Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 14, Number 2, 1994

Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 14, Number 2, 1994

Cover Illustration:

Plans of Houses for Common Schools and Academies. Drawn by W.R. Mulholland, Halifax, 1864. Plan N° I. Photograph courtesy Maps and Architectural Plans Division, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

To Our Readers

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

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

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

Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly/Review

Back Issues Available

Quarterly

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

Available at $4.00 each or $7.00 for two.

Review

Volume 3 — Number 2
Volume 4 — Number 1
Volume 6 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 7 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 8 — Number 1
Volume 9 — Number 1
Volume 10 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 11 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 12 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 13 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 14 — Number 1

Available at $10.00 per copy.

From:

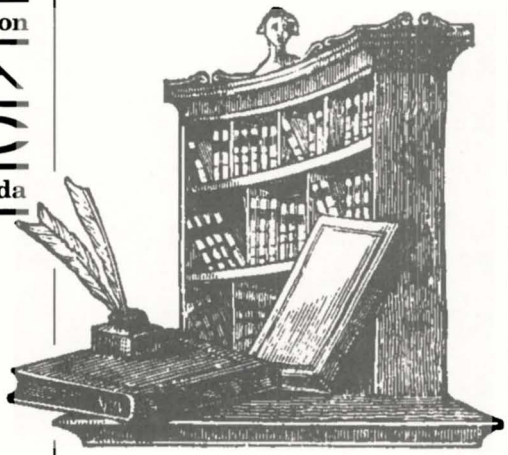
Nova Scotia Historical Review
Public Archives of Nova Scotia
6016 University Avenue
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 1W4

Contents

Canadian Historical Association

C H A
S H C

Société historique du Canada

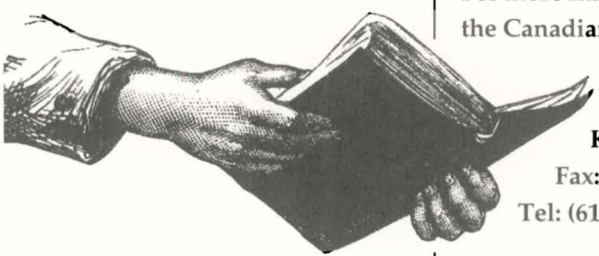


Founded in 1922, the Canadian Historical Association (CHA) is an internationally recognized, bilingual association committed to encouraging historical research and public interest in history, promoting the preservation of historic sites and buildings, and publishing historical works and documents. It lobbies archives, museums, governments, and granting agencies in the interest of historians, particularly on issues relating to the preservation of heritage materials and public access to historical documents. Many members are professional historians, but the CHA also encourages anyone with an interest in history to join.

Membership categories include professional, sustaining, general, student, and emeritus as well as affiliated society and institutional members. All members receive:

- the Association's *Bulletin*, a newsletter with topical articles, information on forthcoming conferences, fellowships and research grants, and news from historians and archives across Canada.
- the annual *Journal of the CHA* with the best papers presented at the annual conference;
- an average of two *Historical Booklets* annually as well as booklets from *Canada's Ethnic Group* series.

Other services include a subscription service to numerous learned journals, and a defence fund to protect members when legal costs arise from their work.



For more information please contact
the Canadian Historical Association
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N3.
Fax: (613) 567-3110
Tel: (613) 233-7885

Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region

Acadiensis

Revue d'histoire de la région atlantique

Campus House–University of New Brunswick
P.O. Box 4400, Fredericton, NB, E3B 5A3
Telephone: (506) 453-4978 Fax: (506) 453-4599
EMail: ACADNSIS@UNB.CA

New Subscription Categories, 1994

Category	Cost	Amount of Tax-deductible Donation for Regular Subscribers	Reduction on Acadiensis Press Books
☐ Student/Pensioner	$10.50		20%
☐ Regular	$21.00		20%
☐ Institutional	$27.50		20%
☐ Institutional *(outside Canada)*	$30.00		20%
☐ Contributing	$50.00	29	25%
☐ Supporting	$100.00	79	30%
☐ Sustaining	$200.00	179	40%
☐ Donor	$500.00	479	50% *for two years*
☐ Grand Donor	$1000.00	979	50% *for five years*

Gift subscriptions may also be purchased by existing subscribers at rates reduced by the percentages given above.

Please register my subscription to *Acadiensis* in the category which I have checked off above. Please note also my pledge to continue my subscription in this category for _____ years.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

_____

You may enclose the subscription fee at this time, or you may wish to do so when your renewal is processed.

Tear-Out
Subscription Form

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Province/State _____

Postal Code/Zip _____

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

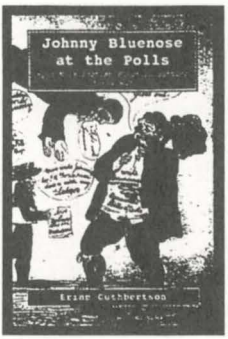
Send to:

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

Johnny Bluenose at the Polls

Epic Nova Scotian Election Battles 1758-1848

Brian Cuthbertson



Democracy as it started in Canada was a rough and tumble affair, as this book documents.

Once Nova Scotia was granted Canada's first elected legislature in 1758, hard-fought elections were common. The franchise was limited to men, generally a minority of property owners. Voting was done in public, with the hustings surrounded by partisans of one or more candidates. The actual voting took days, often weeks, as the polls were moved from place to place. Rum, rumours, and the power of merchants owed money by their customers heightened tensions and conflicts.

In a masterful piece of detailed historical research, Brian Cuthbertson has reconstructed the issues and the dynamics of 90 years of colourful provincial politics in Nova Scotia. In his book, the real dynamics of the many contests for local power are described in rich detail. The result is a profile of democracy, not in the ideal form, but in rough-and-ready practice.

Chapters on the politics of every Nova Scotia county, including the political careers of hundreds of men from that period

- Traces the historical roots of the customs and traditions of Nova Scotia politics today
- Illustrated with contemporary images of early 19th century Nova Scotia

BRIAN CUTHBERTSON is a leading historian of Nova Scotia. He is the author of several books, including the biography of Governor John Wentworth.

6 x 9, 320 pages

0-88780-294-X paper $19.95 plus postage

Direct Sale Offer!

Brian Cuthbertson, author of Johnny Bluenose at the Polls, has a limited number of copies for direct sale to members of historical societies at $19.95.

- ✳ Each copy will be signed by the author.
- ✳ No GST will be charged.
- ✳ Payment on delivery of copies

Publication Order Form

Please send ☐ copies of Johnny Bluenose at the Polls to the below address.
I understand that I will be invoiced at time of delivery.

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Send to: Johnny Bluenose at the Polls, 6464 Waegwaltic Ave., Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3H 2B4 Phone (902) 429-9085

The Canso Riots of 1833: "the lawlessness of these people is truly beyond... comprehension"

John N. Grant

Nova Scotia's history is laced with war, revolution, riots and rowdyism. As a pawn in the international relationship of the empires of France and Great Britain, Nova Scotia--strategically located in a commanding position between the North American empires of both nations--was often their battleground. When Nova Scotia became a frontier outpost of the more established New England colonies, the fervour of the revolutionary spirit of 1776 was felt here as well. In Halifax the King's haystacks were destroyed, in Liverpool the repeal of the Stamp Act was celebrated, and at Fort Cumberland the Eddy Rebellion demonstrated that Nova Scotia was not averse to violent methods of political expression. In later years violence continued to be a response to a variety of disputes. Elections, decided then by open, public voting rather than by the modern secret ballot, and encouraged by rum and partisanship, were often accompanied by violence and, on occasion, riots. Violence was also sometimes used to express religious differences and occasionally it marked the struggle for economic control. The issues of politics, religion and economics all swirled around the Canso Riots of 1833.

Canso and her sheltering islands form a rocky headland that juts into the wind and fog of the North Atlantic. Claimed as one of the oldest place-names on the continent, Canso was

> an ancient meeting-place for fishermen, always in great repute, [and] the islands presented the optimum conditions for prosecuting the industry. Situated at the eastern extremity of the Gut of Canso, they were within easy sailing distance of the best fishing grounds either in the Atlantic or on the gulf. Behind them was the large Bay of Chedabucto, an admirable haven in tempests, with a long stretch of beach for curing and drying. The channels among the eight or ten islands offered a large number of passages to the inner harbour, so that a vessel could enter when the wind was blowing from almost any direction.[1]

These attributes combined to make Canso an important commercial centre. During the first third of the eighteenth century it was the most important fishing port in the province and the "central mart where the rates of exchange were determined."[2] While Canso declined in importance as the century wore

John N. Grant, Ed.D., is a professor of history at the Nova Scotia Teachers College, Truro, NS.

1 W.S. MacNutt, *The Atlantic Provinces: The Emergence of a Colonial Society 1713–1857* (Toronto, 1965), p. 21.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

on, as late as 1764 its fishery was valued "at £180,000, as against £208,000 for Newfoundland," and during the international negotiations that led to the 1763 Treaty of Paris, "France was willing to give up Canada but wanted Canso..." as a base for a French fishery that was always worth "another campaign or two."[3]

During the first years of the nineteenth century Canso was merely a shadow of its former self. Attacked and ravaged by John Paul Jones during the American Revolution and largely deserted by the fishermen of New England, it contained only five households in 1810.[4] In the years that followed, the community slowly re-established itself, but the Canso of the nineteenth century was concentrated on the mainland rather than on the islands. While the fishery, and trade with the fishermen, remained Canso's only important economic pursuits, there was some diversity in religion, national origin and wealth within its small permanent population--a diversity that was greatly magnified by the large annual invasion of transient fishermen.

Canso in the 1830s was small, isolated and, except for the leading merchants, poor; but despite its size and limited facilities, it existed as a supply centre for other fishing communities along the coast. These communities, like Crow Harbour (now Queensport) and Fox Island, each had a few permanent residents but attracted hundreds of transients who came each season to take advantage of bountiful runs of herring and mackerel. Those fisheries were often violent and while the Temperance Movement might have made inroads in Canso itself during the 1830s,[5] there is little to suggest that this was the case elsewhere along the coast.

The violence of the fisheries in this vicinity went beyond the fist-fights and general rowdyism that one would normally expect to find in transient communities largely comprised of men. In 1832 the *Novascotian* reported that some twenty or thirty men assembled

> at George's Harbour, nearly all armed with muskets, [and] threatened the lives

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 28.

4 H. C. Hart, "History of Canso, Guysborough Co., N.S.," *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 21 (1927), 20.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

> of the crews of four vessels belonging to H. Snow, C. Snow, Messrs. MacLean, and B. King, of Barrington, unless they left the Fishing Ground; a party went on board the schooner belonging to Messrs. MacLean, knocked the Captain down on his deck, abused him in a cowardly manner, and it was only by promising not to return another year that they were not injured. Last year [1831], some of the same party...attacked three vessels belonging to Benjamin Smith and Joshua Attwood, of Barrington, and Steven Nicholson of Guysborough...running down a boat belonging to J. Attwood and leaving the people to perish, had their friends not seen them. Were I to go back a few years, I might mention the murder of four men on their way to this place from Canso, in a boat--and also the attack made by the two Tobins, on [illegible] Jamieson, of Halfway Cove, who waylaid and beat him so that he never recovered--but the matter was hushed up to the disgrace of the District.... Numbers of other instances...might be communicated, but the task is too revolting.[6]

This on-going violence in the all-important fishery had not escaped the attention of the provincial government. In the 1820s, as A. A. Johnson has noted,

> there arose great troubles and quarrels at Fox Island.... It appears the Island had been free to all, so that people flocked from all parts for the fall mackerel, which was taken in great abundance. In those days there was no restraint on liquor and where there was money there was liquor. Things got so bad that a squad of the army was sent for about two months to keep order. The Captain got tired of camp life, and said to his Colonel at Halifax, 'There is a priest at Guysborough. If you can obtain his services, he will keep order better with his cane than we can with our guns.'[7]

The authorities must have been impressed with this testimonial, for they soon appointed the Reverend James Grant of Guysborough to keep order among the fishermen at Fox Island. In what could be seen as an example of the use of religion--or at least the clergy--as a means of social control, the government, in December 1827, authorized the payment of £50 "to Revd. Mr. Grant to prevent a recurrence of the Outrages committed at the Fall Mackarel [*sic*] Fishery." Father Grant was to receive this payment each year from 1827 to 1833.[8]

---

6 *Novascotian (Halifax)*, 4 June 1834.

7 A. A. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia*, I (Antigonish, 1960), 468.

8 *Ibid.*, II (Antigonish, 1971), 61. Also see *Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly* (Halifax, 1833), p. 373; and Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS], MG 9, Vol. 45, p. 245, Guysborough County Court Records, 1800–1828. Unfortunately the original court records for the time of the Canso Riots do not appear to have survived.

Father James Grant was a native of Ireland who had been trained for the priesthood by Bishop Burke in Halifax and later at the Seminary of Quebec. He was ordained in June 1819 "on the feast of Corpus Christi," and appointed pastor of the parish of Manchester (now Guysborough). He served the people of this far-flung parish from 1819 to 1821 and again from 1824 to 1836. While many of the original Loyalist settlers of Guysborough had been members of the Church of England and other Protestant denominations, the first decades of the nineteenth century saw the arrival of numerous Irish from Newfoundland, who settled along the coast to take advantage of the fishery. Accounts show that Father Grant also induced Irish immigrants to settle in farming communities in the area.[9] Apparently the authorities believed, as did Grant himself, that he had great influence among both the Irish and the other Roman Catholics who lived in the parish, and with those who made the annual migration to the fisheries.

That this opinion was not universally shared was evidenced by the Halifax *Observer* in 1831: "Many complaints have reached us of the scenes of riot continually occurring at Fox Island and Crow Harbour and of the very serious injury which the province at large has sustained from the disorderly and violent conduct of a large portion who resort to those fishing stations...." The *Observer* went on to explain that in those places there were "not fewer than from three or four thousand fishermen, free from every restraint and subject to no species of legal authority...." The paper was

> most decidedly of opinion that the miserable measure of allowing to a Catholic clergyman a pittance for preserving order among those of his own creed can [n]ever remedy the evils complained of. The reverend gentleman is, we believe, zealous and active and entitled to much commendation; but it is quite out of the question that his authority alone can prevent confusion or ensure regularity. There is something preposterous in the very idea of placing such a motley and turbulent collection of fishermen under clerical surveillance.[10]

The events of 1833 were to demonstrate that while Father Grant might have been able to restore order, he was not able to maintain peace. Moreover, the priest's reaction to the 1833 'troubles' was to prove at best ill-judged, and at worst seditious.

---

9 Johnston, *Catholic Church*, I, Chapter 80 and p. 468. Also see H. Joseph MacDonald, *The Lonely Hills of Bantry* [1993], *passim*.

10 *The Observer* (Halifax), 14 Dec. 1831.

The Canso Riots of 1833 were precipitated on or about 3 October, when a horse belonging to Father John Chisholm, from Arichat, was left in the care of Dennis Heffernan, a cooper who lived within the Township of Canso, at the Tittle. During the time the horse was in Heffernan's care, "some evil disposed person or persons" cut the hair off the horse's tail[11] and made "a slight incision therein."[12] This 'tonsuring' apparently so aggravated Heffernan that he exhibited the horse to his Roman Catholic friends, causing others to complain that "he has done little else but go amongst the people [who profess] the Roman Catholic Faith (principally transient fishermen) of Canso...and Fox Island, Crowe [*sic*] Harbour and Halfway Cove[,] representing it to them as a compendious stigma cast upon their Religion...."[13] Apparently convincing others that their religion was under attack, Heffernan was able to raise a mob of between sixty and one hundred men from the fishermen at Fox Island, all determined to avenge the perceived insult; on the 8th or 10th of October,

> he immediately repaired to the Tittle, where the foul deed was done. They first beat a Mr. Nickerson (or Nicholson) a poor man, and would have probably killed him, had not one of their own countrymen declared he was at Guysborough at the time it occurred. That they had broken open and forcefully entered the house of a poor aged widow, Mrs. Bears, in search of her two sons, whom they suspected of being concerned in the affair of the horse, and in their fury overturned, trampled upon, and greatly injured and terrified her, while she was endeavouring to prevent or delay their entrance, until her sons made their escape.[14]

The appearance of so many hostile men "so terrified some of the inhabitants by their brutal conduct and threats, as to induce them to flee to the woods for their protection, and there to remain exposed to the inclemency of a heavy storm of wind and rain...."[15]

---

11 PANS RG 1, Vol. 239, doc. 105: Petition, Spinney Whitman and others to T. N. Jeffery, 18 Oct. 1833.

12 *Novascotian*, 3 Apr. 1834.

13 PANS RG 1, Vol. 239, doc. 105.

14 *Novascotian*, 3 Apr. 1834. The number of men "armed with clubs" that took part in the riots varies with the sources. PANS RG 1, Vol. 239, doc. 105 sets the total at sixty, while doc. 106 stipulates "a Hundred Men." The dates also vary according to the document. If, however, only ten people were involved, it would have been enough to startle the small resident population of Canso in 1833.

15 PANS RG 1, Vol. 239, doc. 105.

When this gang dispersed, "Hefferman boasted that another mob would come from Canso Islands and[,] to use his own expression, 'sweep the Tittle from end to end, sparing neither man, woman nor child.'"[16] At the request of the inhabitants of Canso, the Rev. Mr. Chisholm came from Arichat and did his best to quell the tide of anger and violence. Soon after Father Chisholm left, however, a new mob--this time from the Canso Islands and again apparently raised by Heffernan--appeared. Again, Asy Nickerson [or Nicholson] was their target. He was attacked "so violently on board his own vessel as to induce him to jump overboard to endeavour to save his own life--when in place of rendering him any assistance the mob threw sticks and stones at him, a blow from any one of which would in all human probability have caused instant death...."[17] An offshoot of the mob also went to the store of Henry Cowley, who "by remonstrating with them on the impropriety of their conduct gave offence through some of his expressions and received one of the most unmerciful beatings or maulings that any person ever received and survived."[18] The rioters, who "with unexampled ferocity continued their blows even after the life of the victim was to all appearances extinct"[19] were, according to one account, only prevented from killing Cowley by "a woman throwing her apron over his bruised head and saying to the exasperated throng, 'surely you wouldn't beat a dead man.'"[20]

Such events both shocked and terrified the community; letters and petitions were immediately sent to the provincial government, seeking assistance and complaining that "Business has been completely at a stand for the last fortnight...."[21] Some people apparently contemplated leaving the area and all were

> fearful of the consequence if the place is left unprotected about the close of the

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Ibid.*, doc. 106: Letter, J. Whitman to T. N. Jeffery, 1 Nov. 1833.

19 *Novascotian*, 3 Apr. 1834.

20 Hart, "Canso," p. 26.

21 PANS RG 1, Vol. 239, doc. 106.

> present fishing season as those vile caracters [*sic*] generally remain the latest and after the Civil and orderly part of the fishermen have retired to their homes--those wretches rendered desperate by dissipation and its consequence and poverty may have it in their power to do most.... Injury to the few inhabitants of Canso and its Vicinity.[22]

Father Grant's own account of the troubles at Canso bears little resemblance to the case presented to the government, newspapers and the courts by others. In a letter dated 18 November 1833 to the Provincial Secretary at Halifax, he claimed that his purpose was

> to state to your Honour fairly the origin of the slight and trivial disturbance at Canso for it was no quarrel or commotion between the people, but it was merely some severe blows given to Henry Cowley of Prince Edward Island, under the influence of irritated feelings, which he provoked. He [Cowley] was repeatedly told by the people, to desist from his abuse and provocation, who also stated to Mr. Cowley, that they did not come with any attention [*sic*] to molest any person, and that he better not interfere or meddle, but mind his own business, but he persisted in abusing and provoking them until one, or more, struck him, but he was protected and saved by the rest. This is all the beating and blows that happened this fall at the fishing ground in this day worth any notice.[23]

Grant went on to explain that the cause of the troubles "was contempt and disrespect to the Catholic religion and to...a Catholic priest." He denied that the troubles were any more extensive than as he had described them, and that those persons who fled from their homes "on account of being concerned in the affair of the horse...were not forced or compelled from their houses, as it was falsely and shamefully represented...[and] there was no young or aged persons that received any blows or strokes worth of notice, except Henry Cowley, who brought it on himself." His own role in the affair, Grant pointed out, was to go to Canso, "where I restored peace[,] confidence and order, which from that hour continues uninterrupted and will, I am convinced, continue while I have charge of that place."[24] The other accounts as noted above, however, suggest that the aftermath of the riots was not exactly as Grant had claimed.

---

22 *Ibid.*

23 PANS RG 1, Vol. 240, doc. 48: Letter, Rev. James Grant to T. N. Jeffery, 18 Nov. 1833.

24 *Ibid.*

While Spinney Whitman, the magistrate at Canso, was induced to "throw up his Commission[,] not daring to take any steps against the perpetrators of these unlawful acts, as his life has already been threatened if he do so," and although the "Magistrates of Crow Harbour and Guysboro have been also threatened and are equally afraid,"[25] the Court of Sessions meeting in its October term at Guysborough was prepared to take some action. The grand jury brought down bills of indictment against, among others, William Fanning, John Foley, Dennis Heffernan, Dennis Hagerty, John MacCabe, Patrick Sullivan, Thomas Walsh and James Tobin, "for having unlawfully treated and beaten Mr. Henry Cowley of Canso or Tittle in the County of Guysborough"; and issued bench warrants for their apprehension, "to answer at the next May Sessions."[26] During the October Sessions then in progress, Heffernan was ordered bound over in jail "for want of security" until the next Sessions, when he would be committed to trial.[27]

This move on the part of the magistrates greatly offended Father Grant. In a series of letters to them he demanded that Heffernan be set free, asserting that "If you keep Heffernan in gaol twenty-four hours longer, I would not ensure it from being reduced to ashes."[28] Grant furthermore offered to stand as security for Heffernan, to which the magistrates agreed, stating that "if he [would appear] before either of them and enter into recognizance for his [Heffernan's] good behaviour and appearance at the Sessions...Heffernan should be discharged immediately." The deputy sheriff for the Lower District of the County of Sydney repeated this offer to Grant, but he refused it and, according to the deputy sheriff,

> said that unless the Magistrates thought proper to accept of his word they might detain Heffernan in Jail and take the consequence, he also desired me to say to Messrs. Marshall and Hartshorn [the magistrates] that they had acted wrong,

25 PANS RG 1, Vol. 239, doc. 105.

26 PANS RG 1, Vol. 240, doc. 55: Letter, James Grant to William Fanning, John Foley, Dennis Heffernan, etc., 5 Dec. 1833.

27 *Novascotian*, 3 Apr. 1834.

28 PANS RG 1, Vol. 240, doc. 40: Letter, James Grant to William O. Heffernan, 13 Nov. 1833.

> and that they should answer for their conduct to the Public of Cape Breton and the County of Sydney, and that three Hundred Men could not bring one of the Indicted from Canso, that whoever went after them would be shot like ducks.[29]

The threat was taken seriously. The deputy sheriff, who was responsible for both capturing the other persons indicted and retaining those already in custody, looked for assistance to Lieutenant-Colonel R. M. Cutler, *custos rotulorum* (chief magistrate) of the district, "and requested him to call out a sufficient number of Militia Men to enable me to preserve His Majesty's Jail from being *burned* to *ashes*, and received for answer that there was neither Arms nor Ammunition and that it was not in his [Cutler's] power to render any assistance."[30]

Besides defending Heffernan, Grant turned his attention to attacking Cowley, writing that he was "a dangerous mischievous man of Orange principles and feelings and that while he remains at Canso peace will be in danger of being violated."[31] Grant furthermore questioned:

> Will the whole country be embroiled[,] convulsed and thrown into rebellion and life and property rendered insecure, on account of a silly hot-headed youth, who brought Orange feelings with him from Ireland, is it not better to transport Cowley from Canso then he should kindle a fire to consume the country, he provoked the people to the assault, he is the aggressor and the cause of bringing on himself what he received.[32]

In an anonymous letter to Cowley himself, Grant bluntly warned him that "I do not think it[']s safe for your life to remain any longer at Canso," and likewise threatened those "people in the Tittle, who gave information to the Grand Jury and magistrates to watch themselves closely in future."[33]

Grant also condemned the magistrates' efforts to bring the rioters before the courts, asserting that "I have succeeded in subduing more disturbances

29 PANS RG 1, Vol. 240, doc. 67: Letter, W. O. Heffernan, deputy sheriff, to T. N. Jeffery, Nov. 1833.

30 *Ibid.*

31 *Ibid.*, doc. 40.

32 *Ibid.*, doc. 41: Letter, James Grant to W. O. Heffernan and the magistrates of Guysborough, 13 Nov. 1833.

33 *Ibid.*, doc. 54: Letter, unsigned [but definitely in the handwriting of James Grant] to William Cowley, Nov. 1833.

than all the magistrates in this district, and I have done that in a mild way. I think then that these magistrates should consult with me in cases Wherein [the] peace of the county is involved, before they should even issue bench Warrants or otherwise."[34] Elsewhere he termed these efforts "a signal of war that will ravage every section of this district, the magistrates have kindled a fire that will burn while there are Catholics and Protestants in this place."[35]

The basis of Grant's objections to the magistrates' actions seemed to lie in his belief that "the affair at Canso is a concerted Protestant plan to outrage and hurt the feelings of Catholics," and that "it is not the case of an individual against an individual or individuals but it is that of Protestants against Catholics."[36] Because of this perceived 'Protestant Plot,' Grant asserted that "the Protestants here will be disgraced in all North America by their transgressions [and their] low[,] base and stupid prejudices against Catholics. What a miserable lot," he added and even went so far as to threaten that "Mr. O'Connell will bring this business before the British parliament."[37] Still later he maintained that "These unfortunate fellows [the rioters] are guilty of two great crimes, the first crime is, that they are Irishmen, the second crime is that they are Catholics"; consequently, "they are hunted down like wild beasts."[38] "Warning the magistrates that because of their ill-advised actions, "All the army at Halifax will not now do,"[39] Grant stated that they "may as well commission or issue Warrants to commit to gaol all the papists and Romanists under this government as to do what they have done."[40] In response to these none-too-veiled warnings, the local magistrates reluctantly released Heffernan from jail without security, and then petitioned government, stating that the situation

34 *Ibid.*, doc. 44: Letter, James Grant to John Newton, 15 Nov. 1833.

35 *Ibid.*, doc. 42: Letter, James Grant to Wentworth Taylor and the magistrates at Guysborough, 14 Nov. 1833.

36 *Ibid.*, doc. 41.

37 *Ibid.*, doc. 44.

38 *Ibid.*, doc. 59: Letter, James Grant to Judge Sawers, 10 Dec. 1833.

39 *Ibid.*, doc. 42.

40 *Ibid.*, doc. 44.

> appears to us so alarming that we trust the Government will consider it necessary, as we do, to adopt immediate and effective measures to afford Protection to the inhabitants of this Community, who are not and cannot until those Angry feelings and disorders are subdued, consider either their life or Property safe.[41]

In response to the petition of the Guysborough magistrates, as well as to various communications from persons at Canso and elsewhere, including the Reverend James Grant, Solicitor-General C.R. Fairbanks recommended that

> the most prudent measure for restoring order, and a due subscription to the Law would be to direct the first Justice of the Eastern District, to repair, forthwith, to that county and with the aid of the magistrates and peace officers to perform all such acts as the urgency of the case may require and that he be furnished with the usual Commissions of Oyer and Terminer and local delivery upon which he may proceed should it appear expedient.[42]

Consequently, on 3 December 1833 Judge William Quincy Sawers (president of the Court of Sessions for the Eastern Division of mainland Nova Scotia) and Martin Wilkins (a future attorney-general), who had been engaged as crown attorney, arrived in Guysborough to investigate the affair and, if necessary, to hold a special court of oyer and terminer to punish any wrongdoers. Wilkins immediately sought the assistance of Father Grant in rounding up the rioters. The latter at first seemed inclined to assist, but by 10 December was hedging.[43] This was much the same situation as the deputy sheriff had encountered earlier when Grant had indicated a willingness to help[44] but had then retracted, writing: "Did you read the History of the vile and ferocious penal laws against Catholics in former times, if you did tell me,

41 *Ibid.*, doc. 50: Letter, R. Hartshorn, R. M. Cutler, W. Taylor, J. Newton and J. Marshall to Sir Rupert George, 16 Nov. 1833.

42 *Ibid.*, doc. 46: Letter, C. R. Fairbanks, solicitor-general to Sir Rupert George, 26 Nov. 1833. The instructions were to hold a special Court of Oyer and Terminer: "special tribunals empowered to hear and determine cases within their criminal jurisdiction, commissioned by the crown when the delay involved in ordinary prosecution could not be tolerated, as in the case of sudden insurrection": John A. Yogis, ed., *Canadian Law Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1990), 163.

43 *Ibid.*, doc. 72: Letter, Martin Wilkins to T. N. Jeffery, 16 Feb. 1834.

44 *Ibid.*, doc. 67.

did they require a Catholic priest to hunt after his own parishioners and bring them to the gibbet."[45]

In spite of Grant's avowed intention no longer to "interfere in any manner in this affair of Canso" and indeed to "resign my charge of this parish,"[46] the Commission did, however, receive some assistance from him. Judge Sawers reported that "by the most cautious and prudent management of the Priest,"[47] the latter had been persuaded to use his influence and authority to call upon the accused rioters, in order to "render submissive obedience to the civil authorities and laws of this Province of Nova Scotia and to come with the Sheriff."[48] Sawers considered that Grant's intervention was necessary, because he felt that the capture of the rioters "could not have been effected in any other way without bloodshed, as the lawlessness of these people is truly beyond...comprehension."[49] Sawers and Wilkins were determined, however, to reinforce the authority of the law and consequently "sent the civil authorities to do everything under the power of law for we do not choose to make it a matter of priestly favour altogether."[50]

While Father Grant's intervention was sufficient to bring five of the rioters to Guysborough for trial, the others did not appear and their capture proved to be no easy matter. Despite Sawers's avowed intention to "make a clean sweep of it[,] showing the folly of resisting the authority of the law,"[51] many of the rioters were "armed to resist the Sheriff and all other authority."[52] And, despite his letter of 10 December, Father Grant continued to be involved in the affair: on 14 December, Wilkins again wrote to the priest, reporting that

45 *Ibid.*, doc. 43: Letter, James Grant to Martin Wilkins, 14 Nov. 1833.

46 *Ibid.*, doc. 59.

47 *Ibid.*, doc. 57: Letter, William Quincy Sawers to T. N. Jeffery, 9 Nov. 1833.

48 *Ibid.*, doc. 55.

49 *Ibid.*, doc. 51: Letter, W. Q. Sawers to T. N. Jeffery, 4 Dec. 1833.

50 *Ibid.*, doc. 57.

51 *Ibid.*, doc. 51.

52 *Ibid.*, doc. 57.

three of the rioters "have recently been seen at this place" and that "you are the cause of their being kept back."[53] Until the last of the rioters was apprehended, unrest continued in Canso and its vicinity: "A short time since," Sawers reported, "the Deputy Sheriff had a gun deliberately snapped at him in passing the hut of one of these villains who suspected him of having process against him[,] and when the fellow discovered that the Deputy did not intend approaching him but had passed on he discharged the gun and gave three cheers of triumph...."[54] Finally, however, the last of the accused was brought in, although "some...made violent resistance and even deterred fourteen constables from entering the house in which they were discovered."[55]

As long as any of the rioters remained at large it was difficult to organize a court, since "many were deterred from attending in their various capacities from the dread of personal violence being offered to them...."[56] Judge Sawers, although he had declared he was ready to do his duty, even if the "combatants decide upon...tearing our flesh from the bone," was also concerned. "The only difficulty," he wrote,

> is the enforcing of the sentence of the Court which may be opposed by the ragamuffin rebel friends of the prisoners but we shall take care not to pass sentence until by our preparations we made all resistance ineffectual, for which purposes we adopted secret measures to have an efficient body of special constables in readiness to be sworn in....[57]

When all the accused had been captured--except "one Patrick Walsh who it so happened, was not in the District"[58]--and during "a most tedious month in Guysborough," the Court dealt with

53 *Ibid.*, doc. 69: Letter, Wilkins to Grant, 14 Dec. 1833.

54 *Ibid.*, doc. 51.

55 *Ibid.*, doc. 72.

56 *Ibid.*, doc. 72.

57 *Ibid.*, doc. 57.

58 *Ibid.*, doc. 72.

> fifteen most desperate scroundrells [*sic*]--one for stealing a horse was acquitted though the evidence was very strong against him;--another for attempting to shoot the Sheriff[;] a third for assault on a public officer[;] and twelve of the Canso rioters have all been found guilty. The first of these convicts (the shooter) and eight of the Rioters will start from here tomorrow on their way to the Bridewell [in Halifax], the leader of the Canso desperadoes...Dennis Heffernan for four years hard labour, four of his most worthy associates three years, three of his inferiors in guilt, for two years and the shooter for three--the fellow guilty of the assault was sentenced to a fine of ten pounds and to give security for his good behaviour for one year (committed until the fine is paid and security found--being rather addicted to such sport as he terms it)....[59]

The others involved were confined "to the cells in the Guysborough Gaol" for various shorter terms and were also fined. Sawers's relief was obvious in his conclusion that "Thus has ended the most arduous task I ever undertook...."[60]

The "arduous task" was, however, not quite over as, having dealt with the rioters, there remained for the court now to decide what to do with or about the Reverend James Grant. It was a question filled with difficulty and marked by strong feelings. Prosecutor Wilkins stated that he "could expect no favourable result to spring from the punishment of a few ignorant men while others were duly encouraged by the example of the priest whose object appeared to be to separate as widely as possible the Catholics and Protestants and to engender the worse feeling of religious animosity among the people." Although he desired to make "an example of this person" to further demonstrate "the rigid impartiality of the Laws," Wilkins's "only question in reference to the propriety in taking proceedings against him was that to the expendiency [*sic*] of endangering the public peace...[by] taking steps against a priest at the head of a large body of Catholics who would probably feel some excitement upon the occasion."[61]

The opinion of the crown attorney concerning "propriety" was evidently shared by the Court of Sessions at Guysborough. On 19 December, the grand jury recorded that they regretted the necessity of the establishment of a special commission, terming it as "disgraceful to this County, and an outrage

59 *Ibid.*, doc. 68: Letter, W. Q. Sawers to T. N. Jeffery, 31 Dec. 1833.

60 *Ibid.*

61 *Ibid.*, doc. 68.

upon its respectability," and lamenting that the "proceedings have been improperly...attributed to a feeling of hostility, said to subsist between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants of this Districts [*sic*], [although] such feeling is by no means subsisting in this District." The Court admonished Father Grant for the "expression and style" of his letters to the magistrates, while Judge Sawers termed the correspondence "contemptuous, disrespectful, and insulting in the extreme." Grant's letters, threatening to burn down the court-house or jail, defied both government and the local magistrates; and "evince[d] a spirit of determination on his part, to support, conceal, and countenance the barbarous perpetrations of the riotous offences, and disgraceful transactions which have been recently committed at Canso...." The grand jury concluded their presentment with the observation that Father Grant had demonstrated "a disposition to separate more widely the Catholics and Protestants of this District and to ferment and keep alive the most uncharitable feelings, [and] religious animosity, which, notwithstanding the efforts of such persons, the jury are proud to state, do not exist to any extent in this District."[62] The description of Grant "as a great public offender"[63] was no doubt supported by both Wilkins and Sawers; the latter had earlier chastised the priest, insisting that "It is only in your imagination that it is criminal to be an Irishman or a Catholic," and that "It is neither liberal nor just to excite or encourage such sentiments as that any class of orderly subjects would be hunted down like wild beasts--or that the laws are or will be partially administered to the injury of your Countrymen or Religion...."[64]

On 20 December, Judge Sawers informed Father Grant, who had moved to Antigonish, that "the presentment of a Grand Jury calls upon the Court to effectuate the object of its contents, but it rests with the discretion of the Court how this is to be done." Sawers further explained that because of "a feeling of sympathy for a gent[leman] in your situation and in your

62 *Novascotian*, 29 Jan. 1834. In criminal law, 'presentment' means either to bring a formal charge against a person, or to bring an offence to the notice of a court, magistrate, or judge. This was not an unimportant matter, as Father Grant's behaviour could have been considered seditious and, potentially, he could have been charged with sedition (i.e., speech or action causing discontent or rebellion against the government, or incitement to discontent or rebellion)--which was a high misdemeanour at common law.

63 PANS RG 1, Vol. 240, doc. 68.

64 *Ibid.*, doc. 52: Letter, William Sawers to Rev. James Grant, 10 Dec. 1833.

profession," he was prepared to dispense with the usual formalities of the law "in bringing before the Court the party presented." The judge gave the priest an opportunity to offer privately an explanation for his actions, but nevertheless insisted that Grant attend court "on Monday next."[65] Father Grant's friends in Antigonish urged him to go to Guysborough: "The Bishop," wrote Robert Henry to Sawers, "has advised him also as well as others of his friends to go over...but he seems to think that should he, proceedings will be held against him...."[66]

Grant responded to Sawers's letter, assuring him that while "I may have used expressions not sufficiently guarded...there was nothing further from my intention than to make use of language, which might be construed into threats, or have a tendency to bring either the Government or its agents into contempt."[67] Nevertheless, he was adamant in refusing to return to Guysborough; had he received Sawers's letter before going to Antigonish, he explained, he would have taken advantage of the opportunity "to enter into an explanation...," but "the time is now past."[68] However, as a result of the urging of the "Reverend Bishop and others of his intimate acquaintance," the recalcitrant priest eventually did come back--"but with an inconsistency peculiar to himself did not appear,"[69] until "after the Court had risen."[70] Judge Sawers concluded that "his conduct has been... unaccountable, but it is a delicate subject...."[71] Others were also concerned about Grant's actions and some of his Antigonish friends, while continuing to support him, questioned

65 *Ibid.*, doc. 70: Letter, William Sawers to James Grant, 20 Dec. 1833.

66 *Ibid.*, doc. 62: Letter, Robert Henry to Judge W. Sawers, 24 Dec. 1833.

67 *Ibid.*, doc. 3: Letter, James Grant to Mr. Justice Sawers, 24 Dec. 1833.

68 *Ibid.*, doc. 63.

69 *Ibid.*, doc. 72.

70 *Ibid.*, doc. 68.

71 *Ibid.*

"if he is in the due exercise of his mind."[72]

With the failure of Father Grant to attend court, the work of the commission was brought to an end. As it rose, the Court of Sessions--which included three Catholics--voted an expression of thanks to Sawers and Wilkins for their personal efforts and for the commission's investigation "to refute the scandalous and malicious reports of the existence of religious differences in this District which disaffected and designing men have circulated."[73] Wilkins, reporting to Halifax, also concluded that "the result of the commission has sufficiently shown the erroneousness of Mr. Grant's statements touching the existence of a bad feeling between the Catholics and Protestants and the folly of supposing that any preference had been given to the Protestants in the distribution of public offices and emolument."[74] The question, however, of Grant's conduct had still to be resolved. Because it was a "delicate subject," Judge Sawers apparently decided to do nothing before he

72 *Ibid.*, doc. 62. The state of Father Grant's mind is an issue that is difficult to determine. However, at least part of Grant's perceptions might be explained by a comment in a letter to Sir Rupert George (PANS RG 1, Vol. 240, doc. 65), written in their own defence by the Guysborough magistrates. Speaking of the on-going troubles associated with the fishery, they noted that petitions had been sent to the Assembly from Guysborough and other parts of the county, as well as from Arichat and Pictou, seeking more protection on the fishing grounds. They continued:

> A Petition to this effect was got up here in April 1832 and brought forward for signatures at a numerous meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the townships of Guysborough and Manchester, which was signed by all the Protestants present at the meeting, but although no wish was expressed in it to have the Reverend Mr. Grant's salary [the £50 grant from the Assembly for maintaining order at the fishery], as it was called, withdrawn, yet with only a few exceptions the Catholics rejected it, alleging it would have that effect, and this effort to obtain something like adequate protection, has, we have reason to believe been construed by the Reverend Gentleman into a Protestant Plot for the purpose of inflaming the minds of the Catholic population of this and the adjoining counties.

While this is far from any sort of proof for the cause of Grant's actions--which were no doubt based on a sincere belief--it may provide at least a clue to his thoughts, or at least to what others thought he was thinking. Perhaps his experience in Ireland also provides some background for his actions. Grant died in 1836 while travelling with Bishop Fraser, whose Vicar General he was, on a visitation to Cape Breton. A brother priest writing to a mutual friend in Quebec commented, "Poor Mr. Grant is no more.... He leaves a great void. He was not very talented, but he was pious and exemplary. He is mourned by all...." Buried in Cape Breton, his body was moved by his brothers and some friends to Guysborough, where it was re-interred near the front door of St. Ann's Roman Catholic Church (Johnston, *Catholic Church*, II, 131–132).

73 PANS RG 1, Vol. 240, doc. 4: Letter, Joseph Marshall and 23 others to W. Sawers and M. Wilkins, 24 Dec. 1833.

74 *Ibid.*, doc. 72.

had an opportunity to consult with government in Halifax. Meanwhile, he assured them that "I feel satisfied that so apparent to the public at large has his guilt been made that he may be considered as completely silenced."[75] The provincial officials apparently agreed that the best action was no action, as there is no record of any subsequent official move against Father Grant.

The priest's self-imposed exile in Antigonish was not of long standing, as by 13 January 1834 he was reported from Guysborough as being "yesterday at Chapel" and "is Galloping around the Country on his horse looking cross but says nothing."[76] The controversy concerning his involvement in the Canso riots, however, continued to swirl around him: between January and June 1834, Joseph Howe, editor of the *Novascotian*, received a number of letters either supporting Grant and attacking the magistrates, or supporting the magistrates and attacking Grant--a campaign which concluded with the letter writers attacking each other. Gradually, however, those for and against vented their feelings, and as the public mind was attracted to other events, the controversy was laid to rest. The Assembly decided that the expense of the commission should be borne by the people of Guysborough County and deducted its cost from the annual allotment of road money,[77] thus presenting a hardship to both the Catholics and Protestants who depended on such funding to supply them with a needed economic boost.

The extent to which the riots were the problem, or merely a manifestation of the problem, is difficult to determine. There would appear to be little doubt that prior to the disturbances, the relationship between at least some Roman Catholics and some Protestants was strained--and so perhaps the riots were precipitated by religious problems. There is also little doubt that the truck system of economic subjugation under which fishermen were often held by the local merchants was also a contributing cause of the disturbances. Likewise, the riots can be interpreted as a response to the local establishment from that segment of the population lacking political power or influence and consequently viewing themselves as victimized by authority. At the very least, the riots stemmed from any of these, combined with both too much rum

75 *Ibid.*, doc. 68.

76 *Ibid.*, doc. 71: Letter, Robert Hartshorne to Martin Wilkins, 13 Jan. 1834.

77 *Novascotian*, 19 Mar. 1834. Also see *Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly* (Halifax, 1835), p. 862.

and a tradition of largely unrestrained violence within a transient and troublesome group of people. At any rate, the entire episode--riots, Commission and financial costs--seemed to have little lasting effect. While the catalysts to provoke and condone riots and mob action were perhaps removed by imprisonment and embarrassment, the fishery remained a turbulent scene. As early as January 1834, it was reported from Guysborough that "we have persons here bound to appear at the Sessions in May Term for assaulting or insulting the constables on their return."[78] That this situation continued is certain, as four years later petitions continued to flow to the Assembly, pointing out that the Fox Island and Crow Harbour fishery was "frequented by a great number of Fishermen.... Sometimes amounting to Three or Four Thousand and that among such a body of Men collected disputes and quarrels take place and that serious injury has been done to the seines and nets and to Merchants who supply them[,] by Turbulent characters that visit these places."[79]

While Father Grant, who died in Cape Breton in September 1836, may easily be condemned for his role in the troubles, there is little doubt that the prevailing social and economic conditions produced a powder keg on which he was gingerly seated. The spark of religious controversy, which he did nothing to extinguish, was all that was needed to shatter the uneasy peace--and to blow both it and Father Grant into the controversy, unpleasantness and dangers of the Canso Riots.

78 PANS RG 1, Vol. 240, doc. 71.

79 PANS RG 5, Series P, Vol. 15, 1838.

Gaelic and the Schools in Cape Breton

Lori Vitale Cox

Cape Breton is a large island off the northeastern coast of Nova Scotia. During the 1800s, thousands of Gaelic-speaking settlers emigrated there from Highland Scotland. A hundred years ago, in 1890, in a House of Commons speech which addressed making Gaelic an official language in Canada, T.R. McInnes estimated that three-quarters of the Cape Breton population of 100,000 spoke Gaelic as their first language (Stephens 1976). Sixty years ago, Gaelic was as common as English on the island. Most of the population at that time learned English in school, but in the Northern Highlands the older people remained monolingual in the language of their birth (Campbell 1936, Kelly 1980, Mertz 1982). Gaelic still persists today in Cape Breton, particularly in certain sections of Inverness and Victoria Counties, but sociolinguistic studies by Kelly (1980), Mertz (1982) and Edwards (1988) show that it is now used primarily by people over the age of sixty-five. The dramatic decline of the Gaelic language in Nova Scotia during the last fifty years is evident from these census figures:[1]

Census Data: Number of Gaelic Speakers

Date	*Canada*	*Nova Scotia*
1931	32,000	25,000
1941	32,700	12,000
1951	14,000	6,800
1961	7,500	3,700
1971	—	1,420 (965 in C.B.)
1976	1,620	540

(Figures rounded off. They indicate Gaelic mother tongue.)

MacKinnon (1977) pointed out that since the 1930s there has been virtually no transmission of the language to the younger generation.[2]

Lori Vitale Cox, from the School of Education, Dalhousie University, Halifax, NS, is currently completing her Ph.D. thesis, entitled "Engineered Consent: The Relocation of Black Point, a small Gaelic fishing community in Northern Cape Breton Island."

1 MacKinnon (1979) as cited in Edwards (1988). *Gaelic in Nova Scotia: Community Initiatives for the Gaelic Language and Cultural Development in Nova Scotia* (1989) reported that at the turn of the century there were approximately 80,000 Gaelic-speakers in Cape Breton and that "the Gaelic population has been halved approximately every decade, with estimates today of native speakers as low as 500 to 1000."

2 See also Campbell and MacLean (1974), Kelly (1980) and Mertz (1982).

The proceedings of a conference on the Gaelic language held at the University College of Cape Breton in 1989 reported that the public school system has played a negative role in terms of the Gaelic language, although acknowledging that little research has been done in this area.[3] Sociolinguistic studies completed by Kelly (1980) and Mertz (1982) discussed the lack of support for the Gaelic language in the provincial educational system. A recent book by Gilbert Foster, entitled *Language and Poverty* (1989), claims, however, that the Department of Education in Nova Scotia has been largely responsible for the "persistence of Scottish Gaelic" in Cape Breton. Foster suggests that educational policies have been instrumental in maintaining "Scottish Gaelic...as a viable language culture" in Cape Breton.

There seems to be therefore a fundamental question as to what role the Department of Education has played in the maintenance of the Gaelic language and culture. Did the school system support Gaelic or did it play a part in the language's decline? Were children from Gaelic-speaking homes in Cape Breton ever given an opportunity to learn the Gaelic language in the public school system, which for the most part they were forced to attend until they were sixteen, or were they discouraged from using the language?

Campbell (1936), Mertz (1982), and Shaw (1988) have pointed out that negative attitudes towards the Gaelic language in the English-dominated colonies reflected attitudes in England and Scotland. In recent years, scholars have detailed the numerous ways in which England colonized Scotland in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, proceeding to transform the culture and language of that country and its people (Carter 1974, Hechter 1975, Hunter 1976, Dorian 1981, Withers 1988). Educational policies were implemented in the Highlands with the specific goal of 'anglicizing' the Gaelic people. The Preface to the 1609 *Statutes of Iona*, enacted by the Scottish Parliament under military pressure from the English, was later legitimized and ratified by the Scottish Privy Council in the *Education Act* of 1616. It stated that the "Inglishe toung be universallie plantit" and the Gaelic language, which was "one of the cheif and principall causis of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the inhabitants of the Iles

3 *Community Initiatives*, pp. 7, 9.

and Heylandis be abolisheit and removit."[4] The cultivation of negative attitudes towards Gaelic language and culture actually had more to do with English hegemony than Gaelic barbarity (Campbell 1950, MacKinnon 1974, Dorian 1981).[5] As one cynic has observed, "a dialect can be defined as the language spoken by a people without a strong army."[6]

In Nova Scotia, negative attitudes towards Gaelic were well-established by the mid-nineteenth century. In the original draft of the 1841 *Education Act*, it was specified that money be given only to English schools (Mertz 1982). This bill, however, was later amended to include French, Gaelic and German, since so many people in the province spoke these other languages (Campbell 1936, Campbell and MacLean 1976, Kelly 1980 and Mertz 1982).[7] Most of the Gaelic-speaking areas in Cape Breton, however, were not formally organized into school districts at this time, so few schools on the island were able to take advantage of this option.[8]

Before state-run English schools had become firmly established in Cape Breton, small Gaelic schools were organized informally in the homes of the most literate members of the community.[9] These schools were for the most part religious in nature, having been established to teach children how to read

4 Dorian (1981). Dorian's book, *Language Death*, is probably the most comprehensive in terms of the relation between English attitudes and language shift in the Highlands, particularly in East Sutherland. The *Statutes of Iona* also outlawed the Bardic class from the Royal Scottish courts. These people were the intellectuals, scholars and poets and the legislation therefore worked to destroy Gaelic literacy and traditional Gaelic culture. According to Harvard scholar Delargy (1945), it was at this point that the literate Gaelic tradition became 'grafted' onto the rich oral tradition of the farming and fishing families in the Highlands.

5 As Delargy (1945) noted, Gaelic was the language of civilization in Western Europe not too many years before the Scottish chiefs were forced to accept the *Statutes of Iona*.

6 Cited by Bouchard and La Rusic (1981).

7 See Duplicate Bills and Amendments, 1841, in Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS] RG 5, Series B, Vol. 19; also *Statutes of Nova Scotia*, 1841, cap. 43, sec. 14. The *Education Acts* of 1845, 1850 and 1857 were based on the previous 1841 legislation.

8 See, for example, *Report on the Schools of Nova-Scotia for the Year 1852 by the Superintendent of Education* (Halifax, 1853), pp. 40–41.

9 Oral history corroborated by the 1871 Census. Many areas in Cape Breton had no school, but the children are listed as going to school.

the Bible in Gaelic. In more populated areas the members of the Edinburgh Ladies' Association, a Scottish Presbyterian group, organized church schools (Stanley 1983). These schools seem to have had a much more tolerant attitude towards the Gaelic language than that espoused by the Council of Public Instruction (precursor of the present Department of Education). Church services were held in Gaelic and Bible classes were also taught in the language (Mertz 1982, Stanley 1983). According to a July 1863 issue of *The Presbyterian Witness*, however, there was a shortage of bilingual teachers and ministers in Cape Breton.[10] Often the teachers in these church schools, as in the state schools, were unfamiliar with the language and culture of their pupils and their attitudes seem to have been somewhat condescending. In the 1840s, a Mrs. Munro and her husband taught in Boularderie in one of the church schools supported by the Edinburgh Ladies' Association. Instead of trying to understand Gaelic herself, she complained of her students' ignorance. The children's "Bible lessons," she said, "cost me much pains and time, from the difficulty of making them understand, they knowing so little English" (Simpson 1953).

Some officials reporting to the Council of Public Instruction nevertheless recognized the need for Gaelic-speaking teachers. In 1867, the Inspector of Schools for Cape Breton County--the least rural of all the counties in Cape Breton and probably the most anglicized--noted that:

> In many cases, I believe in fully one half of the sections in the county, it is almost indispensable that a teacher should possess a knowledge of Gaelic in order to explain to children the meaning of what they are reading, or otherwise employed on, to enable them to progress with greater expedition. Of course I do not allude to any of the larger sections, but to the numerous remote and scattered ones where the Gaelic language is almost invariably spoken and the children are utterly unacquainted with English.[11]

Gaelic was recognized as the language of social interaction in most Cape Breton communities, but when the *Free School Acts* made assessment for a centralized school system compulsory in 1864 and 1865, there was no provision made for teaching the language (Mertz 1982). By 1870, indeed, it seems as if an actively anti-Gaelic ideology was in place within the Council

10 *The Presbyterian Witness*, 11 July 1863.

11 *Report* of the Superintendent of Education, 1867, cited in Mertz (1982).

of Public Instruction. At that time the School Inspector for Victoria County reported:

> It may be proper to remark that in many sections the teacher has to labour under many disadvantages, not alone from a lack of appliances as have been enumerated, but from a circumstance which is peculiar to this county to a greater extent than in any other part of the Province, and that circumstance is the perpetual contest which the teacher has to wage in conbating [*sic*] the peculiarities of idiom and pronunciation consequent on the prevalence of the Gaelic language. This to persons having a limited acquaintance with its effects upon a school may seem a matter of trivial importance, yet perhaps but few realize fully how great an obstacle it is to progress in the acquisition of a thorough English education in the County.[12]

By 1879 it was clear that there was to be no provincial support for the maintenance of the Gaelic language. When a representative from a French-speaking area suggested in the House of Assembly that the province encourage teachers working in French areas to learn the French language, John A. Morrison, Member for Victoria County, suggested that similar incentives be offered to teachers in Gaelic-speaking areas. Mr. LeBlanc, the Acadian representative, seems to have perceived this as a threat to the legislation that he had proposed, for he responded that: "there are no Gaelic teachers in the province and are not likely to be." Morrison responded by giving a long speech in Gaelic, explaining why he thought the language should be maintained. A heated debate ensued, but ultimately both LeBlanc's and Morrison's requests were refused.

When the Attorney General presented the proposed legislation for consideration, he stated that aid for bilingual education was only important insofar as it would encourage English education: "[The Attorney General] had heard the criticism, particularly outside the House, that it would be unwise to encourage instruction in French, because it was desirable that the people should adopt universally not only English customs but the English language." Assuming that the argument was well-founded, the house would see that in imparting instruction in English to French children it was impossible to do it well without a knowledge of their mother tongue. The

12 Inspector's Report, Victoria County, in *Annual Report*, Superintendent of Education, 1870, p. 106; cited in Campbell and MacLean (1976). This is not to say that Gaelic or the Gaelic culture was singled out in N.S. or Cape Breton. Negative attitudes towards the French, Mi'kmaw and German languages also existed.

request of the petitioners, therefore, was with a view, not simply of imparting instruction in French but in English itself.[13]

By the turn of the century, teachers scolded and spanked their students in order to prevent them from speaking Gaelic in the schools, or even in the schoolyard (Dunn 1952, Shaw 1977, Shaw 1988). It is no wonder, as Sinclair (1950) suggested, that there is a tendency for the "language of the school [to] displace the language of the home" and for the attitudes towards language that are imbibed at school to replace those learned at home.[14] At this point, Gaelic became a 'minority' language even in Cape Breton, where most people still spoke it. In different contexts, Mead (1942), Geertz (1973) and Hobsbawm (1984) have noted how mass education in the European 'nation states' and their colonies was used as a political tool to 'encourage' diverse ethnic groups to assimilate into a new social order. In establishing a compulsory English school system that totally ignored the French, Gaelic or Mi'kmaq experience in Nova Scotia, the schools helped to establish English hegemony in the province and in the new 'Canadian' mainstream.

Until 1890, however, the policies and practices of the provincial educational system had very little effect on the education of most people living in northern Victoria and Inverness Counties in Cape Breton, since there was no formal sectional arrangement in these areas. A school inspector's report from 1886, for example, noted that: "Educationally this territory is 'a great lone land' without sectional arrangement of any description. Thinly settled and precarious in their pursuits it is difficult if not

13 *Debates and Proceedings of the House of Assembly*, 1879, pp. 228–229; cited in Mertz (1982). This is the same argument that was used in Scotland, in the late eighteenth century, by members of the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge when they introduced Gaelic Bibles in order to teach English. It is also the approach that was being used in the Presbyterian church schools in Cape Breton; and it makes sense. It is strange that at the time no funding was given. But it also may be that the French and Gaelic cultures were still perceived as a threat to English hegemony, since a large percentage of the provincial population remained either Gaelic or French.

14 See also *Community Initiatives*; and Isabel Knockwood, *Out of the Depths: The Experiences of Mi'kmaw Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia* (Lockeport, NS, 1992) for the Mi'kmaw experience of how the residential schools forced 'anglicization' on aboriginal children and alienated them from their own language and culture.

impossible for these isolated settlements to secure the services of a regularly accredited teacher." The inspector went on to observe that the people in these areas lived in what he termed "Egyptian darkness," such use of language suggesting that this region was empty and wild and that its people lived in darkness and ignorance. The Highland settlers were furthermore reported to be indifferent to the 'benefits' of English schooling--no doubt because they were still enmeshed in their own cultural forms. John Gunn, school inspector in Victoria, noted that: "In some of these localities education appears to be dead and buried--but in some at least of the rest, animation is merely suspended, and will probably be revived whenever their present frigid indifference is thawed out."[15] Shaw (1988) has pointed out that it was during this period--that of the greatest isolation from mainstream society and its educational institutions--that Gaelic cultural traditions flourished in Cape Breton:

> Songs of the highest quality by numerous bards were produced...[and] entered naturally into the song-repertoire...the stock of historical legend transmitted from Scotland was supplemented by accounts of new experiences--perceived and recounted in a purely Gaelic style--and the instrumental folk tradition, most notably that of the fiddle, flourished to a degree certainly unmatched elsewhere in Scottish Gaeldom.[16]

During the nineteenth century, Cape Breton was on the periphery of both the English and Celtic worlds, but it seems that for a time it was its own centre.

The Gaelic tradition in Cape Breton, as in Scotland, was primarily an oral one. Unlike a written tradition which can exist independently from the people who produce it, oral tradition is maintained and transmitted through everyday

15 Report of John Y. Gunn, Inspector, District No. 8, Inverness and Victoria, in *Annual Report* of the Superintendent of Education, 1887, Appendix 5, pp. 38–43, *passim*.

16 In a study of the Gaelic song-tradition in Cape Breton, Shaw has noted that in Cape Breton during the nineteenth century this song-tradition was thriving, but that in Scotland at the same time, Gaelic poetry was suffering from an artificiality and technical degeneration that seemed to be related to "outside cultural influences."

life. It has to be lived in order to survive. The songs, the stories and the fiddle music of the Highland settlers grew out of the environment that they lived in and the way in which they organized their lives. To say that the Gaelic tradition was concerned with the everyday world, however, is not the same as saying that it was ordinary, prosaic or limited. The songs and stories and fiddle music made the everyday vibrate with resonances that many English-speaking people were unable to hear.

There is, for instance, a special importance in Gaelic tradition given to particular places and their names. Danielou (1979), cited in MacCana (1988), called it a "holy geography":

> Il existe des lieux où les mondes visibles et invisibles sont proches l'un et l'autre.... Tout être attentif au mystère du monde peut percevoir le caractère insolite ces lieux où l'on sent des présences invisibles. Ce sont des sortes de portes par lesquelles on peut un peu plus aisément passer d'un monde dans un autre, des voies par lesquelles il est possible au voyant de basculer soudain dans un autre monde, et pour tous de se sentir plus proche de ce que l'on appelle le surnaturel, le monde mystérieux des dieux et des esprits. Toutes les religions reconnaissent ces lieux où le miracle devient possible. Rien d'apparent ne désigne parfois ces régions plus proches du ciel, mais leur charactère magique a été ressenti par les hommes depuis les âges les plus lointains. Leur place est définie dans une science particulière, la géographie sacrée.

The Highland Gaels took this reverence for place with them to Cape Breton. Every mountain, every marsh, every rock of any size or tree of any character had a Gaelic name and an attached story that everyone in the community knew and responded to. Some of this was translated into English--'raggedy rock,' 'sailor brook,' 'lumber cove,' 'shag roost,' 'the hairy marsh'--but much of this place-lore was also lost. So too, the plant-lore. With the decline of the Gaelic language, this kind of knowledge disappeared forever.

By the turn of the twentieth century, 'English' schools had been established throughout Cape Breton, even in the northernmost reaches of the Highlands.[17] It was at this time that Gaelic traditional forms began to decline. Since the Gaelic culture was for the most part an oral one, it is difficult to find written evidence of this process, but the decline of Gaelic literacy during this period can be utilized as a general indication of the process.

17 See generally, Reports for School Inspectors, Inverness and Victoria Counties, in *Annual Reports* of the Superintendent of Education, 1896–1905.

For instance, in the community of Black Point in northern Cape Breton, as the informal Gaelic schools gave way to the compulsory English ones in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Gaelic was lost. The community of Black Point developed from three families, each of which had one literate parent. In the 1871 Census, Alexander MacKinnon was listed as being able to read and write; his brother's wife, Ann, could read although she was unable to write; and Ann's brother, Donald Fraser, could also read but not write. These MacKinnons and Frasers were Free Church Presbyterians and it was likely that they were 'Bible literate' in Gaelic. These families were unusual, however, for the 1871 Census also reported that the majority of people in the Bay St. Lawrence district were totally illiterate.[18]

Literacy in English, however, was not achieved by most of the children of these Black Point families, even though literacy in Gaelic was lost. Residents of Black Point remembered their grandparents, the children of these first three families, reciting long passages from the Gaelic Bible; but they also reported that these old people were unable to read either Gaelic or English.[19] In a 1970 study, Ralston reported that many of the adult residents of the Black Point community were functionally illiterate.[20] This was a century after the advent of the English school. The coming of compulsory English education brought about a disintegration of Gaelic ways of knowing, but in many areas of Cape Breton children did not seem to have access to the quality of education that was available in other parts of the province. These two threads have been woven together into a pattern that might be called the 'social underdevelopment' of the Gaelic settler in Cape Breton.

The school inspectors noted some of these educational difficulties in northern Cape Breton in their annual reports. In the first years of the twentieth century, for example, John MacKinnon, inspector of schools for Victoria County, reported that school funding was directly dependant on the property taxes of the ratepayers, i.e. the people living in the school district.

18 1871 Dominion Census. Literacy at this time was more common among the Free Church Presbyterians because of their concern with being able to read the Bible. Bay St. Lawrence was largely Catholic and this might account for the fact that the MacKinnons and Frasers were literate, while most of their neighbours could not read.

19 Interviews with members of the Black Point Community, 1987–1992.

20 This is not to say that they were uneducated, for many of them were still enmeshed in the traditional patterns of Gaelic culture and language.

Because of this policy, many schools in rural areas of Cape Breton were only open intermittently:

> These sections sparsely settled comprise on an average eight to fourteen ratepayers with from ten to fifteen children of school age. The property assessable for taxation would probably amount to a valuation of about $3,500 for the average section. To keep a school in operation for a year on the most limited scale would necessitate a tax from the ratepayers of $120–$150, a sum utterly beyond the means of these sections.[21]

School inspectors also reported that physical conditions in these localities made learning difficult and also made it difficult to find qualified staff. In the *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education* for 1865, James MacDonnell, inspector in Inverness, reported that he

> found schools taught...in some of the rear settlements, in small huts covered with bark and having only three panes of glass to give light to the school.... In the whole of the fifty schools operating during the winter...there were only thirty-nine maps, one globe, twenty-one blackboards. There was a great want of books in all the schools.... (Cited in Campbell and MacLean 1974).

Teachers who were willing to work in these remote areas were for the most part inexperienced and untrained, and they stayed for one or two years at the most:

> It adds to the difficulty of keeping schools open in such sections that the localities are isolated, the schoolhouses cold and poorly equipped and often distant from suitable boarding-places. The greater number of our young teachers are girls who are used to a reasonable degree of comfort at their homes. They will not consent to teach for a pittance under such depressing circumstances and privations in backland sections. And why should they? when the West is calling them to more hopeful prospects.... While conditions continue a number of closed schools is inevitable....''[22]

School funding policies continued to work against small rural schools even after the provincial government began to assume more financial

21 Report of John MacKinnon, Inspector, Division No. 8, North Inverness and Victoria, in *Annual Report* of the Superintendent of Education, 1906, p. 107.

22 *Ibid.*

responsibility for their maintenance.[23] In the 1930s the government began to give grants, based on population, to each county; funds were then distributed by the county to each school section. In many rural areas, however, the number of schools was so great in proportion to the population--because of the huge distances between areas--that each school ended up receiving a proportionally smaller county grant.[24]

The continued lack of qualified teachers in these rural areas finally led the inspectors to suggest the training of local students to fill the teaching positions. They reported, however, that financial difficulties made it impossible for students from rural areas to attend the Normal College in Truro. Even in the 1940s, fifty per cent of the schoolteachers in Victoria County came from outside the county.[25] Until fairly recently, it was also difficult for children in rural Cape Breton to finish high school. In some areas of northern Victoria and Inverness Counties, for example, schools only went up to grade eight; in others they extended only to grades ten or eleven. Children had to board away from home if they wanted to complete more schooling than what was locally available.

Non-English ethnic groups were especially disadvantaged because the schools ignored the language and culture of the surrounding communities, whether Gaelic, Mi'kmaq or French. For instance, the provincial examinations, which reflected the curriculum of the schools, consistently focused on imported British culture. This culture, however, was totally foreign to the experience of most Cape Breton children and their families.[26]

---

23 Funding policies had consistently worked against the outlying rural areas. As early as 1826, for instance, the *Common Schools Act* of Nova Scotia was passed, but according to the Reverend John Stewart this legislation "militated against a more extensive network of schools on the island. To the disadvantage of poor and thinly settled regions, it stipulated that all communities would have to construct a conventional schoolhouse and engage a schoolmaster, promising him room, board and a salary of £25 per annum, before claiming eligibility for government aid" (cited in Stanley 1982).

24 See generally, Reports of School Inspectors, Division No. 8, Victoria and Inverness North, in *Annual Reports* of the Superintendent of Education, 1930s.

25 *Ibid.*, 1940s.

26 For example, the 1902 Grade XI Provincial Examination: *English Language*: Quote from *The Lady of the Lake* a passage of not less than twelve consecutive lines; *Geography and History*: Name the Norman Kings of England, with the dates of their accession and give a short sketch of the reign of any one of them; and *Arithmetic*: By selling out three per cent consols at 102, and investing in Railway stock which pays a dividend of 5 per cent per annum, a man finds he can double his income from consols. Find the price of the Railway stock. (Example consulted at Beaton Institute, UCCB, Sydney.)

Mead (1942) noted that the 'modern' educational process tends to separate the educated from their cultural roots.[27] Getting a formal education in Cape Breton thus meant giving up the Gaelic culture. Once formally educated, there was really no place for that individual in a rural Cape Breton community, except perhaps as a minister, a priest or a nun; and Cape Breton was probably one of the few places that was entirely able to supply itself with clergy.

In the early 1920s, however, Cape Breton Gaels began to exert pressure on the government in Halifax to support a program of Gaelic in the schools. In 1920, M. R. MacLeod from Sydney submitted a petition that was signed by many Gaelic-speaking Cape Breton and mainland Nova Scotia residents.[28] In 1921, Gaelic was finally included in the elementary school curriculum as an optional subject, providing that a qualified teacher could be found (Kelly 1980). This was a classic 'Catch-22' situation, though, since there were no qualified Gaelic teachers--and no Gaelic language program to teach any teachers. By 1939 there was a six-week course taught at Dalhousie University as part of the Provincial Summer School for teachers (Sinclair 1950). Six weeks, however, was an insufficient length of time to become fluent enough to teach Gaelic. Nevertheless, it probably helped those teachers who were posted in Gaelic-speaking areas, to teach children English.

By the late 1930s, however, attitudes towards language in Cape Breton's Gaelic community suddenly seemed to change. When the Canadian government passed a war measure forbidding Gaelic to be communicated over the telegraph lines, the reaction of the Cape Breton Gaelic community was publicly one of outrage.[29] But privately in their homes, most Cape Breton Gaels had already ceased teaching their children the spoken language. Mertz's 1982 study indicated that parents believed the language was a 'stigma' that would mark their children and hamper their economic chances

27 According to Shaw (1986), Gaelic children received an informal education in their homes, which maintained continuity between one generation and the next. This was, he pointed out, essentially a democratic process because it was voluntary; it was available to all members of the community; and it was fairly flexible.

28 Assembly Petitions, 1920, in PANS RG 5, Series P, Vol. 79, Doc. 35.

29 According to County Council reports, speeches were given and letters were drafted to protest this policy: Minutes of the Victoria County Council, available at the Baddeck Court House and the Cabot Archives in Neils Harbour.

in the English mainstream. Parents additionally feared that if the children spoke Gaelic, their English would be marked with an accent and they would then be identified with the Gaelic community. As Edwards (1988) has pointed out, English was now associated with progress and advancement in the modern world and Gaelic with poverty and backwardness. It was during the war years that the first generation of children unable to speak Gaelic grew up in Cape Breton.

It was also during these years that the provincial government founded and supported the Gaelic College at St. Ann's, in recognition of the Gaelic contribution to Nova Scotia's heritage. In a perverse sense, it seems as if the dominant group in a society is concerned with the 'preservation' of minority languages and cultures only after the latter have been effectively assimilated. As historian Louis Alberto Sanchez has noted, in a Latin American context, government erects statues "to commemorate the contribution of the Indian...at the moment in history when there is not the slightest possibility of confusing the image of the Indian on the monument with the people of Indian ancestry presiding over its unveiling" (cited in Bouchard and La Rusic 1981).

In 1950, when effective transmission of the language had ceased, the provincial Department of Education finally set up a Gaelic Services Branch within the Adult Education Division; Colonel Ian MacLeod was hired as Gaelic Advisor. Through Gaelic Services, two works were published for teaching the language. One was a long-playing record and script called *Simplified Gaelic for Beginners* and the other was a collection of original Gaelic songs and poems written by MacLeod, called *An t-Eilthireach/The Exile*. Teachers were trained and classes were established in four public elementary schools in Inverness County (Kelly 1980). The creation of the Gaelic Services Branch supposedly indicated some support in the Department of Education for maintenance of the Gaelic language. But when MacLeod left in 1958 to take over the position of Chairman of the Celtic Studies Department, newly established at St. Francis Xavier University, no one was hired to fill the position that he left vacant; the Gaelic Services Branch simply vanished.[30]

30 Unfortunately, in retrospect, the creation of the Gaelic Services Branch seems to have reflected political interests rather than social concerns. Foster (1988) noted that MacLeod had come over from Scotland in 1949 to teach at the Gaelic College, but had differences with the director and in 1950 was about to return overseas. Members of the Gaelic Society in Sydney implored Angus L. Macdonald, premier at the time--and also moderately proficient in Gaelic--to provide some sort of post for MacLeod.

The Gaelic College is still operating, but as Mertz (1982) has noted, it is more of a tourist attraction than a school to teach Cape Breton children their traditional language and culture.[31] Actually, the College seems to promote a "Scotch-on-the-Rocks"[32] approach to the culture, a perspective which has little to do with the traditional way of life of the Gaelic people in Cape Breton:

> Gaelic was conceived as part of an 'ethnic package' which also included bagpipe bands, highland dancing, and kilts.... Gaelic was not simply a language which some Canadians spoke, but part of a politicized 'Scottish' identity. For local residents, the other parts of the package were often quite alien. Highland dancing, bagpipe bands and kilts were novelties to the rural Gaelic speaking communities surrounding the Gaelic College. In a curious way the Gaelic College was importing a new view of 'Scottishness' and of Gaelic to the area (Mertz 1982).

Mertz has also noted that while local people appreciate that the Gaelic College promotes tourism and helps to stimulate the local economy, many of them nevertheless seem to resent the packaging or 'commodification' of their culture. Furthermore, MacDonald (1987) has found that most 'Scottish' events in Cape Breton are designed as tourist attractions and have little to do with the actual lives of the local people or the Gaelic tradition.

The commodification of Scottish culture was also reported by Hugh Trevor-Roper (1983) in the Scottish Highlands. In tracing the history of most of the 'cultural badges' of the Highland Scot, he found that for the most part they were 'inventions.' They were developed, he said, "not to preserve the traditional way of life, but to ease its transformation: to bring them out of the heather and into the factory."[33] These invented traditions, in turn, were for the most part promoted by the dominant group in Scottish society, the group that was, in fact, most 'anglicized.'

The process in Cape Breton seems to have been remarkably similar. In the

---

31 Foster (1988) notes that much of its funding comes from the Department of Tourism; and Shaw (1977) that its directors for the most part did not themselves speak Gaelic--including the founder, A. W. P. MacKenzie.

32 This was actually the name of a CBC radio show promoting Gaelic 'culture.'

33 He noted, for instance, that particular clan tartans were designed by a textile manufacturer as a marketing device to sell cloth during a visit of the Queen to Scotland.

late 1960s and 1970s there was a Gaelic 'revival' in Cape Breton. Shaw (1977) reported that the language and culture suddenly became fashionable among a certain educated segment of the population who were looking to regain their lost 'roots.' A Gaelic Society was formed in Sydney to promote the language and culture. Shaw (1977) and Edwards (1988) also noted that this group was, for the most part, detached from Gaelic culture as it was actually being lived by the remaining Gaelic-speaking community in Cape Breton.

The 'cultural badges' of the Highlander and the manufactured tradition that supports it are not only commercially useful as a tourist attraction, but also emotionally sustaining. They allow people who have been assimilated into the mainstream to feel as if they are still part of an ethnic group.[34] Shaw (1978) and Mertz (1982) reported that the Gaelic language was perceived as being intellectually and economically impractical by the very same people who supposedly supported the Gaelic cultural revival.[35] This manufactured 'Scottish' identity can furthermore be used as an effective political tool by people who have been more thoroughly assimilated into the Anglo-Canadian mainstream, against those people who are still maintaining a traditional Gaelic way of life. The lived tradition, which has more to do with cultural patterns embedded within family and community than with 'cultural badges', may be rendered invisible. The people actually living this tradition may then be perceived as 'backward' because they are not proficient in mainstream forms.

Children from Black Point, for example, reported that they were sometimes ridiculed in school because they spoke with a Gaelic accent, because their clothes smelled like wood-smoke, or because they wore black rubber boots commonly associated with fishermen. Shaw (1987) pointed out that Black Point was a 'conservative' Gaelic community that still maintained the language and many of the traditional forms of the oral culture, such as

34 See Ian MacKay, "Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933–1954," in *Acadiensis*, XXI, 2 (Spring 1992), 5–47.

35 See also Nancy Dorian (1981) for a discussion of these same attitudes in Scotland.

story-telling and song-making.[36] In 1970 the people living in this small community were relocated as part of a government 'development project'.[37] Many of the local professionals who were involved with the relocation were also involved with the so-called 'Gaelic revival' that was taking place at the time in Cape Breton. Community members were described in government research reports as being culturally deprived and backward. In one report there was discussion as to whether they were intellectually inferior because they could not read English--although no mention was made of their proficiency in Gaelic (Ralston 1970). Mainstream professionals may not have been able to recognize or value the 'lived Gaelic traditions' of the people in the Black Point community because they instead identified 'Scottishness' with the invented cultural stereotypes.

In 1973, the provincial Department of Education implemented a Gaelic-language program in Cape Breton schools. Mertz (1982) reported that all of the teachers involved agreed that it was ineffectual, for at no level did it offer Gaelic-language proficiency, but only a 'superficial smattering' of the language and culture. They also questioned whether the program was really meant to provide any more than a 'taste of the Celtic culture' and a few phrases of the language. In a different context, Bouchard and La Rusic (1981) pointed out that government policy tends to support only the 'folkloric fragments' of minority culture, consistently ignoring "significant cultural forms such as land-holding patterns, systems of justice, political organization or the language of public life."

There seems very little evidence to support Foster's (1989) conclusion that the provincial Department of Education has played a role in either the persistence of the Gaelic language, or what MacKinnon (1985) called the

36 Transcription of 1987 interview with Dr. John Shaw. See also the introduction to Shaw's *Tales Until Dawn*. Kelly (1980), Mertz (1982) and Edwards (1988) pointed out that Gaelic language usage in Cape Breton, as MacKinnon (1984) also noted in the Scottish Highlands, is higher among people with lower educational attainment; as is the transmission of various cultural forms like "storytelling, song and verse composition, dancing, instrumental and vocal performance. These skills are poorly represented amongst those with any form of more advanced education" (MacKinnon).

37 Interviews conducted by the author, 1986–1991, with community members in northern Cape Breton and with mainstream professionals in Sydney and Halifax; and to be incorporated in the author's forthcoming doctoral thesis, "Manufactured Consent: The Relocation of a Small Gaelic Community in Northern Cape Breton."

"lively Gaelic culture" of Cape Breton.[38] Gaelic in the Cape Breton schools has been discouraged on three different levels: exclusion of the language as a medium of communication; exclusion from the curriculum of both the language and the culture which it embodied; and, in taking these actions, transmission of negative attitudes concerning the value and usefulness of the language and culture to the community at large.[39] Without doubt, negative attitudes like these have been entirely responsible for the shift to English in the last fifty or sixty years.[40]

Gaelic language programs in Nova Scotia continue to be inadequate at all levels.[41] There were only thirty-nine students studying Gaelic in the provincial school system during the 1990–91 school year, according to the Research Section of the Department of Education.[42] There is an absence of the language in all Cape Breton schools, except at Mabou Consolidated in Inverness County. There are no elementary school programs, nor have there been any for years. In the next few years the Department of Education plans to cut the Gaelic program entirely.

The provincial educational system has played a role not only in the decline of the Gaelic language and culture, but also in the social and economic

38 Although it might be said that the schools have helped to maintain what Edwards (1988) calls the "cultural trappings [of a] symbolic ethnicity." Edwards's analysis argues that this kind of "symbolic identity" allows people to assimilate into the mainstream, but at the same time to keep an emotional ethnic attachment which does not depend on their native language. This kind of cultural re-creation and commodification, however, is useful only to the dominant group in a society--and to no one else.

39 Dorian (1981) described this process in the schools of East Sutherland in the Scottish Highlands.

40 At this point in time, sociolinguists seem to agree that language shift occurs because of a change in people's attitudes. But they seem to differ as to precisely what determines these attitude changes. Dorian (1981) and Mertz (1982), for instance, both saw the educational system as being involved in this process. Mertz, however, put more emphasis on economic conditions during the Depression, which she believed were particularly to blame for the sudden shift in attitudes during the 1930s. Dorian (1981), tracing a similar process in the Scottish Highlands, ascribed much more responsibility to the school system.

41 There has been "no coherent approach to educational goals, teaching credentials, levels of linguistic and cultural competence, or regional Gaelic orientation in existing programs" (*Community Initiatives*, p.7). Kelly (1980) also found that the level of proficiency was low in all but one of the adult non-university Gaelic classes he observed. Students' knowledge of the language was limited to an exchange of greetings and standard phrases. During the last twenty years there sometimes have been credit courses offered at the University College of Cape Breton in Sydney, St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, or Saint Mary's University in Halifax.

42 Telephone interview with Director of Curriculum for the NS Department of Education.

marginalization of the Cape Breton Gael. Gaelic children in Cape Breton traditionally have had no opportunity to learn the language in the compulsory public school system, but neither have they had the opportunity to acquire the kind of English education that was available in other areas of the province. The children of the 'invisible' Gaelic minority in northern Cape Breton still leave school at an earlier age and with less schooling than their counterparts in mainland Nova Scotia.

What was once the heart of Gaelic-speaking Nova Scotia is now only its economic and social periphery. Some children in Cape Breton may learn to play the pipes or wear the kilt at the Gaelic College; others may learn a few Gaelic expressions at school; but when the last Gaelic-speaking elders die, the *Gàidhealtachd* in Cape Breton will die with them, for the culture is embedded in the language. As Michael MacLean, a Cape Breton fiddler, has noted, "The language and the music are one. All this fine Gaelic music we enjoy came out of Gaelic heads. If the language goes, the music will never, never be the same" (Kelly 1980). Shaw (1988) observes that if we liken the fortunes of 'Gaeldom' to a wave which has left pools as it recedes, the *Gàidhealtachd* in Cape Breton may be regarded as a particularly deep one. But the tide has gone out and in a few years these pools will be dry. The provincial school system and its policies must at this point in time take their share of the blame in this process.

Bibliography

Bouchard, Serge and La Rusic, I.
1981. *The Shadow of the Bureaucracy-Culture in Indian Affairs.* Montreal: SSDCC.

Campbell, D. and MacLean, R.A.
1974. *Beyond the Atlantic Roar; A Study of the Nova Scotia Scots.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.

Campbell, J. L.
1936. "Scottish Gaelic in Canada," in *American Speech*, XI (1936), 128–136.
1950. *Gaelic in Scottish Education and Life.* Edinburgh: W. A. Johnston.

Cape Gael Associates Co-op
1989. *Gaelic in Nova Scotia: Community Initiatives for the Gaelic Language and Cultural Development in Nova Scotia.* Proceedings of 1989 conference. Antigonish, NS: St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department and Cape Gael Associates Co-op.

Carter, Ian
1974. "The Highlands of Scotland as an Undeveloped Region," in *Sociology and Development,* ed. De Kadt and Williams. London: Tavistock.

Delargy, J. H.
1945. "The Gaelic Story-Teller," in *Proceedings* of the British Academy, XXXI.

Dorian, Nancy
1981. *Language Death.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Dunn, Charles
1953. *Highland Settler, a Portrait of the Scottish Gael in Nova Scotia.* Toronto: University of Toronto.

Edwards, J.
1988. "Gaelic in N.S.", in *Geolinguistic Essays,* ed. C.H. Williams. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.

1988. "Bilinguilism, Education and Identity," in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 9, I and II.

Foster, Gilbert
1988. *Language and Poverty: The Persistence of Scottish Gaelic in Eastern Canada.* St. John's: Institute of Social & Economic Research, Memorial University.

Geertz, Clifford
1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures.* N.Y.: Basic Books.

Hechter, Michael
1975. *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe.* Berkeley: University of California.

Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terrance
1984. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Hunter, James
1976. *The Making of the Crofting Community*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers.

Kelly, J. C.
1980. *A sociographic study of Gaelic in Cape Breton, N.S.* Unpublished M.A. thesis. Montreal: Concordia University.

MacCana, Proinsias
1988. "Placenames and Mythology in Irish Tradition," in *The Proceedings of the Celtic Congress*, ed. Gordon W. MacLennon. Ottawa: University of Ottawa.

MacDonald, N.
1987. "Putting on the Kilt." Unpublished paper presented at CESA Conference, Halifax.

MacKinnon, Kenneth
1974. *The Lion's Tongue*. Inbhirnis: Club Leabhar.

1977. *Language, Education and Social Processes in a Gaelic Community*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

1984. "Power at the Periphery," in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, Vol. 5, No. 6.

Mead, Margaret
1942. "Our Educational Emphasis in Primitive Perspective," in *American Journal of Sociology*, 48 (1942–3), 633–9.

Mertz, Elizabeth
1982. "'No burden to carry,' Cape Breton pragmatics and metapragmatics." Ph.D. thesis. Duke University.

Ralston, Helen
1970. *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project: Evaluation Study*. Halifax: Dept. of Public Welfare, 1970.

Simpson, Anita May Jones
1953. "Alexander Munro and Boulardrie Academy," in *Dalhousie Review*, XXXII, 4 (Winter 1953), 49–58.

Sinclair, Donald MacLean
1950. "Gaelic in Nova Scotia," in *Dalhousie Review*, XXX, 3, (Oct. 1950), 252–260.

Shaw, John William
1977. "The Gaelic Revival in Cape Breton," in *West Highland Free Press*: Sept. 16 and 23.

1987. *Tales Until Dawn: The World of a Cape Breton Gaelic Story-Teller*. Kingston: McGill-Queens.

1987. Transcript of an interview: "Black Point Relocation."

1988. "The Gaelic Song-Tradition in Cape Breton," unpublished study.

1988. "Observations on the Cape Breton *Gàidhealtachd*," in *The Proceedings of the Celtic Congress*, ed. Gordon W. MacLennon. Ottawa: University of Ottawa.

Stanley, Laurie C.C.
1983. *The Well-Watered Garden: Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton, 1798–1860*. Sydney: University College of Cape Breton.

Stephens, Meic
1976. *Linguistic Minorities in Western Europe*. Llandysol: Gomer.

Trevor-Roper, Hugh
1983. "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland" (in Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1984).

Withers, Charles
1988. *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region*. London: Routledge.

The Schoolhouse in Nova Scotia: A Study of Influences on the Evolution of Schoolhouse Design in Nova Scotia, 1850–1930

Robin H. Wyllie

Formal schooling was introduced into the French colony of Acadia by Capuchin friars, who established a school at LaHave in 1633. Later on, most education to be had in the early Acadian settlements consisted of instruction from the catechism, provided by the parish priest on Sundays and feast days.[1] The responsibility of the church for establishing primary schools was also generally accepted by the British as well, and for many years after the colony passed entirely to Great Britain, education of the less privileged was left largely in the hands of the Church of England's missionary Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.[2]

Not many buildings were constructed specifically for the purpose and the few existing schools were instead conducted in churches, meeting-houses and private homes. Mather Byles DesBrisay, in his *History of the County of Lunenburg*, writes of this early period as follows:

> In days when common schools such as are now established were unknown, and when the education of the children of the Province depended to a large extent upon the efforts of various religious bodies, there were to be found in different districts industrious and painstaking men and women employed in teaching the young.
>
> Many parts of the country were settled at a comparatively recent date by persons who, like others of earlier times, were unable to obtain help from abroad, and were obliged to make use of all they could procure within their own domestic circles. The natural result of this state of things was that unless a 'travelling teacher,' often ill qualified for his work, offered his services for a short time in the winter, they were without any educational advantages.[3]

Such was the state of education prior to 1808, during which time most provincial legislation had been aimed at regulating private schools and itinerant schoolteachers, rather than at funding schoolhouse construction. In an attempt to remedy the situation, an act was passed in 1808, offering a bounty to those townships and settlements willing to contribute towards the

Robin H. Wyllie is an historian and heritage consultant currently researching the marine history of the Maritime Provinces.

1 W. D. Hamilton, *Federal Indian Day Schools of the Maritimes* (Fredericton, 1986), p. 3.

2 Duncan Campbell, *History of Nova Scotia for Schools* (Montreal, 1874), p. 69.

3 Mather B. DesBrisay, *History of the County of Lunenburg* (Bridgewater, 1870), p. 396.

cost of educating their children. It was in effect until 1811, but proved inadequate, as only three schools were built during the period.[4]

The situation was partially improved in 1811, when the bounty system was amended by an *Act for the Encouraging of Schools*.[5] Initially this appeared to have a positive effect, but after a time it was found that its provisions were open to abuse and that only the children of the well-to-do appeared to be benefitting. This resulted in a series of further changes. By 1819, it was required that a stated number of poor children must be given a free education in every school receiving government assistance. In 1820 the bounties were reduced, and by 1821 the school boards had to provide proof of eligibility for the support payments. When the bounties ceased to be paid the following year, a large number of the common schools closed, suggesting that the bounty, rather than the voluntary contributions, had been their main support.[6]

A similar plight befell the grammar or secondary schools. In 1811, an act to provide for their support by the bounty method had also been legislated. Proof of eligibility required that each section receiving a bounty provide the Provincial Secretary with a nominal roll of all children attending the school, plus proof that subscriptions had been received from those able to pay. This legislation remained in effect until 1825, at which time the support payments were cut off and the grammar schools virtually ceased to exist.[7]

Urban schools in the early part of the nineteenth century varied greatly in scale and exterior appearance. Their design was, to a great extent, controlled by the interior dimensions required for current teaching methods. These, for the most part, favoured large group instruction by memorization. In Halifax, Captain Walter Henry Bromley, who followed the Lancaster monitorial system, first established his Royal Acadian School for poor children in the old Theatre Royal in 1813. By 1820, he had new premises on Argyle Street, with a huge 30 x 75 foot schoolroom for his 150 pupils.[8] The Church of

4 D.C. Harvey, *A Documentary Study of Early Educational Policy* (Halifax, 1937), Introduction; see also *Statutes of Nova Scotia* [hereafter *SNS*], 1808, cap. 8.

5 John B. Calkin, *History of British America for the Use of Schools* (rev. ed., Halifax, 1894), p. 162; and *SNS*, 1811, cap. 8.

6 Harvey, *Early Educational Policy*, p. 5.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 5; see also *Grammar School Act*, in *SNS*, 1811, cap. 9.

8 Campbell, *History*, p. 69 and Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, *Founded Upon a Rock* (Halifax, 1967), p. 54.

England, which favoured the Madras System, built its three-and-a-half-storey National School opposite the Grand Parade in 1816. In 1824, it housed 280 pupils in two large schoolrooms on the second and third levels. The Catholic school, built in 1820, housed 270 pupils. All of these schools received provincial grants towards the cost of their construction, as well as more-or-less regular annual grants of £100 towards current expenses.[9]

The abolition of the bounty system and the adoption of a system of free schools, supported by compulsory assessment, had been recommended by a Joint Committee of the Legislature in 1825. In an attempt to address some of the concerns raised by this committee, a statute of 1826 provided an allowance for the support of schools and gave local justices of the peace authority to establish school districts, if requested to do so by two-thirds of the rateable inhabitants. Three trustees in each district were to be nominated and each county was to have a school board appointed by the governor. This did little to improve the situation, however, and by 1827, only 44 schools were in operation. A subsequent act passed in 1828, which increased the provincial allowance in order to provide free education for poor children, also had little effect.[10]

However, in 1832, the act which was passed for the encouragement of common and grammar schools was based upon "the precarious principle of voluntary subscription by the inhabitants, within the different school districts--the Province not being yet deemed in a condition to assume the burden of maintaining a system of elementary instruction by an equitable assessment on the population."[11] Provision was also made for grants towards teachers' salaries in rural areas. In Falmouth, for example, a township meeting established three school districts. The province contributed from £10 to £12 towards the salaries, and fees were collected from those parents who could afford to pay.[12] The township agreed to cover the rest of the costs by

9 Harvey, *Early Educational Policy*, p. 20.

10 C. Bruce Fergusson, *The Inauguration of the Free School System in Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1963), pp. 9–11.

11 Duncan Campbell, *Nova Scotia in Its Historical, Mercantile and Industrial Relations* (Montreal, 1873), p. 306.

12 Dana Johnson, "The History of School Design in Canada before 1930," in *Historic Schools of Canada* (Environment Canada, Architectural History Branch, Building History Section; Manuscript Series, I: Ottawa, 1987), p. 28. See also, *SNS*, 1832, cap. 2.

subscription. Parents and subscribers were also expected to cover the cost of school construction and maintenance, a factor which often resulted in decisions not to build, or in the construction of substandard schoolhouses, such as the one described in the following contemporary report:

> The building covered about six hundred square feet [possibly 20 x 30 feet], and was considered to be a very fair specimen of school architecture for the time. Many of the thrifty local farmers had better buildings for their pigs and poultry. The schoolhouse was oblong, almost square, with low walls and a 'huge roof' giving it an appearance utterly devoid of symmetry and elegance. Its weather-beaten shingles rendered its aspect forbidding and repulsive. Inside, the framing was exposed, with no plaster or ceiling, and an open fireplace occupied one end. Desks were inclined boards along the walls and long benches served as seats. Near the teacher's desk, in one corner, smaller children sat on low benches.[13]

There can be little doubt that the acts of 1811 and 1832 nevertheless encouraged education. An Education Committee struck by the Provincial Assembly reported in 1836 that, in the previous year, the people of the province had raised £12,500 for educational purposes and that the Provincial Treasury had paid out £6,800 for the same cause. Apparently the advantages of early schooling were beginning to be appreciated.[14] However, annual costs had risen to such an extent that the Executive Council, rather than imposing an education tax on means and property, decided to sell off the 400-acre land grants which had been designated for the support of education within the townships by an Act of 1766.[15] The revenues realized from these sales were then applied to offset the general cost of education.[16] Further *Acts for the Encouragement of Education*, dated 1841, 1845 and 1850, were designed to make the 1832 legislation more effective.[17] As a result, by 1850 an estimated

13 Jeremiah Willoughby, *Progress of Education in Nova Scotia During Fifty Years, and Lights and Shadows--Life of an Old Teacher* (Halifax, 1884), p. 30.

14 Campbell, *History*, p. 77.

15 According to the committee report, only the Township of Newport appeared to be actually applying the rent from school lots towards the cost of educating poor children. There is no indication as to what the other townships and settlements were doing with the money. Harvey, *Early Educational Policy*, p. 24.

16 Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS], RG 5, Series P, Vol. 72, Doc. 78.

17 *Journals of the House of Assembly* (Halifax), 1841, 1845 and 1850; and Fergusson, *Free School System*, pp. 14–17.

912 schools had been built in Nova Scotia; over half of them were frame buildings and at least one hundred were of logs.[18]

During the 1840s and 1850s, colonial officials throughout British North America expressed general dissatisfaction with the quality of both rural and urban school design. In Upper and Lower Canada and New Brunswick, for example, the problem was considered so serious that the authorities produced sets of plans which their respective Superintendents of Education believed were suitable for local use.[19] In 1849, John William Dawson, a renowned scientist later to become principal of McGill College,[20] was appointed to the newly created office of Superintendent of Education in Nova Scotia: "Though holding the position but a short time, he awakened interest in common-school education by means of lectures, reports and Teachers' Institutes convened in various parts of the province."[21] In 1852, making what was arguably his major contribution to education in Nova Scotia, Dawson noted that he was impressed by the recently enacted *School Law* of Upper Canada; as a result, district trustees throughout Nova Scotia were advised that only one school for every fifty persons between the ages of five and fifteen would be recognized and that new schoolhouses were to be placed in the geographical centres of the various districts.[22] Dawson also promoted the necessity for minimum standards in schoolhouse design and construction. This he achieved by means of his pamphlet, *School Architecture--Abridged from Barnard's School Architecture, with Notes by John W. Dawson...*(Halifax, 1850), copies of which were distributed to all school boards and trustees.

During this period, many school authorities throughout North America had adopted plans which were based upon various treatises on schoolhouse

18 *JHA* (1850), p. 102.

19 Calkin, *History*, p. 41.

20 Dawson was born in 1820 in Pictou, NS, where he was initially educated, later receiving his MA from Edinburgh. He was Superintendent of Schools from 1849 to 1852 and was appointed principal of McGill in 1855. Later knighted by Queen Victoria, he was a prolific writer in the fields of geology, zoology, literature and history. His *Acadian Geology* (1855) is considered one of his more important works and, in its later editions, became the major geology text for Nova Scotia.

21 Calkin, *History*, p. 162.

22 *JHA* (1852), p. 65.

design published between 1839 and 1857. The most popular was American educator and reformer Henry Barnard's *School Architecture*, published in 1842. In addition to outlining the essential features of approved school design, Barnard's work also offered detailed instructions for effecting internal improvements, including a seating arrangement similar to that in use today. Since it resembled the simplest wooden-frame buildings in rural areas during the settlement period, the origin of the design cannot be attributed directly to Barnard's work alone. However, in terms of publications on the subject, his *School Architecture* and its many abridgments, copies and reissues, was the primary early comprehensive document.[23]

Many of the ideas developed by Barnard were rapidly adopted by Upper Canada, whose educational system Dawson so much admired. Adaptations there--such as the plans published in the *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* (1857)--offered a compilation of currently acceptable ideas on school design, of various degrees of complexity and from a variety of sources. It was the simplest of these, consisting of a rectangular box with a gable roof and a row of three windows on either side, which was the cheapest and most popular; this was also the one chosen by Dawson to be featured in his pamphlet. In 1850, in his first *Report*, Superintendent Dawson summarized the basic requirements for a good schoolhouse, paraphrasing Barnard's recommendations as follows:

> A good school-house should have: 1. Sufficient space and height for accommodation and fresh air. 2. Proper means for heating and ventilation. 3. A seat for every two pupils. 4. Backs to the seats. 5. Seats and desks of convenient height for pupils of different ages. 6. A lobby, with pins for hats and cloaks, and a means for cleaning the children's feet in summer and winter. 7. Outhouses for wood, etc. 8. Space for a play-ground, if possible ornamented with trees, etc. 9. Wall blackboards, especially near the teachers desk.
>
> In general, a school-house should be creditable to the district, attractive in external appearance and situation, and a model of neatness and cleanliness externally and internally.[24]

An elevation of the façade of what was considered to be a suitable district school was included in Dawson's *School Architecture* pamphlet. Measuring 30 x 20

23 Johnson, "School Design," p. 35.

24 *Report on the Schools of Nova Scotia...1850. By the Superintendent of Education* (Halifax, 1851), p. 48.

feet, with a 10-foot-high post, the building contained desks for forty-six scholars, plus seats only for an additional ten to twenty.[25]

School trustees in Nova Scotia willingly adopted the Barnard one-room-schoolhouse plan as promoted by Dawson. Its influence can be traced in many early structures, such as at Minudie (ca. 1843–48) in Cumberland County and at Mount Hanley (1850) in Annapolis County. In both, the schoolroom dimensions are approximately 24 x 28 feet, with a 10-foot post, proportions which closely follow Barnard's recommendations. Each building has three windows on either side, and a single door in the end gable with one window on either side of it--a design which was to remain virtually unaltered for seventy years. At Minudie, a school was erected on a site between two churches, perhaps as early as 1843. Amos Seaman, a local entrepreneur known as the "Grindstone King," brought bells for both the churches and the school from Ireland in 1848. It is unclear whether at this time either a new schoolhouse was built, or a bell tower, incorporating a glazed circular ventilation hatch, per Barnard, was added to the original structure.[26] The building now houses the King Seaman Museum. The Mount Hanley school is, on the other hand, very plain, varying from the Barnard plan only in having a small rectangular ventilation hatch, instead of a circular one; and a woodshed of unknown date attached to the rear. Closed in 1963, it remains unaltered and is also now operated by its owners as a school museum.[27]

John B. Calkin, in his *History of British America*, noted that in 1855 the Provincial Normal School for the training of teachers was established in Truro.[28] In its design, this institution was simply a block of Barnard's standard-sized schoolrooms ranged behind a classically balanced façade. Stylistically--as was the case with so many grand public structures of the period--the Normal School employed an eclectic treatment of the Second Empire. It featured the mansard roof and pavilion massing which characterized the style, but added heavy bracketing and grouped round-

25 *School Architecture--Abridged from Barnard's School Architecture; with Notes by the Superintendent of Education. Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1850), pp. 12–13.

26 [King Seaman School Museum,] *Minudie Walking Tour* (brochure, n.d.).

27 Personal communication with Mr. Alton Barteau, owner and operator of Mount Hanley School Museum.

28 Calkin, *History*, p.162.

headed windows of Italianate and Gothic revival forms. Internally, its high basement was divided into recreation rooms for foul-weather use, storerooms, an office for the secretary of the board, a boardroom, housing for the janitor and mechanical rooms. The ground floor featured a spacious entrance hall, four classrooms, a common cloakroom and an office for the principal. The first floor repeated the layout of the ground storey. Because it was a high school, the study of science was required and a laboratory was therefore placed over the principal's office. A common teachers' room was also included. The high mansard roof permitted the use of the upper floor as an assembly hall.[29]

The Reverend Alexander Forrester was appointed to the double office of Principal of the Normal School and Superintendent of Education. He is worthy of note, as the views expressed in his lectures did much to prepare the way for the *Education Act* of 1864.[30] Certainly by 1862, some structural and design improvements were evident throughout provincial schools, but Forrester still had to report, in his capacity as superintendent, that "There is scarcely a third of the whole number [of schoolhouses] commodious and in good order, the other third is barely passable and the remaining third literally untenantable, save during a few hot months of the summer."[31] Many communities, even some in prosperous, well-populated districts, still had no schoolhouse of any kind.[32] In an attempt to improve the situation, a bill was introduced in 1856 which would have established a system of public schools funded by compulsory assessment. However, the Roman Catholic Church, now a militant political force, immediately demanded a separate system for its parishioners. As a result, the bill became bogged down in a morass of

29 Dana Johnson, "The Urban Public School in Canada before 1930," in *Historic Schools of Canada* (Manuscript Series, IV: Ottawa, 1987), pp. 29–31.

30 Calkin, *History*, p. 162.

31 *Journal of the House of Assembly* (1862), Appendix 25, p.12.

32 It has been suggested that attempts by provincial officials to influence school design through the publication of standard plans were generally ineffectual; this indeed may have been the case in Nova Scotia before 1864, as until then the major part of school construction and maintenance costs were being borne by residents of the communities concerned. See C. A. Hale, "School Architecture in Rural Canada before 1930," in *Historic Schools of Canada* (Manuscript Series, III: Ottawa, 1987), pp. 75–76.

interdenominational feuding and had to be abandoned.[33]

The facts brought to light by the provincial census of 1861 raised much concern among the "thinking portion of the community," according to Duncan Campbell. Within a population of 300,000 over the age of five years, there were 81,000 who could not read, this being more than one-quarter of the entire population of the province. Of 83,000 children between the ages of five and fifteen, there were more than 36,000 who could not read. The number of children attending school was only 31,000, so that there were in the province in that year 52,000 children growing up without any educational training whatever.[34]

A change of government in 1863 permitted the Conservative party to address the subject of public education once again. Their education bill was introduced by Dr. Charles Tupper, the Provincial Secretary, in February 1864 and passed during that session.[35] It proposed the establishment of a Council of Public Instruction, made up of the members of the Executive Council and a Superintendent of Education. It also proposed the appointment of a board in each district, with the responsibility of organizing the locality into school sections. Each section was to be self-governing and managed by an elected board of three trustees. The trustees, in turn, were to be given authority to set teachers' salaries, which were to be paid either by voluntary contribution or by an assessment on all property owners within the section. The trustees were also empowered to raise money, by the same means, for any necessary repairs and/or alterations required to bring the section schoolhouses up to standard. It was left to the option of the ratepayers which method of funding was employed. However, with a view to encouraging assessment, a bonus was given from the Public Treasury to all sections adopting that method. A natural reluctance to be assessed, with a view to paying for the education of other peoples' children, tended to make the *Education Act* ineffective and many sections were still left without schools, or without teachers. Accordingly, at the next session of the legislature, the statute was amended so

33 W. S. McNutt, *The Atlantic Provinces 1712–1857* (Toronto, 1965), pp. 264–265.

34 Campbell, *History*, p. 94.

35 Peter L. McCreath, "Charles Tupper and the Politics of Education in Nova Scotia," in *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, I, 3 (1971), 203–224; Campbell, *History*, p. 95. The bill was passed 10 May 1864 and became cap. 58, *Of Public Instruction*, in *Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia* (3rd series), 1864.

as to render assessment the only legal mode of support.[36]

Initially, as might have been expected, this strategy met with considerable opposition. Some sections preferred separate schools for different religious denominations, while others continued to oppose the *Education Act* because they disliked the principle of assessment. Many sections refused to appoint trustees or to organize schools under the new law. In others, parents refused to allow their children to attend school and, in a few sections where feelings were running particularly high, the residents not only refused to pay assessments, but also resorted to arson. Schools at New Annan (Colchester County), Havelock (Digby County) and Fraser's Mountain (Pictou County) were burned in 1865, and at Ferguson's Cove (Halifax County) in 1867.[37]Gradually, however, opposition to the *Education Act* diminished and the parties involved began to work together in "striving to make the law effective in advancing the educational condition of the province."[38]

The *Education Act* of 1864 also separated the office of Principal of the Normal School from that of provincial Superintendent of Education. Theodore H. Rand, an Acadia College graduate and a teacher at the Normal School, was appointed to the latter position.[39] Under his direction, the first formal architectural plans for a schoolhouse prepared specifically for Nova Scotia were drawn up by W. R. Mulholland. The latter, described as "an experienced School-house Architect," was also a teacher at the Normal School in Truro.[40] His drawings were issued as a supplement to Rand's

36 Fergusson, *Free School System*, p. 31; see also *SNS*, 1865, cap. 29.

37 Ron MacDonald, "The History of Education in Nova Scotia," in *The Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 11 Sept. 1963.

38 Calkin, *History*, pp. 162–163.

39 *Ibid.*

40 In addition to producing the school plans, Mulholland was author of *The Arithmetical Tablebook, for the Use of Schools and Counting Houses in Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1882); he also designed a number of buildings in Truro. Mulholland's career as a teacher at the Normal School was challenged in Jan. 1869, while under consideration for the position of principal. Strong objections to his appointment were raised by the students, who successfully petitioned in favour of J. B. Calkin, on account of Mulholland's "inability to teach such subjects as the theory and practice of teaching," as well as for showing a diagram of the human body to a mixed class. See PANS RG 3, Vol. 2A; PANS RG 7, Vol. 69, Provincial Secretary's Correspondence, June 1869, No. 1049.

Comments on the New School Act in 1864. Several copies were furnished to each Board of School Commissioners and one to each Board of School Trustees. The plans called for a single-storey structure--"an advantage in heating, ventilation, and in keeping discipline." Furnishing, ventilation and heating details were in many respects similar to those prescribed by Barnard in 1842. School-grounds were designed with privies located at a convenient but healthy distance from the actual schoolhouse, and provided separate areas for boys and girls at play, with swings and parallel and horizontal bars. Every section was still free to provide its own style of building, but the Mulholland plans were clearly intended to set a minimum acceptable standard.

In October 1864, it was reported that there were over 1,400 school sections in Nova Scotia with schools which were publicly owned and therefore built and maintained by the trustees of the school district. Approximately two hundred of these had schoolhouses "equal or superior" to Mulholland's basic plan, but a considerable number still needed repairs or alterations to meet the standard. The superintendent stated that "hundreds of Nova Scotia's school buildings could scarcely be designated as schoolhouses." Many were unplastered, without floors, glass windows, desks or seats, except "rough slabs." Schools often had no teaching aids. The remainder were classified by the inspectors as "tolerable, middling and fair." Most of the ceilings were too low and poor ventilation was common, "except as may be furnished by the unfinished or impaired state of the buildings." It was reported that "even good houses would have been an improvement. If log-houses are the best that grace the settlement, it would be no slight to the cause of education to furnish a comfortable and commodious log-house for school purposes." Nearly all the structures were too small to accommodate the rise in enrollment that was resulting from the introduction of school financing by local assessment. Finally, there were many other schoolhouses which were still privately owned and, being situated on private property, were not governed by the *Education Act*.[41]

The result of Nova Scotia's new *Education Act* of 1864 was, after the inevitable revolt against paying for the education of other peoples' children, a large increase in school attendance and a tremendous increase in building activity. As early as 1865, Superintendent Rand was able to report that 164

41 Hale, "School Architecture," p. 76.

new schoolhouses had been built, 136 were in the course of construction and 220 had been voted to be built at the most recent annual meetings of the section trustees. A total of 520 new schools were therefore authorized or built in one year. The inspector in Victoria County alone reported that 25 schoolhouses had been built according to the architectural plans issued by the Council of Public Instruction.[42]

The *Superintendent's Report* for 1866 assessed the interior of school buildings in greater detail. The total number of structures was not given, but 1,166 schoolrooms were reported. Since most schools were one-room structures, this figure--slightly reduced to account for some multi-room buildings--represents the total number of schoolhouses in operation that year. The number of schoolrooms judged to have "fair" means of ventilation was 694; almost half were considered inadequate. Forty-one schools--the larger ones--had patent desks, 460 had 'Dawson' desks, while long desks and benches were still in use in 629 schools. Blackboards, now considered to be an essential teaching device, were used in 863 classrooms, while 226 had none. Of the total, 609 rooms were considered to be in accordance with Council of Public Instruction standards.[43] Between 1864 and 1868, school attendance in the province doubled and by 1869, some 760 schoolhouses were reported to have been built under the *Education Act*. The contrast between educational facilities in 1864 and 1869 was described by the Superintendent as "marvellous...every two or three miles, the eye is gratified by the sight of neat and commodious edifices."[44]

Many schoolhouses and academies were built to Mulholland's plans in the years between 1864 and 1899, as can be seen from contemporary photographs and early twentieth-century postcards. The design of the one-room schoolhouse in small rural communities changed little during this period. Some communities were more innovative than others as far as embellishments were concerned, but the great majority of the single-room

42 "Superintendent of Schools' Report," in *Journal of the House of Assembly* (1865).

43 *Ibid.* (1866).

44 Quoted in Hale, "School Architecture," pp. 76, 77. Hale creates some confusion by not distinguishing between schoolrooms and classrooms. 'Schoolrooms' were originally defined as the large rooms used for general instruction. 'Classrooms,' where they existed, were small rooms adjoining the schoolroom, and used for specialized group instruction, recitation, etc.

schools built during the last half of the nineteenth century reflected the unmistakable influences of Barnard and Mulholland. There were a few departures from the published plans, the most common being separate entries for boys and girls, suggested by Barnard, and the addition of a full, or half, second storey to accommodate the pupils during recess in inclement weather. There were also some instances of these upper stories being paid for by local benevolent societies, who used them for their meetings and paid an annual fee toward a portion of the general upkeep of the schoolhouse. This was the case in Great Village in 1860, when the trustees entered into just such an agreement with Iron Age Division No. 82 Sons of Temperance.[45]

The design of many of the larger structures also adhered faithfully to Mulholland's plans, but during the last quarter of the century, school design in the more densely populated towns and villages quickly evolved from his simple single-storey structures to multi-storey buildings. Within the county academy system, an increasing number of departures from the plans became evident, as each community vied to assert its civic pride in the scale, style and specialization of its educational facilities. Those offered commonly included museums, laboratories, auditoriums, special furniture and innovative classroom equipment. Before the end of the nineteenth century, most county academies, although intended to serve all the pupils in the district, could be classed as urban schools in terms of environment, scale, design, range of facilities and their location in the more populous towns and cities.[46]

As an example, Guysborough Academy was erected in 1866. It contained two rooms in a lower storey, with a larger room above. Its exterior featured an elaborate architectural treatment, more in keeping with that of contemporary urban schools; apart from the dimensions of the rooms, this structure did not adhere to the standard plans issued for academy buildings in 1864. By comparison, the builders of Shelburne Academy, constructed soon after 1864, appear to have followed Mulholland's plans to the letter, as did the builders of Sherbrooke School in 1867. Designed by Halifax architect Henry F. Busch and constructed between 1878 and 1879, the Halifax Academy appears to be the earliest remaining academy building in the Maritimes. It has, however, undergone substantial interior alteration to

45 Great Village Women's Institute, *Great Village History, Commemorating the 40th Anniversary ... 1920–1960* (Great Village, 1960), pp. 21–26.

46 Hale, "School Architecture," pp. 73–80.

conform to its present use as offices for the Halifax School Board.

Not all rural schools in Nova Scotia were built under the auspices of the Council of Public Instruction. Although many Micmacs have now been assimilated into the public school system, the education of natives on Indian reserves was originally the responsibility of the Federal Government. Twelve schools were built between 1872 and 1913, one or two of which may still survive. They were located in Afton, Bear River, Chapel Island, Cole Harbour, Eskasoni, Indian Brook, Malagawatch, Millbrook, Pictou Landing, Wagmatcook and Whycocomagh. There was also an Indian school on the New Germany Reserve at Elmwood; this, however, was a private structure built and maintained by the local band which, as a result of questions raised regarding the 'status' of its members, eventually negotiated the acquisition of the reserve from the federal government. All of the structures concerned bore a striking resemblance to Barnard's one-room schoolhouse. Construction was paid for by the Department of Indian Affairs, which also recruited and paid the teachers up until the 1940s, when education was instead contracted to lay orders of the Catholic Church.[47]

Shortly after the passage of the 1864 *Education Act*, side and rear window lighting was advocated for schoolrooms. By coincidence, the arrangement also facilitated the construction of larger structures to meet growing urban requirements. Previously their design had been restricted to plans based upon units of two classrooms, stacked on top of each other, and arranged in such a manner as to permit fenestration on opposite sides of each room. This limited their design to narrow one- or two-storey structures in various alphabetic plan forms such as Mulholland's 'T' plan academies. With the relaxation of lighting requirements, it became possible to design schools in great blocks of classrooms. Their height was usually restricted by fire-safety requirements to two or three stories, but there were few other limitations.[48]

This permitted the design of buildings such as the new twelve-classroom Lunenburg Academy (1894). Following the destruction by fire of the 1864 Lunenburg Academy, the town council decided to construct a new school on an elevated site at the edge of town. Plans were prepared by one of the region's most experienced school architects, H. H. Mott of Saint John, New

47 Hamilton, *Indian Day Schools*, pp. 27–136, *passim*.

48 Johnson, "Urban Public School," pp. 29–37.

Brunswick, and were described by the Superintendent of Education as "the best he had ever seen." Like most buildings in the seaport town of Lunenburg, the new academy was constructed of wood, which allowed for the fullest possible decorative treatment of its Second-Empire-styled exterior.

In scale and facilities the new building was exceptional. The ground floor was divided into six classrooms of similar size, each equipped with separate cloakrooms for boys and girls. Located on each side of each classroom, they provided an additional means of exit in case of fire. This consideration led to other changes from earlier school designs: rather than the traditional two exits for students from the building, the plans included six--four for females and two for males; and instead of the standard two staircases, this building was equipped with four. The upper stories continued the general plan of the ground floor, with a science laboratory and a combined principal's office-library located above the main entrance areas. The upper floor housed a 400-seat assembly hall. In line with current practice elsewhere in Canada, the board opted for a complete heating and ventilation system manufactured by the Smead-Dowd Company of Toronto. The architect also included a number of innovations: speaking tubes linked each floor with the janitor's quarters in the basement; an electric bell was placed in each room (operated from the principal's office); and single rather than double desks were chosen for all rooms. The laboratories were especially well-equipped and included a collection of one hundred geological specimens.[49]

In 1901, the Council of Public Instruction published a new set of architectural plans for rural schools in their *Manual of School Law*. These plans were drawn up by the well-known Halifax architect, Herbert E. Gates,[50] and consisted of drawings for three schoolhouses and an outhouse. The two one-room structures were 25 x 35.6 feet, with a 12-foot post; and 29 x 42 feet, also with a 12-foot post. Both closely resembled Mulholland's variants, but incorporated such interior changes as segregated cloakrooms for boys and

49 *Ibid.*

50 Gates was born in Dartmouth in 1874, the son of Archibald Gersham Gates and Mary Ellen Elliott. Partially trained in Montreal, he was also a pupil of Edward Elliott of the local firm of Elliott and Hopson. He began his practice in 1899, retired from architecture in 1937 and died in 1944. His practice appears to have been limited to Nova Scotia, where he was active in all areas of architectural design: residential, commercial, government, alterations and renovations, health and education. Personal communication with Garry D. Shutlak, Maps and Architectural Plans Archivist, PANS, 1992.

girls, where before they had shared a common hallway. The new thinking, which advocated that schoolrooms should be lighted from one side and the rear only, resulted in a row of large windows being located on one side of the structure, close up under the eaves. It also permitted the addition of a side 'annex' to the schoolroom,[51] containing a fuel room and a library, or in the case of larger structures, a fuel room, a workroom and a library or classroom. The remaining plan was for a two-room school with a large one-and-one-half-storey cross-gable which housed separate boys' and girls' entries, halls and cloakrooms on the ground floor, and with a workroom and library, or classroom, on the upper. The new requirement for side and rear lighting meant that the schoolrooms were aligned in opposite directions.

Many of the larger rural schools still surviving throughout the province were built around this time. Their designs combined some principles of Mulholland's 1864 plans with those of Gates's elements, which reflected the new thinking of the Council of Public Instruction. Most were two, or two-and-a-half-storey structures containing four or eight classrooms. Riverport, for example, is a more-or-less traditional four-room, two-storey, academy-type schoolhouse; Mahone Bay, an eight-room version of the same; while New Germany is based on Gates's two-room plan redesigned with four rooms in an 'H' form.

Private philanthropy or the support of senior levels of government could occasionally provide the additional funds required to allow the planning of sophisticated school buildings; thriving communities with the will to erect grand structures could frequently find the financial resources to construct them. Because they were paid for by the province, the county academies of Nova Scotia fell into this category and, as a result, ranked among the best examples of the spread of 'modern' architectural ideas to smaller centres. In addition to Lunenburg Academy (1894), Pictou Academy (1880–81; demolished), Windsor Academy (1896–97; Elliott and Hopson, architects) and two later examples--Colchester County Academy, Truro (1901–2; J. C. Dumaresq, architect) and Sydney Academy (1909; F. Neil Brodie, architect), illustrate progressively the establishment of relatively grandiose and architecturally sophisticated buildings in smaller Nova Scotian cities and towns.[52]

51 Such additions had been prevented by two-sided lighting in nineteenth-century design requirements.

52 Johnson, "Urban Public School," pp. 29–36. According to Johnson, some form of external support was crucial to this advancement. He notes that two Nova Scotian school structures deserve more extended discussion: the Halifax Academy and the Lunenburg Academy.

In 1903, an act was passed by the Nova Scotia Legislature to permit the consolidation of eight school sections in the Annapolis Valley. This paved the way for the construction of the first consolidated school in Canada. Designed by Wolfville architect, L. R. Fairn, and located in Middleton, the school opened in 1903. It embodied, according to the *Middleton Outlook* of 4 September 1903, "the much-discussed principles of consolidation and transportation." This concept was the brainchild of Montreal millionaire-philanthropist, Sir William C. MacDonald, for whom the school was named, and Professor J. W. Robertson, Ottawa's Commissioner of Agriculture and Dairying. Both gentlemen believed that, in addition to mechanic and domestic sciences, the country schools should give instruction in the natural sciences, especially those intended to improve horticulture and agriculture; and, as the *Outlook* observed, "that such instruction could only be effected by transporting the children."

The MacDonald experiment was an outstanding success and although by 1911 there were still 111 sections throughout the province lacking schools--including 21 in Cape Breton, 15 in Guysborough County and 14 in Halifax County[53]--consolidation became the preferred alternative to new school construction in the sections and to the expansion of older structures. The movement accelerated as highways and transportation improved, reaching a peak in the 1940s and '50s, by which time the elected trustee system of school-section management had been replaced by politically appointed district and municipal boards of education.

Gates's plans for rural schoolhouses remained unaltered for twenty years, until it was decided that schoolrooms should be lit from the left side only, the argument being that this would prevent the shadow of the pupils' right hands from falling across their work when writing. Gates's plans were moderately revised in 1921, in order to take this into account, and his new drawings show continuous bands of windows along one wall. In his two-room schoolhouse, false windows break the monotony of the façade on either side of the one-and-one-half-storey cross-gable. Another innovation was the recommendation that asbestos shingles be used on the roof and, although not included in the plans for one-room schools, basements sufficiently large to house the required plant for modern heating systems.[54]

53 *Journal of the House of Assembly* (1911), Appendix 5.

54 *Manual of School Law* (Halifax, 1921), Appendix A.

The two-storey, twelve-classroom Park School in Dartmouth, now demolished, illustrated just how far Nova Scotian school design had advanced when compared with that of buildings erected at the turn of the century. The largest structure then existing in the school system, it was designed by A. Graham Creighton and completed in 1918. Its central entrance, simplified classical detailing and series of standard-sized classrooms placed on opposite sides of long hallways, represented the final evolution in both urban and rural consolidated school design in Nova Scotia.[55]

Today's schools may not look much like those of the late nineteenth century, but the design of these ultra-modern educational facilities is based, like those of Mulholland and Gates, on the grouping of a required number of standard Barnard-proportioned schoolrooms, in rows, under one roof. This, plus the lighting requirements and fire regulations--which have limited structural height to that of fire-department ladders--has resulted in a remarkable degree of standardization. As a result, no matter how big it is, how unique its exterior, or when it was built, the schoolhouse in Nova Scotia can seldom be mistaken for anything else.

55 Johnson, "Urban Public School," p. 87.

Appendix

Suggested Source Materials Relevant to Research on Schoolhouse Design and Construction

1. ***Section Records:***

   The records of the boards of elected section trustees are the most valuable source of information on local schoolhouses. Unfortunately, as most records were kept in the home of the appointed secretary, only a small number have found their way into public collections. A few can be found at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, while others may be included in the holdings of county and local museums.

2. ***Journals of the House of Assembly:***

   The appendices to the published *Journals* include the *Annual Reports* of the Superintendent of Education, plus brief individual reports by divisional inspectors. These contain notes on the construction, consolidation and/or closure of individual schools. In some instances, photographs of the structures are included.

3. ***Local Histories:***

   Many local histories include details of schoolhouse construction, Boards of Trustees, names of teachers and even, in some instances, names of pupils. Such community studies are invaluable, not only for their published information, but for the local research sources recorded. Copies can usually be found in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, as well as at local libraries and museums.

4. ***County Histories:***

   Around the turn of the century, a number of scholarly gentlemen occupied their leisure time in compiling and publishing 'County Histories.' These have some value as far as general information on the evolution of education within the county, or if a particular educational establishment was felt to be worthy of special mention.

5. ***Inspectors' Records***:

   Somewhere, possibly buried in the depths of provincial storage facilities, are the full annual reports of the divisional inspectors of schools. Should it be found possible to gain access to them, they would provide an invaluable source of research material on the sections concerned.

6. ***Oral Histories:***

   As most former pupils regard the local schoolhouse with a certain affection, the majority of them have retained some knowledge of the operation and organization of education in their local sections. Local museums sometimes hold oral-history sound tapes; country stores and gas stations are also a good starting point for this line of investigation.

7. ***Newspaper Reports***:

Most school construction, openings and closings were regarded as newsworthy, and local newspapers are therefore a particularly good source of information. Again, the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, local libraries and museums are the logical repositories.

8. ***Graphic Materials:***

Also to be found in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and within local museum and library collections, old photographs can provide valuable information on architectural features, alterations and additions.

9. ***Assessment Records:***

The Nova Scotia Department of Municipal Affairs, Assessment Division, although now computerized, still holds the old Property Record Cards on file in their regional offices. These are useful in determining dimensions, construction details, services and present ownership. They are, however, of little value in determining the age of a property, as the earliest of these records appear to date from the 1940s. Such information as they do contain concerning the date of first construction has been found to be unreliable.

10. ***Consolidation Records:***

The Nova Scotia Department of Education Library and many individual District School Boards hold copies of surveys undertaken in the 1950s and 1960s, detailing sections to be consolidated and the dates of construction of the consolidated schools. This information is of particular value in determining when a section schoolhouse was vacated and subsequently placed on the market.

Newspaper Attitudes as Reflected in *MacTalla: Déjà vu* All Over Again

Ray MacLean

An ni nach cluinn mi an diugh cha'n aithris mi maireach
"Anything I don't hear today I cannot tell tomorrow"

MacTalla--The Echo--was a newspaper printed entirely in Gaelic and published in Sydney, Nova Scotia, between the years 1892 and 1904. At that time it was the only completely Gaelic newspaper in the world, but the Highland Scots of Cape Breton and elsewhere did not subscribe in large enough numbers to ensure its survival, despite many pleadings from the editor, Jonathan G. MacKinnon. Every word in the newspaper was in Gaelic; a subscription cost one dollar a year, and while the Scots were happy enough to receive it, they were not sufficiently pleased to pay for it--even Highland pride has its limits. The paper was published weekly with the exception of the final two years, 1902–1904, when it appeared every second week. Advertising money was particularly limited at this time, due to a disastrous fire in Sydney which hit the business district severely. The newspaper never had more than 1,400 subscribers at its peak and MacKinnon was finally forced to quit publication. He had made a determined effort to awaken Highlanders to the beauty of their language and culture, and he should be honoured today for his commitment.

It is enlightening to study the attitudes found in the pages of *MacTalla*, for they demonstrate that people were very much aware of the basic cultural changes occurring in their society. Such expressions of concern are found throughout the twelve volumes of the newspaper and tell us much about social values in Cape Breton at the turn of the century. Generally conservative in tone, the articles were well-written and modulated: even the most biting critics could deliver the proverbial "iron fist in a velvet glove." It is noteworthy, and the focus of this article, to observe how little things change over the course of a century. The French have an expression for this: *Plus ça change, moins ça change*--"The more things change, the more they stay the same." Perhaps it is this slow pace that turns many historians towards conservatism in their judgments; they are accustomed to seeing "*déjà vu* all over again."

Politics was then, as now, a fascinating subject for many. *MacTalla*, like other journals of its day, carried editorials and published much correspondence on every facet of the topic. Politicians of the day were,

Ray MacLean is retired from the faculty of St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, NS.

however, accorded somewhat more respect than they presently receive, perhaps reflecting the less hectic pace of public life. At that time a federal member from Cape Breton would take the train to Ottawa and be relatively safe from the hyena-like packs of journalists who surround today's elected representatives at every facial twitch. *MacTalla* was, moreover, politically neutral and carried correspondence from all shades of the political spectrum. That was too much for one "Red Rob" who wrote: "No one would know which side you are on, if indeed you are on any side. You should be just as cautious with the writing of others. If you are not they will cause you harm."[1]

History constantly reiterates the expression *plus ça change*, and nowhere is this more clearly shown than in the secular religion of politics. Then as now, politicians were prone to promise remedies for unemployment and every other issue perceived as a problem; the cures were prominently announced during election campaigns, but seemed to dissipate like fog once the votes were counted. Railways, a prime example, were an important issue in the 1890s for a number of reasons. One *MacTalla* subscriber from Framboise reminded fellow readers of previous railway visions:

> There is a rumour going around just now that a big company from the states is going to build a railway between the Canso Strait and Louisbourg, on this south side...but they have been talking about building a railway for as long as I can remember, the track between these two places has been planned three times already. And each time there was some company or some individual, armed with a bill from parliament involved; and as sure as that was so, we could expect a parliamentary election to be at hand. But no sooner was the election over than the railway died for want of attention.[2]

Government contracts are just as important today, as the following suggests:

> Cape Breton contractor John Van Zutphen has notified the Nova Scotia government he'll sue over a contract he says was unfairly awarded to Maritime Steel and Foundry of New Glasgow (Barra Strait).
>
> The department had specified it wanted a concrete bridge built, but bids for a steel bridge would be considered if they were substantially lower. Zutphen Bros. offered to build a concrete span for $7.4 million and Maritime Steel said it could construct a steel bridge for $150,000 less.
>
> A Transportation spokesman said the department simply accepted the lower bid.[3]

1 *MacTalla*, 21 Oct. 1898. All translations from the Gaelic have been provided by Rosemary Hutchison MacCormick, originally of South Uist, Scotland.

2 *Ibid.*, 19 May 1899.

3 *The Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 15 Mar. 1991.

MacTalla, in printing what presumably was some of the better correspondence received, clearly demonstrated that political views change very slowly indeed. Occasionally there would be pleas from correspondents for a keener analysis of issues facing the electorate. One optimist wrote in 1901 that

> It is quite likely that it won't be many months before the people of Nova Scotia have to choose a new parliament. There are many indications to be seen, and among them there is no surer sign of what is to come than the way in which newspapers are taking sides and giving their opinions on the matter.... What a good thing it would be if the paper and those they are pleading for at this time, would tell the truth and nothing but the truth.[4]

The writer of the above might have been inspired by an earlier letter lamenting the hiring and firing of government employees once the election results were finalized: "There is a bad custom in this country, when there is a change of government, of dismissing people who were put in office by the old government, and putting friends of the new government in their place."[5]

Such complaints were much in evidence in *MacTalla* in the 1890s; one reader even quoted the well-known Bard MacLean in support of his view. MacLean had died in 1848, but his words were recalled as being apropos to politics in the 1890s--and indeed, the 1990s. MacLean had written: "We have news for you at present/ And that is the high honour in which parliament is held./ On every side people gather together/ To see who will get the most gain."[6] The correspondent who quoted the Bard wrote further: "There are many people who derive much pleasure in political intrigues and although they don't draw swords over them, they are at times quite willing to get into fist-fights." Expressing his own disgust at such behaviour, he continued:

> There is not a corner between 'Dan' and 'Beersheba' that they won't search out.... There are many people who thoroughly enjoy these tricks, and some who tolerate them, but there are many more who are tired of politicians...as was the

4 *MacTalla*, 28 June 1901.

5 *Ibid.*, 14 June 1901.

6 *Ibid.*, 24 Feb. 1894. Bard John MacLean (1787–1848) was the best-known Scottish poet to come to Nova Scotia. A native of Argyllshire, he emigrated in 1819 and settled at Barney's River, Pictou Co., subsequently moving to Glenbard, James River, where he is buried. Scholars have praised the quality of his work and songs.

> bard of old to the people of Mull and Islay when he said 'The Mull-man, the Islay man and the devil, the three worst in the world. The Mull-man is worse than the Islay man and the Islay man is worse than the devil.'

There is no evidence to show the devil's reaction to such company but, as such letters to *MacTalla* continued through the 1890s, he was not a lonely personality: "Each party is trying to make us believe that everything will be all right if they get in, and if the other party gets in the country will be ruined...we won't believe every word uttered by either side until we see them in action."[7] Now, for contrast, consider this one: "This is the greatest land on earth, but when Brian Mulroney says this, Canadians disbelieve him because he has consistently lied about everything else for seven years."[8]

Another political issue which is increasingly talked about in our own day is that of political affiliation in local civic and municipal councils: local boards and commissions all have their political appointees whose reward has come through the pervasive and penetrating arm of a provincial or federal government. So long as those appointed are qualified it is difficult, though not inconceivable, to quarrel with such a practice. Faithful party workers who are qualified and capable have as much right to enjoy such 'perks' as anyone else. One valid criticism, however, is that the average citizen--who may not be a strong party supporter--is normally unaware of who gets such positions or why they get them, until after the fact. Now, with local governing bodies becoming more politicized, voluntarily or otherwise, the entire system may soon reek more strongly of subterranean ooze. Observers were aware of this a century ago, but little has changed:

> If the people would stop giving their votes to those who ask to be elected on the grounds that they are 'grits' or 'tories,' the counties would be governed in a better or more honourable way.... Wouldn't you rather give your vote to an honest, honourable man, even if he was on the other side, than to a man who is completely unreliable, but is on the same side as yourself?[9]

---

7 *Ibid.*, 30 Mar. 1895.

8 *The Casket* (Antigonish), 21 Aug. 1991.

9 *MacTalla*, 7 Oct. 1898.

The partisanship of newspapers was taken to task by another *MacTalla* reader in a letter which, refreshingly, suggests that we have progressed somewhat over the last century. With modern telecommunications it is much easier for the average spectator to form his own opinions, whereas readers of the 1890s were more vulnerable to editorial views and partisanship was glaringly evident:

> The honest, honourable, upstanding and faithful men are all in the party to which the paper belongs; the liars, the villains, the devious and deceitful men are all in the other party. They never get tired of singing this lay; they keep it up, week after week, year after year.... And if they were ignorant, unimaginative people who were writing these things, they could, in part, be excused; but many of the newspapers employ people who are knowledgeable and learned and well able to reason these matters out if they took the time to do so.[10]

Then, lapsing into a state of euphoria, the writer dreamily concluded that: "The day of the papers and the people who try to win their point by backbiting and scolding is fast waning."

As a final political comment from *MacTalla*, the following is offered:

> A large amount of money was taken from the country's treasury this past spring by the members of parliament themselves when they agreed, and without asking the country's permission, to put $5,000 a year towards their own salaries. The Opposition cannot cast stones at the government for this, or for any other expense they may have undertaken, because they were themselves just as quick to spend money. 'The one who is crooked in this town will be crooked in that town over there.'[11]

In comparison, and from another era:

> With Canada in dire financial straits and senators already receiving very high salaries plus other privileges for doing comparatively little work, wouldn't it make more sense to dock them $153 per day for non-attendance, rather than award a bonus for doing what they are supposed to do anyway.[12]

10 *Ibid.*, 13 July 1900.

11 *Ibid.*, 13 May 1901.

12 *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 16 Mar. 1991.

MacTalla carried few editorials on education and these were heavily moralistic: "Prepare your son with early teaching and accustom his mind to speak the truth."--"Teach him diligence and his worldly goods will increase."--"A wicked son is a reproach to the father but he who conducts himself properly is an honour to the grey-haired one."--"Teach him generosity and his mind will be uplifted."--"Teach him religion and he will have a happy death."[13] We seldom see such pronouncements today, but then as now, those who had aspired to a higher education usually regarded themselves as experts. *MacTalla* editorials expressed the belief that certain values should be imparted within any sound educational system. This is also true today, although the system is now forced to operate in greater isolation, without the strong support given it in the 1890s by the family, the church and the community. A common refrain on education in Nova Scotia, well into the twentieth century, has concerned teachers' salaries; *MacTalla* voiced an opinion in 1902 that will sound familiar:

> If the young people who are growing up in this country are to be educated[,] the people must pay teachers better than they are doing at the present time...the best teachers want to stay in education as their life's work instead of becoming doctors or lawyers, two professions of which there are more than enough in this country already.[14]

MacTalla has been acknowledged as "the most ambitious and successful newspaper attempt in Canada to preserve and foster Gaelic literature and culture."[15] Bilingualism has been much to the forefront in Canadian education during the past generation; the argument espoused by its proponents as far back as 1895 was basically that proposed in recent years for the teaching of French--with one major difference: *MacTalla* in 1895 was referring to the teaching of Gaelic as a second language:

> A meeting was held by the Department of Education...in Truro last week; schoolmasters from every part of the province were there.... They agreed, among other things, that it would be proper for French to be taught to children

13 *MacTalla*, 5 Jan. 1900.

14 *Ibid.*, 8 Aug. 1902.

15 D. M. Sinclair, "Gaelic Newspapers and Prose Writings in Nova Scotia"; paper read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 14 Apr. 1944.

> in the areas where this language is spoken. Many of the speakers said that Gaelic should be taught to children in regions where Gaelic is spoken. But no agreement was reached on this matter.... There is no doubt that it is much easier to draw school children out if their own language, be that French or Gaelic, is taught them first; no sensible man would deny that; but despite this and the fact that there are many parts of the province in which Gaelic is the first language of the children, we don't know of its ever having been taught in the schools.[16]

The writer was perhaps unaware that legislative sanction for the teaching of Gaelic had been granted as early as 1841 but, with a few half-hearted exceptions, the Nova Scotia Highland Scots never took advantage of it. They were too busy learning English--the language of commerce and business and, increasingly, the language used in their religious services.

The fairly rapid loss of Gaelic among Presbyterian churchgoers, and somewhat later with Roman Catholics, was a catalyst in the demise of Gaelic as a spoken language. One *MacTalla* correspondent noted that

> They learn Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French but as for Gaelic they have to do with the learning gained from their fathers and mothers or just do without it altogether.... It isn't seldom that we see a young man who has got good Gaelic when he goes to college, but who can't preach in Gaelic when he comes out.... Every church which has Gaelic speaking members should try to have enough ministers to teach them in their own language.[17]

Unlike the Acadians, who shared the same belief, the Scots were never successful in using their denominational groupings as a bulwark to protect their language. Despite many pressures to conform, the Acadians were much more adept; in their case, isolation was an asset for cultural preservation and Francophone religious leaders very successfully fused the idea of language and Holy Mother Church.

By the 1890s the diminishing use of Gaelic was both noticeable and painful to those fluent in the language. Alasdair ('the Ridge') MacDonald, a genealogist, Gaelic poet and bard in Antigonish County, wrote to the editor of *MacTalla* in 1897, complaining that "on St. Andrew's Night, at a dinner sponsored by the Antigonish Highland Society, I heard not a word of Gaelic around the table except for a few words included by Rev. Fr. Angus and one

16 *MacTalla*, 26 Oct. 1895.

17 *Ibid.*, 2 May 1896.

song that I sang myself and indeed I didn't make a very good job of it."[18] Almost a century later, one can occasionally still hear a lugubrious Nova Scotian of Scottish background telling an innocent tourist that there are more Gaelic-speakers in Nova Scotia than in Scotland. Needless to say, he does not speak the language himself.

World events can occur rapidly, and their effects can be long-reaching; certainly the recent years in Russia and eastern Europe are an indication of this. Attitudes, however, change more slowly and there are certain historical situations which sometimes appear static, if not chronic. In 1896, for example, *MacTalla* reported that the United States had raised its tariff on a ton of coal from forty to seventy-five cents: "It is likely that Canada will now increase the tariff on U.S. coal." A few other examples culled from the pages of 1896 will suffice to make the point: "A bill has been introduced in the British Parliament to improve the living conditions of the Highland crofters."--"The role of the Irish question in the forthcoming British elections."--"Out-migration from Cape Breton."--"Discussions among the British, French, Americans and Newfoundlanders about fishing rights off the Newfoundland coast."--"U.S. concern with Canadian fishing in the waters off southern Alaska." And finally, in 1901 *MacTalla* reported that ten Cape Breton soldiers who had served in the Boer War were honoured upon their return: "watches...were presented to them as a sign of the peoples' regard for their strength and achievement."[19] *The Chronicle-Herald* for 31 July 1991 reported, in turn, that eighteen Canadian Forces Hospital staff received the Gulf and Kuwait medal for services in the Gulf War. *Déjà vu* all over again.

The power of today's media is frightening, for careers can be enhanced or destroyed by its power. Politicians are especially vulnerable; too often a person in public life may find her or his name connected with an issue that is presented in such a way as to make the reader believe the individual is involved in some form of corruption. If the presentation turns out to be incorrect or distorted, it is not uncommon to find the retraction or correction buried in the back pages. Since newspapers reported the substance of the news a century ago, it is not surprising that they were accused of the same biases as today's more varied media outlets. A *MacTalla* correspondent wrote in 1900 that

18 *Ibid.*, 20 Mar. 1987.

19 *Ibid.*, 18 Jan. 1901.

> even the newspapers are not free from error. You will get in them as in the bee, 'the honey together with the sting'. But I am not at all sure that the honey doesn't go in small quantity and the poison in bulk. One thing I think we get in today's newspapers and that is less news and more opinion than I think is proper. The newspaper now takes in hand the task of teaching as well as informing. It tries to bend the will as well as fill the head.... We can get the news we need as soon as it is heard but the opinion that is given hastily is not always sound. Also, each of the newspapers we have, supports a particular party or opinion, or persuasion, and any information which is not in accordance with this opinion or persuasion will get very little space.[20]

The Dean of the Graduate School of Journalism at the University of Western Ontario has stated that when he was a copy-boy for Canadian Press in Montreal in the 1950s,

> objectivity was the goal we strove for. But by the 1970s, when I anchored the news for Global TV, we promulgated the view that 'informed assessment' was a more realistic idea. The brevity of television news items inevitably made them subjective.[21]

Today's newspapers often reflect last evening's television news, the medium through which most Canadians now obtain their information on current affairs. But television news, with its two-minute clips, and its catchy images and comments to match, is a poor substitute for informed views. The situation is made worse if the news reader is ill-informed or biased in presentation. Television news programs cannot, for example, handle in depth intricate issues such as constitutional reform; they therefore simplify the issues in order to hold an audience. Reflective comments by well-informed newspaper reporters are much more likely to help the reader form a sensible opinion.

Human nature does not change; our perceptions vary both with the events themselves and with the manner in which they are presented to us. However, it would not take an intelligent reader of *MacTalla* in 1895 very long to feel at home with today's newspaper, or with the media generally: it would be "*déjà vu* all over again."

---

20 *Ibid.*, 14 Dec. 1900.

21 Quoted in *Saturday Night*, Feb. 1990.

Three Winston Churchills: One of Them a Nova Scotian

Elizabeth C. Snell

The American was three years older than the Englishman, and the Canadian was thirteen years younger. The American and the Englishman were to meet several times; after each meeting, the American would maintain a continuing attitude of "quiet hostility."[1] The Canadian and the Englishman would have met, had not the Nova Scotian been so bloody-minded.

From this, one cannot help but extrapolate that the two North American Churchills were a rather stiff-necked pair regarding their bumptious distant English kinsman. From their egalitarian viewpoint, he had had the misfortune of being born into the hereditary aristocracy, and it was hereditary power that the experiment called America was supposed to have eliminated. But these two young Winstons of the new social order were not without their own set of privilege, and their self-righteousness seems today a little misplaced.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the American Winston Churchill, already involved in journalism and politics, was considerably more prominent than his younger English counterpart, who was just beginning to write and who, although defeated in his first bid for Parliament, had gone on to become a hero through his escape as a Boer prisoner-of-war. The novels of the American Winston popularized middle-class intellectual liberalism in the pre-World War I United States; his books--sociological documents rather than high art--entertained the reader as they exposed the country's defects.[2] Politically, the American Winston Churchill first stood for the New

---

This article is based on a chapter from Elizabeth C. Snell's recently published book, *The Churchills, Pioneers and Politicians: England-America-Canada* (Tiverton, Devon: Westcountry Books, 1994; distributed in Canada by Nimbus Publishing Ltd., Halifax, NS).

1 Robert W. Schneider, *Novelist to a Generation: The Life and Thought of Winston Churchill* (Ohio, 1976), p. 37.

2 The American Winston wrote ten novels, nine of which were best sellers: they sold an average of 500,000 copies each; went into 54 editions in the US; and most of them were translated into foreign languages. Besides the novels, Churchill published three plays, poems, numerous newspaper and magazine articles, and two books of non-fiction. Two novels were adapted for the stage and three, including *Richard Carvel*, were made into motion pictures. A bibliography of the American Winston's works runs to about five printed pages: small by comparison to the over fifty closely printed pages for any bibliography of Winston Spencer Churchill, but still not inconsiderable.

The largest collection of the American Winston Churchill's papers is in the Baker Library of Dartmouth College. Other important collections include: The Macmillan Company; the Albert Shaw Papers in the New York City Library; the Upton Sinclair Papers at the University of Indiana; the Library of Congress; the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library; the American Academy of Arts and Letters; and the National Archives, Navy and Military Service Branch.

Hampshire State Legislature as a Republican in 1902, but he would evolve from support of Theodore Roosevelt--whose liberal Progressive movement would splinter the Republican Party--to not uncritical support of Democratic Woodrow Wilson, who saw the United States through 'The Great War.' Although he did not concur with Wilson's reluctance concerning American entry into the war, Churchill's home in Cornish, New Hampshire, nevertheless became Wilson's summer White House during the period leading up to 1917.

One of the most important influences upon the American Winston Churchill's social and political philosophy was an enduring interest in the history of his family. In at least two of his sweeping historical romances, he was able to draw upon family documents, including the manuscript version of the *Churchill Family in America*, which chronicled his New World roots back to John Churchill of Plymouth Colony.[3] Fifth cousins, he and the Canadian Randolph Winston Churchill shared the same forefathers: John, Joseph and Barnabas, for the first three generations in America; but at the time when Randolph's progenitor, Lemuel, migrated to Nova Scotia, the American author's progenitor, Lemuel's younger brother Thomas, was settling a farm in New Hampshire. Like Randolph's grandfather, the Honourable Ezra Churchill (1804–1874), who made the surname prominent in Nova Scotia, it was the American Winston's great-grandfather, the Honourable James Creighton Churchill (1787–1865) who made the family name prominent in New England.

But the similarities do not stop there. Ezra Churchill of Hantsport, Nova Scotia, was at one time the province's largest shipbuilder; a three-term Member of the Legislative Assembly; and a Confederation Senator. James Creighton Churchill, also a prominent shipbuilder, was actively involved in politics: he proposed Andrew Jackson for president; stood as a Whig candidate for Congress; and in 1844 was elected mayor of Portland, Maine. His grandson, the novelist's father, Edward Spaulding Churchill, was charming, spoiled, a heavy drinker who somehow managed to graduate from Dartmouth College and a man who, when his wife died soon after Winston's birth, left the infant to be brought up by other family members.

Although the family was very much 'east coast,' Winston was destined to

3 G. A. Churchill et al., *Churchill Family in America* (Boston, 1904). John Churchill, who came to America ca. 1643, was b. ca. 1613 at Muston, Dorsetshire, England.

be born in Missouri. Edward Churchill had married Emma Blaine of St. Louis; her American ancestry, like his, extended back to the early colonial period, and she wanted her child to be born in her hometown, with her own doctors in attendance. The precaution was redundant, as it turned out: Emma died two weeks after Winston's birth; he would be brought up by her relatives, and would remain in the Midwest until he entered the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. Winston himself secured the appointment, for as a descendant of a seafaring family he was attracted to the navy.

Once again, there are peculiar similarities. It would be in the State of Missouri where the British Winston would deliver his famous 'Iron Curtain' speech in 1946, and where the Churchill Memorial and Library would subsequently be located.[4] The State of Missouri would also dismantle a blitz-gutted Christopher Wren Church in London and successfully remove it to Fulton, Missouri, restoring it as a memorial to the British Churchill. And in 1954, a granddaughter of the Canadian Randolph Winston would attend a women's school in Columbia, Missouri, where she would receive this letter from her mother, Randolph's daughter:

> As to the article about Missouri in *Holiday* magazine, isn't it strange that I had forgotten the American Winston Churchill. He was a famous novelist, was born there, and is your very own kin. I have his books that were given to my father, and I have a picture of his home in New Hampshire somewhere. Wonder if he still is alive? [He had died seven years before.] He would be over 80. So strange, strange how things all seem to weave together like threads in a tapestry. Is the word 'atavism'? Something to do with your ancestors, maybe that feeling of belonging where they were reared.[5]

The American Winston left the Naval Academy for a career in journalism, which in turn he abandoned to become a novelist. After an extended trip to Europe with a wealthy new bride, he began work on his first significant writing--his second novel, *Richard Carvel*, published in 1899. The story concerns the American family of an English colonist from the 1690s, a protagonist who had "seen the great Marlborough himself." Even the Carvel family home stands in Marlborough Street. His grandson Richard, moreover,

4 Winston Churchill Memorial and Library, Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri; specializes in the life and times of Sir Winston Spencer Churchill, and in Anglo-American relations.

5 Phil Strong, "Missouri," in *Holiday*, XIV (Nov. 1953), 112. Letter in author's personal archive.

is a revolutionary who views Marlborough as "a great general and as sorry a scoundrel as ever led troops to battle."[6]

Almost at the same time, a twenty-three-year-old lieutenant in the 31st Punjab Infantry would write his only novel, *Savrola*, which would be published the same year as *Richard Carvel*, and by the same publisher, Macmillan. The British Winston, in later life, advised readers *not* to read his fictional creation. Nevertheless, it was this work, together with the publication of *The Malakand Field Force* and *The River War*, plus the appearance of his war correspondence in *The Daily Telegraph*, which resolved the English Churchill "to build a small literary house":

> I read for four or five hours every day history and philosophy. Plato's *Republic*--it appeared for all practical purposes the same as Socrates; the *Politics* of Aristotle; Schopenhauer on Pessimism; Malthus on Population; Darwin's *Origin of Species*.[7]

The neophyte writer was able, even, to make the subject of English grammar spellbinding: "I affected a combination of the styles of Macaulay and Gibbon, the staccato antitheses of the former and the rolling sentences and genitival endings of the latter; and I stuck in a bit of my own from time to time."[8] Once the British Winston matured as an author, never again could the writings of the two men be assessed comparatively on the grounds of literary merit; but the curiousness of the two Churchills, both involved in a common occupation at the same time, is worthy of note.

It was the appearance of *Savrola* that led to correspondence between the two men. In the spring of 1899, the English Winston became conscious of the fact that there was another Winston Churchill who also wrote books: "I received from many quarters congratulations on my skill as a writer of fiction. I thought at first these were due to an appreciation of the merits of *Savrola*. Gradually I realized that there was 'another Richmond in the field,' luckily on the other side of the Atlantic."[9]

---

6 Winston Churchill, *Richard Carvel* (New York, 1899), pp. 2, 61.

7 Winston S. Churchill, *My Early Life* (London, 1930), pp. 118, 160.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 217.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 223.

With this discovery came the now-famous "Mr.-Winston-Churchill-presents-his-compliments-to-Mr.-Winston-Churchill" letter of 7 June 1899, from London, in which the English Winston made the enduring proposal that henceforth he would "sign all published articles, stories, or other work, 'Winston Spencer Churchill'."[10] Thus evolved the signature of perhaps the most prolific writer of the twentieth century. He concluded this accommodating letter with courteous references to the American author's work: "Mr. Winston Churchill takes this occasion of complimenting Mr. Winston Churchill upon the style and success of his works, which are always brought to his notice whether in magazine or book form."[11] The reply, dated 20 June 1899, was written from Windsor, Vermont. In it, the American thanked the Englishman for the courtesy of his proposition, making haste to add that had he himself "possessed any other names, he would certainly have adopted one of them." He allowed also that it was the publication of a story in the *Century* magazine which had first brought the English Winston's writing to his notice, and that he was "looking forward with pleasure to reading *Savrola*."[12]

In September 1899 the English Winston wrote again, observing that he had received so many compliments over *Richard Carvel*, "that I am not so anxious as I was to distinguish between our respective works," and that since they had been introduced to each other "by Fate herself," he hoped they would meet in the near future.[13] Accordingly, when he stopped in New York in December 1900 during a North American lecture tour, Churchill received an invitation to dine with the American Winston in Boston. In a classic and comical mix-up, however, when he reached that city all his forwarded mail inadvertently had been delivered to the Beacon Street address of the American Churchill, who was then left to make a dutiful, explanatory visit to the Hotel Touraine where the Englishman was staying.

If one account is correct, the English Winston was in bed, fighting a fever, and is reputed to have greeted his visitor with this arrogant opener: "I was

10 *Ibid.*, p. 224.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 224.

12 Winston Churchill to WSC, 20 June 1899, Windsor, Vermont; copy in Dartmouth College Library.

13 WSC to Winston Churchill, 23 Sept. 1899, London, England; Dartmouth College Library.

interested when I read your first book. Didn't think a great deal of that book; but the other one, *Richard Carvel*, I am willing to become responsible for that."[14] The American Churchill thus no doubt felt fully vindicated in the several refusals he had given previously, declining to appear on the same platform with and/or to introduce formally the Englishman during the latter's lecture-circuit engagements.

Civility must have been restored, however, for *The Boston Herald* carried on its front page of 18 December an account of their luncheon meeting in the Touraine's Dutch Room, and of their subsequent walk across the Boston Common to the Charles River. Randolph Churchill, writing later of his father, noted: "I am indebted to the late Mrs. John Churchill [daughter-in-law of the American novelist] for the following":

> After luncheon the two Winston Churchills walked together and passed over a bridge which spans the Charles River. When they reached the middle of the bridge they paused and looked down [at] the river. The English Winston said to the American Winston, who was three years older..., "Why don't you go into politics? I mean to be Prime Minister of England: It would be a great lark if you were President of the United States at the same time." The American Winston did not follow the advice of his namesake, though he was twice elected...a member of the New Hampshire legislature, in 1903 and 1905; he did, however, live to see the English Winston become Prime Minister.[15]

Confusion regarding the identical names evoked a perverse parting gesture: whereas during his stay in Boston all of the English Winston's mail had gone to Beacon Street, the bill for a dinner at the Somerset Club, hosted by the American Winston, went to the guest. According to the Englishman, "This error, however, was speedily redressed"[16]--but likely did little to strengthen an already fractious relationship.

A biographer of the American Churchill has made a great nicety of the fact that when this pivotal Boston exchange took place, "the young English war correspondent had only the beginnings of a secure reputation, whereas the American novelist was enjoying a newly acquired recognition that made

14 E. F. Harkins, *Little Pilgrimages Among the Men Who have Written Famous Books* (Boston, 1902), p. 320.

15 Randolph Churchill, *Winston S. Churchill, I: Youth, 1874–1900* (London and Boston, 1966), p. 341.

16 Churchill, *My Early Life*, p. 225.

him well known to a large reading public in America and abroad."[17] Indeed, when *The Boston Herald* trumpeted "NAMESAKES MEET" in front-page headlines, it may have been as much on behalf of the American as the Englishman. Not again until the Second World War, it has been said, did Winston Spencer Churchill get such a press in America.

Again, Randolph Churchill notes an item from the *St. James's Gazette*:

> The Boston correspondent of the *Morning Post* telegraphs that at a reception yesterday Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill, M.P., who is there on his lecturing tour, was introduced to Mr. Winston Churchill, the American author who wrote *Richard Carvel*. Both have often had amusing experiences with people who confused their identity and one of them jokingly suggested that they should improve the occasion by forming the Winston Churchill Club (Limited).[18]

Other newspapers in the United States and England at this time also carried illustrations of the two Churchills and ran their biographies: for example, *The London Sketch* advised its readers to "Watch the Winstons: Two of the men most conspicuous in the foreground of public life at the present moment...."[19] It appeared that their publishers felt such exposure and resulting notoriety would boost sales of the Churchill authors in both countries; and therefore were not overly zealous to note that the novel of the American Revolution had *not* been written by the scion of the famous English family--or, for that matter, that the Ruritanian romance in a fictitious Balkan republic, or the tales of war in the Sudan, had *not* been the personal experiences of a boy from St. Louis.

When the English Churchill, during the course of his lecture in Boston, endeared himself to the audience by referring to the pride he felt in having been the product of an Anglo-American alliance, he was alluding merely to his mother's American origins. Neither the English nor the American Winston could, at this time, think of any family ties connecting them: "neither he nor his American counterpart was ever able to come up with the name of a common ancestor."[20] It would be another four years before the

17 Warren A. Titus, *Winston Churchill, American: A Critical Biography* (Twayne, CT, 1963), p. 19.

18 Randolph Churchill, *The Companion to Winston S. Churchill: Youth, 1874–1900* (London, 1967), p. 1221.

19 Robert Bilpel, *Churchill in America, 1895–1961: An Affectionate Portrait* (New York, 1976), p. 61.

20 *The Boston Herald*, 18 Dec. 1900.

Churchill Family in America was published, and even it treated the Marlborough connection with great circumspection:

> While the compilers of this genealogy of the Churchill Family in America wish to avoid the appearance of intention to claim near kinship with the lines of Churchills in England which have received and transmitted the titles and perquisites of nobility, they deem it proper, and indeed expedient, to embody the facts of the early history of the name, at least, which is an inalienable inheritance, in Anglo-Saxon usage.[21]

Later supplements went only so far as to conjecture that the first John Churchill to America, ca. 1643, was the grandson of John Churchill at Muston in Dorsetshire, himself a relative of an ancestor of the Duke of Marlborough.[22] Even to this day, the Canadian Randolph Winston Churchill's daughter says, "It does not matter whether we are related or not. The Churchills in America have added their own chapters in history."[23] But it *does* matter, and such persistent coyness becomes a trifle irksome. Without question, the stock of the family is the same, as implied by A. L. Rowse: "Across the Atlantic another Winston Churchill--who presumably, with that name, was an offshoot of the old stock...."[24]

An International Genealogical Index entry, processed in 1938, must have been made in England, because while it states that John Churchill was born in 1613 at Muston, Dorset, no place is given for his death.[25] The *Churchill Family in America*, by contrast, has no information on this progenitor's date or place of birth, but great detail on his place of death, at New Plymouth. Rowse, in his first volume, *The Early Churchills*, states that the Churchills of Dorchester and Colliton [*viz.* Muston] were kinsmen of the Marlborough Churchills. He also heads his pedigree with William Churchill of Muston, as father of Roger, father of Matthew, father of Jasper, who in turn was grandfather to the first Sir Winston.[26] The contemporary Sir Winston

21 Churchill et al., *Churchill Family*, preface, x.

22 *Ibid.*, Supplements I, VII and VIII.

23 Author's personal archive.

24 A. L. Rowse, *The Later Churchills* (London and New York, 1958), p. 271.

25 Special Collections Room, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah; letter to author, 4 Feb. 1992.

26 A. L. Rowse, *The Early Churchills, An English Family* (London and New York, 1956), p. 315.

furthermore acknowledged kinship in 1950 when he wrote in *The Hinge of Fate* that an American Churchill (the Plymouth line) five generations removed from John Churchill, was "undoubtedly a direct descendant of the Dorsetshire Churchills."[27]

The second of the American Winston's historical novels to deal with his own colonial background, *The Crisis* (1901), treats the American Civil War as a continuation of the English Civil Wars, and as an inevitable conflict between the Puritan and the Cavalier. The popular success of *The Crisis* pushed Churchill into the "first rank of America's popular authors,"[28] and the muddle regarding the confusion of names accelerated accordingly. A Chicago newspaper wrote: "The great American novel which has been asked for so often...is the work of the Englishman, Winston Churchill."[29] Even the *Manchester Guardian* made the same mistake. It was a matter that never ceased to rankle with the American. In a letter to an acquaintance who was writing an article on the English Winston he asked, not without a touch of asperity:

> By the way, as a little bit of justice to me, would you mind calling him Winston Spencer Churchill. He has written me that he will be known by this name, and he signs all his books in this way. You are undoubtedly aware that his name is legally Spencer-Churchill. When the male branch of the original Duke died out, they became Spencer, but petitioned the Crown to be called Spencer-Churchill.[30]

There is a wry postscript to all of this. In November 1954, on the occasion of the eightieth birthday of Sir Winston, his only novel, *Savrola*, was serialized by the *Sunday Dispatch* in nine instalments. The paper received a letter to the

---

27 Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War, IV: The Hinge of Fate* (Boston, 1950), pp. 728–729. If not connected because of the Churchill surname, the American and the Englishman would still--paradoxically--have been related several times over through Winston's mother's colonial ancestors, the Willcox and Hall families. The Churchills, beginning in the first generation to America, were related numerous times to the Delanos of the Roosevelt family, who in turn were related to Jennie Jerome's Willcox/Hall ancestors. The colonial Churchills, through marriages to descendants of Richard Warren, were also related directly to her Willcox/Hall ancestors.

28 Schneider, *Novelist to a Generation*, p. 56.

29 *Chicago Chronicle*, 6 Mar. 1901, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 63.

30 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 63.

editor which said: "Churchill's only novel--Bah! Ever heard of *Richard Carvel*, of *The Crisis*, etc., etc. Possibly not, as all are of such mediocre quality that, had their creator not been a public figure, they would have passed into oblivion."[31] It is perhaps fortunate that the American Churchill had died seven years before these cutting remarks by an obscure English reader.

In 1901, the American Mr. and Mrs. Churchill made a six-month tour of Europe, during which time they met with the Kaiser in Germany and the English Churchill in London. Before leaving the United States, however, the American Winston had written his contact at Macmillan: "If any Englishman is fool enough to believe that Winston Spencer Churchill wrote *The Crisis*, he is perfectly welcome to do so. I am not writing for the English public and I am heartily sick and tired of them. I do not know whether I shall go to England or not."[32] Nevertheless, he went:

> When Churchill arrived in England, the young M.P. sent a letter saying that he wanted to see his American 'friend,' but he was leaving for a holiday in the country. In the meantime he had obtained a temporary honorary membership in the Pall Mall Club for the visitor, and invited Churchill to dine with him at the House of Commons, where he said he would 'make up a pleasant party for you of men who think.' Apparently oblivious of the novelist's tender feelings about the matter, he closed by saying 'Your books are still praised here and I am loaded with spurious literary business.'[33]

The American Winston found this letter rude. Had he not gone out of his way to host a dinner party in Boston, five months before? However, he neglected to remember that he had refused to take the chair for the English Winston, or to appear on the same platform during any of the latter's lectures. Nevertheless, the wily Englishman may have been merely biding his time, for the American Winston soon wrote in his notebook, "He has acted like a cad." And, further:

> On Thursday, May 29, dined with my namesake Winston Churchill of House of Commons.... He wrote me on my arrival that he was just leaving town for a parliamentary recess, and that he would be at home at such and such an hour.

31 Quoted in Peter de Mendelssohn, *The Age of Churchill 1874–1911* (New York, 1961), p. 115.

32 Quoted in Schneider, *Novelist to a Generation*, p. 61.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

> Needless to say I did not go. I heard nothing more from him until the day of the dinner when I got a telegram asking me to meet him in the lobby of the House of Commons at 7:55. I thought that it would be more dignified to go. I was not his guest, but one of the guests of a club called the Hooligans which meets on Thursday Evenings. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman sat on Churchill's right. I on his left.[34]

There are two more recorded meetings between the two Winston Churchills. The first was at Number 10 Downing Street in September 1917, when Lloyd George was Prime Minister and invited the two men, the English Winston as Minister of Munitions and the American Winston as a quasi-representative for President Woodrow Wilson's Board of Naval Strategy.[35] The second also occurred in September 1917, when the American Winston was invited by the British government to visit the front lines in France where, once again, he would meet his nemesis--although this time it would be recorded that "They had a pleasant encounter."[36] Besides the visit to the British front, Churchill was invited at this time to visit the principal American training camp.

Out of these experiences came *A Traveller in Wartime* (1918), with *An Essay on the American Contribution and the Democratic Idea*, in which he stated, "If America had started to prepare when Belgium was invaded, had entered the war when the *Lusitania* was sunk, Germany might by now have been defeated."[37] He argued that the American people had not been prepared to go to war until the issue had been put to them as that of the preservation of democracy. In these writings, the American Churchill makes a great issue over "playing his tune on a fiddle"--but one is never entirely convinced he would rather not have had a violin. At the same time that he was preaching humility, his wartime billet in France was no egalitarian trench, but rather a

34 Quoted in *ibid.* One must allow here, however, for transatlantic differences in the perception of social mores. The Englishman was undoubtedly following established Anglo social semantic--misread by the American as rudeness and arrogance.

35 Winston Churchill, *A Traveller in Wartime* (New York, 1918), p. 43; he made, however, no mention that the English Churchill was also in attendance, for which see Schneider, *Novelist to a Generation*, p. 225.

36 Rowse, *The Later Churchills*, p. 324. The truce declared by the American, however, was only partial: during WWII, the few journalists to whom he would permit interviews were forewarned not to mention the subject of the British Prime Minister; again, see Schneider, *Novelist to a Generation*, p. xiv.

37 Churchill, *A Traveller in Wartime*, p. 108.

plush plutocratic château leased by the British government: "We crossed a bridge over a moat and traversed a huge stone hall to the Gothic drawing-room. Here a fire was crackling on the hearth, refreshments were laid out, and the Major in command rose from his book to greet me."[38]

While his American cousin chose to fight the war from a lofty, remote and philosophical position, the Canadian Churchill chose to fight his deep in the trenches. The outbreak of 'The Great War' was enthusiastically embraced by twenty-six-year-old Randolph Winston Churchill. It was an endeavour worthy of his patriotic character and presented an opportunity to soar above squalid little business bunglings: "He was his best as a military officer, completely loyal to King, Nova Scotia, Canada, and England, in that order," his daughter has commented.[39] After his nephew was killed at Vimy at the age of twenty-one, and a cousin died similarly the next year, Churchill's zeal to retaliate against the Germans knew no bounds. His four-and-one-half years of active service would see him request numerous transfers--and even demotion in rank--in order to join units in the field.

The 1st Regiment Canadian Garrison Artillery, originally organized in 1869 as a militia unit to assist the regular forces of the garrison at Halifax, was one of three local such regiments ordered to mobilize in August 1914. Randolph, a serving officer, was detailed to Fort Ogilvie, deep in the pine woods of Halifax's Point Pleasant Park. The fort's crescent-shaped battery of cannon was trained upon both the entrance to the harbour and Mauger's Beach on McNab's Island: as an inner defence battery, the earth-and-ironstone fort was a back-up for the main defences, located four miles farther out on the coast.

Owing to long disuse, the quarters in which the men were supposed to be housed were too damp and unsanitary for occupation, so the unit was placed under canvas until late December when the garrison force of fifty men and officers was able to move into wooden barracks immediately outside the old ironstone wall.[40] Randolph's daughter, just over three years old at the time,

38 *Ibid.*, p. 75.

39 Author's personal archive.

40 Scrapbook of the 1st Regiment Canadian Garrison Artillery, 1902–1926; Public Archives of Nova Scotia, MG 9, Vol. 218, p. 11.

has wisps of memory regarding a visit to her father when she spent most of her time with the cook in the cookhouse while the grown-ups socialized: "The story was always told me that I came back into the dining-room and announced that the heavy army crockery dishes were just like the ones we had at home!"[41]

The entire enlistment of the 1st Regiment Canadian Garrison Artillery volunteered for service overseas, but at first the Department of Militia and Defence ruled that they were needed for home defence. Later, the ruling was modified and Captain R. W. Churchill was one of those "taking any chance that offered rather than remain at home."[42] The National Archives of Canada Personnel Records note that "R. W. Churchill was appointed to commissioned rank in the 112th Battalion on December 1st, 1915,"[43] and before long an unidentified Halifax newspaper reported that:

> Officers of the 1st Canadian Garrison Artillery...gave a complimentary dinner last night at the Halifax Hotel to officers of the regiment who have been transferred overseas.... All were entertained in a royal manner. The dinner service was excellent, the musical programme of the finest, the orchestra being conducted by Harry Cochrane, and the general cheerfulness and comradeship was a fine indication of the spirit of the regiment.

For Randolph, the 112th Battalion made perfect sense. Authorization for its recruiting had been granted in November 1915; headquarters were to be in Windsor, Nova Scotia, near Churchill's Hantsport home. Without the aid of any recruiting campaign, the battalion was quickly over-subscribed. At first, each county from which the men had been drawn was allowed to keep one detachment, provided it numbered fifty men or more; they were to be trained in their own localities until general mobilization in May 1916, when the entire battalion encamped on the hill at Fort Edward in Windsor, where it underwent rigorous training.[44]

---

41 Author's personal archive.

42 M. Stuart Hunt, *Nova Scotia's Part in The Great War* (Halifax, 1920), p. 246.

43 Canadian Expeditionary Force, Certificate of Service, 13 Oct. 1919; Personnel Records, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, ON.

44 Hunt, *Nova Scotia*, p. 119: Halifax, Hants, Kings, Annapolis, Digby, Yarmouth, Shelburne, Queens and Lunenburg Counties.

Randolph was placed as captain of a detachment of seventy-five men in Shelburne County, from where he sent his wife Elsie a postcard of the company mustered in front of a long, shingled building: "What do you think of our Detachment with their uniforms on? Makes quite a difference doesn't it?" Photographs also remain of Elsie and their daughter, 'Little Elsie,' muffled in winter coats, fur hats and neckpieces, their hands thrust into huge fur muffs and holding the ropes of a high-runnered wooden sleigh, out to watch Randolph's detachment before they had their uniforms; and later, when the unit had broken camp at Fort Edward, of the men marching with bed rolls over an unpaved Windsor street to the train station.[45]

The two-month hiatus between encampment at Fort Edward and the departure by train to Halifax for overseas was a welcome respite. Not only was Randolph able to spend time with his young wife in the old homestead at Hantsport, but he was also able to enjoy his little daughter with the long, fair curls. She remembers being swung high in the firm arms of her father and of his fellow officers, who would doff their uniform caps and lay aside their walking canes and riding crops, in order to perch 'Baby' on their shoulders.

During the same period in which the 112th Battalion had been given permission to recruit, nineteen-year-old Lieutenant Alfred Churchill, Randolph's nephew, who was serving with the 40th Royal Canadian Regiment, wrote from Brighton, England, 22 November 1915, to an aunt:

> I am just recovering from an attack of grippe. I did not say anything to Mamma because she would begin to worry. This damp climate is hard to get used to and at present we have two hundred men and six officers laid out with it.
>
> [Although] I was sick nearly all the way over, I enjoyed the trip from the mouth of Plymouth [?] Harbour to the Wharf. Our camp is forty miles from London. Portsmouth is twenty-six miles. Four fellows can hire a taxi for 3d. per mile apiece. Before we get to the Front, I am going to try to get to London. Everybody says when they know you are a Canadian you can have the whole place.[46]

One week later, meanwhile, Winston Spencer Churchill would be off to

45 Author's personal archive. Elsie Churchill, née Armstrong, was the daughter of Robert E. Armstrong, newspaper publisher in St. Andrew's, NB, and secretary of the Saint John Board of Trade.

46 Letter to his Aunt Clara (Churchill) Lawrence Pullen; in Pullen Scrapbook, privately held.

the trenches in France. After being demoted from the Admiralty following the fiasco over Gallipoli, Churchill had resigned from the government, writing to the Prime Minister on 11 November: "I have a clear conscience which enables me to bear any responsibility for past events with composure. Time will vindicate my administration of the Admiralty."[47] On 18 November he left for France. He had chosen the command of a brigade, with the proviso that he gain experience of trench warfare as a regimental officer before taking up his command: "I must try to win my way as a good and sincere soldier."[48]

Accordingly, three days later he joined the 2nd Battalion Grenadier Guards, and in the unceasing rain climbed down into the hell of the trenches: filth and rubbish and "graves built into the defences...feet and clothing breaking through the soil, water and muck on all sides. Troops of enormous rats to the unending accompaniment of rifle and machine gun and venomous whirring of bullets passing overhead."[49] By sharing fully in the daily hazards and discomforts of life at the front, Churchill won the respect of his men and fellow officers and by the end of December 1915 had been appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 6th Battalion Royal Scots Fusiliers, which was then stationed not far from Armentières but due to go into the trenches near Ploegsteert, a mile or two over the Belgian border.

It has been documented that "Churchill had an especially warm spot in his heart for the Canadians";[50] and that he was particularly impressed by the defensive tactics of a Canadian general who had replaced lateral trenches and an unbroken rank of soldiers standing in them almost shoulder to shoulder, by huddles of outposts interspersed with machine guns designed to draw the attacker into a path of unavoidable gunfire. After witnessing one successful action carried out via this new strategy, Churchill commented that the Canadians were "grinning from ear to ear."[51]

47 Martin Gilbert, *Churchill, A Photographic Portrait* (London and Toronto, 1988), plate 137.

48 Mary Soames, *Clementine Churchill* (Don Mills, Ont., 1979), p. 130.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 132.

50 René Kraus, *Winston Churchill* (Philadelphia and New York, 1940), p. 219.

51 Winston S. Churchill, *The World Crisis, II: 1916–1918* (London, 1927), p. 389.

Another Canadian Churchill, Randolph's cousin Clair, of the 52nd Battalion from Port Arthur, would report to a Canadian newspaper in June 1916, after the Battle of Ypres:

> I am lying at Fishmonger's Hall Hospital which is one of the best army hospitals in London. My wounds are not serious.
>
> Our Battalion had only been out of the trenches one day after sixteen in them when the Bosches broke through the tip of the Ypres salient. When we had made our way to the Ypres ramparts, passing dead horses and numerous exploding shells, the Corporal on my right was hit in the chest and for two hours all I could do was hold a bandage over the wound until it had stopped bleeding. It was while I was doing this that a shell burst a few feet above my back. The concussion was so great that for a moment I thought my little troubles were over. It left steel scraps sharding through my tunic and shirts and into my back.
>
> I gave my back a wriggle and was stupidly surprised that it answered. Then a piece of steel hit the toe of my right foot, went through the boot, ploughed up my toes, and went out again without breaking any bones. Another piece hit my left boot, still another my haversack. I was indeed a child of the gods that day. All I had to do was reach out to touch wounded or dead all around me.
>
> Just at dusk I crawled out snakelike to look for stretcher bearers and get in touch with headquarters. Green flares (green for Canadians, red for Germans) marked where the fight raged hottest. Luridly the sky was torn by shrieking shells dull reddened by the flares.[52]

Meanwhile, Randolph Churchill was almost as despairing of not being at the front as the English Winston was of not being in the War Cabinet. Finally, after the 112th had been inspected by the Minister of Militia, Major-General Sir Sam Hughes, the day arrived when Ottawa allocated the battalion to one of the overseas vessel transports. Before the unit left Windsor, formal colours were presented by the wife of the commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel H. B. Tremaine: "On Friday afternoon, July 21, 1916 the Battalion was formed up in mass in front of the bandstand at Victoria Park, Windsor. The next day the Colours were deposited in Christ Church, Windsor, where the officers and men attended divine service."[53] The following day, the battalion boarded a troop train for Halifax, the point of embarkation for all Canadian forces travelling overseas.

Randolph was one of 5,290 men who, on 23 July 1916, amidst the playing

52 Pullen Scrapbook; undated and unidentified newspaper clipping.

53 Hunt, *Nova Scotia*, p. 120.

of bands and the cheering of crowds, climbed the long gangway to one of the eight steel decks of the four-stacked H.M.T. *Olympic*, tied up at Pier 2, a new concrete complex at the Deep Water Terminals in Halifax. The card that he was handed as he reached the top of the wooden walkway said "Cabin Number 13." Later, during lifeboat drill, he would be assigned to Lifeboat 13. But Randolph regarded the number as lucky, and eight days later he disembarked safely at Liverpool.

From there, the 112th proceeded by train to Oxney Farm near Bramshott, where it remained for three weeks before there was room to move into the Nova Scotia Regimental Depot. Along with most of the officers, Randolph may have been detailed during this period to several specialized training schools in other parts of England, but he was back at Bramshott Camp for Christmas because there remains a printed card, "Captain R. W. Churchill, 112th Batt. Canadian Infantry, Bramshott Camp, Hants. Christmas, 1916," quoting a poem by Whittier: "Take heart! the promised hour draws near. / I hear the downward beat of wings / And freedom's trumpet sounding clear."[54]

As captain, Randolph was ordered to remain in England with the steadily depleting 112th, from which a number of drafts were withdrawn to reinforce other battalions in France. Finally, on 25 April, two months after the 112th was merged into the 26th Canadian Reserve, Randolph Churchill obtained reversion to the rank of lieutenant, "for purpose of proceeding overseas."[55] Sixteen days earlier his nephew, Alfred Churchill--"clean and good and true"[56]--had been killed at Vimy.

One can only conjecture the state of Randolph's emotions as he finally proceeded to France for service with Alfred's former regiment, the Royal Canadian, in 'D' Company--which Alfred was commanding at the time of his death. It may not be too much to speculate that Randolph shared feelings similar to those of the English Churchill, who observed to his brother at about this time that: "I writhe hourly not to be able to get my teeth effectively into the Boche...Jack, my dear, I am learning to hate."[57]

Forty-three days later, the Canadian Churchill was delivered to No. 24

54 Author's personal archive.

55 Casualty Form, Active Service, 112th Batt. C.E.F., Lieut. Churchill, Randolph Winston; Canadian Record Office, 3 May 1917.

56 Pullen Scrapbook, undated newspaper clipping.

57 Gilbert, *Churchill*, plate 142.

General Hospital at Etaples, with a gunshot wound, right arm, sustained in an attack at the front, astride the Vimy-Avion railway embankment. Back home, the newspapers reported: "Expects to be back in trenches soon.... We trust all will be well with this gallant soldier who went over as Captain, but reverted in rank in order to get in the fighting line...a splendid type of young Canadian officer...in some of the heaviest fighting."[58] From Etaples, Churchill was detached to the Nova Scotia Regimental Depot at Bramshott and admitted to the 2nd Western General Hospital in Manchester. Six weeks later, he was transferred to the Canadian Convalescent Hospital at Broadstairs, Kent and then to the Officers' Convalescent Hospital, Eaton Hall, in Chester.

Somewhere within this three-month period, if repetition makes an anecdote true, the captain who had reverted to lieutenant received word via hospital authorities that after he had recuperated and before he was returned to Nova Scotia on sick leave, the English Winston Churchill wanted to meet his Canadian namesake. The Canadian's apocryphal reply was supposed to have been, "If he wants to see me, he can arrange to come here"--and the meeting never did take place. A very good case can be made for the authenticity of this non-event. It is well documented that while in the trenches in France, "Churchill personally looked out for each wounded man, particularly in raids, which he always led himself"; and, as already has been noted, "Churchill had an especially warm spot in his heart for the Canadians."[59] It may have been therefore, merely as Colonel Churchill inquiring of Captain Churchill, that this exchange took place; or, it may have been simply a desire to meet one who, curiously, carried his own name, his father's and his six-year-old son's--one who was engaged in the same cause, and of whom he was already aware.

Randolph's sick leave in Nova Scotia was for two months, but a week prior to his slated return he was granted an extension. Had he not requested this, his daughter recalls, he was scheduled to join his ship the day of the Halifax Explosion, on 6 December 1917. The troopship *Olympic*, along with several others, was berthed on that day at Pier 2, the docking facility farthest from Pier 6, which received the full impact of the blast: "Although tossed around relentlessly, first by the explosion and then by the tidal wave, she was

58 Pullen Scrapbook, unidentified and undated newspaper clipping.

59 Kraus, *Churchill*, pp. 218, 219.

not damaged."[60]

As it was, Randolph was recalled to Halifax for relief duty. He and Elsie departed by car from Hantsport, but were able to drive no further than Bedford, on the outskirts of the city. Somehow from there, they made their way into the broken community; in Randolph's opinion, the Richmond area "looked like a battlefield in France." He, as a former member of the Garrison Artillery and in company with "every officer and man of every Military Unit and Department," was immediately "rushed into the work of removing the dead and wounded, fighting fires, preparing shelters."[61]

There is no record of how or when he returned to England, merely the notation "SOS Nova Scotia Regimental Depot, Bramshott to 17th Reserve Battalion, 5th January, 1918,"[62] and one month later Randolph was back in the field. On 18 April, 'D' Company of the Royal Canadian Regiment attacked an enemy post of ten men, and in turn were themselves attacked by a double strength. For this, Captain C. G. B. Thompson, the leader of 'D' Company, received the Military Cross.

> For thirteen days after the encounters on the morning of April 18, the RCR remained in the front line, enduring heavy fire at intervals, exposure to cloud gas, and all the rigours of an active area. Heavy casualties were avoided, but all ranks were thankful when, on the night of May 1, the unit completed its long 56-day tour of labour and fighting in the forward area...and withdrew to billets in Estrée Cauchie. Next day, the Battalion proceeded to Cambligneul.[63]

At Cambligneul, at Lières and at Bourecq the battalion was trained in open warfare. It may have been during this period that Randolph Churchill took note of the methods of French agriculture; for later, back in the Annapolis Valley, he would advise Nova Scotian farmers who had a few fruit trees and a few animals to specialize in market gardens like the one-hectare plots he had seen in France--and instead of feeding their skimmed milk to the pigs, he told them to keep it cold and clean and give it to the children.

---

60 Janet F. Kitz, *Shattered City: The Halifax Explosion and the Road to Recovery* (Halifax, 1989), p. 28.

61 Hunt, *Nova Scotia*, p. 7.

62 Casualty Form, Active Service. The 17th Reserve Battalion had absorbed the 26th Reserve Battalion in Oct. 1917.

63 R. C. Fetherstonhaugh, *The Royal Canadian Regiment 1883–1933* (Montreal, 1936), pp. 319, 320.

In the course of practising an attack, also during this period, Churchill accidentally sustained phosphorus burns when a bomb exploded, severely burning his left hand, right forearm and neck. He was reported injured at Esseouibo and invalided, first to the 3rd Southern General Hospital at Oxford; then to the Canadian Convalescent Officers' Hospital, Matlock Bath; and subsequently to the 12th Canadian General Hospital at Bramshott. During the four months when he was hospitalized and recuperating in England, Randolph was to receive a remarkable letter from his cousin Clair, written as the latter was leading his company against the retreating Germans, several days prior to his death:

> At the Front, Aug. 11, 1918.
> My battalion went 'Over the Top' in the first of the assaulting waves on the morning of the 8th. I had five officers in my company with me, and lost three of them, also a considerable number of men. Today old Heine is still on the run and making for the Somme River. We were on the north side of the long, straight road that runs from Amiens to Roye, and the French were on the other....[64]

Another of Clair's observations, published posthumously, presents a delightful image of the Canadian soldier on the march: "so relentless, as to be monotonous, flows the never ending stream of infantry. Throats bared, rifles slung and faces bronzed and hardened to a fitness.... It is the Canadian Corps on the march--the most famous in all the Allied Armies."[65]

Randolph was not to be denied Valenciennes and the pursuit to Mons. He was back for the final twenty-one of the last one hundred days. He marched out from Cataine "in battle order on the morning of October 22," when the Royal Canadian Regiment "took over the front as ordered...[with] 'D' Coy. on the left";[66] the push forward was made through the Forêt de Raismes. He was a part of the route march with the company commanders mounted, the band and drums playing, and the inhabitants cheering in every village and hamlet along the way: Quiévrechain to Quiévrain on the Franco-Belgian border; from Boussu to the Condé Canal; and northeast from Jemappes to Mons.

64 Pullen Scrapbook.

65 *Ibid.*, unidentified and undated newspaper clipping.

66 Fetherstonhaugh, *RCR*, p. 368.

A lieutenant of the Royal Canadian Regiment was the first to sign the Golden Book of Mons in the early hours of 11 November 1918. Later, as crowds filled the city square--where bodies of German soldiers still lay on the ground--the ringing of church bells proclaimed the end of hostilities on the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month: "'*Vive la* [*sic*] *Anglais*'. We reached the crowd when emotion was at its peak. The embraces and hugs were not for us as persons, they were an expression of thanks for what the Allies had done."[67] Randolph looked up in the direction of someone shouting his name over the din; there, on the back of a troop truck and sitting in a rocking-chair which he was propelling madly to its limits, was Fraser Armstrong, Elsie's brother.

At the moment 'The Great War' ended, Winston Spencer Churchill at his war office in the requisitioned Metropole Hotel was looking out his window and down upon Northumberland Avenue.[68] From the first lone figure of a young female clerk who darted into the street, he observed a gathering swell of people until finally all the streets leading into Trafalgar Square, and indeed the square itself, were a mass of euphoric humanity.

For a month after the Armistice, the Canadian Churchill remained with the Royal Canadian Regiment in billets at Mons. Later, they marched to Nivelles, and on New Year's Day 1919 to Renaux. At Estaimbourg, the regiment remained for the rest of the month of January. At Baisieux, the wagons were handed over, the horses disposed of and the men entrained in German box cars for the railway journey to Le Havre. For the Channel crossing, the regiment embarked on the S.S. *Mona's Queen*; just after midnight, as she was pulling away, buglers sounded the *Last Post*. After three weeks at Bramshott, Randolph's unit proceeded by train to Liverpool and on 1 March 1919, boarded the S.S. *Adriatic*. In Halifax the Royal Canadian Regiment, which the city regarded as peculiarly its own, was to receive every honour that could be tendered:

> When the *Adriatic* docked, the men of The Royal Canadian Regiment...wearing steel helmets, at the reception committee's request, formed up in the shed...and with 'D' Coy. leading...marched out Oxford Street, down Spring Garden Road,

67 Dr. R. Fraser Armstrong, M.C.; author's personal archive.

68 Martin Gilbert on walking tour of "Churchill's London" for members of International Churchill Society, June 1992.

and back to the hutments on the Common.... A number of fine arches had been erected and the cheering was continuous.[69]

Those were the Canadian Churchill's best years. Nothing in his remaining twenty-two would measure up. His was a hard transition from military to civilian life, which even a return to his active militia unit, the 1st Regiment Canadian Garrison Artillery did little to alleviate. A few years before his death, Randolph Churchill moved temporarily to Grindstone, one of the Magdalen Islands; perhaps it reminded him of France. Whatever, when he returned to Hantsport, townspeople recall that only once did he regain his old vigour and youthful enthusiasm and that was when war was declared in 1939: "Although he was well over fifty, 'Ran' was one of the first from Hantsport who tried to join up. He was living in a house on William Street, and he pasted signs all over the glass in his sun porch: 'Come On Boys, LET'S GO.'"[70]

When he could not go, he died--on 13 April 1941, still a handsome man, with the face and heart of an idealist. One obituary read: "He served overseas in the last Great War with the 112th Battalion, later transferring to the R.C.R., returning to Canada at the end of the war as captain in charge. Previous to joining the R.C.R. he was in the Royal Canadian Artillery [*sic*] at Fort Ogilvie."[71] They played the *Last Post*.

When British Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill visited Ottawa on 30 December 1941 in order to share in deliberations of the War Committee of the Canadian Cabinet and to address the Canadian Houses of Parliament--the time when he made his famous "Some chicken! Some neck!" speech, in which he vowed "total and final extirpation of the Hitler tyranny, the Japanese frenzy and the Mussolini flop"[72]--he received a communication from Elsie Churchill, regarding Randolph's death. In the midst of fighting an even more horrific war than the first, between visits to Mackenzie King and

69 Fetherstonhaugh, *RCR*, p. 382.

70 Told to the author by William C. Dunlop.

71 Undated and unidentified newspaper clipping, in personal archive of Elsie Churchill Tolson.

72 *Churchill in Ottawa* [an address to the Parliament of Canada, 30 Dec. 1941], issued by Ministry of National War Services, Ottawa.

Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill found time to direct the Office of the High Commission for the United Kingdom to send this reply:

Earnscliffe, Ottawa
3rd January, 1942

Mrs. Randolph W. Churchill

Dear Madam,

After a brief stay the Prime Minister, as you will have seen, has returned to the United States. But before he left he asked me to let you know that he had your message and wished me to express to you his condolences and his kind thanks for it.

Yours very truly,
Clostley-White[73]

The American Winston died six years after Randolph, in 1947, one year after the former British Prime Minister had delivered his 'Iron Curtain' speech at Fulton, Missouri. The British Winston, in a self-fulfilling prophecy made while in the trenches, observed that "If my destiny has not already been accomplished I shall be guarded surely."[74] He lived on to deliver the promised extirpation, and beyond.

73 Elsie Churchill Tolson, personal archive.

74 Soames, *Clementine Churchill*, p. 133.

From a Trade to a Profession: The Beginnings of Dentistry in Atlantic Canada as Documented by Newspaper Advertisements

Oskar Sykora

An overview of early dentistry in Atlantic Canada and of its progression from a trade to a profession can be gained by perusing local newspapers from the latter eighteenth century through the first half of the nineteenth. During this time period, advertisements in the press became a common and accepted procedure for the dentist to reach his prospective clientele. For reasons which will be developed below, these early practitioners were usually itinerant, rarely establishing themselves permanently within a community; and they were often obliged to combine dentistry with other health-related services, in order to eke out a living. Besides providing general information about the dentist himself, an advertisement would frequently praise his skill and ability--but without much reservation or modesty. Written testimonials from previous patients who were satisfied with a given treatment were frequently inserted as part of the announcement. Although he would decry the methods of 'charlatans'--an epithet used to characterize most of the competition--the dentist advertising his own abilities would scarcely be humble. On the contrary, secret remedies, painless cures, guaranteed results, lowest possible prices, and the newest and best techniques would be commonly promised, but seldom delivered. The road from a trade to a profession was not to be a smooth one.

The Status of Dentistry in Atlantic Canada before 1800

Dentistry at this stage was still more an art than a science. Missing teeth were replaced with artificial appliances which consisted of swaged gold or silver plates or carved ivory, to which carved ivory teeth or human teeth were riveted. These plates were held in place either by gravity, in the case of lower prostheses, or by means of coils or springs for the maxillary ones. Restorations were mostly done with lead or tin and were called 'stoppings' or 'plugs,' rather than fillings. The term 'restoration' did not come into common use in dentistry until later. Only a few patients could afford to repair their teeth with soft gold leaf. Amalgam as a filling material had first appeared in the western world during the early 1500s, in the southern German principalities. It was introduced to France in the 1830s and immediately

Oskar Sykora, D.D.S., Ph.D., is in private practice and teaches Prosthodontics at the Faculty of Dentistry, Dalhousie University, Halifax, NS.

The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Dr Colin D. Howell, Professor of History, Saint Mary's University, for reading the manuscript; and to Dr Allan Marble, Faculty of Medicine, Dalhousie University and the staff of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, for their help in locating sources for this article.

aroused a storm of controversy because of its mercury content, its porosity, and its tendency both to crack the teeth and to discolour them with a bluish-black tint. However, the Chinese had long been aware of the 'silver dough' as a restorative material, and used it successfully from the seventh century.[1]

These treatments and available services were, of course, far from ideal. The only assurance that an itinerant dentist could give his patients of his ability to do such work consisted of testimonials from his previous clientele. As to those he had served within another locality, such references were frequently of doubtful value because they were not easy to verify. The public, often gullible, were frequently disappointed with the promised results--but always willing to try again; indeed, they looked upon the dentist as someone who could relieve the sufferer of pain or restore the lost smile of youth. The dentist, described often as a 'pedlar of hope,' would freely raise the expectations of many, but satisfy only a few. Dental work, fixed or removable restorations, the skill to replace lost teeth, and the influence of nutrition and oral hygiene on tooth decay were either not known, or understood very imperfectly.

Dentists discovered early that the best way to inform or misinform prospective clients about their skill lay in the newspapers. It has been generally accepted for some time that the first recorded advertisement for dental services in Nova Scotia--and indeed for what is now Canada--was a notice in the *Acadian Recorder* of 3 December 1814.[2] However, twenty-eight years earlier, the *Royal Gazette* in Halifax carried an announcement by a certain Dr. Templeman, who on 27 June 1786 informed

> the Public, that it is probable he shall be in Halifax about twenty Days; part of which time he shall be able to devote to those Ladies and Gentlemen who wish to have any of the following Operations performed on their TEETH viz.
>
> Taking the Tartar from them;
> Curing the Scurvy in the Gums;
> Plumbing caries Teeth;
> Substituting Ivory Teeth;
> Substituting natural Teeth artificially, with Gold Sockets;
> Transplanting Teeth;
> Separating defective Teeth;
> Cleansing and Polishing the Teeth in the most beneficial Manner, etc.

In actuality, the oldest dental advertisement--although not directly offering a

1 W. Hoffman-Axthelm, *History of Dentistry* (Chicago, 1981), p. 156.

2 D.W. Gullett, *A History of Dentistry in Canada* (Toronto, 1971), p. 12; O. Sykora, "Dentistry in Atlantic Canada," *J. Can. Dent. Assoc.*, 51, 1985: 62–65.

dental service--is recorded in Nova Scotia only twenty years after the founding of Halifax. It appeared in the *Nova Scotia Chronicle* in 1769:

> Lately IMPORTED from LONDON, by Way of Philadelphia, and to be SOLD only, at Captain KENYON's store.
> MONSIEUR JARBOUE's most excellent ANODYNE WATER for the TEETH.
> WHICH cures...Humours in the gums and cleans the teeth, if ever so black,...'tis of no poisonous Quality which is often prepared by Quacks....[3]

Other newspaper notices soon followed. Some, such as John Beath's in 1791, not only advertised "Natural and Artificial Teeth fixed on gold plates, in the Neatest Manner," but also enticed the Haligonian poor by promising them "Cash given for Natural Teeth."[4] The practice of selling one's teeth for money was an acceptable procedure which was not confined to Nova Scotia. Lady Hamilton was reduced by poverty almost to the point of selling hers; fortunately for her dental health, history and Hollywood movies, she chose Lord Nelson as a safer haven for her financial security. Even a notable dentist of the new American republic, Josiah Flagg, the inventor of the first dental chair, offered among his full range of dental services, "cash given for Handsome and Healthy Live Teeth."[5] These specimens were then used either for transplantation or for use in various prostheses. This practice was common throughout Europe as well. Some enterprising people went so far as to purchase natural teeth "wholesale." Thus, for example, England after the Napoleonic wars was flooded with so-called "Waterloo Teeth," collected no doubt from the dead upon that battlefield and then shipped to London.

The first recorded advertisement in Nova Scotia for the sale of dental instruments dates from 1814. It was placed by a Halifax surgeon, Samuel Head, who under the banner of "Fresh Drugs and Medicines" announced that he had "just received from London a shipment of...patent medicines, fresh drugs, spices, surgical instruments...[and] tooth instruments.[6]

---

3 *Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser* (Halifax), 21 Mar. 1769.

4 *Royal Gazette*, 15 Nov. 1791.

5 M.E. Ring, *Dentistry: An Illustrated History* (St. Louis, Missouri, 1985), p. 194.

6 *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 25 June 1814.

The Itinerant Dentists

The life of an early itinerant dentist in Atlantic Canada was not easy. Transportation by water was preferable because roads were few and those that existed could scarcely be called such. Two days were usually needed for travel between Fredericton and Saint John. Five days was the average journey between Saint John and Halifax. The usual distance covered in a day by stagecoach was between fifty and one hundred kilometres, depending on the time of year and the corresponding conditions of the road.[7] The itinerant dentist had to schedule his visits to communities accordingly; otherwise he had to rely upon his own horse and carriage. Travel by overland means was also an ordeal for itinerant dentists because of their heavy chests of instruments. These wooden cabinets, elaborately crafted from fine material and frequently lined with velvet, were made to impress the potential clientele. The instruments, their handles usually constructed of bone, ivory or wood, were invariably crafted by the dentist himself. If nothing else, they inspired a certain amount of confidence in his technical abilities.

There were always strong commercial and family ties between 'the Boston States' and Nova Scotia, 'the fourteenth colony.' Thus, it is perhaps not surprising that one of the most outstanding early American dentists visited this province in 1804. However, it appears from Simeon Perkins's diary that Josiah Flagg's journey from Boston to Liverpool was more of a social nature than in the pursuit of clientele. Perkins wrote on 6 November that "I dine at Mr. Newton['s] in Company with the Surgeon Dentist, and Several other Gentlemen. The Doctor is very conversable, and has much to Say about himself...."[8] Perkins must have been an astute observer of human nature to be able to judge Josiah Flagg so accurately upon their all-too-brief encounter. Flagg, the first native-born full-time dentist of the new American republic, "was a fine operator but he was considered rather spectacular in his advertising methods even in the days when most dentists quite blatantly proclaimed their talents."[9] The good doctor evidently remained briefly in Liverpool, since Perkins had previously mentioned him in another entry from

7 R.K. Doyle, "The Wild East: The Stagecoach in the Maritimes," *Atlantic Advocate*, 77(8), 1987: 10–13.

8 *The Diary of Simeon Perkins 1804–1812*, V, ed. C. Bruce Fergusson (Toronto, 1978), p. 74.

9 M.D.K. Bremner, *The Story of Dentistry* (New York, 1939), p. 102.

25 October, noting that "Doc. Flagg, the Dentist" was invited with some other gentlemen to dine at Captain Snow Parker's.[10]

It was to be expected that Halifax, as the North Atlantic station for the Royal Navy, would readily attract itinerant dentists from England:

> Dr. T. Parsons
> Surgeon Dentist from London
>
> Respectfully informs the Ladies and Gentlemen of Halifax and its vicinity that he will practice...for a short time at his Room at Mr. J. Wells', No. 41, Barrington street, or at their own houses--where he will perform every necessary operation on the Teeth and Gums. He removes the Tartar, cleans, separates and polishes the Teeth without injuring the enamel; he extracts broken and decayed Teeth, roots--without the least injury to the Gums; plugs and mends Teeth with gold or foil and renders them as lasting and useful as found. Teeth without pain in the operation; inserts artificial Teeth, from a single one to a whole set in the neatest and most durable manner; he regulates children's Teeth and will give the best advice upon the Teeth in all cases.
>
> N.B. A few boxes and bottles of the justly celebrated African Tooth Powder, a sovereign remedy for diseases of the Teeth and gums.[11]

Others, like Robert Turner, came to Nova Scotia from Scotland in the early 1820s;[12] or from France, like Dr. Gouraud, who in 1829 offered "his services in the line of his profession, to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Halifax, and will be happy to wait upon them at their residence, if not previously engaged, free of extra expense."[13] Dr. Gouraud was an expert in all fields of dentistry, as well as in dentifrices, anodyne drops and other elixirs, judging from his advertisements. He also became known as "The Ladies' Dentist," although this specialty has never been recognized as a separate branch of the profession. Nevertheless, his logo, inserted at the top of his announcements, attested to his self-proclaimed special ability. His credentials were impeccable,

> acquired from a long experience and a skillful practice in different capitals of Europe as well as in different cities of the United States to bring back some

10 *Perkins*, pp. 71–72.

11 *Acadian Recorder*, 24 Aug. 1816.

12 *Ibid.*, 28 June 1823.

13 *Ibid.*, 23 May 1829.

> defects of nature in the growth of the second Teeth, in case they should have taken a wrong direction, in coming in contact with the first dentition. Defects, sometimes which are of such a magnitude, that I have known in my long practice in both hemispheres, some young ladies of respectable families, and of an elegant feature, who could not face their smiling countenances in a looking-glass, without blushing at the irregularities of their Teeth;.... I have often had some of those unfortunate young ladies come to me and after extracting and compressing half a dozen or more teeth...and enduring the most painful operations, to find in the new appearance of their elegant mouths, that all their former vexation...was owing to their natural timidity, or the neglect of their parents. By a mistaken indulgence or tenderness, which had not been felt until the bloom of their youth and a secret appeal from mother nature...to secure a partner for life, had pointed their errors; which could not be remedied only but by the help of art;...[14]

Dr. Gouraud was also not above levelling blame on "the contemptible ignorance of a country Dentist, whose knowledge did not extend farther than to extract a tooth, mutilating the jaw, tearing the alveol, bringing with it a part of the maxillary, [and] striking terror in the heart of a patient...." Trying to be modest, he assured Haligonians that his "various operations in the art of Odontalgia, or Bucal Simiologie, [which] the limits of this advertisement cannot embrace, [will] please the ladies, so as to secure a share of their patronage."[15] His temporary premises were located on Hollis Street, south of Government House.

From Montreal came a certain Professor Ashley, who called himself the "King of the Dentists." In his newspaper advertisements he assured his clientele that with his "Electro Instrument unknown to anyone," the public would feel no pain whatsoever and that besides curing all dental ills, he could be consulted on "all kinds of disease such as Rheumatism, Liver Complaint, Bronchial Affections, Catarrh, Deafness, Sore Eyes, Kidney Complaints, Colic, Cramps, Fits, Cuts, Sores, Bruises and all kinds of weaknesses, also cures stiffness of the joints, muscles and sprains; and cancers can be removed by drawing."[16] Some physicians, like James F. Avery, M.D., also placed newspaper advertisements for "Dental Surgery...in addition to his other practice." Dr. Avery must have been an enterprising person, because in

14 *Ibid.*

15 *Ibid.*

16 *Ibid.*

addition to his medical and dental activities, he still had sufficient time and energy to operate a drugstore where he sold "Medicines, Drugs, Surgeon's instruments, Hypothecareis [*sic*] floss, Dye Stuffs, Spices, Perfumery, &c...Chlorine of Lime and other requisites for the prevention and cure of Cholera...."[17]

Another French dentist, Louis de Chevry, travelled all over the Maritimes and in addition to offering dental services, advertised his dental elixir and superior tooth powder, an infallible remedy for toothache.[18] He was known to enter Halifax in a carriage drawn by four beautiful white horses, in order to attract the attention of his potential clientele. The failure in 1870 of Nova Scotia's first attempt to regulate dentistry can be partly attributed to his activities, since he violently opposed the passage of a law to incorporate the dental profession and preached to the public against it wherever and whenever he could. His activities were even noticed by Dr. W.G. Beers, whom some consider to be the father of dentistry in the Province of Quebec:

> Poor Nova Scotia
>
> We are deeply moved by recent news from Halifax, and now that the "Blue Noses" are part and parcel of ourselves, our interest in them has increased. But, alas! What has poor Nova Scotia done that she should continue to be afflicted with that little quintessence of quackery and rascality styled De Chevry, who, it appears by the *Acadian Recorder*, recently appeared in Halifax in a sleigh drawn by four white horses, and 'lectured' a gaping crowd against the passage of a law in Nova Scotia incorporating the dental profession. Surely the most untutored legislator in the Nova Scotian Assembly will need no further argument in favor of a Dental Bill than De Chevry's last exploit; and we have sadly over-estimated the intelligence of our "Blue Nose" legislators, if they do not comply with the appeal of Dr. Cogswell and other respectable practitioners, and pass a law which will rid their province of all such quacks, as effectually as St. Patrick cleared the snakes out of Ireland. We hardly think the incursions of

17 *Acadian Recorder*, 29 Jan. and 5 Mar. 1829; 10 Nov. 1832.

18 *Examiner* (Charlottetown), 16 Jan. 1865.

> the Yankee fishermen half as detrimental in the long run to the Nova Scotians, as the presence of that miserable little whelp, De Chevry, who has destroyed enough teeth in this city alone to build him a monument. We pity poor Nova Scotia and will gladly sing out 'Hurra!' when a Dental Bill is passed.[19]

The first newspaper dental advertisement in New Brunswick dates from 1823, while the first from Prince Edward Island did not appear until 1850.[20] It was placed by John Plimpton, who even for an itinerant dentist was quite a traveller. He had already visited Toronto in the 1830s, and now in addition to Charlottetown he travelled to the other Maritime provinces, plus Newfoundland.

At the American Dental Convention in 1861, held in New Haven, Connecticut, a symposium on "The Surgical preparation of the mouth for artificial dentures" raised for the first time the issue of whether all the roots of broken teeth should invariably be removed prior to construction of the prostheses. The consensus was that the retention of some roots would be beneficial for both the stability and the retention of the denture, and that such a treatment would be superior to a total loss of teeth. An American itinerant dentist, C.L. Strickland, arrived in Charlottetown in 1861 to become the island's first resident dentist; he became a well-respected member of the profession in the Maritimes, known for his up-to-date treatment methods, which included the first known instance in Atlantic Canada of this new overdenture treatment-- a root-supported complete denture: "teeth inserted on gold, silver, platina, vulcanite (without extracting the roots is desired)."[21]

> Decayed Teeth filled and restored to their natural shape and usefulness with Gold and Platina. Teeth inserted on Gold, Silver and Vulcanite; the vulcanite,

---

19 G.W. Beers, "Poor Nova Scotia," *Can. J. Dental Science*, 3(3), 1871: 156. However, the antics of these 'imported' itinerant dentists were soon eclipsed by those of a native Maritimer, Edgar Randolph Parker, who was to become the greatest showman-dentist in North America, under the legally adopted name of "Painless Parker": Gullett, *History of Dentistry*, p. 119.

In Mar. 1870, a petition "of physicians and surgeon dentists" was presented to the NS Legislature, "praying for the passage of an act to prevent incompetent persons from practicing dentistry in this province." Although passed and sent to council, the proposed legislation appears to have been refused and no regulatory act appears until 1891, *An Act to incorporate the Dental Association of the Province of Nova Scotia*: see *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1870, pp. 34, 39, 40, 41 and 46; and *Statutes of Nova Scotia*, 1891, cap. 147.

20 *Examiner*, 20 July 1850.

21 *Ibid.*, 29 Nov. 1864.

> although a new thing here, has been used long enough elsewhere to prove it to be one of the most valuable improvements ever made in Mechanical Dentistry. Many persons who cannot wear gold and silver in the mouth can wear vulcanite with ease and comfort. The acids of the mouth have no galvanic action on it whatever. It is free from all taste or smell. It being one continuous piece, there is no possible chance for lodgement of the food or secretions of mouth. It is kept clean with much less trouble than Gold or Silver. It possesses more strength than a base of Gold or Silver and is at the same time much lighter....[22]

Strickland's practice was later sold to Dr. George Hyde, of Truro, Nova Scotia:

> I take this method of informing the public that I have decided to leave Charlottetown and give up my practice. Dr. Geo. Hyde of Truro, N.S, a graduate of the first dental college of the United States (at Philadelphia) will be my successor. I cheerfully recommend him to my patrons. He has had many years' experience. I have carefully examined his work, and believe him to be one of the very best Dentists in Canada.
>
> C. L. Strickland

> Referring to the above, I beg to notify the patrons of Dr. Strickland and the general public, that I have taken the office recently occupied by him opposite the Roman Catholic Cathedral, Great George Street, where I may be consulted during the usual office hours. A share of public patronage is respectfully solicited.
>
> George Hyde, D.D.S.[23]

Another series of early dental advertisements in Nova Scotia was placed by L.E. Van Buskirk. The first appeared in 1829, introducing "Mr. Van Buskirk, dentist from New York," who "begs to inform his friends and the public that his residence in Halifax for a few weeks, is at the House of Mr. Loveland, corner of Hollis and Sackville streets...."[24] The second entry dates from 1830: "Mr. Van Buskirk having recently returned from Europe, has taken lodgings opposite the West part of the Province Building, where he will for a short time practice Dental Surgery upon the most approved principles...."[25] The first

22 *Ibid.*, 18 July 1864.

23 *Ibid.*, 10 Oct. 1880.

24 *Novascotian* (Halifax), 22 and 29 Jan. 1829.

25 *Ibid.*, 29 Dec. 1830 and 13 Jan. 1831.

advertisements to provide his given names of 'Lawrence Edward' date from 1834 and 1838. From the first, it appears that Van Buskirk, like Dr. Avery, also owned a drugstore and although primarily a physician, would nevertheless practice dentistry as well:

> Anti-Cholera plasters, Approved of by the Faculty To be had at the Drug store of L.E. Van Buskirk, opposite the Grand Parade.[26]

> Dental Surgery
>
> The subscriber having taken Rooms for a few weeks at Mr. William Crawford's adjoining the Post Office, is now prepared to perform operations in Dental Surgery, in the most skillful manner....
>
> L.E. Van Buskirk, M.D.
> Surgeon Dentist[27]

Other parts of Nova Scotia were also visited by itinerant dentists, albeit on a more infrequent schedule than for Halifax. Mr. E. Kirkwood, "Surgeon and Accoucheur," visited Pictou in 1832.[28] So did a Mr. Adams in 1848[29] and Dr. Brown in 1835:

> Professional Notice
>
> Dr. Brown of the city of New York, Surgeon-Dentist, may be consulted at Harper's Hotel, on and after the 19th. Inst. in relation to all disorders, irregularities and defects of the Teeth, for the term of one week.
>
> Teeth that have become hollow by dental gangrene will be effectively saved by metallic stoppings; those covered with tartar, and black, from neglect, will be restored to their proper healthfulness and colour; irregularities of the Teeth will be regulated, and lost Teeth restored either singly or in sets--in the most approved manner, and no charge made unless perfect satisfaction be given in relation to the quality of the work.
>
> As great impositions have been practised on the public in the treatment of the teeth, Dr. Brown brings letters of introduction to several gentlemen in Pictou, and also other credentials calculated to indicate his claim to general confidence, and he assures the public that his charges shall be sufficiently

26 *Acadian Recorder*, 6 Sept. 1834.

27 *Ibid.*, 1 Feb. 1838.

28 *Colonial Patriot* (Pictou), 17 Nov. 1832.

29 *The Eastern Chronicle* (New Glasgow), 18 May 1848.

moderate to suit the reasonable wishes of his professional friends.[30]

It is of particular interest to note the beginnings of preventive dentistry, oral hygiene and public education in these professional notices. The following advertisement from 1835 appears to be the first announcement dealing with public education concerning dental health in Nova Scotia:

> Mr. Sylvester, Surgeon Dentist, being on a visit to Pictou for a few days only, respectfully tenders his services in the various branches of his profession, to those persons who may require them.
>
> Mr. S. will deliver a Lecture upon the Teeth, this Evening, at 8 o'clock, at the Mason Hall, during which, a variety of Drawings explanatory of the subject will be exhibited.[31]

Dentistry as a Sideline Occupation

That dentistry was not a lucrative profession during these early years can be deduced from various advertisements inserted in Halifax newspapers from 1836 to 1838. For example, William Neilson advertised himself in some announcements as a surgeon dentist and in others as a watch and clock maker.[32] A certain T. Hutchinson from Saint John advised prospective clients that besides "extracting, sealing, and plugging teeth, clocks, watches and jewelry is [*sic*] being repaired by him in the best manner."[33] Other dentists, as noted above, had to complement their income by operating a drugstore or practicing medicine as well as dentistry.

The direct sale of various potions and elixirs to the public must have been a profitable sideline, given the number of advertisements placed in the newspapers of the era. Testimonial letters from cured patients were, of course, an accepted part of such promotional announcements.[34] Many of these potions were for the treatment of dental disorders, whether arising from scurvy, teething or toothache. For example, Judson's Mountain Herb Pills,

30 *Pictou Bee* (Pictou), 19 Aug. 1835.

31 *Ibid.*, 24 June 1835.

32 *Novascotian*, 15 Sept. 1836; 4 Jan. 1838.

33 *Courier* (Saint John), 8 Aug. 1844.

34 See., e.g., *The Sun*, 6 Mar. 1848; *Examiner*, 20 July 1850.

advertised to cure scurvy, "have now been thoroughly tested and have maintained the highest character everywhere, they have the wonderful power of restoring to health persons suffering under all diseases arising from Impure Blood."[35] Dr. Townsend's Extract of Sarsaparilla was described as "the wonder and blessing of the age, the most extraordinary Medicine in the World," and was advertised widely throughout the Atlantic area.[36] This remedy was also used to cure scurvy, but obviously it was not as efficient as Professor Holloway's Ointment. The latter product was widely advertised as a cure against scurvy and fistulas: "the masses in this country and throughout the world repose the utmost confidence in its curative properties." Besides its value as a dental remedy, this ointment was also used "in cases of corns and bunions, bad breasts and sore nipples, burns, gout, lumbago, rheumatism, etc."[37]

Problems associated with teething have been around as long as the history of mankind, but Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup promised to make this unpleasant experience a calming one; it was also supposed to regulate the bowels, prevent colic and "overcome convulsions, which, if not speedily remedied, end in death." Finally, it was claimed to be "the best and surest remedy in the world in all cases of Dysentery and Diarrhea in Children."[38] On the same page in *The Examiner* was another dental remedy, Bunter's Nervine, advertised as an instant cure for toothache: "Immediately on its application gives permanent relief by the painless destruction of the nerve in decayed teeth, forms a complete stopping, and renders extractions seldom necessary...." Yet another toothache remedy was Dr. Kline's Drops: "It is with confidence that we can recommend it as an infallible cure in all cases, without any injury to the teeth or gums. Price 25 cts."[39] Finally, although today's smoker's toothpaste and fluoridated antitartar-forming toothpastes were then unknown, it appears that Maritimers had in "Cherry Tooth Paste [a]

35 *Examiner*, 9 May 1864.

36 *Public Ledger* (St. John's), 6 Apr. 1849; *Examiner*, 26 Jan. 1857.

37 *Examiner*, 21 Sept. 1857.

38 *Ibid.*, 15 Oct. 1866.

39 *Ibid.*, 26 Jan. 1857.

perfect freedom from premature decay, and Teeth of a pearl-like whiteness."[40]

Even in the later years of the nineteenth century, many dentists in the Maritimes had to supplement their income by offering services other than dentistry. As late as 1878, an advertisement from Prince Edward Island announced that Dr. Clement

> Begs to inform the citizens of Charlottetown and vicinity that he has adopted the following scale of charges to suit the times and to put dentistry within the reach of all:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | For a full upper or lower set of teeth: | $10.00 |
> | For partial sets, each tooth: | 1.00 |
> | For Amalgam and all composition fillings: | .50 |
>
> All work guaranteed first class....[41]

Comparatively few dentists were able to make a living from such fee schedules, nor were they able to practise dentistry on a full-time basis. For example, a dentist was considered wealthy in 1867 if his annual professional income exceeded $1,000. But, as a paradox, dentistry was extremely expensive for the majority of the population, and only a very few fortunate people could afford its services beyond the essential emergencies.

The Era of Rapid Change

With the advance of the Industrial Age in the second half of the nineteenth century came scientific discoveries that accelerated change in all of the health sciences. Dentistry was no exception. The era of the itinerant dentist in the Maritimes was slowly coming to an end. For instance, in New Brunswick in 1858, provincial directories listing each resident of a municipality, with his/her occupation, showed that Fredericton had two resident dentists (Mr. Archer and Hiram Dow); that Woodstock had one (W.A. Balloch); and that the largest city in the Maritimes, Saint John (pop. 27,300), could support three (Cyrus Fiske, T.A.D. Forester and J.C. Hatheway).[42]

40 *Ibid.*, 10 Nov. 1862.

41 *Ibid.*, 6 July 1878.

42 By way of comparison, the *Canada Directory* showed that in 1858, Toronto [pop. 50,000] had five resident dentists; Ottawa [pop. 10,000] had only one; Quebec City [pop. 51,000] had three; and Montreal [pop. 75,000] had five.

One of those three, Dr. Cyrus Fiske, is credited with having been the anaesthetist at the first use in British North America of ether anaesthesia for general surgery, on 18 January 1847.[43] Within a week, a notice appeared in the Saint John *Phoenix Advertiser*, announcing that Fiske had procured "letheon" (as ether was then called) and would "make use of it in all operations upon the mouth where it will apply." Within a few months, the use of ether anaesthesia in dentistry became widely advertised and used throughout the Atlantic region. The first to administer it in Nova Scotia was Dr. L. Van Buskirk in Halifax. In Newfoundland, Mr. William L. McKay purchased "Ether Apparatus" from Dr. Adams, an itinerant dentist, known in the St. John's newspaper advertisements as another practitioner who made house calls to "Ladies at their residences."[44]

Halifax was fast becoming a progressive, health-oriented community. In 1855 a group of concerned citizens formed and paid an annual membership fee of twenty shillings to support the activities of the Halifax Visiting Dispensary Society. This organization had fourteen physicians, a dentist and an apothecary on its consulting staff. According to the patient's ability to pay, a small fee was charged for services rendered; otherwise, service was provided free. This is the earliest recorded free dental service offered in Canada; it was, however, only a small segment of the general health-reform movement in the Maritimes at that time.[45] The second half of the nineteenth century saw the involvement of the entire medical profession "in movements for progressive reform, the development of medical specialization and the standardization of technique, and the development of contemporary state medicine."[46] The era of rapid change in society had begun and the delivery of dental services became a part of this change.

The 1858 *Directory for Nova Scotia* listed six dentists, all located in Halifax (pop. 25,126): Lawrence E. Van Buskirk; M.F. Agnew; S. Foss; N.A.

43 J.A. MacDougall, "The earliest ether anaesthetic in British North America: a first for Saint John, New Brunswick," *Can. J. Anaesthesia*, 34: 496–504.

44 *Public Ledger*, 16 Nov. and 26 Nov. 1847.

45 C.D. Howell and M. Smith, "Orthodox Medicine and the Health Reform Movement in the Maritimes, 1850–1885," *Acadiensis*, 18, 1989: 55–72.

46 C.D. Howell, "Medical Professionalization and the Social Transformation of the Maritimes, 1850–1950," *J. Can. Studies*, 27, 1992: 5–20.

Glover; a Mr. MacAllister; and a Mr. Paine. The latter two made a pioneering effort in the history of Canadian dental journalism. Although it may be considered by some as more in the nature of promotion for their dental services than as an expression of scientific writing, *The Journal of the Times*, published quarterly by MacAllister and Paine, must be credited for its efforts to raise dentistry in the Maritimes to a professional level, while at the same time educating the public to the value of such services. In its first issue, published in September 1858, the lead story concerned "Preservation of the Teeth." The information given was factual, based on observation and known scientific facts of the time. It stressed prevention, a fundamental concept of today's dentistry, but an approach quite different from that espoused by most dentists of the time. The article stated, for example, that "acids of all kinds are injurious to the enamel of the teeth, as they readily unite with and destroy it. Food lodged between the teeth and in their depressions is another fruitful cause of decay...."[47]

The path from a trade to a profession, from an itinerant, self-made dentist-cum-physician to a resident and professionally trained practitioner was slow and at times convoluted. Changes came slowly, were resisted by many, and were welcomed by few. Dentistry throughout the Atlantic area, just as elsewhere in North America, was passing through a transition period. People who claimed to practise it had to adjust to a new environment and new challenges. The idea of a trade was well understood in colonial days; the ethics of a profession still had to be learned. In 1898, there were forty dentists practising in Nova Scotia. Some of them were graduates of the newly established dental schools in the United States; but ten years later there were in the Maritimes no graduates of either the dental school in Toronto or of that in Montreal.[48] The legislation for the creation of organized dentistry in the Maritimes, passed over one hundred years ago, did not, as many dentists had expected, become the real basis for the newly emerging dental profession in the region. As elsewhere, it would be education and the formation of a regional school of higher learning that became the real basis for the dental profession.

47 *Journal of the Times*, 1 (1), Sept. 1858: 1.

48 *The Canadian Dental Dictionary* (Toronto, 1909).

The Family Origins of Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres: A Riddle Finally Solved

Jean-Marc Debard

Among the Montbéliard emigrants who came to Nova Scotia between 1750 and 1753, as outlined by the Canadian historian Winthrop P. Bell in his classic work,[1] one's eye is caught by the author's repeated references to a slightly later *émigré* from the same principality--namely, Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres. Following on the studies devoted to the Montbéliard emigrants, promoted by both the *Nova Scotia Historical Review* and the Société d'Emulation de Montbéliard,[2] the time has come to clarify the "obscure and controversial" origins of DesBarres, a notable man in North America from his arrival in 1756 until his death in 1824.

The Montbéliard History of the Vallet des Barres Family

Among the holdings of the Municipal Archives of Montbéliard is a list compiled in 1793 of emigrants who had left the principality by that date. Included is the declaration of the wife of one Colonel Binninger, namely Catherine-Elisabeth *née* Vallet des Barres: "Citizeness Binninger has attested that she had a brother Joseph-Frédéric Valet, absent for thirty-nine years, and that she had no word of him for twenty-one years; and another brother Charles Valet, away thirty-one years without news of him whatever."[3] Joseph-Frédéric had therefore left Montbéliard in 1754 and had not contacted his family since 1772; his brother likewise since 1762. Through this total silence, Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres--as his names are styled in North

Jean-Marc Debard is Professor of Modern History at the Université de Franche-Comté and president of La Société d'Emulation de Montbéliard. This paper was delivered at the international colloquium, "Montbéliard sans frontières," at Montbéliard, 8–9 October 1993, commemorating the bicentenary of the annexation of the principality by France, 1793. It has subsequently been published in *Actes du Colloque Montbéliard sans frontières* (1994), pp. 141–171; and is here translated from the French by Terrence M. Punch of Halifax, NS, "avec les plus vifs remerciements de l'auteur à son ami."

1 Winthrop P. Bell, *The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1961; repr. Sackville, 1991). Bell was himself the descendant of a Montbéliard emigrant, Jean Lagarce. There are ten references to J.F.W. DesBarres in the index to the book.

2 See *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, V, 2 (Dec. 1985), issue devoted to DesBarres, Montbéliard and the early Cape Breton colony (Bicentenary of the Founding of Sydney). See also, J-M. Debard, "Les Montbéliardais en Nouvelle Angleterre, une émigration protestante au milieu du XVIIIème siècle (1751–1755)," in *La Société d'Emulation de Montbéliard* [hereafter *SEM*], LXXX (1984), 251–287; T.M. Punch, "Les Montbéliardais en Nouvelle Ecosse, une colonization par des protestants étrangers au XVIIIème siècle (1750–1850)," in *SEM*, LXXXI (1985), 195–233; and M. Turlotte, "Notes biographiques sur J.F. Wallet DesBarres" and "Les militaires montbéliardais au XVIIIème siècle (1700–1793)," in *SEM*, LXXXIII (1987), 143–235.

3 Municipal Archives of Montbéliard [hereafter AMM], H.1. (1793).

America--has intentionally maintained, for nearly two-and-a-half centuries, the mystery concerning his origins. The discovery of numerous local archival sources in the Montbéliard region, however, has finally enabled us to penetrate this enigma, and to disprove the many suppositions made previously by English and Canadian historians.

On 13 November 1913, the Nova Scotia Historical Society erected a plaque to DesBarres's memory in St. George's Anglican Church at Halifax--the 'Round Church' partly destroyed by fire on 2 June 1994. The plaque reads:

Col. Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres
Cartographer, engineer, administrator,
Who served in this Garrison as
Captain of the Royal American
Regiment of Foot, 1756.
Won distinction at Louisbourg, 1758.
Aide-de-camp to Gen. Wolfe
at Quebec, 1759.
Surveyor-General of the North
Atlantic Coast,
Preceptor of Captain Cook the
Circumnavigator,
Author of the *Atlantic Neptune*,
Founder of Sydney, C.B., Lt. Governor
of Cape Breton and of
Prince Edward's Island.
Buried beneath this church
Nov. 1, 1824,
At the reputed age of 103 years.

This places DesBarres's birth in 1721. Since the turn of the century, North American historians have been foiled by the absence of further documentation.

In 1927 John Clarence Webster wrote an article indicating that he had almost unravelled the origins of this family.[4] He had obtained information

4 John Clarence Webster, "Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres and the *Atlantic Neptune*," in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Series 3, XXI, section 2 (1927), 21–41.

from Pastor John Viénot, historian of the Pays de Montbéliard and the then-president of La Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français. Without consulting sources in the municipal archives of Montbéliard, Viénot communicated information to Webster which was partly correct and partly erroneous. Viénot rightly affirmed that the family was not long established in Montbéliard. This was true only of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but not before that, as will be established presently. He made an accurate abstract of the history of the *pays* until 1793 and seemed to know about the Montbéliard emigration to Nova Scotia around 1750, but little more than that. Beyond this, many details have to be corrected. While the surname DesBarres can be traced in France from the thirteenth century, this does not justify claiming a line of ascent stretching back so far without proof--particularly since proof to the contrary now exists. There is no link, for example, between the DesBarres of the Crusades and the Vallet des Barres family of this study.

Viénot affirmed, again mistakenly, that the small town of Héricourt was the probable place of origin for this family. In this conclusion, however, he confounded two unrelated families: one truly native to Héricourt since 1650, but spelled differently--de Bart, Debart, Debard--and with no link to the other, the Vallet des Barres, of whom a branch from Montbéliard was present at Héricourt from the beginning of the eighteenth century in the person of a merchant and his sister who married a master of the forges, Gaspard Jacquin.

On the other hand, Viénot did find in the index to the Duvernoy Manuscripts that a certain Jean Vallet des Barres, styled "councillor to the Prince of Montbéliard" in 1685, had been dismissed, cashiered and expelled because of misappropriation of funds and embezzlement, and that he had taken refuge at Basle.[5] We find the precise date of this incident in the unedited journal of Pastor Samuel Méquillet: "The sieurs Malblanc and Vallet who had formerly governed the *Pays*, the former for the church, the latter for the state, were dismissed by Duke George on 9 February 1698 and retired, although each had upheld the other. On the same day inventory was made and sealed."[6] The authorities tried without success to arrest Jean Vallet des Barres, but he and his family were in Basle. They even began extradition proceedings in the neighbouring principality of Porrentruy on 8 October

5 Municipal Library at Besançon, Duvernoy Manuscripts, T 50, folio 26.

6 Samuel Méquillet, *Mémoires sur les affaires de Païs*, folio 2 (privately held). Méquillet did not know the true reason for these proceedings.

1701, but without success.[7] Jean Vallet des Barres remained a refugee at Basle until his unexpected death in September 1719.

The antiquarian John Clarence Webster and the historian G.N.D. Evans both felt that it was an obvious error to have written of Jean Vallet des Barres that he was a refugee at Basle "on account of his religious convictions" after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), because he was a Montbéliard Lutheran.[8] The baptisms, marriages and burials of the family had been solemnized consistently during the seventeenth century in the French and German Lutheran churches at Montbéliard: no one had been obliged to depart due to that. Jean Vallet des Barres's presence at Basle had been brought about by very different circumstances.

Let us go back to the origins of this family, with the assistance of the *Livre Rouge* of admissions to citizenship, and of the registers for the two Lutheran parishes--French and German--in Montbéliard.[9] Three representatives of the Vallet-dit-Berre family came, for whatever reason, to live in Montbéliard as merchants at the opening of the seventeenth century. They were natives of Savoy and Tarentaise, and indeed were of the same village, [Mont] Valézan.[10] The family was therefore of Savoyard origins. First, Jean Vallet *dit* Bare, the elder, gained citizenship at Montbéliard on 12 June 1619. He married, 30 November of the same year, Judith Maire of that place. They had seven children, one of whom, Jean, a merchant, left progeny. Then there was François Vallet *dit* Berre, brother of Jean the elder, who received citizenship at Montbéliard in 1621, died of The Plague in 1635, was the husband of Judith Leconte of the same place, and fathered seven children. Three of these--Benjamin, Daniel and Marc--left descendants. Finally came Pierre Vallet *dit* Berre, probably a brother of the foregoing Jean and François. He

7 Archives of the former Bishopric of Basle, B 168/3 (Chantal Fournier, "Criminalité et justice entre Porrentruy et Montbéliard," in *Actes du 700e anniversaire des Franchises de Montbéliard-Porrentruy*, pp. 201-211).

8 J.C. Webster, *The Life of Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres* (Shediac, NB, 1933); and G.N.D. Evans, *Uncommon Obdurate: The Several Public Careers of J.F.W. DesBarres* (Toronto, 1969). The latter remains the best biographical treatment to date.

9 AMM, *Livre Rouge*, BB9, folio 80–4, folio 82–1, folio 95–1. AMM, Parish registers GG 11, 12 and 27. Municipal Library of Montbéliard: "Chronique de Hughes Bois-de-Chesne (1614–1665)," manuscript 66.

10 In the parish of Bellentre in Tarentaise (Savoy), 7 km. SSW of Bourg-Saint-Maurice, the cantonal seat.

was a son of François Vallet of Tarentaise, Parish of Bellentre, in Savoy, and the husband of Jeannette Humbert. Pierre was a merchant, as was his son Michel, also a native of Tarentaise, who became a citizen of Montbéliard on 28 May 1636, at the time of The Plague and the Thirty Years War.[11]

This Michel was the progenitor of the family branch, Vallet des Barres, who are the subject of this study. Michel married at Montbéliard, 9 November 1641, Catherine Titot of that city. According to the chronicler Bois-de-Chesne--in the absence of a death register--Michel died 26 March 1649 and was buried the next day. The couple had four children: Michel, born 15 September 1643; Jean, born 2 March 1645; Jean-Georges, born 7 September 1647; and Elizabeth, born 11 October 1648.[12]

Michel's second son, Jean Vallet *dit* Berre quickly changed his surname to 'des Barres' and was a citizen of the principality, like his father. Following his studies, however, he rejected mercantile pursuits and instead became a councillor to the Prince of Montbéliard in the 1680s. He bore this title at least until 1695 (baptismal entry of his youngest son)--or, according to Pastor Méquillet, until his flight on 9 February 1698. Jean Vallet des Barres married on 31 October 1671 at Montbéliard, Ursule Marguerite Euvrard, daughter of an old bourgeois family in the town; she lived until 1718/19. Fifteen children were born of this union between 1672 and 1695, all at Montbéliard. The first ten were baptised in the French church (St. Martin) and the last five in the German church at the Château, undoubtedly due to the social advancement of their father as a regency councillor. The entries were recorded in German. The fourteenth child was Joseph-Léonard Vallet des Barres, born 23 July 1694 and baptised the next day.[13] The choice of godparents, apart from relatives, indicates that the couple ranked among the notables of Montbéliard in the latter part of the seventeenth century.[14]

---

11 AMM, *Livre Rouge*, BB9, folio 95–1: "*Michel Vallet dit Berre de Montréal estand* [a poor transcription of Mont Valézan] *en tarentèze pays de savoye, fils de feu Pierre Vallet dit Berre dudit lieu.*"

12 AMM, GG 11, French Church: baptisms, marriages (1636–1670); and "Chronique de...Bois-de-Chesne."

13 AMM, Parish registers: GG 12, French Church, baptisms and marriages (1671–1700); GG 27, German Church, baptisms and marriages (1651–1697). Thus, Joseph-Léonard could not have been 83 years old when he died in 1765, but instead just 71. Due to his frailty at birth he was baptised at home ("*ist umb seine Schwachheit zu Haus getauft werden*").

14 Among the notables were included councillors of the regency, masters of the forges, master citizens, etc. According to university matriculation registers, four of the family studied at the University of Basle: the father, Jean, and three of his sons; two others studied at Tübingen.

Upon his death at Basle in September 1719, Jean Vallet des Barres left eight living children, as the opening of his probate at Montbéliard indicated: Catherine-Marguerite, wife of Gaspard Jacquin, master of the forges at Fallon and Saint-Georges (County of Burgundy), citizen and resident of Héricourt; Joseph-Léonard, then a merchant at Basle, represented by his brother-in-law Jacquin; Jean-Nicolas, minister of the gospel at Rothau, Alsace; Jean-Georges, citizen and merchant at Héricourt; and Anne-Catherine (later the wife of Pierre Scharfenstein, goldsmith).[15] These five children decided to renounce and cede their paternal inheritance because it was burdened by debt, controversy and embarrassment, doing so by an act dated 2 October 1719. The affair of the peculation, blamed entirely on their father by Prince Léopold-Eberhard of Montbéliard, lay behind this action. For the three other adult children, all absent, the agent named on their behalf made the same renunciation on 28 October 1719.[16] These three absentees were: Pierre-Christophe and Jean-Christophe (half-pay captains in a Swiss regiment then in the service of the King of France); and Suzanne-Catherine, wife of the Sieur de Momont.

At the time of his death, Jean Vallet des Barres was styled the widower of Ursule Euvrard, and the settlement of her estate was bound up in that of his own. The maternal inheritance amounted to over 3,215 *livres*. Beginning in 1726, settlements were made on each of the seven surviving children, Catherine-Marguerite apparently having died in the interim. Probate was not completed until 10 April 1734, when the shares devolving on the two absent military sons were finalized.[17]

We turn next to Jean Vallet des Barres's fourteenth child, Joseph-Léonard, a merchant in Basle at the time of his father's death. Joseph-Léonard Vallet des Barres had a tumultuous early life which seems to have unbalanced him. He began with a disastrous first marriage, as revealed by a bundle of thirty-two archival documents relating to a contested divorce proceeding.[18] He had

15 AMM, FF 598 and 613, probate of Jean Vallet des Barres. He was said to have d. shortly before 2 Oct. 1719.

16 AMM, FF 598.

17 AMM, FF 544, probate #4 (1726–1734).

18 AMM, FF 725 (1724–1738). All signatures of Joseph-Léonard Vallet des Barres in 1728 (second marriage contract), 1738 (letter to the regency council) and 1755 (inventory of goods) match and clearly show that they were executed by the same hand.

married, 9 January 1724, at the Château of Héricourt, Anne-Clémence, daughter of the late Jean-Jacques Gropp, superintendent of the Lutheran Church in the *Pays*. On the following 13 May, just four months after the wedding, his wife gave birth to a boy whom Joseph-Léonard refused to acknowledge as his.[19] There was talk of the mother staging a fall in an attempt to claim that the infant was premature--but that was impossible, given the size of the baby! The mother was questioned and she finally attributed the infant to a foreign page, Rogenski, a Catholic body servant of the Prince d'Oels (brother-in-law to Léopold-Eberhard), who was no longer present. Joseph-Léonard demanded dissolution of the marriage on the grounds of fraud, and asked to be allowed to remarry. The Ecclesiastical Council of the Lutheran Church met to settle this enormous scandal.

After further inquiry, the council allowed the divorce on these grounds. Next, however, came the startling revelation that Joseph-Léonard had "known his wife carnally" in October 1723, three months before their marriage.[20] The couple had, furthermore, lived briefly at Héricourt; since that seigneury had become French in 1700, political and judicial complications were held to be possible. After a hearing at Montbéliard in 1724 and 1725, when he was at first nonsuited and forced to resume cohabitation, Joseph-Léonard obtained his divorce from the Ecclesiastical Court, thus abandoning his first wife and son, whom not a single pastor either in Montbéliard or in Héricourt would have wanted to baptize. There had been much too big a scandal which, hushed up, revived eleven years later in 1736, when Anne-Clémence Gropp, having become a Catholic, raised the matter with the *parlement* of Besançon, which was willing to meddle in the affair. It was essential that the Regency of Montbéliard prove by means of original documents that Joseph-Léonard was really *montbéliardais*, just like his ex-wife, Gropp, when the *parlement* was calling him a Savoyard and her an Alsatian, she having formerly lived at Héricourt in France and having recourse to royal justice. The affair was taking a political turn.

In a letter dated 20 February 1738 and written from Blamont, Joseph-

19 We know nothing of the life of this illegitimate child who cannot be Joseph-Frédéric Vallet des Barres, because the latter inherited from his mother, Anne-Catherine Cuvier (d. 1747) and from his father (d. 1755/65). AMM, FF 598, 656, *infra*.

20 AMM, FF 725. All this despite Anne-Clémence's lameness and nickname, "Tri-tri" ("one with poor health").

Léonard, merchant, petitioned the Regency Council to intercede with the *parlement* of Besançon "to prohibit, at the earliest possible moment, the hearing of this matter, or at least to silence the public prosecutor," and to make 'la Gropp' hold her tongue! Several memorials were dispatched, going all the way to Versailles--without our knowing the end of the story, which was apparently peaceable. The seriousness of the situation derived from the fact that Joseph-Léonard had been remarried, since 1728, to Anne-Catherine Cuvier, and that the *parlement* suspected him of bigamy.[21]

Anne-Catherine Cuvier was a daughter of the regency councillor Jacques-Christophe Cuvier (1666–1737) and his wife Marguerite Thevenot, both citizens of Montbéliard. Thus the Vallet des Barres family joined the great Cuvier family and again formed part of the extended clan of Montbéliard notables. Joseph-Léonard was also, by marriage, a remote cousin of the great naturalist, Georges-Léopold Cuvier (1769–1832). The social standing of the linked families is evident from the marriage contract.[22] The couple were both children of regency councillors, who in turn were officers of the prince, members of the government of the principality and citizens of Montbéliard. As witnesses, the bridegroom had his brother Jean-George, merchant at Héricourt; his brother-in-law, the goldsmith Pierre Scharfenstein; Jean-Georges Rossel, another regency councillor; and Georges-Louis Lalance, former treasurer to His Serene Highness, all citizens of Montbéliard. As for the bride, her witnesses were her father, Jacques-Christophe Cuvier, licensed at law and then a widower; her brother-in-law, Sieur Jacques-Frédéric La Chaume d'Odelan; and her cousins, David-Nicolas Berdot, pastor of the French church, and Jean-Georges Surleau, pastor at Roches-lès-Blamont.

The contract, drawn up by her cousin, the notary David Cuvier, provided a two-thirds share for the bridegroom and one-third for the bride, the assets guaranteed by *assigneaux*. The groom delivered 1,500 *livres* to his wife and her future children, with a clause refunding the sum in case of widowhood; and a right to live in the house or to have 50 *livres* per annum. The bride

21 *Mémoire pour la Religion Catholique contre les prétentions du Consistoire de Montbéliard...* (Besançon, 1749), p. 11: "*En 1733, le consistoire de Montbéliard avait prononcé la dissolution du mariage de la nommée Marie* [*sic*] *Gropp avec le nommé Vallet des Barres, tous deux sujets du roi....*" With respect to the question of citizenship, Joseph-Léonard was *Montbéliardais* by virtue of his ancestor Michel's admission, 1636; Anne-Clémence's father had been admitted similarly, 1712.

22 AMM, FF 628, marriage contract of Joseph-Léonard Vallet-des-Barres and Anne-Catherine Cuvier, 15 and 27 July 1728.

brought a dowry of 1,200 *livres*, delivered by her father immediately after the blessing of the marriage and to be shared at her death, plus a trousseau (linens, sheets, etc.). Finally, a share of the estate of her late mother was worth 2,000 *livres* in negotiable securities.

A supplement dated 29 March 1731 established that Anne-Catherine Cuvier Vallet des Barres had by then received 3,200 *livres*, given by her father. This included 1,600 *livres* due to Cuvier from his daughter and her husband, being the balance owing Cuvier for his house at Blamont, sold to Joseph-Léonard Vallet des Barres; and 1,173 *livres* that the late Jacques Roland of Pierrefontaine owed Cuvier by note for 1,000 *livres*, plus interest. Moreover, the couple received accounting for the bride's trousseau worth 800 *livres*, making a grand total of 4,000 *livres* (3,200 + 800). This sum was used by Joseph-Léonard to pay debts contracted before his second marriage; he acknowledged this obligation to his wife, guaranteeing their security with both movable and fixed assets. He had thus embarked on a rich match already burdened by debts to his spouse--but nothing yet hinted at the financial troubles lying ahead.

The new couple had at least five children before the death of Anne-Catherine on 12 March 1747 at Montbéliard, aged 39 years, 9 months and 15 days.[23] Three children survived her: Joseph-Frédéric, Catherine-Elisabeth and Charles-Christophe-Henri; Jacques-Urbain and Jacques-Christophe died young. None of the births is mentioned among the records at Montbéliard.[24] Hypotheses of residency in London, Paris or Switzerland are not very probable. Everything conduces to the view that all five children were born between 1729 and 1739 near Montbéliard, probably at Blamont where the couple lived--but it is impossible to verify this, since parish registers for Blamont do not survive for this period.

It follows that Joseph-Frédéric Vallet des Barres was the eldest, being born in April or May 1729 at the earliest, because his parents' marriage contract was drawn up on 15 July 1728. The nuptial blessing was given not at

23 AMM, GG 21: French Church, deaths (1743–1789).

24 AMM, GG 20, French Church, deaths (1701–1742); and GG 21, French Church, deaths (1743–1789): Jacques-Christophe on 25 May 1735, age 4; Jacques-Urbain on 15 Oct. 1748, age 9 years and 2 months; and much later Catherine-Elisabeth, wife of J.-J.R. Binninger, on 3 Jan. 1806, age 74 years (last-mentioned: Registry of Vital Statistics, City of Montbéliard).

Montbéliard, but at Roches-lès-Blamont by the cousin-witness, pastor Jean-Georges Surleau. The relevant entry in the parish register points out that the marriage of M. Joseph-Léonard Vallet des Barres with Mlle. Anne-Catherine Cuvier had been blessed in the church at Roches on 3 August 1728.[25] Roches is close to Blamont, where the Cuviers had connections and property. Moreover, the baptismal entry of Anne-Catherine Cuvier is dated 22 May 1707.[26] In addition to being thirteen years younger than her husband Joseph-Léonard, Anne-Catherine's probable birth year of 1707 renders highly unlikely the birth of her first child, Joseph-Frédéric, in 1721 or 1722--as has been imagined by various biographers. At that date neither future parent was married. Joseph-Frédéric Vallet des Barres therefore did not die at the purported age of 103 years, but was instead in his nineties--still a very good age for so hectic a life. He was thus at most 95 rather than 103 at the time of his death in 1824.[27]

Additional proofs of Montbéliard origin for Joseph-Frédéric Vallet des Barres are confirmed by various other archival documents, public and private, dating from between 1755 and 1794.[28] For example, Joseph-Léonard Vallet des Barres, widower, declared in 1755 that he was obliged to make a general inventory of his goods in an attempt to reduce his huge financial difficulties, and that his library was partly in the hands of his sons for their studies, "in particular of the son in England."[29] Joseph-Frédéric was then

25 Departmental Archives of Doubs: parish register of Roches-lès-Blamont (1635–1792), 5 Mi.2.

26 AMM, GG 13, French Church, baptisms, marriages (1701–1733).

27 Lois (Yorke) Kernaghan, Halifax, to the author, 14 May 1986: J.F.W. DesBarres in a statement of services presented in 1813 declared himself to be "in his 86th. year." That was closer to the truth, but still incorrect. Perhaps he did not know his exact date of birth?

For his brothers and sisters, the birth dates spread out logically: Jacques-Christophe, b. May 1731; Catherine-Elisabeth, b. Mar. 1732; Jacques-Urbain, b. Aug. 1739; and Charles-Christophe-Henri, who was identified by his sister in 1765 as "my youngest brother," should thus be inserted between Catherine-Elisabeth and Jacques-Urbain.

28 AMM, FF 598, Vallet des Barres, estates 1702–1765; and letters preserved at the National Archives of Canada, Manuscripts Division, MG 23, DesBarres Papers.

29 AMM, FF 696, Statement of the Inheritance of Joseph-Frédéric Vallet des Barres, 1755–1757: order, forced sale [i.e., similar to modern bankruptcy procedures].

attending the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. Joseph-Léonard was authorized to make the inventory and we learn that he still had in hand assets of his late wife, along with his own possessions, for total assets estimated at 7,457 *livres*, and that the sum of dormant liquidated debts was 3,459 *livres*. As of 18 April 1755 there remained 3,998 *livres*. The sale of assets in the inventory was arranged and this produced 4,304 *livres*, which was portioned out on 26 October 1757. Joseph-Léonard Vallet des Barres proved to have nothing further and subsequently became a charge of his children, particularly of his daughter who was the lone family member to remain in Montbéliard.

Ten years later, on 20 April 1765, in a request addressed to the regency council in Montbéliard, Captain Binninger, brother-in-law of Joseph-Frédéric Vallet des Barres, petitioned to administer the property of the latter who was absent, as well as what remained of the estate of Binninger's late mother-in-law, née Cuvier. Five other documents relate to this matter.[30] We note the following information in the first document: "*Dass der jüngerer Brüder meiner Frau, Carl Christoph Heinrich Vallet des Barres, Hauptmann und Aide-Major unter dem königlichen französichen Régiment Deux-Pont.*" The younger brother of Binninger's wife was thus identified as a captain and aide-major in the French Royal Regiment Deux-Ponts. Further in connection with the division of the estate: "*mit seinem Brüder ingenieur Hauptmann in Englischen Diensten,*" thus identifying another brother as an engineering captain in British service, i.e., Joseph-Frédéric Vallet des Barres, who had left Woolwich in 1756 as a military engineer and a lieutenant in the Royal American Regiment. Several lines later we learn that Lieutenant Vallet des Barres was in New York in 1765: "*und zu Neu Yorck in America sich befindenden Brüder.*" His name is given plainly in the following document concerning goods saleable at Montbéliard: "*Von dem verseyendem Güther verkauflich des Joseph-Frédéric Vallet des Barres Ingenieur, Hauptmann in Englischen Diensten dermalen in America.*" Binninger went on to complain that his brother-in-law had sent him no news, no reply, in over a year: "*Es ist zwar allbereit ein Jahr dass ich an meinem Schwieger nach America geschrieben...nun zwar noch keine Antwort erhalten.*"

Captain Binninger's request was not completely answered; the regency

30 AMM, FF 598, Vallet des Barres: estates of absentees, petition of Binninger.

council acknowledged merely that they had received "the memorandum of Chevalier Captain Binninger to obtain administration of the assets in the *pays* belonging to his brother-in-law, the Sieur Vallet des Barres settled in America." Indeed, another person was subsequently given the commission, which further annoyed Binninger.

Joseph-Frédéric Vallet des Barres's silence remains puzzling. We find that, despite his Montbéliard kinship, he refused to the end of his life to reply to or in any other way to communicate with his brother and sister. It is as though he had decided to cut off all relations with his family. Did he fear they wanted money? It was already Binninger's complaint in April 1765 that he himself had the sole expense of maintaining his ruined father-in-law, the elderly Joseph-Léonard (*"der noch lebende 83 Jahr [sic] alt Vatter bey meiner Heirath"*). Since the father died soon after, we lose trace of him and any demands for financial assistance became pointless. At that same time, nevertheless, Joseph-Frédéric was chronically short of money, having only his military pay on which to exist.

Four later letters again establish indisputably the relationship among the three surviving children of the late Joseph-Léonard Vallet des Barres. These letters, dating from 1785, 1787, 1789 and 1794 include one from Montbéliard where Catherine-Elisabeth Vallet des Barres, wife of Binninger, still lived, and three others from Neuwied-on-the-Rhine, where Charles-Christophe-Henri, retired army officer, had chosen to live.[31] The theme of these letters is the continued absence of news and lack of replies to their written inquiries: Joseph-Frédéric answered neither his brother nor his sister.

However, Catherine-Elisabeth knew from newspapers that her brother had become an important personage by 1785. She complimented him on his hydrographic atlas, *The Atlantic Neptune* (published in 1777): "You are celebrated and in high repute. You may believe that I am happy to hear of it!" She knew also that he had been named governor of the colony of Cape Breton by the king of England: "so you are a man of quality in everything." But it seems that she had had no news either from her younger brother, Charles-

31 These letters are held at the National Archives of Canada, Manuscripts Division, MG 23, DesBarres Papers. Translated into English they were sent to the author by Lois (Yorke) Kernaghan, Halifax, and by Mrs. David Micklem, Chelmsford, England, a direct descendant of J.F.W. DesBarres. National Archives, MG 23, DesBarres Papers, Series 5, vol. 4–5, pp. 875–878, letters of C.E. Binninger, 9 Oct. 1785; pp. 1050–1052, of Charles-Christophe-Henri Vallet des Barres, 28 July 1787; Series 5, vol. 7–12, two other letters of the same C.-C.-H. Vallet des Barres, pp. 1531–1534, 30 Aug. 1789, and pp. 1962–1964, 22 Dec. 1794.

Christophe-Henri: "As for our brother I do not know what he has become. M. Frédéric Berdot who has been in America with the Hessian troops and who has seen your country house told me that our brother had been in Jamaica with the rank of major in the Royal American Regiment."[32] We learn further that she had already written previously on 16 July 1784 because she had met a certain Swiss, Mr. Tourner, who said he was a friend of Joseph-Frédéric and had seen his fine country house "near Halifax." Tourner, however, was even more impressed with des Barres's city residence, 'Poplar Grove,' than with 'Castle Frederick,' located in Falmouth Township.

The other letters, from Major Charles-Christophe-Henri Vallet des Barres--who had also found the trail of his brother--attempted, likewise unsuccessfully, to initiate a correspondence with him between 1787 and 1789, and came from his address at Neuwied. In the first letter, Charles-Christophe-Henri announced his marriage, "after having lived a hectic life until now." He then described his wife, who hoped to meet her brother-in-law. He also asked him to be godfather to their future first child, who would accordingly be named Frédéric or Frédérica. In a postscript he mentioned having received letters from his sister at Montbéliard, who also hoped to hear from America. Thus, Catherine-Elisabeth Binninger had finally rediscovered the trail of her younger brother.

From the second letter, 30 April 1789, we know that Charles-Christophe-Henri had been told by a certain Mr. Bryer that Joseph-Frédéric had gone to London the previous May on orders of the British government. He had hoped for news of him--but as always, in vain. The infant had been born and was termed "your godson." Joseph-Frédéric had indeed received his letters; nevertheless, silence continued. The break with his family after 1764 remained total and inexplicable, unless due to his enormous financial difficulties in North America.[33]

This genealogical study finally establishes two new certainties. First, the undeniable origin of the Vallet des Barres family as Savoyard and then *Montbéliardais*. Secondly, that Joseph-Frédéric's age at his death in 1824

32 Léopold-Frédéric-Jacques Berdot (1749–1825), son of Léopold Emmanuel Berdot, physician to the court of Montbéliard, was a lieutenant in the Hessian army, then a captain in the British army in 1780. He took part in military operations in North America between 1776 and 1781 and returned to Montbéliard in the latter year.

33 Perhaps it was also due to the annexation of the principality of Montbéliard by France, which made him, as a serving British officer, an enemy of France?

was at most 95, rather than 103 as has been claimed. It was at 90 that he must have danced that famous jig on a tavern table in Halifax, and not in honour of his centenary! This article has also followed the successive changes in the family's surname, from Vallet *dit* Berre to Vallet des Barres in the seventeenth century. As well, all the French documents spell 'Vallet' with a simple *V* until the Revolution; the intrusions of the *W* were rarities. On the other hand, Joseph Frederick Wallet des Barres always used the *W*, perhaps to anglicize his name. Likewise, when he wrote his full surname, he consistently used 'des' with a capital *D* and eliminated the intervening space--i.e., DesBarres.

The Early Career of Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres

This study does not aim to address the question of retracing Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres's many careers between 1750 and 1824. Canadian and British historians have done this amply and we may refer to their works about the prodigious and sometimes still mysterious life of this uncommon man.[34] We need only relate here the chronological outline of his years preceding emigration to North America.

Joseph-Frédéric was sent first to the University of Basle, where, described as a *Montbéliardais*, he matriculated on 25 August 1750.[35] There he received a superior education in drafting, mathematics and the sciences, from professors Jean and Daniel Bernouilli. He left Basle, possibly because of a duel. We note his presence at the University of Strasbourg on 8 February 1753, where he remained for a short time only. Then he went to Paris, where he possibly met Voltaire, and subsequently took refuge at London. There, still in 1753, he entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich as a protégé of the Duke of Cumberland. As a francophone, he first had to learn English. At Woolwich he received training as a military engineer, passing from theory to practice in such diverse disciplines as geodesy, land-surveying, preparing maps, fortification techniques and the firing of artillery; that is to say, all the specialties of an engineering officer. He left Woolwich in 1755, just at the time of his father's financial difficulties.

34 See particularly Evans, *Uncommon Obdurate*.

35 Edition du registre matricule de l'Université de Bâle, University Library: Catalogue AN 11, 4a, p. 198; 9a, p. 176; and 11, p. 209: "*Matricula studiosorum philosophiae perigrinorum; Vallet des Bares, Josephus Fredericus Montisbelgardensis, 25 August 1750.*"

As a foreigner in Great Britain, he had no choice regarding his military service; as a lieutenant he entered the Royal American Regiment (later the 60th Foot), where an act of the British Parliament allowed foreigners to serve as officers. There he came into competition with Protestants who had previously served in the armies of Holland, Prussia and Switzerland. His advancement was very slow, despite his attainments and despite his frequent protests which revealed a combative and irascible character. His regiment left for America in March 1756, and for the next sixty years he led a life marked by pursuits as diverse and changeable as his many talents. He was an active officer during the conquest of Canada between 1755 and 1763, then he became a cartographer, a landed proprietor and a civil governor, plunging into each of the several careers with extraordinary energy until his final 'retirement' in 1813 and his subsequent death on 27 October 1824.

Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres no longer has relatives in the *pays* of Montbéliard, where he is totally unknown. The Vallet des Barres family there is completely extinct, but he left numerous progeny in Nova Scotia and they also continue in England to this day. There were great challenges, reversals and paradoxes in the life of this *Montbéliardais* in the service of His Britannic Majesty, a career with an unusual destiny. The mystery of his origin is now explained.

The Tremaine Family of Nova Scotia, 1764–1994: Part Two

Gail D. Judge

[**Ed. Note**: Part One of the Tremaine genealogy was published in the *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (June 1994), pp. 169–192.]

FIFTH GENERATION

73 Alice Lee[5] Harrington (Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 10 Aug. 1851, Arichat; m. (1) 28 July 1867, Byron Wort **Bernard**; m. (2) ca. 1876, Frank **Beane**, who was b. New York, 1851, and d. Riviera, Lake North, FL, 6 Jan. 1899. Alice d. 15 Sept. 1911, Newton Lower Falls, MA.

Issue of Byron and Alice (Harrington) Bernard:

112 i. Edmund Murray Bernard, b. 27 June 1867.
113 ii. Caroline Harriett Worth Bernard, b. 20 Oct. 1870.
114 iii. Alice Lee Bernard, b. 27 May 1872.
115 iv. Annie Van Vost Bernard, b. 27 May 1873, d. 14 Dec. 1936.

74 Bertha Rebecca Brine[5] Harrington (Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 12 Feb. 1855, Arichat; m. (1) 1874, Allen Francis **Hastings**; m. (2) Peter Clarence (Garhardus) **Baker**. Bertha d. 25 May 1934, Newton Lower Falls.

Issue of Allen and Bertha (Harrington) Hastings:

116 i. Nina Frances Lee Hastings, b. 20 Mar. 1875.

Issue of Peter and Bertha (Harrington) Baker:

117 ii. Eulah Bertha Baker, b. 16 Sept. 1882.
118 iii. Frank Dudley Baker, b. 20 May 1884.
119 iv. Mary Lee Baker, b. 1 May 1886.
120 v. Peter Clarence Baker, b. 20 Aug. 1887.
vi. Tremain F. Baker, b. 27 Jan. 1888; d. 29 July 1894, Cottage City, MA.
121 vii. Russell Livingston Baker, b. 22 Jan. 1892.

75 William Pooley[5] Harrington (Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 5 May 1859, Arichat; m. 7 Feb. 1886, Alice Scott **Connally**. William d. 3 Dec. 1938, Dallas, TX. Became a cabin-boy on one of his uncle Lewis E. Tremain's ships which traded around the Newfoundland coast, then shipped on a trading vessel to the Brazilian coast and around Cape Horn

Gail D. Judge is a Certified Genealogist (Canada) and a staff member of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, NS.

from England and Hamburg, Germany. He retired from the sea in 1882 and became conductor on the Vanderbilt street-car service in New York City.

Issue of William and Alice (Connally) Harrington:

i. Georgie Ella Lee Harrington, b. 20 Jan. 1887, Kildare, TX; d. 29 Sept. 1887, Kildare.

122 ii. Moore Fortnum Harrington, b. 2 July 1888.

123 iii. Alice Scott Harrington, b. 7 Mar. 1891.

124 iv. William Walter Harrington, b. 22 Aug. 1892.

125 v. Eulah Jean Harrington, b. 29 Jan. 1904.

76 Blanche Lee[5] Tremaine (Barclay[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 13 Dec. 1873, Port Hood; m. 3 June 1896, Baddeck, NS, John **Gaskin**, who was b. 17 Sept. 1868.

Issue of John and Blanche (Tremaine) Gaskin:

i. Mabel Gaskin, b. 28 Mar. 1897.

ii. John Gaskin, b. 5 Dec. 1899.

77 Winnifred Claudine[5] Tremaine (Barclay[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 26 June 1875, Port Hood; m. 18 June 1902, Baddeck, Archibald Parker **Armstrong**, who was b. 7 May 1880, Middleton, NS, s/o George Ingles Armstrong; and d. 7 May 1924. Winnifred d. 28 Feb. 1969.

Issue of Archibald Parker and Winnifred (Tremaine) Armstrong:

126 i. Claudine LeDrew Armstrong, b. 13 July 1903.

127 ii. George Tremaine Armstrong, b. 22 Nov. 1904.

128 iii. Eulah Mildred Caroline Armstrong, b. 6 Nov. 1907.

129 iv. Jessie Bowby Armstrong, b. 22 Jan. 1909.

v. Winnifred Parker Armstrong, b. 26 June 1912; d. 7 Nov. 1970.

78 May Agnes Sinclair[5] Tremaine (Frederick[4], Richard[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 6 July 1871, Halifax; m. 2 June 1897, Halifax, Rev. Henry Herbert **Pittman**, who was b. ca. 1864, NF.

Issue of Henry and May (Tremaine) Pittman:

i. Helen Pittman, d. 1992, North Hampton, SC.

79 Laurence Giles Purves[5] Tremaine (Arthur[4], Richard[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 24 June 1883, Halifax; m. (1) 7 Sept. 1911, Lilly Frances **Ahern**; m. (2) 7 Jan. 1939, Helen Marguerite **Bulmme**. Laurence was an insurance broker and d. in New York.

Issue of Laurence and Lilly (Ahern) Tremaine:

i. Elizabeth Frances Tremaine, b. 20 Aug. 1918.

ii. William Laurence Tremaine, b. 13 Mar. 1921.
iii. Arthur Robert Tremaine, b. 17 Aug. 1922; m. 2 Apr. 1949, Montreal, Shirley Anne **Hyde**. Arthur d. 12 Aug. 1950, St. Andrews (Quebec).

80 Anna Louisa[5] Tremaine (Richard[4], Anna[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 1877, Charlottetown; m. (1) 23 Mar. 1895, Edwin Egbert **Dickey**; m. (2) 20 Oct. 1910, Rev. A. W. L. **Smith**. Anna d. 30 Nov. 1962, Halifax.
Issue of Edwin and Anna (Tremaine) Dickey:
i. Anna Leonora Dickey, d. 30 June 1940, Clementsport, NS.
Issue of A.W.L. and Anna (Tremaine) Smith:
130 ii. Leslie Mary Louise Harrington Smith, b. ca. 1919.
iii. Lewis Harrington Smith.

81 Harold Wentworth Harrington[5] Tremaine (Richard[4], Anna[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 1881; m. Edith Melville **Watt**. Harold d. 18 Apr. 1950, Halifax.
Issue of Harold and Edith (Watt) Tremaine:
i. Edith Leona Tremaine, m. W. Kenneth **Moffatt**, who d. LeFroy (Quebec).
ii. Phillis Tremaine, d. 1 July 1915, Dartmouth.

82 Arthur Edward Montague[5] Tremaine (Richard[4], Anna[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]); m. Margaret _____.
Issue of Arthur and Margaret Tremaine:
i. Richard Leighton Tremaine.

83 Arthur Trevor[5] Tremaine (Arthur[4], Anna[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 6 Feb. 1886, Quebec; m. (1) Constance Beatrice **Fanning**, b. 4 June 1877 and d. 15 Jan. 1934, Montreal; m. (2) Emily Annie **Dalkin**, b. 8 Mar. 1895 and d. 20 Jan. 1968, Pointe-Claire, Quebec. Arthur d. 10 June 1946, Westmount (Quebec).
Issue of Arthur and Constance (Fanning) Tremaine:
i. Patricia Tremaine, b. 4 Apr. 1923; m. (1) 9 June 1956, _____ **Brown**; m. (2) Douglas William **Ross**.
ii. Arthur Richard Tremaine, b. 4 Apr. 1926; m. 12 Aug. 1950, St. Andrews (Quebec), Elizabeth **Albright**.
iii. Trevor Fanning Tremaine.
Issue of Arthur and Emily (Dalkin) Tremaine:
iv. Joan Tremaine, m. 28 June 1941, Ronald Charles **Stephen**.

84 Ethel Constance[5] Longworth (Richard[4], Elizabeth[3], Richard[2],

Jonathan[1]), b. 21 Nov. 1890, Charlottetown; m. ca. 1910, Otis Peabody **Swift**, who was b. 30 May 1896, Lewiston, ME, and d. 27 June 1971, Georgetown, ME. Ethel d. 10 Sept. 1963, Hartford, CT. In 1912 she graduated from McGill University, Montreal, and taught school in rural Quebec. She became a foreign correspondent in Europe for the *Montreal Star*, where she met and married her husband. Otis attended Columbia School of Journalism, served in the US Navy during World War I and was a newspaper correspondent in Europe, ca. 1920–1923. Otis and Ethel returned to the US in 1923, divorced ca. 1940 and he remarried ca. 1941. Ethel was a newspaper reporter and editor from the 1940s until her death. She wrote for papers in Daytona Beach, FL; Guilford, CT; and Deep River, CT.

Issue of Otis and Ethel (Longworth) Swift:

131 i. Jack Longworth Swift, b. 4 May 1922.

ii. Barbara Peabody (Kate) Swift.

85 Norah Frances[5] Warburton (Isabella[4], Elizabeth[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 21 Nov. 1895, Charlottetown; m. 3 Sept. 1919, Charlottetown, Rev. Alban F. **Bate**, who was b. 12 May 1893. Norah d. 2 May 1985, Saint John, NB.

Issue of Alban and Norah (Warburton) Bate:

i. George W. Bate, b. ca. 1928.

ii. unidentified child.

iii. unidentified child.

86 Laura[5] Burchell (Lavinia[4], John[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), m. _____ **Grant**.

Issue of Laura (Burchell) Grant:

132 i. Margaret Tremaine Grant.

87 John Tremaine[5] Twining (John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 20 Dec. 1856, Halifax; m. 15 Oct. 1889, Bessie Chipman **Seaman**, d/o W. H. Seaman, d. 25 Mar. 1906. John d. 4 Dec. 1907.

Issue of John and Bessie (Seaman) Twining:

i. Ernest Lionel Twining, b. 23 Feb. 1891; d. June 1905.

88 Louis Russell[5] Twining (John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 5 Sept. 1858, Halifax; m. 18 Dec. 1883, Halifax, Mary Caroline **Swabey**, d/o William Swabey and Jane Haviland. She was b. 1855, Charlottetown, and d. 26 Nov. 1921, Halifax. Louis d. 18 Feb. 1919, Halifax. He was a bookkeeper.

Issue of Louis and Mary (Swabey) Twining:

133 i. Russell Swabey Twining, b. 22 Sept. 1884.
ii. Dorothy Haviland Twining, b. 21 Apr. 1888; d. 1890 of diphtheria.
iii. Barbara Louise Goodwin Twining, b. 21 July 1889; d. 1890 of diphtheria.
134 iv. Marjorie Tremaine Twining, b. 16 June 1890.
135 v. Ruth Temple Twining, b. 21 Oct. 1894.

89 Beatrice Clothilde[5] Twining (John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 15 Aug. 1861, Halifax; m. 22 Oct. 1878, John Duffus **Tupper**, who was b. 25 Aug. 1854, Halifax, s/o Eddy Tupper and Susan West, and d. 15 Mar. 1885, Brookline, MA. Beatrice d. 17 Mar. 1909, Brighton, MA.
Issue of John and Beatrice (Twining) Tupper:
136 i. Jessie Edith Vivian Tupper, b. 24 May 1880.
137 ii. Gladys Twining Tupper, b. 22 Aug. 1882.

90 Adelle Goodwin[5] Twining (John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 22 Oct. 1863; m. 10 Aug. 1886, Frank **Lynes**, who was b. 15 May 1858, s/o Edward Gray Lynes and Mary Jane Clark, and d. 14 June 1913, Bristol, NH.
Issue of Frank and Adelle (Twining) Lynes:
138 i. Twining Lynes, b. 29 June 1888.
139 ii. Cedric Tremaine Lynes, b. 21 July 1890.

91 Annie Milicent[5] Twining (John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 1 Apr. 1866, Halifax; m. (1) 24 Nov. 1888, Charles Rufus Fairbanks **Twining**, who was b. 9 Apr. 1848, Halifax, s/o Henry Charles Darling Twining and Mary Martha Fairbanks, and d. before 1905, Mexico City, Mexico; m. (2) 1907, John Gordon **Sutherland**, who was b. 1866, Boston, s/o George Sutherland and Rosanna Riley. John d. 11 Aug. 1945, Brookline, MA. Annie d. 28 Apr. 1914, Brookline.
Issue of Charles and Annie (Twining) Twining:
140 i. Mary Millicent Twining, b. 25 Aug. 1889.
ii. Charles Santos Twining, b. 20 Jan. 1892, d. 20 Oct. 1894.
141 iii. Thekla Paulina Gwendolyn Morton Twining, b. 15 Dec. 1892.

92 Edmund Sidney[5] Twining (Edward[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 16 Apr. 1858; m. 21 Dec. 1886, Frances Georgianna **Stairs**, d/o John Stairs and Mary Morrow. Edmund d. 25 June 1923, Southampton, NY. Edmond was Chairman of the Board, American Bleached Goods Co., and a Director, Claflin's & Mills & Gibb.

Issue of Edmund and Frances (Stairs) Twining:

i. Gwendoline Twining, b. Dec. 1888, New York, d. 23 Aug. 1889, Halifax.

142 ii. Edmond Stairs Twining, b. 8 Sept. 1892.

143 iii. John Halifax Twining, b. 22 June 1900.

93 Henry Esmond[5] Twining (Edward[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 19 Nov. 1860; m. (1) 1897, Emma Estella **Potts**, d/o Robert Potts and Elizabeth Reynolds. Henry d. 7 Apr. 1917, Lyons, France. Emma d. 16 Feb. 1955.

Issue of Henry and Emma (Potts) Twining:

144 i. Frances Yvonne Twining, b. 5 Dec. 1907.

94 Charles[5] Twining (Edward[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 18 Apr. 1866; m. 26 May 1908, Roberta Mary **Braine**, who was b. 8 Dec. 1876, d/o Robert Treat Braine and Mary Carter and d. 18 May 1947. Charles d. 13 Feb. 1941.

Issue of Charles and Roberta (Braine) Twining:

145 i. Mary Florence Twining, b. 31 July 1912.

95 Elizabeth (Elsie) Maud[5] Twining (Edward[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 23 Jan. 1865, Halifax; m. 1 Sept. 1897, Mather Almon **Abbott**, s/o John Abbott and Ella Almon. Elizabeth d. 9 Mar. 1964, Trenton, NJ.

Issue of Mather and Elizabeth (Twining) Abbott:

i. Gwynne Almon Abbott, b. 27 Nov. 1899, Staten Island; d. 10 June 1984, Princeton, NJ. Gwynne was a librarian.

ii. Elizabeth Abbott, b. 1903; d. 1918 of appendicitis.

96 Frederick Cecil[5] Rynd (Elizabeth[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 24 Sept. 1861, Fredericton, NB; m. (1) 1887, Elizabeth **Rowland**, d/o John Rowland, d. 29 Oct. 1915, Cheltenham, England; m. (2) Margherita **Roera de Marchesa Roero de Castanza**, who d. 30 May 1956, London. Frederick d. 2 Mar. 1925, Alassio, Italy. He served in the 4lst Welsh Regiment and the 20th Madras Infantry.

Issue of Frederick and Elizabeth (Rowland) Rynd:

i. Evelyn Cecil McKay Rynd, b. Feb. 1888; d. in infancy; a twin.

ii. Phyllis Muriel Chase Rynd, b. Feb. 1888; d. in infancy; a twin.

iii. Laura Eileen Rynd, b. ca. 1888; d. 25 July 1928, Kekuya, Nairobi, Kenya.

146 iv. Enid Violet Rynd, b. 1892.

147 v. Patrick Gerald Rynd, b. 5 Nov. 1905.

97 Pauline Frances[5] Winnington Ingram (Catherine[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. Feb. 1858, Worcester, England; m. 10 June 1879, Charles Alexander **Gallop**, a solicitor, who was b. May 1856, Hastings, England and d. Feb. 1890, Wirral, England. Pauline d. 14 Nov. 1923, St. Albans, Herts., England.

Issue of Charles and Pauline (Winnington Ingram) Gallop:

i. John Winnington Gallop, b. 1883, Wandsworth, England; m. 1914, May M. **Fenton**, d/o Charles Fenton. John was in the British Merchant Navy.

ii. Dorothy Adele Gallop, b. 1888; d. pre-World War II.

98 Florence Herbert[5] Winnington Ingram (Catherine[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 1 Apr. 1859, Halifax; m. 3 Apr. 1883, Thomas **Hill**, who was b. 1849, s/o Melsup Hill and Rose Barbler and d. 20 Dec. 1920, Uxbridge, England. Florence d. 22 Mar. 1946, Weston, England.

Issue of Thomas and Florence (Winnington Ingram) Hill:

i. Cecilia Florence Hill, b. May 1884, Epsom, England. She was a schoolmistress.

148 ii. Olive Katherine Hill, b. 22 Nov. 1885.

iii. Beresford Winnington Hill, b. Aug. 1892, Epsom; d. 1917. Beresford was a lieutenant in the Royal Flying Corps.

99 Katherine Mary[5] Winnington Ingram (Catherine[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. Apr. 1863, Martley, Somerset, England; m. 17 June 1886, Henry Leslie **Bates**, who was b. 1849, Rottingdean, Essex, England, s/o Joah Furey Bates and d. 1939, St. Albans, England. Katherine d. 8 July 1932, St. Albans, Herts., England.

Issue of Henry and Katherine (Winnington Ingram) Bates:

149 i. Kenneth Leslie Bates, b. 18 July 1888.

ii. Michael Bates.

100 Annie Georgina[5] Winnington Ingram (Catherine[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 28 June 1864, Martley, Somerset, England; m. 10 Aug. 1897, George Arthur Loraine **Gamlen**, who was b. 15 Mar. 1871, Hendon, England, s/o Robert Heale Gamlen and d. 13 Apr. 1954, St. Albans, England. Annie d. 23 Oct. 1955, Surrey, England.

Issue of George and Annie (Winnington Ingram) Gamlen:

i. Robert Arthur Winnington Gamlen, b. 27 June 1898; d. 30 Nov. 1917, France. Robert was a captain in the Worchestershire Regiment.

ii. St. John Onslow Winnington Gamlen, b. 24 June 1901, St. Albans.
iii. Catherine Millicent Winnington Gamlen, b. 25 Oct. 1909, St. Albans. Catherine was a nurse.

101 Herbert Egmont[5] Winnington Ingram (Catherine[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 14 Nov. 1869, Rio de Janiero, Brazil; m. 7 Feb. 1899, Agnes Maude **Foster**, who was b. May 1871, Camberwell, England, d/o George Bevington Foster. Agnes d. 6 Sept. 1956, Tadworth, Surrey, England.

Issue of Herbert and Agnes (Foster) Winnington Ingram:

i. Winifred Florence Winnington Ingram, b. 4 Dec. 1899, Wandsworth, England; m. _____ **Kennedy**.
ii. Marjorie Agnes Winnington Ingram, b. 21 Feb. 1901, Lambeth, England.

102 Mary Claudine Bourchier[5] Wrey (Claudine[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 28 July 1886, Babbacombe, Torquay, Devon, England; m. (1) 11 June 1913, Humphrey Richard Locke **Lawrence**, who d. 30 Dec. 1915; m. (2) 13 Aug. 1928, Heathcote Dicken **Statham**, s/o Henry Heathcote Statham, who d. 29 Oct. 1973, Norwich. Mary d. 31 Oct. 1975, Norwich, Norfolk.

Issue of Humphrey and Mary (Wrey) Lawrence:

i. John Humphrey Lawrence, b. 8 Oct. 1915, London; d. 1967, Norwich, England. Michael was Senior Assistant Librarian.

Issue of Heathcote and Mary (Wrey) Statham:

ii. Michael Heathcote Wrey Statham, b. 29 Sept. 1929, Norwich, England; m. 16 Aug. 1958, Jennifer **Lansdown**, who was b. 6 June 1929, d/o Charles Millington Lansdown and Elsie Gwendolen Ward. Michael was employed after 1955 by the University of London Library, retiring in 1982 as Senior Assistant Librarian.

103 Hadley Brown[5] Tremaine (Edward[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 23 Oct. 1874, Halifax; m. Alice King **Wiggins**, who d. 17 Apr. 1931, Halifax. Hadley d. 11 Oct. 1951. He was a barrister.

Issue of Hadley and Alice (Wiggins) Tremaine:

150 i. Albert Edward Dunsier Tremaine, b. 27 Nov. 1899.
ii. Mary King Tremaine, b. 4 July 1901; d. 11 July 1917, Windsor, NS.
151 iii. Kenneth Hadley Tremaine, b. 7 Mar. 1905.

104 Hazel Blanchard[5] Tremaine (Edward[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 4 July 1882, Port Hood; m. 12 July 1905, Alexander C. T. **Cameron**. Hazel d. 14 Aug. 1973, New Glasgow.
Issue of Alexander and Hazel (Tremaine) Cameron (order uncertain):
152 i. Faye June Cameron, b. 7 June 1925.
153 ii. Doris Cameron, b. 6 June 1927.
iii. Edwin Dunsier Cameron.
iv. Wilmont Cameron.
v. Thelma Tremain Cameron, d. after 1992, Halifax.
vi. Louise Lorne Cameron.
vii. Charlotte Cameron.

105 Frederick Dunsier Lamblin[5] Tremaine (Frederick[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 4 Sept. 1871, Halifax; m. 6 Sept. 1899, Emma Chapman **Whiston**, who was b. 1875 and d. 12 Nov. 1948, Annapolis Royal, NS. Frederick d. 14 Feb. 1949, Halifax.
Issue of Frederick and Emma (Whiston) Tremaine:
154 i. Frederick Hudson Dunsier Tremaine, b. 14 July 1900.

106 Charles Frederick[5] Tremaine (Frederick[4], John[3], John[22], Jonathan[1]), b. 27 Aug. 1874, Port Hood; m. 1 June 1898, Mary Gibb **Strachan**. Charles d. 10 Mar. 1945.
Issue of Charles and Mary (Strachan) Tremaine:
155 i. Charles Wylton Strachan Tremaine, b. 1 Aug. 1899.
156 ii. John Robert Valentine Tremaine, b. 11 Jan. 1901.
iii. Philip Hadley Egerton Strachan Tremaine, b. 6 Oct. 1903; d. New York.
157 iv. Leonard Ray Tremaine, b. 20 Aug. 1906.
158 v. Helen Mary Strachan Tremaine, b. 18 Dec. 1908.
159 vi. Dorothy Elizabeth Tremaine, b. 1913.
160 vii. Jack Lamberton Tremaine, d. 24 Apr. 1975.

107 Bertha[5] Tremaine (Rufus[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 1887; m. Ernest S. **Mitchell**. Bertha d. 1963, Truro, NS.
Issue of Ernest and Bertha (Tremaine) Mitchell:
i. Horace Mitchell, b. 1911; d. 10 Feb. 1938, Truro. 108
Edward Barton[5] Jost (Eliza[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), m. Edith **Beck**.
Issue of Edward and Edith (Beck) Jost:
i. Gladys Maud Jost, m. Alex **Vessie**.

109 George Henry[5] Tremaine (Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 22

Aug. 1868, Halifax; m. 29 June 1892, Halifax, Mary Eliza **Donovan**, who was b. 21 Mar. 1868, Halifax, d/o Michael James Donovan and Rebecca Ann Fiddler and d. 23 Apr. 1948, Halifax. George d. 7 Jan. 1937, Halifax. He was a freight officer with the CNR and at Cronan's Wharf, Halifax.

Issue of George and Mary (Donovan) Tremaine:

i. Edna Tremaine, b. 26 Jan. 1893, Halifax; m. John T. **Walker**. Edna d. 23 Sept. 1968, Wolfville, of hardening of the arteries. She was an illustrator of children's books.

161 ii. Gwynne Tremaine, b. 30 June 1894, Halifax.

162 iii. Hilda Muriel Tremaine, b. 28 Feb. 1896.

163 iv. Roy St. Clair Tremaine, b. 21 Aug. 1897.

164 v. George A. Tremaine, b. 31 May 1899.

vi. Eva Gladys Tremaine, b. 29 Apr. 1901, Halifax; d. 31 Jan. 1984, Halifax. She was the proprietor of Windsor Stationery, Halifax.

vii. Edwin Russel Tremaine, b. 7 June and d. 19 June 1903, Halifax.

viii. Hazel Jean Tremaine, b. 25 Nov. 1905, Halifax; d. 11 Nov. 1908, Halifax.

ix. Doris Hillier Tremaine, b. 17 Apr. and d. 11 Nov. 1908, Halifax, of convulsions.

110 Alice Maude[5] Tremaine (Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 17 May 1871, Halifax; m. 3 Sept. 1894, Halifax, James William **McFatridge**, who was b. 1864. James had previously m. 6 Nov. 1887, Halifax, Rebecca S. Butler. James d. 1911; Alice d. 18 Oct. 1935, Halifax.

Issue of James and Alice (Tremaine) McFatridge:

i. Marjorie McFatridge, b. 20 Apr. 1896; m. (1) C. G. **Shields**, who d. Los Angeles; m. (2) 27 Nov. 1917, Roy Lorenzo **Filimore**. Marjorie d. 1977, Los Angeles.

ii. James Robert McFatridge, b. 4 Sept. 1898; m. Enola Mae _____, who d. after Nov. 1943. James d. 23 Nov. 1943.

iii. Cyril Tremaine McFatridge, b. 23 Aug. 1900; d. 15 Feb. 1960, Halifax; a twin.

iv. Geoffrey Duval McFatridge, b. 23 Aug. 1900, Halifax; d. 16 Apr. 1966, Halifax; a twin.

165 v. Alice Maude McFatridge, b. 6 July 1910.

111 William Alexander[5] Tremaine (James[4], William[3], James[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 13 Mar. 1887; m. 4 Sept. 1912, Middleton, NS, Edith Marjorie **Pineo**.
Issue of William and Edith (Pineo) Tremaine:
i. William Shelton Tremaine, b. 30 Nov. 1913, Vancouver; m. 28 Aug. 1942, Marjorie Joan **Standish**.

SIXTH GENERATION

112 Edmund Murray[6] Bernard [Beane] (Alice[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 27 June 1867, Strait of Canso, NS; m. (1) 5 Apr. 1895, Kate **Miles**; m. (2) details unknown. Adopted by stepfather and took surname **Beane**.
Issue of Edmund and Kate (Miles) Bernard [Beane]:
i. James Dudley Beane, b. 20 Jan. 1896, Watervlist, NY; d. France during military action. James was a first lieutenant in the 22nd Aero Squadron.
ii. Beatrice K. Beane, b. 14 Sept. 1897, Watervlist; m. John H. **Plumb**.
166 iii. Florence S. Beane, b. 12 Oct. 1899.
iv. Alison Fortnum Beane, b. 20 May 1902, Watervlist; m. 1922, Irene **Hanson**.

113 Caroline Harriett Worth[6] Bernard [Beane] (Alice[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 20 Oct. 1870, Waterbury; m. Marcus Harry **Lichtenstein**. Adopted by stepfather and took surname **Beane**.
Issue of Marcus and Caroline (Beane) Lichtenstein:
i. Marcus Harry Lichtenstein, b. 24 Mar. 1889, New York.
167 ii. Robert Lee Lichtenstein, b. 1 Apr. 1890.
168 iii. Frank Dudley Lichtenstein, b. 23 Nov. 1891.
iv. Leonard Lichtenstein, b. 6 Oct. 1894.

114 Alice Lee[6] Bernard [Beane] (Alice[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 27 May 1872; m. 12 July 1912, William George **Phillips**. Adopted by stepfather and took surname **Beane**.
Issue of William and Alice (Beane) Phillips:
i. Alice Lee Phillips, b. 3 Oct. 1914.

115 Annie Van Vost[6] Bernard (Alice[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 27 May 1873, Albany; m. 1 Sept. 1897, Cape Breton, NS, Stanley **Earle**. Annie d. 14 Dec. 1936, North Sydney. Adopted by Mrs. Daniel J.

McKenzie, sister-in-law of Barclay E. Tremaine (see No. 39).
Issue of Stanley and Annie (Bernard) Earle:

i. Enid Marjorie Earle, b. 3 Dec. 1898, North Sydney; m. David Martin **Watson**.
ii. William Bernard Earle, b. 14 Feb. 1900, North Sydney, NS; d. 26 June 1920, North Sydney.
iii. Mary Lee Earle, b. 23 Feb. and d. 25 Feb. 1904, North Sydney.
169 iv. Helen Meta Earle, b. 11 Mar. 1907.
v. Robert McKenzie Earle, b. 26 Aug. 1911, North Sydney; d. July 1931, Kentville, NS.
vi. Arthur Leonard Earle, b. 26 July 1915, North Sydney; m. 13 Sept. 1939, Mary Catherine **Kingan**.

116 Nina Frances Lee[6] Hastings (Bertha[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 20 Mar. 1875; m. (1) Walter **Taylor**; m. (2) 7 Apr. 1905, William **Leavitt**.
Issue of Walter and Nina (Hastings) Taylor:

i. Sydney Leroy Taylor, b. 6 Jan. 1895.

117 Eulah Bertha[6] Baker (Bertha[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 16 Sept. 1882, Needham, MA; m. 6 Apr. 1904, Salvatore **Musso**. Eulah d. 14 Apr. 1918.
Issue of Salvatore and Eulah (Baker) Musso:

i. Victor E. Musso, b. 11 Nov. 1905, Boston.
170 ii. Eulah N. Musso, b. 6 Dec. 1907.
171 iii. Rita Musso, b. 23 Apr. 1913; d. Oct. 1982.
iv. Alfred S. Musso, b. 13 Nov. 1914, Philadelphia, PA.

118 Frank Dudley[6] Baker (Bertha[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 20 May 1884, Newton Lower Falls; m. 25 June 1908, Marion Louise **Smith**. Frank d. Feb. 1967, Ludlow, Windsor, Vermont.
Issue of Frank and Marion (Smith) Baker:

i. Barbara Louise Baker, b. 27 Nov. 1911, Newton Lower Falls.
ii. Laura Hendricka Baker.

119 Mary Lee[6] Baker (Bertha[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 1 May 1886, Newton Lower Falls; m. 1 May 1911, Thomas Francis **Donahue**.
Issue of Thomas and Mary (Baker) Donahue:

i. Miriam Powell Donahue, b. 30 Mar. 1912, Newton Lower Falls.
ii. Charlotte Lee Donahue, b. 27 July 1917, Newton Lower Falls.

120 Peter Clarence[6] Baker (Bertha[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 20 Aug. 1887; m. Susan Elizabeth **Richardson**.
Issue of Peter and Susan (Richardson) Baker:
172 i. Bertha Rebecca Baker, b. 23 Oct. 1912.
ii. Helen Margaret Baker, b. 29 Sept. 1914.
iii. Elizabeth Anne Baker, b. 10 Sept. 1921.

121 Russell Livingston[6] Baker (Bertha[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 22 Jan. 1892, Newton Lower Falls; m. 19 May 1913, Mary Sarah **Ingalls**.
Issue of Russell and Mary (Ingalls) Baker:
i. Russell Tremain Baker, b. 31 Aug. 1913.
ii. Peter Clarence Baker, b. 31 Aug. 1915.
iii. Walter Ingalls Baker, b. 29 Oct. 1921.

122 Moore Fortnum[6] Harrington (William[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 2 July 1888, Kildare, TX; m. 3 June 1923, Pearl Aurora **Yarty**, who was b. 26 Mar. 1899, Benson, WV. Moore d. July 1970, Fountain Bay, FL.
Issue of Moore and Pearl (Yarty) Harrington:
i. Melba Lucille Harrington, b. 10 Aug. 1925, St. Louis, MO.
ii. Marla Alice Harrington, b. 4 Nov. 1937.

123 Alice Scott[6] Harrington (William[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 7 Mar. 1891, Jefferson, TX; m. 27 Jan. 1914, George Houston **Davidson**.
Issue of George and Alice (Harrington) Davidson:
i. George Houston Davidson, b. 18 Feb. 1919, Nacogdoches, TX.
ii. Lillian Alice Davidson, b. 13 Jan. 1922, Nacogdoches.

124 William Walter[6] Harrington (William[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 22 Aug. 1892; m. 12 Aug. 1915, Eulah **Nichols**.
Issue of William and Eulah (Nichols) Harrington:
i. Alice May Harrington, b. 8 June 1917.

125 Eulah Jean[6] Harrington (William[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 29 Jan. 1904; m. 22 Apr. 1924, William Blackburne **Slay**.
Issue of William and Eulah (Harrington) Slay:
i. Eugene Blackburn Slay, b. 26 Apr. 1932.

126 Claudine LeDrew[6] Armstrong (Winnifred[5], Barclay[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 13 July 1903; m. (1) Gordon **Northrup**, who was b. MA and d. 1951; m. (2) Harold **Frye**, who was b. 30 Oct. 1907, Lexington, MA. Claudine d. 1990.

Issue of Gordon and Claudine (Armstrong) Northrup:
173 i. Winnifred Northrup, b. 1930.

127 George Tremaine[6] Armstrong (Winnifred[5], Barclay[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 22 Nov. 1904, Sydney; m. Gladys **King**, who d. 1989, Florida. George d. 1961, Boston.
Issue of George and Gladys (King) Armstrong:
i. George Armstrong, m., no details. There were five children from this marriage.
ii. Beverly Armstrong.
iii. Connie Armstrong.

128 Eulah Mildred Caroline[6] Armstrong (Winnifred[5], Barclay[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 6 Nov. 1907; m. Frank Christian **Meyer**, who was b. Boston and d. 1980, Cape Cod. Eulah d. S. Yarmouth, ME.
Issue of Frank and Eulah (Armstrong) Meyer:
i. Jane French Meyer, m. Courtney _____. Jane d. Eureka, CA.
ii. Buster Meyer.
iii. unidentified child.
iv. unidentified child.

129 Jessie Bowby[6] Armstrong (Winnifred[5], Barclay[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 22 Jan. 1909, Sydney; m. (1) Gregory **Morley**; m. (2) Dr. James Bruce **Crowe**, who was b. New Germany, NS.
Issue of Gregory and Jessie (Armstrong) Morley:
174 i. Henry Barclay Morley, b. 25 Apr. 1929.
175 ii. Wilfred Tremaine Morley, b. 25 Aug. 1933.
Issue of James and Jessie (Armstrong) Crowe:
176 iii. Vicki Lynn Crowe.
177 iv. Jacqueline Beth Crowe, b. 21 June 1950.

130 Leslie Mary Louise Harrington[6] Smith (Anna[5], Richard[4], Anna[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. ca. 1919; m. 7 Sept. 1938, Clementsport, NS, Ralph **Wright**, who d. Digby, NS. Leslie d. 5 Nov. 1993, Clementsport.
Issue of Ralph and Leslie (Smith) Wright:
i. Bonnie Wright, resides in Roseway, Digby County, NS; a nun.
ii. Pamela Wright, m. _____ **Knapp**; resides in Clementsport, NS.
iii. Douglas Wright, resides in Nanaimo, BC.

131 Jack Longworth[6] Swift (Ethel[5], Richard[4], Elizabeth[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 4 May 1922, London, England; m. 20 Dec. 1946, Madison, CT, Frances Ellen **Norton**, who was b. 17 Feb. 1926, Madison,

d/o Harry Raymond Norton and Katharine Day Peck. Jack graduated from Trinity College, Hartford, 1942; served in the US Army Air Force from 1942 to 1946; graduated from Yale in 1948 as a civil engineer; and then worked for the US government, including an overseas posting in Pakistan.

Issue of Jack and Frances (Norton) Swift:

i. Katharine Garcelon Swift.
ii. John Norton Swift.
iii. Peter Norton Swift.

132 Margaret Tremaine[6] Grant (Laura[5], Lavinia[4], John[3], Richard[2], Jonathan[1]), m. _____ **Brace**.

Issue of Margaret (Grant) Brace:

i. Sarah Tremaine Brace.

133 Russell Swabey[6] Twining (Louis[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 22 Sept. 1884, Halifax; m. (1) 30 Sept. 1913, Winnipeg, MB, Augusta Louise **Cornell**, who was b. 25 Sept. 1879, Adelaide Village, ON, d/o Sanford Cornell and Eliza Cowan and d. 17 May 1940, Victoria, BC; m. (2) 30 Aug. 1943, Lorene Estelle **Maguire**, who was b. 4 Jan. 1892, Corunna, ON. Lorene d. 28 Apr. 1963, Victoria. Russell d. 13 May 1969, Victoria.

Issue of Russell and Augusta (Cornell) Twining:

178 i. Russell Cornell Twining, b. 20 July 1914.
ii. John Sanford Twining, b. 13 Sept. 1918, Edmonton; m. 8 Aug. 1970, Ethel Margaret **Izard**, who was b. 28 Oct. 1915, Victoria, d/o Edward Izard and Eleanor Douglas.

134 Marjorie Tremaine[6] Twining (Louis[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 16 June 1890, Halifax; m. 12 Jan. 1922, Col. Stratton Harry **Osler**, who was b. 1882, Cobourg, ON, s/o Harry Bath Osler and Kate Fairbanks and d. 10 Oct. 1930, Toronto. Marjorie d. post-1991, Toronto.

Issue of Harry and Marjorie (Twining) Osler:

179 i. Mary Kate Osler, b. 5 Apr. 1925.
ii. Ruth Osler, b. 28 July 1927, Ottawa, ON; a librarian.

135 Ruth Temple[6] Twining (Louis[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 21 Oct. 1894, Halifax; m. 25 Jan. 1920, London, Capt. Cyril Gordon **Dodwell**, who was b. 1 July 1894, Halifax, s/o Charles Edwards Willoughby Dodwell and Alice Mary Dimock and d. 5 June 1952,

Toronto. Ruth d. 1 Sept. 1941, in Montreal.
Issue of Cyril and Ruth (Twining) Dodwell:
180 i. Patricia Twining Dodwell, b. 18 May 1924.

136 Jessie Edith Vivian[6] Tupper (Beatrice[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 24 May 1880, New York; m. 18 Apr. 1900, William Franklin **Lamb**, who was b. 6 Jan. 1872 and d. 18 Dec. 1950, Waban, MA, and was bur. in Brookline, MA. Jessie d. 3 Aug. 1973, Waban, and was also bur. in Brookline.
Issue of William and Jessie (Tupper) Lamb:
181 i. Eric Franklin Lamb, b. 25 Nov. 1902.
182 ii. Eleanor Tremaine Lamb, b. 28 Oct. 1910.
iii. Beatrice Lamb, b. Brookline, MA; d. 11 Jan. 1917 of influenza.

137 Gladys Twining[6] Tupper (Beatrice[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 22 Aug. 1882, Halifax; m. 8 Feb. 1905, Cambridge, MA, Arthur **Lovering**, who was b. 13 Aug. 1875, s/o James Walker Lovering and Susan Rockwell Dow and d. 27 Mar. 1956, Boston; he was bur. in Mt. Auburn. Gladys d. 4 Apr. 1973, Newton, MA.
Issue of Arthur and Gladys (Tupper) Lovering:
i. Rosamond Lea Lovering, b. 18 July 1906, Brookline; d. post-1991, Brookline. She was a Latin teacher.
ii. Dorothy Lovering, b. 16 Mar. 1911; d. 20 Sept. 1920.

138 Twining[6] Lynes (Adelle[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 29 June 1888, Cambridge, MA; m. 20 June 1918, Meta August **Gut**, who was b. 7 Sept. 1890, Zurich, Switzerland, d/o Heinrich Albert Gut and Laura Augusta Aeberhard; she d. 1 Feb. 1942, Boston.
Issue of Twining and Meta (Gut) Lynes:
183 i. Loring Lynes, b. 1 Aug. 1919.
184 ii. Gregory Lynes, b. 5 May 1922.
185 iii. David Geoffrey Lynes, b. 17 June 1925.

139 Cedric Tremaine[6] Lynes (Adelle[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 21 July 1890, Cambridge; m. (1) 29 June 1918, Julia Gladys **Mourfield**, who was b. 11 May 1897, Martinsville, VA, d/o Marcus L. Mourfield and Harriet Benson and d. 3 May 1936, Norfolk; m. (2) Julia Elizabeth **Matthews**, who was b. 2 Apr. 1905, Norfolk. Julia d. 15 Sept. 1982, Norfolk. Cedric d. 8 June 1953, Norfolk.
Issue of Cedric and Julia (Mourfield) Lynes:
i. Frank Mourfield Lynes, b. 28 Nov. 1920; d. 30 Mar. 1945.

186 ii. Adele Goodwyn Lynes, b. 5 Apr. 1926.

140 Mary Millicent[6] Twining (Annie[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 25 Aug. 1889, Buenos Aires, Argentina; m. 6 May 1916, Thomas Truxton **MacFarland**, who was b. 23 Oct. 1887, Columbus, NE, s/o John Montgomery MacFarland and Agnes Pyle Forest; he d. 1954, Cape Cod.

Issue of Thomas and Mary (Twining) MacFarland:

187 i. Barbara Louise MacFarland, b. 16 June 1917..

141 Thekla Paulina Gwendolyn Morton[6] Twining (Annie[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 15 Dec. 1892, Sao Paulo, Brazil; m. 16 Sept. 1916, Waban, Paul Emerson **Sargeant**, who was b. 7 Mar. 1893, s/o Frank W. Sargeant and Lizzie French and d. 14 July 1974, Candia, NH. Thekla d. Dec. 1950, Manchester, NH.

Issue of Paul and Thekla (Twining) Sargeant:

188 i. Winthrop Twining Sargeant, b. 31 Aug. 1923.

189 ii. John French Sargeant, b. 8 June 1929.

142 Edmond Stairs[6] Twining (Edmond[5], Edward[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 8 Sept. 1892, Staten Island, NY; m. 19 Nov. 1914, Ursula Wolcott **Brown**, who was b. 18 Oct. 1892, Sandusky, OH, d/o George Hunter Brown and Cornelia Moss and d. 23 Oct. 1967. Edmond d. 23 Oct. 1969, Southampton, NY.

Issue of Edmond and Ursula (Brown) Twining:

190 i. Edmund Stairs Twining, b. 19 Sept. 1915.

ii. Geoffrey Hunter Twining, b. 16 Nov. 1923; m. June 1974, Jean **Knoop**. Geoffrey d. 24 Dec. 1984, New York.

143 John Halifax[6] Twining (Edmond[5], Edward[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 22 June 1900, New York; m. (1) 24 Mar. 1925, Susan Bowers **Coppell**, who was b. 31 Dec. 1901, d/o Arthur Coppell and Mary Bowers and d. 1978, Richfield, CT.; div. 1933 and then m. (2) Ruth Wade **Wharton**, who was b. 1900, Providence, RI. John d. 15 June 1968, Tuscon, AZ.

Issue of John and Susan (Coppell) Twining:

i. Susan Coppell Twining, b. 22 July 1927; m. James **Constanzi**, who was b. 7 May 1927. Susan is a floor supervisor of a nursing home.

191 ii. Nancy Stairs Twining, b. 21 Mar. 1930.

144 Frances Yvonne[6] Twining (Henry[5], Edward[4], Catherine[3], John[2],

Jonathan[1]), b. 5 Dec. 1907, New York; m. 1943, Irving **Humber**, who was b. 16 Jan. 1898, Vienna, Austria, s/o Siegmund Humber and Jenny Kohn; he d. 5 Nov. 1960, Athens, Greece.
Issue of Irving and Frances (Twining) Humber:
i. Kathleen Yvonne Humber, b. 23 Apr. 1952 and d. 6 May 1952 of aortic heart defect.

145 Mary Florence[6] Twining (Charles[5], Edward[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 31 July 1912, Long Island; m. 2 Oct. 1936, Hersey Benner **Egginton**, who was b. 17 July 1907, s/o Hersey Egginton and Mary E. Benner, and d. 7 Mar. 1978. Mary was Associate Dean, Adelphi University and Director, Nassau County Women's Centre.
Issue of Hersey and Mary (Twining) Egginton:
192 i. Geoffrey Twining Egginton, b. 19 Mar.1940.
193 ii. Everett Egginton, b. 6 Apr.1943.
194 iii. Hersey Benner Egginton, b. 26 Aug. 1948.

146 Enid Violet[6] Rynd (Frederick[5], Elizabeth[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 1892, Andamen Islands, Indian Ocean; m. Charles Hedley **Palmer**. Enid d. 14 July 1948, Cheltenham, England.
Issue of Charles and Enid (Rynd) Palmer:
195 i. Patricia Ann Joan Palmer, b. 1926.

147 Patrick Gerald[6] Rynd (Frederick[5], Elizabeth[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 5 Nov. 1905, Mussooria, North India; m. 14 Oct. 1939, Charis Veronica Warmington **Reed**, who was b. 17 Nov. 1907, Painswick, Gloucester, England, d/o Edward Thomas Warmington Reed and Ethel Caroline Taylor Jones. Patrick worked for Midland Bank, and Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank, Manila.
Issue of Patrick and Charis (Reed) Rynd:
i. Catherine Ann Rynd, b. 17 Mar. 1941, Phillipines.
196 ii. Merilyn Sheila Rynd, b. 5 July 1945.

148 Olive Katherine[6] Hill (Florence[5], Catherine[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 22 Nov. 1885, Lambeth, England; m. 22 Apr. 1908, Robert Thomas **Atthill**, who was b. 17 May 1854, Middleham, Yorkshire, England, s/o Richard Atthill and Martha **Cookson**; he d. 10 Oct. 1937, Wookey Hole, Somerset, England.
Issue of Robert and Olive (Hill) Atthill:
197 i. Robert Anthony Atthill, b. 7 Mar. 1912.

149 Kenneth Leslie[6] Bates (Katherine[5], Catherine[4], Catherine[3], John[2],

Jonathan[1]), b. 18 July 1888, St. Albans; m. 11 Nov. 1922, Gwendolen Frances **Glossop**, who was b. 3 Aug. 1890, St. Albans, d/o George Glossop and Frances Mary Gape. Kenneth was a medical doctor and d. 20 Apr. 1933, St. Albans, of flu and pneumonia.

Issue of Kenneth and Gwendolen (Glossop) Bates:

i. Gweneth Mary Bates, b. 30 Mar. 1926, London, England; m. 18 May 1985, John Anthony **Watson-Simpson**, who was b. 23 Feb. 1924, Stratford, England, s/o John Anthony Watson-Simpson. Gweneth is in the Women's Royal Naval Service.

198 ii. Betty Hazel Bates, b. 15 Oct. 1927.

150 Albert Edward Dunsier[6] Tremaine (Hadley[5], Edward[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 27 Nov. 1899; m. 18 Apr. 1935, Eve Elizabeth **Powis**. Albert d. Nov. 1974, Windsor, NS. Albert was a brigadier in the Royal Canadian Artillery.

Issue of Albert and Eve (Powis) Tremaine:

199 i. 'Babbie' Tremaine.

151 Kenneth Hadley[6] Tremaine (Hadley[5], Edward[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 7 Mar. 1905; m. 20 Sept. 1930, Nora Patricia **Bermingham**, d/o William Bermingham. Kenneth d. 15 May 1960.

Issue of Kenneth and Nora (Bermingham) Tremaine:

200 i. James Wiggins Tremaine, b. 7 Aug. 1931.

201 ii. Mary Fayre Tremaine, b. 28 Apr. 1933.

202 iii. Edward W. H. Tremaine, b. 21 Sept. 1935.

152 Faye June[6] Cameron (Hazel[5], Edward[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 7 June 1925; m. Nelson **MacEwan**. They live in Truro, NS.

Issue of Nelson and Faye (Cameron) MacEwan:

i. unidentified child.

ii. unidentified child.

153 Doris[6] Cameron (Hazel[5], Edward[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 6 June 1927; m. William Macdonald **Sobey**.

Issue of William and Doris (Cameron) Sobey:

i. Frank Cameron Sobey, b. 25 Jan. 1953, New Glasgow, NS.

ii. Karl Roland Sobey, b. 21 Sept. 1954, New Glasgow.

iii. Heather Jane Sobey, b. 26 May 1956, New Glasgow.

iv. Ann Tremaine Sobey, b. 31 Mar. 1959, New Glasgow.

154 Frederick Hudson Dunsier[6] Tremaine (Frederick[5], Frederick[4], John[3],

John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 14 July 1900, Halifax; m. Beulah **Smith**, who was b. Penarth, Wales, d/o Charles Stewart Smith and Janie Elizabeth Bradshaw; she d. 3 Apr. 1987, Halifax. Frederick d. 21 Oct. 1966, Halifax.

Issue of Frederick and Beulah (Smith) Tremaine:

203 i. Leah Tremaine.

155 Charles Wylton Strachan[6] Tremaine (Charles[5], Frederick[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 1 Aug. 1899; m. Charlotte **Thompson**. Charles d. post-1981, Vancouver.

Issue of Charles and Charlotte (Thompson) Tremaine:

i. Alan Tremaine, d. Seattle, Washington.
ii. Mary Tremaine.
iii. Sylvia Tremaine.

156 John Robert Valentine[6] Tremaine (Charles[5], Frederick[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 11 Jan. 1901; m., but details unknown.

Issue of John Tremaine:

i. Robert Tremaine, m. Lorraine _____. Six children.
ii. June Tremaine, m. _____ **Smith**.
iii. Jack Tremaine, m. Elizabeth _____; d. pre-1993. Three children.

157 Leonard Ray[6] Tremaine (Charles[5], Frederick[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 20 Aug. 1906; m. 7 July 1927, Marjorie **Clark**, who was b. 1907, Halifax, d/o Francis Clark and Lena; she d. 31 Dec. 1982, Halifax. Leonard d. 15 July 1942, Halifax.

Issue of Leonard and Marjorie (Clark) Tremaine:

204 i. Donald Tremaine.
ii. Marilyn Jean Tremaine, b. 1 Nov. 1931; m. _____ **Wright**. They had five children. Lives in Shad Bay, NS.

158 Helen Mary Strachan[6] Tremaine (Charles[5], Frederick[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 18 Dec. 1908; m. Archibald R. F. **Read**, s/o Hibbert R. Read and Louise Thomson. Archibald d. 26 Nov. 1985, Saint John, NB. Helen d. Oct. 1967, Saint John.

Issue of Archibald and Helen (Tremaine) Read:

i. Charles Hibbert Tremaine Read, d. pre-1985.
ii. Dorothy Read, m. _____ **Horne**.

159 Dorothy Elizabeth[6] Tremaine (Charles[5], Frederick[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 1913; m. 23 May 1934, Rockingham, NS, Lawrence

Daniel **McKenzie**, who was b. Massachusetts and d. 31 Jan. 1981, Halifax. Dorothy also d. 31 Jan. 1981, Halifax.
Issue of Lawrence and Dorothy (Tremaine) McKenzie:

i. Douglas McKenzie, d. pre-1981.
ii. Halie McKenzie.
iii. Mary Valentine Tremaine McKenzie, b. 1941; m. Thomas **Powers**.

160 Jack Lamberton[6] Tremaine (Charles[5], Frederick[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), m. Doris **Duggan**, d/o Robert Duggan and Kitty Connors. Jack d. 24 Apr. 1975, Rosemere, Quebec.
Issue of Jack and Doris (Duggan) Tremaine:

i. Richard Tremaine.
ii. Brian Tremaine.

161 Gwynne[6] Tremaine (George[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 30 June 1894, Halifax; m. 12 May 1915, Halifax, Foster Almon Wesley **Heffler**, who was b. 9 Mar. 1892, Halifax and d. 2 Sept. 1987, Halifax. He attended Dalhousie University and then studied theology at Wycliffe College in Toronto. Foster was rector at Trinity Anglican Church, Halifax, from 1944 to 1967; at Christ Church Anglican, Stellarton, NS, from 1921 to 1944; and at Grafton Anglican, Grafton, ON, from 1915 to 1921. Gwynne d. 18 Jan. 1989, Halifax.
Issue of Foster and Gwynne (Tremaine) Heffler:

i. Donald Heffler.
ii. Adele Heffler.
iii. Ruth Heffler.
iv. Phyllis Yvonne Heffler.
v. Nancy Elizabeth Heffler.
vi. Tremaine Heffler.

162 Hilda Muriel[6] Tremaine (George[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 28 Feb. 1896, Halifax; m. 5 June 1918, Halifax, William **Schwartz**. Hilda d. 23 Apr. 1975, Halifax.
Issue of William and Hilda (Tremaine) Schwartz:

i. Marjorie Schwartz, b. 13 July 1926, Halifax; d. 3 Sept. 1977, Montreal. She was a journalist.

205 ii. William Schwartz, b. 3 Feb. 1931.

163 Roy St. Clair[6] Tremaine (George[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 21 Aug. 1897, Halifax; m. 21 May 1926, Florence Laurier **Spence**.

Roy d. 10 May 1939, Boston.
Issue of Roy and Florence (Spence) Tremaine:
206 i. Edith Virginia Tremaine.

164 George A.[6] Tremaine (George[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 31 May 1899, Halifax; m. Daisy **Edwards**, who d. 31 Dec. 1980. George d. 28 Sept. 1977, Boston.
Issue of George and Daisy (Edwards) Tremaine:
207 i. George A. Tremaine, b. 25 Apr. 1935.
208 ii. Kenneth A. Tremaine, b. 1928.
iii. David E. Tremaine, b. 25 Apr. 1935, Boston; d. 18 Oct. 1987, Hanover, MA.
209 iv. Ruth M. Tremaine, b. 5 May 1932.

165 Alice Maude[6] McFatridge (Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 6 July 1910, Halifax; m. 2 June 1927, Arthur Clifford **Harris**, who was b. 7 Dec. 1900, s/o John Clifford Harris and d. 3 Apr. 1977, Halifax.
Issue of Arthur and Alice (McFatridge) Harris:
210 i. Arthur Clifford Harris, b. 28 Nov. 1928.
211 ii. Sylvia Marjorie Harris, b. 11 May 1931.
212 iii. William Carl Harris, b. 13 Jan. 1933.
213 iv. Dorothy Gwendolyn Harris, b. 16 Aug. 1935.
214 v. Jean Alice Harris, b. 30 Jan. 1939; twin.
215 vi. Joan Maude Harris, b. 30 Jan. 1939; twin.
216 vii. James Robert Harris, b. 30 Jan. 1941.
217 viii. Kenneth Charles Harris, b. 21 Dec. 1942.

SEVENTH GENERATION

166 Florence S.[7] Beane (Edmund[6], Alice[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 12 Oct. 1899, Watervlist; m. _____ **Davis**.
Issue of Florence (Beane) Davis:
i. Margaret Ann Davis.

167 Robert Lee[7] Lichtenstein (Caroline[6], Alice[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 1 Apr. 1890; m. 30 Sept. 1912, Estelle **Hyde**.
Issue of Robert and Estelle (Hyde) Lichtenstein:
i. Parker E. Lichtenstein, b. 25 June 1915.
ii. Robert H. Lichtenstein, b. 29 Dec. 1923.

168 Frank Dudley[7] Lichtenstein (Caroline[6], Alice[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2],

Jonathan[1]), b. 23 Nov. 1891; m., but no details.
Issue of Frank Lichtenstein:
i. Norma Caroline Lichtenstein, b. 21 Nov. 1919, Lachine, Quebec; m. 5 Nov. 1937, Richard Spence **Howarth**.
ii. Frank Dudley Lichtenstein, b. June 1921.

169 Helen Meta[7] Earle (Annie[6], Alice[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 11 Mar. 1907, North Sydney, NS; m. 1931, Arthur D. **Courteen**.
Issue of Arthur and Helen (Earle) Courteen:
i. Marjorie Ann Courteen, b. 9 Mar. 1935, North Sydney.

170 Eulah N.[7] Musso (Eulah[6], Bertha[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 6 Dec. 1907, Boston; m. 10 Jan. 1931, George **Clahane**.
Issue of George and Eulah (Musso) Clahane:
i. Georgia Clahane, b. 25 Jan. 1935, Manchester, NY.

171 Rita[7] Musso (Eulah[6], Bertha[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 23 Apr. 1913, New York; m. 1 Aug. 1936, Walter **Goodwin**. Rita d. Oct. 1982, Troy, NY.
Issue of Walter and Rita (Musso) Goodwin:
i. Bruce Hilton Goodwin, b. 27 Mar. and d. 10 Nov. 1937, Pittsfield, MA.

172 Bertha Rebecca[7] Baker (Peter[6], Bertha[5], Mary[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 23 Oct. 1912; m. 19 Jan. 1933, Herbert _____.
Issue of Herbert and Bertha (Baker) _____:
i. Elsie Kristine _____, b. 1 Aug. 1936.

173 Winnifred[7] Northrup (Claudine[6], Winnifred[5], Barclay[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 1930; m. Robert **Mudge**. Winnifred d. Skow, ME.
Issue of Robert and Winnifred (Northrup) Mudge:
i. Gordon "Skip" Mudge, m. Nina **Fusee**.
218 ii. Carol Ann Mudge.

174 Henry Barclay[7] Morley (Jessie[6], Winnifred[5], Barclay[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 25 Apr. 1929; m. (1) 1950, Marie **Kern**; m. (2) Dec. 1972, CT, Annette **Hauck**.
Issue of Henry and Marie (Kern) Morley:
i. Edward Bruce Morley, b. 16 May 1951, Toronto.
ii. Christopher Eugene Morley, b. 22 Nov. 1953.
iii. Gary Stuart Morley, b. 31 Dec. 1954, Niagara Falls, NY.

175 Wilfred Tremaine[7] Morley (Jessie[6], Winnifred[5], Barclay[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 25 Aug. 1933; m. 11 July 1961, Bridgewater,

NS, Barbara **Spidle**.

Issue of Wilfred and Barbara (Spidle) Morley:

i. Paul Ray Morley, b. 1 Sept. and d. 3 Sept. 1964, Bridgewater; twin.
ii. Michael Bruce Morley, b. 1 Sept. and d. 18 Dec. 1964, Bridgewater; twin.
iii. Scott Alexander Morley, b. 25 July 1965, Bridgewater.
iv. Stephen Eric Morley, b. 13 July 1967, Bridgewater.

176 Vicki Lynn[7] Crowe (Jessie[6], Winnifred[5], Barclay[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), m. Gary Olive **Bardon**, who was b. 23 Jan. 1934, s/o Jonn and Euphemia Viola Bardon.

Issue of Gary and Vicki (Crowe) Bardon:

i. Andrew Bruce Bardon, b. 3 Aug. 1979, Halifax.
ii. Alexander David Bardon, b. 30 May 1982, Halifax.
iii. Alma Beth Bardon, b. 24 Sept. 1984, Halifax.

177 Jacqueline Beth[7] Crowe (Jessie[6], Winnifred[5], Barclay[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 21 June 1950, Halifax; m. 23 Aug. 1975, Wolfville, James Elmer **Keech**, who was b. 28 Oct. 1944, Leamington, ON, s/o Murray Keech and Ernestine Cavell Turner.

Issue of James and Jacqueline (Crowe) Keech:

i. Kristina Mary Keech, b. 19 Sept. 1979, Halifax.
ii. Robert Carl Keech, b. 28 May 1982.
iii. Julia Kathleen Keech, b. 3 Oct. 1984.
iv. Michael James Keech, b. 17 June 1987.

178 Russell Cornell[7] Twining (Russell[6], Louis[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 20 July 1914, Winnipeg; m. 22 Nov. 1947, Harriett **Cowderoy**, who was b. 7 Jan. 1925, Winnipeg, d/o Maxwell and Bessie Cowderoy. Russell d. 12 Aug. 1980, Vancouver. He was in the Royal Canadian Navy Volunteer Reserves; and was a lawyer, crown attorney and senior partner in Cowan & Twining.

Issue of Russell and Harriett (Cowderoy) Twining:

219 i. Russell Richard Cowderoy Twining, b. 17 Oct. 1949.
220 ii. David Maxwell Twining, b. 11 June 1954.

179 Mary Kate[7] Osler (Marjorie[6], Louis[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 5 Apr. 1925, Ottawa; m. 5 June 1948, Rev. Edgar **Bull**, who was b. 27 Dec. 1917, s/o Henry Whorlow Bull and Muriel Nickerson.

Issue of Edgar and Mary (Osler) Bull:

i. Henry Bull, b. 18 Mar. 1949, Calgary. He works as a broadcaster for CFRO-FM.

221 ii. Edmund Arthur Bull, b. 26 Nov. 1950.

iii. Charles Edgar Bull, b. 2 Mar. 1954, Hamilton, ON; m. 5 May 1984, Michelle **Schofield**, who was b. 13 Apr. 1960, d/o Robert and Jacqueline Schofield. Charles is an Anglican minister.

iv. James Stratton Stewart Bull, b. 21 July 1959, Cobourg, ON.

180 Patricia Twining[7] Dodwell (Ruth[6], Louis[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 18 May 1924, Montreal; m. 10 Apr. 1954, George Franklyn **Smeltzer**, who was b. 22 May 1914, Toronto, s/o George and Nellie Lillie Smeltzer.

Issue of George and Patricia (Dodwell) Smeltzer:

222 i. Elizabeth Jane Smeltzer, b. 20 Dec. 1954.

ii. Donald George Smeltzer, b. 20 June 1956, Weston, ON.

iii. Donald Victor Smeltzer, b. 11 Nov. 1963, Weston. Donald is a lab technician with a leading recycling company.

181 Eric Franklin[7] Lamb (Jessie[6], Beatrice[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 25 Nov. 1902, Brookline, MA; m. 3 Dec. 1939, Nashville, TN, Medora **Smith**, who was b. 25 Aug. 1912, Nashville. Eric d. 17 Sept. 1972. He worked for an American import/export bank as an investment banker, Rio de Janiero.

Issue of Eric and Medora (Smith) Lamb:

i. Beatrice Lamb, b. 3 June 1942, Nashville; m. 25 Aug. 1968, Gary **Carson**. Beatrice is an elementary school teacher.

223 ii. Linda Lamb, b. 28 Nov. 1944.

iii. Jane Clothilde Lamb, b. 7 Dec. 1952, Rio de Janiero. She is an assistant editor, International Chamber of Commerce magazine.

182 Eleanor Tremaine[7] Lamb (Jessie[6], Beatrice[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 28 Oct. 1910, Brookline, MA; m. (1) 31 Jan. 1931, Arthur **O'Neil**, who was b. 26 Jan. 1906, s/o John O'Neil and Mary Louise Doyle and d. 14 May 1956; m. (2) 4 Apr. 1959, Gardiner A. **Smith**, who was b. 6 July 1911. Gardiner d. 19 Oct. 1978. Eleanor d. 17 June 1986, Indianapolis, IN.

Issue of Arthur and Eleanor (Lamb) O'Neil:

224 i. Mary Louise O'Neil, b. 28 Apr. 1932.

225 ii. William O'Neil, b. 28 Oct. 1936.

183 Loring[7] Lynes (Twining[6], Adelle[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 1 Aug. 1919, Boston; m. 14 Jan. 1950, Julia **Taravella**, who was b. 22 Apr. 1923, Windsor Locks, CT, d/o Andrew Taravella and Romilda Daglio. Loring was a flight engineer, US Army.
Issue of Loring and Julia (Taravella) Lynes:
i. Donna Lynes, b. 23 Aug. 1957, Hartford, CT.

184 Gregory[7] Lynes (Twining[6], Adelle[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 5 May 1922, Groton, MA; m. (1) 28 Jan. 1943, Elliott Doris **Muhlhauser**, who was b. 23 July 1922, d/o Frederick P. Muhlhauser and Lucile Einstein and d. 22 Dec. 1968; m. (2) June 1970, Jean **Fox**; m. (3) 26 Nov. 1975, Martha **Gary**, who was b. 11 Dec. 1933, Buffalo, NY, d/o Lester Bennett Gary and Alice Mary Tonge. Greg was a B-24 Liberator Bomber pilot, US Army Air Force.
Issue of Gregory and Elliott (Muhlhauser) Lynes:
226 i. Linda Lynes, b. 22 Dec. 1944.
227 ii. Philip Tyrus Lynes, b. 6 May 1947.

185 David Geoffrey[7] Lynes (Twining[6], Adelle[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 17 June 1925, Frinton, England; m. 6 Dec. 1954, Brooke Blackmer **Wiig**, who was b. 4 Aug. 1935, Pyramid, NE, d/o Beverly Blackmer Wiig and Francesca (Fraser) (Blackmer) Moffatt. David served first in the US Army Air Corps, and later in the Air Force during WWII and the Korean War. He graduated from Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin, with a degree in anthropology. He taught mathematics at the Gill School in New Jersey, then founded an alternative school in western Massachusetts and was Headmaster at the Anderson School in Poughkeepsie, NY. After 1972 he became an experimental machinist.
Issue of David and Brooke (Wiig) Lynes:
228 i. Jon Twining Lynes, b. 31 Dec. 1955.
ii. Robin Judith Lynes, b. 30 Jan. 1957, Morristown, NJ.
iii. Loring Geoffrey Lynes, b. 7 Mar. 1959, Morristown, NJ.; m. 9 June 1984, Eve **Franklin**, who was b. 28 Dec. 1959, Manhattan, d/o Girard Franklin and Gloria Friedman. Loring is a chief mechanic.
iv. David Malcolm Lynes, b. 23 Apr. 1965, Pittsfield, MA; m. 23 Feb. 1985, Debbie **Grenon**, d/o Richard A. Grenon. David works for Maxi-Agribus Farm.

186 Adele Goodwyn[7] Lynes (Cedric[6], Adelle[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 5 Apr. 1926, Parris Island, SC; m. 8 July 1950, Dr. Perry Quentin **Needham**. Adele is a registered nurse.
Issue of Perry and Adele (Lynes) Needham:
i. Ellen Elizabeth Needham, b. 30 Sept. 1958, Dallas, TX; m. 6 June 1981, Donald William **Winspear**, who was b. 9 Apr. 1959, Edmonton, s/o William Watchorn Winspear and Margot MacLeod.
ii. Frank Everett Needham, b. 17 July 1959, Dallas.

187 Barbara Louise[7] MacFarland (Mary[6], Annie[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 16 June 1917, Newton, MA; m. 23 Nov. 1940, Augustus Reynell **Southworth**, who was b. 2 Apr. 1917, Jersey City, NJ, s/o Augustus Reynell Southworth and Florence Lyman. Barbara is a high school principal.
Issue of Augustus and Barbara (MacFarland) Southworth:
229 i. Barbara Southworth, b. 5 May 1942.
230 ii. Augustus Reynell Southworth, b. 11 Nov. 1945.
231 iii. Truxtun Lyman Southworth, b. 9 May 1948.
232 iv. Susan Southworth, b. 3 Apr. 1953.

188 Winthrop Twining[7] Sargeant (Thekla[6], Annie[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 31 Aug. 1923, Candia, NH; m. 9 Aug. 1945, Marianne **Jaques**, who was b. 24 Mar. 1925, d/o Channing Jaques and Julia Otis.
Issue of Wintrhop and Marianne (Jaques) Sargeant:
233 i. Carol Jacques Sargeant, b. 23 Aug. 1948.
234 ii. Louise Twining Sargeant, b. 6 July 1951.
235 iii. Paul Emerson Sargeant, b. 4 July 1953.

189 John[7] French Sargeant (Thekla[6], Annie[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 8 June 1929, Manchester, NH; m. (1) 30 June 1951, Muriel **Critchett**, d/o Wesley Crichett and Flora Ruiter; m. (2) 14 Aug. 1976, Joanne Elizabeth **Brink**, who was b. 5 Mar. 1934, d/o Clarence and Lenore Brink. John is an insurance agent.
Issue of John and Muriel (Critchett) Sargeant:
236 i. Anne Paulina Sargeant, b. 17 Sept. 1952.
237 ii. Catherine Lydia Sargeant, b. 27 Oct. 1954.
238 iii. Linda Muriel Sargeant, b. 23 Jan. 1957.
239 iv. Melissa Frances Sargeant, b. 6 Apr. 1959.
v. Wesley John Sargeant, b. 8 Apr. 1969, Pasadena, CA.

190 Edmund Stairs[7] Twining (Edmond[6], Edmond[5], Edward[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 19 Sept. 1915, New York; m. (1) 29 Aug. 1941, Anne Mumford **Pratt**, who was b. 13 June 1921, d/o Charles and Catherine Pratt; m. (2) 23 Apr. 1963, Margery **Gerdes**; m. (3) 30 Dec. 1971, Patricia **Ballantyne**, who was b. 3 Oct. 1928, d/o James and Mary Ballantyne. Edmund was an Air Force captain and bomber pilot during WWII.

Issue of Edmund and Anne (Pratt) Twining:

240 i. Edmund Stairs Twining, b. 23 Aug. 1942.

241 ii. Peter Pratt Twining, b. 20 Oct. 1946.

191 Nancy Stairs[7] Twining (John[6], Edmond[5], Edward[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 21 Mar. 1930, New York; m. (1) 27 Dec. 1949, Francis Joseph **Santini**, who was b. Sept. 1926, s/o Orazio and Anita Santini; m. (2) Jan. 1960, Lawrence Sewell **Cullerton**, who was b. 16 Sept. 1926, s/o Jack Cullerton and Marie Sewell. Nancy is an equestrian trainer and operator.

Issue of Francis and Nancy (Twining) Santini:

i. Rebecca Anne Santini, b. 20 Apr. 1951, Mount Kisco, NY; m. (1) Richard **Campbell**, s/o Richard H. Campbell and Ann Dickinson; m. (2) 25 June 1983, Peter **Hearn**, s/o Philip and Rose Hearn.

242 ii. Gary Francis Santini, b. 14 Dec. 1952.

iii. Catherine Louise Santini, b. 14 Oct. 1956, Norwalk; m. 1978, Charles **Hopkins**. Catherine is Manager, "Akindale" Thoroughbred Breeding Farm.

Issue of Lawrence and Nancy (Twining) Cullerton:

iv. Keith William Cullerton, b. 30 Mar. 1962, Danbury, CT. He is in the US Army Aviation Corps.

v. Kim Twining Cullerton, b. 7 Sept. 1963, Danbury.

192 Geoffrey Twining[7] Egginton (Mary[6], Charles[5], Edward[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 19 Mar. 1940, New York; m. 24 Aug. 1968, Susan **Swan**, d/o Bernard and Jane Swan. Geoffrey is a partner in Thompson Crenshaw Inc.

Issue of Geoffrey and Susan (Swan) Egginton:

i. Peter Geoffrey Egginton, b. 5 Mar. 1975.

ii. Robert Swan Egginton, b. 7 Nov. 1980.

193 Everett[7] Egginton (Mary[6], Charles[5], Edward[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 6 Apr. 1943, New York; m. 5 June 1965, Margaret **McGuire**, who was b. 1944, d/o William McGuire and Betty Lou Steinbugler. Everett is a Professor of Education, University of St. Louis.
Issue of Everett and Margaret (McGuire) Egginton:
i. William Everett Egginton, b. 19 Mar. 1969.

194 Hersey Benner[7] Egginton (Mary[6], Charles[5], Edward[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 26 Aug. 1948, Garden City, Long Island; m. 8 Apr. 1972, Deborah **Quincy**, d/o Arthur Quincy. Hersey is a marketing director.
Issue of Hersey and Deborah (Quincy) Egginton:
i. Abigail Quincy Egginton, b. 23 Dec. 1980.
ii. Emily Egginton, b. 11 May 1984.

195 Patricia Ann Joan[7] Palmer (Enid[6], Frederick[5], Elizabeth[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 1926; m. 5 July 1950, Geoffrey Stuart **Johnson**, s/o Henry Joseph Alfred Johnson.
Issue of Geoffrey and Patricia (Palmer) Johnson:
i. Veronica Johnson.
ii. unidentified child.

196 Merilyn Sheila[7] Rynd (Patrick[6], Frederick[5], Elizabeth[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 5 July 1945, Tunbridge Wells, England; m. (1) 28 Aug. 1964, Graham **Bond**, who was b. 8 Oct. 1937; m. (2) 5 Dec. 1980, John **Brason**, who was b. 29 June 1924, Henley-on-Thames.
Issue of Graham and Merilyn (Rynd) Bond:
i. Benjamin Bond, b. 12 June 1970, Melbourne, Australia.
Issue of John and Merilyn (Rynd) Brason:
ii. Adam Rynd Brason, b. 8 Apr. 1978.
iii. John Luke Brason, b. 25 Jan. 1980, Reading, England.

197 Robert Anthony[7] Atthill (Olive[6], Florence[5], Catherine[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 7 Mar. 1912, Netherhampton, Salisbury, England; m. 12 Apr. 1939, Elizabeth **Thackeray**, who was b. 9 Feb. 1912, India. Robert is a schoolmaster.
Issue of Robert and Elizabeth (Thackeray) Atthill:
i. Thomas Richard Atthill, b. 8 July 1941.
243 ii. Charles Richmond Anthony Atthill, b. 18 June 1944.
244 iii. Catherine Anne Atthill, b. 20 Oct. 1946.

198 Betty Hazel[7] Bates (Kenneth[6], Katherine[5], Catherine[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 15 Oct. 1927, St. Albans, England; m. 29 Jan. 1949, Albert

Merideth **Davies**, who was b. 30 July 1922, s/o Aaron Elijah Davies.
Issue of Albert and Betty (Bates) Davies:

i. Alban Hugh Merideth Davies, b. 11 July 1951, Hereford, England; m. (1) 1974, Isabel **Brown**; m. (2) 8 June 1985, Lynne **Secrist**, who was b. 1951, New York City.
ii. Jeremy Joah Merideth Davies, b. 25 Nov. 1952.
iii. Susanna Frances Merideth Davies, b. 12 Jan. 1959; m. 25 Aug. 1984, Stephen James Leigh **Foster**, who was b. 13 Jan. 1960, Leicester, England, s/o Malcolm David Edward and Diana Elizabeth Foster.
iv. Benjamin Kenneth Merideth Davies, b. 24 Nov. 1960.

199 Babbie[7] Tremaine (Albert[6], Hadley[5], Edward[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), m. Howard **DeBlois**.
Issue of Howard and Babbie (Tremaine) DeBlois:

i. Dianne DeBlois, m. Roger **Leeon**.

200 James Wiggins[7] Tremaine (Kenneth[6], Hadley[5], Edward[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 7 Aug. 1931; m. 13 June 1959, Elizabeth Grace **Heagney**.
James is a salesman for Canada Cement LaFarge.
Issue of James and Elizabeth (Heagney) Tremaine:

i. Patricia Tremaine, b. 14 June 1962.
ii. Darryl Tremaine.
iii. Loretta Tremaine, b. 1964.

201 Mary Fayre[7] Tremaine (Kenneth[6], Hadley[5], Edward[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 28 Apr. 1933; m. 10 Aug. 1957, William **Mathewson**.
Mary d. Montreal.
Issue of William and Mary (Tremaine) Mathewson:

i. Bruce Mathewson.
ii. Robert Mathewson.
iii. Douglas Mathewson.
iv. Wendy Mathewson.

202 Edward W. H.[7] Tremaine (Kenneth[6], Hadley[5], Edward[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 21 Sept. 1935; m. Amy Diana Maude **Dunbar**, d/o Angus Charles Oxnard Dunbar and Amy Grace Howitt.
Issue of Edward and Amy (Dunbar) Tremaine:

i. Julia Tremaine.
ii. Anthony Tremaine.

203 Leah[7] Tremaine (Frederick[6], Frederick[5], Frederick[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), m. F. C. **O'Neil**.
Issue of F. C. and Leah (Tremaine) O'Neil:
i. Jane Elizabeth O'Neil, b. 4 June 1954.
ii. Neville O'Neil.
iii. unidentified child.

204 Donald[7] Tremaine (Leonard[6], Charles[5], Frederick[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]); m. Joan _____. Don was a CBC broadcaster in Halifax.
Issue of Donald and Joan Tremaine:
245 i. Robert Tremaine.
ii. Janet Tremaine.

205 William[7] Schwartz (Hilda[6], George[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 3 Feb. 1931, Halifax; m. (1) before 1956, Ida Mary **MacKiggan**; m. (2) Sandra Lee **Pelley** before 1969; m. (3) Vera before 1985.
Issue of William and Ida (MacKiggan) Schwartz:
i. William Howie Chisholm Schwartz, b. 12 Nov. 1956, Halifax.
ii. Julie Ann Schwartz, b. 29 Mar. 1958, Halifax.
Issue of William and Sandra (Pelley) Schwartz:
iii. Kenneth Edwin Schwartz, b. 3 Dec. 1969, Halifax. Kenneth is an actor/director.
Issue of William and Vera Schwartz:
iv. unidentified child, b. ca. 1985.

206 Edith Virginia[7] Tremaine (Roy[6], George[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), m. (1) Arthur Franklin **Calderwood**; m. (2) Leslie **Van Tassell**.
Issue of Arthur and Virginia (Tremaine) Calderwood:
i. Gretchen Anne Calderwood, b. 18 Aug. 1954, Natick, MA.
246 ii. Shelby Lynne Calderwood, b. 26 Sept. 1957.

207 George A.[7] Tremaine (George[6], George[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 25 Apr. 1935, Boston; m. Joan _____.
Issue of George and Joan Tremaine:
i. Marcia Tremaine.
ii. Nancy Tremaine.

208 Kenneth A.[7] Tremaine (George[6], George[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 1928, Boston; m., but no details. Kenneth lives in Millers Creek, North Carolina.

Issue of Kenneth Tremaine:

247 i. Kenneth A. Tremaine, b. 21 Dec. 1956.

248 ii. Elizabeth Anne Tremaine, b. 14 Apr. 1960.

209 Ruth M.[7] Tremaine (George[6], George[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 5 May 1932, Boston; m. Robert **Giambarba**, who d. 1980, Centreville, MA. Ruth d. 1978.

Issue of Robert and Ruth (Tremaine) Giambarba:

i. Lilly Giambarba, b. MA.

ii. Andrew Giambarba, b. MA.

210 Arthur Clifford[7] Harris (Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 28 Nov. 1928; m. 6 Apr. 1956, Joan Margaret **Blaxland**, who was b. 12 July 1936.

Issue of Arthur and Joan (Blaxland) Harris:

249 i. Linda Darlene Harris, b. 29 Sept. 1956.

250 ii. Derrick Jeffrey Harris, b. 31 Mar. 1958.

251 iii. John Stephen Harris, b. 27 Apr. 1960.

252 iv. Joanne Margaret Harris, b. 19 July 1965.

211 Sylvia Marjorie[7] Harris (Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 11 May 1931; m. 30 Apr. 1954, Donald Frederick **Stafford**, who was b. 14 May 1932. Sylvia d. post-1977, Texas.

Issue of Donald and Sylvia (Harris) Stafford:

253 i. Wayde Steadford Stafford, b. 12 Aug. 1962.

254 ii. Donna Lynn Stafford, b. 25 July 1967.

212 William Carl[7] Harris (Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 13 Jan. 1933; m. 3 Sept. 1960, Florence Ruth **Purdy**, who was b. 7 Oct. 1934.

Issue of William and Florence (Purdy) Harris:

i. Kirk William Harris, b. 4 June 1967, Halifax.

ii. Elizabeth Ann Harris, b. 14 June 1968, Halifax; m. 29 Aug. 1992, Halifax, Kelly Anthony **Organ**.

213 Dorothy[7] Gwendolyn Harris (Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 16 Aug. 1935; m. 21 Aug. 1954, Donald George **Houston**, who was b. 9 Jan. 1933.

Issue of Donald and Dorothy (Harris) Houston:

255 i. Stephen George Houston, b. 25 Sept. 1956.

256 ii. Rhonda Jane Houston, b. 21 May 1960.

214 Jean Alice[7] Harris (Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 30 Jan. 1939; m. 17 Sept. 1960, Donald George **LaPierre**.
Issue of Donald and Jean (Harris) LaPierre:
i. Elaine Marie LaPierre, b. 5 June 1965, Halifax.
ii. Eric Donald LaPierre, b. 11 Dec. 1966, Halifax.

215 Joan Maude[7] Harris (Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 30 Jan. 1939; m. 3 Mar. 1959, Graham R. **Winterbourne**, who was b. 29 Mar. 1937.
Issue of Graham and Joan (Harris) Winterbourne:
257 i. Cathy Ann Winterbourne, b. 14 Aug. 1959.
ii. Graham Erle Winterbourne, b. 23 Sept. 1960, Halifax.
iii. Janice Lynn Winterbourne, b. 3 Sept. 1964, Halifax.

216 James Robert[7] Harris (Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 30 Jan. 1941; m. 27 Apr. 1968, Karen Ruth **Ryan**, who was b. 25 Apr. 1945.
Issue of James and Karen (Ryan) Harris:
i. Kimberly Anne Harris.
ii. Colleen Danielle Harris.

217 Kenneth Charles[7] Harris (Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 21 Dec. 1942; m. (1) Marlene Ann **Dingle**, 4 Feb. 1967; m. (2) 12 Dec. 1980, Nancy **Murray**, who was b. 18 Sept. 1950.
Issue of Kenneth and Marlene (Dingle) Harris:
i. Tanya Marie Harris, b. 17 Mar. 1970.
ii. Gillian Harris.

EIGHTH GENERATION

218 Carol Ann[8] Mudge (Winnifred[7], Claudine[6], Winnifred[5], Barclay[4], John[3], Jonathan[2], Jonathan[1]), m. Mick **Finn**.
Issue of Mick and Carol (Mudge) Finn:
i. Molly Finn.
ii. Mark Finn.

219 Russell Richard Cowderoy[8] Twining (Russell[7], Russell[6], Louis[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 17 Oct. 1949, Vancouver; m. 17 Feb. 1973, Wendy **Williams**, who was b. 13 June 1950, Saskatoon, SK, d/o Roland Williams and Maureen MacMin. Russell is a lawyer.
Issue of Russell and Wendy (Williams) Twining:

i. Scott Benjamin Twining, b. 10 July 1977, Vancouver.
ii. James Patrick Twining, b. 20 Mar. 1979, Vancouver.
iii. William Russell Twining, b. 17 Apr. 1982, Vancouver.

220 David Maxwell[8] Twining (Russell[7], Russell[6], Louis[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 11 June 1954, Vancouver; m. 25 July 1979, Deborah Jean **Ward**, who was b. 6 Mar. 1957, Lima, Peru, d/o Claude Ward and Elizabeth Ashworth. David is a lawyer.
Issue of David and Deborah (Ward) Twining:
i. Michael Ward Twining, b. 31 Jan. 1983, Vancouver.
ii. Andrew Ward Twining, b. 18 Oct. 1985, Vancouver.

221 Edmund Arthur[8] Bull (Mary[7], Marjorie[6], Louis[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 26 Nov. 1950, Windsor, ON; m. 1979, Ruth Mary **Arthur**, who was b. 25 Nov. 1949, Pittsburg, d/o Joseph Arthur and Margaret Shaur. Edmund runs a literary program in the Toronto Public Library.
Issue of Edmund and Ruth (Arthur) Bull:
i. Louis Samuel Bull, b. 21 Oct. 1979, Toronto.
ii. Alexander Joseph Bull, b. 21 Feb. 1984, Toronto.

222 Elizabeth Jane[8] Smeltzer (Patricia[7], Ruth[6], Louis[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 20 Dec. 1954, Weston, ON; m. 13 Oct. 1979, Robert John **Howard**, who was b. 15 May 1954, Co. Kent, England, s/o Colin John Howard and Mardo Holden. Elizabeth is a social worker.
Issue of Robert and Elizabeth (Smeltzer) Howard:
i. Laura Elizabeth Howard, b. 29 Sept. 1981.
ii. Julie Holden Smeltzer Howard, b. 21 Aug. 1984.

223 Linda[8] Lamb (Eric[7], Jessie[6], Beatrice[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 28 Nov. 1944, Nashville; m. 26 Sept. 1970, John **Ashbaugh**, who was b. 12 Aug. 1943, Youngstown, OH, s/o Elwood Ashbaugh and Jane Mittler.
Issue of John and Linda (Lamb) Ashbaugh:
i. Alan Ashbaugh, b. 15 Sept. 1982, Boston.
ii. Eric Colin Ashbaugh, b. 23 Nov. 1985, Boston.

224 Mary Louise[8] O'Neil (Eleanor[7], Jessie[6], Beatrice[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 28 Apr. 1932, Newton; m. 20 Mar. 1958, William David **Ritter**, who was b. 9 Dec. 1931, Tulsa, OK.
Issue of William and Mary (O'Neil) Ritter:
i. John Arthur Ritter, b. 16 Nov. 1958, Boston; m. Jeanine Luann **Miller**, 20 Apr. 1985.

ii. Stefan Ernest Ritter, b. 30 May 1960, Boston.
258 iii. Mary Elisabeth Ritter, b. 25 Dec. 1961.
iv. Sara Margerita Ritter, b. 9 Dec. 1963, Hanover, NH.

225 William[8] O'Neil (Eleanor[7], Jessie[6], Beatrice[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 28 Oct. 1936, Newton; m. 4 July 1959, Janet **Corcoran**, d/o Henry Corcoran.
Issue of William and Janet (Corcoran) O'Neil:
i. Mark O'Neil, b. 25 July 1960.
ii. John O'Neil, b. 2 Nov. 1961.
iii. Mathew O'Neil, b. 28 Sept. 1965.

226 Linda[8] Lynes (Gregory[7], Twining[6], Adelle[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 22 Dec. 1944, Rochester, NY; m. 22 Dec. 1965, Norman **Groetzinger**, who was b. 3 Mar. 1942, Lafayette, IN, s/o Gerhardt Karl Eugen Groetzinger and Erica Mueller.
Issue of Norman and Linda (Lynes) Groetzinger:
i. Emma Carene Groetzinger, b. 14 Aug. 1983, Chicago, IL.

227 Philip Tyrus[8] Lynes (Gregory[7], Twining[6], Adelle[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 6 May 1947, Boston; m. 13 Mar. 1969, Carolyn **Luke**, who was b. 8 Oct. 1946, Penang, Malaysia, d/o Kenneth Luke and Phyllis Sharpington.
Issue of Philip and Carolyn (Luke) Lynes:
i. Morgan Lara Lynes, b. 6 Mar. 1976, Boston.
ii. Alyssa Rowena Lynes, b. 17 Nov. 1980, Boston.

228 Jon Twining[8] Lynes (David[7], Twining[6], Adelle[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 31 Dec. 1955, Hempstead, NY; m. 26 Feb. 1979, Andrea Leslie **Cadwell**, who was b. 3 Mar. 1953, Fitchburg, MA.
Issue of Jon and Andrea (Cadwell) Lynes:
i. Rebecca Davis Lynes, b. 26 Mar. 1981, Honolulu, HI.

229 Barbara[8] Southworth (Barbara[7], Mary[6], Annie[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 5 May 1942, Englewood, NJ; m. (1) 1 Aug. 1964, Vincent **Vinci**, s/o Vincent J. and Nella Vinci; m. (2) 6 July 1984, Arvid J. **Carlson**. Barbara is a supervisor in an alcohol and drug abuse unit.
Issue of Vincent and Barbara (Southworth) Vinci:
i. Christopher Vinci, b. 24 Nov. 1968, Newton.
ii. Matthew Vinci, b. 27 July 1971, Newton.
iii. Jennifer Vinci, b. 10 Jan. 1975, Rochester, NY.

230 Augustus Reynell[8] Southworth (Barbara[7], Mary[6], Annie[5], John[4],

Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 11 Nov. 1945, Orange, NJ; m. 30 Aug. 1969, Susan Gillespie **Moorman**, who was b. 8 Aug. 1945, West Point, NY, d/o Harold Nelson Moorman and Nancy Ansell. Augustus is Head, Trial Dept., Gager, Henry & Narkis.

Issue of Augustus and Susan (Moorman) Southworth:

i. Taylor Twining Southworth, b. 25 Oct. 1974, Hartford, CT.
ii. Hunter Reynell Southworth, b. 26 Dec. 1979, Hartford, CT.

231 Truxtun Lyman[8] Southworth (Barbara[7], Mary[6], Annie[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 9 May 1948, Orange, NJ; m. (1) 15 Apr. 1968, Susanne **Cass**, d/o John and Dorothy Cass; m. (2) 3 Aug. 1974, Linda Sue **Fleming**, d/o Robert Fleming and Betty Moxley.

Issue of Truxtun and Susanne (Cass) Southworth:

i. Michael Shawn Southworth, b. 24 July 1968, New Milford, CT.

Issue of Truxtun and Linda (Fleming) Southworth:

ii. Kathryn Ruth Southworth, b. 26 Jan. 1980, Norwalk, CT.
iii. Abigail Lee Southworth, b. 11 Nov. 1983, Norwalk.

232 Susan[8] Southworth (Barbara[7], Mary[6], Annie[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 3 Apr. 1953, New Milford, CT; m. Aug. 1974, Michael **Pasternak**, s/o Nicholas Pasternak. Susan is a registered nurse.

Issue of Michael and Susan (Southworth) Pasternak:

i. Forrest Michael MacFarland Pasternak, b. 5 Nov. 1976, New Milford.

233 Carol Jacques[8] Sargeant (Winthrop[7], Thekla[6], Annie[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 23 Aug. 1948, Utica, NY; m. 4 Jan. 1974, Jeffrey **Sandman**, s/o Raymond and Lora Sandman. Carol is the owner of a children's clothing store.

Issue of Jeffrey and Carol (Sargeant) Sandman:

i. Jacob Sandman, b. 17 July 1980, Washington, DC.

234 Louise Twining[8] Sargeant (Winthrop[7], Thekla[6], Annie[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 6 July 1951, Tonawanda, NY; m. 3 Sept. 1972, Michael **Guzzo**, s/o Michael Guzzo and Caroline Gugliemelli.

Issue of Michael and Louise (Sargeant) Guzzo:

i. Katherine Guzzo, b. 23 July 1977, Concord, NH.
ii. Elizabeth Twining Guzzo, b. 17 May 1980, Concord.
iii. Stephanie Jaques Guzzo, b. 19 Jan. 1985, Concord.

235 Paul Emerson[8] Sargeant (Winthrop[7], Thekla[6], Annie[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 4 July 1953, Warsaw, NY; m. 5 July 1975, Denise **Loiselle**, who was b. 1 June 1953, d/o Robert and Nathalie Loiselle. Paul is Manager, Maintenance & Planning, Velcro.
Issue of Paul and Denise (Loiselle) Sargeant:
i. Jennifer Loiselle Sargeant, b. 4 Mar. 1978.

236 Anne Paulina[8] Sargeant (John[7], Thekla[6], Annie[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 17 Sept. 1952, Manchester; m. 11 June 1977, Steven **Yon**, s/o Elmer and Helen Yon. Anne is co-owner of a restaurant in Hull, Iowa.
Issue of Steven and Anne (Sargeant) Yon:
i. Theron Regan Yon, b. 3 Aug. 1980, Emporia, KS.
ii. Justin Paul Yon, b. 29 Nov. 1983, Emporia.

237 Catherine Lydia[8] Sargeant (John[7], Thekla[6], Annie[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 27 Oct. 1954, New Haven; m. 16 July 1976, Richard **Kluger**, s/o Ren Kluger.
Issue of Richard and Catherine (Sargeant) Kluger:
i. Ryan Emerson Kluger, b. 7 July 1980, Arcadia, CA.
ii. Corinne Elizabeth Kluger, b. 11 June 1984, Arcadia.

238 Linda Muriel[8] Sargeant (John[7], Thekla[6], Annie[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 23 Jan. 1957, Freeport, Long Island, NY; m. 24 Apr. 1980, Edward **Morga**, s/o Edward and Evelyn Morga.
Issue of Edward and Linda (Sargeant) Morga:
i. Dustin Edward Morga, b. 22 Feb. 1984.

239 Melissa Frances[8] Sargeant (John[7], Thekla[6], Annie[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 6 Apr. 1959, Orlando, FL; m. James **Vander Wiel**, s/o Richard and Elaine Vander Wiel.
Issue of James and Melissa (Sargeant) Vander Wiel:
i. Kenneth Richard Vander Wiel, b. 21 Sept. 1983, Arcadia.

240 Edmund Stairs[8] Twining (Edmund[7], Edmond[6], Edmond[5], Edward[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 23 Aug. 1942, Cleveland, OH; m. (1) 12 Sept. 1964, Judith Kincaid **Taylor**, who was b. 24 July 1942, Syracuse, NY, d/o Frederick Halsey Taylor and Jane Kincaid; m. (2) Susan **Clark**. Edmund is a breeder of Angus cattle and racehorses.
Issue of Edmund and Judith (Taylor) Twining:
i. Edmund Stairs Twining, b. 14 June 1965.
ii. Taylor Kincaid Twining, b. 5 Sept. 1968.

241 Peter Pratt[8] Twining (Edmund[7], Edmond[6], Edmond[5], Edward[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 20 Oct. 1946, Philadelphia; m. 8 June 1968, Deborah **Saltonstall**, who was b. 11 Feb. 1949, d/o William G. Saltonstall. Peter graduated from St. Paul's University and Harvard with a major in social anthropology. He subsequently went to Northeastern Law School, then worked for the firm of Robeson Gray and is now in the Investment Law Section of New England Life.
Issue of Peter and Deborah (Saltonstall) Twining:
i. Hillary Pratt Twining, b. 30 July 1972, Beverly, MA.
ii. Benjamin Saltonstall Twining, b. 10 Sept. 1975, Beverly, MA.

242 Gary Francis[8] Santini (Nancy[7], John[6], Edmond[5], Edward[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 14 Dec. 1952, Norwalk; m. 6 Sept. 1980, Linda **Gaudenzi**, d/o Nelson Gaudenzi and Theresa Brown. Gary is a purchasing agent, Nestle Co.
Issue of Gary and Linda (Gaudenzi) Santini:
i. Tony Francis Santini, b. 25 Oct. 1981, New Milford, CT.
ii. Jennifer Lee Santini, b. 27 Oct. 1984, New Milford.

243 Charles Richmond Anthony[8] Atthill (Robert[7], Olive[6], Florence[5], Catherine[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 18 June 1944; m. 30 July 1966, Frances **Currey**.
Issue of Charles and Frances (Currey) Atthill:
i. Robert Atthill, b. 13 Nov. 1967.
ii. Natasha Atthill, b. 19 June 1969.

244 Catherine Anne[8] Atthill (Robert[7], Olive[6], Florence[5], Catherine[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 20 Oct. 1946; m. 1978, _____ **Jeffers**.
Issue of Catherine (Atthill) Jeffers:
i. Sam Jeffers, b. 20 May 1978.
ii. William Jeffers, b. 29 June 1981.

245 Robert[8] Tremaine (Donald[7], Leonard[6], Charles[5], Frederick[4], John[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), m. Joan **MacVicar**. Robert is a medical doctor.
Issue of Robert and Joan (MacVicar) Tremaine:
i. Andrew Tremaine.
ii. Kate Tremaine, b. 1986.
iii. Sarah Elizabeth MacVicar Tremaine, b. 7 July 1990, Halifax.
iv. Caroline Mary MacVicar Tremaine, b. 13 Feb. 1993, Halifax.

246 Shelby Lynne[8] Calderwood (Edith[7], Roy[6], George[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 26 Sept. 1957, Natick, MA; m. 15 Oct. 1983,

Kenneth Paul **Robertson**.
Issue of Kenneth and Shelby (Calderwood) Robertson:
i. Carolyn Robertson, b. 1987.
ii. Stacey Robertson, b. 1992.

247 Kenneth A.[8] Tremaine (Kenneth[7], George[6], George[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 21 Dec. 1956, New York City; m., but no details.
Issue of Kenneth Tremaine:
i. Kenneth Michael Tremaine, b. 19 Mar. 1983, New York City.

248 Elizabeth Anne[8] Tremaine (Kenneth[7], George[6], George[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 14 Apr. 1960, New York City; m., but no details.
Issue of Elizabeth (Tremaine):
i. Julie Elizabeth, b. 31 Dec. 1981, MA.

249 Linda Darlene[8] Harris (Arthur[7], Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 29 Sept. 1956, Halifax; m. Alan **Bennett**.
Issue of Alan and Linda (Harris) Bennett:
i. Amanda Bennett.

250 Derrick Jeffrey[8] Harris (Arthur[7], Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 31 Mar. 1958, Halifax; m. 9 May 1986, Sheila Megan **Fyffe**.
Issue of Derrick and Sheila (Fyffe) Harris:
i. Megan Elizabeth Harris, b. 26 July 1987, Halifax.
ii. Jeffrey Harris, b. 2 Nov. 1989, Halifax.

251 John Stephen[8] Harris (Arthur[7], Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 27 Apr. 1960, Halifax; m. Robin Lynn **Jacques**.
Issue of John and Robin (Jacques) Harris:
i. Jonathan Harris, b. ca. 1987.
ii. Emily Robin Harris, b. ca. Mar. 1992, Halifax.

252 Joanne Margaret[8] Harris (Arthur[7], Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 19 July 1965, Halifax; m. 28 Nov. 1991, Mario **LeMire**.
Issue of Mario and Joanne (Harris) LeMire:
i. Justin Marcelle LeMire, b. 30 June 1992, Halifax.

253 Wayde Steadford[8] Stafford (Sylvia[7], Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 12 Aug. 1962, Halifax; m. Cherrie **Reid**, who was b. 5 June 1970.
Issue of Wayde and Cherrie (Reid) Stafford:

i. Lacey Gina Marie Stafford, b. May 1990.

254 Donna Lynn[8] Stafford (Sylvia[7], Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 25 July 1967, Halifax; m. 8 Aug. 1987, James (Rocky) **Richardson.**

Issue of James and Donna (Stafford) Richardson:

i. unidentified child, b. 1988.

255 Stephen George[8] Houston (Dorothy[7], Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 25 Sept. 1956, Halifax; m. 1 Feb. 1980, Debra Anne Mary **Russell.**

Issue of Stephen and Debra (Russell) Houston:

i. Sarah Elizabeth Houston, b. 1989.
ii. Allanah Houston, b. 2 Mar. 1990.

256 Rhonda Jane[8] Houston (Dorothy[7], Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 21 May 1960, Halifax; m. 27 Sept. 1988, Halifax, Mark **Magnus.**

Issue of Mark and Rhonda (Houston) Magnus:

i. Matthew Paul Magnus, b. Halifax.
ii. Clayton Magnus.
iii. unidentified child, b. 3 Mar. 1989.

257 Cathy Ann[8] Winterbourne (Joan[7], Alice[6], Alice[5], Albert[4], George[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 14 Aug. 1959, Halifax; m. Robert **Cleveland.**

Issue of Robert and Cathy (Winterbourne) Cleveland:

i. Jason Cleveland.
ii. Krista Cleveland.

NINTH GENERATION

258 Mary Elisabeth[9] Ritter (Mary[8], Eleanor[7], Jessie[6], Beatrice[5], John[4], Catherine[3], John[2], Jonathan[1]), b. 25 Dec. 1961, Boston; m. 5 June 1982, Kenneth David **Walter**, who was b. 25 July 1961, San Pedro, CA, s/o Frank Albert Walter and Joanne Vaerewyck.

Issue of Kenneth and Mary (Ritter) Walter:

i. Julie E. Walter, b. 2 Sept. 1982.
ii. Brian M. Walter, b. 15 June 1984.

Comments, queries, corrections or additions concerning the above genealogy should be directed to:
Gail D. Judge, CG(C)
2155 Monastery Lane, Apartment 418
Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3L 4P9

Bibliography

Published Sources

Bishop Family Association. *Tangled Roots: Descendants of John Bishop* (Wolfville, NS, 1990).

Boggs, W.E. *The Genealogical Record of the Boggs Family, the Descendants of Ezekial Boggs*, (Halifax, 1916).

Byrne, Joseph. "Medical History of Fort Dodge, Kansas" (thesis).

Eaton, A.W.H. *History of Kings County* (Salem, MA, 1910).

Harrington, Charles Tremaine. *Genealogical Record of the Harringtons of Nova Scotia* (Newton, MA, 1938).

Hoyt, David W. *A Genealogical History of the Hoyt, Haight, & Hight families* (Bethany, OK, ca. 1871; repr. 1985).

Johns, William. *History of Perth Co. 1825–1902.*

Lynes, Martha. *Twinings of Nova Scotia: A Family History and Genealogy* (Wellesley, MA, 1985).

Purchase, Wendy A. "The McFatridge Family of Coleraine, Northern Ireland, and Halifax, N.S." *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, XII, 1 (June 1993), 151–160.

Regan, John W. *Sketches and Traditions of the North West Arm* (Halifax, 1909; repr. Willowdale, ON, 1978).

Tremaine Family Bible entries: B.C. Genealogist: Vol. 21, #4, Dec. 1992, pp. 128–30.

Newspapers

Acadian Recorder (Halifax), 13 Aug. 1853; 20 Oct. 1892; 15 Nov. 1895.

The Chronicle Herald (Halifax), 5 Apr. 1977; 10 Jan. 1989; 20 Feb. 1993; 8 Nov. 1993.

Dodge City Times (Kansas), 26 Jan. 1878.

Fort County Globe (Kansas), 22 Jan. 1878.

Globe and Mail (Toronto), 23 Apr. 1990.

Montreal Gazette, 6 May 1932; 29 Feb. 1944.

Truro Daily News, 15 Dec. 1936.

Correspondents

Dr. George Bate, Saint John, NB

Judy Oldright Loebner, Portland, Oregon

Mrs. A. Needham, Dallas, Texas

Dr. Perry, Charleston, South Carolina

George A. Tremaine, Dorchester, Mass.

Mrs. Robert Tremaine, Milford, Ontario

Virginia Van Tassell

Archival/Primary Sources

Census:

1881 Census: Charlottetown & Royalty, PEI

1881 Census: Halifax City, NS, Ward 5

1891 Census: Halifax City, NS, Ward 5

1891 Census: Charlottetown, PEI

1891 Census: Mitchell Township, County Perth, ON

1901 Census: Baddeck, NS

Religious Records:

Metropolitan Church, Quebec City

St. George's Anglican Church, Halifax, NS

St. James' United Church, Dartmouth, NS

St. James' Anglican Church, Halifax, NS

St. John the Baptist Anglican Church, North Sydney, NS

St. John's Anglican Church, Truro, NS

St. Paul's Church, Charlottetown, PEI

Trinity Parish, Mitchell, ON

Zion-Robertson United Church, Port Hawkesbury, NS

Government Records:

Births: Halifax County (1864–1877)

Births: Inverness County (1864–1877)

Births: Richmond County (1864–1877)

Births: Victoria County (1864–1877)

Marriages: Halifax County (1864–1916)

Marriages: Inverness County (1864–1908)

Marriages: Richmond County (1864–1918)

Marriages: Victoria County (1864–1908)

Deaths: Halifax County (1864–1877)

Deaths: Inverness County (1864–1877)

Deaths: Richmond County (1864–1877)

Deaths: Victoria County (1864–1877)

Marriage Bonds (Prince Edward Island)

Probate Records: Will Books: Colchester Co., Vol. K; Halifax Co., Vols. 3–14

Miscellaneous:

International Genealogical Index: New York; Maine (1992 ed.). Family History Centre, Dartmouth, NS

Social Security Death Index (1992 ed.). Family History Centre, Dartmouth, NS

Dept. of Vital Statistics, Victoria, BC

Stayner Collection, Public Archives of Nova Scotia

Richard Tremaine Letters, Public Archives of Nova Scotia

Robie Street Cemetery, Truro, NS

Terrace Hill Cemetery, Truro, NS

Trinity Anglican Church Cemetery, Blanshard Street, Mitchell, Fullarton Township, ON

Book Reviews

Allen B. Robertson

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.

The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History, edited by Phillip A. Buckner and John G. Reid. ISBN 0–8020–6977–0. Acadiensis Press, Fredericton, N.B., 1994. xxxiv + 491 pp., illustrated, paper, $29.95.

The Canada Fire: Radical Evangelicalism in British North America 1775–1812, by George A. Rawlyk. ISBN 0–7735–1277–2. McGill–Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1994. xix + 244 pp., illustrated, paper, $18.95.

Contested Countryside: Rural Workers and Modern Society in Atlantic Canada, 1800–1950, edited by Daniel Samson. ISBN 0–919107–49–0. Acadiensis Press, Fredericton, N.B., 1994. 272 pp., illustrated, paper, $19.95. Published for the Gorsebrook Research Institute for Atlantic Canada Studies, Saint Mary's University.

Dictionary of Canadian Biography: Volume XIII: 1901–1910, General Editor, Ramsay Cook. ISBN 0–8020–3998–7. University of Toronto Press, 1994. xxi + 1,295 pp., cloth, $85.00.

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, 1993. xx + 179 pp., illustrated, cloth, $95.00.

The Pioneers of Canaan, Kings County, Nova Scotia, compiled by Marie Bishop. ISBN 1–896084–1. Kings Historical Society Community History Committee, Kentville, N.S., 1994. 215 pp., illustrated, paper, $19.95.

Saturday's Children: From London Workhouse to Bermuda Indenture 1850: A Journey from darkness into light, by Jocelyn Motyer Raymond. ISBN 0–9698088–01–1. Arrowroot Press, Pembroke, Bermuda, 1994. xvi + 172 pp., paper, $21.00.

Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes, edited by Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton. ISBN 0–919107–41–9. Acadiensis Press, Fredericton, N.B., 1994. 250 pp., paper, $19.95.

'We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up': Essays in African Canadian Women's History, edited by Peggy Bristow et al. ISBN 0–8020–6881–2. University of Toronto Press, 1994. xx + 248 pp., illustrated, paper, $17.95.

One of the principal challenges for a book review editor is selecting works for review and notice. The number of books received always exceeds the space available in a biannual journal. This situation is no less true in 1994, when once more readers have a large number of local histories, genealogies, biographical dictionaries, surveys and specialized monographs from which to chose. For the reviewer the chief question remains whether the boom in historical publications is matched by quality of content, readability and original scholarship in a particular field.

Four significant books to appear in this past year include the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography: Volume XIII: 1901 to 1910, the Historical Atlas of Canada: Volume II: The Land Transformed: 1800–1891, L'Acadie des Maritimes* and *Contested Countryside: Rural Workers and Modern Society in Atlantic Canada, 1800–1950*. All four are representative of their genre and of the current state of academic scholarship. *DCB* volumes are always major events when issued, as past reviews in the *NSHR* testify. Both professional and amateur historians can profitably mine the pages of this authoritative reference source, genealogists can scour the bibliographies, and students in high school and university will find in it an invaluable guide to research. Volume XIII contains at least 101 Nova Scotian biographies covering a wide range of ethnic, occupational and religious backgrounds. A few entries are of exceptional quality, such as Colin D. Howell's sketch of Daniel McNeill Parker, MD, which immerses the reader in nineteenth-century provincial medical practice, professional development and the question of public image. There is a deft compression of sources which does not ignore the highlights of the career of this Windsor-born physician-politician.

It is unfortunate that not all the biographies reveal such profound depths of original research. In part the problem lies in a woefully inadequate corpus of scholarly literature in the area of Afro-Nova Scotian studies. Even the review article by Mark Davis in the Spring 1994 issue of *Acadiensis* ("Recent Black

Maritime Studies") omitted some of the best and most recent academic historical studies in this field. Consequently, the serious biographer is forced to resort to hagiographic accounts for the residue of probable facts. Some degree of original research would surely assist in surmounting this deficiency in the case of William Hall (1829–1904), who is necessarily briefly treated. The obvious emphasis is on his Indian Mutiny bravery, for which he was awarded the Victoria Cross, becoming the first Nova Scotian (and the first Black in the British Empire) to receive this highest of military decorations. Bridglal Pachai as biographer resorted to the usual secondary sources complemented by material from British repositories. Absent is any attempt to place Hall in the context of Black naval servicemen, however, or to discuss attitudes towards Blacks in the Royal Navy. Pachai may have been hindered by contract as well as by space limitations for the article; nevertheless, Hall certainly deserves more in-depth study. Though the *DCB* entry is by no means to be considered definitive in this instance, in contraposition to it one finds Judith Fingard's splendid distillation of the career of Peter Evander McKerrow (1841–1906), an historically far more significant contemporary of Hall's.

The more successful biographies, such as Fingard on McKerrow, carry the reader beyond personal character sketch into the broader context of Nova Scotian society. Terrence Murphy's insightful account of the career and aspirations of Halifax's Archbishop Cornelius O'Brien (1843–1906) reminds us that a crucial component of Nova Scotian life and society was to be found in religious institutions. A congeries of pietistic and doctrinal issues centred on the archbishop of Halifax as leader of the province's Roman Catholics. Today the formerly integral presence of denominational teaching in public schools is almost completely absent. For O'Brien, however, church teaching rather than secular schooling was crucial in the formation of Christian morals and right thinking. His conflict with Liberal premier William Stevens Fielding in the early 1890s, on the issue of separate schools and religious education, is strikingly relevant for the 1990s, given the growth of private church schools in this province, and moves to terminate denominational control of education in Newfoundland.

By way of conclusion, the editors of the *DCB* are to be praised for their policy of constantly seeking new historians and authors to join the ranks of established contributors. There is always the risk of admitting articles of mediocre, even inferior quality. Yet at the same time, the *DCB* presents to

many intending academic historians the opportunity for their first major foray into a national, collaborative scholarly endeavour--a risk well worth taking.

The leap into academic scholarship is often manifested in articles drawn from Maritime regional conferences and thematic journals. Saint Mary's University's Gorsebrook Research Institute for Atlantic Canada Studies may be commended for sponsoring the publication of several innovative collections of specialized articles. The latest volume, which has been prepared under the editorship of Daniel Sampson of Queen's University, represents the collective efforts of six researchers reviewing Atlantic Canada's history from the perspective of the region's majority populace, that is, the rural and small-town urban dweller. The essays making up *Contested Countryside* are uneven in treatment, yet reflect the iconoclastic attitude of scholars willing to turn previous studies on their ear for the sake of revisionist interpretations.

The contributors to *Contested Countryside* include editor Sampson, Rusty Bitterman, Steven Maynard, Sean Cadigan, Bill Parenteau and Erik Kristiansen; social/labour history is the underlying approach, which each author has tried to stretch to its elastic limits. Sampson sets the tone in his historiographical introduction, which to all intents and purposes is an article on its own. The nub of each essay is a call to redefine 'rural,' a need to examine the interplay between rural and urban society, and the necessity of viewing rural economic existence not as prologue to industrialization, but as part of an interlocking developmental whole. It is within this analytic framework that one can appreciate Cadigan's review of outport settler production and merchant capitalism in northeast Newfoundland (1800–1855). Similarly, "Between Farm and Factory: The Productive Household and the Capitalist Transformation of the Maritime Countryside, Hopewell, Nova Scotia, 1869–1890," by Maynard, brings in the societal complex associated with rural household production (cooperative family strategies) in relation to its disruption by time-regulated, non-family-directed entrepreneurial enterprise.

Perhaps startling to readers at first appearance is the inclusion of Erik Kristiansen's "Time, Memory and Rural Transformation: Rereading History in the Fiction of Charles Bruce and Ernest Buckler." Kristiansen is nevertheless utilizing valid literary evidence to examine rural values, images and economy with reference to societal dynamics. Tradition and continuity are threatened by the dictatorial dominance of modern urban life. The

emphasis on technology and industrial production tends to degrade the integrity of the rural economy as a viable alternative lifestyle. Sampson and his colleagues confront that dogma in their respective studies. With regard to literature as an approach to historical reconstruction, moreover, Kristiansen is using a technique not unknown to microhistorians through the Italian journal, *Quaderni Storici*. Witness Maurizio Bertolotti's, "The Ox's Bones and the Ox's Hide: A Popular Myth, Part Hagiography and Part Witchcraft" (*QS* 41, 1979, 470–99) which is an excellent example of the interdisciplinary historian's integration of court records, myth, folklore and literature.

Where relevant, the contributors to *Contested Countryside* have made comparisons between studies of rural nineteenth-century Quebec and the Atlantic region. Surprisingly, however, they have assiduously omitted any references to the role played by the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec in promoting rural resettlement. The Church's goal was to arrest the flow of French-Canadian emigrants leaving for the industrial towns of New England, a trend which was perceived as a threat to ethnocultural and religious identity. One may well inquire whether churches in rural Nova Scotia, for example, emphasized rural values over urban fragmentation. Certainly the various denominations did not stem the massive flow of migrant workers to the "Boston States." This remains, however, an unexplored aspect of the period. It is also disappointing to note Sampson's overemphasis on American Loyalists as against the New England Planter experience, which was earlier and rather more significant in terms of historical geography. The dismissal of the pre-1755 agricultural impact of Acadians on the Maritime landscape is another weakness, particularly in light of Alan McNeil's suggestive article, "The Acadian Legacy and Agricultural Development in Nova Scotia, 1760–1867" (in Kris Inwood, ed., *Farm, Factory and Fortune* [Fredericton, 1993]). While these omissions are attributable to the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century focus of *Contested Countryside*, they do a disservice to Atlantic regional historical studies covering an earlier period.

The *Historical Atlas of Canada: Volume II* is a logical complement to the preceding works. Scholarly expertise has been pooled through contributions by historians, geographers and linguists, as well as other professionals, resulting in a multidisciplinary approach which duplicates the complexity and multitextured reading possible for each plate in the *Historical Atlas*. It serves both the Nova Scotian general reader who wants to concentrate exclusively on historical changes in the microcosm, and the interested researcher or

reader who desires to have a synoptic view of trans-Canada evolution.

The nineteenth century has become legendary as the Golden Age of Sail, which so transformed regional outlook. Yet this was the century which by the 1870s witnessed the decline of shipbuilding as it gave way to land-based industry, notably manufactures (e.g., food processing, iron and steel production, textile mills, glassware). Through the illustrative plates of the *Historical Atlas* one can see the literal transformation of surface geography and visual planes. Railways united the Maritimes in a way previously unimaginable. Architecture, moreover, whether in shipbuilding centres or expanding urban configurations, developed with the economy. Plate 6 shows the differentiation in 1891 Yarmouth among factories, stores, churches and private residences. This bears comparison with Plate 49, showing the relationship of Montréal homes in their grandeur or simplicity, as reflected in whatever annual rents could be afforded by the occupants.

Four-dimensional thinking is required to assimilate the information found in this atlas. The passage of time, not to mention the graphic imagery aspects of an historical atlas, remind one that abstraction can only function in the matrix of visual data collection. Even the idea of political party formation (Plate 28) becomes more intelligible when one is confronted with voting patterns in Nova Scotia (federal election of 1896) which appear to overlay specific ethno-religious concentrations. Similarly, early nineteenth-century military defence is brought into clearer focus by showing how well-distributed were fortifications (including blockhouses) in the Maritimes or even on the Halifax peninsula itself (Plate 24). Too often names have become so familiar that residents fail to grasp their significance; Fort Massey United Church in Halifax, for example, atop a hill, marks the location of a colonial blockhouse.

Beyond economics, transportation and politics lies detailed material relating to the historical demography of Nova Scotians. Plates 32 and 33 provide a schematic of First Nations reserves in eastern Canada to 1900. The Nova Scotia listings provide reserve number, name, year of initial grant, ethno-linguistic group and hectarage. How many Nova Scotians are aware that by 1900 there were thirty-five separate reserves in this province? Among these listings is Horton Reserve (no. 35), 176 hectares; no date is available for the initial grant, at least according to official sources (presumably federal government archives) consulted by Pierrette Desy and Frédéric Castel. This is indicative of the fact that, as is true of many general reference works, the

information provided represents a stage in one's own research and not the totality of archival sources. The original portion of Horton Reserve was purchased in the early 1840s by the Reverend Silas Tertius Rand on behalf of the Micmac Missionary Society, which in turn conveyed it to the resident Mi'kmaq.

The editors of the *Historical Atlas* were guided by the need to develop a reference work which gave national perspective to regional developments. In stark contrast, the scholars who contributed to *L'Acadie des Maritimes* framed their respective studies within the narrow confines of both regional and ethnic analysis. Published in Canada's only officially bilingual province, the contents of this weighty tome are a closed book to the non-French-reading public, among whom are thousands of Acadian descendants. This lack of 'simultaneous translation,' which has always distinguished the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, is much to be regretted. Discussions of Acadian political consciousness, music, the arts, the state of the French language and religious cohesion, from the 1760s to the 1990s, offer important retrospective reappraisals.

Whether the subject is economic activity or use of the French language, the numerous demographic charts reveal the continuing lure of large urban centres for rural Acadians, who are no less susceptible than other Maritimers to this demographic shift. Reference to the depletion of the rural strongholds of various ethnic groups can also be found in *Contested Countryside*. Traditionally, the strength of Acadian identity has been intertwined in rural separateness, denominationally-influenced francophone schooling and the Roman Catholic Church. Cities, such as Halifax, pose the threat of erosion of ethnic identity through assimilation into the numerically greater anglophone community. Moreover, the metropolitan centres do not guarantee continued allegiance to Catholicism even at the nominal level. Léon Thériault's "L'Acadianisation des structures ecclésiastiques aux Maritimes, 1785–1953," is a skilled study of collective consciousness as revealed by Acadian efforts to procure francophone (and eventually Acadian) bishops for Acadian dioceses. Unfortunately, however, there is no corresponding analysis of Acadian descendants who are not Roman Catholic nor of the extent to which non-Catholic church affiliation has had an impact on individual identity.

The question may be raised whether the loss of the French language and of Catholicism excludes one from the Acadian cultural collective. Phillipe Doucet ("La politique et les Acadiens") looks to media control (e.g., French-

language newspapers and telecommunications) as weaving the fabric of political sensibilities. Unresolved, however, is the extent to which this evolving system is, or is not, all-inclusive. A unilingual anglophone United Church Acadian, still conscious of her or his ethnic background, is nevertheless generally referred to in *L'Acadie* as "lost." Reclamation of tidal marshes for agriculture by pre-1755 Acadians should serve as an allegory of the willingness to reclaim and welcome Acadians of the late twentieth century who simultaneously celebrate a mixed heritage.

In its structure *L'Acadie* is reminiscent of the *Annales* School of French social historians, whose scholarship is based on regional analysis covering a long period of time. A vigorous interplay of expertise is their speciality. Jean Daigle, as overall editor of *L'Acadie*, has brought together just such a union of diverse talents. Ethnocentricity tends to overwhelm the *Annales* comparison, when one observes the exclusion of renowned Acadian scholars not of Acadian ancestry or surname. This omission gravely weakens an encyclopaedic survey, which would otherwise be enriched by alternative perspectives and cross-ethnic comparisons. Bernard V. LeBlanc and Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc, in "La culture matérielle traditionelle en Acadie," investigate household artifacts, dyke construction and homes; theirs is a well-documented, conservative presentation of Acadian material culture. Lacking in contextualization, however--there is no reference to vernacular architectural studies by P. Ennals and D. Holdsworth (*Acadiensis* 10, 2, Fall 1981, 86–106)--the article shows why in scholarly research, particularly in history, isolationism is always detrimental.

Acadiensis Press and the University of Toronto Press have both brought out books devoted to women's history, the former concentrating on Maritime women, the latter presenting a cross-country selection of Afro-Canadian articles. The respective contributors to these collections have greatly supplemented historical knowledge of women's experience in Canada. As is often the case with books of essays, however, the reader is left wanting to learn more, either in related areas of scholarship or through further archival research. Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton are to be congratulated for bringing together in *Separate Spheres* both established and newer historians. It is laudable that intellectual apartheid has been avoided through the inclusion of essays by male scholars seriously interested in women's history. Whether or not the reader will concur with observations made in *Separate Spheres* will depend on receptiveness to non-conventional thinking and an

eagerness to re-examine the past. The two volumes are thematically related, moreover, in that *Separate Spheres* also addresses the 'separate world' of Afro-Nova Scotian women, who are the subject of a superb essay by co-editor Morton, reprinted from a recent issue of *Acadiensis*.

It is a mark of maturing feminist historiography that Guildford and Morton have selected articles which cut across the whole of Maritime women's experience: rural landholding, enfranchisement, legal rights, religious activity, education, public demonstrations, factory work, Afro-Nova Scotian resistance and ethnocultural activism. The degree of original research undertaken for each of the ten contributions speaks for the vitality of the approach. The book's last article, "The Literary 'New Woman' and Social Activism in Maritime Literature, 1820–1920," by Gwendolyn Davies, dovetails with Kristiansen's in *Contested Countryside*. Here literature is examined as a locus of feminist agitation for laws to protect children and animals (e.g., Margaret Marshall Saunders's *Beautiful Joe*), which by analogy included women also disabled by the legal system. Other publicists, such as Anna Leonowens, caught media attention by their advocacy of voting rights for women. Davies moves among representative Maritime women authors to show how the general public was sensitized to these and other relevant issues through fiction, poetry and essays. The didactic substratum of literature must not be underestimated.

Hannah Lane joins the growing number of religious history revisionists who seek to portray more accurately the role of women in the context of social-hierarchial relationships. Her case study, "'Wife, Mother, Sister, Friend': Methodist Women in St. Stephen, New Brunswick, 1861–1911," utilizes the class meeting of the Wesleyans. It has been observed by historians, such as George Rawlyk and David Bell, that Maritime evangelicals of the colonial era permitted worshippers of either sex to exhort, pray and preach during revival meetings. Methodists went one step further by constituting all-female classes (i.e., prayer groups), wherein women could minister to each other. Lane explores the contradiction between wide-open spiritual ministration and the 'separate spheres' assigned to women in the Methodist churches. Her analysis bears comparison with Rosemary Gagan's *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881–1925* (1992), notably in the suggestion that class meetings declined when women collectively found alternative channels for their abilities and energy.

In similar fashion, other contributors to *Separate Spheres* advance along

the cutting edge of feminist historiography, be it in politics and law (Philip Girard, Rebecca Veinott, Rusty Bitterman, Judith Fingard, Gail Campbell), education (Janet Guildford), public ritual (Bonnie Huskins) or labour and ethnicity (Suzanne Morton, Sharon Myers). The separate-spheres model which supports these essays tends to suggest that working-class and middle-class women compromised themselves by operating within the separate-influence category. As Guildford and Morton point out in their introductory essay, divisions appeared across class, racial and educational lines, contrary to an assumption in recent feminist historiography which diminishes discrete concerns in favour of an abstract homogeneity of cause. Recent conferences and publications, however, belie such an assumption. *Separate Spheres* develops the idea of women carrying out their public versus private pursuits against a unitary patriarchal backdrop. Yet patriarchy itself is left undefined; taken for granted is the premiss that all nineteenth-century men subscribed to a common world-view, or that all men desperately sought to work outside the home. If women were not united in a single 'cause,' then it cannot have been the case that men were any more cohesive.

Peggy Bristow and her colleagues in *We're Rooted Here* exhibit some of the same strengths as *Separate Spheres*. Here is a collection of significant articles in Afro-Canadian history which carries the reader from Nova Scotia to central Canada and beyond to the West. Adrienne Shadd, Peggy Bristow and Afua Cooper examine the leadership roles of women in the underground railway, farm-markets and schooling. In Bristow's article, farm market sales are treated as the visible symbol of an independent survival strategy in which women themselves regulated the income of their households. It is the theme of taking control of one's destiny which unifies the essays in this collection. Afro-Canadian women have had to work out alternative strategies for survival, given the obstacles and prejudices based on race and gender. Whether in the colonial era, as in Sylvia Hamilton's, "Naming Names, Naming Ourselves: A Survey of Early Black Women in Nova Scotia," or in Dionne Brand's, "'We weren't allowed to go into factory work until Hitler started the war': The 1920s to the 1940s," the reader is confronted by the past as seen through the eyes of ordinary working-class women. It is this inverted vision of the past, from the bottom of the social pyramid, which brings an invaluable perspective to *We're Rooted Here*.

Sylvia Hamilton will be familiar to many readers of the *Review* for her

documentary film, *Black Mother, Black Daughter* (1989). Hamilton's survey of Afro-Nova Scotian women from the early colonial period down to 1920 brings to one's attention the necessity of delineating, as she herself acknowledges, the specific characteristics of Black women's experience, in contradistinction from that of Black men. During the period of slavery, women alone were subjected to the humiliation of being not only property, but also the means of increasing the 'stock' of the slave-master. Contrast this situation with the 1881 census, which lists Afro-Nova Scotian women as farmers, weavers and craftswomen. Independence meant taking on roles which ensured survival even in the face of marginalization.

Thought-provoking though Hamilton's essay is, it is obvious that she is not an historian by profession. There are disturbing gaps in evidence which weaken her otherwise insightful observations. Her assertion, for example, that the last slave sale advertised in a Nova Scotian newspaper appeared in 1820 is a misreading of T. Watson Smith's "The Slave in Canada" (*Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 20 [1899]: 116). The actual notice concerns the assignment of time remaining on an indenture of service or apprenticeship, not the sale of slave-property. It was the overwhelming number of Blacks who arrived in the province after the War of 1812 which led to the effective erosion of slave-holding claims; Black settlements provided escapees with ethnic communities in which to seek and find refuge. That second postwar emigration of free Blacks, together with the growing influence of the anti-slavery movement, as well as the teaching of the Wesleyan Methodist churches, broke the back of slave-holding as a social institution. Where Hamilton's strength undoubtedly lies is in her ability to personalize the struggles of Afro-Nova Scotian women and their achievements. Historical documentation and analysis of evidence nevertheless require more rigorous attention.

In *We're Rooted Here*, the authors discuss women's history in terms of taking control (or at least defying the injustice) of their own destiny. By contrast, Jocelyn Raymond has given us the story of the least studied but most vulnerable group of emigrants to have crossed the Atlantic. The title of *Saturday's Children* is a play on the old rhyme, 'Saturday's child is full of woe.' Orphan children were shipped by the thousands to British North America and Canada during the 1800s. The impetus to do so derived from philanthropism and was in response to the appalling conditions to be found in English workhouses (poorhouses) and orphanages in the mid-nineteenth century. Any reader of Charles Dickens's novels will have a vivid concept of

such institutions. Raymond has undertaken to bring to the attention of her readers the fate of several such emigrants from the streets of London to Bermuda in 1850. Given the close trade links between Nova Scotia and the West Indies, and the influx of similar social outcasts into Nova Scotia during the same period, *Saturday's Children* makes for compelling and pertinent reading.

Jocelyn Raymond has brought together in *Saturday's Children* detailed historical research, biographical detection and the gift of a true story-teller. The latter is something at which historians have to work during the whole of their professional lives, unless they are naturally talented, like Raymond, who brings the past vividly alive without having to resort to fanciful dialogue or imaginary musings. Though she does not offer an analytical account of the Bermuda immigrants, Raymond brings to her writing considerable knowledge of the relevant scholarly literature in the field of charitable institutions and child migration. The strength of Raymond's book resides in her thorough grounding in both archival documentation and secondary literature, whether generated in the nineteenth century or recently.

The reader is treated to an accurate and stark depiction of life in the workhouses and orphanages of London, in particular St. Pancras Union. We follow the author in her reconstruction of events from the initial offer by B.C.T. Gray, a Bermuda merchant, to convey children to the island colony for a brief period of indentured apprenticeship in order to learn trades and gain the opportunity to settle. Those who were to go overseas were to be volunteers only. Raymond carries through with a lively story of the children who took up the offer as presented by those in charge of St. Pancras, their reception in Bermuda and the correspondence which many of them had with relatives in England. The report of government inquiry into the arrangements, which survives among British parliamentary sessional papers, preserved letters of the children (who ranged in age from ten to sixteen years) and documents the goals of the adults involved. The result is a blend of sympathetic reviewing of the past through the eyes of these 'little immigrants' and a fine synthesis of source material.

The most telling line in *Saturday's Children* is the opening one of the preface: "A society's attitude towards its children is reflected in the provisions made to protect, or reject, them." As the author rightly points out, in spite of the outpouring of sentimental literature during the Victorian era and the apotheosis of family life, there was a sharp differentiation when it

came to children who were born out of wedlock or left without parents to look out for their welfare. Though in the late twentieth century we may pause at the idea of shipping children to a distant colony, the opportunities thus presented were potentially far greater than for a child left to struggle to survive in an impoverished environment in London. Without the intervention of disinterested adults there would have been no alternative. It is true, as Raymond notes, that not all migration schemes for children had positive results, since too often the sponsoring agencies in Great Britain concentrated on shipping children to British North America without any further enquiries as to their care or treatment. Abuse did occur, whether on the farms to which boys were often sent or in the domestic service milieu for girls. The Bermuda experiment was a happy exception to later orphan migrations to Canada. Here in Nova Scotia, the Dakeyne Farm at Mount Denson and the Middlemore Home in Fairview were two such early twentieth-century entrepôts for British youth. As their individual stories have yet to be related, *Saturday's Children* would serve as a fine model to emulate.

Authors of local histories have not been inactive during 1994, one of the most recent studies being that prepared by Marie Bishop of New Minas: *The Pioneers of Canaan, Kings County, Nova Scotia*. While this book is in some respects typical of the local community history--it covers all institutions, families and lore--it departs from the norm through Marie Bishop's concern to utilize documentation drawn from archival sources. It is the recorded settlement history which most concerns her as she ranges from the first accounts of the 1790s through to the present century. The value of documentary photographs as interpretive guides is shown to advantage throughout *Pioneers of Canaan*. Finally, the absence of a bibliography is mitigated by internal references to sources used.

Wherever possible, Bishop tried to locate memoirs and letters so that residents of past and present Canaan could tell the story of their own community with authentic contemporary voices. This was a rural area where the residents had to be self-reliant, yet aware of the needs of neighbours. Though not depicted as a terrestrial paradise, Canaan is described sufficiently to provide a glimpse of those rural values which are given a more academic treatment in *Contested Countryside*. The family history sketches or genealogies represent case studies of adaptation in order to meet the challenges of surviving in an agricultural and lumbering community. By including families who arrived in Canaan both in the late eighteenth century and

in the present one, Bishop allows the reader to assess the continuity of lifestyle over two centuries. This initial foray into community dynamics can serve as a profitable starting-point for historians concerned with the academic perspective.

The organizations listed and briefly described by Bishop reflect the essentially agricultural nature of the local economy. Among the former can be found the Women's Institute of Nova Scotia, Central Kings Guernsey Calf Club, Community Club Exhibition and the Community Club proper. The prizes awarded by the latter in 1941 may at first appear quaint, unless the observant historian recognizes the prize list as a prime source for crop and breed preference. The potato categories refer to Irish Cobbler and Green Mountain (rarely found in urban groceries today), and apples include the now scarce Ribston, King and Golden Russet. For any reader interested in the cottage craft production of women, which could generate additional family income, there were the prizes given for appliqué quilts, hooked mats, knitted articles, tea cloths, sofa cushions, crocheted articles and bureau scarfs. Not to be omitted were articles fabricated out of flour bags as a recycling expediency during wartime.

It is in ordinary experience that the perceptive historian can discern the underlying fabric of local society. The narrative of Marie Bishop's *Pioneers of Canaan* is grounded in the ordinary, and its purpose is to inform and entertain the families who regard Canaan as home. In the process she has helped to preserve the source materials from which an enterprising professional historian might make a comparative analysis of local community histories. All that is needed is someone to take up the challenge.

Biographical case studies and social history are managed at a different level in George A. Rawlyk's latest volume of essays, *The Canada Fire: Radical Evangelicalism in British North America 1775–1812*. Maritime religious history is contrasted with Upper Canada's in a manner reminiscent of Goldwin French's *Parsons and Politics* (1962). Unlike French, however, who was interested in the relationship between radical Protestantism and political agitation, Rawlyk remains focused on the spiritual life. Prime consideration is given to the commonality of experience among Methodists, Newlight Baptists and Newlight Congregationalists (Allinites). Rawlyk is skilled at portraying the links between personal New Birth conversion and public liturgical expression of what is essentially an intensely private, existential reordering of reality.

Anyone who has followed Rawlyk's evolution since the 1970s will

recognize the attraction he feels for the special luminaries of colonial Nova Scotian evangelicalism. Henry Alline, Freeborn Garrettson, William Black, Harris Harding and David George provide well-documented examples of their respective affiliations. Their surviving memoirs and letters are so rich as to warrant repeated re-examination, which is precisely what Rawlyk has done. At the heart of his present work is his exploration of the shift from the eighteenth-century obsession with New Birth (instantaneous conversion) to the later nineteenth-century cult of Biblicism. For evangelist Henry Alline (1748–1784) the New Birth was everything, to be closely followed by the salvation message represented by the Cross (crucicentrism) and Gospel preaching (the missionary impulse).

Rawlyk discusses in part the various causes which shifted the centre of Protestant radical evangelicalism to Biblicism. The spiritual chaos of experiential faith initiated by Alline erupted in dramatic fashion in the 1790s from the outbreak of heretical schisms within Newlight orthodoxy: the New Dispensation scheme, dualism, variants of antinomianism, even the accusation or at least the suggestion of diabolism (or a reversion to Wicca). Early nineteenth-century reaction to these developments was expressed in increased ministerial self-regulation (formal church cooperation), rigid disciplining of church adherents and a uniform standard guide to thought and action (the Bible).

Part of Rawlyk's fascination with Maritime religious history is the regional blend of indigenous revivalism and cross-current influences (especially within Methodism) from both England and the United States. Even more so than Upper Canada (where Methodism was largely an American import), the Maritimes epitomized the conundrum of Canadian identity. The region has long been caught among the political, religious and social-cultural pulls of the "mother countries." Out of that *Sturm und Drang*, however, emerged a distinctive Canadian Protestant evangelicalism, as elucidated in *The Canada Fire*.

Rawlyk's wrestling with the evangelical heritage of the Maritimes forms an intriguing series of historiographical episodes. At the same time, there remains a hesitancy and innate conservatism which mars his investigation. He holds himself aloof from any discussion of pertinent Quaker or "Rogerene" (Quaker-Baptist) leavening in the spiritual matrix created by the New England Planters and augmented by the Loyalists and Yorkshire immigrants.

Each of these distinct main groups of settlers introduced adherents of the Religious Society of Friends (the formal name for Quakers)--their utterly iconoclastic public worship, the Inner Light doctrine and recognition of both male and female preachers surely deserve integration into the radical evangelical paradigm. True, Rawlyk has at least diverged widely enough to examine the Presbyterian contribution to radical evangelicalism in Nova Scotia ("New Lights, Presbyterians, James MacGregor, and Nova Scotia's First Long Communion, July 1788"). Like his neo-Baptist predecessor, Henry Alline, however, Rawlyk places little value on the physical reality affecting those colonists who warmed to the evangelical fires. The visual symbolism of adult baptism receives treatment in the New Brunswick context--this thanks to the trail-blazing research of David Bell--yet there is no attempt to confront the fact that these ministers were transforming the Maritimes into New Testament Palestine by re-creating the missionary work of the Apostles. The closest parallel to the latter is the anamnesis of the Last Supper and Crucifixion in each mass offered by Roman Catholic priests. It is time to pay attention to the whole of the territory over which the 'Canada fire' burned so intensely.

The last offering in this omnibus is the eagerly anticipated first (though second published) volume of the new standard history of eastern Canada, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*. Co-editors Phillip A. Buckner and John G. Reid have overseen the merger of individual chapters by sixteen scholars who represent the leading lights in the academic history of the Maritimes. As a result, students have the benefit of a synthesis of current research in a variety of fields as may be found originally in journals, monographs and dissertations. The new volume is a worthy companion to *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation* (1993), reviewed in *NSHR* 13, 1 (June 1993).

The chronological arrangement carries the reader along in the history of the Atlantic provinces from the pre-European era to the decade of Confederation. The opening chapter on the prehistory of the region, by ethnoarchaeologist Stephen A. Davis, is one of the best accounts of post-glacial settlement and First Nations origins which this reviewer has seen. Whether or not the Mi'kmaq can claim the Debert anthropological site (occupied about 10,600 years ago) as representing their ancestors is not so important as the fact that human habitations have existed for such a long time in Nova Scotia. The distinctive features of Mi'kmaq society are a much more recent development, yet sufficiently ancient to be denoted by the phrase

"before recorded memory." In any event, the excellence of Davis's study is indicative of the high quality of the chapters which follow it.

Repeatedly the authors endeavour to bring together the various ethnic groups converging on the region over the course of its development. Here the Mi'kmaq and other First Nations peoples are not relegated to the periphery; they are an integral part of the story, which also involves the peoples of Europe who migrated to Atlantic Canada from the 1600s to the 1800s. Neither the African ancestry of Black settlers at Louisbourg during the French régime, nor of those who arrived with the Planters and the Loyalists and as post-War of 1812 refugees, is obscured. What emerges from *The Atlantic Region to Confederation* is a horizontal peoples' history based on the best available scholarly research.

Political, military, demographic, religious and social history all receive attention in this text. Also encouraging to read is the material devoted to the economic history of the Atlantic region. Graeme Wynn, for example, in "1800–1810: Turning the Century," traces the various local trade routes between provinces, which were as important as West Indian or trans-Atlantic shipping. This bears comparison with J.M. Bumsted's treatment of the period 1763–1783, in which he describes Planter landholding patterns and land use as well as attempts by European soldiers of fortune to create manorial estates at Mount Denson and Castle Frederick in the New England Planter township of Falmouth. It is this richness of detail which makes the Buckner-Reid volume so attractive.

Ian Ross Robertson's contribution, "The 1850s: Maturity and Reform," does betray a certain credulousness in accepting all academic writing uncritically, though his section on the legal, political and economic role of women is a welcome addition to the new contextual historiography. Nonetheless, Robertson adopts the vocabulary of doctrinaire feminism in order to comment on "patriarchialism," without defining his terms or fully exploring either the advantages of patriarchy or the onerous duties incumbent on men in the nineteenth century. Fishermen from the outports of Newfoundland had the freedom of the seas to traverse; they also ran the risk of drowning each time they left port. And while it was socially *de rigueur* that married women should bear children, it was also assumed that the husbands concerned would cooperate for the sake of procreation whether their income could support several children or not. Social history has not yet reached the point of conceding that women and men together participated in

Atlantic colonial development, rather than enforcing the gender-adversarial model all too commonly employed in the academy. The nub of that problem may lie in the too frequent use of the slogan, "empowerment," which emphasizes aggressive self-assertion and mutual confrontational antagonism rather than the acquisition of personal identity and self-respect.

In the final analysis, however, it is the continuing dialogue between differing ideologies and the re-vision of different aspects of the past which signify the progress of historical interpretation. Even scholarly antagonism can be turned to positive ends. The books under review all tend to confirm the increasing vitality of Nova Scotian historical research and debate. The reading of and participation in that discourse have the potential to attract both the hobbyist and the serious researcher.

Book Notes

The Argyle Township Books (Nova Scotia): Record Book No. 1, Record Book No. 2, transcribed by Carol Jacquard and Lisa Surette. ISBN (set) 0–9698298–0–9. Argyle Municipality Historical & Genealogical Society, Tusket, N.S., 1994. Vol. 1: xxii + 149 pp., Vol. 2: xxix + 190 pp., paper, $30.00.

Another instance of a local historical society doing public service by making accessible the colonial records of specific areas of the province. The Argyle Township books contain vital statistics for families on the southwestern shore of Nova Scotia from the later eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries; unlike other record books elsewhere in the province these enumerate Acadian households as well as the descendants of New England Planters. The reader will likewise find cattle and sheep recorded in this two-volume set. Each volume is provided with a good introduction to the history of the society sponsoring the publication, the township and the nature of the record books themselves. The transcribers are to be congratulated for their expertise and editorial glosses.

Cemetery Records of Shelburne County: Volume VIII: Seven Cemeteries of Shelburne, compiled by Shelburne County Genealogical Society. ISBN 1–895991–07–2. Shelburne County Genealogical Society, Shelburne, N.S., 1994. xii + 131 pp, paper, $20.00.

Another contribution from a very active society which will whet the appetite of genealogists. The introduction includes a history of graveyards in Shelburne County and a bibliography of writings about them from the mid-1800s to the present, which provide an excellent context for the alphabetical listing of gravestone inscriptions found in each of the burying-grounds. Loyalist heritage and history are well served by residents of the Loyalist town and county of Shelburne, who recognize the necessity of recording and preserving the past.

Hammonds Plains: The First 100 Years, Dorothy Bezanson Evans. ISBN 0–9698142–0–8. The author, Halifax, N.S., 1994. 152 pp., illustrated, paper, $32.00.

An excellent contribution to local history by author Dorothy Evans, based on extensive archival research. Maps, government land grant records and photographs are used to good effect. In spite of her modest agenda, Evans has provided valuable material on the Afro-Nova Scotian settlers of Upper Hammonds Plains in addition to the general community purview. This book deserves wide attention.

The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume One: 1818–1925: Lord Dalhousie's College, by Peter B. Waite. ISBN 0–7735–1166–0. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1994. xi + 338 pp., illustrated, cloth, $40.95.

Dr Waite, Professor Emeritus of History at Dalhousie University, has successfully risen to the challenge of creating an institutional history which honestly reflects the varied personalities associated with, and the fortunes of 'Lord Dalhousie's College.' The reader is struck forcibly by the interpenetration of staff and student life at the university during its early, formative years. Waite has recaptured the old collective spirit of purpose and educational goals of the leading intellectuals of this Scottish Enlightenment institution. The subsequent volume, taking the story from 1925 to 1980 (the end of the Hicks reign), will make for interesting comparisons with John G. Reid's two-volume study of Mount Allison University, published by UTP in 1984.

Naming Canada: Stories about Place Names from Canadian Geographic, by Alan Rayburn. ISBN 0–8020–0569–1. University of Toronto Press, 1994. xiii + 271 pp., paper, $16.95.

The inexact science of toponymy can indeed be enjoyable and informative at the same time. Rayburn has assembled various contributions from his regularly-featured column in the journal, *Canadian Geographic*, into one convenient volume for readers to enjoy while exploring imaginatively the landscape of Canada. Maritimers will be interested in the section on Acadia, First Nations place-names and numerous other references to the Atlantic region. After all, as Rayburn points out (pp. 100–101), Paradise can be found right here in the heart of the Annapolis Valley!

ISSN 0227–4752


Plan, No 1.
GIRLS' YARD.
BOYS' YARD.
Pump.
BOYS'
LOBBY
GIRLS' ROOM
Ball Frame.
Teacher's Desk.