas Paint and a John Moullin built one vessel there for the firm. Two years later,

Paint built one for the Guernsey firm and in 1823 and 1827 two others for himself; it would seem probable that he built these at the Thoume, Moullin and Company shipyard. He had three other vessels built for him at other yards in the Strait of Canso/Ship Harbour area, and two elsewhere; one of these vessels, the *Lord Saumarez*, 153 tons, built in 1832, was registered in the name of his widow, Mary, and later acquired by his father, Nicholas senior. Paint junior died in 1832 from cholera while he was on a business trip to Philadelphia, leaving his widow and a two-year-old-son, Henry Nicholas.

The vessels of the Thoume, Moullin & Co. firm operating from Guernsey travelled between Cape Breton, the West Indies and South America, and between South America, North Sea ports and the Mediterranean. Ten of the twelve vessels owned by the firm were built at Cape Breton Island, of which six and probably seven were built at Ship Harbour by Guernseymen. The ten vessels were registered in the first instance at Sydney, Nova Scotia, but after a year or so were transferred to the Guernsey register.

On 30 July 1835 the Ship Harbour and River Bourgeois establishments were advertised for sale in the *Novascotian*, and on 22 August 1836 a notice was issued in Guernsey stating that the partnership of Thoume, Moullin & Co. had been dissolved by mutual consent. This dissolution may have resulted from the death earlier of Nicholas Moullin and in 1835 of Nicholas Paint senior, both partners from 1817. A new firm, Thoume, Moullin & Co. was formed by the sons of two former partners, whilst a junior partner, John Moullin, commenced trading under the name of John Moullin & Co.

Nicholas Paint was the first Guernseyman to build vessels for Guernsey and Jersey owners in the Ship Harbour area. He was followed by Peter John Brouard, another Guernseyman, who became the most prominent local shipbuilder, constructing four--and perhaps five--vessels at Ship Harbour for Thoume, Moullin & Co. He also built two vessels for the new Thoume, Moullin & Co.; one in conjunction with fellow Guernseyman Nicholas Le Messurier; and another in 1840, again in conjunction with Le Messurier, for a Jersey firm. Le Messurier was first granted land on the Strait of Canso in 1825, and that same year built the brig *Sir James Saumarez*, 102 tons, for Ferdinand Brock Tupper, then resident at Arichat. The following year he built the *Dart* of 55 tons and in 1831 the brig *Brothers* of 136 tons, both for members of the Janvrin family.

Peter Brouard was a notable citizen of Ship Harbour/Port Hawkesbury, serving as a Justice of the Peace (1848), Inspector of Pickled Fish (1849),

Customs and Navigation Laws Officer, Registrar of Shipping for Inverness County (1859), and a commissioner in the Town of Port Hawkesbury (1860). His daughter Elizabeth married John Baillieul, a merchant also from Guernsey, who purchased land near Ship Harbour in the 1830s. In 1836 John Baillieul owned two schooners named after himself and his wife, the *John* of 60 tons and the *Elizabeth* of 58 tons.

Another Guernseyman who emigrated to Port Hawkesbury was Peter Paint, believed to have been a distant cousin of Nicholas; in 1834 he established Peter Paint & Sons, general merchants and ship chandlers. He was succeeded by one of his sons, Peter Paint Jr., who built a new schoolhouse in 1867 and was elected the first mayor of Port Hawkesbury.

Point Tupper

At the western point of the entrance to Ship Harbour in the Strait of Canso, there is a forty-five-acre block of land which was purchased in 1821 by Ph. and F. Janvrin & Co. What happened to this land during the next three years is not known, but the Crown Lands Office at Halifax records, under date of 5 February 1824, that the forty-five acres were given and granted by King George IV, his heirs and successors, to Ferdinand Brock Tupper, the area to be called Brock Point. All ores, mines and minerals, including coal, lime and slate, were reserved to the crown. As stated above, Tupper was at that time the agent for the Arichat and Gaspé Society at Arichat.

The name 'Brock Point' was not in being for long. In his letter to the Honourable Charles Tupper, already mentioned, Ferdinand Tupper noted that he had purchased this land in 1823, "being greatly struck with the romantic scenery of this point and the Straits of Canso," and had named it after his uncle, Sir Isaac Brock. However, on his return to Arichat in the spring of 1824 he found that during his absence for the winter--and quite unsolicited by him--Sir James Kempt, the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia and a great friend of Sir Isaac, had nevertheless re-named the area 'Point Tupper' in a proclamation dated 2 April 1824.

The name, given out of compliment to Ferdinand Brock Tupper, has endured. The forty-five acres were retained by him until sold in 1863, as he had then no intention of returning to Nova Scotia. The land was conveyed to Peter Ross and Henry Nicholas Paint, son of Nicholas Paint junior. Henry was born near Port Hawkesbury and was educated partly in Guernsey and

partly in Nova Scotia. Paint and Ross had been buying land on the western side of Ship Harbour from the late 1850s and the acquisition of the Tupper property apparently gave them enough for their purposes. The land was surveyed and a plan drawn up for a township providing approximately 236 lots; a copy was registered with the Richmond County Registry of Deeds at Arichat in 1866. The township was to be named Guernsey and among the streets planned were eight named after Guernsey families: Brock, Carey, Dobrée, Guille, Le Marchant, Paint, Saumarez and Tupper; others were to be named Ferdinand, Nicholas, Sarnia and Jersey. Ross and his wife sold virtually all their land to Paint in 1870.

The plan also provided for a wharf and a marine slip to be built, leading from Ship Harbour to a property in the township area owned by the Strait of Canso Marine Railway, a company formed in 1863 with Paint as secretary-treasurer. This business concentrated on vessel repairs and although it changed ownership over the years, it continued to function until modern times, adding boat-building to its original work of ship-repairing. In recent years the site has become a storage place for heavy construction equipment, dredges, etc. The area around the Marine Railway was the only part of the original township plan to be properly developed. Carey Street was never built, and Le Marchant Street and Nicholas Street were lost when railway tracks were built around the headland. Some streets, such as Paint Street, were built on lines different from those intended, while others which were actually laid out, later became overgrown with brush or sank into swamps.

As far as anyone can determine, the few streets that were constructed never had posted signs identifying their names. Ironically then, the first known street signs appeared only in 1990, after the village had shrunk to merely a few families and most of the streets no longer existed. One of the signs then posted bore a name familiar to historians: Tupper Street.

Although few of the streets can be identified physically now, the names of others, such as Carey Street (even though it was not built) still appear in legal documents to identify properties. In the 1870s there were references in such records to Guernsey, New Guernsey, and Guernsey, Point Tupper. Property surveys have produced some strange facts; for example, the driveway to Lorena Forbrigger's home is on what was intended to be Victoria Street; and a school, since destroyed by fire in November 1963, was built on what was intended to be Cambridge Street. However, most of the land was never settled and the town of Guernsey did not materialise.

Much of the land on the peninsula of Point Tupper attracted industrial development from 1960 onward, including a pulp-and-paper mill, an electrical generating plant and a gypsum shipping terminal; also an oil refinery with docking facilities for supertankers, and a heavy water plant--both of which have since been closed. New highways to accommodate the industrial traffic had a further effect on the village, and by 1990 what had once been an active community of three to four hundred residents had been reduced to eight families. The gently rolling, forested landscape, dotted with bubbling springs and pristine brooks, that had once attracted Ferdinand Tupper because of its "romantic scenery," is no more. A vast wallboard plant completed in 1990 now occupies much of the remaining point of land.

Henry Paint last owned property at Point Tupper in 1903, but in 1874 he sold one parcel to Emelia Tupper and another to Henrietta Tupper, on condition that no spirituous or intoxicating liquors should at any time be sold or kept for sale on the premises. It may be that this conveyance of land to the two daughters of Ferdinand Brock Tupper, who had become a renowned Guernsey historian, was a gesture in honour of the man whose name is commemorated there still, who had himself sold some of the same land to Henry Paint previously, and who had disappeared while walking along the harbourside at Guernsey the year before.

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Secret Numerology and Geometry in the Churches of Nova Scotia

Atilla Arpat

Introduction

In most cases today, architectural design is based on scientific data, the needs of the landlord, functional requirements and on the personal interpretations of aesthetic qualities. The more the functional needs or technical aspects of the buildings lose their importance, the more the aesthetic aspects and the geometry dominate the design and lead to the determination of the architecture as a whole. The architecture of a church is very much the result of the philosophy of religion, the heritage of common beliefs and the theory of architectural design, although the requirements of structure, strength of materials and certain other technical and functional aspects must also be met, to a certain degree.

It is widely known that in past centuries, the planning procedure for buildings was markedly different, particularly with respect to proportions, which were advised and determined before the design started.[1] Although prescribed for rooms, columns and their details, almost nothing can be found in contemporary publications, however, concerning proportions and numerology in the architecture of churches.

In 1728 the English architect, James Gibbs, published a book containing plans of all his buildings, including those of several churches. In his introduction, Gibbs emphasized the importance of ratios in architectural design. He then presented plans for various houses, including dimensions, but remarkably--with one exception--his church plans were presented without such information.[2]

Joseph Gwilt's *The Encyclopedia of Architecture* (1867), with its many theories about proportions in the planning of churches, is witness to the fact that these theories were never made public.[3] Indeed, the same *Encyclopedia*

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1 Robert Morris, *Lectures on Architecture* (London, 1736), first and second parts.

2 James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture* (London, 1728). Although Gibbs advocated the importance of proportions, both to one another and to the whole, not even the dimensions given in his house plans show coherence in their proportions, nor can any relationships be found to the proportions of the whole.

3 Joseph Gwilt, *The Encyclopedia of Architecture: Historical, Theoretical, and Practical* (London, 1867; reprinted New York, 1982).

cites C.T. Stieglitz's book,[4] which states that in an obscure manuscript known as the 'Treatise on Architecture' the rules of construction, according to which the ancient *Werkmeisters* (construction foremen) and *Steinmetzen* (stonemasons) worked, are given. The author of this treatise, who supposedly belonged to the mid-seventeenth century, stated that the rules for the construction of churches were never described, but were "transferred in a traditional way" and kept by the builder, who referred to them, like the ancients, as the 'Measure of the Choir and Justice,' since the choir was regarded as the determinant for all other dimensions within the church building.

This secrecy throughout the ages has forced scholars to try to find sound theories which would explain the presence of certain ratios and their recurrence in religious architecture. M.S. Bulatov's recent study[5] is an excellent example of such research and proves the presence of geometrical principles in the Islamic tombs and mosques of southern Russia (Kazakstan, Azerbaijan, etc.), although the possibility of numerical symbolism has apparently escaped his attention.

My own research on the planning of Ottoman tombs and mosques--especially those created by the great sixteenth-century architect Sinan--and on various Byzantine churches, has disclosed the presence of numerical symbolism and certain ratios hidden in their dimensions. For example, an analysis of the dome of Istanbul's Hagia Sophia, the famous Byzantine basilica of the sixth century A.D., and its baptistery has proven that in both domes the numerical symbol for Jesus Christ was used in order to predetermine their dimensions.[6] Although it was first detected by E. M. Antoniadis that the Byzantines had used numerology in the design of the Hagia Sophia, he was partly misled by faulty information and was therefore unable to detect the presence of Christ's symbol.[7] In most Ottoman mosques and tombs designed by Sinan, the numerical symbols of Allah, Mohammed

4 C.L. Stieglitz, *Altdeutsche Baukunst* (Leipzig, 1820), as cited in Gwilt, *Encyclopedia*, p. 967.

5 M.S. Bulatov, *Geometriceskaia Garmonizatsila Architecture 9–15 Srednei Azii V.V.* (Moskova, 1978).

6 Atilla Arpat, "Divine Numbers in the Dimensions of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul," *Annual of Ayasofya Museum*, No. 9 (Istanbul, 1983), 36–50.

7 E.M. Antoniadis, *Ekfrasis Tis Ayias Sofias, I* (Athens, 1907).

and Ali (66, 92 and 110) are hidden. Two examples, included in this article, show them clearly. Numerology and geometry went hand-in-hand in Ottoman religious architecture for centuries, just as in the churches of the Christian world.

When I first began my research on the churches of Nova Scotia, I found that no attempt had ever been made to analyse their plans. What soon caught my attention was a certain similarity in the ratios both of the mosques and of these churches--although built in totally different styles, in different ages and on different continents. When the numerical symbol of Jesus Christ emerged, I was certain that some 'connecting spirit' must have existed between the architects of those centuries, even if separated by time and tide. Furthermore, I suddenly realized the reason behind the secrecy, the mysterious common spirit underlying this universal chain of similarities: it must have been Freemasonry. At this point, I wish to express my gratitude to the Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia, A.F. & A.M., who allowed me to conduct research in their library, in the Freemasons' Hall on Barrington Street, in Halifax. All the information I could gather confirmed my suspicions. These mysterious connections and the forces behind them had already been subjected to research by one Leander Scott, who back in 1899 observed the following, in connection with the architecture of Italy between 500 and 1200 A.D.:

> I think if we study these obscure Comacine Masters, we shall find that they form a firm, perfect, and consistent link between the old and new, filling completely that ugly gap in the history of art. So fully, that all the different Italian styles...are nothing more than the different developments in differing climates and ages, of the art of one powerful guild of sculptor-builders, who nursed the seed of Roman art on the borderland of the falling Roman Empire, and spread the growth in far-off countries. Through them, architecture and sculpture were carried into foreign lands, France, Spain, Germany and England, and there developed into new and varied styles....But, however the architecture developed in after times, it was the Comacine Masters, who carried the classic germ and planted them [*sic*] in foreign soils; it was the *brethren of the Liberi Muratori* [Free Masons] [author's italics], who, from their headquarters at Como, were sent by Gregory the Great to England with Saint Augustine, to build churches for his converts; by Gregory II to Germany with Boniface on a similar mission and were by Charlemagne taken to France to build his church at Aix-la-Chapelle, the prototype of French Gothic....The evidence of one of these churches argues a plurality of workers under one governing influence, the existence of them all argues *a huge universal brotherhood* [author's italics] of architects and sculptors with different branches in each country and the same aims, techniques, knowledge and principles, permeating through all, while each conforms in detail to local influence and national taste.[8]

8 Leander Scott, *The Cathedral Builders* (London 1899), pp. xviii-xix and 4.

The key to the amazing similarity in the ratios and numerology evident in the designs of churches and mosques of completely different ages and countries, even continents, thus lies in the existence of a Universal Brotherhood of Master Builders.

The most important source and the unifying force behind this Universal Brotherhood in Europe was the Roman Catholic Church. Diplomas and papal bulls confirmed to individual medieval guilds the privileges they had obtained under their national sovereigns. They assumed in turn the right to depend wholly and solely on the Pope, which absolved them from the observance of all local laws and statutes, royal edicts and municipal regulations and furthermore released them from all obligations imposed on other citizens of their respective countries. These diplomas and bulls additionally prohibited other artists or builders, extraneous to the guild, from establishing any kind of competition with them.

This worldwide brotherhood, known as Freemasonry, has its roots in pre-Christian times. On the cornerstones of the Masonic Hall in Halifax, for example, are two different dates, one belonging to the year of the Julian calendar and a second one, calculated according to Masonic time, starting 4000 years earlier. Thus on the first stone are the dates 1875 and 5875; and on the second stone the dates 1924 and 5924. Freemasons also claim that the Temple of Solomon, built in 1005 B.C., has a special meaning and importance: "Of all the objects which constitute the Masonic science of symbolism, the most important, the most cherished by Freemasons and by far the most significant, is the great Temple of Jerusalem...."[9]

The Masonic Order is not a secret society, but a society with secrets. Freemasonry, in laying its foundations in secrecy, follows "the Divine Order of Nature, where all that is grand and beautiful and useful is born of night and mystery."[10] Part of these secrets were--and still seem to be--the application of numerology and geometry to religious architecture. The essence of this secret geometry is the so-called forty-seventh proposition of Euclid, discovered by Pythagoras, which can be expressed by the equation $a^2 + b^2 = c^2$, meaning that in a right-angled triangle, the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the sum of the squares of the other two sides: "If rightly understood, [this] is not

9 MacKey, Clegg, Hughan and Hawkins, *An Encyclopedia of Freemasonry*, II (New York, 1924), 1027.

10 Robert Macoy, *General History and Dictionary of Freemasonry* (New York, 1870), p. 345.

only the foundation of Masonry, but of all proportions and dimensions whatsoever."[11] As already stressed, numerology is equally important:

> Pythagoras himself admitted, that he had received the doctrine of numbers from Orpheus, who taught that numbers were the most provident beginning of all things in heaven, earth, and the intermediate space....They are the primary causes upon which the whole system of the universe rests....[12]

Within this reasoning, however, not all numbers were valued equally: the odd (male) numbers 3, 5, 7 and 9 were preferred; of them, the number 7 was the most cherished--it would fill many pages, if all reasons were tallied for its prominence. The Pythagoreans called it a perfect number, because it is made up of 3 and 4, the triangle and the square, which are the two perfect figures.[13] We shall see that these two geometrical figures and the number 7 are predominant in the design procedure of the analysed churches.

Although some information is given in Masonic literature about geometry and numerology, nothing can be found concerning the numerical symbol of Christ, which seems to have been used for centuries as a *point de départ*, a starting point in architectural design. In the Catholic epistle of St. Barnabas, translated from the original Greek, is a mystical foretale of Christ as recounted by Abraham:

> Understand, therefore, children these things more fully, that Abraham, who was first that brought in circumcision, looking forward in the Spirit to Jesus, circumcised, having received the mystery of three letters. For the Scripture says, that Abraham circumcised three hundred and eighteen men of his house. But what, therefore was the mystery that was made known unto him? Mark, first, the eighteen and next the three hundred. For the numeral letters of ten and eight are I [and] H. And these denote Jesus. And because the cross was that by which we were to find grace, therefore he adds three hundred, the note of which is T [the figure of His cross]. Wherefore, by two letters he signified Jesus; and by the third, His cross. He who has put the engrafted gift of His doctrine within us, knows that I never taught to anyone a more certain truth: but I trust that ye are worthy of it.[14]

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11 [Author unknown], *Appendix to the Masons' Pocket Companion* (Edinburgh, 1761), p. 42.

12 *Encyclopedia of Freemasonry*, II, 520.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 682.

14 *The Apostolic Fathers: The Epistles of SS. Clement of Rome and Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas*, I (London, 1875), 135–136.

The sacred number for Jesus--318--is the greatest secret of the Freemasons and was probably adopted only a few centuries after Christ, because it is already present in sixth-century Byzantine architecture. The circumference of the dome of the Hagia Sophia, for example, was at that time equal to 318 Byzantine feet, and that of the baptistery to 7 x 318 Byzantine fingers.[15] And even in the holiest of all holy edifices of Islam is this number hidden: the width of the Kaaba's rectangular plan is equal to 318 Ottoman *bogum* (= 3.157 cm). The Ottoman master builders, who repaired this holy shrine in 1630 A.D. after tearing it down to its foundations, apparently managed to put also the names of Allah and Jesus Christ, as well as the number 7, into its dimensions: the sum of the exterior is equal to 3 x 7 x 66 *bogum*.[16]

Freemasonry was established in Canada more than 250 years ago. The first Masonic Lodge in the country was constituted in 1738, at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia. The founder was the soldier-administrator, Erasmus James Phillips, and members of the first Lodge included also the Master Carpenter John Esson. The first near-Masonic service held was a gathering in the new St. Paul's Church, Halifax, in 1750.[17] This early pattern may explain why and how it happened that various churches in Nova Scotia's Annapolis Valley were built by Masonic carpenters and architects, as well as in Halifax, and why in all of them the same secret principles dominate the design.

Before disclosing further the secret geometry and numerology of these churches and showing how the designs were created by using only a compass, certain additional information must be presented. All dimensions, except those of the churches in London, England, have been measured by myself or with the aid of friends and/or relatives. Because all these structures were built with minor errors, it was necessary to measure the dimensions several times and to calculate average values. As the geometry was always applied to the dimensions of the load-bearing structures, the thickness of the wall coverings (varying between 2 x 1" and 2 x 3", measured mostly through

15 Arpat, "Divine Numbers," p. 40.

16 Atilla Arpat, "Kabenin Tasariminda Sembolik Sayilar [Symbolic Numbers in the Design of the Kaaba]," *Yapi*, 103 (Istanbul, 1990), 48–49. These master builders very likely were 'operative' masons or working craftsmen, precursors of symbolical Masonry, or Freemasonry as we know it today. The Kaaba (Ka'ba), near the centre of the Great Mosque in Mecca, is the most sacred edifice on earth for those of the Muslim faith.

17 Ronald Longley and Reginald V. Harris, *A Short History of Freemasonry in Nova Scotia 1738–1966* (Halifax, 1966), pp. 7, 12, 15, 16.

tiny holes) had to be added. Almost without exception, the interior spaces of the churches were created as the first step in the structural design; the exterior dimensions have thus been determined by adding the thickness of the load-bearing structures, which in timber buildings consisted of the poles and exterior coverings. I have shown, in some cases, that the same principles of numerology and geometry exist also in these details. As these secret principles apparently were used at least until the end of the nineteenth century, it was not necessary to confine the research to the original rectangles of the interior spaces. In some cases, however, I have preferred to limit my work to these, in order to simplify the drawings and to shorten this article.

The ecclesiastical history of the analysed churches can be found in standard books and articles and will not be discussed here, as the present research is focused solely on the methodology of their design. The geometrical procedure of the planning is explained in each case in a step-by-step fashion, and their recreation should not be difficult. ***Figures 1a–1h*** show how certain ratios can be produced with a compass by starting with a square, and which relations exist in a straight-angled triangle. The Vesica Piscis ***(Figure 1d)***, although its presence in the cathedrals of Europe is claimed by some authors, was seemingly not used in Nova Scotia.

I present on the following pages the hidden geometry and numerology of thirteen churches in Nova Scotia; two churches in London, England; the Freemasons' Hall in Halifax; two examples from Turkey; and one in Southern Russia; all as listed below, with their dates of construction:

St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax, 1750;
St. George's Anglican Church, Sydney, 1791;
Old Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Middleton, 1792;
St. Edward's Anglican Church, Clementsport, 1797;
St. George's Anglican Church, Halifax, 1800;
St. John's Anglican Church, Cornwallis [Kentville], 1810;
St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church/Basilica, Halifax, 1820;
Christ Church Anglican, Dartmouth, 1826;
St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Sydney, 1826;
St. John's Anglican Church, Sackville, 1829;
Faith Baptist Church, Great Village, 1856;
Saint David's Presbyterian Church, Halifax, 1869;
Saint James' United Church, Great Village, 1883;

St. Mary-le-Strand Church, London, 1717;
Vere Street Church, London, 1721;
Freemasons' Hall, Halifax, 1875 and 1924;
three examples of sixth-century Islamic architecture (for comparison).

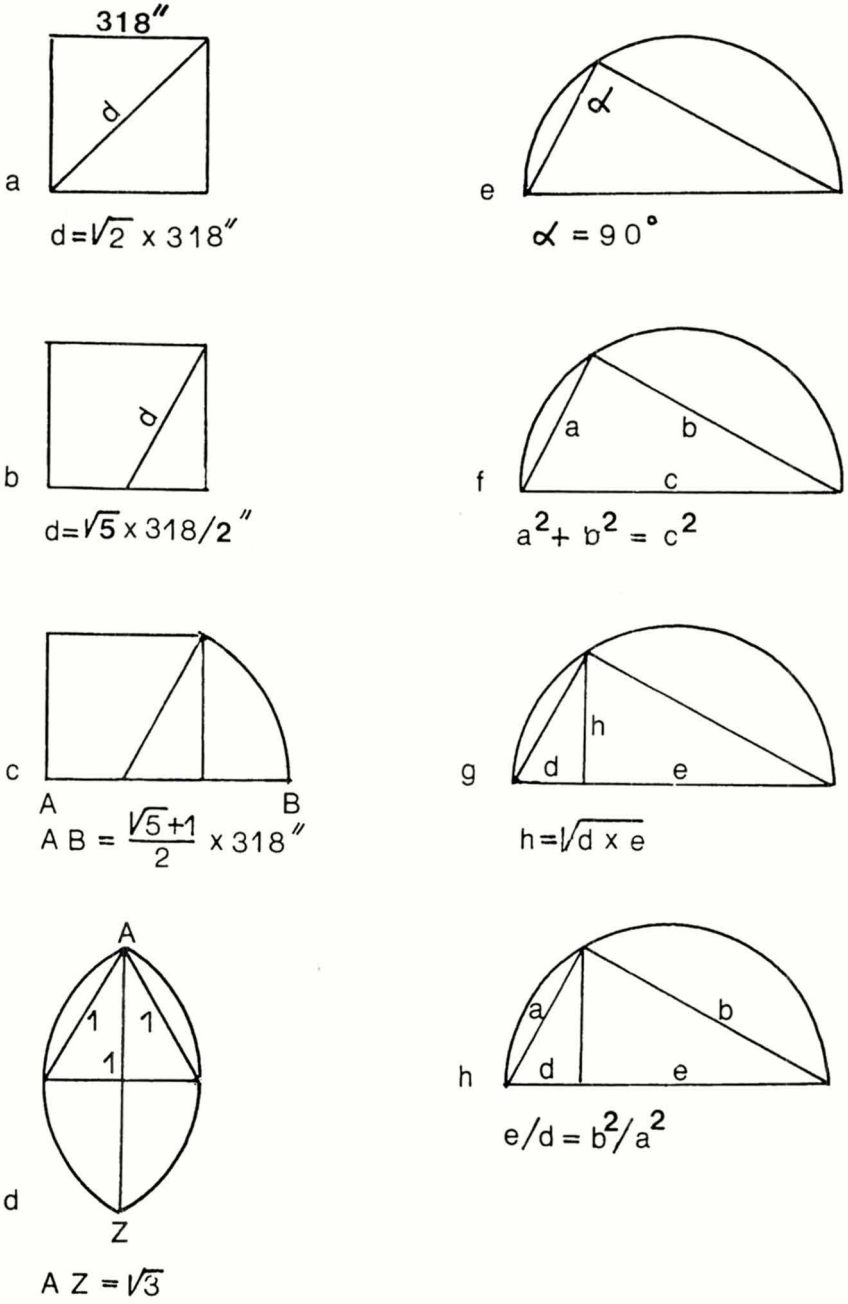


Figure 1: Basic Geometrical Relations

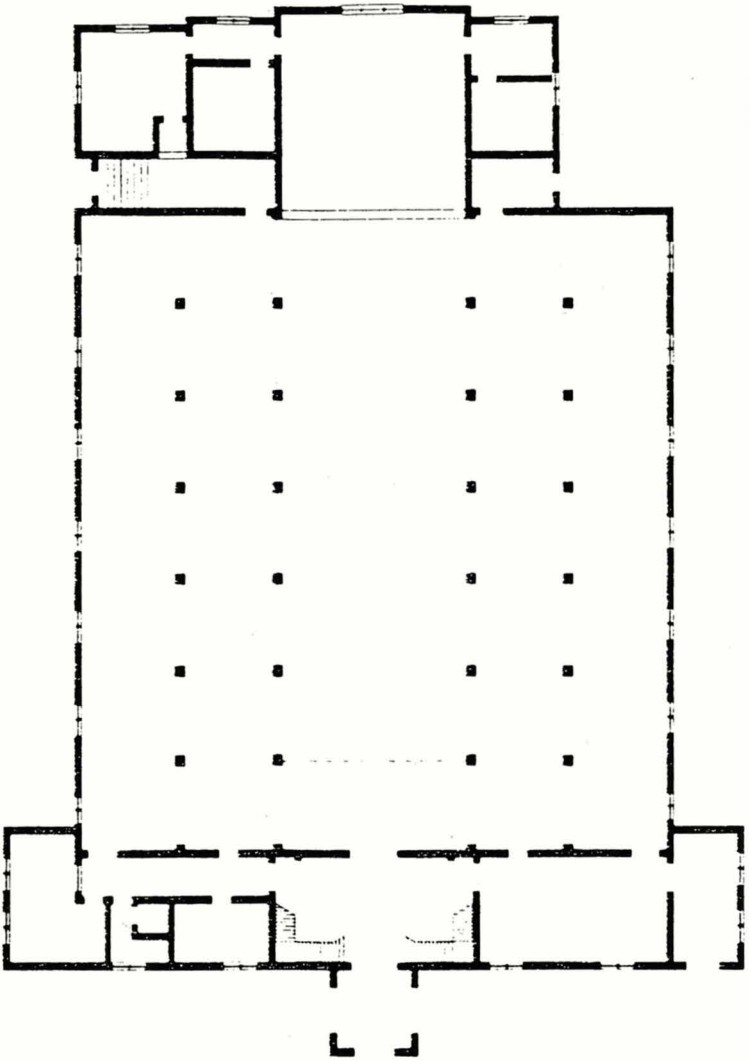


Figure 2: St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax, 1750

The original interior space consisted of a nave and two aisles. The two additional aisles were added in 1868 and the sacristy a few years later. Not only the original rectangular space, but also the present space and the length of the choir contain 318" in their dimensions, as well as the windows and the columns.

Plan: Philip McAleer, *A Pictorial History of St. Paul's Anglican Church* (Halifax, 1993).

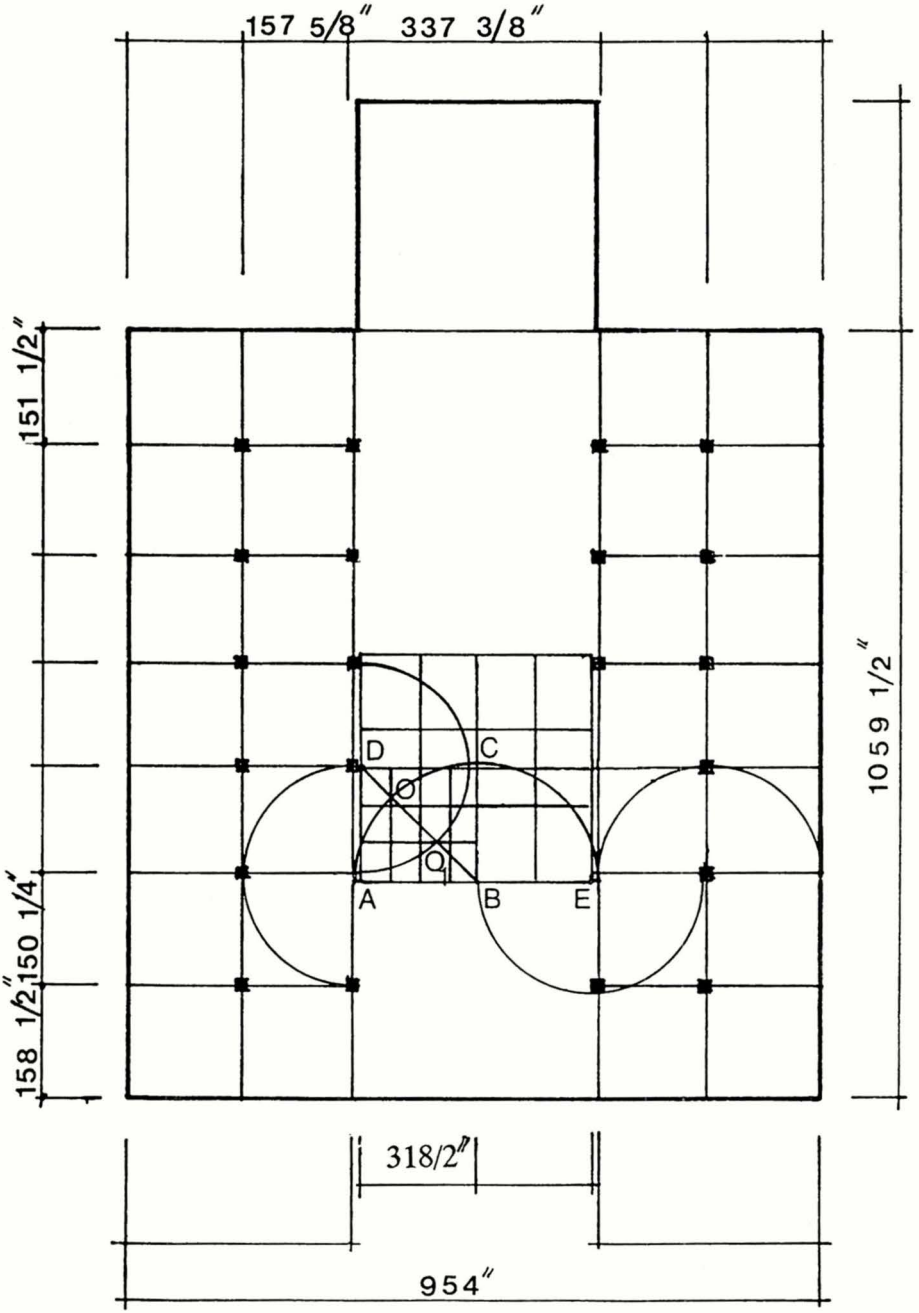


Figure 3: *Geometry of the Interior Space, St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax*

*St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax (**Figures 2** and **3**)*

Step 1: Square ABCD with 318/2 = 159" long sides.

Step 2: Division of this square into four vertical and three horizontal strips.

Step 3: Diagonal BD.

Step 4. Circle around B with r = BO = 3/4 x $\sqrt{2}$ x 159" = 168

2/3" thus creating the axial width of the nave = 337 1/3".

Step 5: Circle around E (and A) with r = BE, thus creating the interior width of the original space = 2 x 318" = 636" from post to post.

Step 6: Circle around D with r = DO_1 = 2/3 x $\sqrt{2}$ x 159 = 149 7/8", thus defining the axial distances of the bays.

Step 7: Interior length = 5 x 149 7/8" + 151 1/2" + 158 1/2" = 1059 3/8" (should be 1060" = 10/3 x 318).

Step 8: Present interior width = 3 x 318" = 954".

The length of the sacristy is equal to 318"; the width of the stained glass of the windows is 318/12 = 26.5". The cross-sections of the columns are equal to 318/$\sqrt{2}$ inch square (the geometrical procedure is shown in ***Figure 4***).

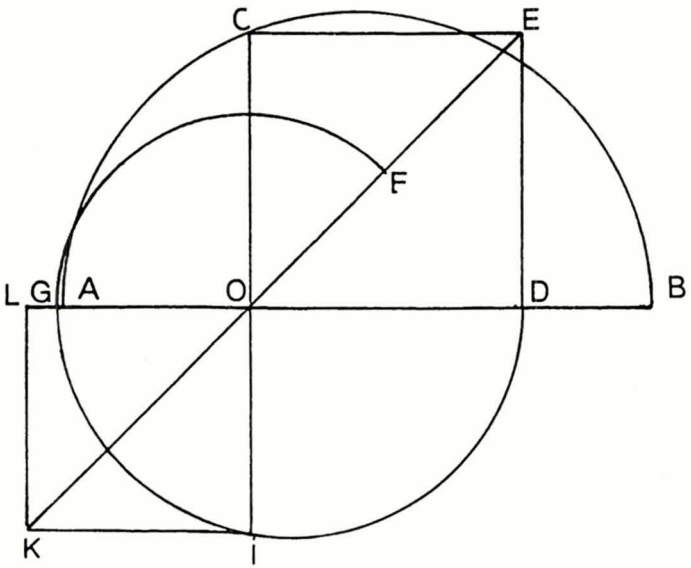


Figure 4: The Columns of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax

Step 1: Draw a line AO (12") + OB (26 1/2") = 38 1/2" long (AB).

Step 2: Draw a circle around AB.

Step 3: Draw a perpendicular OC to O. OC = $\sqrt{12} \times 26.5 = \sqrt{318}$.

Step 4: Draw square ODEC and its diagonal OE. Mark F (OF = FE).

Step 5: Draw a circle around O with r = OF until intersection G.

Step 6: Draw a circle around GD.

Step 7: Draw the extension of CO until intersection I.

Square OIKL is the cross section of the columns having an area = $318/\sqrt{2}$ inch square. The average measured length of 96 sides of the columns is equal to 15 and 5/100". It should be equal to 14 and 995/1000", according to the above calculations.

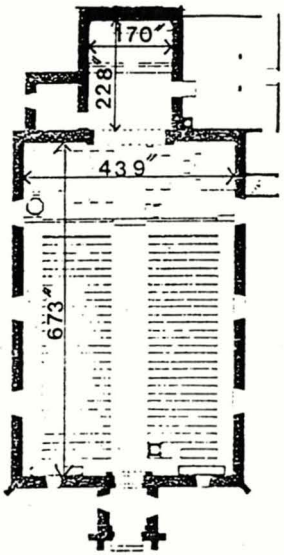


Figure 5: St. George's Anglican Church, Sydney, 1791

Plan: Arthur Wallace, *Early Buildings of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1976)

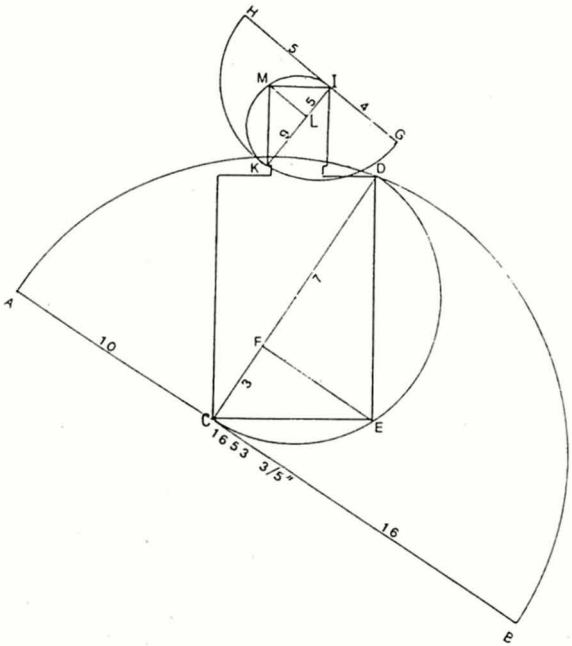


Figure 6: Geometry of the Interior Space, St. George's Anglican Church, Sydney

*St. George's Anglican Church, Sydney (**Figures 5** and **6**)*

In the case of this stone church, the usual square is not necessary, although the planning starts again with the number 318. The thickness of the wall coverings varies from 3" to 4".

Step 1: Draw a line AB = (5 + 1/5) x 318".

Step 2: Divide it into 26 equal sections and mark point C.

AC = 10, CB = 16 sections and BC/AC = 8/5.

Step 3: Draw a circle using AB as its diameter and draw the perpendicular from C, mark intersection D. CD is the diagonal of the church, equal to $4\sqrt{2}/5$ x 318 = 804 1/2".

Step 4: Divide the diagonal into 10 equal sections and mark F. DF/FC = 7/3.

Step 5: Draw FE, perpendicular to CD. Connect E with C and D. CE is the short side (= 440 2/3") and ED the long side (= 673") of the interior space.

The sacristy is planned as follows:

Step 1: Draw a line GH = 9/5 x 318" long.

Step 2: Divide it in two sections, mark point I. HI/IG = 5/4.

Step 3: Draw a perpendicular from I, mark K. IK is the diagonal of the sacristy = $2/\sqrt{5}$ x 318" = 284 3/7".

Step 4: Divide this diagonal into 14 equal sections, mark point L. KL/LI = 9/5.

Step 5: Draw a perpendicular from L until intersection M. KM is the long side (= 228") and IM the short side (= 170") of the sacristy.

The width of the frontal windows is 318/12 = 26 1/2" (as in St. Paul's of Halifax) and of the buttresses 2 x 7 = 14". The width of the walls is 318/14 = 22 3/4". As the walls are covered on the inside with wood panels, approximately 4" thick, 2 x 4 = 8" had to be added to the measured dimensions of the interior space. In the sacristy, this thickness was less.

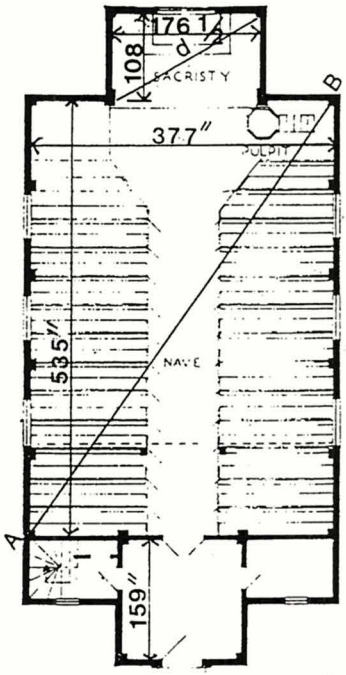


Figure 7: Old Trinity Anglican Church, Middleton, 1792

Plan: Wallace, *Early Buildings of Nova Scotia*

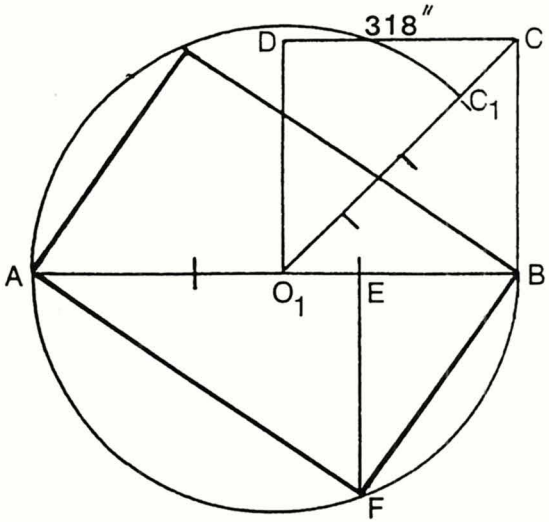


Figure 8: Geometry of the Interior Space, Old Trinity Anglican Church, Middleton

*Old Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Middleton (**Figures 7** and **8**)*

Step 1: Draw the square O_1BCD with 318" long sides.

Step 2: Draw the diagonal O_1C and divide it in four equal sections; mark point C_1. $O_1C_1 = \sqrt{2} \times 3/4 \times 318" = 337\ 1/4"$

Step 3: Draw a circle around O_1 with radius O_1C_1 until intersecting the extension of O_1B in point A.

Step 4: Draw a circle with the diameter AB = 318" + 337 1/4" = 655 1/4".

Step 5: Divide AB in three equal sections, thus creating point E.

Step 6: Draw a perpendicular from point E to the diameter AB until intersecting the circle in point F.

Step 7: Connect A and B with F. AF is the long and BF the short side of the interior space of the church, $AF = \sqrt{3} \times EF = 535"$ and $BF = \sqrt{3}/2 \times EF = 378\ 1/3"$, $AF/BF = \sqrt{2}$.

The diagonal (d) of the sacristy is = diagonal $AB/\sqrt{10}$ = 207 1/4" and the sides of the square entrance 318"/2 = 159". The proportion of the two sides of the sacristy is equal to $\sqrt{8}/3$ and their correct length should be 108 1/4" and 176 3/4".

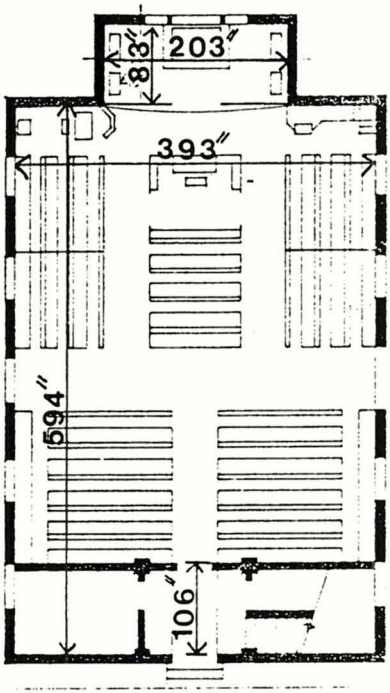


Figure 9: St. Edward's Anglican Church, Clementsport, 1797

Plan: Allan F. Duffus, G. Edward MacFarlane, Elizabeth A. Pacey and George W. Rogers, *Thy Dwellings Fair: Churches of Nova Scotia, 1750–1830* (Hantsport, N.S., 1982)

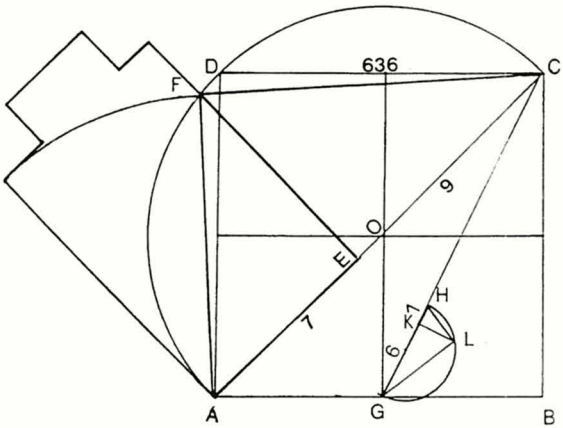


Figure 10: Geometry of the Interior Space, St. Edward's Anglican Church, Clementsport

*St. Edward's Anglican Church, Clementsport (**Figures 9** and **10**)*

Step 1: Draw a square ABCD with 2 x 318 = 636" long sides.

Step 2: Draw a diagonal AC and divide it into 16 equal sections.

Step 3: Mark point E; AE/EC = 7/9.

Step 4: Draw a circle around AC.

Step 5: Draw FE, perpendicular to AC, mark point F.

Step 6: Connect F with A and C. FA = 594 7/8", the long side and AE = 393 1/2" the short side of the interior space.

Step 7: Connect point G with point C. GC = $\sqrt{5}$ x 318.

Step 8: Divide AC in 7/2 = 3.5 equal sections, mark point H.

Step 9: Divide GH in 7 equal sections, mark point K.

Step 10: Draw a circle around GH.

Step 11: Draw a perpendicular from point K until intersection L.

Step 12: Connect L with H and G. GL is the long side of the sacristy (= 203 1/8") and HL the short side (= 83").

The distance of the main-floor dividing wall from the exterior (entrance) wall is 318/3 = 106", as shown on the plan of the church.

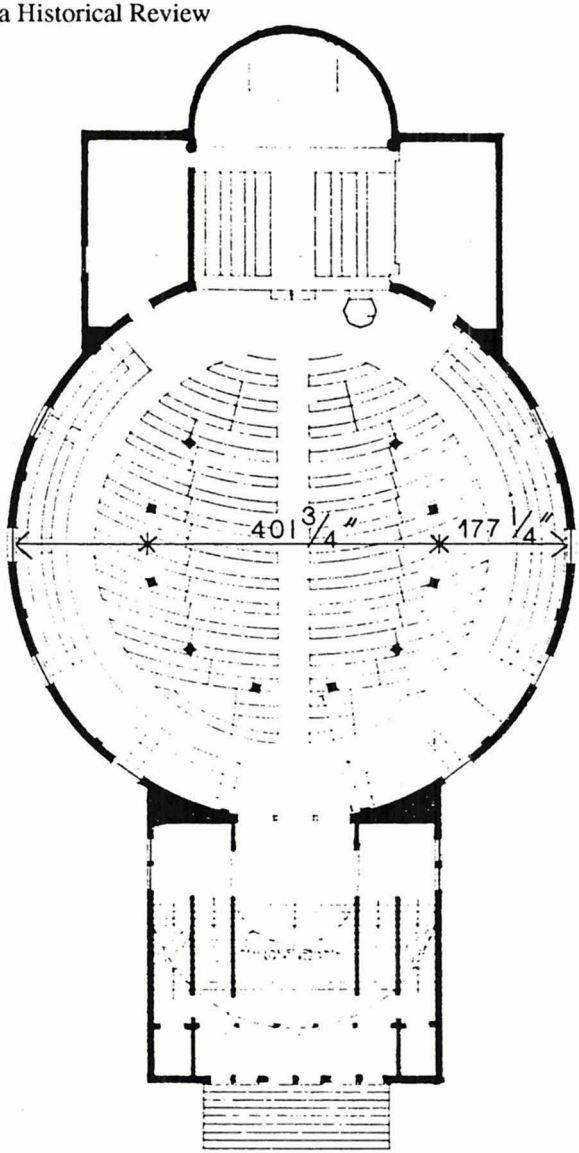
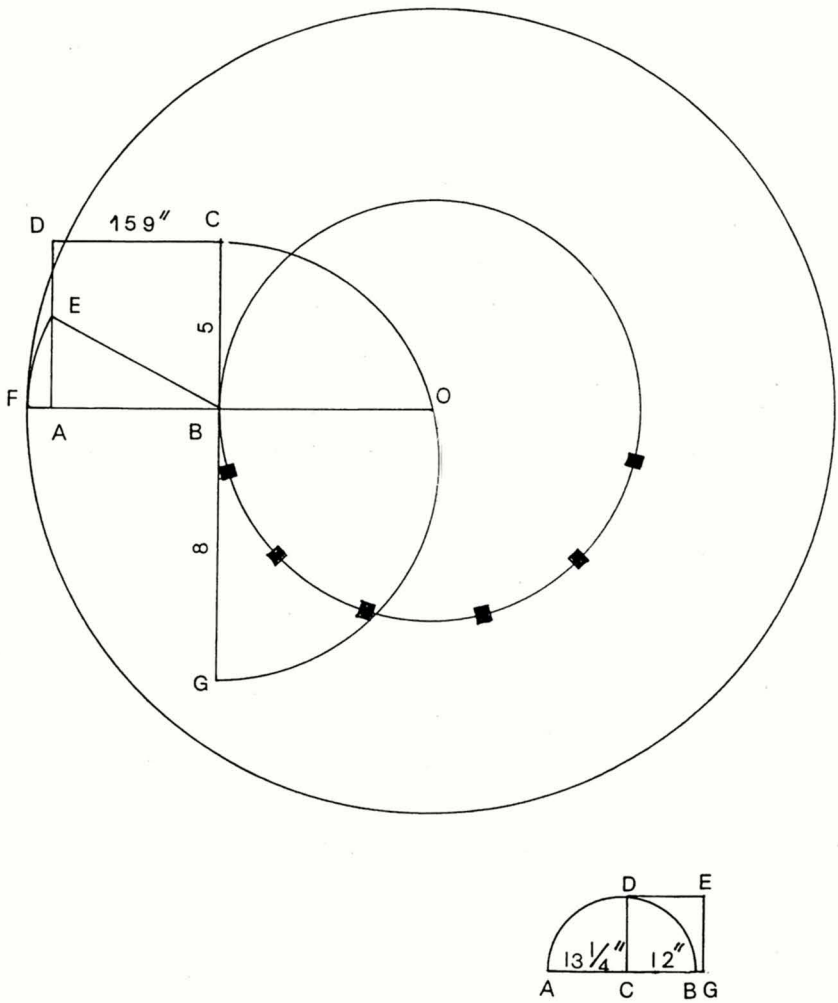


Figure 11: St. George's Anglican Church, Halifax, 1800

The original plan was simply the circular interior space; neither addition of later years has been included in this analysis. Nevertheless, the presence of certain ratios in the dimensions of the two circles, and of the number 318" hidden in them, plus the intricate design of the cross-section, all strongly suggest that an able and studied architect, in possession of Masonic secrets, planned this round church, unique in North America.

Plan: Public Archives of Nova Scotia



Figures 12 and ***12a:*** *Geometry of the Interior Space, St. George's Anglican Church, Halifax*

*St. George's Anglican Church, Halifax (**Figures 11, 12** and **12a**)*

Step 1: Square ABCD with 159" long sides.

Step 2: Divide AD in two equal sections.

Step 3: Circle around B with r = EB, until intersection F. FB = 159 x $\sqrt{5/2}$ = 177 3/4".

Step 4: Extension of CB, beyond B, until BG = 8/5 x EC.

Step 5: Circle, with diameter = CG = 413 2/5", until intersection with the extension of AB. This intersection (point O) is the centrum of the church.

Step 6: Circle around O with r = OB = $\sqrt{159 \times 159 \times 8/5}$ = 201 1/8" (going through the columns).

Step 7: Circle around O with r = FO = 201 1/8" + 177 3/4" = 378 7/8" (2 x 378 7/8" = interior diameter).

The cross-section of the columns is equal to 159 square inches, or 318/2 (***Figure 12a***):

Step 1: Draw AB = 13 1/4" + 12" = 25 1/4" (13 1/4" = 318/24).

Step 2: Perpendicular from C, until intersection D. As CD = $\sqrt{159}$, the area of CGED is equal to 159 square inches.

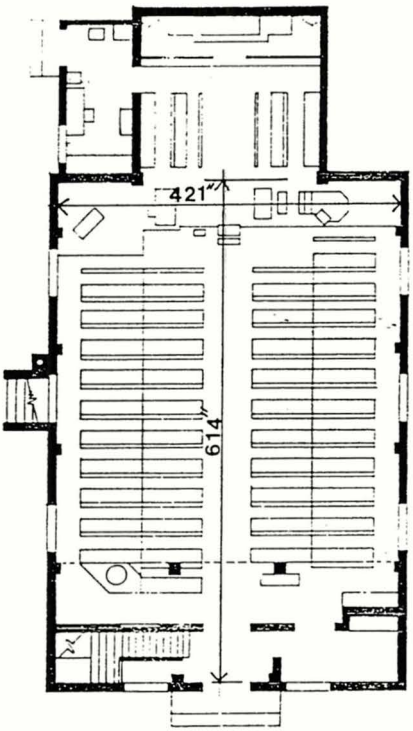


Figure 13: St. John's Anglican Church, Cornwallis, 1810

Plan: Duffus, et al., *Thy Dwellings Fair*

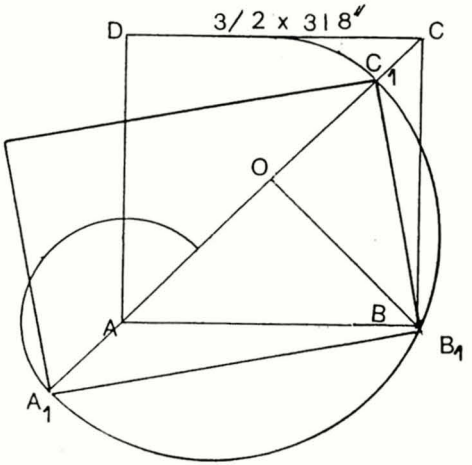


Figure 14: Geometry of the Interior Space, St. John's Anglican Church, Cornwallis

*St. John's Anglican Church, Cornwallis (**Figures 13** and **14**)*

Step 1: Draw a square with 3/2 x 318" = 477" long sides (ABCD).

Step 2: Draw a diagonal AC, mark point O in the middle.

Step 3: Circle around O with r = AB/2 = 238.5" until intersecting the diagonal, mark point C_1.

Step 4: Extend AC beyond A and mark point A_1 ($AA_1 = AO/2$).

Step 5: Draw a circle with the diameter $A_1 C_1$ = 741 7/16".

Step 6: Draw from point O a perpendicular to this diameter until intersection B_1, connect B_1 with A_1 and C_1. B_1C_1 = 421 3/8", the short side and B_1A_1 = 613 3/4", the long side of the interior space.

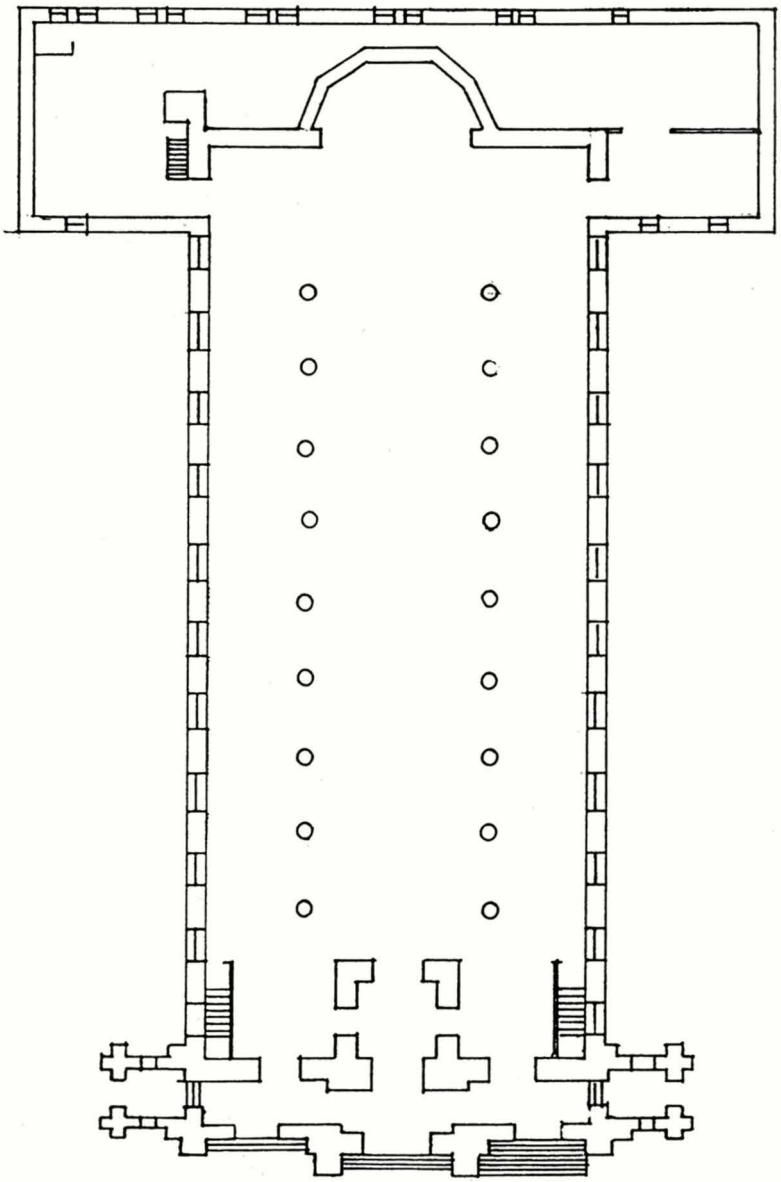


Figure 15: *St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church/Basilica, Halifax, 1820*

This stone church was originally shorter and its length was equal to that of St. Paul's. The present length of the interior space was created by adding the width to this length. The exterior was calculated by adding 318/5" to its interior width.

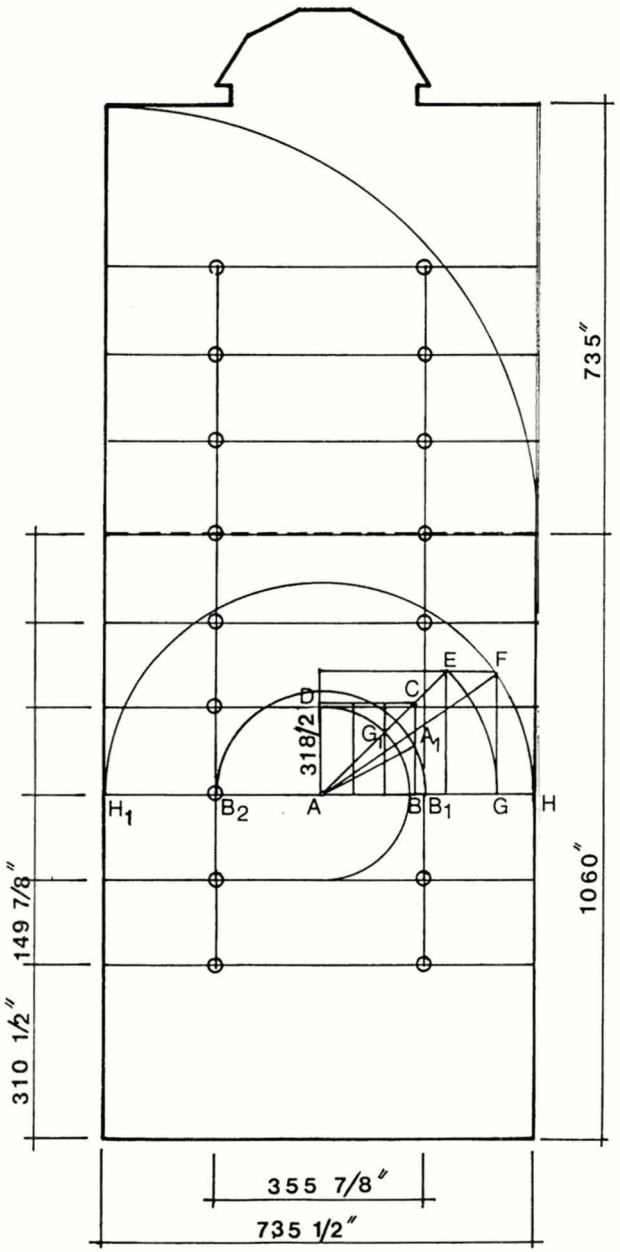


Figure 16: Geometry of the Interior Space, St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church/Basilica, Halifax

*St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church/Basilica, Halifax (**Figures 15** and **16**)*

Step 1: Square ABCD with 318/2 = 159" long sides.

Step 2: Divide in three equal vertical strips and extend for 1/3.

Step 3: Diagonal AE = 4/3 x $\sqrt{2}$ x 159" = 299 6/8".

Step 4: Creation of diagonal AF = 4/3 x $\sqrt{3}$ x 159" = 367 2/8" = AH.

Step 5: Width of the interior space = 2 x AH = 734 3/8".

Step 6: AA_1 = 1/2 x $\sqrt{5}$ x 159 = 177 3/4".

Step 7: 2 x AA_1 = 355 1/2", width of the nave B_1B_2.

Step 8: AG_1 = 2/3 x $\sqrt{2}$ x 159 = 149 7/8", axial width of the bays.

Step 9: Original interior length = 5 x 149 7/8" + 310" = 1059.5" (should = 1060").

Step 10: Present interior length = 1060" + 734 3/8" = 1794 3/8" = 1_1 + 1_2.

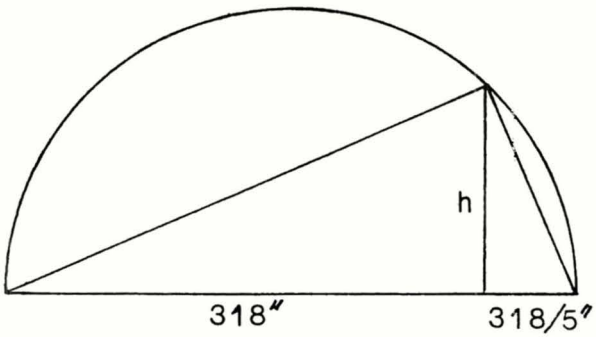


Figure 16a: Geometry of the Columns, St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church/Basilica, Halifax

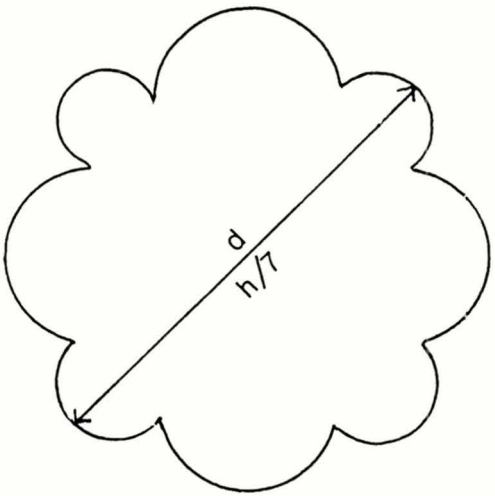


Figure 16b: Columns of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church/Basilica, Halifax

The columns of St. Mary's have, compared to the other churches, an intricate design. Step 1 is the creation of h = 318/√5 = 142.214". One-seventh of this length is the diameter d of the columns = 20.316". (Difference between measured and calculated diameter = 0.0446".) The average circumference of 18 columns is 63.966". The correct circumference should be 63.8254".

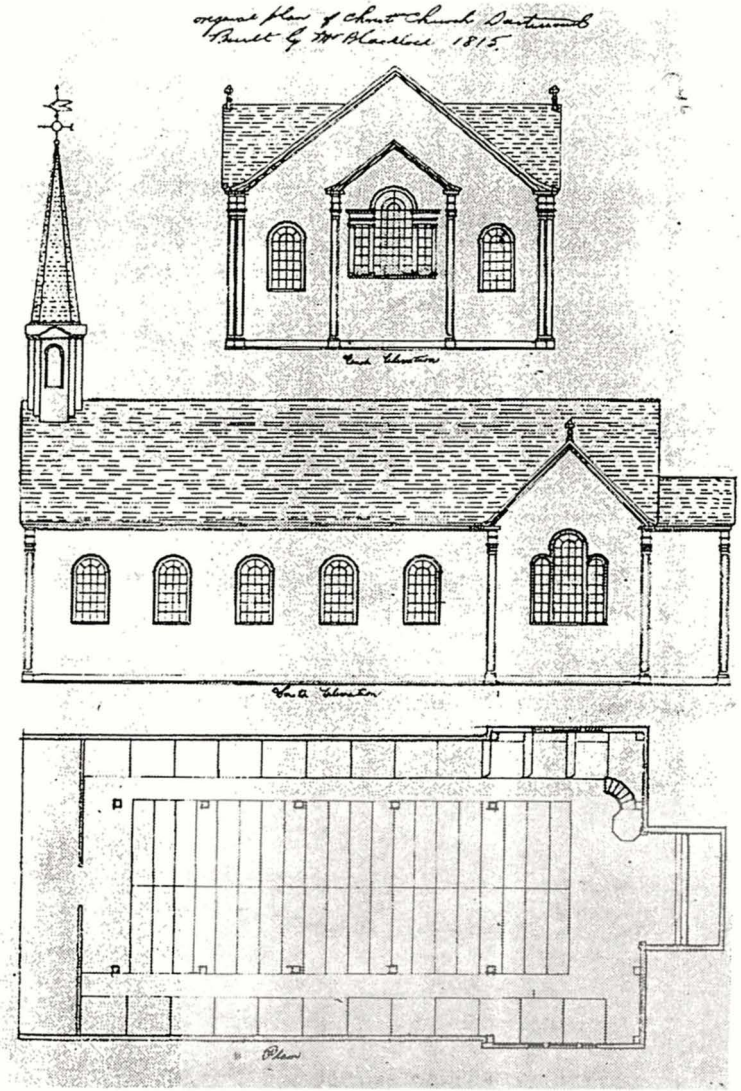


Figure 17: *Christ Church Anglican, Dartmouth, Reproduction of Original Plan 1826*

Comparison with the old plan reveals that this church has been altered many times throughout the years. The wall on the side of the entrance cuts into the windows, creating a rather strange and unusual--even impossible--design. One has the impression that a last-minute change in the design was made to pull it back, in favour of a protected porch, but that the necessary change in the design of the frontal elevation was neglected.

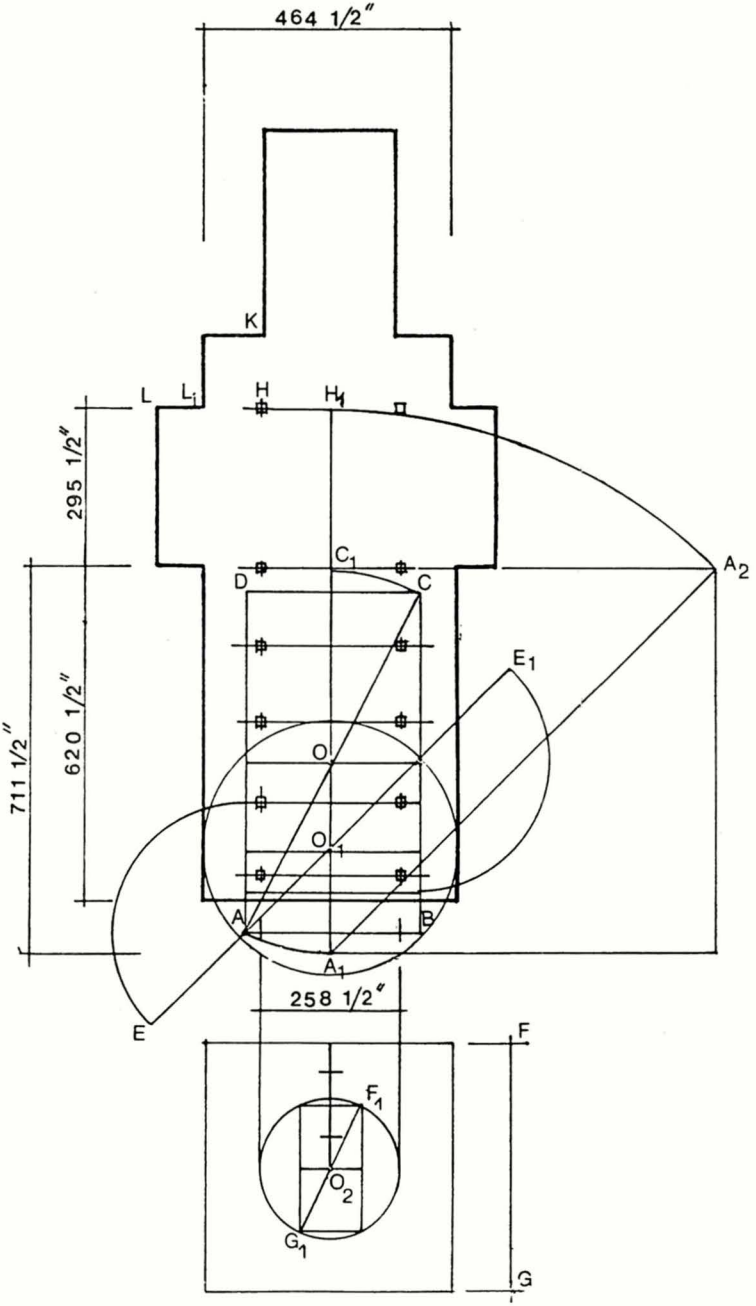


Figure 18: Geometry of the Interior Space, Christ Church Anglican, Dartmouth

*Christ Church Anglican, Dartmouth (**Figures 17** and **18**)*

Step 1: Double square ABCD, with 318" long sides.

Step 2: Circle around O with diagonal OC. AC = A_1C_1 = $\sqrt{5}$ x 318 = 711 1/16" = length of 5 bays of the original plan.

Step 3: Division of AC in 5 equal parts, thus defining widths of bays = 318/$\sqrt{5}$ = 142 1/4".

Step 4: Diagonal EE_1 = $\sqrt{2}$ x 318 + 3/2 x 318 = 926 3/4".

Step 5: Circle around O_1 with r = EE_1/2 = 463 3/8" = interior width.

Step 6: Square with FG = interior width.

Step 7: Double square with FG/4 (small double square in the centrum)

Step 8: Diagonal G_1F_1 = $\sqrt{5}$ x FG/4 = 259", width of the nave.

The extensions of the original space:

Step 1: Square with 711 1/16" long side and its diagonal A_1A_2.

Step 2: Circle around A_1 with r = A_1A_2, intersection with central axis, defining HH_1. H_1C_1 = 294 1/2".

Step 3: HK = width of the additional bay, equal to existing bays.

Step 4: LL_1 = 318/4 = 79 1/2".

The distance of the first bay to the short side of the interior space is = 37 1/2". The reason remains to be detected.

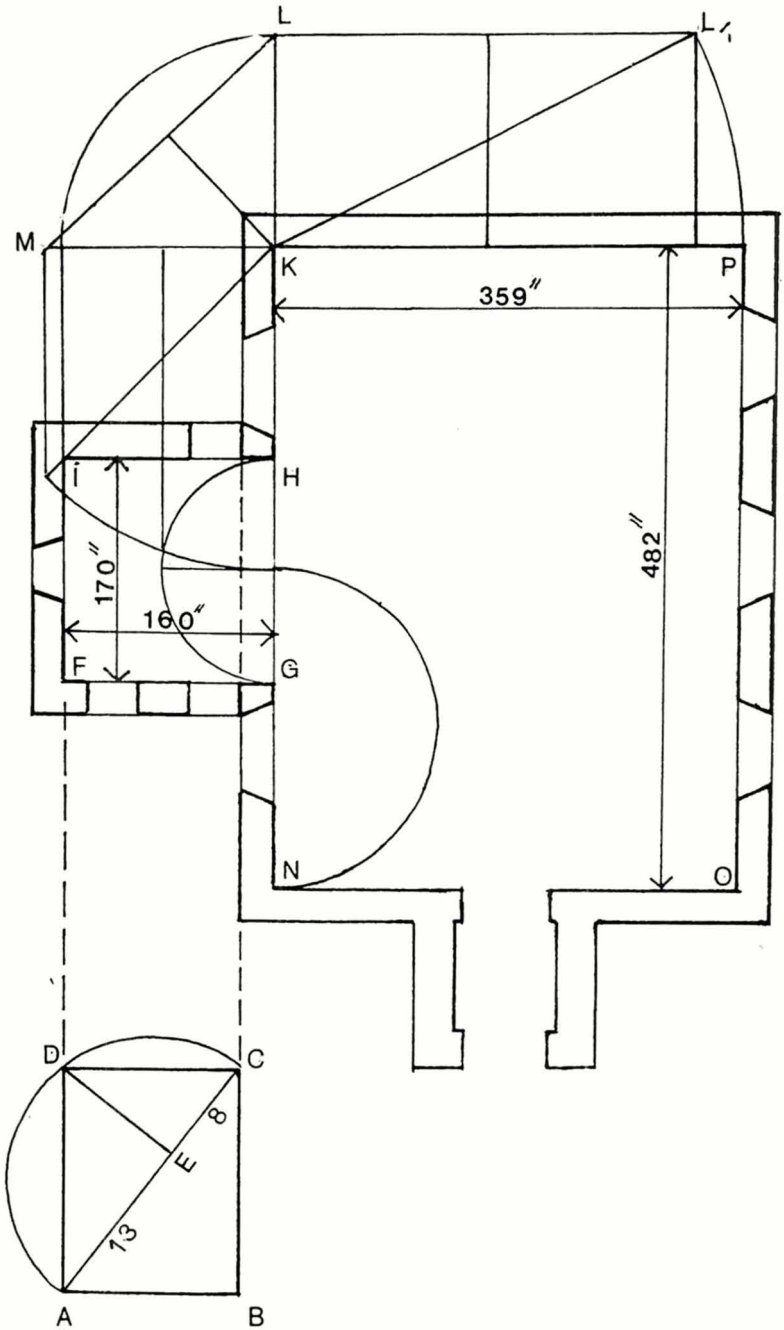


Figure 19: St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Sydney, 1826

*St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Sydney (**Figure 19**)*

This (former) church in stone has a tiny 'outgrow,' which very probably was built long before the present main church, as a chapel. As the main building cuts into the windows of this chapel and as it had a separate door (now a window), this assumption seems to be correct. The wall between them was torn down in order to unite the two. Therefore, it is necessary to show first the interior geometry of this small annex. The walls of the interior are not plastered.

Step 1: Draw a diagonal AC = $7\sqrt{3}$ x 318".

Step 2: Draw a circle around AC and divide AC in 21 equal sections; mark E (AE/EC = 13/8).

Step 3: Draw a perpendicular DE until intersection D. DC is the short side (= 133 1/2") and DA the long side (= 170") of the original interior space of the chapel.

The design of the later building started with the chapel. The long side (AD = 170") and the new diagonal (after the dividing wall was torn down) determined the triangle KLM (KM = 170" and LM = 234"). Therefore, LK was automatically determined (= 160 2/3"). The basic or 'generating' geometry of the interior rectangle KNOP is this triangle.

Step 4: $\sqrt{5}$ x KL = $\sqrt{5}$ x 160 2/3" = 359 1/4", the width of the interior.

Step 5: $2\sqrt{2}$ x KM = $2\sqrt{2}$ x 170" = 481", the length of the interior space.

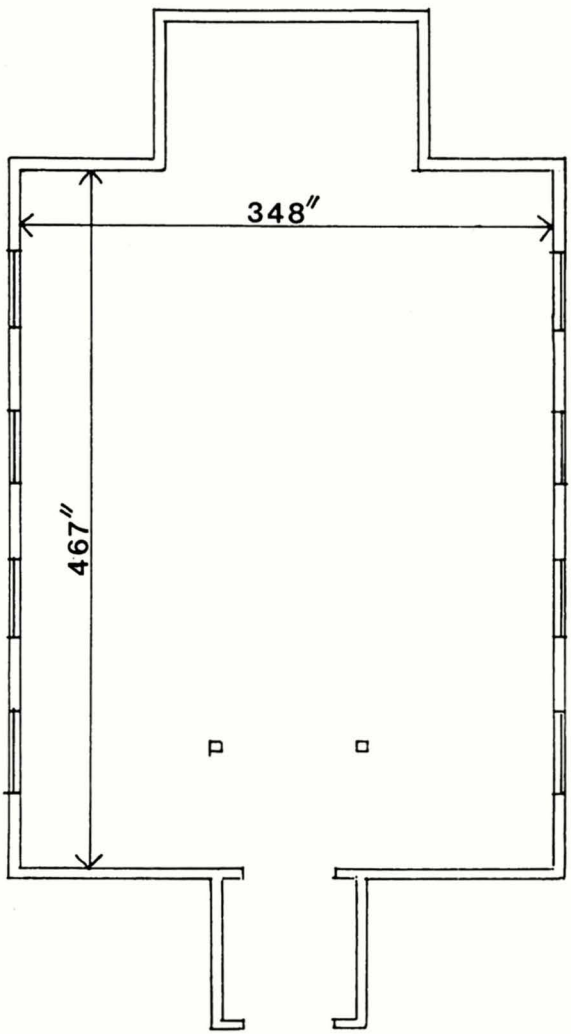


Figure 20: St. John's Anglican Church, Sackville, 1829

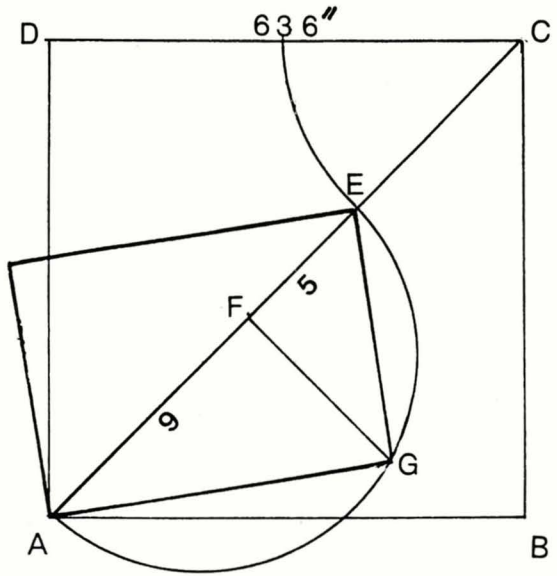


Figure 21: *Geometry of the Interior Space, St. John's Anglican Church, Sackville*

*St. John's Anglican Church, Sackville (**Figures 20** and **21**)*

Step 1: Draw a square with 2 x 318" = 636" long sides.

Step 2: Draw a diagonal AC.

Step 3: Subtract 318" from the length of the diagonal.
AE = $\sqrt{2}$ x 636 – 318 = 581 7/16", the diagonal of the interior space.

Step 4: Divide this diagonal in 14 equal sections, creating point F. AF/FE = 9/5.

Step 5: Draw a perpendicular from point F until intersection G.

Step 6: Connect G with E and A. GE = 347 1/2", the short side, and GA = 466 3/16", the long side of the interior space.

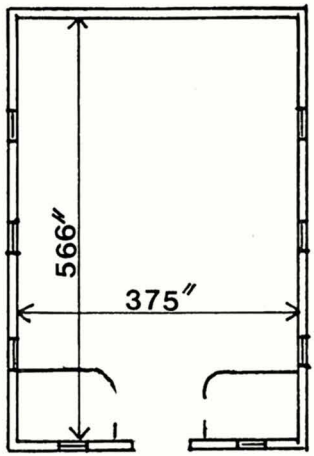


Figure 22: Faith Baptist Church, Great Village, 1856

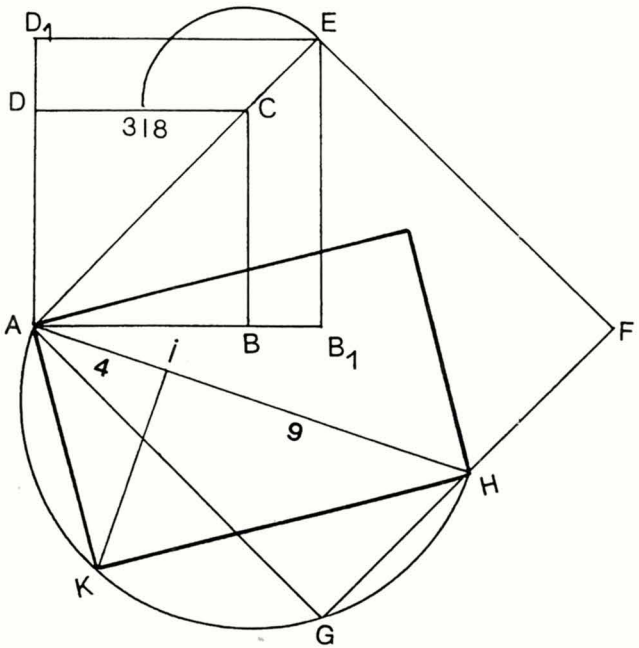


Figure 23: Geometry of Interior Space, Faith Baptist Church, Great Village

*Faith Baptist Church, Great Village (**Figures 22** and **23**)*

Step 1: Draw a square ABCD with 318" long sides.

Step 2: Extend diagonal by 318/2 and mark point E. AE = 608 3/4".

Step 3: Draw new square AGFE.

Step 4: Mark point H by dividing FG in two equal sections.

Step 5: Draw a circle around AH = ($\sqrt{2}$ + 1/2) x 318 x $\sqrt{5}$/2 = 680 5/8".

Step 6: Divide AH in 4 + 9 = 13 equal sections; mark point I.

Step 7: Draw a perpendicular from I until intersection K. AK = 377 1/2", the short side and KH = 566 1/4", the long side of the interior space.

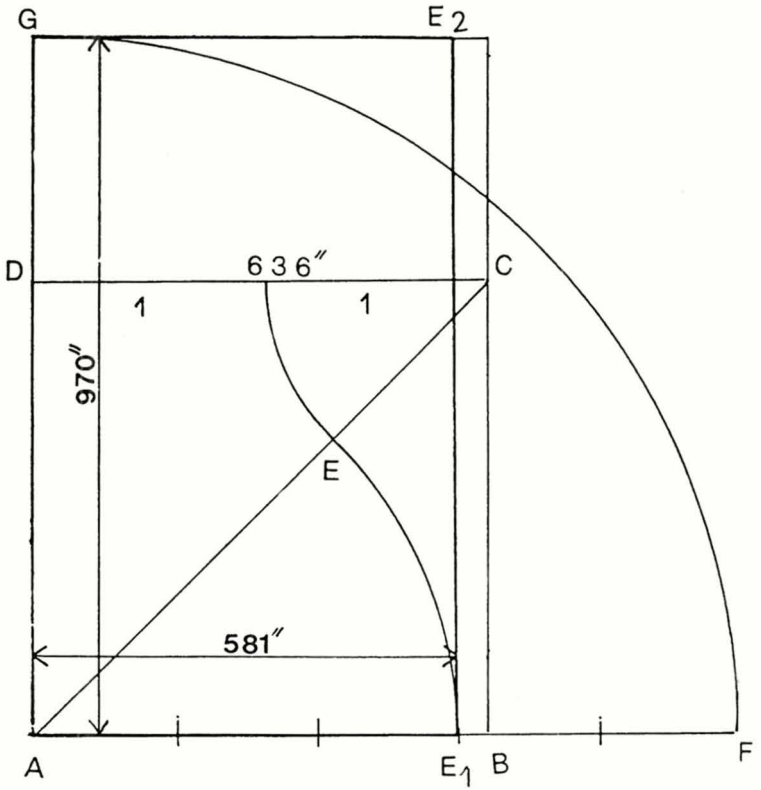


Figure 24: *Saint David's Presbyterian Church, Halifax, 1869*

As the design of this church is too complicated to measure all dimensions, only the plan of the interior rectangle is presented here.

*St. David's Presbyterian Church, Halifax (**Figure 24**)*

Step 1: Draw a square ABCD with 2 x 318" = 636" long sides.

Step 2: Draw diagonal AC.

Step 3: Subtract 318"; mark point E_1. $AE_1 = \sqrt{2} \times 636 - 318 = 581\ 7/16"$ = interior width.

Step 4: Draw a perpendicular from A to AE_1.

Step 5: Draw a circle around A with $r = 5/3 \times AE_1 = AF$ until intersection G. AG is the long side of the interior space and $AG/AE_1 = 5/3$. AG = 969".

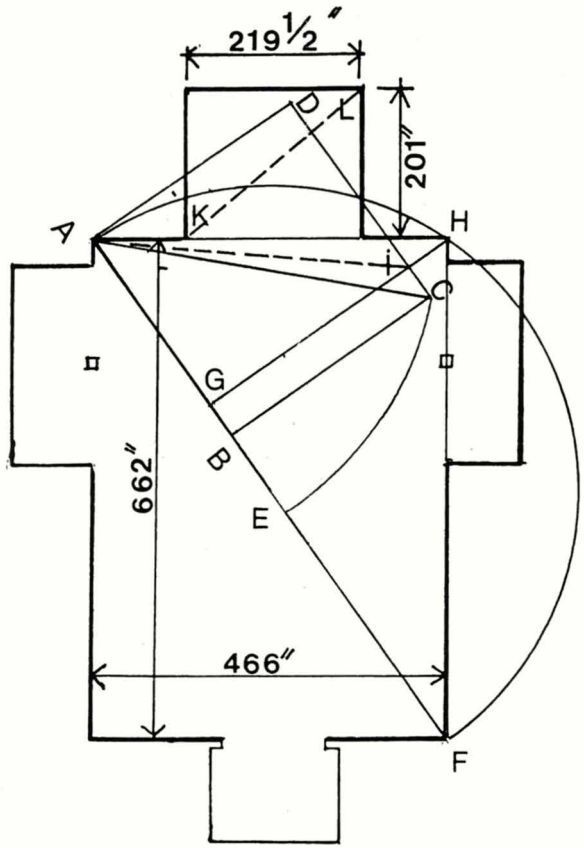


Figure 25: St. James United Church, Great Village, 1883

*St. James United Church, Great Village (**Figure 25**)*

Step 1: Draw a square with 318" long sides (ABCD).

Step 2: Draw diagonal AC.

Step 3: Draw a circle around point A with r = AC until intersection E. AE = 449 3/4".

Step 4: Divide AE in 5 equal sections and draw 9/5th of AE; mark F. AF = 809 1/2".

Step 5: Draw a circle around AF.

Step 6: Divide AF in three equal sections. AG/GF = 1/2.

Step 7: Draw from G a perpendicular until intersection H.

Step 8: Connect A with H and H with F. AH is the short side of the interior space (= 467 3/8") and HF its long side (= 661"). L/B = $\sqrt{2}$.

The diagonal of the choir is 5/7th of AI, shown in dotted lines. As AI = 417" long, KL is equal to 297 8/9". The sides of the choir are determined by dividing this diagonal in 11 equal sections (5+6), and designing a perpendicular which would cut into the circle around this diagonal. The short side of the choir is equal to 200 4/5" and the long side to 220".

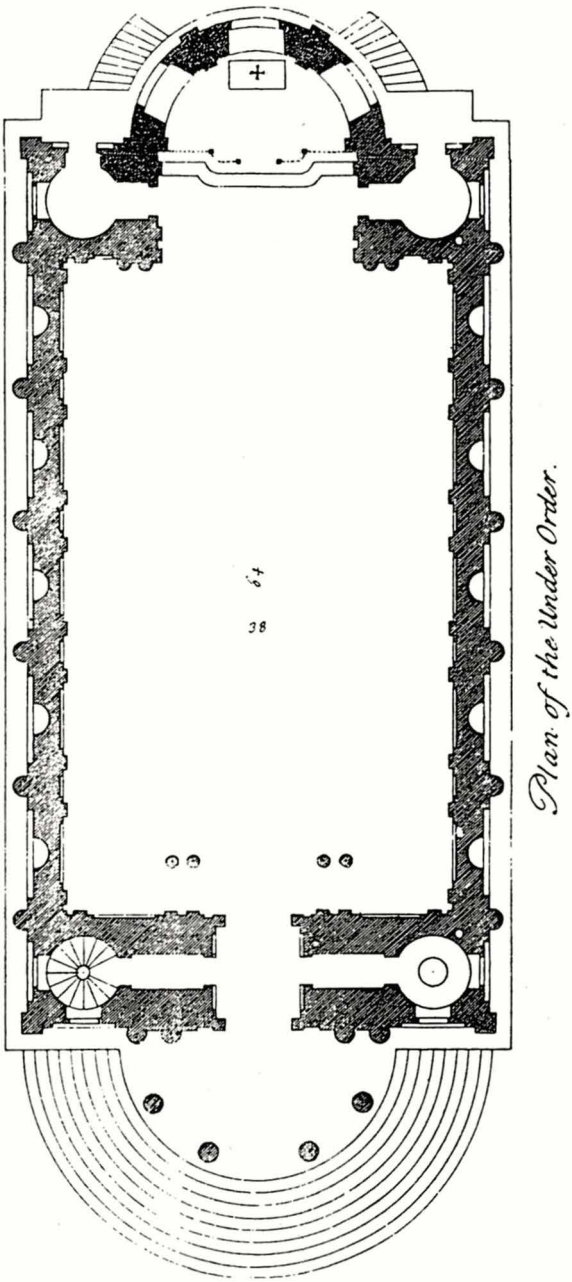


Figure 26: *St. Mary-le-Strand Church, London, 1717*

Plan: Gibbs, *Book of Architecture*, Plate 16

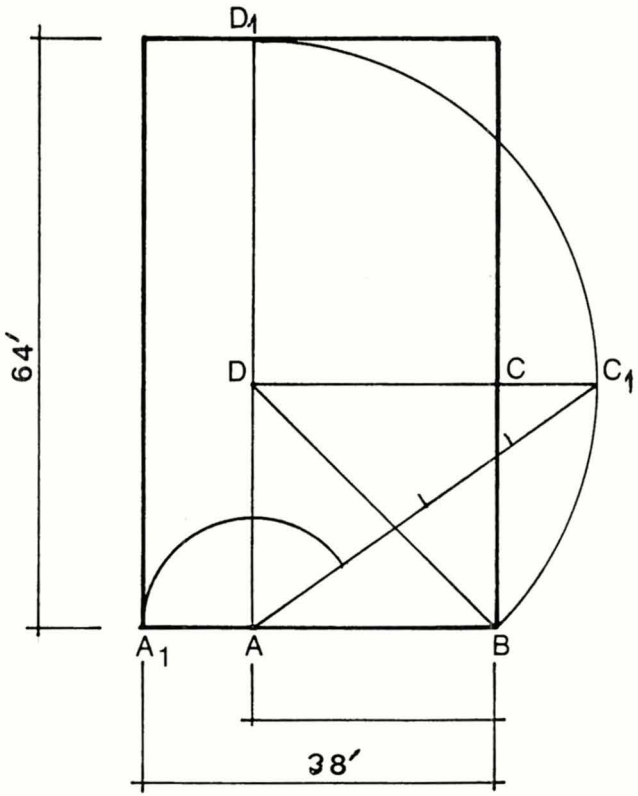


Figure 27: *Geometry of the Interior Space, St. Mary-le-Strand Church, London*

*St. Mary-le-Strand Church, London (**Figures 26** and **27**)*

Step 1: Square ABCD with 318" long sides.

Step 2: Create $AC_1 = \sqrt{3} \times 318" = 550\ 6/8"$.

Step 3: Circle around A with $AC_1/4$ until intersection A_1. BA_1 = short side of the interior space.

Step 4: Circle around D with diagonal DB until intersection D1
AD_1 = long side of the interior space
$BA_1 = 455\ 3/4" \approx 38'$
$AD_1 = 767\ 3/4" \approx 64'$

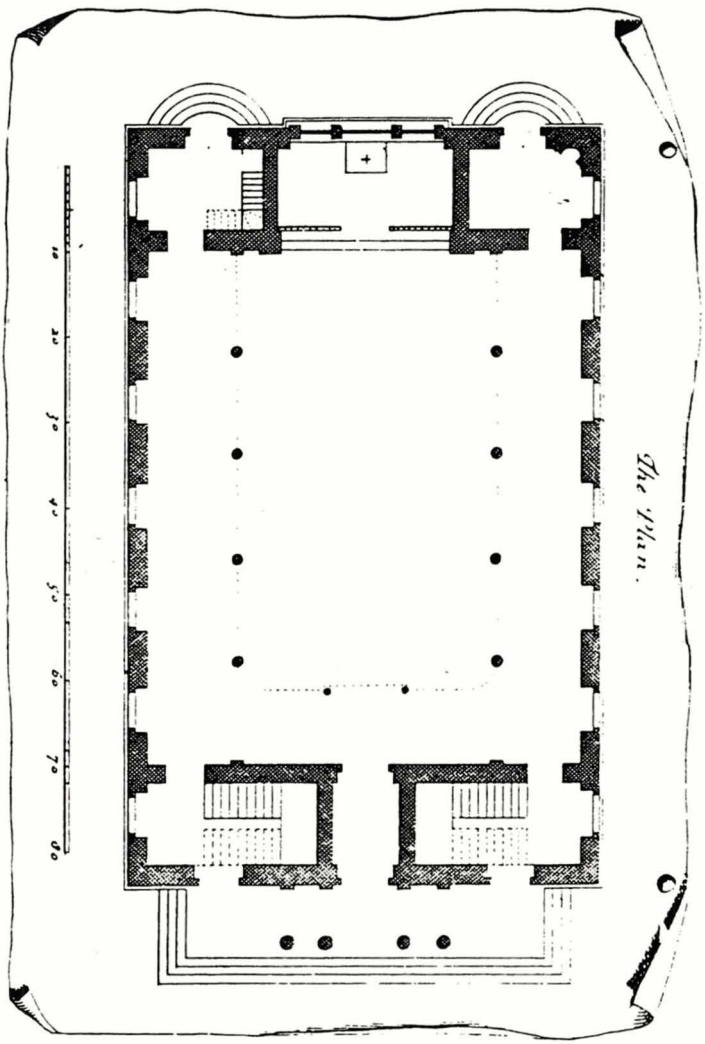


Figure 28: Vere Street Church, London, 1721

Plan: Gibbs, *Book of Architecture*, Plate 24
Measured by Ayse and Nigel Walding, Architects, London

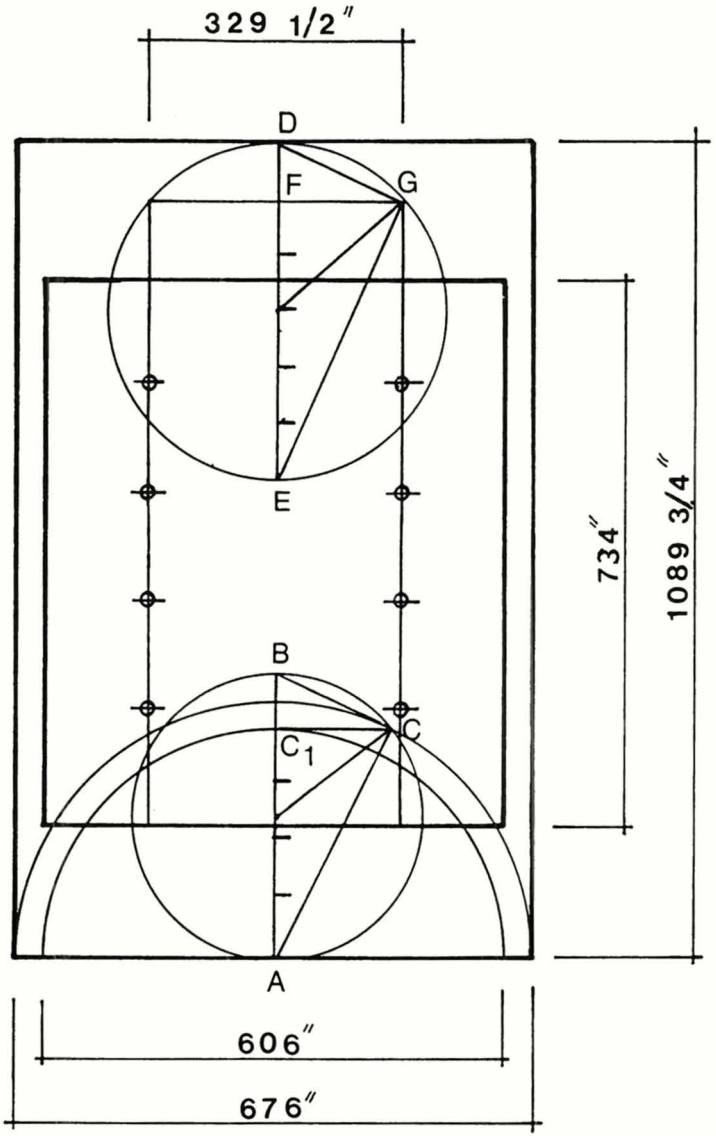


Figure 29: Geometry of the Interior Space, Vere Street Church, London

*Vere Street Church, London (**Figures 28** and **29**)*

How the lengths 2 x √4/3 x 318" = 734 3/8" and √5/2 x 318" = 355 4/8" were created, has already been demonstrated on the plan of St. Mary's, Halifax. The following steps are:

Step 1: Circle with r = 734 3/8" – 355 4/8" = 378 7/8" (diameter = AB).

Step 2: Divide the diameter AB in five equal sections (= 75 3/4") creating point C_1. AC_1 = 378 7/8" – 75 3/4" = 303 1/8", half of the width of the interior space.

Step 3: AC is half of the exterior width = 338 7/8". The full exterior width is 677 3/4".

Step 4: Circle around A with r = 338 7/8".

Step 5: Draw the perpendiculars, which define the exterior and interior borders.

Step 6: The total length of the church is equal to 734 3/8" + 355 4/8" = 1089 7/8". The length of the interior space is 734 3/8". It is in equal distances from the short sides of the church.

Step 7: Draw a circle with diameter DE = 734 3/8" x 6/5 = 881 1/4".

Step 8: Draw FG from point F until intersecting the circle in G. FG = 164 2/8" and 2 x 164 2/8" = 328 4/8" = to the axial width of the nave.

*Freemasons' Hall, Halifax (**Figures 30a–30f**)*

The first Hall, built in 1800, was torn down and the second structure was erected in 1875 on the corner of Salter Street and Granville Street. Its cornerstone can be seen on the north-east corner of the present building. The third (present) building consists of this (changed) second Hall and its extension west to Barrington Street. The cornerstone of the present building, built in 1924, is at the same corner, set above the previous stone (7 x 7 years between the second and third edifices).

I have analysed both cornerstones, the exterior dimensions of the present building, and a sign which can be seen on the front of the balcony of the Scottish Rite apartment, on the third floor of the structure. This sign is of steel and consists of a triangle within a square, both important symbols of Freemasonry (***Figure 30d***). As will be seen, all dimensions are related to each other and contain the number seven, while the cornerstone of 1876 includes as well the sacred number of Jesus Christ.

To achieve greater accuracy, the calculations have been made with a pocket calculator, but the results are presented in the decimal system, and some dimensions in the metric system.

Figure 30a:
The exterior sides of the present building: width/W = 780.25", length/L = 1488.5".

The diagonal of the building: $D = \sqrt{L^2+W^2} = 1680.60175"$.

$D = 7 \times 7 \times 7 \times 7 \times 7/10 = 1680.7"$

Difference: 0.1"

Figure 30b:
The cornerstone of the second building: the eastern surface is an average 64.2 cm high and 101 cm long.

$D^2 = L^2+H^2 = 2226.014"$ square

$D^2 = 7 \times 318"$ square $= 2226"$ square

$D = \sqrt{7} \times 318"$

$L^2 = 1590 = 5 \times 318"$ square

$H^2 = 636 = 2 \times 318"$ square

Difference: 0.1" and 0.06"

Figure 30c:
The cornerstone of the present building: L_1 = 91.5 cm, H = 55 cm.
$D_1 = \sqrt{L^2+H^2}$ = 42.03067"
D_1 = 6 x 7 = 42", L = 36"
Difference = 0.03"
The height must be = 21.6333" = 54.95 cm
Difference: 0.02"

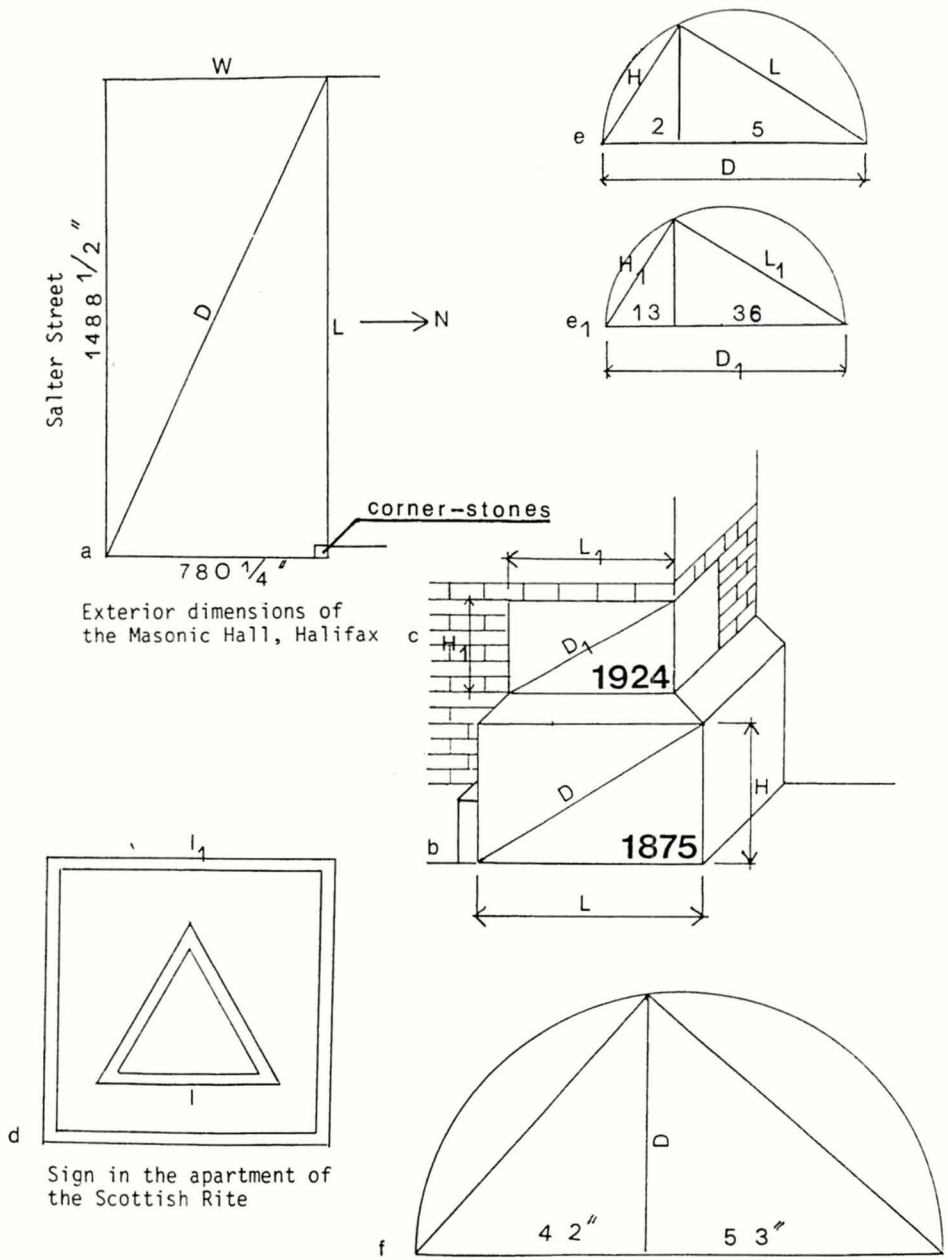
Figure 30d:
The sides of the triangle (l) are 35.5 cm long; l = 13.9764"
l = 2 x 7 = 14"; three sides = 42"
Difference: 0.024"

The sides of the square (l_1),= 51.2 cm = 20.1575"; 4 x L_1 = 80.63"

The four sides of the cornerstone are 2 x (36 + 21.6333") = 115.2666" long.
80.63/115.2666 = 7/10

The sides of the square should be 20.171655" long (= 51.236 cm).
Difference: 0.014"

Figures 30e and 30e$_1$ show the geometry of the two cornerstones.
As the first step, the hypotenuses of both stones are chosen (42" and $\sqrt{7}$ x 318"), then divided in 49 (new stone) and in 7 (old stone) equal sections. How the length $\sqrt{7}$ x 318 is determined, is shown in ***Figure 30f.***



***Figures 30a–30f:** Freemasons' Hall, Halifax*

Islamic Architecture

For comparison, an analysis of two Ottoman buildings and a tomb in Kazakstan are now given. ***Figure 32*** is an analysis of the cross-section of the Selimiye mosque in Edirne, built in 1574 and shown in ***Figure 31***. The dome has a diameter of d = 31.256 m (1230 5/8"). This length is equal to 9 x 110 or 15 x 66 = 990 *bogum*, thus symbolizing both Allah and Ali. The interior height H is equal to $990 + 495/\sqrt{2} = 1340$ ***bogum*** = 42.31 m (1665 2/3"). The ratio $H/D = (2 + 1/\sqrt{2})/2$.

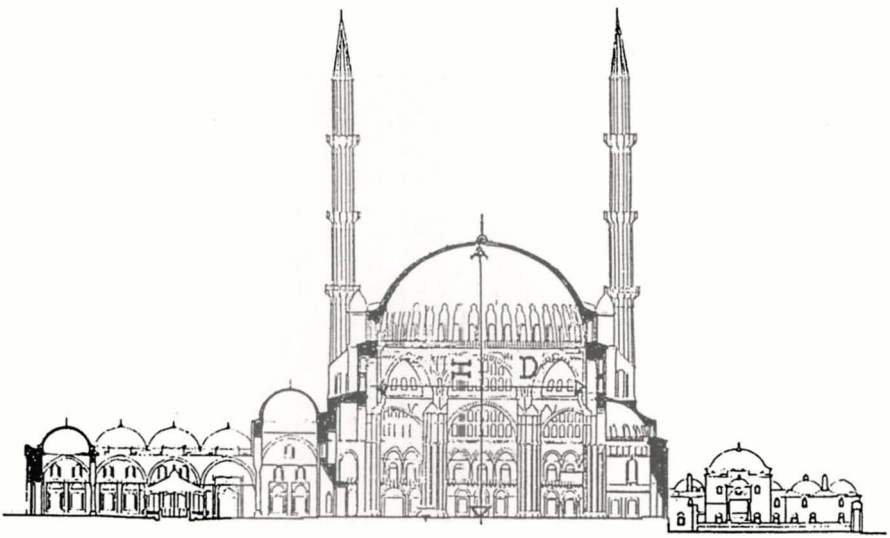


Figure 31: *Cross-Section of the Selimiye Mosque, Edirne, Turkey*

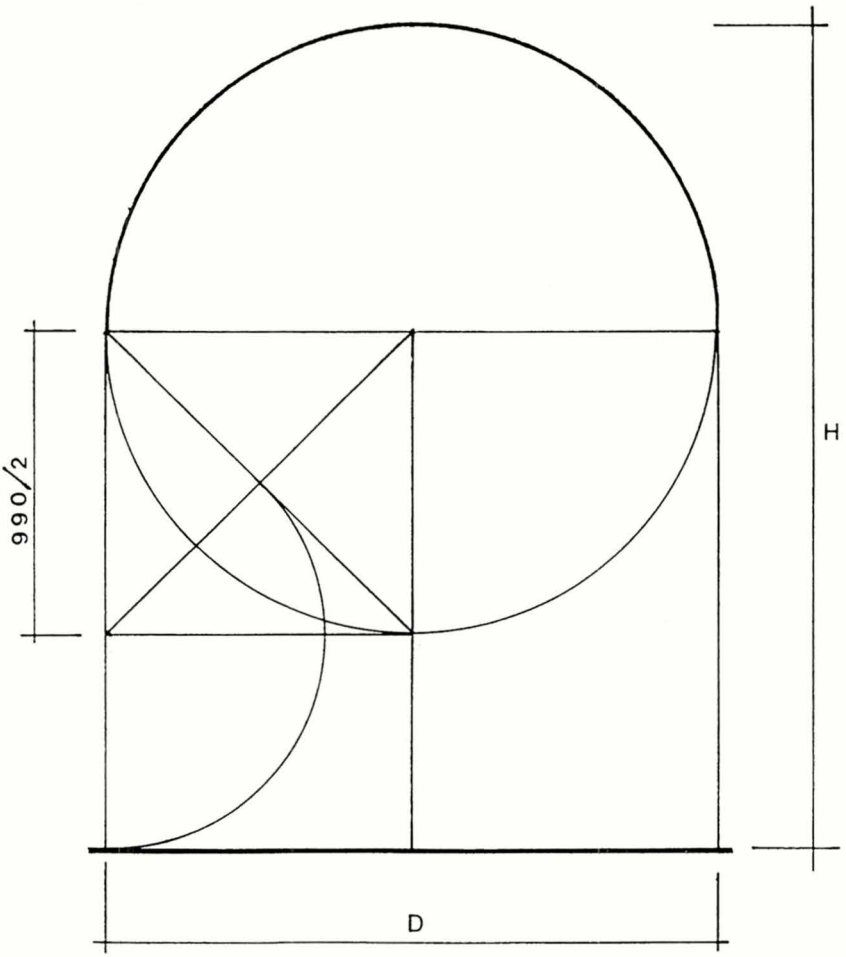


Figure 32: *Geometry of the Cross-Section, Selimiye Mosque, Edirne, Turkey*

Figure 34 is an analysis of the Tomb of Iskender Pasa in Istanbul, built in 1572 and shown in ***Figure 33***. The exterior length of this stone tomb is equal to 4 x 66 *bogum* (4 x Allah).

Step 1: Square ABCD with 4 x 66 *bogum* = 264 *bogum*, long sides.

Step 2: Diagonal BD.

Step 3: Circle around D with r = 1/2 x AD, until intersection with diagonal at point E.

Step 4: Circle around B with r = BE, until intersection F.

Step 5: BF is the exterior width, = 241.35 *bogum*; AB/BF = $\sqrt{2}$ –1/2.

Step 6: Although it is not shown graphically, the interior length is equal to the exterior width, therefore creating walls with 66/[2 x ($\sqrt{2}$ + 3/2)] *bogum* thickness.

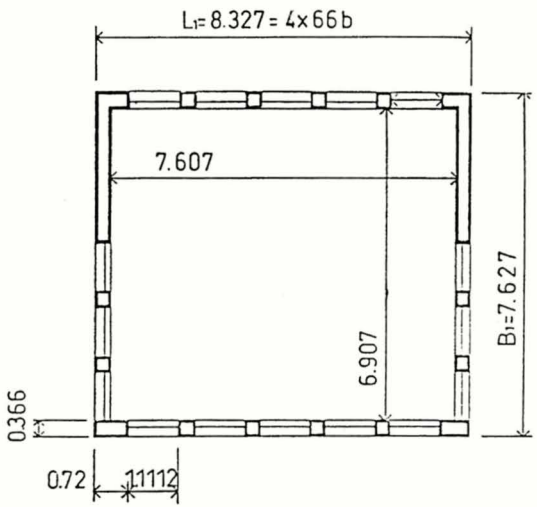


Figure 33: *The Tomb of Gazi Iskender Pasa, Istanbul*
(dimensions in metres)

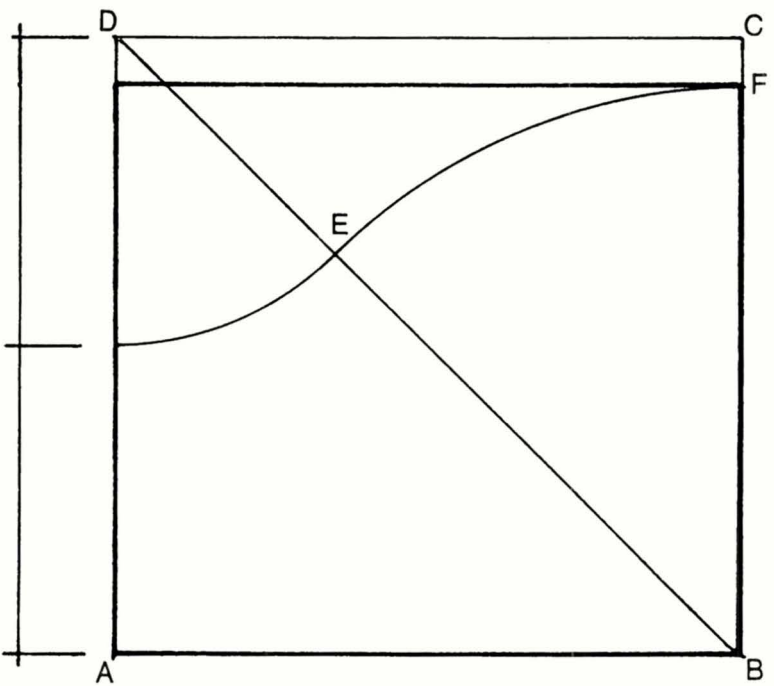


Figure 34: *Exterior Geometry of the Tomb of Gazi Iskender Pasa, Istanbul*

The Tomb of Ayse Bibi in Kazakstan is shown in ***Figure 35***. Bulatov's analyses of this tomb show that the ratio $\sqrt{2}$ was used to determine the design. The similarity in the use of geometry speaks for itself. In his book, many other examples are shown and prove that the Islamic religious buildings of this region were planned with the aid of $\sqrt{2}$, $\sqrt{3}$ and $\sqrt{5}$; as already noted, however, research on the evidence of numerology in the dimensions was neglected.

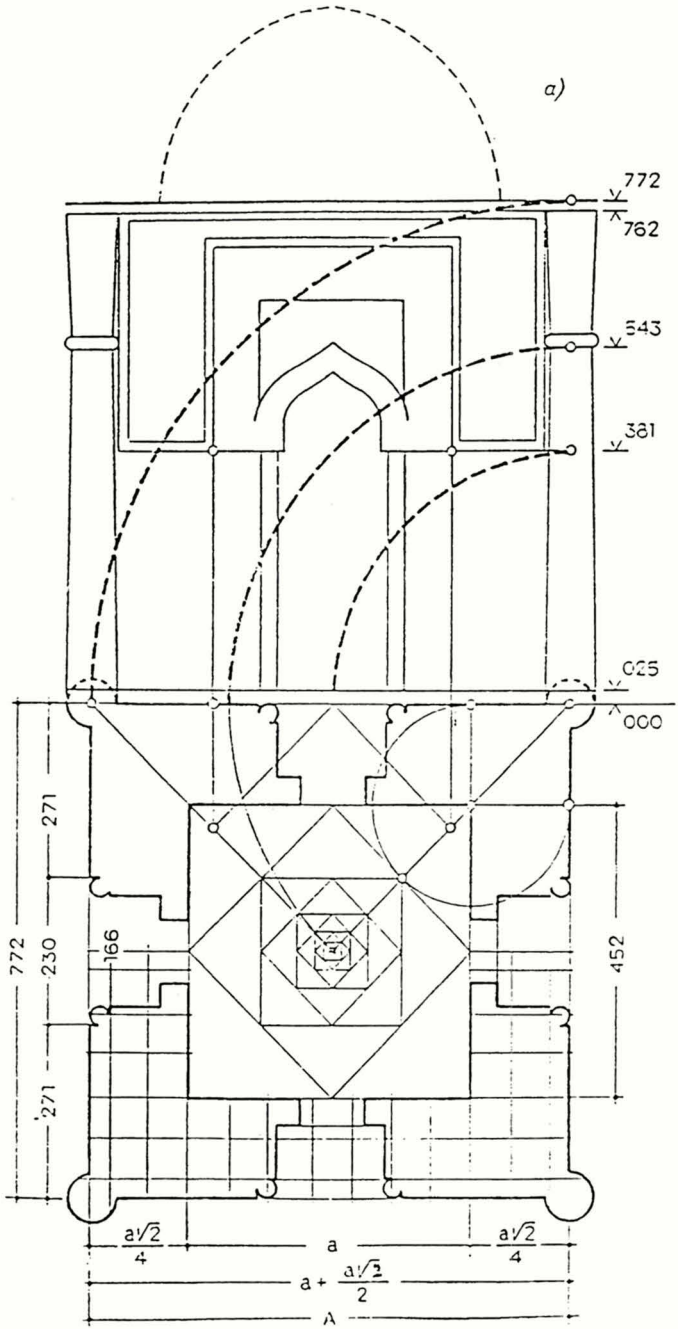


Figure 35: *Tomb of Ayse Bibi, Kazakstan*
(plan and geometry by Bulatov)

Conclusion

My research on the plans of thirteen churches in Nova Scotia and two in London, England, clearly shows that the numerical symbol of Jesus Christ, as calculated from His initials, plus certain geometrical principles were the bases of their dimensions and ratios. The cornerstones of the Freemasons' Hall in Halifax are further evidence and prove that these principles were probably used even in the twentieth century by architects and builders belonging to Masonic organizations. For centuries a well-kept secret, the disclosure of these underlying universal principles cannot be prevented anymore, as complicated mathematical relationships can now be detected, even with pocket calculators, within a short time.

The similarities between the numerical symbolism and the geometry of churches in the western world and religious edifices in the east point to a unified design methodology, applied by the worldwide Brotherhood of Master Builders. From the Islamic republics of Southern Russia to England and Canada, the planning of religious architecture shows--from the viewpoints of ratios and numerology--striking similarities. Certainly more research is necessary and more churches should be analysed, particularly with respect to their detail and their third dimensions. Unfortunately, the alterations and extensions which most early churches have suffered over the years, have resulted in an architectural patchwork which will in many cases be misleading in any structural analysis. This destruction of the architectural heritage of Nova Scotia is witness to a general ignorance concerning questions and criteria of historical values. Amazingly, even the Masonic Hall in Halifax has not been spared: the Temple of the nineteenth century disappeared behind the architecture of 1924.

We should never forget that the concept of 'architectural heritage' does not reside only in the beauty either of sculptured facades or of wondrous stained glass, but also in the orally transmitted secret numerology and geometry present in the religious architecture of the past ages. Even if later additions are planned and built by modern architects of the Fraternity, the original underlying concepts of the architecture can be lost forever. Just as we are not supposed to add a few verses to an old poem, or make changes to a painting, similarly we should not dare to alter the plans of churches, even if they are 'only' those tiny white ones sprinkled everywhere across the Nova Scotian landscape. These buildings are still the glittering gems of the past and the pride of today and tomorrow.

Peter Barrett's Pictou County: From the Fenian Scare to the Drummond Colliery Explosion

Allan C. Dunlop

> *In books lies the soul of the whole Past Time; the articulate audible voice of the Past, when the body and material substance of it has altogether vanished like a dream.*
>
> Thomas Carlyle[1]

In the dawning hours of Saturday, 9 May 1992, the Westray Mine at Plymouth, Nova Scotia was devastated by a powerful explosion. Too soon it was confirmed that the sun had set on the lives of twenty-six miners.[2] For Pictonians in particular and Nova Scotians in general, history, yet again, seemed to have come full circle.[3] Pictou County historian James M. Cameron has estimated that in the period 1866 to 1972, some 576 miners have died in local colliery explosions or mine-related accidents.[4] With the exception of the 1918 Allan Shaft Explosion (Stellarton), in which eighty-eight miners died, the 1873 Drummond Colliery Explosion (Westville) was the worst disaster to befall the local mining community. Fifty-nine miners were killed, leaving 119 fathers, mothers, widows and children.[5] Unique to this particular event is the fact that the journal of a local miner, Peter Barrett, has survived and provides a contemporary reaction to events both leading up to and immediately following the 1873 tragedy. The juxtaposition of the Drummond Colliery Explosion with the recent Westray Disaster is both eerie and ominously foreboding.

Barrett's journal is relatively straightforward. In physical format, it is approximately 11" x 14", or the size of legal paper; thirty-nine pages in length, with a very rough paper cover. It was written in 1879, after Barrett

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Allan C. Dunlop, a native of Pictou County, is the Associate Provincial Archivist for Nova Scotia.

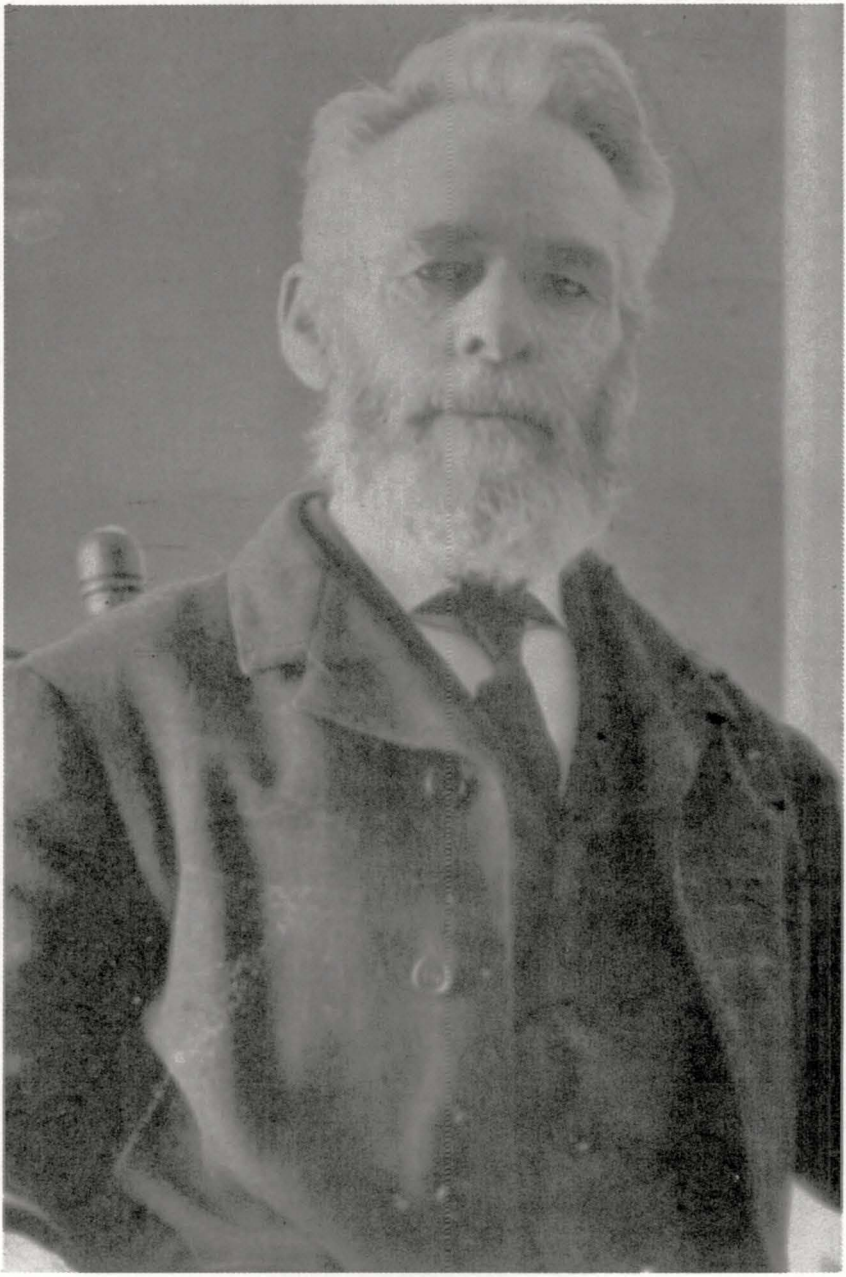
1 Quoted in D. B. Barton, *Essays in Cornish Mining History* (Truro, Cornwall, 1968), p. 1.

2 For an account of events leading up to and following the explosion, see Shaun Comish, *The Westray Tragedy: A Miner's Story* (Halifax, 1993).

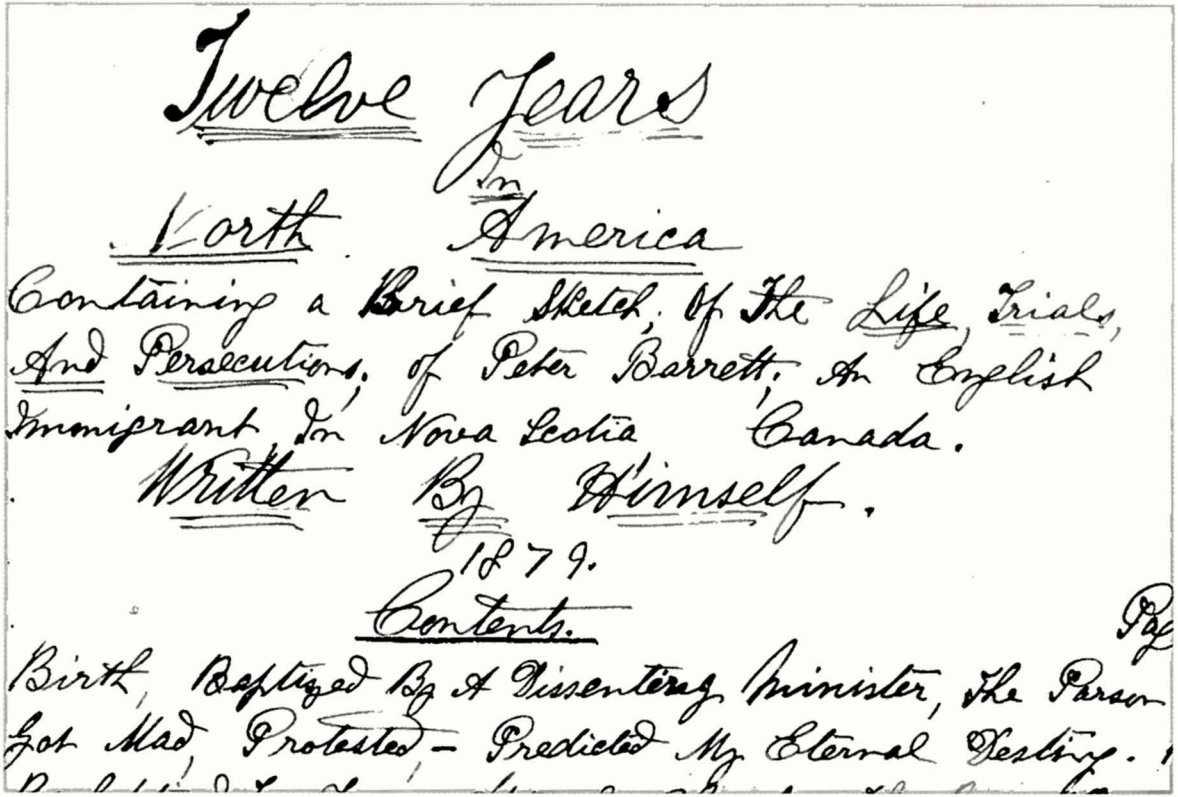
3 A summary of mining disasters in Pictou County can be found in Judith Hoegg Ryan, *Coal In Our Blood: 200 Years of Mining in Pictou County* (Halifax, 1992).

4 James M. Cameron, *The Pictonian Colliers* (Halifax, 1974), p. 187. This study is the best available published work on mining in Pictou County.

5 *First Annual Report of the Central Committee of the Drummond Colliery Relief Fund, for the Fiscal Year, Ending 12th May 1874* (Pictou, 1874), pp. 19–20.



Peter Barrett. Photograph courtesy Fred G. Barrett.



Twelve Years
In
North America
Containing a Brief Sketch Of The Life, Trials,
And Persecutions, of Peter Barrett, An English
Immigrant to Nova Scotia Canada.
Written By Himself.
1879.
Contents.
Birth, Baptized By A Dissenting Minister, The Parson
Got Mad, Protested – Predicted My Eternal Destiny.

Photograph courtesy Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

had returned to Cornwall, his place of birth. When he and members of his family returned to Nova Scotia in 1882, the diary obviously accompanied them. Present-day descendants in Truro, Ottawa, Saint John and Annapolis Royal were aware of a series of brief biographical sketches which Barrett had prepared; as well, he had written a number of reflective articles for the *Truro Citizen* in 1924;[6] the existence of the journal, however, was not known.

The question which arises is how the manuscript came into the hands of a Saint John, New Brunswick dealer, who in turn brought it to Halifax in 1991 for an antiques sale at a local shopping mall. There, a staff member of the Public Archives saw the journal and requested it be withdrawn from public sale until the provincial institution could review it in more detail; they quickly determined the diary's significance and acquired it.

The answer perhaps lies in the fact that two of Peter Barrett's sons lived in New Brunswick. George (1876–1953), a long-time watchmaker and in his youth an ardent and champion cyclist, died in Saint John in 1953 and his widow in 1962. Their daughter, Margaret Barrett Beatteay, a nonagenarian who fondly remembers her grandfather, feels certain that the diary did not come from the estates of either of her parents. This leaves the other son, Arthur (1881–1970). He returned from World War I suffering from shell shock, eventually went to live and work on a farm, and there married the daughter of his employer. There were no children by this union, his wife predeceased him, and Arthur himself died in 1970. The possibility exists that whoever acquired his farm near Moncton may have found and sold the journal, but this does not explain the two-decade gap between Arthur's passing and the manuscript's appearance in the public domain. This aspect of the mystery may never be solved.

The creator of the journal is more easily identified. The first four pages introduce us to Peter Barrett, and extensive genealogical notes concerning the Barrett family, held in Truro, Nova Scotia at the Colchester County Museum, confirm the veracity of the author's account.[7] About fifteen miles south-west

6 Article No. 2, "The Long Ago," appeared in the *Truro Citizen*, 24 May 1924. I am indebted to descendants of Peter Barrett for a copy of this article.

7 Colchester County Museum, Barrett Family Papers (929.2); a two-page typed biographical sketch is included. Descendants of Peter Barrett, including Mrs. Marguerite Beatteay, Saint John, N.B.; Miss Gladys Lloyd, Truro, N.S.; and Mr. Fred G. Barrett, Annapolis Royal, N.S., supplied biographical material and photographs.

of Plymouth in Cornwall, England, lies the parish of St. Mellion, and therein is found a cluster of farms called Keason. There on 17 August 1841, Peter, the son and fourth child of John and Susannah (Downs) Barrett, was born.[8] One of Peter Barrett's earliest recollections was that "At that time my parents used to have preaching, in their house, by that energetic, soul serving; and God fearing people, called Methodists...."[9] Barrett was to display a distinct distaste for Anglicans and over the years developed decided religious opinions, eventually leaving the Methodist Church and proclaiming himself a Russellite.[10]

Barrett received some schooling, but from age nine to seventeen was put out to farm service; he then returned to work with his father at gardening, making hedges, draining, ploughing, fencing, etc., on various estates in the Keason area. By 1865 Peter was a disillusioned young man, too poor to contemplate marriage. He was, however, a lay preacher and presently became a Bible Christian, a branch of English Methodism. His entire world encompassed no more than a twenty-square-kilometre area about Keason.

Then, near the end of 1865, opportunity beckoned: Barrett and two of his brothers, Ezekiel and Eli, signed a contract to work the collieries at Cramlington, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, Northumberland. Nearly 1,400 men from Cornwall, Devon and Dorset joined the Barretts, most discovering--only after their arrival at Cramlington--that they were being used as 'Black Legs' to crush a strike which had gone on for more than thirty weeks. The confrontation culminated in the Northumberland miners being evicted from their cottages, and in violent clashes with police and military forces.[11] Barrett recorded in his journal: "I deeply regret that I was one of that number, who;

8 Barrett Papers, Colchester County Museum.

9 All quotes are from the Peter Barrett Journal, MG 1, Vol. 3196A, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS]; original spelling and punctuation have been retained, except in instances where clarification is necessary. This quote is from p. 1.

10 Interview with Fred G. Barrett (b. 1904), son of Rev. Frederick Eli Barrett and grandson of Peter Barrett. The Russellites evolved into the Jehovah's Witness sect.

11 *The Times* (London), 13 Oct. 1865, p. 12, col. 5; 19 Oct, p. 5, col. 5; 23 Oct., p. 4, col. 6; 26 Oct., p. 7, col. 3; 8 Nov., p. 7, col. 1; and 7 Dec., p. 9, col. 2. Also, Northumberland Record Office, "Cramlington, Historical Survey," typescript by H. A. Taylor, Northumberland County Archivist, 1963; extracts in possession of the author. 'Black Legs' refers to those who cross a picket line to work during a strike; the modern equivalent is 'scab.'

blinded by poverty, misguided by ignorance, was tempted to go there for four shillings per day, to hurt my fellow man."[12] This experience would colour Barrett's attitude to labour/management confrontations in the years to come.

On completing their four-month contracts in Northumberland, the Barrett brothers proceeded to Liverpool, where they departed for Halifax on the 780-ton-vessel *Mozart*. The *Novascotian* of Monday, 28 May 1866 reported that:

> The ship *Mozart* of Windsor, N.S. arrived on Friday, 26 days from Liverpool, G.B. with 260 passengers, English and Scottish immigrants. We understand they are all in good health and principally able-bodied miners and a few labourers. The Government are arranging temporary quarters for them until they can be furnished with employment.

Here we can turn to the first major entry from the Barrett journal, to obtain a view of Pictou County through the eyes of the immigrant author:

> We were cordialy receved by the authorities, and people of Halifax, who provided temporary accommodations for us, at a Depot for a few days, until arrangements were made for our departure into the country, where at various points, employment awaited us, according to our callings; or otherwise.
>
> At first; I and my brothers, laboured two days on the Provincial Railroad, and was then persuaded to leave that work, and go on to the coal mines in Pictou County. We did so; after a long days travel we reached the Acadia Coal Mines, in the evening; and Mr. William Blacker, underground Manager, and his kind Wife, kindly entertained us to tea with them. But he could not give us work then.
>
> By the time we had finished our tea, the Rev. Mr. Chapman, Wesleyan Minister, chanced to call; and as it was difficult for young men to get a decent boarding house; at the Albion Mines; The sight of the old delapidated log houses, at the Albion Mines, made our hearts rebel. Such, low Dirty, dingy houses, and such a herding together of the sexes, we never had seen. There were to be seen from one to three beds in the room where cooking had to be done. I blame the General Mining Association. But they have many nice cottage rows for their employees. This kind, Christian Gentleman (and his Lady) recieved myself and two Brothers at their Mission House, for a few days; at the same time, he interce[d]ed; and got work for us at the Albion Mines; he also obtained Boarding for us. But as I did not like the work allotted me; and being concious that there was always imminent danger from explosive gas, in this Old Mine called *By Pit*. By Pit caught fire I think the same year and was filled with water and abandoned. A shaft 1100 feet deep was sunk on the same seam. The new working was called Fo[o]rd Pit. I again applied to Mr. W. Blacker, of Acadia Coal Mine and he gave me good work; this was in June 1866. In August following there was an explosion in the mine I worked in;

12 Barrett, p. 4.

> fortunately I was not down at the time, but was on the Bank head, and saw the effects of this destructive element of gas; A few men and boys were badly burnt[,] one or more died. We were thrown idle for some time. I might say; that in consequence of my changing places to work, I had also to get another boarding house. Because the agents of the General Mining Association, are generally, very domineering characters, and inflict certain arbitrary rules upon their employees.
>
> After I had been in that country about two years I was made a (Deputy) under Boss, which charge I held for about two years, under Mr. W. Blacker, chief underground Manager at the Acadia Coal Mines. At that time the coal trade was very brisk, and the Acadia Coal Mine, worked night and day; accordingly I should have charge one week on the Day shift, and the next week on the night shift. At last the night shift charge alone; was assigned to me, and I was in a general way, responsible for the faithfull carrying on of all the work in proper order, both above; and below ground, with the large number of employees under my charge. I had to be on duty at 6 P.M. and remain until 7 A.M. And for them hours duty, I used to get six shillings sterling, at the same time many of the miners were making from ten, to twelve shillings per day of eight or nine hours. The miners had no regular hours of working. The night shifts making against my health, and I becoming dissatisfied with my wages; at the same time having an interest in a Gold Claim, at Fifteen Mile Stream; I was sent out with others to prospect on our claim.[13]

The Albion Mines district which Barrett encountered in 1866 was a bustling area of 374 families, inhabiting 366 dwellings. The total population was 2,059, giving a density of 5.4 persons per household. More than half the population were under twenty-one years of age. The majority (1,617) were born in Nova Scotia. Those of Scottish ancestry (1,484) made up the largest segment of the population, with the result that the Presbyterian Church was dominant (1,369), followed by the Roman Catholic (373), Anglican (199) and Wesleyan Methodist (97). The Temperance Hall, two schools and three churches would have been the centres for all social activity.[14]

Of interest is the fact that Barrett makes no reference in his journal to the Fenian scare. In 1866 there were fears of an invasion of the Maritimes by the 'Fenians,' an Irish-American movement which hoped to secure Irish independence from Great Britain. The local colonial militia was called out in response to this threat. Of even more interest, however, is the fact that in 1912, when the R. L. Borden federal administration proposed to pay $100 to

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 5–7.

14 As summarized from *Census of Canada, 1870–71*, I (Ottawa, 1873).

each of those called out in 1866, Barrett submitted an application for the bounty. Furthermore, James White of Sydney swore an oath before a Commissioner of the Supreme Court for the County of Cape Breton, indicating that Barrett had indeed drilled with him at Albion Mines in March and April 1866--approximately four weeks before Barrett arrived in Nova Scotia on the *Mozart*.[15]

Barrett's comments upon local housing and living conditions are somewhat surprising. Certainly they would have been equal to, if not better than, contemporary working-class housing in rural and industrial England.[16] Indeed, James M. Cameron has noted that some $19,000 had been expended on miners' cottages in 1864.[17] Stellarton historian Aubrey Dorrington furthermore lists the years of construction of such cottages and provides both their location and sizes.[18] Neither author, however, comments directly upon housing conditions.

In terms of the various mines discussed by Barrett, both the local newspaper (the *Eastern Chronicle*) and James M. Cameron's *The Pictonian Colliers* confirm the accuracy of his recollections. The *Eastern Chronicle* of 16 February 1867, for example, reported a fire in the "Old Pit" and noted mining fatalities in its issues of 27 September and 6 December 1866 and 20 April 1867. However, no reference to any deaths from the August 1866 explosion in the Acadia Mines could be located.

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15 Barrett's application can be found in National Archives of Canada, RG 9, II, A4, Vol. 89, list 332. For an extensive article on this subject, see James M. Cameron, "Fenian Times in Nova Scotia," in *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 37 (1970), 103–152. Col. John Wimburn Laurie reported that 1,000 men drilled in 1866 in Pictou County, where in 1912, a total of 1,579 received the pension; Cameron, p. 143.

16 For housing conditions in England at this time, see Royston Lambert, *Sir John Simon, 1816–1904* (London, 1963), pp. 81; 346. Contemporary comments on housing conditions at Albion Mines, as well as descriptions of visits to the mines themselves, can be found in *The Wesleyan* (Halifax), 12 Dec. 1866, pp. 1–2; and in *The Monthly Record of the Church of Scotland*, XII, 6–7 (June-July 1866). See also, A. G. Gilbert, *From Montreal to the Maritime Provinces and Back...* (repr. Toronto, 1967), pp. 34–35: "The houses of the miners are comfortable and clean looking, and are arranged in even order, many having nice little gardens in front or beside them." For more recent general comment upon mining communities, see Robert McIntosh, "A Community Transformed: The Nova Scotian Coal Miners, 1879 to 1925," unpub. MA thesis, Carleton Un., Ottawa, 1985.

17 Cameron, *The Pictonian Colliers*, pp. 102–104.

18 Aubrey Dorrington, *History of Stellarton* (Pictou, 1976), pp. 127–129.

Probably in the early spring of 1870, Barrett set off for the coalfields of Pennsylvania.[19] His reason for departure can be inferred from the contemporary comments of R. G. Haliburton, secretary of the Nova Scotia Coal-Owners' Association: "explorations in the Pictou coal field have been somewhat limited in consequence of the temporary depression which has taken place in the coal trade, the result of the heavy duty imposed by Congress upon our coal, and the low price of fuel in the United States."[20]

Barrett's sojourn south of the border was neither unique nor successful. The *Wesleyan* noted this migration mania in its issue of 4 October 1871: "Others went to the States and sought work in the coal fields of Pennsylvania. Some of these latter have happily returned and I have been told by them that on the whole they can make better work and better wages here than there."[21] Among the returnees was Barrett, for he appears in the Middle River census district in 1871.[22] We again pick up his narrative:

> Proceeding on to the Acadia Coal Mine, at Westville; w[h]ere I had previousley been Boss; I recommenced work in that mine w[h]ere I laboured very hard; working there all together about seven years, and being temperate and industrious; I managed by the dint of hard work; and econemy; to save several Hundreds of Dollars. Up to this time I had not dared to think of taking a Wife; Although for years, I hoped to have a Home of my own; But my ambition, was; first to get money. Then get a House and Land.
>
> And afterwards to take a Wife if I could suit my choice. By the way; I might mention a Joke of
>
> *ASKING A FARMER FOR HIS DAUGHTER*
>
> One day, soon after my return from Canada; I went out to a Mr. J. Oliver's farm for the purpose of helping him to get up his Turnip Crop--there I chanced to meet a respectable Farmer, Mr. R. McKay of Foxbrook, who was also helping his neighbour about his turnips.
>
> He offered to sell me some land. I remarked that 'Land, would be of no use to me without a House; and neither would be of any use without a Wife.' I asked of him; if he had not got a nice Daughter; also, to dispose of.

19 The date is difficult to determine, as the evidence is contradictory. Writing in the *Truro Citizen*, 1924, Barrett recollected that "In September 1869 or 1870 I was sent with two others to Fifteen Mile Stream gold area to prospect." As Barrett appears in the 1871 census, the evidence suggests that he went to Pennsylvania in 1870.

20 Robert Grant Haliburton, "Exploration in the Pictou Coal Field, in 1867 and 1868," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Nova Scotian Institute of Natural Science*, II, 3 (1868–69), 155.

To which he replied very pleasantly. 'Well; I have several of them: but I dont know whether they would be inclined to Marry an Englishman or not: but for my own part; if I were going to marry again; I would marry a Dutch Woman.' I knew he had several marriageable Girls; and some time afterwards I learnt that the old Gentleman had told his Daughters of this affair. And the rumor soon spread that I had asked for one of Mr. McKay's daughters. However, as time passed on, I became, attached

SMITTEN AT LAST (Falling In Love)

to a young lady; Miss Hortense Langille, (Daughter of Mr. George Langille, Farmer and Miller, River John, Pictou County;) to whom I had been introduced by her Aunt, Mrs. Perrin, of Westville.

When it became known that we were takeing walks together; all sorts of plans were adop[t]ed to keep us apart, which resulted in doing of us very serious injuries; in various ways; and its effects will last for all time to come.[23]

Descendants of Peter Barrett still hold a copy of a poem written in December 1872 by Hortense Langille for her fiancé, just weeks before their marriage. Entitled "You and I," it reads in part:

We have plighted troth forever
You and I
We have sworn no fate shall sever
You and I
Young and poor; uncaring whether
Life bring storm or sunny weather
So we only stand together
You and I....[24]

Amidst this family confrontation, Barrett found time to chastise the Justices of the Peace for Westville; defend a strike by local miners; condemn, anonymously, the doctrinal theories of the Kirk minister, the Reverend

21 For further comment on this type of experience at a slightly later date, see Peter R. Shergold, "The Tyranny of Capital: Nova Scotian Miners under the Stars and Stripes, 1884–1885," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 13, 2 (Dec. 1993), 101–104.

22 1871 Census, Middle River, Pictou County, Division 2, p. 51.

23 Barrett, pp. 13–14.

24 Copy of "You and I" received from Miss Gladys Lloyd, Truro. Barrett has added to the page, "Received from Miss Hortense M. Langille a short time previous to our marriage."

Charles Dun; point out publicly that Methodist evening-prayer gatherings were evolving into "promiscuous kissing parties"; and generally display that firm, some might say stubborn, attitude which many natives of Cornwall are wont to exhibit. We return to Barrett's account:

HOW I MADE for MYSELF ENEMIES

First of all, by advocating the establishment of a Cooperative Store, in Westville. Secondly, by opposing the Building of a jail in Westville. Thirdly, by opposing; and causing the *Illicit Rum Sellers*, to be prosecuted; I argued that if we had no rumsellers; we should not need a jail; I appealed to my fellow workmen who also backed me. We had there: Rumselling Magistrates, who by so doing, were violating their commissions. Instead of been [i.e., being] called *Justices of Peace*, they were Peace destroyers; and *Just Asses*, would be a better appellation for them; and all such like them. I also advocated the claims of the workingmen, by letters to the *Halifax Reporter*, exposing the Masters lies; and challenging their assertions in reference to a strike at Acadia Coal Mines, 1873. About the same time I wrote an

ANONYMOUS LETTER

to the Rev. Mr. Dun, Stellarton, who was *Kirk* Minister. The letter read as follows. Rev. Mr. Dun--Dear Sir; can it be, that you really believe, that *Soul Destroying Doctrine*, that you Preached at Westville, on (such a Sabbath). I am yours respectfully, A Lover of Truth.

The Minister had been Preaching, *Predestination*, A Doctrine I cannot swallow. I was suspected as the author of the above letter, and a pretty fuss there was about it. Was; or was I not; an awful sinner, for writing such a letter?

A PROMISC[U]OUS KISSING PARTY

About the same time also, I was invited with my Girl, and other young folks to attend an Evening Party; at a Mr. and Mrs. Smiths, Westville; It turned out to be, one of those disgusting *"Promisc[u]ous Kissing Parties."*

I felt compelled to take part for some time, until I could forbear no longer; but took French leave, leaveing my Girl behind. I went to my lodgings; and then wrote a letter to the Editor, of the Provincial Wesleyan, describing those Kissing Parties; and accordingly within a few days an Editorial appeared in the above Paper condemning such Parties; as being 'inimical to Piety, and virtue.' I was at once, suspected; for this matter also; and soon a Lawyer was employed to send threatening letters unto the Editor, and to me; without any result. But the young folks, and their friends; who thought that they had been insulted by the article reffered to; became very angry with me. Still, I have no hesitation in saying, that these gatherings, or Parties under the 'flimsey pretext; of Brotherly love, Sisterly love, Christian love'; call it what you will, it is a stepping stone to *Infamy*.

MARRIED

I was married to Miss Hortense Langille, by the Rev. R. B. Mack, Wesleyan Minister, at my Wife's Fathers residence, on the 16 day of January 1873. Two months afterwards, we went housekeeping at Ashphelt, and I continued to work at the Acadia Mine, until the *Drum[m]ond Colliery Explosion*; which I think happened in May of that year.[25]

Of considerable interest is the fact mentioned by Barrett that there was a strike at the Drummond Colliery which commenced on Saturday, 12 April 1873. The *Halifax Daily Reporter and Times* of 16 April suggested that the miners were earning $3.00 a day and that consequently, "the strike is altogether uncalled for...." In its issue of 1 May, the newspaper printed a letter from "A Miner." There is no doubt that the writer was Barrett. The author eloquently defended the "work stoppage"--strikes, he noted, "are sometimes fraught with evil--have often been the bane, the curse and ruin of miners...." The issues were clear:

> They deeply complain of other grievances, such as insufficient tools for the workmen in general; their tools not being kept in order; the high prices charged them for powder--viz: $5.00 per barrel; the long hours system; the company's houses being about 2 1/2 miles from the mine, and of the non-conveyance to and from labor for one-half of the year round,--the paltry conveyance that is provided being practically useless to the majority of the miners who need it.

All the horrors of the Cramlington strike and its aftermath must have come back to Barrett as he penned his letter.

Was the week-long closure of the mine a factor in the disaster that followed? Did gas and coal dust build up during the days of idleness? Or should the fault lie with Mother Coo, who some say predicted the explosion?[26] One writer later described the event which precipitated the Drummond Explosion, namely hitting a pocket of gas in the Stellarton seam:

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25 Barrett, pp. 14–16. "Ashphelt" ("Asphalt") was one of the many clusters of miners' houses which made up Stellarton; for its location, see map in Ryan, *Coal In Our Blood*. The village of Westville grew up around three mining operations: the Acadia Mine, operated at Acadia Mines (Westville) by the Acadia Coal Company; the Black Diamond Colliery, operated by the Nova Scotia Coal Company; and the Drummond Colliery, operated by the Intercolonial Coal Mining Company.

26 Cameron, *The Pictonian Colliers*, pp. 215–216; Roland Sherwood, *Out of the Past* (Pictou-Truro, 1954), pp. 77–79.

"when the 'sinkers' struck the 'Main' seam at 180–200 feet water flew out of it, depositing a 'kind of mineral fermentation'; roaring gas hurled pieces of coal off the wall with an explosion like the report of a pistol, and a deafening noise, 'like a hundred thousand snakes hissing at each other' filled the shafts."[27]

Robert Drummond, founder of the miners' union, the Provincial Workmen's Association (PWA), has called the Drummond Colliery disaster "the fiercest and most awesome of any of the explosions with which the mines have been visited...";[28] so great was its force, he noted, that a brick cupola over the workings was hurled some seventy-five feet into the air. In 1912, speaking to the South Cape Breton Mining Society, Drummond recalled:

> Some would say the primary cause was the inability of the Underground Manager to enforce his desires, and the unwillingness or inability of the management to grant to the miners an increase, as an equivalent for the loss, the disuse of powder would entail. Powder was prohibited in the lower part of the mine, and the prohibition was enforced, because the men were content to suffer loss.
>
> The writer is strongly of the opinion that had the U.G. [Underground] manager ordered the men, all but the fire-fighters, to leave the pit as soon as matters appeared serious, the loss of life might have been comparatively small. And why would not the U.G.M. order the men out on the first hint of danger? Because he was afraid; or because he hesitated to do it in the face of a previous experience. Sometime previously, while the writer was working in the North side of the Drummond; the thrilling words 'fire, fire' were shouted and went echoing throughout the works. Men hastily snatched up coats and piece cans, rushed to the slope and made for the surface. The alarm did not prove serious. One [miner] in an upper working had driven into the old Campbell pit--and saw some smouldering fire, which was easily sealed off. The Manager came hurrying down the pit and finding danger over, and the men out of the pit, gave the U.G.M. a rather bitter scolding. One can imagine how, after that, the U.G.M. might sooner run the risk of fire, than the risk of a raking over, for alleged over anxiety, activity, or over caution.[29]

27 C. Ochiltree MacDonald, *The Coal and Iron Industry of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1909), p. 130.

28 Robert Drummond, *Minerals and Mining in Nova Scotia* (Stellarton, 1918), pp. 341–342.

29 Robert Drummond, *The Sixties and Subsequently* (1912), pp. 11–12.

C. Ochiltree MacDonald has stated that for thirty-six hours, "lurid flames soared for 30–40 feet above the numerous crop openings."[30] The annual report of the Inspector of Mines grimly commented: "The bright prospects with which the coal trade of this county opened were early marred by strikes and later in the spring the lamentable explosion at the Drummond colliery destroyed all hopes of the output exceeding the previous year."[31] Six-Mile-Brook diarist James Barry wrote on 14 and 15 May that "Dunn's coal pit at Westville took fire, and himself and all hands are dead--from 60 to 80 it is said--not known yet. The Acadia coal pit is afire and is still burning and all the dead is [*sic*] in it yet still. They are going to flood it with water."[32]

The Halifax *Evening Express*, 14 May 1873, excoriated the miners who had been on strike and laid the blame for the disaster fully on the labour unrest: "and right after the strike the men of the Drummond colliery went into their graves....the fires are raging and burning up the bodies of the unfortunate men whose wrong headed conduct has brought this disaster on their heads and the heads of their wives and children."[33*]

Barrett's first-hand account is as follows:

> I saw one of the explosions the sight was terrible. I think there were more than 70 lives lost; some were Cornish men; the shock was felt for miles at the midnight explosion. I do not know if there was Praying man lost in that Pit or not.
>
> *THE DRU[M]MOND COLLIERY on FIRE*
>
> The day of the explosion, I was working in the Acadia Mine; alongside, and on the same seam.
>
> But strange to say: the *Bosses*; apparently regardless of our lives, also, allowed us to work on for about four hours after the first explosion, before they sent word to us that the "Drum[m]ond Pit was on *Fire*," and most of the men were down in the Pit. We started up the Slope;--and went over the *Burning Pit*. Dense volumes of smoke were coming up the Slopes of the Drum[m]ond Mine, Buildings were shattered. The high, Brick air Stack was blown down. We went

30 MacDonald, *Coal and Iron*, p. 153.

31 *Journals of the House of Assembly*, 1874, Appendix 10, Mines Report, p. 11.

32 James Barry Diaries, PANS MG 1, Vol. 1219. James Dunn was the mine manager.

33 As cited in K. G. Pryke, "Labour and Politics in Nova Scotia at Confederation," in *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 6 (Nov. 1970), 33–55.

on to the Downcast Shaft; which was still clear, some men had been taken up by the Horse Gin, alive, but badly burnt. One man, a native of Cornwall, called James Dunstan; was taken up unhurt. I saw Edward Burns, and Abraham Guy, a Cornishman; decend the Shaft as volenteers.[34]

It was agreed that Guy should remain down and Burns should come up to tell the state of the Pit. The signal was given to wind up, instantly there was a Puff of wind up the Shaft, then the air reversed; and suddenly the terrible Explosion followed, blowing up Debris probably hundreds of feet high into the air, carrying away in its fury the Gin; and all the Gearing of the Shaft head; and as we ran of[f] for our lives, the Debris, fell all around us; fortunately no one on the surface was seriously hurt. But after the blast was over, we found poor Burns, Dead; about twenty yards from the shaft, frightfully Blackened and Mangled. The mine was smothered, and flo[o]ded; and has since been reopened.

COLLIERY PROPRIOTORS, AND MANAGERS TO BLAME

In Nova Scotia, the working colliers have no organization for the Protection of themselves; as they ought to have.

For when the coal trade is brisk, any man seeking work is allowed to work in the mines if there is a chance. I have known Fishermen, Clerks, Shoemakers, Taylors, Blacksmiths, Carpenters, Ploughmen, Engineers, Lawyers Clerks, Woodmen, in fact all classes are represented among the miners. What I complain of is this, *viz*. That no stranger should be allowed to go to work in *any mine*; except by ballot; or consent of the majority of the working colliers; and such new hand, should if necessary; be put in [i.e., under the] charge of responsible men: as filler; or otherwise; until he became acquainted with the nature; and requirements of the mine in general; so far as it appertains to his duty to himself; and his fellowmen. It is wrong, it is cruel, an injustice to steady miners to allow a *"Green Hand,"* to go to work in the mines, and through his ignorance of the nature of Gas, to become a Wholesale Murderer.

WORKINGMEN PROTECT YOURSELVES

The Government wont do it;--cannot effectually. Employers *wont* do it; for they have too much regard for the *Almighty Dollar*, and care very little about the lives of their employees.

The Bosses; or Managers generally, are very much to blame; especially the under Bosses.

When the Government Superintendent; makes his stated, Periodical visits to a mine: everything is set in order beforehand; about such parts of the mines; as it is intended to take him through to *"Inspect."* The Bosses always taking care

34 Edward Burns, 33, a native of Margaree, Cape Breton, is buried in the Duff Cemetery, Lourdes, N.S.; see Carol Duncan Evans and James Francis Smith, *Duff Cemetery: The Forgotten People* (Pictou, 1984), p. 58. Abraham Guy, 33, was a native of Sancreed, Cornwall. This village is in the very south of England, only 10 km. from Land's End and approximately 130 km. south of Keason. It is unlikely that Barrett knew Guy before their time in Nova Scotia.

not to shew the Inspector into such parts of the mine as are dangerous in any way from Gas, Roof, Defective Timbering, etc.

They take him only into the cleanlyist gang way's, and best air courses, and shrewedly answer all inquiries of the Inspector; and when Truth wont do; they tell him a *Lie*. And the Inspector makes out his Reports accordingly.

INSPECTORS OF MINES NEVER VISIT BAD PLACES

that ever I knew during twelve years experience.

I maintain that the miners, themselves: and they alone; unaccompanied by the Bosses, should have the right to take the Inspector *into; and throughout* every working place in the mine; and to point out, any; and everything, good or bad; respecting the old workings, ventilation, etc.

I have had to labour in such places in the Spring Hill mines, of that Province; w[h]ere I could only stand about two hours a day; by reason of bad air and if we complained we should only get a *curseing* and a *bullying* by the under Boss.

UNDER BULLY BOSSES

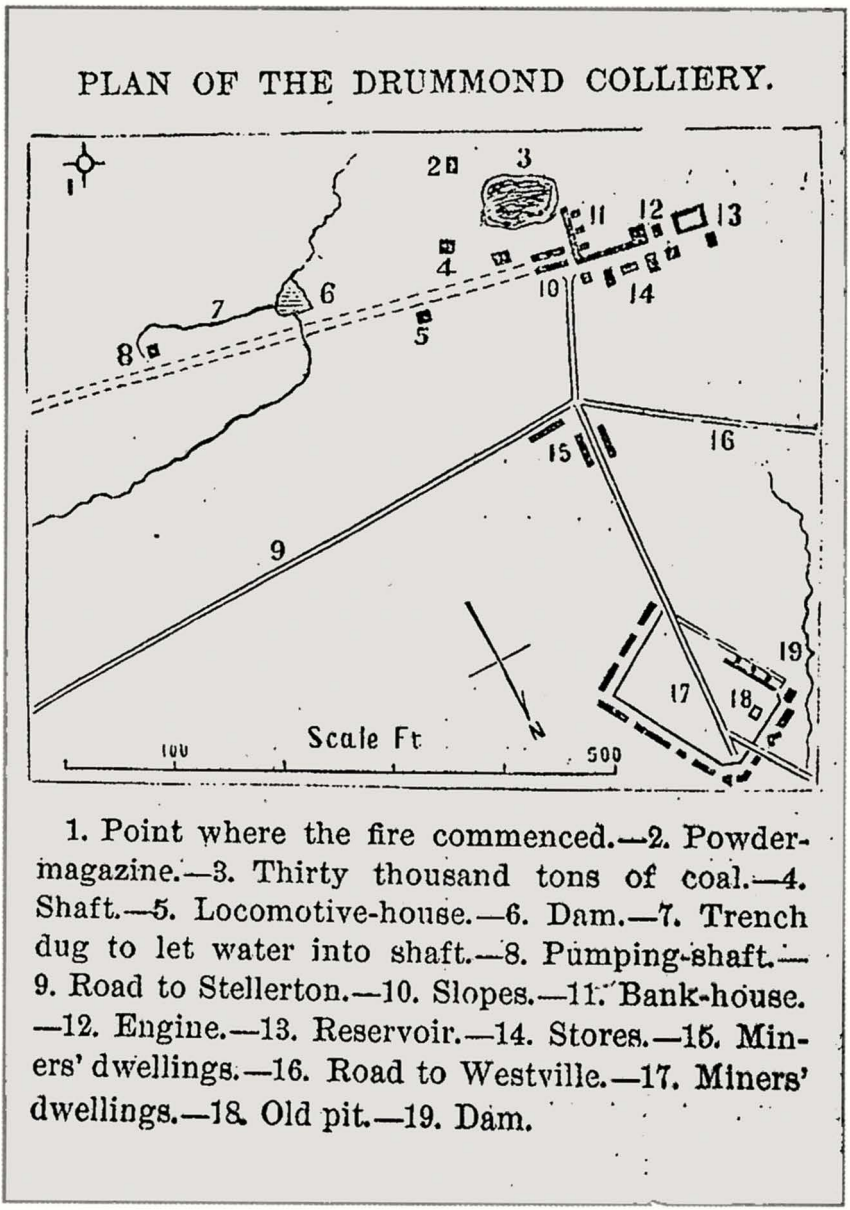
Dont like intelligent work men, generally; and although they dont like to turn away a man without a cause; yet will oftentimes make his position as they say; *"So Hot as Hell,"* for him by humbug[g]ing a man so that he cannot get his coal out;--cannot get timber when he wants it[,] cannot get rails; and with many such like annoyances, they provoke a man to leave, as he is not permitted to make a living. A man that is really hard up; they will override him, and compel him to work, as I have known cases, of good workmen; could only earn from two, to three shillings per day.[35]

Ironically, in April 1873 Nova Scotia had just passed the first mine-safety regulations in Canada. It would, however, require years of perseverance and the impetus of yet another mining disaster--the Springhill Explosion of 1891, in which 125 men and boys died--before effective regulations, inspections and enforcement would become a reality.[36]

Just over a month after the Drummond Colliery Explosion, Barrett left Pictou County for the new mining centre of Springhill. He and his wife arrived

35 Barrett, pp. 16–19.

36 See Donald MacLeod, "Miners, Mining Men and Mining Reform: Changing the Technology of Nova Scotian Gold Mines and Collieries, 1858–1910," Ph.D. diss., Un. of Toronto, 1981. Donald MacLeod, "Gilpin, Edward," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, XIII (Toronto, 1994), 383–384. Jonathan Spira, "Regulation, Inspection and State Formation: Nova Scotia's Mines Regulation Act of 1873 Reconsidered," unpub. paper, Fredericton, N.B., 1994.



1. Point where the fire commenced.—2. Powder-magazine.—3. Thirty thousand tons of coal.—4. Shaft.—5. Locomotive-house.—6. Dam.—7. Trench dug to let water into shaft.—8. Pumping-shaft.—9. Road to Stellerton.—10. Slopes.—11. Bank-house.—12. Engine.—13. Reservoir.—14. Stores.—15. Miners' dwellings.—16. Road to Westville.—17. Miners' dwellings.—18. Old pit.—19. Dam.

Photograph courtesy *Harper's Weekly*, 7 June 1873, p. 489.

there on 17 June 1873. In the years which followed, Barrett overextended himself financially in property speculation. Eventually he was forced to flee his creditors and Springhill in 1877, returning to Cornwall. In June 1882 he, his family and relatives returned to the Truro/Bible Hill area. Eventually the family came to reside on Miller Street, Truro, where Hortense (Langille) Barrett died in 1922. Peter himself lived on until Thursday, 18 November 1926, when he died in his eighty-fifth year.[37]

In a remarkably sensitive portrayal of the history of mining in Pictou County, author Judith Hoegg Ryan quotes from a fictional diary kept by Joe Sample, who commenced work at age fourteen as a trapper-boy in the Albion pit. The entry for 22 November 1907 concludes: "When Dad and I walked home it was dark again.--'Never mind, son,' he told me, 'We'll get to see the sun on Sunday.'"[38] Peter Barrett was not a "We'll get to see the sun on Sunday" person. There coursed through his veins a thirst for experience which could not be slaked by the rewards of a miner's life. He was, instead, both an entrepreneur and an explorer, constantly striving to expand the parameters of his existence. He tried; sometimes he failed; but he never gave up.

Peter Barrett's life journey tells us a great deal about Pictou County, but a lot more about the man. He is perhaps best summarized in the lines of a song composed by the late Stan Rogers--*The Mary Ellen Carter*, about a vessel which sank, but which through dint of effort was raised and salvaged. The song concludes:

> And you, to whom adversity has dealt the final blow
> With Smiling bastards lying to you everywhere you go
> Turn to, and put out all your strength of arm and heart and brain
> And, like the Mary Ellen Carter, rise again!
> Rise again, rise again--though your heart it be broken
> And life about to end
> No matter what you've lost, be it a home, a love, a friend
> Like the *Mary Ellen Carter*, rise again.[39]

Like the ship in the song, Peter Barrett was forced to rise not once, but again and again; he must have been a very great miner.

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37 Hortense Barrett's obituary appeared in the Truro *Daily News*, 23 Nov. 1922; and Peter Barrett's in *ibid.*, 25 Nov. 1926.

38 Judith Hoegg Ryan, *The Mine* (Toronto, 1984), p. 23.

39 A.L. McKinnon, ed., *Stan Rogers, Songs from Fogarty's Cove* (Ottawa, 1982), pp. 69–71.

The Reverend James Thomas and "union of all God's people": Nova Scotian African Baptist Piety, Unity and Division

Philip G.A. Griffin-Allwood

At the funeral of the Reverend James Thomas, pastor of the African Baptist Church in Halifax, in 1879,

> ...A large concourse followed his remains to the cemetery. The church and vestry was filled to overflowing the day of the funeral; the body was taken to the church in order that as many as possible could avail themselves of the opportunity of looking on his mortal remains for the last time, as many persons had come in from the outlying districts for that purpose. They wept bitterly, some that he had married and baptized, whose mothers and fathers he had buried, and soothed their sorrows under similar circumstances....[1]

The service was "conducted by Rev. Dr. Saunders, accompanied by Rev. J. M. Manning, Revs. J. F. Avery, Carvery and Bailey."[2] Saunders, Manning and Avery were ministers associated with the Central Baptist Association, while Carvery and Bailey were ministers of the African Baptist Association, of which the African Baptist Church--now called Cornwallis St. Baptist--was the mother church.[3]

This description of Thomas's funeral (by his son-in-law, Peter McKerrow), captures the significance of Thomas's life: his piety, his role as a reconciler and his role as divider. At the time of the funeral, African Baptists had three different transcongregational affiliations in Nova Scotia. Black churches were part of white Baptist associations, of an African Baptist Association in fellowship with the African Baptist Church, Halifax, and of a secessionist African Baptist Association under the leadership of Bishop Benson Smithers.[4] Conspicuous

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1 P. E. McKerrow, *A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists in Nova Scotia 1783–1895* (Halifax, 1895), p. 35; see ***Appendix***. [The definitive study is now Judith Fingard, "McKerrow (MacKerrow), Peter Evander," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 13 (1994), 656–57.]

2 McKerrow, 35.

3 Their churches respectively were Saunders--Granville Street, Halifax; Manning--North Baptist, Halifax; Avery--Tabernacle, Halifax; Carvery--the 1795 First Preston Church (see below); and Bailey, African Association Hammonds Plains and Beech Hill churches: Edward Manning Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax, 1902), pp. 472, 511, 513 and *Minutes of the African Baptist Association, 1880*, p. 9. The Reverends Saunders and Carvery were the ministers of the two churches which had disciplined the membership of the African Baptist Church in 1828, thus ensuring its separate existence.

4 "African Baptist Church" is defined as a church in which the congregational membership and life is dominantly Black. As shown in this essay, an exclusively Black church never existed in Nova Scotia. For ease of identification during the period of two African Baptist Associations, the churches in fellowship with Thomas will be denoted as African Baptist [Cornwallis Street] and those in fellowship with Smithers as African Baptist [Second Preston].

by their absence from the funeral of the patriarch, "Father Thomas," were the ministers of the latter association.

Pietist

James Thomas came to Nova Scotia from Wales with his parents, when he was about twelve years old. His father was a furrier and the family made their home in Preston.[5] His parents were stern Welsh Baptists[6] who joined the joined the First Baptist Church of Halifax, which has been founded in 1795 by the Reverend John Burton.[7] While the first members of the church were white, the congregation quickly became predominantly Black, drawing its membership from the urban Halifax-Dartmouth area.[8]

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5 McKerrow, 31.

6 Welsh Baptists were, and are, known for their simple and emotive piety: E. W. Price Evans, "Christmas Evans, 1766–1838," in *The Baptist Quarterly*, 7 (1934–1935), 194–204; E. K. Jones, "Welsh Baptist Polity," in *The Baptist Quarterly*, 12 (1946–1948), 196–201, 259–66, 318–25.

7 This church should not be confused with the present First Baptist Church, Halifax, which entered the denomination as Third Baptist Halifax, Granville Street, in 1830: Philip G. A. [Griffin-]Allwood, "First Baptist Church, Halifax: Its Origin and Early Years" (M. Div. thesis, Acadia University, 1978).

8 John Burton, originally a priest of the Church of England, was licensed as a Dissenting minister before emigrating to British North America. Burton came to Nova Scotia as a missionary for the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, a Calvinistic Methodist organization. During a trip to the United States he converted to the Regular Baptists and afterwards organized First Baptist Church, Halifax. At the time this was the only Strict Baptist Church in the province; that is, communion and membership were limited to those who had experienced believer's baptism by immersion: Stephen Davidson, "Leaders of the Black Baptists of Nova Scotia 1782–1832" (B.A. Honours thesis, Acadia University, 1975), pp. 27–38; anon., "Sketch of the History of the Baptists in the City and County of Halifax" (Atlantic Baptist Historical Collection [ABHC], Vaughan Memorial Library, Acadia University), p. 1.

In 1779 Calvinistic Methodists, who were supported by the Countess of Huntingdon (1707–1791), had been forced to register as dissenting ministers after the consistory court of London disallowed the Countess's practice of appointing to her chapels as many priests of the Church of England as she wished. Her chapels were formed into an association in 1790: *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1978), p. 678. This decree was the reason for Burton's comment in his 1812 letter to David Benedict: "I was a member of the Church of England, I believe, from a month old, and so continued sometime after my arrival here, and went to the sacrament with them, although I was licensed a dissenting minister by government, but I was not joined in heart with them": David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and Other Parts of the World* (1848; repr. Lafayette, TN, 1977), p. 528; Davidson, pp. 27–38; cf. John Mockett Cramp, "History of Nova Scotia Baptists," pp. 63–66 (ABHC). Burton also organized a church in Shelburne around the same time, drawing on former members of the Reverend David George's congregation: I. E. Bill, *Fifty Years with the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* (Saint John, 1888), p. 26. A branch of George's Church existed in Halifax, but there is no indication that any Halifax members remained after the departure of the Free Blacks for Sierra Leone in 1792: John Rippon, *The Baptist Annual Register* (London, 1793), pp. 473–83. See now also Stephen Davidson, "Burton, John," in *DCB* 7 (1988), 122–24.

Burton was assisted in his pastoral work by Black elders, including Richard Preston. Thomas witnessed the labours of Burton and Preston and had "thrown in his lot amongst them."[9] As a lay person he "worked incessantly with them, and was respected by them."[10] During this time he married Hannah Saunders of Preston and they bought a farm on the shores of Lake Eagle.[11]

What, if any, role James Thomas played in the events of 1827–1832 discussed below is not known. Probably because of his Welsh preference for simple piety and because of his marriage to a Black woman, he joined the African Baptist Church and became a travelling associate of Preston. McKerrow describes Thomas's career between 1840 and 1860 as including frequent travels with Preston. During this period they visited churches and communities from Halifax to Yarmouth.[12] McKerrow describes the piety of these worship services as follows:

> ...Stalwart men, with stubborn hearts, would be melted and become as little children. The fire would be kindled on their way up and on their return the sickle would be put in the field, and sheaves brought to the garner.
>
> In this manner reformation would succeed reformation,[13] until a glorious harvest for the Lord's House would be gathered in. Oftentimes would these reformations spread into other churches. For in those days when people, especially in the country, became converted, they did not lock it up for a week, but it became their daily food.
>
> In many cases the conversions of the helps on a farm, or about the store or house, have been the means of the salvation of their employers. 'God in His wisdom hath chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty.'[14]

9 McKerrow, 31.

10 Boyd, 30.

11 Pearleen Oliver, *Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia, 1782–1953* (Halifax, 1953), p. 30.

12 McKerrow lists the communities as "Horton, and Cornwallis, Inglewood, Annapolis County, Granville Mountain, Generals Bridge [Lequille], Bear River, Moose River, Digby Joggins [Joggin Bridge], Weymouth Falls, Salmon River, Yarmouth County": McKerrow, 31–32.

13 "Reformation" is a term for a season of spiritual renewal, commonly referred to today as a 'revival.'

14 McKerrow, 31–32.

Thomas was ordained in 1857 and continued his evangelical work. Following Preston's death in 1861, he was elected to the pastoral offices held by Preston: Halifax, Hammonds Plains, Preston, Beech Hill and Campbell Road [Africville] churches.[15] A particular focus of Thomas's career as minister of these churches, and as Chairman of the African Baptist Association, was evangelism and the initiation of revivals. A particular mark of his ministry was open lake baptism. Two paragraphs of McKerrow's biography focus on Thomas's baptismal liturgy:

> ...During his pastorate several additions to the churches were made by baptism, particularly at Halifax in 1868, when a powerful reformation broke out among the people, and 72 were added by baptism. The baptizing took place at Beech Hill, when he broke the record by immersing 47 in twenty minutes. The sight was most imposing. The candidates were dressed in spotless white, the day cloudless, the air balmy. The candidates marched from the church to the lake, singing the familiar hymn, "When John grew a man, baptizing began." Hundreds of eager eyes watched with intense anxiety. Many never before saw baptism by immersion. After prayer was offered up the converts went down into the water, taking hold of each other's hand, stretching far out into the lake, which made the scene one long to be remembered. In 1874 another large addition of 46 were baptized at Campbell Road Settlement [Africville],[16] which attracted a large concourse of persons from the city.
>
> ...He accompanied Father Preston through the country on most of his missionary tours, and by his singular personal activity, endeared himself to the hearts of all his brethren with whom he came in contact. He loved the open lake baptizing. He was asked on one occasion if he did not feel the severity of the cold to baptize in winter? He replied, No, I love the cause too well; and when I have a cold and go into the baptismal waters, my cold all leaves me....[17]

James Thomas's piety--his striving for "renewed zeal"--was a desire that those under his pastoral leadership would "fervently increase in the knowledge of God, by steadily persevering in his glorious commands, and live more obediently to his holy will in all our ways, and in our several places."[18] The story of Thomas's passing in 1879 is typical of his pietistic spirituality:

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15 McKerrow, 32.

16 The former community of Africville.

17 McKerrow, 34.

18 *Minutes of the African Baptist Association, 1873,* 15.

> ...His illness was of very short duration, hence he did not suffer any pain. He contracted a cold which terminated in paralysis; his family physician was summoned, when questioned he told him to prepare for the worst, said he, the worst is over doctor. One of his brother ministers was called in, he asked him, how it was with him and the Master, seeing him tranquil. Said he, "For me to live is Christ, but to die is gain." All is well. This gave great satisfaction to the divine. When he passed away after a brief illness of only ten days.[19]

Reconciler

Understanding James Thomas's role as a reconciler--his passion for "union of all God's people"[20]--derives from knowledge of the events preceding and surrounding the formation of the African Baptist Church. By 1827 John Burton had been joined in the pastoral leadership of the First Halifax Church by a Welsh Baptist minister, Robert Davis.[21] The Baptist situation in Halifax was fundamentally altered that year, when a group of Church of England seceders, who were worshipping in Burton's Halifax meeting-house, decided that they would become Baptist.[22]

When the former Anglicans opened their chapel on Granville Street as a meeting-house for Baptists,[23] they expected that the Blacks of Burton's Church would worship with them. The intention was to found new churches in Hammonds Plains and Preston for members of Burton's Church resident in those communities.[24] Unexpectedly, however, Halifax Blacks did not attend the Granville Street chapel. Instead they met separately under the leadership of Davis and Richard Creed, both whites.[25]

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19 McKerrow, 35.

20 *Minutes of the African Baptist Association, 1871*, 13.

21 There was some anticipation that Davis would succeed Burton in the pulpit: [Griffin-]Allwood, *supra*, note 7, pp. 62–63.

22 *Ibid.*, 54–55.

23 Cf. *The Force of Truth: Origin and Formation of the Baptist Church in Granville Street, Halifax, Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1828).

24 "Letter of John Burton to the Council meeting to resolve the dispute over the designation First Baptist Church, Halifax," early February 1828 (Rev. Edward Manning's correspondence, ABHC, pp. 5–9). Churches were not organized in Hammonds Plains and Preston until 1841--three years after Burton's death--when Burton's Church was divided into two congregations: Cramp, 266.

25 "Letter of John Burton..." and letter from John Ferguson to Edward Manning, May 1828 (Manning's correspondence: *ibid.*).

Davis and Creed claimed that their congregation was the true First Baptist Church of Halifax. Burton initially supported the Granville Street Church, but, seeing the dissatisfaction among his flock, made plans to continue his church.[26] Two councils of the Nova Scotia Baptist Association were held to resolve the dispute, the second of which ruled in favour of Burton.[27]

Following the decision of Council, Burton continued his church. Davis also maintained his congregation, but by July 1828 had left Halifax in order to visit Wales.[28] Following Davis's departure Creed became part of the Granville Street Baptist Church,[29] while the Blacks of the Davis-led congregation continued to worship under the leadership of Richard Preston.

Richard Preston's role in the events of 1827–1830 is hard to determine. It appears that he initially supported Burton, but that following Davis's departure he accepted the leadership of the dissenting Blacks.[30] In 1832 Preston went to England and was ordained by the West London Baptist Association.[31] In the same year the dissenting Black congregation adopted the "Articles of Faith and Practice" of the Nova Scotia Baptist Association and applied for membership in the association. Since the members of the congregation were considered to be under discipline by Burton's Church,

26 "Letter of John Burton...": pp. 17–19.

27 "Report of the Council called due to Problems in Burton's Church, January 29 -- February 4, 1828" (Manning's correspondence) and *Minutes of the Nova Scotia Baptist Association* (Halifax, 1841).

28 Davis spent the rest of his career on the fringes of the Regular Baptist denomination. For an evaluation by his contemporary, see Jarvis Ring, "The Memoirs of the Reverend Jarvis Ring, Baptist Minister" (Allwood family fonds, ABHC), pp. 68–69. See also Philip G. A. Griffin-Allwood, "The Attraction of Souls: Acadia College and the Local Church" (1988), pp. 40–41.

29 Creed's leadership would be a contributing factor to the 1830 division of the Granville Street Church into the present First Baptist Church, Halifax, and a Disciples of Christ congregation which subsisted in various forms until its closure in the 1980s: [Griffin-]Allwood, *supra*, note 7, 61–83.

30 "Report of the Council..."

31 *Baptist Magazine for 1832*, 24 (London, 1832), 311. The information supplied with Preston's ordination documents indicates that on his arrival in England in 1831 he carried credentials as the preacher for the African Baptist Church: McKerrow, 20. This would mean that the decisive action of 1832 was not the founding of a church, but the adoption of Central Association "Articles of Faith and Practice" as part of the application for association membership. Support for this conclusion is found in the 25 Feb. 1833 petition from the trustees of the African Baptist Church: PANS RG 5, Series P, vol. 42, doc. 51. (My thanks to Savanah Williams for informing me of the existence of this document.)

however, the application was rejected.[32]

Following this decision the African Baptists adopted a separatist attitude, which resulted ultimately in the founding of the African Baptist Association in 1854.[33] The members of the First Baptist Church continued under Burton's leadership until his death in 1838, when the congregation was reorganized into churches in Hammonds Plains and Preston.[34] Because branches of the African Baptist Church existed in both Hammonds Plains and Preston,[35] a situation arose in which there were, in the same communities, congregations of African Baptists in fellowship with two different transcongregational organizations; a situation in which the African Baptist congregations had formally been disfellowshipped by the Preston and Hammonds Plains churches in communion with the Central Baptist Association.

While James Thomas decided to align himself with the African Baptist part of this schism, he apparently hoped for the reconciliation evidenced in the 1832 application of the African Baptist Church for membership in the Nova Scotia Baptist Association. His response to white Baptist proselytizing among Black Baptists appears to be based on such an attitude.

The minutes of the Central Baptist Association, one of the three parts into which the Nova Scotia Baptist Association was divided in 1851, show renewed reference to the Hammonds Plains and Preston churches--beginning in 1864.[36] The Reverend David Shaw was appointed to conduct missions among the "coloured population" in the late 1860s.[37] His ministry was not wholeheartedly welcomed by the African Baptist Association. Referring to a

32 *Minutes of the Nova Scotia Baptist Association* (Halifax, 1832).

33 Frank Stanley Boyd, Jr., *McKerrow: A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia, 1783–1895* (Halifax, 1976), p. 27; see ***Appendix*** for a contemporaneous critical review of this influential work.

34 *Minutes of the Nova Scotia Baptist Association* (Halifax, 1841), p. 7. Construction of a meeting-house in Preston took place sometime after 1830, when the need for one was noted at the Nova Scotia Association annual meeting: *Minutes of the Nova Scotia Baptist Association, 1830*, p. 25.

35 African Baptist Churches were formed in Preston in 1842 and Hammonds Plains in 1845: McKerrow, 51, 66.

36 The minutes note the request from Hammonds Plains for assistance in construction of a meeting-house, and from Preston for the ordination of Carvery: *Minutes of the Central Baptist Association, 1864*, p. 21.

37 *Minutes of the Central Baptist Association, 1866*, p. 42; *1868*, p. 35.

report by Shaw recorded in the 1865 Central Association minutes, the Association noted that "...we believe it was purely...selfish motives that could have induced him to make such wide mistakes."[38] Tension between the two groups of African Baptists continued to exist into the late 1860s.

James Thomas, however, was by this period determined to effect reconciliation. Writing in the 1871 "Circular Letter" of the African Baptist Association, he defined his emphasis on "union of all God's people":

> ...Yes: whatever this poor sinful nature may say, God loves his children to dwell together in union. I hope I shall ever cherish this grand truth. This love of union led me to the Central Association, accompanied by my deacon, [Alexander] Bailey, where we were gladly received and made welcome. We had a precious season there. We felt His Spirit fall on us as dew on the mown grass. Oh, my brethren, how those gatherings help to bind God's children closer and closer together....[39]

This meeting attended by Thomas and Bailey would have been the first time that the churches involved in the 1827 schism met together in the same associational gathering without reference to the disfellowship of the one by the other. The fraternal visit to the Central Association included in its agenda a formal application for membership in the association. The Central Baptist Association "appointed [a committee] to investigate the reasons why we wished to unite with them."[40]

Reunion on the transcongregational level did not take place at this time, however, due to the division which Thomas's leadership caused among African Baptists. Reunion would have to wait until after his death.[41] What did take place was a reunion of the First Preston segment of the original First Halifax Church. When the African Baptist [Cornwallis Street] First Preston withdrew from the Association, a "number of the brethren and sisters in Preston sent a letter to the Association, stating that they were in a divided state, and praying that [Thomas] would take the oversight of them once

38 *Minutes of the African Baptist Association, 1865,* p. 5.

39 *Minutes of the African Baptist* [Cornwallis Street] *Association, 1871,* p. 13.

40 *Ibid.*, 5, and *Minutes of the Central Baptist Association, 1871.*

41 See note 63, *infra.*

more."[42] In 1873, George Carvery and others who had been part of the Central Association's First Preston Church, united with the reorganized African Baptist [Cornwallis Street] First Preston. This action by the two African Baptist bodies was "confirmed" by the Association through the following resolution:

> *Whereas* we view the action of the First Preston Church with gratificaton and satisfaction. When we consider the number of the total of the Church membership we are led to believe that action calculated to promote and establish the true worship and service of God [... ?]; and would further urge all other small and almost forgotten churches to unite together, that they may be partakers of each other's gifts and graces. Further, as there are other little branches, so called Churches, existing in said place, it is to be hoped they may be led through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit to see the error of their ways, in their want of union with each other, and that they will throw away all former prejudices and cantankerous feeling and be fully united in love for the establishment of Christ's kingdom, by which we can predict for them a Church erected creditable [*sic*] to themselves and any other body with which they may be connected, and honouring to God the giver of all things.[43]

The desire of the Association for churches to be "fully united in love" was a recognition of the division which existed among African Baptists at the time. Though the Central Association First Preston joined the African Baptist Association through this initiative, the Central Association Hammonds Plains Church did not; it remained in the Central Association.[44] Moreover, the reference to an African Baptist [Cornwallis Street] First Preston Church was an ecclesiast misrepresentation of "those holding under the former organization."[45] The African Baptist [Cornwallis Street] First Preston had joined the African Baptist [Second Preston] Association in 1870. When the two African Baptist Associations reunited following Rev. James Thomas's

42 *Minutes of the African Baptist* [Cornwallis Street] *Association, 1871*, p. 12.

43 *Minutes of the African Baptist* [Cornwallis Street] *Association, 1873*, p. 8.

44 Why it did not can be ascertained. The 1864 request to the Central Association for assistance in building a meeting-house (*supra*, note 36) is perhaps an indication that the church was in a stronger state than the African Baptist [Cornwallis Street] Association minutes suggest that Central Association First Preston enjoyed. The Central Association Hammonds Plains Church would later change its name to Lucasville Baptist Church, but did not join the African United Baptist Association until 1938: Oliver, 28.

45 *Minutes of the African Baptist* [Cornwallis Street] *Association, 1871*. George Carvery, who had led the church since the 1841 reorganization was ordained in 1874: Boyd, 68.

death in 1879, the church which included the surviving Preston section of the original First Halifax was thenceforth known as the Old First or Fulton Church.[46]

Divider

The above reconciliation achieved under Thomas's leadership was catalytic in creating the schism which existed among African Baptists independent of the white associations from 1868 until 1880. The healing of one schism induced another. McKerrow and, more recently, his editor Frank Boyd (see ***Appendix***), have accurately interpreted the division as occurring over leadership. Lying behind the leadership crisis, however, was the question of relations with the white Baptist transcongregational affiliates.

McKerrow described the controversy between the two as originating in "petty jealousies."[47] Frank Boyd described the dispute as originating in white Thomas's succession to Black Richard Preston.[48] The contention focused on the community of Preston. In 1866 Benson Smithers, who was minister of Second Preston, or Preston South Church made his case to the Association, and in 1867 he was excluded from the African Baptist Association.[49] Eleven others were excluded at the same time and in 1871.[50] At the 1867 meeting of the African Baptist [Cornwallis Street] Association "some of the brethren said that they wished to withdraw themselves from the Association and follow Smithers...."[51] This declaration led to their subsequent exclusion.

In 1867 Smithers organized a second African Baptist Association, which held its first annual meeting in 1868, attended by churches--in addition to Second Preston--from Granville Mountain, Bear River, Digby Joggins [Joggin Bridge], Weymouth, Yarmouth (Salmon River) and Campbell Road [Africville].[52] With the exception of Second Preston, the other churches

46 McKerrow, 59.

47 McKerrow, 35.

48 Boyd, 32–33.

49 Boyd, 32.

50 Boyd, 32.

51 *Minutes of the African Baptist* [Cornwallis Street] *Association, 1867*, p. 4.

52 *Minutes of the Proceedings of the African Baptist* [Second Preston] *Association, 1868*.

technically retained membership in both African Baptist Associations.[53]

In 1871 George Neale was excluded, because "said brother...connected himself with the Rev. Smithers' body, the same being clandestine, and at variance with our body."[54] The African Baptist [Second Preston] Association welcomed Neale and his First Preston Church in 1870, "which have come out boldly from the Rev. James Thomas."[55] As mentioned above, those in the Neale-led First Preston who wished to remain in fellowship with the African Baptist [Cornwallis Street] Association were to unite with the Central Association's First Preston Church to create the Fulton Church.[56]

Frank Boyd posits that Smithers thought that "no white man ought to provide the leadership of the African Baptist [Church]." He sees Neale and Smithers as having "defined themselves as preachers in the 'Black Father' tradition."[57] That the leadership question precipitated the division is clear, but it involved more than race. Thomas and Smithers operated under two different definitions of associational leadership. In 1871 the African Baptist [Second Preston] Association resolved "That the Rev. Benson Smithers be Bishop of our Association."[58] Thomas, on the other hand, used the designation 'Chairman' to describe the presiding officer of the African Baptist [Cornwallis Street] Association,[59] while Richard Preston had been the 'Moderator' of the Association.[60]

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53 See the printed Minutes of the two Associations.

54 Boyd, 33.

55 *Minutes of the Proceedings of the African Baptist* [Second Preston] *Association, 1870,* p. 1.

56 The absorption of the Neale-led First Preston Church meant that in 1871 there were three African Baptist Churches using the name 'First Preston': the African Baptist [Second Preston] founded by Richard Preston; the African Baptist [Cornwallis Street], consisting of the remnant of the former which was recognized by the African Baptist [Cornwallis Street] Association as First Preston; and the Central Association Church which had been founded by John Burton.

57 Boyd, 33.

58 *Minutes of the Proceedings of the African Baptist* [Second Preston] *Association, 1870,* p. 3.

59 *Minutes of the African Baptist* [Cornwallis Street] *Association, 1873,* p. 12.

60 See *Minutes of the African Baptist Association* previous to Preston's death in 1861.

Overemphasis on the racial issue must be tempered by the African Baptist [Second Preston] Association's inclusion of whites in their association gatherings. For example, the 1871 annual meeting of the African Baptist [Second Preston] Association stated that "we felt glad to see so many of our white friends come in with us."[61] Yet even the phrasing is an indication of the sense of Black distinctiveness within the African Baptist [Second Preston] Association.

The principal issue between the two leaders, Thomas and Smithers, was likely their formal relationship to the white Baptist associations. Neale's departure coincided with the application for membership in the Central Baptist Association. As Frank Boyd's annotations--in contrast to McKerrow's text--make clear, the debate over integration into and/or separation from white Baptists was of long standing. Thus Thomas's leadership in promoting unity with white Baptists, also achieved the unintended result of promoting schism among Black Baptists.

Evidence of the conflict between the two leaders is found in the reconciliation between the two African Baptist Associations following Thomas's death.[62] Smithers, who died in 1885, vanishes from the records after reunion. The Association worked out a compromise which both affirmed unity and maintained independence.[63]

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61 *Minutes of the Proceedings of the African Baptist* [Second Preston] *Association of Nova Scotia, 1871*, p. 2. Similar affirmations of gratitude for white support and/or presence are found in the *Minutes*. "That our thanks be tendered to the white friends of Yarmouth for their liberal kindness in helping to build a church for the Africans to worship the Lord in, also for their kind attention and good behaviour. We hope the blessing of the Almighty God will be with them": *Minutes of the Proceedings of the African Baptist* [Second Preston] *Association, 1873*, p. 5. "Met at 7 o'clock, P.M., at the Hill Grove Church, to which our white Brethren had given us an invitation": *Minutes of the Proceedings of the African Baptist* [Second Preston] *Association of Nova Scotia, 1878*, p. 3.

62 The last meeting of the African Baptist [Second Preston] Association was in 1880: *Minutes of the Proceedings of the African Baptist* [Second Preston] *Association, 1880.*

63 In 1882 the African Baptist Association requested assistance from the Baptist Convention of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island: *Baptist Year Book, 1882*, p. 22. The Home Mission Board responded by granting aid to the African Baptist churches: *Baptist Year Book, 1882–1884.* In 1884 the African Baptist Association became a constituent member of the Convention: *Baptist Year Book, 1884*, pp. 15, 155. A controversy ensued among the African Baptist churches over whether they should affiliate with the regional associations of the Convention or maintain a separate Association. In 1887, after debating a motion to dissolve, the African Baptist Association decided to keep its separate corporate identity within the Convention: *Minutes of the African Baptist Association, 1887*, pp. 4–5 and *Baptist Year Book, 1887.* After a United Baptist Convention reorganization in the 1960s, some churches have chosen dual affiliation, but the majority remain solely aligned with the African United Baptist Association.

The Reverend James Thomas was a transitional figure in the life of Afro-Nova Scotian Baptists. As a white layman who had sided with the Blacks when they were disciplined in 1828 for seeking congregational autonomy, he had the personal credibility which could make him a clerical leader in the reconciliation between the Black and white Baptist associations. The key to understanding Thomas's motivation towards reconciliation was his piety. Unfortunately the price which had to be paid for this reconciliation was alienation from those members of his own African Baptist Association who did not fully share his ecumenical vision.

Appendix
Boyd's McKerrow: *A Critique*

In 1976 an edited and annotated reprint of Peter McKerrow's *A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia*, originally published in 1895, was issued by Afro-Nova Scotian Enterprises. The annotations by the editor, Frank S. Boyd, Jr., for the last half of the nineteenth century, helpfully illumine McKerrow's work. Contemporary with Boyd's work was research which produced two theses--Stephen Davidson's *Leaders of the Black Baptists of Nova Scotia, 1782–1832* and this author's *First Baptist Church, Halifax: Its Origin and Early Years*--both at Acadia University. The research presented in the theses permits revision of some of Boyd's annotations for the early nineteenth century. For example, he rehearsed the common assumption that there were two Baptist Churches meeting in Halifax in 1832. In fact there were five, all having their roots in John Burton's Church, founded in 1795.

Burton was not an Anglican missionary when he arrived in Nova Scotia. Though he had been ordained priest in the Church of England, he had been licensed as a Dissenting Minister before leaving England. He came to Halifax as a missionary for the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, a Calvinistic Methodist organization. In 1795, after converting to Regular Baptist beliefs, Burton organized a Baptist Church. His congregation was mostly Black, drawing its membership from the urban Halifax-Dartmouth area.

In 1827, several factions promoted a schism in Burton's Church. Within it were Blacks, middle-class whites with Campbellite leanings, and upper-class Anglicans, who were in the process of becoming Regular Baptist.

When the former Anglicans opened their chapel on Granville Street as a Baptist meeting-house, they expected that the Blacks of Burton's Church would worship with them. Plans called for the founding of new churches in Hammonds Plains and Preston for members of Burton's Church resident in those communities. Unexpectedly, however, Halifax Blacks did not attend the Granville Street chapel. Instead, they met separately under the leadership of the Reverends Robert Davis and Richard Creed, both whites. Davis was the leader of the Blacks, not the whites--as claimed by Boyd.

Thus, in 1827, plans were made to divide Burton's Church into three congregations. Due to the patrician character of the Granville Street Baptist Church (now First Baptist Church, Halifax), the Blacks feared for their separate ecclesial identity. Davis and Creed apparently played on these fears and exploited them in order to set up a separate church in Halifax, which could claim to be the true Burton's Church. Burton had initially supported the Granville Street Church, but seeing the dissatisfaction among his flock, had made plans to continue his own church. By late 1828, therefore, three Baptist Churches existed in Halifax: Granville Street Baptist Church, Burton's First Baptist Church, and the Creed/Davis Church, which also claimed to be the First Baptist Church. In that year, two councils of the Nova Scotia Baptist Association were held in order to resolve the dispute. The second council ruled in favour of Burton. Davis left town, while Creed and his followers joined the Granville Street Church. The latter assumed leadership of the Campbellite-leaning faction in the congregation, tensions between whom and the Regular Baptists would result in division of the Church in 1830.

The membership records of Burton's Church indicate that many of the Blacks did not return to it. They were probably tired of being manipulated by the whites; Creed and Davis, for example, appear to have been using the Blacks for their own church-political purposes. There is also evidence to suggest that anti-Black sentiments among Creed's party were excessive and beyond even the racist mores of the day. Whatever the reasons, many of the Blacks did not return in 1831 to worship in the white Baptist Churches of Halifax: Burton's Church; Second Baptist Church, led by Creed; Third Baptist Church, Granville Street; or the Windsor Road Church, which was formed as a peaceful dismission from Burton's Church in 1828. The allusion to the African Baptist Church in the West London Association minutes indicates that the Blacks worshipped as a separate congregation.

Richard Preston's role in the events of 1827–1830 is hard to determine, though it appears that he initially supported Burton. Though he was later to found a separate Black congregation, moreover, he did not originally favour separation from the Nova Scotia Baptist Association. When the African Baptist Church (now Cornwallis Street) was constituted in 1832, it applied for membership in the association. Since its members were considered to be under discipline by Burton's Church, however, the application was rejected. The African Baptists then assumed a separatist attitude, which resulted in the founding of the African Baptist Association in 1854.

The extant archival records for the nineteenth century call into question an exclusively separatist interpretation of African Baptist history in Nova Scotia. The tension between integration and separation, which was integral to the founding of the African Baptist Church, continued throughout the century. It is implicit in the 1871 application from the African Baptist Church for membership in the Central Baptist Association, a division of the Nova Scotia Baptist Association. It is best illustrated, moreover, by the reunion of the African Baptist Association with white Baptists in the 1880s. In 1882 the African Baptist Association made a request for assistance to the Baptist Convention of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The Home Mission Board responded by granting aid to the African Baptist Churches. In 1884 the African Baptist Association became a constituent member of the Convention, which caused an identity crisis among the African Baptist Churches. Should they integrate into the regional associations of the Convention or maintain a separate corporate existence? In 1887 the African Baptists decided to keep their separate identity within the Convention, thus remaining essentailly separate while becoming partly integrated.

Two other minor critical comments can be made about Boyd's *McKerrow*. First, though it is possible that the title "Father," which was used for Black ministers, arose from African-American religious culture, the title was one commonly used also for white ministers of the Nova Scotia Baptist Association in the early nineteenth century. Its use had developed among the Separate Baptist Churches, a revivalist denomination founded during the New England Great Awakening (1740–1765). Many of the Nova Scotia Baptist Churches had a similar revivalist background, and African Baptist origins are also to be found among Separate Baptists.

Secondly, the conclusion that Septimus D. Clark[e] (1787–1859) was illiterate suggests lack of awareness of the usage of variant spellings of personal names in the nineteenth century. Two or more spellings of a person's name was common; the most famous Nova Scotian Baptist example is James W. Johnst*on* or Johnst*one*, a seceder from St. Paul's in 1827.

The Tremaine Family of Nova Scotia, 1764–1994: Part One

Gail D. Judge

[*Ed. Note*: The following genealogy carries the Tremain/e family of Nova Scotia to the end of the fourth generation; the fifth generation, plus an extensive source bibliography, will be included in a subsequent issue of the *Review*. Readers should note that the surname spelling (Tremain or Tremaine) varies randomly, even within members of the same family group.]

The Tremain(e)s are an old English family which can be traced back to the time of Edward III. This particular branch has long-time roots in North America and Nova Scotia. It is unknown at present the reason for their coming to live in North America, but the arrival in New York City of the progenitor of this family occurred ca. 1764 and they remained loyal to the British crown at the time of the American Revolutionary War. They have had a long-standing tradition of being prominent businessmen and of holding positions within the military. Family tradition claims that the progenitor had a brother who arrived with him, but information to confirm this has not yet been found. It is the intention of the author to present the information located to date for those who are descended and for anyone who may be interested.

FIRST GENERATION

1 Jonathan[1] Tremain was b. 24 Apr. 1742, in Portsea, Hampshire, England; m. Abigail ***Stout***, who was b. 24 Mar. 1754, New York, NY, d/o Richard Stout and d. 6 June 1822, Halifax, NS. Jonathan d. 6 May 1823, Halifax. Jonathan attended school in Maidstone, Kent and worked for a short time in Plymouth, Devonshire. He and his brother-in-law Richard Stout later had a coal-mining partnership in Sydney, NS. In 1786 he purchased a large piece of land on what is now Inglis St. in Halifax; it was located at what was known as Freshwater Bridge. On this property he set up a rope-making business. In 1789 he purchased the wharf lot and premises in Halifax which had previously belonged to John George Pyke and which were to become known as Tremain's Wharf. This wharf was slightly north of Citadel Hill, leading down from the barracks; he built stores and shops on it and extended it back from the harbour to present-day Bedford Row. In 1792 Jonathan Tremain and Lawrence Hartshorne purchased land in

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Dartmouth from Timothy Folger, Samuel Starbuck and Samuel Starbuck, jr. The purpose of this purchase was to construct a grist mill, located near Dartmouth Cove. After building the mill both Jonathan and Richard built homes nearby: the Hartshorne residence, known as "Mansion House," remained until 1951 when it was demolished. In 1796 he incorporated a company for the purpose of constructing a bridge of boats from Black Rock in Dartmouth to the Halifax Dockyard shore.

Issue of Jonathan and Abigail (Stout) Tremain:

2 i. Jonathan Tremain, b. 13 Feb. 1771.
ii. Mary Tremain, b. 5 Aug. 1772, New York; d. 30 May 1775, New York.
3 iii. Richard Tremain, b. 20 June 1774.
4 iv. John Tremaine, b. 17 Feb. 1776.
5 v. Abigail Tremain, b. 2 Jan. 1778.
6 vi. Joseph Tremain, b. 20 Oct. 1779.
7 vii. Benjamin Tremain, b. 19 Oct. 1781.
8 viii. Elizabeth Tremain, b. 29 Sept. 1783.
ix. William Tremain, b. 8 Sept. 1786, Halifax, NS; d. 22 Mar. 1809.
x. Henrietta Phoebe Tremain, b. 8 Sept. 1786, Halifax; d. 14 Mar. 1874, Halifax.
9 xi. James Tremain, b. 23 Feb. 1791.
xii. Henry Lewis Hartshorne Tremain, b. 21 Dec. 1794, Halifax; d. 18 Dec. 1828, Halifax.
10 xiii. Mary Martha Rebecca Tremain, b. 17 Aug. 1796.

SECOND GENERATION

2 Jonathan[2] Tremain (Jonathan[1]), b. 13 Feb. 1771, New York; m. Mary ***Lee***, 14 Oct. 1793, Halifax; she was b. 23 May 1774, New York, d/o William Lee and Mary Cobb, and d. 16 Dec. 1802, Halifax. Jonathan d. 24 Sept. 1838, Fort Ellis, NS. Jonathan was a merchant and had been in the militia. He resided in England during the War of 1812 and as a partner with his brothers in the family rope-making business, supervised the shipment of finished rope.

Issue of Jonathan and Mary (Lee) Tremain:

i. William James Tremain, b. 28 Sept. 1794, Halifax; d. 14 Nov. 1795, Halifax.

11 ii. Charles William Tremain, b. 14 Mar. 1796.
12 iii. John Lewis Tremain, b. 28 Apr. 1798.
13 iv. James Scott Tremain, b. 1801.
14 v. Mary Lee Tremain, b. 17 Dec. 1802.

3 Richard[2] Tremain (Jonathan[1]), b. 20 June 1774, New York; m. 13 May 1801 in Halifax, Mary ***Boggs***, who was b. 28 Aug. 1779, Shrewsbury, NJ and d. 24 May 1860, Charlottetown, PEI; bur. Elm Avenue Cemetery, Charlottetown. Richard d. 30 July 1854, Halifax. Richard was a merchant and a colonel in the Halifax Royal Artillery. In 1815 he purchased the Halifax property known as 'Oaklands' from William Taylor's daughter, Mary E. Brenton. This property ran from the North West Arm to Robie Street and was bounded on the north by what is now South Street and on the south by the 'Belmont' Estate. In 1816 he acquired additional land from John Howe, jr. On the property was situated a two-storey brick residence, conservatory, vinery, greenhouse, stable and barns, with a pathway of pine, birch, beach, oak and shrubs. A gatekeeper's residence, and a large stone and iron wall and gate stood at the entrance to the grounds on Robie Street, with a long drive leading to the main residence. The estate was forty acres in size. In 1848 the home was burned by what were described as "sparks on the roof." It was after 1854 that the estate was sold to William Cunard, son of Sir Samuel Cunard. The gatekeeper's house and part of the wall and gate still stand at the corner of Robie St. and Oakland Rd. Richard held positions as magistrate, Commissioner of the Poor, and Commissioner of the Peace for approximately thirty years. Between 1825 and 1830 he served on the Bridewell committee. Between 1830 and 1835 he served as treasurer on the Poor Asylum committee.

Issue of Richard and Mary (Boggs) Tremain:

15 i. Richard Tremain, b. 27 Feb. 1802.
16 ii. Thomas Boggs Tremain, b. 9 Nov. 1803.
iii. Mary Morris Tremain, b. 2 Aug. 1805, Halifax; d. 23 Dec. 1890, Halifax.
17 iv. Louisa Brenton Tremain, b. 25 Apr. 1807.
v. James White Tremain, b. 18 Feb. 1809, Halifax; d. 1 Dec. 1814, Halifax.
18 vi. Lawrence Tremain, b. 19 Jan. 1811.
19 vii. Anna Kearnie Tremaine, b. 21 Dec. 1812.
viii. Rebecca Tremain, b. 17 Sept. 1814, Halifax; d. 24 May 1838, Halifax.

20 ix. Elizabeth White Tremain, b. 14 Dec. 1816.
21 x. Abigail Sarah Tremain, b. 27 Sept. 1818.
xi. Maria Tremain, b. 2 July 1822, Halifax; m. 21 Aug. 1853, Halifax, A. M. James ***Desbrisay***, who was b. 7 July 1819, Charlottetown; d. 5 Mar. 1898, Charlottetown. Maria d. 4 Oct. 1909, Charlottetown. James was an insurance adjuster.
22 xii. John Stuart Tremain, b. 4 June 1824.

4 John[2] Tremaine (Jonathan[1]), b. 17 Feb. 1776, New York; m. 13 May 1801 in Halifax, Eliza ***Lee*** who was b. 16 Feb. 1779, New York, d/o William Lee and Mary Cobb, and d. 14 May 1844, Halifax. John d. 5 May 1854, Halifax. John owned property on South Street which later was owned by Judge Drysdale. He and his brother Jonathan continued the operation of the family mills and ropeworks after their father's death.
Issue of John and Eliza (Lee) Tremain:
i. Eliza Lee Tremain, b. 21 Oct. 1802, Halifax; d. 2 Dec. 1836, New York.
23 ii. Catherine Mary Tremain, b. 21 Oct. 1803.
24 iii. John Dunsier Tremain, b. 10 Oct. 1806.
25 iv. George Lowell Tremaine, b. 11 Dec. 1808.
v. Ellen Maria E. Tremain, b. 9 Aug. 1810, Halifax; d. 18 June 1836, Windsor, NS.
26 vi. Edward Thomas Tremain, b. 8 Dec. 1812.

5 Abigail[2] Tremain (Jonathan[1]), b. 2 Jan. 1778, New York; and m. 2 Sept. 1802 in Halifax, Lawrence ***Hartshorne***, who was b. 1756, New Jersey and d. 10 Mar. 1822. Lawrence also m. Elizabeth Ustick, 20 Jan. 1780. Abigail d. 7 Mar. 1837, Halifax.
Issue of Lawrence and Abigail (Tremain) Hartshorne:
i. Lucy Hartshorne, b. 26 July 1803 Halifax; m. Jonathan ***Shortt***, an Anglican clergyman. Lucy d. 15 Feb. 1849, Port Hope, ON.
27 ii. Hugh Hartshorne, b. 15 Sept. 1804.
28 iii. Anna Hartshorne, b. 22 Mar. 1813.
iv. Abigail Hartshorne, b. Halifax.
v. Richard Hartshorne, b. Halifax.

6 Joseph[2] Tremain (Jonathan[1]), b. 20 Oct. 1779, New York; m. 18 Apr. 1804, New York, Frances ***Brush***; d/o John Brush and Hannah Wickes; she d. 1840. Joseph d. 7 Sept. 1835, New York.
Issue of Joseph and Frances (Brush) Tremain:

i. Edward Ichabod Tremain, bapt. Apr. 1807, New York.
ii. William Brush Tremain, b. 6 Mar. 1809, New York; d. and bur. 1858, Maspeth, NY.
iii. Mary Ann Tremain, b. 8 Aug. 1811, New York; d. and bur. 1872, Maspeth.
iv. Louisa Frances Tremain, b. 16 Aug. 1815, New York; d. and bur. 1872, Maspeth.
v. Jonathan Henry Tremain, b. New York.

7 Benjamin[2] Tremain (Jonathan[1]), b. 19 Oct. 1781, New York; m. 27 Aug. 1807, Mary ***Pyke***, d/o John G. Pyke and Elizabeth Allen; she d. 12 Feb. 1837, Quebec City. Benjamin d. 5 Oct. 1861, Quebec City.

Issue of Benjamin and Mary (Pyke) Tremain:

29 i. Elizabeth Allison Tremaine, b. 21 July 1808.
ii. William Tremaine, b. 26 Dec. 1809, Quebec City; d. 14 Sept. 1811, Quebec; bur. 15 Sept. 1811, Quebec City.
30 iii. Winckworth Tremaine, d. 1900.
iv. Mary Tremaine, b. 11 May 1813, Quebec City.
31 v. Jonathan Edward Tremaine, b. 27 Dec. 1815.
vi. John George Tremain, b. Aug. 1817, Quebec City; d. 1 Apr. and was bur. 4 Apr. 1819, Quebec City.
vii. Ann Pyke Tremaine, b. 3 Oct. 1819, Quebec City.
viii. John George Tremaine, b. 13 May 1824, Quebec City.
32 ix. James Tremaine, b. 15 Jan. 1826.
x. Frances Jane Tremaine, b. 25 June 1828, Quebec City.
xi. Ellen Maria Tremain, b. 25 June 1831, Quebec City; and d. 16 July 1831.
xii. Isabell Tremaine.
xiii. Agnes Tremaine.

8 Elizabeth[2] Tremain (Jonathan[1]), b. 29 Sept. 1783, Quebec City; m. 19 May 1809, Hudson Heights Anglican Church, Montreal, Hon. George ***Pyke***, who was b. 1775 and d. 3 Feb. 1851, Vaudreuil, Pointe à Cavagna, Quebec. George was a Judge of H.M. Court of Bench of Montreal. Elizabeth d. 6 Nov. 1822, Montreal.

Issue of Hon. George and Elizabeth (Tremain) Pyke:

i. Winkworth Allan Pyke, b. 10 Nov. 1821, Montreal; d. 9 Jan. 1823, Montreal.
33 ii. James William Pyke, b. ca. 1816.

iii. George Pyke.
iv. John Pyke, b. 1811; d. 31 Oct. 1847, Montreal.
v. Eliza Phoebe Pyke, d. 27 Aug. 1858, Halifax; m. Henry ***Pryor***.
vi. Margarita Ann Pyke, b. 27 May 1820, Montreal; d. 5 Dec. and was bur. 8 Dec. 1820, Montreal.
vii. Isabella Pyke, b. 1814; d. 26 May 1869, Montreal.
viii. Mary Lee Pyke.

9 James[2] Tremain (Jonathan[1]), b. 23 Feb. 1791, Halifax; m. 23 Mar. 1818, Halifax, Rebecca ***Pryor*** who was b. 1799 and d. 8 June 1881, Halifax. James d. 30 Aug. 1871, Halifax. He was a director of the Bank of Nova Scotia.
Issue of James and Rebecca (Pryor) Tremain:
i. Sarah Ann Tremaine, b. 28 Oct. 1819, Halifax; d. 20 Oct. 1820, Halifax.
ii. Jane Tremaine, b. 31 July 1821, Halifax; d. 22 Dec. 1907, Halifax.
iii. James Tremaine, b. 30 Jan. 1824, Halifax; d. 8 May 1829, Halifax.
iv. Emma Rebecca Tremaine, b. 20 Oct. and d. 6 Nov. 1826, Halifax.
34 v. William Henry Tremaine, b. 19 July 1829; d. 3 Sept. 1900.
vi. Henrietta Lucy Tremaine, b. 8 Apr. 1832, Halifax.

10 Mary[2] Martha Rebecca Tremain (Jonathan[1]), b. 17 Aug. 1796, Halifax; m. 15 July 1815, Halifax, Lawrence ***Hartshorne***, who was b. 1785, NJ, s/o Lawrence Hartshorne and Elizabeth Ustick, and d. 1 Oct. 1865, Halifax. Mary d. 18 Sept. 1825 in childbirth.
Issue of Lawrence and Mary (Tremain) Hartshorne:
i. Lawrence Hartshorne, b. 18 Oct. 1817, Halifax; d. 7 Jan. 1821, Halifax.
ii. Thomas Hartshorne, b. 18 May 1819, Halifax; d. 4 Jan. 1821, Halifax.
iii. John Hartshorne, b. 3 Sept. 1820, Halifax; d. 21 Dec. 1821, Halifax.
35 iv. Mary Hartshorne, b. 24 Sept. 1822.
v. Richard Hartshorne, b. 19 Feb. 1824, Halifax; d. 12 Sept. 1865. Richard was a barrister.
vi. Lawrence Hartshorne, b. ca. 1825, Halifax; d. 1 Oct. 1865.
vii. Elizabeth Hartshorne, b. 15 Sept. 1825, Halifax; probably d. young.

36 viii. Elizabeth Hartshorne.
ix. Barclay Hartshorne, b. Halifax.

THIRD GENERATION

11 Charles William[3] Tremain (Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 14 Mar. 1796, Halifax; m. 6 July 1830, Louisa Brenton ***Tremain***, who was b. 25 Apr. 1807, Halifax, d/o Richard Tremain and Mary Boggs, and d. 2 Oct. 1888, Boston, MA. Charles d. 27 July 1840, Fort Ellis, NS.
Issue of Charles and Louisa (Tremain) Tremain:
i. Charles Thomas Tremaine, b. 6 May 1831, Halifax; d. Brooklyn, NY.
37 ii. Louisa Tremaine, b. 2 Feb. 1833.
iii. Ann Tremaine, b. 4 June 1835, Halifax; m. William ***Cooper***. They had five children.
iv. Francis Tremaine, b. 8 Dec. 1837, Halifax; m. 17 Sept. 1883, New York, Margaret ***Pinney***, who was b. 1859. Francis d. in the US.
v. George Tremaine, b. 5 June 1839, Halifax; d. in the US.

12 John Lewis[3] Tremain (Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 28 Apr. 1798, Halifax; m. 22 June 1822, Port Hood, NS, Anna Caroline ***Dodd***. John d. 26 Dec. 1870, Port Hood. He was the prothonotary for Halifax County until 1853.
Issue of John and Anna (Dodd) Tremain:
38 i. Mary Lee Tremaine, b. 31 July 1824.
ii. Alfred Tremaine, b. 1833, Port Hood; d. 6 Oct. 1903, Trinidad, CO.
39 iii. Barclay E. Tremaine, b. 13 Apr. 1839.
iv. Alice Maude Tremaine, b. June 1847, Port Hood; d. 11 Feb. 1851, Port Hood.
v. Jane Fraser Tremaine, b. Port Hood.
vi. Anna Dunsier Bradalbane Tremaine, b. Port Hood; m. William ***Young***. Anna d. 30 May 1844, Falmouth, NS.
vii. Louis Edgar Tremaine, b. Port Hood; d. 20 Oct. 1896.
viii. Seward Tremaine, b. Port Hood; d. Tenaha, TX.
40 ix. Fitzclarence A. Tremaine, d. 3 Mar. 1859.

13 James Scott[3] Tremain (Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 1801, Halifax; m. (1) 8 Jan. 1833, Halifax, Anna ***Hartshorne***, who was b. 22 Mar. 1813, Halifax,

d/o Lawrence Hartshorne and Abigail Tremain; she d. 11 Aug. 1834, Halifax and he m.(2) 1 Sept. 1838, Halifax, Charlotte Mary ***Knowles***. James d. 13 Apr. 1855, Halifax.

Issue of James and Anna (Hartshorne) Tremain:

i. Laurence Barclay Tremaine, b. 16 Apr. 1834, Halifax; d. 24 June 1837, Halifax.

Issue of James and Charlotte (Knowles) Tremain:

41 ii. Charlotte Mary Hale Tremaine, b. 28 Jan. 1842.

iii. Aseneth Caroline Annette Tremaine, b. 14 June 1843, Halifax; d. 15 June 1911, Halifax.

42 iv. Scott Tremaine, b. 27 Sept. 1844.

v. Laleah Lee Tremaine, b. 20 Mar. 1846, Halifax; d. 7 Jan. 1890, Halifax.

vi. Margaret Maud Tremaine, b. 6 Aug. 1850, Halifax; d. 7 Mar. 1929, Halifax.

14 Mary Lee[3] Tremain (Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 17 Dec. 1802, Halifax; m. 16 Sept. 1829, Halifax, Hugh ***Hartshorne***, who was b. 15 Sept. 1804, Halifax, s/o Lawrence Hartshorne and Abigail Tremain. Hugh also m. Margaret Jane McKie, 12 Sept. 1840. Mary d. 19 May 1838, Halifax.

Issue of Hugh and Mary (Tremain) Hartshorne:

i. Helen Hartshorne, b. 8 Mar. 1831; d. 16 Oct. 1848, Halifax.

ii. Emily Hartshorne, b. 1 Mar. 1833.

iii. Mary Ann Hartshorne, b. 2 Feb. 1835.

iv. Arabella Hartshorne, b. 7 Jan. 1837.

15 Richard[3] Tremain (Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 27 Feb. 1802, Halifax; m. 19 July 1839, Halifax, Agnes ***Purvis***, d/o James Purvis. Richard d. 28 Oct. 1890, Halifax.

Issue of Richard and Agnes (Purvis) Tremain:

i. James Purvis Tremaine, b. 6 May 1840, Halifax; d. 13 Apr. 1877, Halifax. James was a clergyman, possibly within the Anglican Church.

43 ii. Frederick Jones Tremaine, b. 7 Feb. 1843.

iii. Harriett Agnes Tremaine, b. 15 Jan. 1846, Halifax; d. 1 Dec. 1848, Halifax.

iv. William Henry Tremaine, b. 30 Aug. 1847, Halifax; d. 15 Jan. 1855, Halifax.

44 v. Richard Lawrence Tremaine, b. 2 Mar. 1852.

45 vi. Arthur DesBrisay Tremaine, b. 18 June 1856.

16 Thomas Boggs[3] Tremain (Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 9 Nov. 1803, Halifax; m. 1 Oct. 1838, Halifax, Elizabeth Allison ***Tremaine*** who was b. 21 July 1808, Quebec City, d/o Benjamin Tremain and Mary Pyke. Thomas d. 29 Aug. 1864, Charlottetown, PEI.

Issue of Thomas and Elizabeth (Tremaine) Tremain:

i. Benjamin Tremaine, b. 1 Sept. 1837, Charlottetown.
ii. Henry Pryor Tremaine, b. 7 Sept. 1838, Halifax; d. 8 Sept. 1846, Charlottetown.
iii. Mary Isabella Tremaine, b. 3 Mar. 1840, Halifax.
iv. Frances Elizabeth Tremaine, b. 3 Feb. 1842, Halifax.
46 v. Richard Gordon Tremaine, b. 27 July 1843.
vi. Charles Edward Tremaine, b. 17 Apr. 1845, Halifax; d. 15 May 1873, Dartmouth, NS. Charles was in the navy.
vii. George Barclay Tremaine, b. 1 Mar. 1847.
47 viii. Agnes Maria Tremaine, b. 28 Apr. 1849.

17 Louisa Brenton[3] Tremain (Richard[2], Jonathan[1]); see entry 11.

18 Lawrence[3] Tremain (Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 19 Jan. 1811, Halifax; m. (1) 31 Mar. 1837, Halifax, Mary Jane ***Brown*** who was b. ca. 1819, d/o Thomas Brown, and d. 16 Dec. 1841, Halifax; m.(2) 16 Oct. 1843, Halifax, Margaret Gordon ***Morrison***, d/o Eneas Morrison, and d. 15 Oct. 1880, Crapaud, PEI. Lawrence d. 19 Apr. 1891, Tryon, PEI. Lawrence was a physician and received his degree in Edinburgh.

Issue of Lawrence and Mary (Brown) Tremain:

i. William Scott Tremaine, b. 13 Sept. 1838, Halifax; m. Sarah ***Johnson***, d/o John Johnson; she d. 19 Jan. 1878, Fort Dodge, KS. William was a surgeon in the 21st New York Cavalry in the American Civil War, and a professor of surgery at Niagara University, Niagara Falls, NY. He was Assistant Surgeon at Fort Dodge, 1869–1880. William d. 16 Jan. 1898, Buffalo, NY.
48 ii. Mary Jane Tremaine, b. 10 Dec. 1839.
iii. Laurence Gordon Tremaine, b. 8 Dec. 1841, Halifax; d. 20 Feb. 1842, Halifax.
iv. Jesse Tremaine, b. Halifax; m., wife's name unknown.

19 Anna Kearnie[3] Tremaine (Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 21 Dec. 1812, Halifax; m. 30 Aug. 1838, Quebec, Winckworth ***Tremaine*** who was bapt. 20 Nov. 1811, Quebec, s/o Benjamin Tremain and Mary Pyke; and died 11 May

1901, Quebec. Winckworth d. 1900, Quebec.
Issue of Winckworth and Anna (Tremaine) Tremaine:

49 i. Richard Wentworth Tremaine, b. 13 Apr. 1840.
ii. Anna Rebecca Tremaine, b. 15 May 1842, Quebec.
iii. Augustus Benjamin Tremaine, b. 10 Mar. 1844, Quebec.
50 iv. Arthur Tremaine, b. 2 Apr. 1845.
v. Mary Sinclair Tremaine, b. 8 Jan. 1847.
vi. Harry Winckworth Tremaine, b. 27 Feb. 1849, Quebec; d. in infancy, Quebec.
vii. Sarah Frances Tremaine, b. 2 Mar. 1851, Quebec; d. 12 Aug. 1941, Quebec.
viii. Alfred Morris Tremaine, b. 25 Sept. 1853, Quebec.
ix. Laleah Louise Tremaine, b. 15 Feb. 1856, Buffalo, NY.

20 Elizabeth White[3] Tremain (Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 14 Dec. 1816, Halifax; m. 31 Aug. 1847, Halifax, Hon. John ***Longworth***, who was b. 19 Sept. 1814, PEI and d. 11 Apr. 1885, Charlottetown. Elizabeth d. 25 Dec. 1898, in Halifax. Educated at Central Academy, Charlottetown, John studied law under Sir Robert Hodgson, Attorney-General of PEI, and was admitted to the PEI bar in 1837. Thereafter he lived briefly in England, returned to PEI in 1840 and established a practice in Charlottetown, later serving as president of the Bank of PEI. In 1846 he was elected to the Legislative Assembly and later was a Solicitor-General of PEI. He was a member of the Queen's Council from 1863 onwards, a Master in Chancery and Deputy Judge of Vice-Admiralty. He was also a director of the Gas Light Company and the founding president of the Law Society, chairman of the Charlottetown School Board, and a lieutenant-colonel in the militia.
Issue of John and Elizabeth (Tremain) Longworth:

51 i. Constance Mary Longworth, b. 18 Apr. 1850.
ii. Brenton Fitzgerald Longworth, b. 5 Jan. 1852, Halifax; m. Katherine ***Wright***. Brenton d. 5 July 1925.
iii. Emily Louise Longworth, b. 22 Apr. 1854, Halifax.
iv. Arthur Longworth, b. 1855, Halifax; d.19 Feb. 1861.
52 v. Richard John Augustus Longworth, b. 7 Aug. 1857; d. 4 Nov. 1909.
53 vi. Isabella Cogswell Longworth, b. 11 July 1859.

21 Abigail Sarah[3] Tremain (Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 27 Sept. 1818, Halifax; m. 20 May 1851, George Mills ***Goodeve***, who was b. ca. 1810 and d. 20

Mar. 1889. George was an accountant. Abigail d. 20 Mar. 1889, Mitchell, ON.

Issue of George and Abigail (Tremain) Goodeve:

i. Mary Elizabeth Goodeve, b. 27 Feb. 1852; d. 22 Nov. 1879.

54 ii. George Sidford Goodeve, b. 17 July 1853.

iii. Agnes Eliza Goodeve, b. 8 Oct. 1855.

iv. Sarah Tremaine Goodeve, b. 30 Apr. 1859.

22 John Stuart[3] Tremain (Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 4 June 1824, Halifax; m. (1) 26 July 1853, Charlottetown, Eliza ***Hyndman***; m. (2) 11 Oct. 1858, Halifax, Elizabeth Lavinia ***Harris***; she d. 18 Oct. 1903, Miramichi, NB. John d. 4 Feb. 1918, Lake Echo, NS.

Issue of John and Eliza (Hyndman) Tremain:

55 i. Elizabeth Hyndman Tremaine, b. 8 July 1856.

Issue of John and Elizabeth (Harris) Tremain:

56 ii. Lavinia Tremaine, b. 27 Nov. 1860.

57 iii. Harris Stuart Tremaine, b. 12 Oct. 1865.

23 Catherine Mary[3] Tremain (John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 21 Oct. 1803, Halifax; m. 31 May 1825, Halifax, Charles ***Twining***, who was b. 1810 and d. 14 Dec. 1868, Lee, Kent. Catherine d. 23 July 1867.

Issue of Charles and Catherine (Tremain) Twining:

58 i. John Tremaine Twining, b. 7 May 1826.

ii. William Twining, b. 12 Sept. 1827; m. 13 Oct. 1897, Alice Elizabeth ***Merkel***, d/o Samuel W. Merkel; she d. 24 Mar. 1918, Blackheath, Kent. William d. 16 Sept. 1906, Halifax. William was a director of the Union Bank of Halifax and the Halifax Fire Insurance Co.

59 iii. Edward Crawley Twining, b. 16 Apr. 1829.

60 iv. Elizabeth Sarah Twining, b. 24 Aug. 1830.

61 v. Catherine Mary Twining, b. 9 Feb. 1832.

vi. Charles Twining, b. 25 July 1834; d. 2 July 1856, Demerera, British Guyana.

vii. James Johnstone Twining, b. 18 May 1837, Halifax; m. 25 Sept. 1868, Elizabeth ***Pittman***, d/o Frederick Pittman. James d. 15 Oct. 1901, Ascot Vale, Melbourne, Australia, of stomach cancer. He was a lieutenant in H.M. 35th Regiment.

viii. Ellen Harriett Twining, b. 1 June 1842; d. 2 Dec. 1891, Halifax.

62 ix. Claudine Maud Twining, b. 21 Oct. 1849.

24 John Dunsier[3] Tremain (John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 10 Oct. 1806, Halifax; m. 15 Dec. 1830, Eliza ***Kennikell***, who was b. Lunenburg, NS; she d. 1 Aug. 1876. John d. 11 Jan. 1874, Port Hood, NS. John was postmaster for Port Hood and county treasurer. Issue of John and Eliza (Kennikell) Tremain:

i. Francis Albert Tremaine, b. 23 Jan. 1832, Port Hood, NS; d. 3 Feb. 1832.

63 ii. Georgina Adelaide Tremaine, b. 5 Apr. 1833.

64 iii. William Lee Tremaine, b. 14 Oct. 1835.

iv. Ellen Eliza Tremaine, b. 17 Nov. 1837, Port Hood; d. 16 May 1838, Port Hood.

65 v. Edward Dunsier Tremaine, b. 14 May 1839.

vi. John Henry Tremaine, b. 31 Mar. 1841, Port Hood; d. 26 Nov. 1864, Port Hood.

vii. Eliza Emma Tremaine, b. 9 June 1843, Port Hood; d. 25 Dec. 1843, Port Hood.

66 viii. Frederick Valentine Tremaine, b. 17 Jan. 1845; d. 1901.

ix. Philip Augustus Dunsier Tremaine, b. 25 Dec. 1847, Port Hood; d. 17 Nov. 1865, Port Hood.

67 x. Rufus Arthur Tremaine, b. 24 Apr. 1850.

68 xi. Eliza Marion Maud Tremaine, b. 16 Dec. 1852.

25 George Lowell[3] Tremaine (John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 11 Dec. 1808, Halifax; m. Almyra ***Mingue***. George d. 27 Sept. 1848, Sackville, NS.

Issue of George and Almyra (Mingue) Tremaine:

69 i. Albert Mengis Tremaine, b. 14 Nov. 1841.

ii. George Tremaine.

26 Edward Thomas[3] Tremain (John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 8 Dec. 1812, Halifax; m. (1) 13 Mar. 1837, Perrysburg, Ohio, Anna Maria ***Ladd***, d/o David Ladd; she d. 21 Mar. 1840; m. (2) 1852, in New York, Charlotte E. _____; she d. in Williamsport, PA; m. (3) no further details; d. 29 Mar. 1884, also in Williamsport. In 1849 he moved to California, then to the Sandwich Islands (now Hawaii). In 1852 he came to New York City where he m. a second and third time. He was a doctor by profession and was educated at Harvard University.

Issue of Edward and Anna (Ladd) Tremain:

i. David Lee (Ladd) Tremaine, b. 21 Mar. 1840. David lived in Charlotte, Eaton Co., Michigan.

Issue of Edward and Charlotte Tremain:

ii. Edward George Tremain, m., wife's name unknown; d. post-1893, Brooklyn, NY.
iii. Charlotte Tremain, m. _____ ***Hill***.
iv. Harriett Tremain.
v. Ellen Marie Tremain.

27 Hugh[3] Hartshorne (Abigail[2], Jonathan[1]); see entry 19.

28 Anna[3] Hartshorne (Abigail[2], Jonathan[1]); see entry 13.

29 Elizabeth Allison[3] Tremaine (Benjamin[2], Jonathan[1]); see entry 16.

30 Winckworth[3] Tremaine (Benjamin[2], Jonathan[1]); see entry 19.

31 Jonathan Edward[3] Tremaine (Benjamin[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 27 Dec. 1815, Quebec City; m. 29 June 1839, Coburg, ON, Jessie ***Brown***.

Issue of Jonathan and Jessie (Brown) Tremaine:

i. Edward George Tremain, b. 12 May 1844, Quebec.
ii. Amy Tremain, b. 13 July 1846, Quebec.

32 James[3] Tremaine (Benjamin[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 15 Jan. 1826, Quebec City; m. Isabella ***Andrew***.

Issue of James and Isabella (Andrew) Tremaine:

i. Robert Andrew Tremaine, bapt. 2 Nov. 1855, Quebec; bur. 29 Nov. 1856, Quebec.
ii. Susan Tremaine, b. 16 Apr. 1860, Quebec.
iii. William Tremaine, bapt. 6 Nov. 1864, Portland.

33 James William[3] Pyke (Elizabeth[2], Jonathan[1]), b. ca. 1816; m. 23 Sept. 1847, Montreal, Elizabeth ***McTavish***; d. 1891.

James was an Anglican clergyman.

Issue of James and Elizabeth (McTavish) Pyke:

i. Mary Pike, b. ca. 1866.
ii. Eva Pike, b. 1867.
iii. Marge Pike, b. 1855.
iv. Ellen Pike, b. 1857.
v. Edward Tremain Pyke, b. 1872; d. 24 July 1874, Montreal.

34 William Henry[3] Tremaine (James[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 19 July 1829, Halifax; m. 1830 Frances ***Henderson***, who d. 19 Dec. 1921, Aucroft, Northumberland. William d. 3 Sept. 1900, Truro, NS. William owned a house on Queen Street, Truro, as well as horses and carriages.

Issue of William and Frances (Henderson) Tremaine:

70 i. James Henderson Tremaine, b. 1 Aug. 1859.

71 ii. Robert Harry Tremaine, b. 6 June 1861.
iii. Frances Henrietta Turnbull Tremaine, b. 30 June 1864, Truro, NS; d. 7 Dec. 1868, Halifax.
iv. Millicent Pryor Tremaine, b. 16 Feb. 1866, Truro; d. 5 June 1883, Halifax.
72 v. Blanche Tremaine, b. 28 Jan. 1869.

35 Mary[3] Hartshorne (Mary[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 24 Sept. 1822, Halifax; m. 26 Aug. 1847, James ***Stewart***, an Anglican clergyman. Mary d. 19 Nov. 1859.
Issue of James and Mary (Hartshorne) Stewart:
i. Lawrence Stewart.
ii. Douglas Stewart.
iii. Sydney Stewart.
iv. Mary Stewart.
v. Helen Stewart.

36 Elizabeth[3] Hartshorne (Mary[2], Jonathan[1]), b. Halifax; m. 18 July 1848, William D. ***Jeans***.
Issue of William and Elizabeth (Hartshorne) Jeans:
i. William Milne Jeans, b. 1850; d. 2 June 1851, Halifax.

FOURTH GENERATION

37 Louisa[4] Tremaine (Charles[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 2 Feb. 1833, Halifax; m. 28 Oct. 1857, Boston, Robert ***Forman***. Louisa d. 19 Sept. 1860, Londonderry, NS.
Issue of Robert and Louisa (Tremaine) Forman:
i. James Forman; lived in Victoria, BC.

38 Mary Lee[4] Tremaine (John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 31 July 1824, Port Hood, NS; m. 27 Dec. 1842, Charles Fortnum ***Harrington***, who was b. 11 June 1804, and d. 20 Oct. 1864, Plaster Cove, NS. Mary d. 1 Mar. 1910, Newton Falls, MA.
Issue of Charles and Mary (Tremaine) Harrington:
i. Annie Eliza Harrington, b. 21 Apr. 1846, Arichat, NS; d. 11 Dec. 1937, Newton, MA.
ii. Louis Philip Harrington, b. 21 Oct. 1847, Arichat; d. 10 Dec. 1870.
iii. Clement Harris Harrington, b. 1 Aug. 1849, Arichat; d. 4 May 1892, Briento, Australia.

73 iv. Alice Lee Harrington, b. 10 Aug. 1851.

v. Frederick Wellesley Harrington, b. 15 Feb. 1853, Arichat; d. 13 Aug. 1933, Newton Lower Falls, MA.

74 vi. Bertha Rebecca Brine Harrington, b. 12 Feb. 1855.

vii. Charles Tremain Harrington, b. 24 June 1857, Arichat; m. Annie Elizabeth ***Hubbard***, who was b. 27 July 1859, St. Louis, MO. Annie d. 30 Dec. 1900, Newton Lower Falls. Charles enlisted in the Royal Artillery, 8 Jan. 1877 in Liverpool, England. He volunteered for active service in Afghanistan, embarking for India, 29 Jan. 1879. Active service in Afghanistan 1879–80; Waziristan 1881; and Egypt 1882. Received medals for campaigns in Afghanistan and Egypt. Arrived in Boston, MA, 25 July 1885 and became a letter carrier in Newton; pensioned 24 June 1928.

75 viii. William Pooley Harrington, b. 5 May 1859.

ix. Eugene Henry Fortnum Harrington, b. 17 Sept. 1860, Arichat; m. 5 July 1890, Gloucester, MA, Grace Louise ***Kinsman***, who was b. 16 Feb. 1870, Gloucester, and d. 9 May 1924, La Mesa, CA. Eugene d. 8 Apr. 1924, La Mesa.

39 Barclay E.[4] Tremaine (John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 13 Apr. 1839, Port Hood, NS; m. (1) Katherine Elizabeth ***Shields***, d/o Edward Shields; m. (2) 9 June 1865, Port Hood, Caroline ***Old***. Barclay d. 26 Jan. 1907. He was a notary public, 1861; Master in Equity, Victoria Co., 19 Apr. 1870.

Issue of Barclay and Katherine (Shields) Tremaine:

i. Barclay E. L. Tremaine, b. 17 Oct. 1861, Port Hood. Barclay was a clerk in the Subsistence Dept., Dept. of War, Alexandria Co., Virginia, and resided in New York, 1893.

Issue of Barclay and Caroline (Old) Tremaine:

ii. Anna Kate Caroline Tremaine, b. 24 Apr. 1866, Port Hood; m. 6 Oct. 1897, Colin ***Ingraham***, who d. 16 Sept. 1939.

iii. Clara Mary Tremaine, b. 11 Sept. 1867, Port Hood; d. 23 Dec. 1868, Port Hood.

iv. Seward Clarence Tremaine, b. 4 Mar. 1870, Port Hood; m., no details at present. Seward d. 16 Feb. 1930, Bridgetown, NJ. He was a veterinarian.

v. Mabel Bradalban Tremaine, b. 7 Apr. 1872, Port Hood.

76 vi. Blanche Lee Tremaine, b. 13 Dec. 1873.

77 vii. Winnifred Claudine Tremaine, b. 26 June 1875; d. 28 Feb. 1969.
viii. Clara Sybil Tremaine, b. 28 Jan. 1877, Port Hood.
ix. Cecil Edmund George Tremaine, b. 18 Feb. 1878, Port Hood; m. 9 June 1906, Baddeck, NS, Alberta ***Walden***, who was b. 1880.
x. Mildred Havergel Tremaine, b. 2 May 1885, Port Hood.
xi. Eulah Marion Tremaine, b. 7 Nov. 1887, Port Hood.

40 Fitzclarence A.[4] Tremaine (John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. Port Hood; m. 26 July 1854, Lucy ***Chandler***, Arichat, d/o Thomas Chandler. Fitzclarence d. 3 Mar. 1859.

Issue of Fitzclarence and Lucy (Chandler) Tremaine:

i. Florence N. Tremaine, b. 16 Sept. 1855; m. 29 Aug. 1874, Baddeck, Francis ***Willmott***, who was b. 1846, in England. Florence d. after 1874.
ii. Henry Havelock Dunsier Tremaine, b. 25 Apr. 1859.

41 Charlotte Mary Hale[4] Tremaine (James[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 28 Jan. 1842, Halifax; m. (1) 23 Mar. 1858, Halifax, Raymond ***DeAnguira***; m. (2) 20 July 1870, Halifax, William ***Lyall***. Charlotte d. Mar. 1885, Halifax.

Issue of William and Charlotte (Tremaine) Lyall:

i. Charlotte Lyall.
ii. Jean Lyall.
iii. Helen Lyall.
iv. Beatrice Lyall.
v. William E Lyall.
vi. Scott Tremaine Lyall, b. Oct.1878, Dartmouth, NS.
vii. Gertrude Lyall, b. Oct. 1878, Dartmouth.
viii. George Gartland Lyall, b. 2 June 1880, Dartmouth.

42 Scott[4] Tremaine (James[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 27 Sept. 1844, Halifax; m., wife's name unknown.

Issue of Scott and _____ Tremaine:

i. Laleah Lee Tremaine.

43 Frederick Jones[4] Tremaine (Richard[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 7 Feb. 1843, Halifax; m. 18 Oct. 1870, Halifax, Mary Thompson ***Sinclair***, d/o Terrence Sinclair. Frederick d. 30 Oct. 1917, Halifax.

Issue of Frederick and Mary (Sinclair) Tremaine:

78 i. May Agnes Sinclair Tremaine, b. 6 July 1871.
ii. Gladys Geraldine Sinclair Tremaine, b. 22 July 1874, Halifax; d. July 1959, Elizabethtown, NY.

44 Richard Lawrence[4] Tremaine (Richard[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 2 Mar. 1852, Halifax; m. 16 May 1886, Halifax, S. G. A. ***Robinson***. Richard d. 30 Jan. 1892, Halifax.

Issue of Richard and S. G. A. (Robinson) Tremaine:

i. Elizabeth Gladys Tremaine, b. Sept. 1887.
ii. Richard L. Tremaine, b. 26 Jan. 1893.

45 Arthur DesBrisay[4] Tremaine (Richard[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 18 June 1856, Halifax; m. 20 Sept. 1882, Halifax, Annie Alicia ***Ritchie***. Arthur worked for the Dept. of Marine and Fisheries.

Issue of Arthur and Annie (Ritchie) Tremaine:

79 i. Laurence Giles Purves Tremaine, b. 24 June 1883.
ii. Arthur Victor Tremaine, b. 21 June 1887, Halifax; m. 11 Mar. 1916, Mabel. Arthur d. after 1937. He was a major in the Royal Artillery.

46 Richard Gordon[4] Tremaine (Thomas[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 27 July 1843, Halifax; m. 15 Oct. 1872, Bessie ***Oldright***; she was b. 26 Oct. 1834, Dublin, Ireland and d. 26 July 1901, Toronto, ON. Richard d. 26 Mar. 1878, in Charlottetown. Richard was an insurance agent.

Issue of Richard and Bessie (Oldright) Tremaine:

i. Richard Charles Cecil Tremaine, b. 4 Nov. 1874; d. 25 June 1902, Exeter, ON. Richard was an electrical engineer.
ii. Hilda Tremaine.

47 Agnes Maria[4] Tremaine (Thomas[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 28 Apr. 1849, Halifax; m. 9 July 1875, PEI, Rowan Robert ***Fitzgerald***. Rowan d. post-1891, Charlottetown.

Issue of Rowan and Agnes (Tremaine) Fitzgerald:

i. Geraldine Fitzgerald, b. ca. 1878; d. post-1891.
ii. Constance Fitzgerald, b. ca. 1880; d. post-1891, Charlottetown.
iii. Kathleen Fitzgerald, b. ca. 1882; d. post-1891, Charlottetown.
iv. Geofrey Fitzgerald, b. ca. 1886; d. post-1891, Charlottetown.
v. Agnes Fitzgerald, b. ca. 1887; d. post-1891, Charlottetown.
vi. May Fitzgerald, b. ca. 1888; d. post-1891, Charlottetown.
vii. Edith Fitzgerald, b. ca. 1890; d. post-1891, Charlottetown.

48 Mary Jane[4] Tremaine (Lawrence[3], Richard[2], Jonathan1), b. 10 Dec. 1839, Halifax; m. (1) Richard ***Hartshorne***; m. (2) 6 July 1869, J. Banning ***Richardson***, who was b. 23 Nov. 1843 and d. May 1923, London, ON. He was a minister.

Issue of Richard and Mary (Tremaine) Hartshorne:

i. Lawrence Hartshorne, b. Halifax.
ii. Hugh Hartshorne, b. Halifax.
iii. Mary Hartshorne.

Issue of J. Banning and Mary (Tremaine) Richardson:

iv. James Banning Richardson, b. 2 Mar. 1870, Halifax.
v. Harold Ashton Richardson, b. 22 Aug. 1872, Halifax.

49 Richard Wentworth[4] Tremaine (Anna[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 13 Apr. 1840, Quebec; m. 15 July 1876, Leonora Wadsworth ***Harrington***, b. 20 Mar. 1841, Antigonish, NS and d. Halifax. Richard d. 20 Aug. 1927, Clementsport, NS, from senile decay.

Issue of Richard and Leonora (Harrington) Tremaine:

80 i. Anna Louisa Tremaine, b. 1877.
81 ii. Harold Wentworth Harrington Tremaine, b. 1881.
82 iii. Arthur Edward Montague Tremaine.

50 Arthur[4] Tremaine (Anna[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 2 Apr. 1845, Quebec; m. Anne Elizabeth ***Dalkin***, who was b. 10 Aug. 1855 and d. 4 May 1932, Montreal.

Issue of Arthur and Anne (Dalkin) Tremaine:

83 i. Arthur Trevor Tremaine, b. 6 Feb. 1886; d. 10 June 1946.
ii. Marjory Tremaine, b. 4 May 1891; d. 14 Oct. 1951, Montreal.
iii. Peter Williams Tremaine, b. 1915, Montreal; d. 28 Feb. 1944, Westmount (Quebec). Peter was adopted.
iv. Phyllis Tremaine.
v. Millie Tremaine.
vi. Vivian Tremaine, d. 26 Jan. 1948, Quebec.
vii. Gwendolyn Tremaine, d. post-1944.

51 Constance Mary[4] Longworth (Elizabeth[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 18 Apr. 1850, Halifax; m. 18 June 1873, William C. ***Hebkirk***. Constance d. 11 Feb. 1880.

Issue of William and Constance (Longworth) Hebkirk:

i. Helen Marguerite Hebkirk, b. 21 May 1875.
ii. W. Sidney Hebkirk, b. 2 Jan. 1877.
iii. John F. L. Hebkirk, b. 19 Jan. 1880.

52 Richard John Augustus[4] Longworth (Elizabeth[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 7 Aug. 1857, Halifax; m. 4 Oct. 1888, Louise Caroline ***Palmer***, who was b. 9 Mar. 1859, Charlottetown and d. 1934, LaSalle (Quebec). Richard d. 4 Nov. 1909. Richard was educated at Kings College, Windsor, NS, and

became a lawyer in Charlottetown, PEI. He served as Prothonotary of the Supreme Court of PEI and was Master in Chancery. He enjoyed riding, billiards, rifle-shooting, cricket, and sang tenor. He was colonel of the 4th Regiment, Garrison Artillery of the PEI Militia and with his regiment won country-wide awards. He represented PEI at Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in London, 1897.

Issue of Richard and Louise (Palmer) Longworth:

84 i. Ethel Constance Longworth, b. 21 Nov. 1890.
ii. Mabel E. Longworth, m. 31 Oct. 1916, Eric ***Traveray***.
iii. Frederick John Longworth, b. 21 Sept. 1893; d. 10 Nov. 1918, in action.
iv. Dorothy Amelia Longworth, b. 22 Nov. 1894; m. 29 June 1921, Edward J. ***Waterston***.
v. Joan Louise Longworth, b. 9 Jan. 1897; m. 15 May 1930, Beresford ***Ash***.

53 Isabella Cogswell[4] Longworth (Elizabeth[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 11 July 1859, Halifax; m. 26 Oct. 1889, Charlottetown, Alexander Bannerman ***Warburton***, who was b. 5 Apr. 1852 and d. 14 Jan. 1929, Charlottetown. Alexander was a lawyer. Isabella d. 28 Nov. 1945, Saint John, NB.

Issue of Alexander and Isabella (Longworth) Warburton:

85 i. Norah Frances Warburton, b. 21 Nov. 1895.
ii. Constance Elizabeth Warburton, b. 28 Jan. 1898; d. 9 Feb. 1983, Pincher Creek, AB; m. 3 Mar. 1924, John Charles F. ***Holroyd***.
iii. Olga Isabel Warburton, b. 30 June 1899, Charlottetown; d. 8 May 1987, Pincher Creek, AB.

54 George Sidford[4] Goodeve (Abigail[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 17 July 1853; m. Abbe _____, who was b. ca. 1852. According to parish records they had moved to New York by 1898. George was a barrister, and was treasurer for the town of Mitchel, ON, 1883–1886.

Issue of George and Abbe Goodeve:

i. Lindsay McKenzie Mills Goodeve, bapt. 23 Jun. 1889, ON.

55 Elizabeth Hyndman[4] Tremaine (John[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 8 July 1856, Halifax; m. Rev. ***Wilkinson***. Elizabeth d. Bay du Viu, NB.

Issue of Rev. and Elizabeth (Tremaine) Wilkinson:

i. Margaret Wilkinson.
ii. Dorothy Wilkinson.

56 Lavinia[4] Tremaine (John[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 27 Nov. 1860, Halifax;

m. 27 Aug. 1888, Halifax, George ***Burchell***; d. 1892. George was a merchant.

Issue of George and Lavinia (Tremaine) Burchell:

i. Mary Burchell, m. _____ ***Robinson***.

ii. Lollie Burchell, m. _____ ***Grant***.

86 iii. Laura Burchell.

57 Harris Stuart[4] Tremaine (John[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 12 Oct. 1865, Halifax; m. Florence Anna ***Greene***, who d. 29 Jan. 1962, Halifax. Harris d. 5 Dec. 1938, Halifax. He was an architect.

Issue of Harris and Florence (Greene) Tremaine:

i. Jonathan William Harris Tremaine, b. 18 May 1910, Halifax; m. Marion ***Furlong***. Jonathan d. 28 Jan. 1977, Halifax. Jonathan worked in the Marine Section of the R.C.M.P., and had been in the Royal Canadian Navy and Canadian Armed Forces.

ii. unidentified child, d. of "difficult breath."

58 John Tremaine[4] Twining (Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 7 May 1826, Halifax; m. 12 Aug. 1851, Adele Josephine ***Goodwin***, who was b. ca. 1831, Charleston, SC, d/o James Taylor Goodwin and Anna Sterry. Adele d. 1896, Halifax. John d. 19 Oct. 1892, Halifax. John was a commission merchant.

Issue of John and Adele (Goodwin) Twining:

i. Alice Maude Twining, b. 2 Apr. 1853, Halifax; d. 17 Feb. 1854, Halifax.

ii. Charles Frederick Twining, b. 2 May and d. 22 Nov. 1855, Halifax.

87 iii. John Tremaine Twining, b. 20 Dec. 1856.

88 iv. Louis Russell Twining, b. 5 Sept. 1858.

v. Arthur Temple Twining, b. 7 Mar. 1860, Halifax; d. 12 Aug. 1883.

89 vi. Beatrice Clothide Twining, b. 15 Aug. 1861.

90 vii. Adelle Goodwin Twining, b. 22 Oct. 1863.

viii. Catherine Mary Twining, b. 28 May 1865, Halifax; d. 10 Jan. 1866, Halifax.

91 ix. Annie Milicent Twining, b. 1 Apr. 1866; d. 28 Apr. 1914.

x. William Cleeve Twining, b. 6 May 1869, Halifax; d. 8 May 1893, Rio de Janiero, Argentina, of yellow fever.

59 Edward Crawley[4] Twining (Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b.16 Apr. 1829; m. 24 June 1857, Elizabeth Lee ***Whitman***; she was b. 16 Sept. 1835,

Round Hill, NS, d/o John Whitman and d. 4 Dec. 1908, bur. in Oxford, England. Edward d. 14 Nov. 1895, Danford, Maine.

Issue of Edward and Elizabeth (Whitman) Twining:

92 i. Edmond Sidney Twining, b. 16 Apr. 1858.

ii. Arthur Frederick Twining, b. 24 May and d. 29 Sept. 1859.

93 iii. Henry Esmond Twining, b. 19 Nov. 1860.

iv. Philip Geoffrey Twining, b. 7 Sept. 1862; m. 1897, Louisa Mary ***Daly***, d/o George and Mary Daly; she d. 5 Apr. 1956, Hampton Crt. Philip d. 15 Jan. 1920, London. He was a lieutenant, served India, China, Africa, Canada, France.

94 v. Charles Twining, b. 18 Apr. 1866.

vi. Florence Isabel Twining, b. 23 Jan. 1865.

95 vii. Elizabeth Maud Twining, b. 23 Jan. 1865.

60 Elizabeth Sarah[4] Twining (Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 24 Aug. 1830, Halifax; m. (1) 1 Aug. 1849, James Claude William Neufville ***Taylor***; who d. ca. 1851; m. (2) 24 Nov. 1857, McKay ***Rynd***, who was b. 21 Dec. 1826, s/o Thomas Rynd and Anne McKay; he d. 2 Apr. 1874, Jansanne, Switzerland. McKay was a Lt.-Col. Elizabeth d. 20 Nov. 1911, Oxford, England.

Issue of James and Elizabeth (Twining) Taylor:

i. Montague Taylor, b. July 1850, Sheley Walsh, Co. Worcester.

Issue of McKay and Elizabeth (Twining) Rynd:

ii. Laura Evelyn Rynd, b. 5 Jan. 1859, Halifax; m. _____ ***Moody***.

iii. Arthur Hampton Rynd, b. 28 Feb. and d. 31 Aug. 1860, Halifax.

96 iv. Frederick Cecil Rynd, b. 24 Sept. 1861.

v. Edith Rynd, b. 19 May 1863, Quebec; d. 10 May 1928.

vi. Gerald Cleeve Rynd, b. 13 Apr. 1869, St. Helier, Isle of Jersey; d. 6 Dec. 1951, Cheltenham, England.

61 Catherine Mary[4] Twining (Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 9 Feb. 1832; m. 6 Sept. 1856, Herbert Frederick ***Winnington Ingram***, who was b. 12 Dec. 1820, s/o Edward Winnington Ingram and d. 13 Sept. 1889, West Norwood, Co. Surrey, England. Herbert was a Rear-Admiral in the British Navy. Catherine d. 6 Apr. 1910, Thorne House, St. Albans, England.

Issue of Herbert and Catherine (Twining) Winnington Ingram:

97 i. Pauline Frances Winnington Ingram, b. Feb. 1858.

98 ii. Florence Herbert Winnington Ingram, b. 1 Apr. 1859.

99 iii. Katherine Mary Winnington Ingram, b. Apr. 1863.

100 iv. Annie Georgina Winnington Ingram, b. 28 June 1864.

v. Herbert Egmont Winnington Ingram, b. 11 May 1866, Fonte d'Area, Brazil; and d. Nov. 1866.

101 vi. Herbert Egmont Winnington Ingram, b. 14 Nov. 1869.

62 Claudine Maud[4] Twining (Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 21 Oct. 1849, Halifax; m. 24 Aug. 1881, Arthur Bourchier ***Wrey*** who was b. 17 Apr. 1831, s/o John Wrey and Anne Burnett and d. 8 Sept. 1918, Torquay, Devon, England. Claudine d. 6 Jan. 1904, Torquay.

Issue of Arthur and Claudine (Twining) Wrey:

i. Wilfrid Arthur Bourchier Wrey, b. 20 Mar. 1885; d. 1 Mar. 1922, New Forest.

102 ii. Mary Claudine Bourchier Wrey, b. 28 July 1886.

iii. Hugh Bourchier Wrey, b. 19 July 1888; m. 25 Apr. 1925, Ruth ***Jackson***, d/o William Jackson. Hugh d. 13 Jan. 1940, Hove, Sussex, England.

63 Georgina Adelaide[4] Tremaine (John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 5 Apr. 1833, Port Hood; m. 23 Dec. 1862, Alexander Easson ***Hoyt***. Georgina d. 27 July 1901, Halifax.

Issue of Alexander and Georgina (Tremaine) Hoyt:

i. Edward Dunsier Hoyt, b. 15 Oct. 1863, Port Hood; d. 16 Jan. 1864, Port Hood.

ii. James Frederick Hoyt, b. 12 Sept. 1865, Port Hawkesbury, NS.

iii. Helen Winnifred Tremaine Hoyt, b. 13 July 1867, Halifax.

iv. Ada Ethel Hoyt, b. 29 Aug. 1870, Halifax. She was a music teacher.

v. Eliza Dunsier Hoyt, b. 1874.

64 William Lee[4] Tremaine (John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 14 Oct. 1835, Port Hood; m. 3 Sept. 1868, in Port Hood, Keziah (Cassie) ***Mudge***. Moved to South Newcastle, Maine.

Issue of William and Keziah (Mudge) Tremaine:

i. Millie Lee Tremaine, b. 17 Jan. and d. 26 Jan. 1870.

ii. Philip Augustus Tremaine, b. 2 July 1871.

iii. John Henry Tremaine, b. 2 July 1871.

iv. Ida Maude Tremaine, b. 29 Dec. 1873.

v. Eliza Bertha Tremaine, b. 16 May 1875.

vi. Luilla Theresa Tremaine, b. 23 Feb. 1877.

vii. William Edward Tremaine, b. 29 May 1882.

viii. Robert Lather Tremaine, b. 8 Nov. 1885, Edgecomb, ME.

ix. Glenvell Dunsier Tremaine, b. 5 Mar. 1892, Edgecomb.

65 Edward Dunsier[4] Tremaine (John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 14 May 1839,

Port Hood; m. 27 Jan. 1868, in Port Hood, Emma ***Hadley***; she d. 28 Mar. 1923, Inverness, NS. Edward d. 18 Jan. 1924, Inverness. Edward was Commissioner of Schools, 1871; Inverness County Judge of Probate, 1871; Customs Collector, 1860; issuer of fishing licenses, 1866.

Issue of Edward and Emma (Hadley) Tremaine:

i. Albert Edward Tremaine, b. 8 Mar. 1871, Halifax; d. 14 Feb. 1885.

ii. Eliza Sarah May Beatrice Tremaine, b. 27 Oct. 1872, Halifax; m. Howard William ***Earle***. Eliza Sarah d. 15 Mar. 1959.

103 iii. Hadley Brown Tremaine, b. 23 Oct. 1874.

iv. James Tremaine, b. 23 Oct. 1874, Halifax.

v. Louise Lorn Tremaine, b. 23 Feb. 1877, Halifax; d. 8 Feb. 1885.

vi. Barclay Tremaine, b. 11 Apr. and d. 21 Apr. 1881, Halifax.

104 vii. Hazel Blanchard Tremaine, b. 4 July 1882; d. 14 Aug. 1973.

66 Frederick Valentine[4] Tremaine (John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 17 Jan. 1845, Port Hood; m. 14 Dec. 1870, Zaidee ***Hoyt***, who was b. 8 May 1847 and d. 15 Jan. 1916, Halifax. Frederick d. 1901, Halifax. Frederick was an Officer, 1st Class P.O.R.

Issue of Frederick and Zaidee (Hoyt) Tremaine:

105 i. Frederick Dunsier Lamblin Tremaine, b. 4 Sept. 1871.

106 ii. Charles Frederick Tremaine, b. 27 Aug. 1874.

iii. Zaidee Collins Tremaine, b. 23 May and d. 26 Sept. 1878.

67 Rufus Arthur[4] Tremaine (John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 24 Apr. 1850, Port Hood; m. 25 Sept. 1878, Halifax, Mary ***Silver***, who was b. 21 Dec. 1846, d/o W. C. Silver and d. 13 Dec. 1936, Truro, NS. Rufus d. 17 Apr. 1922, Truro. Rufus was a barrister.

Issue of Rufus and Mary (Silver) Tremaine:

107 i. Bertha Tremaine, b. 1887; d. 1963.

68 Eliza Marion Maud[4] Tremaine (John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 16 Dec. 1852, Port Hood; m. 21 Oct. 1874, George Edward ***Jost***.

Issue of George and Eliza (Tremaine) Jost:

i. Clara Dunsier Jost, b. 27 Feb. 1876.

108 ii. Edward Barton Jost.

iii. Harold Tremaine Jost.

iv. Harriett Maude Jost.

69 Albert Mengis[4] Tremaine (George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 14 Nov. 1841, Halifax; m. 30 July 1867, Halifax, Jane Elizabeth ***Snooks***, d/o Henry and Sarah Jane Snooks; she d. 1 Sept. 1916, Halifax. Albert d. 31 Mar. 1913, Halifax.

Issue of Albert and Jane (Snooks) Tremaine:

109 i. George Henry Tremaine, b. 22 Aug. 1868.

110 ii. Alice Maude Tremaine, b. 17 May 1871.

iii. Sarah Amelia Tremaine, b. 3 Jan. 1874, Halifax.

iv. Mary Isabel Tremaine, b. 8 Dec. 1876, Halifax; m. 9 Sept. 1901, Valentine Edward ***McFaden***, who was b. 1872, s/o Charles and Abbie McFaden.

v. Mildred Tremaine, b. Halifax; m. E. K. ***Duvall***.

70 James Henderson[4] Tremaine (William[3], James[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 1 Aug. 1859, Hamilton, ON; m. 20 Dec. 1883, Toronto, Mary Elizabeth ***Bartin***, who d. 8 July 1897, Truro. James d. 15 Mar. 1902, Truro.

Issue of James and Mary (Bartin) Tremaine:

i. Gladys Irene Tremaine, b. 31 Aug. 1889; d. 1 Feb. 1898.

111 ii. William Alexander Tremaine, b. 13 Mar. 1887.

iii. Frances Mary Tremaine, b. 14 Feb. 1885; d. 24 Mar. 1889.

71 Robert Harry[4] Tremaine (William[3], James[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 6 June 1861, Owen Sound, ON; m. (1) 27 Oct. 1903, Fall River, MA, Jessie Maude ***Dyer***; m. (2) 14 Aug. 1889, Baybute, Mary Agnes ***Ceperns***, d. 25 Apr. 1895. Robert d. June 1945, Halifax.

Issue of Robert and Mary (Ceperns) Tremaine:

i. Arthur Tremaine, b. 19 July 1891, Amherst.

ii. Amy Frances Tremaine, b. 5 Aug. 1893, Amherst.

72 Blanche[4] Tremaine (William[3], James[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 28 Jan. 1869, Truro; m. 25 Aug. 1896, Truro, Alexander John ***Campbell***, who was b. 1868, and d. 1950. Blanche d. 4 July 1942, Truro.

Issue of Alexander and Blanche (Tremaine) Campbell:

i. George Arthur Tremaine Campbell, b. 19 Sept. 1898.

ii. Alexander John Campbell, b. 4 Apr. 1904.

The preceding genealogy is the result of fifteen years of research. The information is incomplete by far, and research continues to be conducted on all family branches. The author wishes to thank all those who have helped in the compilation to date, as well as those who may assist in the future. Comments, queries, corrections or additions concerning the above should be directed to:

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Book Reviews

Allen B. Robertson

Adèle Hugo: La Misérable, by Leslie Smith Dow. ISBN 0–86492–168–3. Goose Lane, Fredericton, N.B., 1993. 194 pp., illustrated, paper, $16.95.

Peoples of the Maritimes: Blacks, by Bridglal Pachai. ISBN 0–920427–38–3. Four East Publications, Tantallon, N.S., 1993. Revised edition of 1987 publication. 96 pp., illustrated, paper, $12.95.

Saga of the Rugged Islands, by James T. Bebb. By the author, Lockeport, N.S., 1993. vi + 256 pp., illustrated, paper, $17.50 + $2.50 postage from the author: P.O. Box 18, Lockeport, Shelburne Co., N.S. B0T 1L0.

Share & Care: The Story of the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children, by Charles R. Saunders. ISBN 1–55109–065–1. Nimbus, Halifax, N.S., 1994. xvii + 253 pp., illustrated, paper, $18.95.

Surgeons, Smallpox, and the Poor: A History of Medicine and Social Conditions in Nova Scotia, 1749–1799, by Allan Everett Marble. ISBN 0–7735–0988–7. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montréal, 1993. xvi + 356 pp., illustrated, cloth, $39.95.

A Victorian Lady's Album: Kate Shannon's Halifax and Boston Diary of 1892, edited by Della Stanley. ISBN 0–88780–231–1. Formac, Halifax, N.S., 1993. xi + 117 pp., illustrated, cloth, $24.95.

We Were Not the Savages: A Micmac Perspective on the Collision of European and Aboriginal Civilizations, by Daniel N. Paul. ISBN 1–55109–056–2. Nimbus, Halifax, N.S., 1993. viii + 360 pp., illustrated, paper, $17.95.

The sight, sound and smell of the sea is a recurring theme in the lives of many Nova Scotians. Halifax, the provincial capital, is almost an island vessel moored between Bedford Basin and the Northwest Arm, with the open Atlantic beating on its outer reaches. A small raft of publications during the past several months serves to remind us of the pervasiveness of the sea. To carry the allusions further, one may venture to say that many authors are well suited to command their chosen craft (be it local history or genealogy); others attempt to control barquentines with moderate success; but a few careen too

close to the reefs. In the following pages, this reviewer will consider whether the respective authors are securely in command of the subjects of their books.

Two recent publications are set in Victorian Halifax, one focusing on the tragic life of Adèle Hugo and the other on the ordinary yet intimate years of a Halifax native, Kate Shannon, whose 1892 diary was penned only three years before her death from consumption. The respective author and editor of these volumes had very different tasks before them. Leslie Smith Dow presents us with her second biographical reconstruction, following her account of Anna Leonowens. In *Adèle Hugo: La Misérable* we again see Dow trying to peel back myth and fancy to reveal some portion of nineteenth-century women's reality. Neither Leonowens nor Hugo remained within the cosseted confines of the Victorian-era household. It was by force of character and a survival instinct that Anna Leonowens lived out her eventful careers as mother, educator, author and promoter of the arts. Leslie Smith Dow's choice of Adèle Hugo, on the other hand, presents an utterly different personality. Though well educated and cultured, Adèle emerged from a highly dysfunctional family--parents whose marriage nearly ended in divorce after affairs by husband and wife both, an uncle who died in an asylum as the victim of a mental disorder, and doubts which lingered as to whether indeed Adèle was the daughter of author and playwright Victor Hugo. Dow rightly observes that the daughter, in her own experiences, echoed the operatic drama of the Hugo household.

The outline of Adèle's adult life is now becoming familiar to the reading and film-going public. After growing up in her father's home which has been depicted as suffocating, Adèle at thirty-three became enamoured of the Englishman Albert Pinson. In an act of parental defiance and self-assertion, she pursued Pinson to England and across the Atlantic to Halifax and Barbados. If Adèle can be faulted for anything it was for choosing as a potential husband a man far more interested in gambling and womanizing, than in the military career which he embarked upon chiefly to escape debts. Lieutenant Albert Pinson added colour to Nova Scotian history when he was engaged for a time to Agnes, daughter of former premier James W. Johnston. From 1863 to 1866, Adèle survived on a family pension in Halifax while trying to convince Pinson to conclude a marriage; her intervention in the Johnston engagement only exacerbated the situation, though Pinson was more than willing to take any money she offered to him. The years in Barbados were no better for Adèle, who lost both Pinson when he married the

daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel James Roxburgh, and her own reason to what Dow has diagnosed as schizophrenia. It was through the kindness of Madame Céline Alvarez Baa that in 1872 the Hugo family at last brought Adèle back to Paris. The next forty-three years she resided in 'asylums' (special nursing homes for gentlewomen), without ever fully recovering from her illness; it was as a resident of a home that she died in 1915.

The choice of Adèle Hugo for a book-length study is an exercise in biographical exploration. In itself, the life of Adèle is not one which illustrates achievement in the arts or sciences. She was not a contributor to French literature or drama in the tradition of her father; neither was she a forerunner of feminism or gender equality. Dow has instead taken a romantic figure, who for a time inserted herself into Halifax history, to act as a prism through which to view different aspects of the past. As provincial a society as Halifax was depicted by nineteenth-century visitors--indeed by several twentieth-century historians--Dow's description suggests otherwise. The world of an international shipping port offered its residents a certain air of cosmopolitan diversity. Military men from the British Isles who had served in India, Malta and the West Indies were stationed at the Citadel and adjacent fortifications. Mariners from Europe and the Americas walked the streets and wharves. Through Dow's writings we know that a Francophone community existed in 1860s Halifax, not all of whom had Acadian origins. The very sounds of the city were as varied as its residents--English, French, German, Yiddish, Polish and Italian phrases came from shops and hotels.

The outsider's view can often cause us to re-examine ourselves. Through the pages of *Adèle Hugo*, the reader is asked to see Nova Scotia as it figured in the lives of a nineteenth-century intellectual French family. Dow again reminds us that the military as a social influence has remained marginalized in current histories of the province. These aspects, combined with an account of the hitherto mysterious Adèle, make the book a fascinating story. Having observed that side of Dow's study, one must point out certain annoying flaws. The protagonist Albert Pinson is abruptly introduced in a manner that assumes the reader knows as much in advance about him as does the author. An introductory sketch would have better served the contours of the biography. Further details of Pinson's life in subsequent chapters do little to relieve a two-dimensional portrayal.

One may ask how well Adèle Hugo herself is realized as a woman who once followed her passions across the Atlantic. Here there is a greater depth

given to personality through letters, observations of friends, and the changes which are chronicled as Adèle shifts from fascination for Pinson, to infatuation, to obsession, and finally into a world where reality and delusion are inseparable. The diagnosis of schizophrenia is concurred in by a medical consultant to the author. *La Misérable* is in one sense a tragic telling of an intelligent individual's decline into chronic mental illness in an era prior to either Freudian (or Jungian) analysis or appropriate medication which can enable one to regain control of everyday living.

Attempts to blame Victor Hugo for his wife's unhappiness and his daughter's struggles are not convincing. Georges Sand and other women in the Hugo circle of acquaintances are shown as liberated and adventuresome, while Victor Hugo's sexual appetite is invariably painted as excessive and immoral. This double-standard of gender representation by Dow weakens her analysis of French society, which admittedly in its bourgeois values was unequal; the latter does not need the imposition of late twentieth-century misreading. As for Adèle, both her parents and siblings strove to understand her during many years of trial. The mysterious Halifax visitor's care and treatment, once back in France, were not the exposition of gender politics, but instead the outreach of a family restricted by the medical knowledge of the day. Nonetheless, that extension of love was far greater than any which Adèle received from the undeserving Pinson. In two respects her biography contains elements of her father's famous novel *Les Misérables*--obsession that led to a life of futility, and familial devotion that looked to the person rather than the career.

Nearly thirty years after Mlle Hugo's Halifax residency, Kate Shannon penned the lines for her 1892 diary. Della Stanley has presented to a modern reading public *A Victorian Lady's Album*, lavishly illustrated by 1890s photographs, postcards, printed works and artists' impressions of Halifax and Boston. The format makes the diary a blend of both text and a visually alluring 'book of days.' It is, to be honest, quite irresistible.

There is no readily observable clue in the diary to let the reader suspect that the eighteen-year-old-lady who was its creator would die from tuberculosis within three years' time. It would be unfair to permit the poignancy of that fact to overshadow Kate Shannon's daily life in Victorian Nova Scotia. On the other hand, it is a disservice to fault Shannon for knowing little of the underclass of 1890s Halifax as we can glimpse it in Judith Fingard's *The Dark Side of Life in Victorian Halifax* and *Jack in Port*.

Kate's parents were staunch members of the city's Methodist community and belonged to its merchant-lawyer strata. As their upper-middle-class Victorian values dictated, Kate was provided with sound spiritual nurturing and a respect for her own person. She would have been shielded, as a minor, from harsher realities. Della Stanley is careful to provide the reader with views of the city beyond Kate's domestic setting via a brief, informative introduction. Here one is given details of the diarist's family and certain social expectations of the middle class, in addition to suggestions for useful further readings.

Language is the key to Shannon's diary. Detractors will say that it is so ordinary as to be dull. Such prejudice toward Victorian domesticity misses the point entirely. *A Victorian Lady's Album* is a relic of a century ago, where even the commonplace is no longer easily remembered or recaptured. It is through the daily jottings of Kate Shannon that we can share her delight in the joys of friendship and the marvel of seeing bustling Boston, and can sense how fleeting youth can be, even among the affluent of society. How did an upper-middle-class Halifax household celebrate Christmas? Kate Shannon gives us stockings, church service, presents on a table, turkey and pies at dinner. Among the gifts which Kate herself received, the most fascinating came from her father--a microscope. The ordinary, mixed with the occasionally extraordinary, is what makes Kate Shannon's diary so valuable as an historical document.

Beyond historical significance we have in *A Victorian Lady's Album* an intimacy with its creator which brings her memories to life for us. Adèle Hugo was a tragic yet removed figure from the past. By contrast, the depth of expression in one year's diary from Kate Shannon can stir up a host of affirmative memories of our own grandmothers and great-aunts. There is also the realization for those of us who have left our eighteenth birthdays in an ever-receding past that a diary can bring back our own special memories. Della Stanley may be responsible, through Kate Shannon, for creating a host of 1994 diaries.

The literal and figurative venture into new waters can be said to describe two publications devoted to aspects of Afro-Nova Scotian history. One book is a re-edition: *Blacks*, by Bridglal Pachai, was part of the 'Peoples of the Maritimes' series (1987) and has now been reprinted in a slightly updated version (1993). A welcome new addition to Afro-Nova Scotian and educational scholarship is the institutional history by journalist and author

Charles R. Saunders, *Share & Care: The Story of the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children*. Together these two books contribute to the demarginalization of Afro-Nova Scotians in our history. At the same time, there is a coming-to-terms with discrimination past and present.

Bridglal Pachai's brief historical survey to some extent picks up where James Walker's epic monograph left off. His well-illustrated volume, *Blacks*, balances episodes of discrimination against examples of positive achievement by members of the Afro-Nova Scotian community. Above all else, it was access to education which permitted descendants of Black Loyalists, Maroons, War of 1812 refugees, underground railway travellers and West Indian mariners to push for equal rights in law, social privileges and politics. Pachai repeatedly invokes names which have achieved the virtual status of cultural heroes and icons: the Reverends Richard Preston, Wellington States and William Oliver; William Hall, V.C.; Portia White; George Elliot Clarke and Maxine Tynes.

This 'Peoples of the Maritimes' book is not solely a catalogue of heroes. Pachai attempts to bring in collective achievements to show what grass-roots support can accomplish. The Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children, in some respects, is as remarkable an institution as the African United Baptist Association. Whereas the latter drew in scattered Black Baptist congregations like a fisherman's net, the former needed the AUBA to pull with united strength to aid children during their most vulnerable years. Due attention is given to the significant creation of the Black Cultural Centre (opened 1983), which is an important heritage-resource institution for metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth area Afro-Nova Scotians. Government assistance in construction was a sign of change for positive recognition in making Afro-Nova Scotians visible within the greater ethnic-cultural mix that forms our collective provincial history.

For any reader interested in a general overview of Afro-Nova Scotian history, Bridglal Pachai's book is a readily-consulted guide. Source citations are at a minimum, to suit the purpose of the series, although a book/article list provides additional guidance for further study. There remains the need for a comprehensive history equal to James Walker's recently reprinted *Black Loyalists* to shift attention from heritage to history. The former retains too much of the antiquarian element, that is, heritage as a litany of great men/women and achievements without moorings. Specialized monographs could offer a precedent for nineteenth- and twentieth-century studies. Charles

R. Saunders comes nearer to this intensified historical rigour in *Share & Care*. There is a wealth of research, both manuscript and oral interview, underpinning this homage to the founders and sustainers of the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children. Consequently it is all the more disappointing that a bibliography and endnotes (or an index) have been omitted. The result is, as Saunders himself has stated, "a story rather than a history."

It is misleading, however, to say that *Share & Care* is just a story. Saunders, with the support of Home staff and former residents, has unfurled a meticulous display of the institution's founding in 1917 (initial board of directors), transfer to Preston, and subsequent decades of service to Afro-Nova Scotians and the province at large. In the book's pages we can see the changes in educational and social policies which in turn altered the Home's goals (alternately as learning institute or shelter). Saunders has not shied away either from internal controversies of philosophy among Afro-Nova Scotians. The most persistent tension has been that between integration and separation. At stake is cultural identity in an increasingly ethnically and racially integrated social milieu. Indeed, *Share & Care* is a prism for a whole range of concerns vital to the Afro-Nova Scotian community, beyond the sometimes too inward-looking provincial capital region.

The women who served the Home as teachers, supervisors and administrators are not overlooked by Saunders. His coverage of Mary Paris (died 1971, aged 37 years) in her capacity as a Black feminist and superintendent of the Home (1967–71) further illustrates the breadth of Saunders's observations. Afro-Nova Scotian women did make individual success stories; Mary Paris, though, reminds us that women's networks as cooperative sources of strength were what touched the majority of women's lives. These two subjects alone indicate the depth and breadth of potential research value which can be mined from *Share & Care*. Historians will turn to Saunders's book repeatedly, though all will justifiably regret the absence of documentation which could have made his production even more significant than it is already.

During the past twenty years, there has been a concerted effort by historians in the Maritimes to uncover an expanded understanding of our past. One thrust of these studies is the removal of marginalized peoples and their placement squarely within the mainstream of provincial history. The Mi'kmaq have appeared in a number of books and scholarly articles concerning their arts, oral traditions, political and commercial relations in the

colonial era, as well as their attempts to come to terms with current aspirations. In 1993 a telling of that past was published by Daniel Paul to provide the Mi'kmaq perspective of what he terms the 'collision' of European and aboriginal peoples.

We Were Not the Savages covers several centuries of contact between First Nations and European peoples. Dan Paul (recently appointed the province's first aboriginal Justice of the Peace) emphasizes the Nova Scotian theatre of events. Notably, from the founding of Halifax in 1749 through to the land claims and legal disputes of the 1990s, Paul has been at pains to portray encroachment on Mi'kmaq lands, erosion of self-determination, and the precarious existence Mi'kmaq have felt, caught between federal-provincial statutes. Language, customs and political organization had deteriorated badly by 1900. Nonetheless, the inner resilience of Nova Scotia's First Nation asserted itself, as its peoples turned toward a steady reassertion of traditional and treaty rights. The spread of upper-level education, as was the case with Afro-Nova Scotians, provided the Mi'kmaq with voices from within their own community to engage in twentieth-century Canadian and provincial legal entanglements.

One will not encounter neutral language in *We Were Not the Savages*. As the title implies, there were other "savages," that is, the Europeans whom Paul accuses of barbarity, greed, cruelty and cultural genocide. Harsh words, which to some readers will trigger the response of closing the book. That would be a mistake. A professor of history in this city, when asked by his students for an opinion of the book, answered with the aim of not having those students prejudge it. He explained that some voices must shout very loudly in order to gain attention or to be heard; once that attention has been secured, then a more moderate dialogue can follow. Daniel Paul is shouting loudly to be heard, hence the exaggerated descriptives in the book.

Post-modern deconstructionist historians would say that Paul is conducting a dialogue with the present by speaking in past voices, in order to enhance the resonance of his message. Certainly Daniel Paul is actively interested in current debates over land claims, self-determination, treaty precedent and sovereignty. This explains his concentration on past treaties and perceived violations of those negotiated documents. Any objectivity usually encountered in traditional history will not be found in the subjective *We Were Not the Savages*. Neither can the bibliographic listings (not to be overlooked) and endnote apparatus be taken as signs that this is a history as it

is usually understood. Here the past is shaped to serve the present through a very specific telescope.

A review of Paul's book is equally entitled to borrow from non-objective post-modern deconstruction in order to elicit the foregoing observations. The author, at public lectures, has said that he expects disagreement with his presentation and that he welcomes constructive debate. Taking Paul at his word, this review many constitute a part of that healthy freedom of expression. Concluding thoughts call to mind that Paul needs to reconsider his language as much as academic historians must continually re-evaluate their own. "European and Aboriginal" implies that the former are other than "Aboriginal," yet it may be justifiably stated that we are all First Nations. The Scots, English, Basques, Finns and Irish are all respectively the First Nations peoples of their geographic homelands. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not witness to collisions between Europeans and Aboriginals; these were instead centuries of cultural, social, political, economic and psychological clashes between different tribal groups who collided during the onset of massive tribal migration across the Atlantic. Daniel Paul's book can be a starting place in visualizing that upheaval, though it is not the end of the conversation.

The conclusion that not all books are what they initially appear to be can apply to Allan E. Marble's *Surgeons, Smallpox, and the Poor*. This scholarly study of medical care and social response to public health threats has been faulted for being too academic and not popular in tone. Such comments underestimate the hunger among the general public for solidly researched, articulate and intriguing history. Marble lives up to those latter expectations in every respect.

The author did have trained historians in mind, as is evident from his meticulous search through Colonial Office records, probate files, township books, colonial newspapers, military and naval documentation and biographical resource materials. General readers have the benefit of this foundation in the first comprehensive account of pre-1800 medical care in Nova Scotia. Scattered throughout the book are biographical sketches and vignettes that add either pathos or amusement. We peer inside the orphan house which once stood at Barrington and Bishop streets, and tour early military health-care facilities. Biographies of medical men provide glimpses of changing attitudes toward sanitation, surgical education and professional standards. Contemporary maps and prints allow us actually to see eighteenth-

century Halifax through the eyes of artists.

Marble concentrates on the provincial capital in his 1749–1799 history, although regions outside Halifax are not ignored, as witnessed in the author's excursions to Loyalist Shelburne and the Planter settlements of the Annapolis Valley. Smallpox was respectful neither of age, rank, ethnic origin nor township boundaries. Marble draws on documentation from across the province to offer a contextual history rather than a Halifax case study. The wide-ranging scope of his sources makes *Surgeons, Smallpox, and the Poor* as valuable as *Share & Care*. One example will illustrate the point. To track medical men who served the capital's hospitals, Marble had to detail the comings and goings of regiments and vessels; the bonus is a useful synopsis of military activity for any reader trying to trace a relative's regiment in pre-1800 Nova Scotia.

The appendices include lists of Loyalist physicians and surgeons (name, origins, settlement), which indicate that the aftermath of the American Revolution provided Nova Scotia with an explosion in numbers of professionals to serve the populace. A glossary of medical terms for drugs and treatment is particularly appreciated, to explain such obsolete words as electuary ("medicine mixed with honey or syrup to form a paste") and gargarism (that is, "a mouth gargle"). The concluding chapter ends with comments on mortality statistics and leading causes of death in eighteenth-century Nova Scotia. Here one weakness does emerge: the book seems to trail off without a succinct summary. Though another volume is waiting on the ways to be launched, its predecessor deserved a bolder ending to match its cargo of historical treasures.

It would be unfair to start this review article on a nautical note without figuratively setting sail at the end. James T. Bebb comes to the rescue with *Saga of the Rugged Islands*, the title of which plays on the tough life led by coastal fishermen and deep-sea sailors along Nova Scotia's southeast shore. Based in his adoptive home of Lockeport, Bebb has been researching the sailing history of the neighbouring area. His *Quest for the Phantom Fleet* (1993) was concerned primarily with the first few decades of this century. This latest volume begins in the 1700s and carries the story to 1871.

The *Saga of the Rugged Islands* is filled with imagery drawn from visual records (maps, charts, photographs, bills of lading) and word-pictures (letters and diaries). Both the southeast shore and the West Indies are drawn together by Bebb, who is fascinated by the interconnected economies. Rather than

being solely an "age-of-sail" history, Bebb offers us in this book commercial enterprise and the people who followed the sea lanes to earn a livelihood. Ship lists, commodity prices and correspondence let the reader know that many romantic pictures of the last century need to be balanced by a realization that shipping was a business, not a recreation. A good combination for the bookshelf would be Bebb's two volumes, William Wallace's *Wooden Ships and Iron Men* and *Maritime Capital* by Eric W. Sager and Gerald E. Panting.

Just below the hatches of *Saga of the Rugged Islands* is a history of Lockeport. Maps, biographies, accounts of Lockeport vessels and family dynasties are included in Bebb's history, for a sense of place and panorama. Ships' master mariners and crews can be matched with land grants or A. F. Church's ca. 1875 overview map of the town. Though the volume lacks the organized structure of a professional history, its details are as varied as any West Indies cargo. This reviewer would say, however, that Bebb and Saunders do themselves a disservice by not providing a full array of supportive documentation. Bebb documents yet rarely notes the repositories of the manuscripts; Saunders describes and recites in the same fashion. One is compelled to say that both authors should be shanghaied into a history methodology course, with guarantee of honourable seaman's discharge papers on bond of using endnotes. Having made that point, this reviewer can now state that the current fleet of publications is deserving of Lloyd's papers, so that we may all benefit from their labours.

Book Notes

L'Acadie des Maritimes: Etudes thématiques des débuts à nos jours, edited by Jean Daigle. ISBN 2–921166–06–2. Chaire d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton, 1993. iii + 910 pp., illustrated, paper, $34.95.

This sizeable collection of articles by thirty-four scholars constitutes what has been termed by the *Annales* (France) scholars as the "longue durée" approach to local/regional history. Together the chapters provide historical, demographic, economic, political, cultural and social syntheses meant to range over collective Acadian experience from initial colonization (1630s) to the present. Curiously, Anglophone historians appear to have been kept beyond the pale as contributors, which is the antithesis of *Annales* cooperative scholarship. It is to be hoped that an English translation will soon follow in order to open up the encyclopaedic contents to assimilated and non-Acadian readers alike.

Chief Engineer: Life of a Nation Builder--Sandford Fleming, by Lorne Greene. ISBN 1–55602–195–8. Dundurn Press, Toronto, 1993. 191 pp., illustrated, cloth, $29.99.

Sandford Fleming (1827–1915) was a man of many talents and achievements. He was a driving force in the railway engineering which led to rail lines traversing Canada from coast to coast. This accomplishment overshadows Fleming's design for the first self-adhesive postage stamps (1851) for Canada (i.e., Ontario-Quebec) and the introduction of the idea of universal standard time. Here in Halifax he encouraged the Canadian Club to support his donation of land along the Northwest Arm for a park and tower to commemorate the anniversaries of both elective (1758) and responsible (1848) government in Nova Scotia (1908)--"the Dingle." Greene's biography is readable and informed throughout his coverage of this fascinating individual's crowded career.

Faith, Freedom & Democracy: The Baptists in Atlantic Canada, by Roland K. McCormick. ISBN 0–920427–36–7. Four East Publications, Tantallon, N.S., 1993. 175 pp., illustrated, paper, $18.95.

It is over forty-five years since George Levy's *Baptists of the Maritime Provinces, 1753–1946* provided the denomination with its last historical survey. Roland McCormick has updated the story and he has enlarged on the Free-Will Baptist perspective. Several mini-histories of individual congregations are provided. This monograph is intended as popular scholarship, which explains the paucity of source notes. It will not replace the Baptist Heritage Series academic studies, though it can be employed as a useful companion.

From Little Boats: A Short History of the Township of Yarmouth, by Ellen M. Sweeney. ISBN 0–920427–34–0. Four East Publications, Tantallon, N.S., 1993. 64 pp., illustrated, paper, $9.95.

In this little book Ellen Sweeney has written a charming overview of Yarmouth's history from 1761 to 1890 (the year of civic incorporation). Behind the wealth of carefully chosen water-colours, maps and photographs the reader can sense that Sweeney has conducted research worth far more than 64 pages of text. She does not claim to have written a definitive history; it is an introduction and a challenge to go further. The author is to be congratulated for compressing a rich historical tapestry into a very useful handbook.

A Gentleman in the Outports: Gobineau and Newfoundland, by Joseph Arthur de Gobineau. Edited and translated by Michael Wilkshire. ISBN 0–88629–215–8. Carleton University Press, Ottawa, 1993. xlix + 248 pp., illustrated, paper, $17.95.

The title of this book is misleading. In 1859 Gobineau, as part of a French-British mission investigating fishing rights off Newfoundland and along its shores, also paid an extended visit to Nova Scotia. This sophisticated European traveller's impressions of society, education and the land provide us with a viewpoint from which to contrast the biased opinions of residents in either province. One does not have to agree with everything Gobineau writes (especially his racial theories) in order to enjoy his particularly observant eye for Newfoundland fishing villages or the cuisine of a Truro inn.

Guide to Oral History Collections in Canada: Guide des fonds d'histoire orale du Canada, by Normand Fortier. ISBN 0–9697895–1–3. Canadian Oral History Association, 1993. xxi + 402 pp., paper, $25.00.

Oral history as a valuable source for understanding the past has been actively promoted by the Canadian Oral History Association. Without a guide to existing audio/videotape or phonograph disc collections, however, that resource cannot be adequately utilized. Institutions from across Canada, whether academic, provincial or local repositories, responded to a survey to assist with this joint effort. The Nova Scotia section ranges from Gaelic language audiotapes to interviews conducted for the Nova Scotia Museum of Industry, and is well worth a lengthy perusal.

Historical Atlas of Canada: Volume II: The Land Transformed 1800–1891, edited by R. Louis Gentilcore. ISBN 0–8020–3447–0. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1993. xx + 179 pp., illustrated, cloth, $95.00.

The publication of this volume completes a trilogy of Canadian historical geography. Like its predecessor Volumes I and III, the nineteenth-century instalment is not to be underestimated for want of detail. This was the industrial century, when agriculture and shipbuilding gave way to factory and heavy industry production. The dramatic shifts in the economy, architecture, demographics, transportation and ethnic composition all receive special consideration. Plate 6, for example, illustrates the great contrast in Yarmouth between streetscape buildings of the 1880s and the 1840s Georgian style remnants. The book is a must for armchair explorers, historians and genealogists alike.

Nova Scotia's Oak Island: The Unsolved Mystery, by Millie Evans. ISBN 0–920427–39–7. Four East Publications, Tantallon, N.S., 1993. 44 pp., illustrated, paper, $7.95.

For the location of a "money-pit" which in two centuries has yielded no gold, Oak Island has been a perpetual money-maker for authors. This latest venture offers a guided tour, brief historical account of the 1795 discovery of the "Pit" and subsequent recovery efforts. Evans cuts away the accretions of fable and pseudo-archaeological speculation in order to remind the reader of what has actually happened on the island. A refreshing popular account.

A Planter Davison Fivesome: Davidson/Davison Families, Annapolis Valley, Nova Scotia, by James Doyle Davison. ISBN 0–9691287–3–8. By the author, Wolfville, N.S., 1993. iv + 200 pp., illustrated, paper, $15.00 + postage from the author: P.O. Box 1092, Wolfville, N.S., B0P 1X0.

Local author and historian James Davison has combined details on the arrival of Davisons in colonial New England from the British Isles with lines of descent from Connecticut immigrants in Nova Scotia. It is acknowledged that the genealogical researches of earlier family historians inspired the present work. The late 1980s renaissance in New England Planter scholarship no doubt has played its part as well. Photographs and prints did not fare well in reproduction, but the maps are both a success and valuable documentation of the family story.

The Splendid Vision: Centennial History of the National Council of Women of Canada 1893–1993, by Naomi E. S. Griffiths. ISBN 0–88629–199–2. Carleton University Press, Ottawa, 1993. xvii + 457 pp., illustrated, paper, $18.95.

This is an centenary commemoration by a professional historian who used the opportunity to demonstrate the vital role of women's volunteer efforts in moulding twentieth-century Canadian society. Too often dismissed by radical feminists as a middle-class bourgeois patronizing indulgence, the National Council of Women made an impact through affiliated societies up and down the Canadian social ladder. Griffiths joins that growing list of scholars who are rehabilitating women's history from encrusting ideological prejudice. Studies of women missionaries by Ruth Compton-Brouwer, Susan Gagan and Miriam Ross have revealed the complexity of trans-provincial networking. Griffiths adds another layer to that richly-textured history which incorporates the subjects of health, enfranchisement, legal status and the arts.

Windjammers and Bluenose Sailors: Stories of the Sea, by Colin McKay. Compiled and edited by Lewis Jackson and Ian McKay. ISBN 0–9694180–9–4. Roseway Publishing, Lockeport, N.S., 1993. 192 pp., paper, $14.00.

Myth and history, heritage and ideology combine to make this volume a challenge to the romantic vision of the Bluenose seaman's world. Colin McKay (1876–1939) came from an old Shelburne family conservative in religion, politics and work ethic. Co-editors Jackson and McKay explain how this mariner-turned-journalist departed from that tradition on his journey towards socialism. Colin McKay's own stories, reprinted here, reflect that realism, yet at the same time his love of the sea and the vessels which once unfurled sails remained abiding passions. Well worth comparing to W. F. Wallace and Judith Fingard's respective views of the mariner's harsh life.

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