Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 16, Number 2, 1996

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Launching of Bluenose II, *Lunenburg, 23 July 1963*. Photograph courtesy Public Archives of Nova Scotia (Nova Scotia Information Service fonds).

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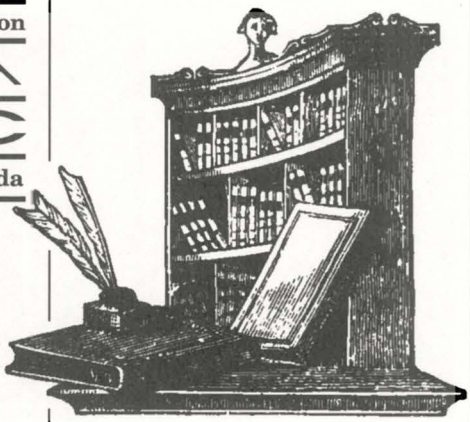

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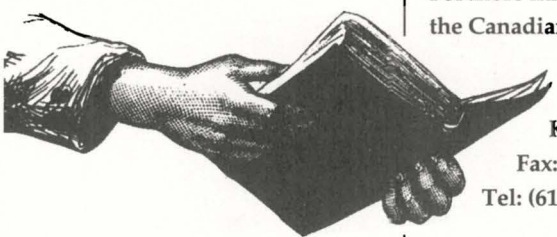

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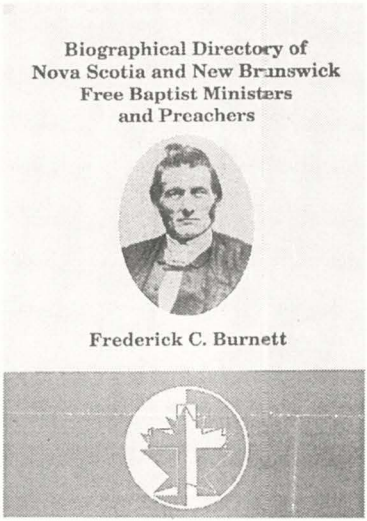

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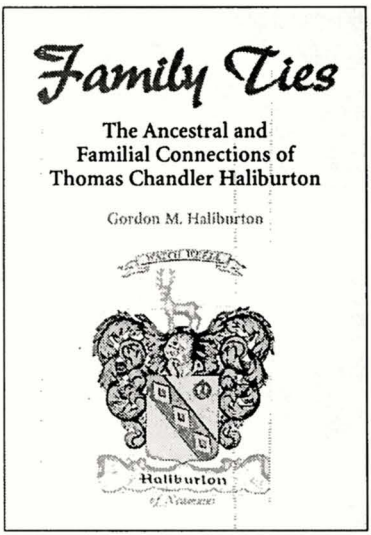

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In fact T. C. Haliburton was of the fourth generation of his family to live in the vicinity of Windsor, Nova Scotia, his family having arrived there about 1760 as part of the "New England Planter" migration from New England of the period during and following the Seven Years War. In what he wrote he was expressing himself as a Nova Scotian, and despite the localized accent and vocabulary used by his mouthpiece, Sam Slick, he was himself well-educated and cosmopolitan.

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Place Names of Atlantic Canada

by William B. Hamilton

What is the origin of:

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ON 24 JUNE 1997 A REPLICA OF JOHN CABOT'S SHIP THE MATTHEW is scheduled to arrive in St John's harbour from Bristol, England, marking the 500th anniversary of a memorable voyage across the Atlantic. As it did in 1897, this event can be expected to fan the flames of debate concerning Cabot's exact landfall. Was it on the coast of Newfoundland or Cape Breton, or Prince Edward Island? If Newfoundland, was it at Bonavista or Cape Dégrat? Many historical controversies can be analysed through a study of place names, and this is but one example considered in *Place Names of Atlantic Canada*. Windows on the history and culture of any region, the toponyms of Atlantic Canada have attracted attention and interest for centuries.

Almost a millennium has passed since the Norse first discovered Vinland; but even earlier the Amerindian and Inuit people bestowed their own place names on Atlantic Canada. Many of these have survived not only the centuries and a variety of translations but also several attempts at cultural assimilation. There followed names from Basque, Portuguese, French, British, and other sources.

Information about the evolution of place names is never static; new archaeological, historical, and linguistic sources are always being discovered. In *Place Names of Atlantic Canada*, historian William B. Hamilton provides a wide-ranging overview of the origin and meaning of hundreds of regional place names to reveal the colourful history of the area.

Some element of selectivity was needed in the compilation of the book; there are currently 62,880 officially approved Atlantic Canadian place names recorded by the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Place Names. In Newfoundland alone there are 200 distinct features that incorporate the word 'Green.' Hamilton concentrates on three broad categories: size — the major centres of population and most important physical features; history — those locations that have had an impact on the evolution of the Atlantic region; and human interest — those place names most likely to provoke the question 'Where did they get that name?'

Based on archival research supplemented by field studies, *Place Names of Atlantic Canada* is the first volume to approach this topic from a regional perspective. Hundreds of cross-references lead the reader to related information in all four provinces. The book also breaks new ground in tracing the evolution of names of important undersea features on the Grand Banks and off the Nova Scotia coastline.

An ideal reference book with more than 2000 entries arranged by province, alphabetically, and aided by five maps, *Place Names of Atlantic Canada* will appeal to anyone interested in place naming in general or in the culture and social history of Atlantic Canada.

WILLIAM B. HAMILTON is Professor Emeritus in the Faculty of Social Sciences at Mount Allison University. A former chair of the Toponymic Research Committee of the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names, he has written extensively on place names. His books include *Local History in Atlantic Canada* and *The Macmillan Book of Canadian Place Names*.

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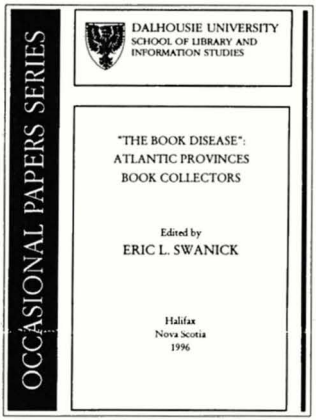

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"The Book Disease": Atlantic Provinces Book Collectors

Edited by Eric L. Swanick

The Book Disease opens our eyes to a remarkable...obsession that allowed exceptional individuals to appreciate the value of books and to ensure those books would be available for study and research for future generations."
— Michael O. Nowlan, *The Daily Gleaner* (Fredericton, NB)

In his Introduction to this fine collection of essays, Eric L. Swanick, Legislative Librarian for New Brunswick, is careful to distinguish between the scholarly "bibliophile" and the self-indulgent "bibliomaniac." Indeed, what impresses most about the remarkable Atlantic Canadian bibliophiles profiled in this volume is their entirely unselfish commitment to sharing their collections with others. They were presented here as library builders and archival donors, not solitary and eccentric hobbyists. Each essay convincingly demonstrates that, while book collecting may be inspired by a private passion, the fruits of each collector's labour of love will benefit all those who share their thirst for knowledge.

Discussion of the book collectors' broader contribution to scholarship does not interfere with an examination of their unique personalities, all of whom were intriguing men of considerable accomplishment. One can only wonder why more was not written before about a man such as William Inglis Morse, a Nova Scotia clergyman, historian, and antiquarian, who donated much of the printed material he collected to the university libraries of Dalhousie, King's College, and Harvard. Equally enlightening is the story of Raymond Clare Archibald, a distinguished Nova Scotia scholar. During the 1930s, Archibald built a mathematics collection at Brown University and a collection of poetry, drama, and music at Mount Allison University, both of which were considered to be among the finest in North America. Two prominent historical figures, Joseph Smallwood and Thomas Beamish Akins, whose activities and accomplishments as bibliophiles have not hitherto received much attention, are also discussed here along with George Hastings Cox, James McGregor Stewart, and W.G. Gosling.

This volume will delight book historians, bibliophiles, and all those who love the pursuit of knowledge through the printed word. Archivists and special collections librarians, in particular, will find it an instructive and rewarding read.

Fall 1996. ISBN 0-7703-9768-9; ISSN 0318-7403; 58. 119 p. Canadian price $26.95

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The Paradox of *Bluenose II*: Antimodernism, Capitalism and the Legacy of the Schooner *Bluenose* in Nova Scotia

Cheryl Sullivan

August 27, 1960: The Day They Launched the *Bounty*

> On that day, the spirit of a town was caught up in exploding excitement! Stranger slapped stranger on the shoulder and exulted: 'Isn't this a day!' Yet, it was not entirely the day of the *Bounty*, for, novel as she was, she basked, at least in part, in reflected glory. Her launching was graced by the unmistakable presence of a proud ghost. Even when yard workers could be heard 'wedging up' the hull and knocking away the supports that would start the *Bounty* on her way, a spontaneous sentiment arose and swept the imagination of the crowd along before it--'it could be the *Bluenose*!'

--Official Program, Launching of *Bluenose II*, 24 July 1963

"I read recently that a new *Bluenose* was to be launched at Lunenburg and out of love for her namesake I plan to be there if I have to crawl on my hands and knees from Pembroke, Massachusetts, to get there," declared Clifford Hardy to his friend George MacInnes in a letter dated 29 June 1963. "She was a thoroughbred through and through, a true queen, and every Nova Scotian should be so proud that there should be a hundred thousand in Lunenburg to honour her memory as her new image meets the sea. But, George, you can believe this, there will NEVER be another *BLUENOSE*--because she was NEARLY HUMAN."[1]

Such sentiment was not an unknown quantity during the 1960s in Nova Scotia or elsewhere, for the idea of building a replica of the most famous vessel in Nova Scotian, and perhaps Canadian, history was an exciting one for a variety of reasons. It is these reasons and their evolution which are the concern of this article. From the very beginning, both the original and subsequently her replica have come to represent a marriage of culture and capitalism, two seemingly odd bedfellows who nevertheless get along extremely well in twentieth-century Nova Scotia. This article explores the antimodernism movement in this province: how it runs throughout the history of both the *Bluenose* and *Bluenose II,* and how the image of the first *Bluenose*--kept alive by her successor--has come to mean much more than merely a representation of the 'Golden Age of Wood, Wind, and Sail' to Nova Scotian capitalists.

T.J. Jackson Lears, in two recent articles, has introduced a concept that is central to this discussion, namely that of cultural hegemony, which explores the

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Cheryl Sullivan is a 1996 graduate of Atlantic Baptist University, Moncton NB, with a B.A. in History. This article won the University's inaugural 'Dr. George Rawlyk Memorial Prize for the Most Original Essay in Canadian History' (April 1996).

1 G. MacInnes, "A Yankee Sailed the Bluenose!" in *Sojourn*, 2 (Apr. 1975), 47, 64.

relationship between culture and power under capitalism.[2] Cultural hegemony was first proposed by Antonio Gramsci, who defined it as

> the 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production.[3]

The idea of domination is needed to give the concept of hegemony its meaning--either directly, e.g., a tsarist regime--or indirectly, e.g., parliamentary regimes. Maintaining hegemony requires consent from the subordinate groups, but not necessarily active consent; nonetheless, hegemony is not a "static, closed system of ruling-class domination," nor does it equal social control or social manipulation. The cement that holds hegemony, and especially cultural hegemony, together is legitimation, which is achieved through what Gramsci called the "historic bloc" theory.[4]

This is a process by which a "group or class, as it develops in the economic sphere, finds some values more congenial than others, more resonant with its own everyday experience. Selectively refashioning the available spontaneous philosophy, a group may develop its own particular world view...."[5] This "world view" is consolidated into ideology, and a new "historical bloc" is formed, "possessing both cultural and economic solidarity."[6] Historical blocs are not confined to merely economic similarities, but also include religious and/or other ideological ties as well. Cultural hegemony is solely dependant on historical blocs, for "to achieve cultural hegemony, the leaders of a historical bloc must develop a world view that appeals to a wide range of other groups within the society, and they must be able to claim with at least some plausibility that their particular interests are those of society at large."[7]

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2 T.J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," in *American Historical Review*, 90 (June 1985), 567-593; and Lears, "AHR Forum--Making Fun of Popular Culture," in *ibid.*, 97 (Dec. 1992), 1417-1426.

3 Quoted in Lears, "Cultural Hegemony," p. 568.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 569, 571 and 587; and Lears, "Popular Culture," p. 1423.

5 Lears, "Cultural Hegemony," p. 571.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*

Lears identifies the groups of people with this influential power as "parents, preachers, teachers, journalists, literati, 'experts' of all sorts, as well as advertising executives, entertainment promoters, popular musicians, sports figures, and 'celebrities'--all of whom are involved (albeit often unwittingly) in shaping the values and attitudes of a society."[8] The power that these people wield can be cultural, economic and/or political, and serves to define the boundaries of what a particular historical bloc considers to be 'reality' in two ways: "either by ignoring views outside those boundaries or by labelling deviant opinions 'tasteless' or 'irresponsible'."[9] The significance of Lears' theory to the present discussion is that in combination with James Morrison's analysis of the tourism industry in Nova Scotia during the late 1800s and early 1900s,[10] the two both complement and challenge the central arguments developed recently by Ian McKay in his book, *The Quest of the Folk.*

In his article, "American Tourism in Nova Scotia, 1871-1940," Morrison outlines how by the 1920s, the Nova Scotia government had recognized and begun to promote the tourist potential of the province, as a destination of great natural beauty particularly attractive to Americans.[11] Special targets of this campaign were wealthy and/or famous Americans in search of "the 'primitive' and serene beauty that [Nova Scotia] had to offer."[12] Inland areas, such as the cross-country route connecting Annapolis Royal and Liverpool, were especially promoted and enticingly described as "'picturesque rustic settlements sheltered among the green-robed senators of the mighty woodlands'";[13] here there were ample opportunities for the visitor to hunt, fish, or simply enjoy nature. Morrison hints at the influence that this new industry had on these communities and their citizens: some embraced the trends which the visitors exposed them to and were excited to be in touch with "that greater and opulent world beyond," while others wondered why such well-to-do people would spend large sums of money just to

8 *Ibid., p.572.*

9 *Ibid.*

10 J. Morrison, "American Tourism in Nova Scotia, 1871-1940," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 2 (2), Dec. 1982, 40-51.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

13 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 43.

"sit around an oil lamp in the wilds of Nova Scotia."[14] Morrison, however, advances his analysis no further, other than to say that tourism generated--and still generates--good money for a region that needs it.[15]

Ian McKay, on the other hand, boldly exposes how tourism has changed the face of Nova Scotia, exploring particularly the concept of the 'Folk' in Nova Scotia--an idealized segment of the population, "the last true products of our soil and the last authentic producers of our culture."[16] McKay argues that the 'Folk' concept was created by local cultural producers[17] during the first half of the twentieth century, and further maintains that this phenomenon was caused by a variant of antimodernism known as 'Innocence'.[18] Quite simply, 'Innocence' became the foundation, or historical bloc, for a new cultural hegemony which began in the years between 1920 and 1950. Nova Scotian society was increasingly defined during these decades by a new "set of fused and elaborate myths"[19] which were promoted by cultural producers both at home and abroad, through the vehicle of tourism. McKay defines this new way of thinking as such: "The 'new truth' emerging from the mythmoteur of Innocence was that the province was still enchanted, unspoiled, a Folk society, natural, and traditional: that the fall into capitalism and the 'disenchantment of the world' had not affected this society's essential innocence of everything negative suggested by the phrase 'modern life'."[20]

Hence 'Innocence' was born, and McKay maintains that its assumptions about the 'Folk' totally contradicted what actually happened in Nova Scotia. The 'Folk' were portrayed as simple fishing or farming families living in rural areas,

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 45.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

16 I. McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal and Kingston, 1994), p. 29.

17 Identified by McKay as including "writers, artists, photographers, musicians, publicists, and other enthusiasts of the arts"; *ibid.*, p. 30.

18 *Ibid.* For the purposes of this article, 'antimodernism' may be defined as a phenomenon whereby people look to an idealized, romanticized past in order to escape the pressures and complexities of a modern industrialized technology and society.

19 *Ibid.*

20 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

untouched by capitalism and modernity, singing their songs and making their crafts and telling their stories as they had for centuries, living lives of "self-sufficiency close to nature [in] quiet stolidity."[21] By the 1930s, the 'Folk' concept had expanded to mean anyone "who appeared to be picturesquely removed from [the] twentieth-century mainstream."[22]

In reality, Nova Scotia had experienced a boom in industry and trade, due to shipping, fishing, mining, secondary manufacturing and a rise in the coal, iron and steel industries--all during the period between 1880 and 1920. In the 1920s, however, the province was plunged into a huge economic and industrial downswing, complete with severe unemployment, labour unrest and out-migration to find work. "This," McKay contends, "is not the history of a settled, ordered Folk society, but of a region that experienced many of the contradictions of capitalist modernity."[23]

Nevertheless, the question remains: how, in the light of such an obvious inconsistency, was this concept of the 'Folk' not only preserved, but also turned into the prevailing culture of Nova Scotia? McKay points a finger at the tourist industry and the cultural producers behind it as the leaders of this new historical bloc. Although tourism was not solely responsible for defining the 'Folk', it did, however, sell the concept to both Nova Scotians and visitors to the province. As a result of regional de-industrialization during the 1920s, tourism became increasingly important to the provincial economy, and noticeably so by the 1940s.[24] It became important to commemorate Nova Scotia's history by preserving things, not just for their historical value, but also for their tourism potential. McKay calls this practice a response to the "Tourist Gaze":

> the idea of 'cashing in on antiquity', and a sense of the past as an 'asset', a 'mine' and a 'resource', can be traced back to the 1930's. It was for the Tourist Gaze--that is, not just what actual tourists looked at, but what any potential tourist might find 'camera-worthy' and interesting--that much of what came to be conceptualized as the Nova Scotia Heritage was constructed.[25]

21 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 234.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 35.

25 I. McKay, "History and the Tourist Gaze: The Politics of Commemoration in Nova Scotia, 1935-1964," in *Acadiensis*, 22 (2), Spring 1993, 104.

This practice was not limited merely to visitors, but was also extended to Nova Scotians in general, coping as they were with the effects of modernization and industrialization. Cultural producers realized that Nova Scotia had many historical things to offer, and "the aroma of potential profits rose intriguingly from a romanticized past."[26] This realization in turn led to action and brought about a new--and more importantly--an accepted cultural hegemony with many implications:

> Tourism's material impact on cultural life was pervasive and massive. It made possible a fully commercialized antimodernism, which (paradoxically) entailed simultaneously celebrating the pre-modern, unspoiled 'essence' of the province and seeking ways in which that essence could be turned into marketable commodities within a liberal political and economic order.[27]

The question that must be answered, then, is this: how does the *Bluenose II* fit into this mix of antimodernism, capitalism and 'Innocence'? McKay maintains that there is a "*Bluenose* cult" which promotes "the virility and raw courage of the Nova Scotians themselves. Facing the waves of the North Atlantic was something that real men did."[28] However, McKay is resistant to the notion that some facets of Nova Scotian culture may have originated, not by the manipulation of Nova Scotian cultural producers, but by the antimodernist movement alone, and were then manipulated for the province's benefit once their reputation had been established.

It is the premise of this article that this was the case for *Bluenose II*, the most recognized symbol of Nova Scotia--and possibly of Canada. *Bluenose II*, it may be argued, is the result of the evolution of antimodernism--from the beginnings of the original *Bluenose*, born out of an industry resistant to changes in technology; to the creation of the replica, born out of a society that could not forget the past; to the maintaining of the replica, born out of an industry that exploits her sentimental value for commercial gain. There has never been any doubt that tourism has had a key role in the history of *Bluenose II*, and that she is a merger of cultural symbol and capitalism; but it is the nature of that role that has changed since she became government property in 1971. In the initial stages of planning to build the *Bluenose* replica, her tourist value was used as a sensible reason for bringing her

26 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

27 McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, p. 35.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 266.

back--sentimentality was not enough in a time and a place where economic feasibility was paramount. Now, *Bluenose II*'s sentimental and historical value is what the Nova Scotia government cites first as justification for spending the money to keep her refitted and touring as "Nova Scotia's Sailing Ambassador." This, then, is the story of *Bluenose II*.

The schooner *Bluenose* and the International Fishermen's Races[29] were the natural extensions of two interlocking Nova Scotian industries--shipbuilding and fishing--that refused to integrate with the changing trends that came with industrialization in the early twentieth century. To understand this more fully, we must travel back to the 1850s when Nova Scotia's long tradition in wooden boat-building really began to show its economic benefits.

By the end of the 1850s, Nova Scotia was enjoying an economic prosperity based primarily on shipbuilding. Among the principal ports of Digby, Yarmouth, Liverpool, Lunenburg, Halifax and Pictou, as well as smaller centres such as Bridgewater and Mahone Bay, the province "had far more tonnage then New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island combined, and more than twice as many ships on register."[30] This can be attributed to two main factors: New Brunswick's vessels, for instance, were built and then sold with their cargoes in England, while Nova Scotia's tonnage stayed primarily within the province;[31] secondly, "of the Maritime colonies, Nova Scotia had the most diversified economy,"[32] one that included shipbuilding, shipping services, fishing and coalmining as major industries.

Although 1875 was the peak year for Nova Scotia shipbuilding--as compared to 1854 for New Brunswick and 1864 for the Maritimes as a whole[33]--the industry was soon in sharp decline, and was declared dead thirty years later.[34] With the

29 The International Fishermen's Races were racing series between American and Canadian fishing schooners, held in 1920-23, 1931 and 1938.

30 P. Buckner and J. Reid, eds., *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History* (Toronto, 1994), p. 335.

31 S. Saunders, *Studies in the Economy of the Maritime Provinces* (Toronto, 1939), p. 256.

32 Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, p. 335.

33 Saunders, Economy of the Maritime Provinces, p. 256.

34 A. Shortt and A. Doughty, eds., *Canada and Its Provinces*, XIV, Section VII, "The Atlantic Provinces," Part II (Toronto, 1913), p. 387.

onset of Confederation, which was accused of contributing to the slump in shipbuilding, and the rise of new technology--like the tramp steamer--the wooden ocean traders were soon outmoded and uneconomical.[35]

This, however, was not the case for communities such as Lunenburg and Mahone Bay, which concentrated on building schooners specifically for the fishing industry; schooners did not become impractical until after World War I.[36] Furthermore, the export of fish products was an important part of Nova Scotia's economy, rising from 35.9% of total export value in 1853 to 53.1% in 1873.[37] The main export in this category was dried salt cod destined for markets primarily in the West Indies, and secondarily in Europe and the United States.[38] Consequently, schooners were in high demand for a much longer period of time than square-rigged vessels, due to their cost-effectiveness and seaworthiness.[39] Their dual roles of gathering goods, delivering them and then returning to the home port to start the process all over again helped to avoid, albeit temporarily, the fate of the large square-rigged traders, which lost their importance once faster means of transporting goods--i.e. their sole purpose--were popularized.[40]

Lunenburg became the epicentre of Nova Scotia's fishing trade and the province's "premier fishing port."[41] Reliance on the sea for trade, food and eventually commercial gain was a tradition in evidence since the beginning of settlement there. Lunenburg was founded in 1753 by a group of German, French and Swiss Protestants encouraged to immigrate by the British government in an effort "to help counter the French and Catholic presence" in the colony.[42] The bulk of these settlers were farmers, but after Lunenburg was firmly established as a community, shipbuilding began. The quickest trade route to Halifax--their lifeline

35 *Ibid.*, p. 386.

36 J. Parker, *Sails of the Maritimes*, (Toronto, 1976), p. 76.

37 Saunders, *Economy of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 252.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 253.

39 Parker, *Sails of the Maritimes*, p. 77; and C.B. Fergusson and W. Pope, *Glimpses into Nova Scotia History* (Windsor, NS, 1978), p. 67.

40 Parker, *Sails of the Maritimes*, p. 76.

41 *Cruising Nova Scotia* (*Spray* Magazine and NS Department of Tourism and Culture, 1993), p. 6.

42 *Town of Lunenburg Street Map* (1991/92 ed.).

at the time--was by sea and in order to sustain trade between the two communities, Lunenburgers had to construct their own boats. By the early 1800s, a steady trade in agricultural products had been established, with the help of small vessels called 'packets', which "provided the speediest possible passage along the coastline to Halifax."[43]

By the 1800s, through necessity, the Lunenburg settlers were also trying their hand in off-shore fishing, recognizing the potential in the "rich harvest from the fishing grounds off the Atlantic Coast."[44] Fishing schooners, or 'saltbankers', were developed and used both for fishing (particularly offshore, on the Grand Banks off Newfoundland) and for carrying the resulting cargoes around the world. These 'Bluenose boats' soon gained an international reputation of great seaworthiness, speed and durability, and "Lunenburg ships became famous along the shipping lanes around the world."[45]

By concentrating on building vessels for the booming fishing industry, Lunenburg thus avoided the economic downswing experienced by other shipbuilding communities around Nova Scotia during the late 1800s. By 1901, Lunenburg had a fishing fleet of 153 'bankers', compared to only one thirty years before. This was far above construction levels anywhere else in the country: "the total number of vessels (sea-going) owned and employed is far in excess of that of any other county in Canada [;]...Lunenburg has built and registered more vessels than any other port in Canada."[46]

By the beginning of the 1900s, Lunenburg's fishing reputation and success were internationally known and recognized as equal to, if not better than, the United States, and the community was frequently referred to as "the Gloucester of Canada."[47] It was this combination of international stature, commercial success

43 Fergusson and Pope, *Glimpses into Nova Scotia History*, p. 67.

44 *Fisheries Museum of the Atlantic* (brochure, n.d.).

45 Fergusson and Pope, *Glimpses into Nova Scotia History*, p. 67.

46 Col. C.E. Kaulbach, MP, quoted in R. McLeod, *The History, Natural Resources and Native Beauties of Markland or Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1903), p. 109.

47 After the equally important and famous fishing port in Massachusetts; McLeod, *Markland*, p. 109. There is much physical evidence left in Lunenburg from this period, including large mansions belonging to sea captains and wealthy businessmen, and the Lunenburg Academy, which cost approx. $30,000 to build at the turn of the century. The waterfront district also flourished due to trade, ship-building and fishing. Enough of the buildings in the 'Old Town' section have been preserved to the present day to warrant the community's recent designation by the United Nations as a 'World Heritage Site'.

and the immutability of the fishing and wooden-boat tradition that caused Lunenburg to retain its traditional ways long after the rest of the Maritimes had started the move towards industrialization. It was also this antimodern culture that precipitated the inauguration of the International Fishermen's Races which began in October 1920--and which ironically celebrated vessels on the brink of total obsolescence.[48]

After much criticism of the cancellation of the 1920 America's Cup yachting races, Canadian Senator William H. Dennis proposed a new racing series that would feature working schooners from the United States and Canada.[49] Each country would have one boat representing it, and vessels interested in participating had to meet specific criteria ensuring that they were of schooner-class construction and had spent at least one full season fishing on the Banks.[50] The vessel that won the best two out of three races captured the series and the championship, complete with trophy and prize money. There was much excitement when these terms were announced, for the races were seen as an excellent opportunity to settle the long-standing dispute between Lunenburg and Gloucester fishermen, as to which community had the faster fleet.[51] Boats from both ports had been informally racing each other for years on the Banks, as well as on the way home, and more often than not the Nova Scotian vessels would lose due to a fundamental difference in construction--carrying capacity: "The Nova Scotia fisherman has to carry his heavy cargo of fish to distant markets. For this, carrying capacity is more important than speed. The Gloucester fisherman rushes smaller cargoes to the nearer markets of New York or Boston. The result: speed for the Yankee, carrying capacity for the Canadian."[52]

This critical difference was made very clear when the American *Esperanto* handily defeated the Canadian entry *Delawana* in two straight races on 20 October and 1 November 1920. Canadian enthusiasts were unhappy with the loss, and

48 W.M.P. Dunne, *Thomas F. McManus and the American Fishing Schooners: An Irish-American Success Story* (Mystic, CT, 1994), p. 339.

49 J. Roue, *A Spirit Deep Within: Naval Architect W.J. Roue and the Bluenose Story* (Hantsport NS, 1995), p. 6.

50 *The Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 31 Aug. 1985.

51 G.J. Gillespie, *Bluenose Skipper: The Angus Walters Story* (Fredericton, 1955), p. 53.

52 H. Atwater, "The *Bluenose*," in *Canadian Geographical Journal*, 14 (Mar. 1937), 154.

realized that in order to reverse the outcome they would have to "build a boat to beat the Yankee in speed and with cargo capacity to pay its way."[53] The boat they built was the *Bluenose*.

The *Bluenose* was unique in many ways. First, she was able to achieve the goal of those who came together to create her, by combining racing speed and cargo capacity, and by overachieving in both areas beyond expectations. Secondly, she held the record for the largest catch of fish ever brought in to the port of Lunenburg by a 'banker', made during her inaugural fishing summer of 1921;[54] she was consistent thereafter in bringing in excellent loads of fish throughout her entire working career. Thirdly, she brought fame and pride to Nova Scotians by winning the International Fishermen's Race of 1921, and not relinquishing it in the subesquent series of 1922, 1923, 1931 and 1938.[55] Fourthly, her image appears both on a Canadian stamp and on a piece of Canadian currency--an honour which is a rare occurrence.[56]

Yet another unique factor was the excitement and anticipation which the *Bluenose* generated before she even raced. The creation of a new vessel, especially the launching, was always an exciting event, but it seemed even more so for the *Bluenose*. The first spike driven into her keel was golden, and the occasion was turned into a "colourful ceremony"[57] with the Governor-General of Canada, the Duke of Devonshire, coming down from Ottawa especially to perform the

53 *Ibid.*

54 J. Marsh, "*Bluenose*," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Edmonton, 1988), I, 244.

55 This includes the 1923 series that was ruled 'No Contest' due to rule disputes--despite the *Bluenose* having won both races that were run. For a more detailed examination of these racing series, from differing perspectives, see: Gillespie, *Bluenose Skipper*; C.K. Darrach, *Race to Fame: The Inside Story of the Bluenose* (Hantsport NS, 1985); Dunne, *The American Fishing Schooners*; A. Merkel, *Schooner Bluenose* (Toronto, 1948); J. Tremblay, *Bluenose: Queen of the North Atlantic* (Fredericton, 1967); Feenie Ziner, *Bluenose: Queen of the Grand Banks* (Philadelphia and Don Mills, 1970); and Roue, *A Spirit Deep Within.*

56 A 50-cent stamp was issued 8 Jan. 1929, composed of two pictures taken by noted Nova Scotian photographer, Wallace MacAskill; it has been classed as among the top 25 most beautiful stamps in the world; see Atwater, "The *Bluenose*," pp. 158-59. The depiction of a "Fishing Schooner under Full Sail" appeared on the Canadian 10-cent piece in 1937; although there was no official word that the *Bluenose* was the model for the coin, everyone assumed--and still assumes--that she is the boat on the dime; see S.D. Cameron, *Schooner: Bluenose and Bluenose II* (Toronto, 1984), p. 58, and N. Boltz, "Canada's Ten-Cent Coin and the '*Bluenose*'," in *Canadian Numismatic Journal*, 12 (Jan. 1967), 6.

57 Merkel, *Schooner Bluenose*, p. 15.

honours. Launching day, 26 March 1921, was another spectacle; G.J. Gillespie describes it thus:

> Never in the history of the old fishing port had there been such gaiety and excitement. Never before had a launching occasioned such great interest. It was not just 'another launching'--it was the launching of what all Lunenburgers dreamed would be a champion, a champion that would avenge the defeat of *Delawana*. From all parts of Lunenburg County and from the capital city of Halifax, too, came the sightseers to watch the new challenger slide down the ways. Although she was owned by 'The *Bluenose* Schooner Company', which held her 350 hundred dollar shares, everyone felt she was a part of Nova Scotia just like the seas that boom like Drake's drums against her coast.[58]

Lastly, another unique facet surrounding the *Bluenose* was the magical, almost human, qualities she seemed to possess. Some of her crew claimed that she had been "touched by the hand of God," due to the many close calls she experienced while at sea.[59] Although brushes with Mother Nature were not uncommon for experienced fishermen, such occurrences added to the mystique surrounding the vessel, sustaining the belief that she would never be beaten by anything, and adding to her appeal and image as "Queen of the North Atlantic Fishing Fleet."[60]

This growing legend was further enhanced by the way the *Bluenose* won her last International Fishermen's Race series in 1938. She was seventeen years old, supposedly past racing prime. She had been worked hard those seventeen years on the Banks, surviving the worst weather that Mother Nature could deliver, and was considerably battered and worn. The odds were against her beating a significantly newer and perhaps faster *Gertrude L. Thebaud*--but beat her she did. With the series tied at two apiece, on 26 October 1938 the *Bluenose* crossed the finish line a mere two minutes and fifty seconds ahead.[61] This would be the last International Fishermen's Race series, however, due to another impending world conflict and to

58 Gillespie, *Bluenose Skipper*, pp. 60-61.

59 *The Chronicle-Herald*, 30 June 1990. The experiences most often recounted are a near-collision with a mystery ship (its identity could never be established) off the Grand Banks on her maiden voyage; her near-sinking during a gale when returning home from participating in the Silver Jubilee celebrations for England's King George V and Queen Mary; and surviving the spring gales of 1926. See Roue, *A Spirit Deep Within*, p. 20; and *The Chronicle-Herald*, 10 Nov. 1984 and 30 June 1990.

60 Gillespie, *Bluenose Skipper*, p. 7.

61 Roue, *A Spirit Deep Within*, p. 99.

the advent of the diesel engine.[62] Times were changing.

All these unique factors combined to capture the excitement and the imagination of that portion of the North American fishing community which, albeit caught up in modernization, nevertheless was clamouring to hang on to something heroic from a successful past--namely, the use of wooden vessels. Into the midst of universal upheaval following upon a major world conflict, deindustrialization and worldwide depression, sailed the *Bluenose*, proof to the traditionalists that 'newer' was not necessarily 'better'. Individually, segments of the *Bluenose*'s story were not unique to her alone, for many other boats and their crews shared similar experiences. However, the *Bluenose* weathered it all, and it seemed as if she could--and did--survive any challenge set before her, emerging always victorious. It also helped that her defeated challengers were American.[63] Combine all these factors with the many theories about where the *Bluenose* got her speed,[64] and it turned a good story about a fast boat into an enduring legend.

Despite all her positive publicity, especially following trips to Chicago and England, and despite her many successes, by the mid-1930s the future of the *Bluenose* was beginning to look grim. In 1936, her owners installed diesel engines in order for her to remain economically viable in the new era of fresh fishing.[65] After the *Bluenose*'s incredible victory in the 1938 racing series, her captain, Angus Walters, hoped that Canadians would agree to retire her, "preserved as a national treasure."[66] The shareholders in The *Bluenose* Schooner Company were

62 B. Backman and P. Backman, *Bluenose* (Toronto, 1965), p. 44.

63 Ziner, *Queen of the Grand Banks*, p. 3: "With the building of the Bluenose the tables were turned. Canada had produced a champion, and the Americans did not like to acknowledge it... . For [Canadians], the victories of Bluenose were like the victory of a David over a Goliath."

64 There are many explanations offered as to why the *Bluenose* had such exceptional speed, including changes in the forecastle to make more room below deck for the crew; the meticulous design plans of William Roue; the skill of her captain and crew; and a rumoured incident at the Smith and Rhuland Shipyards where the frame of the hull slipped in the ways during construction and twisted slightly, enabling the schooner to ride in the water more efficiently. See Roue, *A Spirit Deep Within*, pp. 16-17; Backman and Backman, *Bluenose*, p. 35; S. Mills, "The Magnificent *Bluenose*," in *The Atlantic Advocate*, 56 (Jan. 1966), 16; C. Mungall, "They're Building Another *Bluenose*," in *Canadian Weekly* (Toronto), 15 Apr. 1963, p. 9.

65 These were removed for the 1938 International Fisherman's Races, then reinstalled afterwards; Gillespie, *Bluenose Skipper*, p. 115. See also *The Chronicle-Herald*, 25 Mar. 1971. The *Bluenose* was invited to represent Canada at the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago, 1933; and during the Silver Jubilee celebrations for George V and Queen Mary in London, 1935.

66 S.D. Cameron, "The *Bluenose*: The Legend Endures About Canada's Most Famous Ship," in *Canadian Geographic*, 104 (Apr./May 1964), 22.

unwilling, however, to retire her outright, since a $7000 bill was outstanding on her engines and neither the company as a collective nor any of the shareholders as individuals wished to pay it off themselves.[67] There were, however, people across Canada excited about the idea of preserving the *Bluenose*, and letters supporting her began appearing in newspapers all over the country. In response to this outpouring of sentiment, a public meeting was held to see if there was any way to capitalize on this support. Captain Walters described the outcome as follows: "We decided to have certificates printed and...sold at one dollar throughout the nation. That would make each certificate holder a part owner of the *Bluenose*. There would be no dividends except those that would be brought to the country by tourists attracted by the *Bluenose* and her great record."[68]

All plans, however, were laid aside and quickly forgotten with the onset of World War II, for "sentiment and interest were hidden by a nation's preoccupation with a death struggle."[69] Not only did the war permanently end any interest left in schooner racing, but the threat of submarines on the Banks was a very real one, and directly affected fishing during that time.

Even before the actual start of hostilities, the *Bluenose* was in deep trouble: she was now spending more time tied up in Lunenburg Harbour than out on the Banks, "unable to compete economically in the fresh fishing trade."[70] Since the movement to save her had been abruptly interrupted, and there was no plan in place to pay off the debt still owing, legal proceedings were begun to put the vessel up for auction. Captain Walters took issue at the time with the seemingly apathetic mood displayed in Lunenburg, throughout Nova Scotia and indeed across Canada: "They just couldn't see any personal profit in it. All the honor *Bluenose* brought to [Lunenburg], all the money the fishermen put in their pockets--why, they all got rich off the fishing fleet. They could have fixed her up so's people could understand the sort of work they done, what kind of character it took to build a champion... ."[71]

Determined to save the *Bluenose* himself, Walters managed to scrape together

67 Cameron, *Schooner*, p. 69.

68 Quoted in Gillespie, *Bluenose Skipper*, p. 123; and A. Leitch, "There'll Never Be Another Like *Bluenose*," in *The Globe Magazine*, p. 4.

69 Backman, "The Return of the *Bluenose*," in The Atlantic Advocate, 51 (5), Jan. 1961, 44.

70 *The Chronicle-Herald*, 25 Mar. 1971.

71 Quoted in Cameron, *Schooner*, p. 69.

the necessary $7000 and covered the debt on the day of the auction.[72] Walters was merely delaying the inevitable, however, and by 1942 he knew that there was no other option available to try and keep the *Bluenose*; so he reluctantly sold her to the West Indies Trading Company, who took her down to the Caribbean to transport bananas and rum. This was her fate until the evening of 29 January 1946, when she struck a reef off the coast of Haiti and slowly sank.[73] Captain Walters wept when he was told of her loss, as did many others. *The Halifax Herald* lamented that "Her passing is a national sorrow; the ignominy of her death a national disgrace." Her eulogy, printed on 31 January, included the following:

> Nova Scotia's far-famed champion, the fleet-limbed and stout-hearted racing schooner *Bluenose* which outran every sailing vessel on the Atlantic but couldn't escape her destiny, has found a harbour deep beneath West Indies waters. The five-time winner of the International Races sank after striking a reef off the Haitian coast...the *Bluenose* played out her final years as a work horse, but bright in the hearts of sailing men remained memories of her when, sails billowing in Atlantic winds, she danced lightly from wave to wave as she outstripped her rivals.

It was only after she was gone for good that people realized what a mistake it was not to have saved her when there was a chance--but of course it was too late then for good intentions.

For the next fourteen years or so, the *Bluenose* was a memory that people thought about, but did not talk a lot about. Captain Walters was still bitter over the injustice of the whole situation and ashamed of the fact that nobody cared enough to help him in his efforts to save the vessel. He contented himself with his dairy business and occasionally brought up the topic of perhaps building a replica, but no one took him seriously, for "he was aging, and his neighbors took such talk to be no more than an old man's wishful thinking."[74]

The situation remained in limbo until an unlikely catalyst set off a chain of events leading to the fulfilment of Captain Walters' dream; and that catalyst was named HMS *Bounty*. Antimodernistic thinking manifested itself in full force early in 1960 as Nova Scotians watched Lunenburg shipwrights build a replica of HMS *Bounty* to be used in the production of the film, *Mutiny on the Bounty*. The interest

72 "The *Bluenose*, Nova Scotia's Famous Schooner" (reprinted from *Toronto Saturday Night*), in Vertical File, Vol. 181, No. 5, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, NS.

73 Cameron, *Schooner*, p. 69; and Backman, "The Return of the *Bluenose*," p. 38.

74 Cameron, "The Legend Endures," p. 22.

generated in watching traditional boat-building methods being put into practice once more almost instantly revived pro-*Bluenose*-replica sentiment, not just in Lunenburg, but across Canada. This time, however, sentimental nostalgia was tempered with an innate practicality that came as a result of what had happened to the *Bluenose*. A second *Bluenose* was not going to be built and then lost due to a lack of funds. The vessel would have to be self-supporting, and before going ahead with formal plans organizers had to be convinced thoroughly that she would maintain her prized status for as long as she floated.[75] It was because of this cautiousness that two facets of capitalism were allowed to enter into the process of creating *Bluenose II*.

It was obvious from the construction of the *Bounty* that many people would come to visit a town and watch while a wooden boat with some sort of fame was being brought back to life in a replica.[76] Hence tourism was seen as an excellent reason for bringing the *Bluenose* back--but not in the way that Ian McKay would interpret it. Not only would Nova Scotians be commemorating the original *Bluenose*, the legend that went with her and the fishing tradition that she represented, but they would also be generating some money to keep the replica from the fate of her predecessor. The expectation was additionally that the new *Bluenose* would be available for people to enjoy on short sailing excursions, for a small fee; Captain Walters even enthused, "If they built another, she'd pay and repay for herself! If there was something going on up at Halifax or Sydney, we could send her up."[77]

The predictions regarding her tourism potential came true, at least initially, as *The Chronicle-Herald* reported in a special supplement published to commemorate the launch of *Bluenose II*: tourist figures for 1963 were reported to be well ahead of those from the previous year, and the construction of *Bluenose II* was directly linked to this increase.[78] Money was not the only motivating force behind promoting the vessel's tourism potential, however; Lunenburgers also wanted to show visitors to their town a physical piece of their history that was a source of great civic pride--albeit a replica. Many people visited Lunenburg

75 Backman and Backman, *Bluenose*, p. 63.

76 *Ibid.*

77 Quoted in Backman, "The Return of the *Bluenose*," pp. 46, 51.

78 "The *Bluenose* Story," special supplement to *The Chronicle-Herald and The Mail-Star* (Halifax), 23 July 1963, p. 5.

expressly to see the original *Bluenose*, and were disappointed when they found out what had happened to her. Having a tangible reminder would make it easier for everyone to visualize what the *Bluenose* and vessels of her class had been like.[79] Again, Captain Walters had strong opinions in this regard: "[A replica] will not only be a memorial to the original *Bluenose*, but to the old fishing and sailing fleets that used to be based in Lunenburg. And the replica will be of educational value to the younger generation who have never known those great seafaring days."[80]

The second instance of capitalism that entered into the equation was big business. In their book, *Bluenose* (1965), Brian and Phil Backman have recounted the events and the public response they witnessed leading up to the involvement of the Halifax brewing firm, Oland & Son, in the sponsorship of a new *Bluenose*. The Backmans saw that even though a possible *Bluenose II* was just a rumour in 1960, the rumour alone was sufficient for people all over the continent to send money--especially shiny '*Bluenose*' dimes--to Captain Walters, towards funding a new vessel. As a result, committees were set up locally to study the feasibility of building and maintaining a new *Bluenose*, to guarantee that in future the venture would not be a financial disaster.[81] Unfortunately, Angus Walters initially disagreed with the Financial Affairs Committee, arguing that their suggested sum of $300,000 was too much money to raise. By the time Captain Walters became convinced that $300,000 was not such an unreasonable figure after all, the groundswell of public support had petered out. A professional survey was then taken to see if a replica could be built and maintained solely through public means; the results showed that the odds were not favourable:

> Clearly all was lost, unless one last remaining hope could be realized...that of finding a commercial concern with private reasons for assuming costs of the entire undertaking. It was a hope, but only that. Obviously such a sponsor ought to be one who could both afford, and be willing, to operate the projected ship for the public benefit as well as a private one.[82]

It was a lot to ask of any potential sponsor--and it seemed too good to be true

79 Backman, "The Return of the *Bluenose*," p. 46.

80 Quoted in "That Was The Week...," in *The Chronicle-Herald*, 31 Jan. 1992.

81 Backman and Backman, *Bluenose*, p. 63.

82 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

when Oland's, the Halifax brewing concern, agreed to just such an arrangement. Oddly enough, the proposal was the fulfilment of the company's own dreams for a new marketing scheme. During the 1950s, Colonel Sidney Oland, his son Victor Oland, then president of Oland's, and the rest of the company were seriously considering the idea of building a schooner similar to the *Bluenose*, as an effective advertisement for a new product called "Schooner Beer." Indeed, the firm had already made arrangements to obtain the original *Bluenose* plans from her designer, William Roue. However, a strike at the brewery arose in the midst of these plans, and any thoughts of a new marketing scheme were not a priority in management's mind for the time being.

The idea was revived, however, when the company was asked by the town of Lunenburg to consider becoming part of the proposed venture. Oland's had no desire to build another boat in competition for attention, for the company wholeheartedly endorsed building a replica and did not wish to undermine Lunenburg's initiative. As far as everyone in Lunenburg was concerned, "for Oland's to assume the role of sponsor offered the most benefit for everyone." The company agreed. Oland's got an ideal promotional symbol, as well as an enhanced public image in return for their philanthropy. The town of Lunenburg got its beloved boat back, complete with a full set of guarantees from Victor Oland. The *Bluenose* replica would be built in Lunenburg in the footsteps of the original, for "any other thought was tantamount to absurdity." Lunenburg would also be the port of registry, would be the site of future refitting and maintenance when required, and the vessel would spend "as much time in her home port as economy would allow." For example, she would be in Lunenburg every year for the annual Fisheries Exhibition, with any monetary proceeds raised by her operation during that time to go to the Exhibition and not to the owners. She would not be raced either, so as not to tarnish the legend of the original, and she furthermore "would be used and handled at all times in a manner commensurate with the dignity and bearing of her grand predecessor." Perhaps most significant of all, she would not be a beer freighter, which was considered even by the company to be highly uneconomical and impractical. The crowning touch to the whole matter was the presentation of the enduring rights to the name "*Bluenose II*" by Captain Lawrence Allen, who had previously registered the title in order to grace a miniature sailing replica that he was building. All the pieces were finally in place, and *Bluenose II* was launched on 24 July 1963.[83]

83 *Ibid.*, pp. 62-66.

It is at this point that the paradox surrounding *Bluenose II* is clearest. Although antimodernist feeling embraced the notion of the original *Bluenose*--what people thought she represented, and the latent need to bring her back in a physical sense--it was a modern capitalist company that made everything possible. This was a curious mix of culture and capitalism, for as long as Oland's treated *Bluenose II* with respect and did not tamper with the legend, Lunenburg was quite satisfied with the results and willingly allowed Oland's to use her to sell their beer.[84] Ian McKay, based on his book, would no doubt insist that it was the lure of the tourist dollar that was the driving force behind the creation of *Bluenose II*, but this argument can be strongly countered. Those concerned with the planning of *Bluenose II* used the tourism angle to their advantage to accomplish their goal--not as the sole justification for such a large venture, but as an added benefit. Both tourism and the participation of Oland's combined to make a case of the means justifying the end. If tourism and a beer company was what it took for Lunenburg to get and keep their dream of a *Bluenose* replica, then the town's citizens were only too happy to agree to the arrangement.

This, sadly, is not the case today. Antimodernist sentiment is still present throughout North American society, and it has been skilfully manipulated by a knowledgeable tourism industry in Nova Scotia. The role of tourism in this equation is no longer just a side-benefit, but the major player. For example, a survey of the articles concerning *Bluenose II* which have appeared over the last twenty years in *The Chronicle-Herald*--Nova Scotia's largest-circulating daily newspaper--reveals clearly how the government views the vessel. This is even more obvious when one looks at *Bluenose II* promotional literature, or at recent training material given to employees working in Tourist and Visitor Information Centres throughout the province.

There was never any doubt that one of the roles intended for the new *Bluenose* was that of goodwill ambassador and roving representative of the province.[85] This role has been deployed for more than just favourable publicity. Since the boat was sold to the then Nova Scotia Department of Tourism by Oland's in 1971 for $1.00,[86] *Bluenose II* has been the cornerstone of the province's tourism industry; department officials treat her like a business asset and use her for trade and

84 Under the guidance of the Nova Scotia Liquor Board Advertising Code.

85 Backman and Backman, *Bluenose*, p. 63.

86 "The *Bluenose* Story: Symbol of Nova Scotia Heritage," in *Nova Scotia Travel Information Book* (NS Dept. of Tourism and Culture, 1993 ed.), p. 92.

industry development. In a 1979 article titled "Tourism Department Seeks New Ways For *Bluenose* to Make Money," Tourism Minister Bruce Cochran had this to say about the vessel: "We want to do what we can do to increase the revenue of the *Bluenose*... . We have to keep a balance so we don't get carried away to all goodwill and no income... . The *Bluenose* is a very important part of the province's tourism picture... . It's unique. Every guy with a dime in his pocket has a picture of the *Bluenose*."[87]

This approach is evident in virtually every voyage the schooner undertakes. For example, a 1981 article titled "*Bluenose* Has Marketing Job" proclaimed how the vessel was to visit Quebec City and Toronto, in order "to promote Nova Scotia and its 1981 tourism marketing theme, 'Seaside Spectacular'."[88] In 1982 the following observation was made: "It may well be there is no means of accounting for what she has done in terms of increased tourism dollars... ."[89] A 1985 editorial commenting upon the possibility that *Bluenose II* would not sail on her annual promotional visit along the American eastern seaboard, but would instead conserve her finances for Expo '86 in Vancouver, noted that this decision "indicates that the tourism department has looked ahead to the options which are presented for obtaining the best value for the use of *Bluenose II*."[90] Extensive newspaper coverage was given during the summer of 1986 to her most ambitious tour ever, which took her down through Latin America, up the Pacific seaboard to Vancouver, and back again. The theme of these articles can be summed up in the following: "Provincial tourism marketing director Dan Brennan says although the main objective of the trip is to 'fly the Nova Scotia flag at the opening of Expo', the *Bluenose* [cruise] will be an invaluable promotional tour in the lucrative American tourist markets."[91]

Promoting tourism and trade was also the rationale behind a tour to four American ports in 1989, during which the vessel's presence was designed to "concentrate on industrial trade promotions and development activities."[92] Yet

87 Quoted in *The Chronicle-Herald*, 27 July 1979.

88 *Ibid.*, 25 May 1981.

89 *Ibid.*, 12 Sept. 1982.

90 *Ibid.*, 24 Jan. 1985.

91 *Ibid.*, 18 Nov. 1985; and 22 Apr., 31 May, 5 July, 12 July and 14 July 1986.

92 *Ibid.*, 26 May 1989.

another article in 1992 related how the *Bluenose II* was to accompany sixty Nova Scotia tourism operators "in an attempt to boost the province's appeal in Ontario's tourism market."[93] The *Bluenose II* is indeed no longer solely a vehicle of goodwill for the province, but has transcended this to incorporate business functions that were never part of what Lunenburg envisioned for her when they decided to build a replica. The time *Bluenose II* spends in foreign ports out of the province is no longer totally dedicated to allowing the public to experience the schooner, either by seeing her, boarding her, or taking a short cruise on her. Now it involves time spent entertaining corporate concerns potentially interested in generating business and investment links with Nova Scotia.

In anticipation of all the tourists who come to Nova Scotia with a specific interest in the *Bluenose* or because of her drawing power, the Nova Scotia Government has been and still is careful to prepare its employees to be very knowledgeable about the *Bluenose II*. The following appeared in a recent training manual for people working in Tourist and Visitor Information Centres around the province:

> *Bluenose II* is one of the most popular tools to bring visitors into the province. People from all over North America see the ship and wish to visit her home port and province. Canadians feel the *Bluenose* is part of their history. Sailing enthusiasts know about her famous racing record, and Americans see her at promotional visits to ports on the east and west coasts. *Because Bluenose II is such an important attraction, it is imperative that you familiarize yourself with some of her history* (refer to the Red Book and the *Bluenose* brochure) [italics added]. Proper information must be given on the location of the ship at any given time.[94]

Emphasis on the economic importance of *Bluenose II* is also evident in her promotional brochure, which now highlights as an important fact to know about the boat that "voyages to various Canadian and U.S. ports are used to promote Nova Scotia tourism and trade development."[95] The *Bluenose II* Preservation Trust, a volunteer organization overseeing the preservation and operation of the schooner, also recently established a Company Store in the waterfront district of Lunenburg. Although the profits of this store go directly towards the maintenance and expenses of *Bluenose II*, such activities highlight that *Bluenose II* merchandise is being marketed even more heavily than before.

93 *Ibid.*, 1 Apr. 1992.

94 Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Travel Counsellor Training Manual* (1994 ed.), p. 17.

95 Bluenose II Preservation Trust, "*Bluenose II*" (brochure, 1995 ed.).

So how is the tourism industry in Nova Scotia able to get away with all this? The answer is simple--antimodernism. People from all walks of life and from ports all over the world still respond to the romantic past which *Bluenose II* suggests. Millions of people have boarded her, sailed on her, or simply looked at her; and when the time comes for an extensive and expensive refit, it is to these people who feel an emotional connection to the *Bluenose* that government turns. This was no more evident than the latest--and perhaps most confusing--public debate regarding the future of *Bluenose II*. After she was ignominiously decommissioned by the Coast Guard and forbidden to sail in late 1993, due to extensive dry rot, the controversy started. After acrimonious debate over whether or not the vessel should be repaired, whether a third *Bluenose* should be built, or if the public would support an independent venture called "*Bluenose* Pride," it was the vision of a group organized under the *Bluenose II* Preservation Trust, that finally gained public and government support for keeping *Bluenose II* and repairing her.[96] Approximately one thousand people showed up on the Lunenburg harbourfront for the Recommissioning Ceremony on 28 May 1995, and "if anyone needed convincing of Nova Scotia's love affair with the *Bluenose* they had only to look at the smiling faces of the hundreds of people assembled on Lunenburg's waterfront for the ceremony."[97] The traditionalists saved the day--or, more accurately, the boat.

The entire history of *Bluenose II* is connected by a lengthy, consistent line of antimodernism. It is a powerful force that permeates every facet that comes into play. It was evident in a highly successful fishing industry still reliant on wooden vessels and whose participants believed--until they were eventually forced to change--in the old cliché that "if it ain't broke, don't fix it." It influenced organizers of the International Fishermen's Races to limit participants to legitimate, traditional fishing schooners, which in turn immortalized the *Bluenose*--a vessel which for all intents and purposes was obsolete before she was even built. It caused people to feel guilty about letting her be sold and then losing her forever when she sank; and it fuelled their need to recreate her in order to commemorate what they felt she represented from the past. And finally, it still works in peoples' emotions today, much to the Nova Scotian tourism industry's delight. However, no matter how one views it, the paradox of it all still remains: the aspects that antimodernists were trying to avoid and turn their backs on--namely modern industry, capitalism, and all their trappings--were the very ingredients needed to bring the *Bluenose* back and keep her.

96 *Ibid.*

97 *Chronicle-Herald*, 29 May 1995, pp. A3, A10.

Davis Day through the Years: A Cape Breton Coalmining Tradition

Christina M. Lamey

For the past seventy years, Davis Day has been a tradition in the coalmining communities of industrial Cape Breton.[1] Every year on 11 June, all the mines are closed and miners take the day off; only essential workers such as pump operators and technicians are on duty. Town halls in the mining towns are closed, as are government offices and banks; the schools--at one time closed all day--now close for the afternoon. Named in honour of William Davis, who was killed at the New Waterford Lake riot on 11 June 1925, Davis Day has come to symbolize both the miners' battle for fair wages and the continuing struggle to save Nova Scotia's coal industry. Over the years, Davis Day has had to evolve to survive, and so its meaning has taken on new dimensions. Its original purpose, for example, was to mourn Davis's death and its particular symbolism, but the event has now evolved to become, additionally, an occasion for mourning all miners killed in provincial coal mines. As the struggle of Nova Scotian miners continues, so does Davis Day--each year changing to better fit the context of the most recent issues and thus slowly drifting away from the events of 1925.

The story of the General Strike of 1925 is intrinsic to understanding the miners' struggle and the longevity of Davis Day. The history of unrest in the Cape Breton coal industry can be traced back at least to the signing in 1893 of the Dominion Coal Company's 99-year lease of the coalfields located northeast of Sydney. At first, Dominion brought never-before-seen prosperity, and the population of the mining towns it controlled doubled almost overnight. The company, however, relied on the dubious financial practice of selling 'watered stock': dividends on such stock could only be paid to the shareholders if operating costs, namely wages, were reduced.[2] When Dominion was taken over and merged into the giant British Empire Steel Corporation in 1921, the situation grew worse. Falling wages and deplorable working and living conditions lay behind many of the 58 strikes that occurred in the Cape Breton coalfields between 1920 and 1925.[3] The climactic strike of 1925 broke Besco's

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1 The tradition has since been extended to Pictou and Springhill in NS, and to Minto in NB; also held on 11 June in these communities, the occasion is known there as Miners' Memorial Day.

2 John Mellor, *The Company Store: James Bryson McLachlan and the Cape Breton Coal Miners 1900-1925* (Toronto, 1983), p. 5.

3 E.R. Forbes and D.A. Muise, eds., *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation* (Toronto, 1993), p. 245.

iron grip on the company towns. Organized by the United Mine Workers of America District 26, the miners walked out on 6 March 1925--into a hellish three months of near-starvation, culminating in a showdown with company police at the New Waterford Lake power plant on 11 June.

That morning, a large crowd of miners and their families gathered at a New Waterford schoolyard. They were determined to oust the Besco company police force from the power plant and restore both electricity and water to the town. For a week, the company had withheld these vital necessities in order to force the miners back to work. Also, it had been months since the miners last bought food for their families at the company stores--where their credit had been revoked, again to break the strike. Besco vice-president J.E. McClurg publicly taunted the starving miners, saying: "We hold the cards. Things are getting better every day they stay out. Let them stay out two months or six months, it matters not, eventually they will have to come to us. They can't stand the gaff."[4] The crowd in New Waterford swelled as miners from Glace Bay, Dominion and Sydney Mines arrived. John Mellor has graphically described the scene in his book, *The Company Store*:

> Miners came by car, bicycle and on foot. At every street corner and crossroads their numbers increased as long-suffering miners' wives and their children joined the ranks. Here and there, a grim-faced miner's wife could be seen pushing a perambulator packed to the brim with hungry, white-faced children, while on the outskirts of the march, scores of little boys raced excitedly back and forth, yapping mongrels at their heels, as they attempted to keep pace with their elders.[5]

At the lake, the miners were confronted by a mounted cavalry of company police who fired indiscriminately on them, felling the first row. The miners then scattered and ran through the woods, outflanking the police who soon were surrounded and knocked from their horses, then beaten mercilessly by the mob. Every blow struck was a blow against the hated coal company.[6] The Besco police fled in every direction, pursued by mobs of miners and their families. Although a victory was won, the casualties were great. One man had broken his back, another was shot in the arm, one was shot in the stomach--and William Davis, the father of nine, was shot dead. The next day's *Sydney Post*

4 *Ibid.*, p. 247.

5 Mellor, *Company Store*, p. 297.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 299.

described the riot as "the culminary [*sic*] result of five months of government inaction, corporation obstinacy, and the accumulated desperation of hungry men... ."[7]

The fight with Besco was not over, but the climax had been reached. The 1925 strike was the sixth and final time that armed police were used against Cape Breton coalminers.[8] Another victory was celebrated in 1926 when McClurg left Cape Breton. Labour poet Dawn Fraser has since captured, in vivid verse, the feelings of local miners on this occasion:

> The bosses couldn't stand the gaff!
> Oh, let me write their epitaph.
> Let's see now--how should I begin--
> 'Here lies a monster born of sin,
> Of graft, corruption, fraud, and worse--
> Adieu, adieu, Cape Breton's curse'.[9]

Miners vowed that Davis's death and the tragic events of 1925 would not be forgotten, declaring at the autumn convention of UMWA District 26 that, in honour of Davis, never again would they report to work on 11 June. At first Besco said that work would continue as usual on the memorial day, but miners ignored the company's threats and stayed away.[10] Hundreds attended the first memorial service for Davis, held in New Waterford in 1926.

The struggle for better wages and conditions was no closer to being won, however. In 1928, District 26 president John W. MacLeod resigned his position and assumed the job of assistant superintendent of mines at Besco--a move for which he was labelled a traitor to the working class. Soon after, a

7 *The Sydney Post*, 12 June 1925.

8 In 1882, the Provincial Workmen's Association struck at Lingan for one year; strikebreakers were brought in from Scotland but refused to work, so the company called upon Premier W.T. Pipes to bring in the militia. In July 1904, the federal and provincial governments jointly brought in troops to protect strikebreakers. During the 1909 strike, troops at the Halifax barracks had their leave cancelled and five hundred were sent to Cape Breton, along with machine guns and light artillery. They were used to threaten miners participating in the 3000-man march from Glace Bay to Dominion on 31 July 1909. Coal company police beat miners during a 1907 walkout at Dominion No. 1 Colliery. In 1922, twelve hundred cavalry were sent to Cape Breton, and British naval vessels were seen offshore. The next year, provincial police and cavalry were used against miners during the 1923 strike in support of the steelworkers. Paul MacEwan, *Miners and Steelworkers: Labour in Cape Breton* (Toronto, 1976), pp. 3-110, *passim*.

9 Dawn Fraser, *Echoes of Labor's War* (Toronto, 1976), p. 84.

10 *The Sydney Post*, 12 June 1926.

reorganization of Besco led to the creation of the Dominion Steel and Coal Company. Dosco, however, was essentially Besco under a different name.[11]

At first, Davis Day was well attended by miners and their families: the cause for which he had died was still unresolved. Many of the traditions surrounding Davis Day ceremonies were moulded in these early years. The ecumenical ceremony commenced at 10:30 a.m., for example, most likely because religious services were only held in the morning hours at that time. Before long, however, attendance at the annual ceremony fluctuated, for reasons which are often unexplainable. The 1928 memorial, for example, was attended by only four hundred miners. District 26 president John W. MacLeod--not yet a company official--laid a wreath on the grave. Four hundred, however, was a pitifully small number compared to the five thousand who had attended Davis's funeral three years earlier. Union tensions between left-wing radicals and moderates in the years leading up to the Great Depression may have contributed to these early poor turnouts.

Fluctuating attendance continued into the 1930s. The Depression was a time of infrequent work for miners and the company was again pushing for wage reductions. By 1932, the average miner worked only 102 days per year, compared to 230 in 1926.[12] Since Davis Day was not declared a general holiday for miners until 1932, some miners may have used the day to earn badly-needed wages.[13] Also continuing troubles within the union may have led to disorganized planning for the event. The 1932 Davis Day memorial service in New Waterford was attended, nevertheless, by 1000 miners.[14] The breakaway Amalgamated Mineworkers of Nova Scotia, led by the popular trade unionist and Communist J.B. McLachlan, was incorporated in that year and drew many miners away from the vacillating and ineffective UMWA. By 1935, McLachlan's attacks on UMWA leader John L. Lewis garnered the support of nearly 8,000 Nova Scotian miners--a great many more than remained loyal to the UMWA. In 1936, however, Davis Day ceremonies were attended by only 150 miners, although the mines then employed over 8,500. The *Sydney Post-Record* reported that as a result of the poor turnout, District 26

11 MacEwan, *Miners and Steelworkers*, pp. 157-158.

12 Michael Earle, ed., *Workers and the State in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Fredericton, 1989), p. 37.

13 MacEwan, *Miners and Steelworkers*, p. 176.

14 *The Sydney Post*, 13 June 1931.

president Dan Willie Morrison would "address the matter of changing the Davis Day service" at the next District Convention.[15]

An important variation in the 1936 event was the inclusion of the New Waterford Miners' Monument in the ceremonial route. Those attending the ecumenical service afterwards marched from the church to the monument on Plummer Avenue, where union local and district officers and Davis's family placed wreaths; the procession then moved on to Davis's gravesite in Scotchtown where they again laid wreaths. Despite the introduction of an expanded ceremony, attendance at Davis Day continued to decline. The 1937 service had the smallest numbers ever; union officials expressed disappointment, especially because all mines were idle that day.[16] Since the late 1930s was a time of relative peace within the union--the AMW and the UMWA having amalgamated in 1936--it may be that outside factors, such as fading memories of the 1925 strike, bad weather, or Davis Day falling on a weekend, contributed to the low attendance.

After yet another poor turnout in 1938, Davis Day was changed dramatically: it was renamed District Memorial Day, although the media more commonly referred to it as Miners' Memorial Day. UMWA officials claimed that the change had been made in order to renew interest in the occasion as a means to mourn the death of all miners killed within District 26, and not to confine it merely to Davis and the memory of the 1925 strike.[17] Also, the One Big Union miners of Pictou County had recently joined UMWA District 26; wishing to establish their own local tradition, on 11 June 1938 they held their own first Miners' Memorial Day ceremony. The Sydney Post-Record still called it Davis Day, but the memorial in Pictou was dedicated to the 88 miners killed there in January 1918.[18]

The format of Davis Day had changed very little up until 1936: the ecumenical church service in New Waterford, followed by a visit to Davis's grave, was the extent of the event. Following the changes introduced in 1938, the meaning of Davis Day/Miners' Memorial Day was expanded to include all miners killed in UMWA District 26 mines--which now included those in Pictou

15 *Sydney Post-Record*, 12 June 1936; *The Sydney Post* and *The Sydney Record* combined in Jan. 1933.

16 *Ibid.*, 12 June 1937.

17 Discussion with UMWA District 26 officials, 24 Feb. 1995.

18 *Sydney Post-Record*, 11 June 1938.

County. The Great Depression and the union troubles of the early 1930s had distracted miners from the original meaning of Davis Day and their memories of the struggle of 1925 had faded over time. As their labour battles continued, little attention could be paid to victories of old--there were still fights to be won. Overall, the miners took more steps backward than forward in the 1930s. Factional 'right' versus 'left' disputes within the unions--chiefly between J.B. McLachlan and Dan Willie Morrison and their followers--combined with the formation of the breakaway Amalgamated Mineworkers of Nova Scotia breached the solidarity of miners.[19] Indeed, the Trade Union Act of 1937 was the only bright light for Cape Breton miners during this decade.[20]

The Second World War brought a pay raise to the miners, although they were still being paid in real wages at levels lower than in 1921. In essence, the twenty years of grim struggle had been a battle to retain, where possible, what had been won during 1917-1921.[21] Bargaining for wage increases intensified after 1940, as union leaders maintained that the war effort would give them the bargaining power necessary to win better wages for the miners. It was perhaps this sense of hope that led in 1940 to the largest Miners' Memorial Day gathering since the 1920s. Services were held in both New Waterford and Stellarton. The New Waterford gathering was attended by 1000 miners and their families.[22] This year there was no visit to Davis's grave; instead, a wreath was placed at the Miners' Monument in New Waterford. It can be argued that the move from Davis Day to Miners' Memorial Day was effective in increasing attendance. The theme of commemorating all mine disasters and fatalities included many more individuals than those encompassed within the original Davis Day motif.

Nineteen forty-one was an exceptional year in Cape Breton mining history. Miners were upset with the UMWA's unilateral acceptance of Dosco's new contract, negotiated without first holding a referendum. In retaliation, on

19 Mellor, *Company Store*, pp. 328-329.

20 Besides recognizing the legality and collective bargaining rights of unions, the act included a check-off provision forcing employers automatically to deduct dues for their employees' union. The UMWA had already gained the check-off provision under The Coal Mines Regulation Act and used this power to outmanoeuvre the AMW (which it then absorbed in 1936). Had the AMW had the advantages of the 1937 act, the outcome of this rivalry might have been different. See Earle, *Workers and the State*, pp. 38-39.

21 MacEwan, *Miners and Steelworkers*, p. 229.

22 *Sydney Post-Record*, 12 June 1940.

16 April 7000 miners walked off the job in a five-month-long wartime slow-down strike.[23] Coal production was reduced to two-thirds the normal output. There was tremendous opposition to the illegal strike from government, the media and the UMWA itself. The miners, with support from non-striking mainland miners, called for the resignation of longtime-president, Dan Willie Morrison, and secretary-treasurer, A.A. MacKay. Rather than resign, Morrison and MacKay stayed on until the October 1942 UMWA elections, when they were soundly defeated. Freeman Jenkins became the new District 26 president.

The road ahead for the new executive was rocky. In January 1942 the average miner's basic adjusted pay rate was $3.90 daily, against $5.00 in 1920. There had not been a general strike since 1925. Effective negotiating by the union in 1944 led to a $1.04 raise and a paid vacation. The war was finally paying off the miners, as Dosco could no longer deny them a share of the profits. The tremendous impact of the slow-down strike and the trouncing of the Morrison executive overshadowed Memorial Day services in both 1941 and 1942: the miners' contempt for the District 26 executive kept them away from the union-organized ceremonies. In 1943, however, the new executive instructed all locals to observe the day and remember all "associates who [had] died the preceding year."[24] A memorial service was, as always, held in New Waterford. The Salvation Army Band performed and District 26 officials laid wreaths at the Miners' Monument. An essay contest entitled "New Waterford as a Mining Town" was also introduced to raise awareness among local schoolchildren.

The war interrupted Miners' Memorial Day in 1944. Not a word was mentioned in the *Sydney Post-Record* of the service; instead, it had been overshadowed by the extensive coverage given to the Normandy invasion on 6 June. The end of the war in 1945 brought a new hardship to Nova Scotia's coalminers. The market within Canada had been flooded by cheaper American coal since the early 1940s. In 1938, about half of Canada's coal was produced nationally; in 1945 imported American coal was almost double the volume of Canadian coal on the Canadian market.[25] In 1947, thirteen thousand UMWA miners--the largest number ever--went out on strike for three months. It was the first general strike since 1925 and the miners were hoping for a $2.50 per day

23 MacEwan, *Miners and Steelworkers*, p. 230.

24 *Sydney Post-Record*, 10 June 1943.

25 MacEwan, *Miners and Steelworkers*, p. 268.

wage increase. Management waited them out, however, and they ended up with only a $1.00 raise.[26] So decisive was their defeat that the miners even acquiesced to a contract which geared wages to productivity. Jenkins' UMWA was again widely criticized for its poor showing on the members' behalf.

In the following years, Jenkins drifted slowly to the conservative right, as had MacLeod and Morrison before him. Serious attrition set in throughout the coal industry and reached disastrous proportions by 1960. As Paul MacEwan has noted in his book, *Miners and Steelworkers*, "The fifties...are noteworthy chiefly in that they set the stage for the still more calamitous sixties."[27] The industry's problems were familiar: rising production costs, competition from other fuels, the lack of a national coal policy, unsound management and outmoded methods of mining.[28] Rapid de-industrialization after the war also weakened the union's position,[29] while mechanization led to a noticeable decline in the numbers of employed miners between 1947 and 1951. The most serious open conflict in the mining communities of industrial Cape Breton in the 1950s, however, surrounded the love-hate relationship that District 26 had with Communism. Communists and left-wingers were purged from the union in the 1950s.

Miners' Memorial Day underwent a slow transformation during these years. The service, which had once centred around the remembrance of miners killed while working, was gradually turned into a political 'grandstanding' opportunity for union leaders. UMWA presidents--Jenkins until 1954, then Tom McLachlan--thus used the day in part to speak out against the company and government and to comment on the present state of the coal industry.[30] At first, this display of rhetoric drew big crowds: 2500 attended the service and parade in 1952. But by 1955, fewer than two hundred miners participated in the ceremony. UMWA leaders, concerned over poor voter turnout in three recent referendums concerning wage freezes, publicly urged those attending the ceremony to reassess their responsibilities to the trade union movement.[31]

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26 Earle, *Workers*, p. 42.

27 MacEwan, *Miners and Steelworkers*, p. 281.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 285.

29 Earle, *Workers*, p. 19.

30 *The Post-Record*, 13 June 1952.

31 *Ibid.*, 13 June 1955.

Another change in the 1950s was the politicization of Miners' Memorial Day. Provincial and municipal government representatives laid wreaths at the Miners' Monument, along with UMWA officers.[32] Previous ceremonies had seen only Davis's family and union officials laying wreaths both at his gravesite (although not here after the late 1930s) and at the monument on Plummer Avenue. Indeed, it was in the early 1950s that Miners' Memorial Day was made a general holiday in the mining towns of Cape Breton--a sign of its growing connection to civic politics. The provincial government, which had often called in troops to crush the miners' strikes, now shut down its own offices on 11 June, to honour those killed in the mines.

The 1960s were tumultuous times in Nova Scotia's coal industry. Reeling from two disasters at Springhill in the late 1950s, which claimed the lives of over one hundred men, the UMWA upped its stance on better wages and improved mine safety measures.[33] Although Tom McLachlan negotiated what the Cape Breton Post described as "history-making wage concessions,"[34] he was defeated in the 1958 UMWA elections by William (Bill) Marsh from New Waterford. Greater attention was also being paid now by the federal government to mining concerns. The Rand Commission was appointed to look into the coal industry; although the report provided government with a realistic look at the situation, few of the recommendations were acted upon.[35]

More than ever before, 11 June was used as an opportunity for political and union activism. In 1960, Bill Marsh called upon management and government to find "a just solution to the coal marketing problem."[36] Father Andrew Hogan of St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish also spoke, observing that Memorial Day had three purposes: remembrance of the past, challenge of the present and hope for the future.[37] The crowds grew, as did the rhetoric, at subsequent Memorial Days during the 1960s. Numerous wildcat strikes kept the miners interested in unionism. In 1965, in a political speech which

32 *Ibid.*

33 Forbes and Muise, *Atlantic Provinces*, p. 386.

34 MacEwan, *Miners and Steelworkers*, p. 295.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 310.

36 *Cape Breton Post* (Sydney), 12 June 1960; *The Post-Record* became the *Cape Breton Post* in Sept. 1956.

37 *Ibid.*

headlined the Cape Breton Post's coverage of Memorial Day, Marsh called for federal and provincial government assistance to keep the faltering mines open.[38] William Davis's name and the 1925 strike were not mentioned until the very end of the article--and then only because of the time-honoured custom of laying the first wreath for Davis. As well, Davis's family alone laid a wreath for him, while UMWA officials laid wreaths for all fallen miners. Whereas earlier media coverage of the event had always contained a narrative of Davis's story and a detailed description of the day's sermon, the purpose of the gathering was now openly for union leaders to voice political issues. Unlike newspaper stories of years past, Miners' Memorial Day articles now even omitted the word "memorial."

The takeover of Dosco by the federal government in 1967 enhanced the miners' position as a bargaining unit, but little could be done to reverse trends in the Cape Breton coal industry. It continued to decline under the Cape Breton Development Corporation.[39] As for Miners' Memorial Day, the late 1960s and early 1970s saw the continuing politicization of the occasion--in fact, little has changed since that time, in this respect. A three-town rotation began in 1967, in order to allow other mining communities an equal opportunity to host the event. New Waterford, then Glace Bay in 1968 and Sydney Mines in 1969, each took turns staging the ceremony, with the financial backing of District 26.[40] Miners' memorial monuments and parks dedicated to those killed in the local collieries were unveiled in Sydney Mines in 1974 and Glace Bay in 1980.[41] Dominion requested a turn in the rotation in 1989 because the town had also erected a monument; permission was granted on a one-time-only basis, but when the community formally asked to be included in the rotation, the schedule was amended to rotate annually among New Waterford, Glace Bay, Sydney Mines and Dominion.

By the 1970s, the events of 1925 had been all but forgotten in the mining communities' celebration of Miners' Memorial Day. A Cape Breton Post story covering the 1970 ceremony did not even mention Davis's name. At the 1970 District Convention of the UMWA, the date for the annual event was changed

38 *Ibid.*, 12 June 1965.

39 Forbes and Muise, *Atlantic Provinces*, p. 455.

40 Discussion with UMWA District 26 officials, 27 Feb. 1995.

41 *Cape Breton Post*, 12 June 1980.

from 11 June to the second Monday in the month. This, of course, guaranteed a workday holiday. From 1971 to 1974, Memorial Day services were accordingly held on the second Monday in June. At the 1974 District Convention, however, the day was changed back to 11 June and has remained there since. The only exception was in 1978, when ceremonies were held on Monday 12 June. A resolution introduced at the 1978 District Convention to reinstate the second Monday date was rejected. These years also saw major changes in the Memorial Day format. Firstly, in 1974 the name was changed back to Davis Day. UMWA officials now realized that the ceremony had moved away from its original intent and so made an effort to reclaim its history.[42] There was an obvious revival taking place as a new generation of miners reminisced on the struggles of their forefathers. Very little changed, though, concerning the politicization of the event.

Today, Davis Day remains much as it was during the 1970s. There is always a guest speaker--usually the District 26 president or an international board member. Attendance depends mostly on which community is hosting the event and what the weather is like that day. Although the ceremony is officially titled Miners' Remembrance Day in the present UMWA contract, the union nevertheless promotes it as Davis Day.[43] Each year, District 26 and the local communities sponsor an essay contest about Davis Day and coalmining, give away lapel pins, and host dances and wreath-laying ceremonies. In 1985, Miners' Memorial Park in New Waterford was re-named Davis Square.

Davis Day has undergone many changes through the years because of the differing outlooks of the UMWA executive. To continue, it has had to adapt to the changing face of mining in Nova Scotia. Davis Day has survived through the years, marking its seventieth anniversary in 1995. And it will continue to survive as it is passed from generation to generation in the mining towns of industrial Cape Breton.

42 Discussion with UMWA District 26 officials, 27 Feb. 1995.

43 *Ibid.*

Francklyn v. *The People's Heat and Light Company Limited*: A Nineteenth-Century Environmental Lawsuit in Nova Scotia

Jonathan H. Davidson

"A long suburb of red brick houses,--some with patches of garden-ground where coal-dust and factory smoke darkened the shrinking leaves, and coarse rank flowers; and where the struggling vegetation sickened and sank under the hot breath of kiln and furnace...":[1] Charles Dickens was describing the destruction of the English countryside about 1840, caused by the Industrial Revolution, yet his words also aptly describe conditions along the residential eastern shore of the Northwest Arm of Halifax Harbour nearly sixty years later--and especially the situation of businessman George E. Francklyn's picturesque estate, "Emscote."[2]

Concern about the environmental impact of industrial development is certainly not a new phenomenon. In 1899 the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia rendered its decision in one of the very first 'environmental' lawsuits in this province: *Francklyn* v. *People's Heat and Light Company*.[3] This article examines the *Francklyn* decision in the context of other contemporary Nova Scotian judicial decisions dealing with the tort of nuisance as a device to combat environmental pollution.

In addition to its significant impact on the economy, the development of industry in Nova Scotia in the last quarter of the nineteenth century affected both the legal system and the physical environment of the province. As the basis of the provincial economy changed from rural and agricultural to urban and industrial,[4]

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1 Charles Dickens, *The Old Curiosity Shop* ([1841]; repr. Ware UK, 1995), p. 285.

2 Concerning the Francklyn family's tenure of "Emscote" (alias "Francklyn Park") and the background to the controversy, see John W. Regan, *Sketches and Traditions of the Northwest Arm*, 2nd ed. (Halifax, 1909), pp. 65-6, 69-71. "Emscote," named after the village in Warwickshire, England, where G.E. Francklyn's father came from, is now Emscote Drive; the property, which was developed as a housing estate after the second "Emscote" mansion was demolished in 1965, lies southwest of the campus of the Atlantic School of Theology.

George Edward Francklyn (1848-1915), a grandson of Sir Samuel Cunard, was president of the shipowning and brokerage firm of S. Cunard and Company (Halifax); see generally David Allison, *History of Nova Scotia*, III (Halifax, 1916), 453-5.

3 The trial and appeal decisions are reported together at *Francklyn* v. *People's Heat and Light Company*, (1899) 32 N.S.R. 44. The records of the trial can be found in Public Archives of Nova Scotia [*PANS*] RG 39 "C" (HX) vol. 459 file A10024, and of the appeal in RG 39 "A" vol. 23 file 17. The appeal book contains in printed form most of the affidavits and other significant documents preserved in manuscript form in the Supreme Court case file. In addition, the transcript of the discovery examinations is only to be found in the appeal book. Nevertheless, there are some affidavits and other key documents (such as the petition for leave to appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and a draft of the proposed company incorporation amendment act [*S.N.S.*, 1899, c. 162]) that exist only in manuscript form. Wherever possible, I have cited the printed page of the appeal book for ease of reference, as the case file documents are not individually numbered.

4 Jennifer Nedelsky, "Judicial Conservatism in an Age of Innovation: Comparative Perspectives on Canadian Nuisance Law, 1880 -1930," in David H. Flaherty, ed., *Essays in the History of Canadian Law*, I (Toronto, 1981), 284-5, analyses some statistics on the rate of change in Canadian society and economy generally over this period.

the legal system also changed in order to confront new problems and issues that arose as a direct result of industrial development. As English common law applied in Nova Scotia, it is instructive first to examine the changes that industrialization wrought in the British legal system[5]--about which unfortunately there is a paucity of literature. Economic historians tend to disregard the impact of the legal system, while legal historians have generally focused on the social impact of changes in the law, to the exclusion of its impact on business and commercial interests. Though concerned with Britain, Kostal's comments are equally applicable to Canada:

> Historians both of English industrialization generally, and of the emergence of the steam railway industry specifically, have had little to say about the influence of lawyers and law on these events. When the relationship between law and early industrial economy has been examined at all, it is examined only as a secondary matter of concern. *The marginalization of the legality is a significant flaw in our understanding of the history of the world's first industrial nation* [emphasis added].[6]

Most fundamentally, the Industrial Revolution--and the consequent improvement in transportation and communication networks--led to increasing national control over the legal system. By the late 1880s, traditional, customary and local law had been largely supplanted by a more uniform system throughout the country.[7] This benefited businesses by providing a consistent legal framework in which they could operate.

Another significant area of the common law affected by the Industrial Revolution was employment.[8] For example, as increasing numbers of people were employed in factories, on railways and in other industrial pursuits, there was a corresponding dramatic increase in litigation by injured workers seeking redress from their employers. The courts were forced to reconsider traditional legal

5 Jonathan H. Davidson, "Industry and the Development of Company Law in Nineteenth-Century Nova Scotia," *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 15, 2 (Dec. 1995), 88-114.

6 R.W. Kostal, *English Railway Capitalism: 1825-1875* (Oxford, 1994), p. 3. The principal Canadian text, Carol Wilton, ed., *Essays in the History of Canadian Law, IV. Beyond the Law: Lawyers and Business in Canada, 1830-1930* (Toronto, 1990), focuses almost exclusively on individual biographies and histories of specific law firms and does not examine the 'big picture' of the relationship between industry/business and the legal system in Canada.

7 H.W. Arthurs, "Special Courts, Special Law: Legal Pluralism in Nineteenth Century England," in G.R. Rubin and David Sugarman, eds., *Law, Economy and Society, 1750--1914: Essays in the History of English Law* (London, 1984), p. 399.

8 It was then more commonly described as the law of master and servant.

doctrines about employer liability in light of the changing social economy.[9]

Certainly one of the most drastic consequences for the legal system was the complete overhaul of company law. In response to demands from the new class of industrial entrepreneurs, Parliament was forced once again to permit business incorporation--which had been prohibited between 1720 and 1825.[10] This legal development was to be mirrored some years later in Nova Scotia, when it too underwent its own industrial revolution.[11]

Another necessary adjunct to industry is organized labour and in the 1860s and 1870s several pieces of legislation were passed allowing workers to organize without facing criminal prosecution and, later, to regulate trade union activity.[12] Unions could not have existed otherwise, as they have no status at common law.

The literature regarding the impact of industrialization on the legal system in Nova Scotia is limited but preliminary research has been done in some areas, such as law reform. While never successful, attempts by the Nova Scotia legislature between the 1830s and 1863 to enact a general bankruptcy law was, in part, a response to the economic changes wrought by industrialization. It has been argued that one of the key reasons for the failure to pass a bankruptcy act was that, until the post-Confederation period, there was little industrial development in Nova Scotia, and consequently attitudes still favoured the older common-law method of debt recovery by litigation.[13]

One area, however, that has received virtually no scholarly attention in Canada or Britain is the development of what is now called "environmental law." The vast majority of current writers on the subject do not look beyond the beginnings of the modern environmental movement in the early 1960s and legal

9 Kostal, *Law and English Railway Capitalism*, pp. 255-6, undertakes a detailed and lengthy critique of the decision in *Priestley* v. *Fowler* (1836), which formed the basis for determining liability in injured worker actions for many years.

10 Davidson, "Company Law," pp. 90-1.

11 *Ibid.* My previous article examined the direct relationship between industrial development and reforms to the process for establishing an incorporated company in Nova Scotia.

12 Margaret E. McCallum, "The Mines Arbitration Act, 1888: Compulsory Arbitration in Context," in P. Girard and J. Phillips, eds., *Essays in the History of Canadian Law, Volume III: Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1990), pp. 303ff.

13 Philip Girard, "Married Women's Property, Chancery Abolition, and Insolvency Law: Law Reform in Nova Scotia 1820-1867," in *ibid.*, pp. 115-6. While there was some limited development before 1820, industrialization in Nova Scotia did not really become a significant factor before the early 1880s; see Davidson, "Company Law," p. 123.

historians have yet to 'discover' this area.[14] British courts and legislators have nevertheless been dealing with environmental problems for centuries; according to one author, "complaints about pollution were being dealt with by the courts of common law as early the fourteenth century, and anti-pollution legislation was on the statute book in the late thirteenth century."[15]

Rather than being about the environment in general, however, the early statutes and cases tended to focus on very specific concerns or issues.[16] "[U]ntil recently few would have thought of these laws as part of something called 'environmental law', since their main focus was on the protection of private and common property."[17] Indeed, until the 1973 passage of Nova Scotia's modern general environmental protection legislation, the *Environmental Protection Act*,[18] it was necessary to resort to the common law. The most useful cause of action in this area was the common-law tort of nuisance; it was frequently "utilized by the courts in responding to what would now be characterized as anti-pollution suits."[19]

It is necessary first to define a legal nuisance,[20] which one author has

14 One possible reason why it has not been explored by recent environmental scholars is that, barring a very few notable exceptions, there were no successful actions brought before the modern era; *Francklyn* is one of those notable exceptions. I have been unable to find any Canadian literature on the history or development of environmental law, prior to the statutory regime of the 1970s onwards.

15 Gerry Bates, *Environmental Law in Australia*, 4th ed. (Sydney, 1995), p. 11. Unfortunately, the author neither cites a source for this assertion nor does he give any specific examples.

16 *Ibid.*; Joel F. Brenner, "Nuisance Law and the Industrial Revolution," *Journal of Legal Studies*, 3 (1974), 424 et seq., discusses the limited scope of early statutory environmental regulation.

17 Simon Ball and Stuart Ball, *Environmental Law: The Law and Policy relating to the Protection of the Environment*, 2nd ed. (London, 1994), p. 9.

18 R.S.N.S., 1989, c. 150. By way of comparison, some of the first federal legislation was passed in the early 1970s; the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia also enacted legislation about the same time. See O.P. Dwivedi, "The Canadian government response to environmental concern," *International Journal*, 28 (1972), 134; Bates, *Environmental Law*, p. 11.

19 John P.S. McLaren, "The Common Law Nuisance Actions and the Environmental Battle--Well-Tempered Swords or Broken Reeds?", *Osgoode Hall Law Journal*, 10 (1972), 507. The Ontario case, *Walker* vs. *The McKinnon Industries Limited*, [1949] O.R. 549, is generally considered to be the first 'modern' environmental action in Canada. Briefly summarized, the owner of a nursery and greenhouse operation successfully sued the iron foundry operating next door. As in the *Francklyn* case, the plaintiff was granted an injunction to restrain the polluting activities of the defendant.

20 Though there are both public and private nuisances, for the sake of simplicity I shall be dealing with only the latter: "Unlawful annoyance or interference which damages the enjoyment of an occupier or owner of land": Daphne A. Dukelow and Betsy Nuse, comps., *A Dictionary of Canadian Law*, 1st ed. (Toronto, 1991), p. 816, s.v. 'Private nuisance'.

described as "an actionable annoyance which interferes with the ability of another to use or to enjoy his [*sic*] land."[21] A leading text-writer defines *nuisance* as any "activity which results in an unreasonable and substantial interference with the use and enjoyment of land."[22] As these definitions imply, nuisance law is primarily concerned with damage to property and has traditionally served almost as a primitive form of municipal zoning, in the absence of legislation or other regulatory controls.

Courts must delicately balance the competing interests of adjacent landowners. Consequently, the character of the neighbourhood is an important factor in determining what will constitute a nuisance. In 1895 Chief Justice Samuel Henry Strong of the Supreme Court of Canada uttered these almost prophetic words in his judgment in *Drysdale* v. *Dugas*:

> It would be of course absurd to say that one who established a manufactory in the use of which great quantities of smoke are emitted, next door to a precisely similar manufactory...whose works also emit smoke, commits a nuisance as regards the latter, though if he established his factory immediately adjoining a mansion in a residential quarter of a large city he would beyond question be liable for damages for wrongful use of his property.[23]

It is important to remember that the decision in *Francklyn* to grant an injunction (and the appeal from that decision) was not the outcome of a trial *per se*, but arose from Francklyn's application for an injunction to restrain People's Heat and Light from continuing the alleged nuisance until the matter actually went to trial. But the case never did go to trial on the merits. Indeed, because the evidence was not uncontested, Chief Justice James McDonald did not rule on the existence of the nuisance but issued the injunction on the basis of the damage already done.[24] The existence of a nuisance was a question of fact to be determined by a jury when the action eventually came to trial.

The other facts are relatively straightforward. In 1881 George E. Francklyn purchased from his father the family estate, "Emscote," which contained a large

21 Brenner, "Common Law," p. 403.

22 Lewis N. Klar, *Tort Law* (Toronto, 1991), p. 466.

23 (1895) 26 S.C.R. 20, at 23. Unfortunately, Francklyn's counsel does not seem to have been aware of this decision, as there is no indication that it was cited in argument before the court.

24 "To me the house would appear to have been practically uninhabitable for months before this action was commenced...": *supra* note 3, at 50.

mansion overlooking the Northwest Arm.[25] With the exception of the former federal penitentiary building, long abandoned and disused, the area was exclusively residential. From 1881 until January 1899, when he was forced to move out, Francklyn occupied the mansion continuously with his wife, family and various servants--all of whom suffered ill effects from the smoke and fumes of the gasworks.[26] Some of Francklyn's neighbours testified that they too experienced health problems, such as nausea and various skin conditions ("boils and eruptions"), but--notably--none of them chose to join him in bringing the action.[27]

The People's Heat and Light Company Limited was incorporated by special act of the legislature on 28 April 1893.[28] In 1896 the company bought the old penitentiary building, adjacent to Francklyn's estate, and began construction of the gasworks. As soon as he became aware of the company's plans, Francklyn, fearful of the expected consequences for his property, strenuously objected but to no avail. Operations began on a "small scale"[29] in November 1896 and by March 1897 they had become continuous.[30]

The impact of living next door to a large industrial plant was quite dramatic. One neighbour testified that "smokes [*sic*] and gasses from the defendant's works seemed to completely envelop his house."[31] Another neighbour, who apparently resided in a cottage on the grounds, noted that the house was "very frequently...enveloped in gases and smoke emanating from the defendant's gas and coke works."[32]

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25 The following narrative is drawn primarily from the plaintiff Francklyn's affidavit printed in the appeal book, and from the published report in *Nova Scotia Reports*--supplemented as needed by other sources. See, e.g., the conveyance Gilbert William Francklyn to George E. Francklyn (executed 4 Jan. 1881): Halifax County Registry of Deeds, Book 237, p. 549 (mfm at PANS).

26 Direct examination of G.E. Francklyn: appeal book, p. 83.

27 See, for example, the affidavit of Ella Abbot (appeal book, p. 56). This point was not lost on the defence: "The evidence of discomfort is not all one way. The silence of the neighbours is of importance in this connection": *supra* note 3, at 53.

28 *An Act to Incorporate the People's Heat and Light Company Limited* (S.N.S., 1893, c. 157).

29 Affidavit of G.E. Francklyn (appeal book, p. 9); see also examination of O.F. Grein (appeal book, p. 98).

30 It appears that the plant operated round-the-clock by employing several shifts of workers: affidavit of Stephen Quinn (who worked the night shift), appeal book, p. 67.

31 Ella Abbot affidavit, *supra* note 27.

32 Affidavit of Russell Twining: appeal book, p. 50.

While the court focused its attention on air pollution, there was significant evidence that the company also caused a great deal of water pollution; the water it used to cool the coke was discharged into the Northwest Arm almost directly in front of Francklyn's residence. Both Francklyn himself and several witnesses testified about how the "foul scum, tar, and noisome drainage proceedings from the defendant's premises or works"[33] made the water unusable for swimming, boating or any other recreational pursuit. One significant related point, raised neither at the hearing nor on appeal, was that on 10 August 1898 the City of Halifax Board of Health inspected the property and informed the company that it was "infringing Rule 21 of the regulations for the Sanitary government of the City of Halifax."[34]

George E. Francklyn commenced his action for an injunction in November 1898. The company did not dispute the material facts alleged by the plaintiff;[35]"the defendant company's counsel hardly disputed that such was the condition of affairs, but principally relied on other considerations to show that, before trial, the order [for granting the injunction] should not have been made."[36] In other words, defence counsel relied on procedural arguments rather than make any attempt to dispute the facts per se.

Counsel for the plaintiff[37] summoned legions of expert witnesses, including several specialists, to testify about the various medical problems experienced by Francklyn's family and household staff. Further experts were called to explain the damage to the vegetation on Francklyn's property and even the chemical composition of the smoke emitted from the defendant company's gasworks.

The company's evidence consisted primarily of a battery of employees testifying to their own perfect health, unaffected by years of inhaling sulphurous fumes.[38] Dr Donald Campbell testified that "gas workmen enjoy remarkable

33 Francklyn affidavit: appeal book, p. 10.

34 Affidavit of William H. Neal: appeal book, p. 53. (There is no evidence that the company actually received notification, and the matter was apparently not pursued further by either side.)

35 The company's statement of defence denied the allegations but that was routine practice, the purpose of which was to compel the plaintiff strictly to prove every allegation.

36 *Supra* note 3, at 61; per the judgment of Townshend J.

37 R.E. Harris QC, head of the firm Harris, Henry and Cahan (now Stewart McKelvey Stirling Scales) and a future chief justice of Nova Scotia.

38 Given the state of labour relations in this period, it is highly unlikely that any employee who chose *not* to testify for the company when called upon to do so would have remained employed for long. The court seemed to appreciate this, for it gave worker testimony little weight in coming to its decision.

exemption both from local and general diseases, and that their average duration of life...among gas workers is longer than that of people engaged in other occupations."[39] George E. Boak, one of the company's directors, went so far as to suggest that the stench from the gasworks was beneficial in curing the whooping cough in children--and he had tested that very remedy on his own offspring![40]

A number of other doctors testified that the physical ailments described could not have been caused by smoke and fumes from the plant, though it is not clear whether any of them had actually examined the patients or were simply relying upon hearsay. Some attempt was made to adduce competing expert testimony to the effect that the damage to Francklyn family health was not caused by fumes from the gasworks. In ruling on the application, Chief Justice James McDonald does not seem to have given much weight to any of the company's evidence.[41] Had the case gone to a jury trial, such disputed evidence about causation would have been of much more relevance.

The two principal arguments relied upon by lawyers for the People's Heat and Light Company in defending its actions were delay and statutory authorization. Both at the hearing and on appeal, counsel for the company argued that by delaying to bring the action, Francklyn had acquiesced in the alleged nuisance and had therefore lost his right to bring an action to restrain it. The court did not accept this argument, however, particularly because

> [Francklyn] warned them from the first, before any works were erected, that they would be an injury and nuisance to him... [and] on different occasions, he protested to the officers and employees of defendants at the way he had been treated, but without obtaining any redress or change in the mode of operating the works. This was not denied by defendants.[42]

It is generally accepted that for the defence of acquiesence to succeed, the plaintiff must have done some positive act to encourage the defendant to initiate

39 Affidavit of Dr Donald A. Campbell: appeal book, p. 75. Such views were also current among factory owners in Great Britain at the time. Speaking to this point, one author sarcastically remarked, "If the acid in the air was strong enough to kill cholera germs, then it was certainly unhealthy air to breathe. Filling the air with hydrochloric acid is a perverse kind of preventative medicine": Brenner, "Nuisance Law," p. 418.

40 Appeal book, p. 72; see also affidavit of company foreman, William H. Soper: *ibid.*, p. 67.

41 *Supra* note 3, at 50-1.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

or continue the action.[43] Unless the effect would be to prejudice the defence, courts will not accept delay as a legitimate defence[44]--which, according to McLaren, entails the legal proposition that "a plaintiff may be justified in deferring his claim until he is fairly confident of his chances of success."[45]

The other element in the company's twofold strategy was the defence of statutory authorization. Counsel for the defendant argued that the incorporation act "protected them in the operation complained of, at least, in the absence of negligence in the management of their works...[W]e are authorized to emit such smoke and fumes as may be reasonably necessary in the exercise of the powers conferred upon us by our [incorporation] act."[46]

The argument that an impugned activity had statutory authorization has traditionally been one of the most useful defences in a tort action, particularly where a public (or quasi-public) body is involved.[47] The rationale for this defence was that "once [the legislature] authorized development of services in the public interest...it was difficult for the judges to subvert the legislative will without opening themselves to the criticism of usurping [the legislature's] functions."[48] Modern jurisprudence has significantly narrowed the scope, and hence the usefulness, of this defence.[49]

Chief Justice McDonald obviously had no qualms about subverting the legislative will. He decided that, had the legislature intended to authorize the company to infringe its neighbour's rights by permitting the emission of noxious gasses, it would have explicitly specified that right in the incorporation act.[50] On appeal, Judge Joseph Norman Ritchie agreed with the chief justice's conclusion on this point. Citing English case law, he held that while the company was statutorily authorized to carry on operations, it could not do so to the injury or

43 Klar, *Tort Law*, p. 477.

44 McLaren, "Common Law," p. 544.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 545.

46 *Supra* note 3, at 51, 55.

47 Klar, *Tort Law*, p. 473.

48 McLaren, "Common Law," p. 545.

49 Klar, *Tort Law*, p. 473; McLaren, "Common Law," p. 545.

50 *Supra* note 3, at 51-2.

detriment of its neighbours.[51]

One argument only tangentially advanced by counsel (and not considered at all by any of the judges), was the issue of public policy. Given the great importance of industrial development in Nova Scotia at this time and the business acumen of the defendant company's directors, there was surprisingly no discussion of the negative impact an injunction would have on industry--especially since the operation in question was the main gasworks in Halifax.[52] This concern was only hinted at in the affidavit of company manager, Harry W. True, who discussed the great expense the company had gone to in constructing the plant and installing the equipment; the implication was that the infrastructure would all go to waste were an injunction to be granted.[53]

With regard to the issue of public policy, counsel for the company argued on appeal that "[n]o case can be found in which an interlocutory injunction has been granted to prevent the operation of a manufacturing establishment."[54] Francklyn's lawyer responded with a reference to a fifty-year-old New Jersey Chancery decision that was only superficially relevant.[55]

As in the *Drysdale* case (*supra*), neither side seems to have been aware of the decision of the Law Lords in the 1865 ruling on appeal, *Tipping* v. *St. Helen's Smelting Company*.[56] That case presents almost the same factual situation; a large and attractive estate was located next door to a copper-smelting operation. Like the *Francklyn* case also, *Tipping* concerned the granting of an injunction to

51 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

52 Company director and secretary, B.F. Pearson, stated in his affidavit that the company practically had the exclusive right to distribute illuminating and heating gas in the city of Halifax: Pearson affidavit, PANS RG 39 "C" (HX) box 459 file A10024. While Pearson, head of the law firm (now Cox Downie) which was conducting the appeal, may have been exaggerating slightly for rhetorical effect, there is no question that there would have been a significant impact on public utilities had the company been forced to halt operations.

53 *Ibid.* Contemporary estimates of the value of the infrastructure range between $350,000 and $1,000,000: Kyle Jolliffe, "A Saga of Gilded Age Entrepreneurship in Halifax: The People's Heat and Light Company Limited, 1893-1902," in *NSHR*, 15, 2 (Dec. 1995), 16.

54 *Supra* note 3, at 52-3.

55 The specific citation is *Tichenor v. Wilson et al.*, (1849) 8 N.J. Eq. [4 Halsted (2d)] 197. "An injunction to stop chemical works, applied for after the works had been in operation three and a half years, by an individual who had owned and resided on adjoining lands during that time, was denied": Index, s.v. "Injunction," p. 921.

56 (1865) 1 Ch. 66; affirmed (1865) 11 H.L. 642, 11 E.R. 1483.

restrain the polluter[57] before the action went to trial. The court did not hesitate to grant the injunction, even though it required that the manufacturing establishment be temporarily shut down while the necessary alterations were made.

Chief Justice McDonald was clearly not impressed by any of these arguments and granted the injunction, thus effectively halting the company's operations. An appeal was quickly launched in which lawyers for both sides essentially reiterated the same arguments they had used at the hearing. When the Supreme Court in Banco[58] upheld the injunction, the People's Heat and Light Company acted quickly to resolve the crisis. First, a petition was sent to the lone dissenting judge, Nicholas Hogan Meagher, requesting leave to appeal the decision to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.[59] Next, on 7 March 1899, a bill was introduced in the House of Assembly to amend the company's incorporation act so as to make it immune from any further nuisance actions.[60] This bill did not pass and was soon made irrelevant as Francklyn sold Emscote to Benjamin F. Pearson, "at a price said to be $10,000 above its market value."[61] Finally, on 21 March, Attorney-General J.W. Longley introduced a government bill entitled, "An Act relating to Nuisances." It passed the House with difficulty, only to die in committee in the Conservative-dominated Legislative Council.[62]

The decision in *Francklyn* had virtually no impact on the development of Canadian nuisance law in the twentieth century. It has not been followed,

57 "[T]he continuance of the nuisance": *ibid.*, p. 69.

58 The remaining five judges sat in Banco and functioned as the court of appeal.

59 PANS RG 39 "C" (HX) box 459 file A10024. This document, which is undated, must have been filed almost immediately after the appeal decision was handed down, as the proposed amendment act would have rendered a further appeal moot. The file contains no record of Judge Meagher's response to the petition. (Civil appeals from the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council were regulated by the imperial Order in Council of 20 March 1863. The Privy Council was the court of final appeal from all superior courts, including the Supreme Court of Canada, until 1949.)

60 This point is discussed in detail by Jolliffe, "Gilded Age," pp. 20-1.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 20; Halifax County Registry of Deeds, book 350, pp. 622, 625 (registered 13 Nov. 1902). The date of execution is not clear, nor is the amount which Pearson paid for the property recorded on the deed.

62 Bill No. 259; see *Debates and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia: Session 1899, pp. 184-206, passim; Journal of the Legislative Council of NS*, 25 Mar. 1899. The attorney-general observed "that the bill which he had introduced proposed to go a step further than English law and take it out of the power of the judges to grant an injunction at all in the cases covered by the bill." It is worth noting that the idea for a nuisance act came directly from Benjamin Russell, dean of the faculty at Dalhousie Law School and Liberal MP for Halifax.

considered or even cited in *any* subsequent Canadian decision.[63] This is surprising indeed, because the case was the subject of notes in both of the major Canadian legal periodicals of the time. The *Canadian Law Times*[64] devoted over two pages to a complete summary of Chief Justice McDonald's reasons as to why he granted the injunction; but it noted only in passing that the decision was affirmed on appeal.[65] The *Canada Law Journal*[66] gave but a single page to summarizing the decision, though it did explain the legally more important appeal decision, which had of course been officially reported. Neither publication devoted any space in subsequent issues to discussing the merits of the decision or its significance as potential case law.

One possible reason why this decision has not been judicially considered is that it did not establish any significant new legal precedent. The scope of the decision can easily be limited to the rather unusual circumstances that gave rise to it, a fact which restricted its use in subsequent litigation. This situation is reflected in the case digest in the *Canadian Abridgement*,[67] which classifies the *Francklyn* decision as establishing the test of when an odour is sufficiently offensive to warrant an injunction to restrain it.[68] Though this is not a misstatement of the decision, it does serve to minimize its usefulness to litigation practitioners.

Given the fact that *Francklyn* has been almost completely ignored by lawyers and judges, it is not surprising that it has received little more attention from legal historians. The case is given passing consideration by Jennifer Nedelsky in her landmark study of the development of Canadian nuisance law. She concludes that the *Francklyn* decision was in line with other contemporaneous Canadian nuisance decisions, in that it was more concerned with upholding the rights of property owners than with the impact on industrial development.[69] The

63 Per the indices in Carswell's [*Canadian Current Law*]: *Cases Judicially Considered.*

64 *C.L.T.* (1899), vol. 19, pp. 91-3.

65 This is unusual, because the appeal decision would carry more weight as a binding precedent and therefore be of greater interest and relevance to barristers reading the journal.

66 *C.L.J.* (1899), vol. 35, pp. 453-4.

67 The *Abridgement* is the primary reference tool and starting-point for anyone researching Canadian law.

68 Specifically, the test is "whether [the odour] is so bad andcontinuous as to seriously interfere with the comfort and enjoyment of ordinary people": Vol. 14B, Environmental Law, Common Law Sections, Digest 97. See also *supra* note 3, at 50.

69 Nedelsky, "Judicial Conservatism," pp. 303-4; this point will be discussed below.

Francklyn decision has also recently been discussed in the context of the larger history of the People's Heat and Light Company; Kyle Jolliffe has shown that this lawsuit was one of a continuing series of crises which led to the eventual collapse of the company.

Two other reported nuisance cases in Nova Scotia also date from the period 1891-1904: *H. H. Fuller & Co.* v. *The Chandler Electric Company*[70] and *Andrews* v. *Cape Breton Electric Company*,[71] both of which raise issues similar to those in the *Francklyn* case. While it may be stretching the point to classify these actions as environmental lawsuits, they were both concerned with damage caused by the discharge of steam--a form of pollution. Coincidentally, both cases involved firms that operated electrical power-generating plants.

In *Fuller* the plaintiff operated a warehouse, which was apparently constructed upon, or at least partly upon a wharf; the building "was without a foundation, the sea flowing underneath and without a close floor."[72] This warehouse stored various ironware products which were damaged by steam or water vapour rising through the imperfect floor. It was held at trial that the emission of steam was caused by the condenser of the defendant's steam engine discharging hot water into the harbour from an adjoining building.[73] The trial judge, J.N. Ritchie, awarded unspecified damages for the injury to the plaintiff's goods. On appeal, however, the Supreme Court in Banco split evenly, Judge Townshend and Chief Justice McDonald upholding the decision of the trial judge that the Chandler Electric Company was responsible for the damage caused by the escaping steam. Judges Weatherbe and Graham disagreed, finding that the defendant could not reasonably have anticipated the damage from the steam--the two buildings were about twenty feet apart[74]--and further, that the plaintiff was partly at fault because of his choice of such an unsound storage facility. "I should have been inclined," wrote Weatherbe, "to the view that for storing some of the damaged goods a building with a more substantial foundation and less open to

70 (1891) 23 N.S.R. 263; reversed, (1892) 21 S.C.R. 337. The style of the cause in N.S.R. names the defendants as "Pearson et al."; B.F. Pearson was a director of both companies.

71 (1904) 37 N.S.R. 105.

72 *Supra* note 70, at 272 (N.S.R.).

73 Though much technical evidence was presented on both sides, this basically constitutes the trial judge's finding of fact: *supra* note 70, at 263, 265. See also S.C.R., at 337-8, where the findings of fact are more clearly elucidated.

74 *Supra* note 70, at 272 (N.S.R.).

the ordinary vapours of the sea would have been requisite."[75]

The *Fuller* decision was appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada, where the bench unanimously upheld the trial judgment. As in the *Francklyn* case, there was no discussion of public policy; the judges do not seem to have given any consideration to the retardative impact that this decision might have had on industrial development.[76] Nor was there any consideration of the idea that reasonable use of property in an industrial area could be very different from in a residential neighbourhood.[77]

Andrews v. *Cape Breton Electric Company* arose from circumstances similar to the other two decisions discussed above, the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia in Banco hearing an appeal from the decision of the trial judge. The facts of the case can be stated simply. Plaintiff and defendant owned adjoining buildings; the Cape Breton Electric Company "allowed hot water and steam topass into the drain which led from their premises, but which hot water and steam did not pass away, but flowed back through the drain which led from the plaintiff's property, and overflowed his cellar and filled the house with steam."[78] Basing his decision on the precedent established in *Fuller*, the trial judge (J.N. Ritchie once again) found the company liable for damages in the amount of $50.[79]

On appeal, counsel for the company argued that the actual cause of the damage was the fact that the civic sewer was blocked-- a municipal responsibility falling well outside the company's obligation to exercise due care in discharging the waste. It was argued that the ratio decidendi in *Fuller* should not be applied, as there was an intervening agent (i.e., the town's sewerage); the steam did not go *directly* into the plaintiff's basement.[80] Counsel for the defendant also noted in

75 *Ibid.*, 276 (N.S.R.), per Weatherbe J.

76 Indeed, the Supreme Court judgment follows directly from the trial judge's initial finding of facts; there is little legal analysis [per Patterson J (at 341, S.C.R.)]:

> "With great respect for those learned judges [of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia in Banco] I am of opinion that adopting the findings of fact by the trial judge, as we must do, those findings being moreover in clear accordance with the evidence, the discussion of that legal question [i.e., whether the damage was reasonably foreseeable by the defendants] is rather irrelevant."

77 In fairness to the judges, this point was apparently not argued at either level of appeal.

78 *Supra* note 71, at 105. Though it is not specified *why* the steam was being discharged, one may assume it was from a steam engine condenser--as in the previous case.

79 *Ibid.*

80 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

passing that "the Legislature authorized us to conduct this business."[81] The appeal court, however, did not accept these arguments: "The damage inflicted on the plaintiff...is directly due to the company's act in discharging steam from their premises into [the sewer], for which they have shown no justification."[82] Much discussion ensued over exactly who owned which drains but, as usual, there was no consideration of the larger issues of public policy or the impact of the decision on commerce and industry.

As in the *Fuller* decision, Judge R.L. Weatherbe once again dissented and held that the plaintiff was at least partly at fault: "I think it clear that plaintiff not only has failed to make out a case against defendant, but he has shown...the probability that the damage was caused by his own negligence."[83] It is not possible, solely on the basis of these two dissenting judgments, to draw any broad conclusions about Judge Weatherbe's attitude towards industrial development versus the rights of private landowners. For in both cases discussed, his dissent was based on findings of fact rather than the operation of law upon them.

Though it is hazardous to generalize from such a limited sample, the attitudes of judges in Nova Scotia towards nuisance law seem to bear out Jennifer Nedelsky's conclusions for Canadian courts as a whole. Canadian judges "were considerably less willing to abridge the common law rights of occupiers in response to the pressures of industrialization than their American counterparts or their English mentors."[84] The customary rights of the property owner were upheld, regardless of the potentially negative impact on industrial development. Significantly, however, none of these decisions involved any discussion of damage to the environment. Victorian-era courts arrived at essentially the same conclusions as would courts today, yet for completely different reasons. While environmental impact may be considered a new and progressively-developing specialty of contemporary law, this article has shown that judges in Nova Scotia not only were dealing harshly with industrial polluters a century ago, but also were using the tort of nuisance to ground their decisions.

81 *Ibid.* Unlike in *Francklyn*, the statutory authorization argument was not pursued further.

82 *Ibid.*, p. 108.

83 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

84 Nedelsky, "Judicial Conservatism," p. 286. While this is nominally a 'national' study, it (like most other such things Canadian) is predominantly based upon a study of Ontario decisions; see p. 315, n. 25. *Francklyn* is the only Nova Scotia case discussed.

A Muscular Regionalism: Gender and the 'Manly Appeal' of Maritime Rights in the *Halifax Herald* of the 1920s

Angela Baker

There has been a general acknowledgement by historians of the economic and social dilemmas which confronted the Maritime Provinces following the First World War. The main characteristics of the decade were de-industrialization, population loss and waning political power.[1] Complex economic forces, including world-wide trade conditions, the workings of capitalist enterprise and Canada's own fiscal policies, also had significant roles to play in the region's declining fortunes. Whatever the causes, Maritimers in the 1920s were acutely aware of these trends. As David Alexander has remarked, "Maritime consciousness of economic stagnation and relative decline within the Dominion of Canada...assumed the stature of certainty and reality in the 1920s."[2] It was in this socio-economic climate that the campaign for Maritime Rights emerged.

The Maritime Rights Movement was an expression of regional protest launched by a diverse group of journalists, politicians, businessmen and professionals in an effort to address the economic and political crises facing the region at the time. The movement was based on the notion that the Maritime Provinces had not been fairly treated within Confederation and that they were rapidly becoming a 'have-not' region. Maritime Rights' advocates wished to campaign for more equitable arrangements with the federal government, particularly with respect to transportation policies. Much of the agitation came from Boards of Trade within the region and was articulated in many of the contemporary newspapers. The *Halifax Herald* played a particularly important role in this movement. Its editorials and articles were the most vocal of the campaign and both its commercial success and the sensationalist nature of its news-presentation style ensured the power and popular appeal of its discourses. This initial advantage was further enhanced by the editorial cartoons of Donald McRitchie, whose work provides a rich and subtle source for analysing the values and ideas of the movement.[3] Articles and cartoons concerning Maritime

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1 For a more detailed examination of these economic crises, see John G. Reid, *Six Crucial Decades* (Halifax, 1987), pp. 161-178; and David Frank, "Class and Region, Resistance and Accommodation," in E.R. Forbes and D.A. Muise, eds., *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation* (Toronto, 1993), pp. 82-116.

2 David Alexander, "Economic Growth in the Atlantic Region 1880-1940," in P.A. Buckner and David Frank, eds., *The Atlantic Provinces After Confederation* (Fredericton, 1985), p. 135.

3 For a more detailed analysis of McRitchie's work, see Margaret Conrad, "The Art of Political Protest: The Political Cartoons of Donald McRitchie, 1904-1937," *Acadiensis*, XXI, 1 (Autumn 1991), 12.

Rights, as featured in the *Halifax Herald* have provided the most valuable and abundant source material for this present examination. In addition, the archival papers of H.S. Congdon, a leading figure within the movement, have also been consulted.[4]

Early examinations of the Maritime Rights Movement portrayed it as an example of the conservative political pragmatism so often attributed to the Maritime Provinces.[5] However, E.R. Forbes' influential book on the subject, published in 1979, interpreted the campaign as a progressive reform movement; through skillful analysis, Forbes brought every stereotype of innate Maritime traditionalism into question and depicted Maritime Rights as an unmediated expression of regional outrage.[6] As is the nature of historical inquiry, however, new approaches and theoretical frameworks have since been developed and have much to offer to any examination of this subject. For example, and as will be developed in this article, lines of investigation opened up by the neo-Marxist, Gramscian concept of hegemony[7] and by gender analysis can reveal the complicated ways in which, during the 1920s, men of a particular class (in this case, business-professional) negotiated popular consent for their hegemonic dominance through a discourse of regionalism.[8]

4 A Dartmouth journalist, H.S. Congdon was a major proponent of Maritime Rights; he was president of the Maritime Club of Halifax and editor of its publication, Maritime Rights.

5 For example, in the work of J. Murray Beck. The general consensus among political historians before E.R. Forbes was that the Maritime Rights Movement was another example of typical Maritime lassitude and inability to create any type of radical response to regional difficulties; political radicalism was thought to belong to the West.

6 E.R. Forbes, *The Maritime Rights Movement 1919-1927: A Study in Canadian Regionalism* (Kingston and Montreal, 1979).

7 Hegemony can be defined as the process through which dominant groups exercise cultural, moral and intellectual leadership over subordinate groups. Dominant groups must create a sense of their own 'world view', transcend their immediate interests and make compromises with other groups in order to establish the conditions for general consent to the existing power relations. Gramsci's theoretical discussions on this topic have been painstakingly examined in the following works: Christine Buci-Glucksmann, *Gramsci and the State* (London, 1980); David Forgacs, *An Antonio Gramsci Reader* (New York, 1988); and Dante Germino, *Architect of a New Politics* (Louisiana, 1990).

8 Although Forbes interpreted the Maritime Rights Movement as a general expression of discontent by the Maritime people, David Frank has quite convincingly argued that the movement was much more narrow: "The broad rhetoric of regionalism tended to obscure the narrow social base of the movement. Maritime rights was dominated by the professionals and businessmen of the region... . [This community] succeeded in identifying its interests with the larger cause of regional patriotism." See David Frank, "The 1920s: Class and Region, Resistance and Accommodation," in Buckner and Frank, *The Atlantic Provinces After Confederation*, p. 256.

Hegemonic leadership is, simply stated, leadership through negotiation. The dominant group does not merely exert its will, but must gain the consent of other groups through various means such as elections (including political 'platforms'), propaganda and public-opinion polls. In the case of Maritime Rights leaders, their persuasive 'rhetoric of region', articulated through a masculine vocabulary, succeeded in solidifying their position of power, marginalizing any competing discourses and actually establishing an enduring legitimacy in Maritime society.

The dominant business class in the Maritime Provinces during the 1920s employed a wide range of ideological elements and cultural symbols in order to strengthen the legitimacy of its position within the regional socio-economic construct of the time. In this projection, masculine gender ideals and discourses were key symbolic tools. In short, the Maritime Rights Movement was "A Manly Appeal."[9] In this article, the political cartoons of McRitchie, various articles in the *Halifax Herald* and the letters of activist H.S. Congdon will all be used to reveal the vast array of gendered images deployed as a tool of this hegemonic negotiation which can be traced throughout the course of the movement. In addition, it will be argued that these symbols helped to legitimize the position of the ruling class, win over supporters and de-legitimize opponents.

Gender ideals figure prominently in any negotiation for power. Political ideology and activity--as well as other 'public' activities usually thought to be gender-neutral--are actually negotiated and propagated on gendered ground. As Joan Scott has argued, "Gender has been one of the recurrent references by which political power has been conceived, legitimized and criticised."[10] The transmission of power between men is closely connected to constructed gender identities. In particular, the political arena has traditionally been one in which men compete with other men for power. Notions of masculinity have figured prominently in this competition.

John Tosh and Michael Roper have argued that men derive power from their masculinity and so the dominant class claims as much masculinity as possible

9 "A Manly Appeal," *Halifax Herald*, 5 March 1923. Unless otherwise noted, all subsequent newspaper citations within this article are taken from the *Herald*.

10 Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historic Analysis," *American Historical Review*, 91 (5), Dec. 1986, 48.

in its search for legitimacy.[11] Thus, a class negotiating for power attempts to associate itself with ideal masculine characteristics such as courage, strength, aggressiveness and virility. Just as political power is often affirmed through claims to masculine characteristics, it is often resisted in the opposite way. The implicit argument is that if leaders are somehow deficient in their manhood, then their legitimacy as wielders of power is undermined accordingly. For instance, Cecelia Morgan, analysing political reform in Upper Canada in the 1820s and 1830s, has argued that the discussions in political institutions "were couched in language suffused with gendered imagery and symbols, ones that relied heavily on claims to true manhood to validate and legitimate claims to power, while using concepts of the feminine to undermine their opponents' position."[12] In short, no analysis of the negotiation of hegemonic power in society can be complete without reference to gendered discourse. Appeals to a "concerned father," a "family breadwinner," or a "courageous and enterprising young man," strike right at the heart of the socially-constructed masculine identity. Such images are consequently very compelling.

Various discourses of masculinity were put forth by the Maritime Rights' propagandists in their struggle for hegemonic dominance. A wide variety of gendered symbols appeared in their rhetoric and was used in four major ways. Firstly, references to 'ideal' masculine traits aided the business/professional class in its struggle for dominance, helped to legitimate the leadership ambitions of Maritime Rights' proponents and assisted the Conservative Party in its quest for political power. In part, these groups based their claims to power upon their identification with 'true manhood'. Within this context, for example, securing leadership became a "Big Job for Big Men."[13] In the world imagined by Maritime Rights, its proponents abounded in mental and physical strength and this validated their right to hold power in society. It followed logically that opponents of Maritime Rights were characterized as deficient in their masculinity. Secondly, the tenets and goals of the movement were described in masculine terms, often through metaphors derived from sports or the military. This strategy made the propaganda more ideologically accessible and compelling to other power, i.e. male groups.

11 John Tosh and Michael Roper, eds., *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London, 1991).

12 Cecelia Morgan, "Ranting and Raving Renegades, Sycophants and Kings' Advocates: Political Discourses and Gender in Upper Canada, 1820s-30s"; unpublished graduate seminar presentation, 1994, p. 1.

13 "The Spouts of Canada," 6 Oct. 1924.

Thirdly, references to common masculine identities helped to obscure the many differences among male Maritimers and instead encouraged them to band together for a common cause. Fourthly, the rhetoric of Maritime Rights appealed to the common identifications of 'breadwinner', 'father' and fellow 'Maritimer' rather than to the divisive identifications of class, race or ethnic origin. Gendered imagery was also used in a limited way to address women in the Maritimes, although only as 'mother-voters'. Women were not encouraged to challenge the existing gender/power structure in any way--a telling contrast with the feminist (and to a great extent women-driven) progressive reform movements of the 1910s.[14]

From the beginning of the movement to the advent of the Duncan Commission in 1926,[15] it was stressed repeatedly that only "Vigorous Manhood" would create a prosperous future for the region.[16] Specific ideal masculine traits such as courage, determination, enterprise and forcefulness were seen as necessary characteristics for any leader worthy of support. Such *Halifax Herald* articles as "Go-Getters Win Out," "Faith and Courage Needed" and "Confidence and Enterprise" made this point lucidly and powerfully.[17] The following excert taken from an article in 1925 outlines clearly the highly-gendered characteristics necessary for any Nova Scotian leader: "Nova Scotia is a treasure house and in her bosom lies untold wealth only awaiting the active brain, [and] honest effort with real courage to unlock the same, and make Nova Scotia a land of happy homes and contented people."[18]

These ideal characteristics were applied specifically to the dominant business/professional class--as well as to Maritime Rights' advocates more

14 For more information on female involvement in Maritime progressive reform movements, see Ernest Forbes, "Battles in Another War: Edith Archibald and the Halifax Feminist Movement," in *Challenging the Regional Stereotype* (Fredericton, 1989), pp. 67-90; and Ian McKay, "The 1910s: The Stillborn Triumph of Progressive Reform," in Forbes and Muise, *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation* (Toronto, 1993), pp. 192-229.

15 The Duncan Commission was a royal commission appointed by Mackenzie King to investigate Maritime claims. Although it stated that Maritime problems were "unrelated to Confederation," it acknowledged the difficulties facing the region and encouraged "sympathetic consideration" and "a better balance of territorial prosperity" in Canada. The long-lasting benefits of the commission were very limited; see David Frank, "The 1920s: Class and Region, Resistance and Accommodation," pp. 258-261.

16 "Vigorous Manhood Our Need," 13 Oct. 1920.

17 26 Dec. 1925; 26 Jan. 1923; and 25 Apr. 1925.

18 "Forward, Nova Scotia," 17 Nov. 1925.

generally--in order to strengthen their claims to leadership. Certainly, the concept of 'enterprise' easily lent itself to businessmen and was often linked to the more traditional masculine trait of 'courage'.[19] These masculine images made sense within the liberal-individualist framework: strong, 'self-possessed' individuals were those who would save the region.[20] Many of McRitchie's political cartoons also invoked the classic liberal rhetoric of the effective and powerful entrepreneur. One might even go so far as to describe his cartoons as portraying a 'muscular regionalism', so often did he dwell on the image of region in terms of physical fitness. For instance, in **Figure 1** a Nova Scotia businessman uses "courage" and "increased effort"--depicted as two vicious dogs--to chase gloom away. **Figure 3** also illustrates the necessity of courageous business enterprise.

The "united and serious and determined action" of businessmen such as those in the Maritime Board of Trade was hailed repeatedly and translated into McRitchie's cartoon offerings.[21] **Figure 2** illustrates "Maritime Rights" knocking out "partizan [*sic*] politics." The conclusion to be drawn from such images is clear: the men who advocated Maritime Rights were courageous, enterprising and aggressive, their personalities masculine in the extreme. Their physiques matched their decisive personalities: the true Maritimer cut a rugged, handsome figure, as McRitchie so ably demonstrated (**Figures 1, 2** and **9**). The characteristics of youth often figured in this ideal physical picture--but miraculously, even as they got older, true Maritimers lost none of their dapper physique.[22]

McRitchie's work also employed another set of interesting gendered images. Whenever he wished to present the Maritimes as weak or discriminated against in any way, he depicted the region as either a little boy or a very small man. This relied on the notion that the further a person is from being a 'true man', the further he is from holding any real power in society. For instance, in **Figure 4**, "Halifax" and "St. John's" are portrayed as frustrated and ineffectual little

19 "Enterprise and Courage Will Bring Success to Businessmen of the Maritime Provinces," 22 May 1923; "Confidence and Enterprise," 25 Apr. 1925.

20 Articles which encouraged businessmen to be more aggressive include: "Make a Drive," 23 May 1923; and "There is a Big Market Today for Courage," 27 Aug. 1921.

21 "Maritime Board of Trade," 22 Aug. 1923.

22 Note the portrayal of "Halifax" in **Figure 3**.

boys in comparison to the fully adult "Portland" (Maine). A similar example depicts the little boy "Maritimes" being carried by Sir Henry Thornton, president of Canadian National Railways, in **Figure 5**.[23]

Just as the power of the leaders was strengthened by claims to masculinity, the power of their competitors was resisted in exactly the opposite way: those who did not support Maritime Rights were often depicted as being deficient in their masculinity. Thus, when the *Halifax Herald* did not like the appointment of a particular individual to the Board of Directors of Canadian National Railways, it is revealing to note the ways in which the criticisms of his public abilities were based upon criticisms of his masculinity: "He is not a representative of young, virile aggressive N.S...at 75 a man cannot have any realization but diminished strength and loss of vigor... . And such a man cannot be expected to wrest successfully with the vital railway problems."[24] Correct physical appearance was obviously an important feature of any 'true man'. As noted by Linda Jackson, "people view obesity as caused by personal weakness, lack of self-discipline and self-control, gluttony and laziness... . Therefore, they disparage and reject the obese for these weaknesses."[25] Unsurprisingly, opponents to Maritime Rights were often portrayed as grossly overweight. For instance, Portland was a competitor for the ports of Halifax and Saint John and this rivalry became one of the main points of contention for the Maritime Rights Movement.[26] Consequently, Halifax and Saint John were frequently portrayed by McRitchie as active, lean and attractive men (**Figure 3**).[27] Portland, conversely, was depicted as a corpulent, greedy and lazy individual, often indulging in a large meal (**Figure 6**).

The figure of Sir Henry Thornton, president of the CNR, is particularly interesting when examining the use of gendered physical imagery. His personal

23 The concept of the Maritimes as a boy or diminutive man was a recurring theme in McRitchie's work; see cartoons of 7 Apr. and 27 Dec. 1924, 29 Sept. 1925, 7 Jan. and 22 Apr. 1926.

24 "Not Fair to the Maritimes," 6 Oct. 1922.

25 Linda Jackson, *Physical Appearance and Gender* (New York, 1992), p. 168.

26 Dozens of articles put forth the discontent of Maritime Rights' advocates on this point; e.g., "How Portland, Maine, Beats Our Own Port," 27 Sept. 1923, and "Portland Booms With Canadian Trade," 7 Jan. 1926.

27 Other examples include cartoons on 30 May 1922, 18 Oct. 1923 and 12 Jan. 1926. Note that in some cases a portly figure has been a cartoon symbol for prosperity and 'weightiness', but not in the case of the port cities depicted within Maritime Rights.

appearance changed remarkably in McRitchie's political cartoons, depending upon his actions in relation to Maritime Rights. In 1922 and 1923, he was interpreted as a supporter of the movement and was consequently pictured as a strong, intelligent, physically appealing man (see **Figure 5**.)[28] For instance, in a cartoon published 6 March 1924, Thornton was drawn as a hero, throwing a rope to the "Maritimes"--a man who was literally drowning in transportation difficulties. By late 1924, however, the "good intentions" of Sir Henry were questioned because the advocates of Maritime Rights had not received the transportation adjustments they desired.[29] Sir Henry's physical appearance suffered accordingly in McRitchie's cartoons and by **Figure 7** (6 Dec. 1924) he had fallen into an old age of extreme obesity and blatant political corruption. By September 1926, however, he had been redeemed somewhat in the eyes of Maritime Rights' advocates and so regained some of his manly attractiveness.[30]

This analysis of gendered imagery has examined the ways in which men used masculine images in the Maritime Rights Movement to support themselves and their agenda as well as to attack the ideas and objectives of others. This topic cannot be left without some mention of the quest of Maritime Conservatives for federal political power, during which they unfurled the flag of Maritime Rights and made it their sovereign issue. Much of this struggle took place on gendered ground, especially when the Maritime Conservatives attacked the existing Liberal government. McRitchie was clearly a party to this through his consistent portrayal of Liberals (dubbed "Partizan Politicians") as fat, dull-witted men (see **Figures 2** and **8**).[31]

Attributing female characteristics to public men was particularly cutting.

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28 The *Halifax Herald* interpreted Henry Thornton as a friend in these years. Articles such as "Welcome Sir Henry Thornton" (13 Dec. 1922) and "Sir Henry Thornton Guages Exactly Maritime Attitude" (14 Dec. 1922) reveal these sentiments. In addition, the *Herald* granted Sir Henry masculinity when it referred to one of his speeches as "A Manly Appeal" (5 Mar. 1923). Also note McRitchie's manly portrayals of Thornton on 21 Dec. 1922 and 6 Mar. 1923.

29 This negative opinion is illustrated in the following editorial remarks: "But one would never know, from a reading of Sir Henry Thornton's article, that the Maritimes are on the Canadian map" ("Still Booming--'The West'," 15 Jan. 1925). H.S. Congdon wrote a similar article for the *Herald*, captioned "Declares Maritimes Have Lost Faith in Bona Fides of Sir Henry Thornton," 30 Dec. 1925.

30 See, e.g., "Sir Henry Thornton Admits Justice of Maritime Transportation Claims," 2 Sept. 1926. His physical appearance is given even more positive physical attributes in the cartoon of 18 Nov. 1926.

31 Also note the negative physical depiction of Liberal politicians in cartoons of 30 Mar., 6 and 7 Dec. 1923.

When Nova Scotia's "solid sixteen" Liberal representatives in Parliament were described as "fainting instead of fighting,"[32] their very manhood was brought into question. This lack of courage was further emphasized in another *Halifax Herald* article which remarked that "There would be some satisfaction for the Maritimes if their representatives went down fighting...[instead] they surrendered."[33] The "solid sixteen" were accused of disobeying the stringent codes of honour and justice demanded of all public men (note the conniving politician in **Figure 7**). They were further accused of having "turned their backs in the day of battle,"[34] as the following editorial--drawing on such values as fair play, honour, personal integrity, courage and fighting spirit--made clear:

> Not one of them, by voice or vote, had offered the slightest protest against a piece of political treachery that had robbed N.B. and N.S., Halifax and St. John, of what was theirs by all the dictates of justice and fair dealing... . We want men who will present our needs and rights. MEN--not voting machines... . What this constituency and this province need is the services of a man who will protest against betrayals of this kind;...who will understand what is needed, and who will not be afraid to stand up in his place and demand the needs and rights [of Nova Scotia].[35]

On the other hand, the Conservatives were portrayed as confident, intelligent and aggressive fighters: the natural choice for leadership of the Maritime Provinces. Conservative by-election victories in Halifax, Kent and Westmorland Counties were articulated as aggressive blows for Maritime Rights (quite literally, in the violent imagination of McRitchie: see **Figure 2**). As well, Conservative leaders such as Premier E.N. Rhodes of Nova Scotia and Premier J.B.M. Baxter of New Brunswick, were described as men "of courage and honesty--who will stand unflinchingly for Maritime Rights."[36] In the 1925 federal election, the Conservatives enjoyed great success in the Maritime

32 "They Failed the Province," 22 Nov. 1923, p. 6.

33 "How to Save," 25 June 1924. Referring to a lack of courage is a particularly strong insult. In many of McRitchie's cartoons, King is portrayed as a cowardly, ignorant and nervous figure; see, e.g., 16 Jan. 1924 and 12 Sept. 1925.

34 "They Failed the Province," 22 Nov. 1923, p. 6.

35 3 Dec. 1923.

36 "Maritime Leaders," 11 June 1925.

Provinces and were depicted as much more fit to fight for the region than the "solid sixteen" had been.

Maritime Rights was a 'man's movement' in much more than its propaganda. It was in actuality dominated by men, to a far greater extent than had been the earlier progressive reform movements such as temperance, education and the prevention of cruelty. The issues and goals of Maritime Rights were made more ideologically compelling and accessible through the use of masculine-gendered symbols. There were three specific types of gendered imagery that were particularly prevalent in the propaganda. Firstly, Maritime Rights' advocates claimed to be fulfilling the wishes of those great patriarchs of Canadian history, the Fathers of Confederation. Secondly, their rhetoric was imbued with militarism, resounding with the battle cries and accusations of treason that had echoed in the war so recently finished. Finally, discourses of male sporting events were also employed. These were particularly evocative male images that made the movement and its goals both more familiar and ideologically accessible to other men.

Notwithstanding the anti-Canadian image which has been misleadingly associated with Maritime Rights,[37] the Fathers of Confederation figured prominently in the rhetoric of the movement. These men were considered the creators of the country and were consequently larger-than-life masculine figures. Their wishes were regarded as sacred and were employed to legitimate the interpretation of regional needs held by the advocates of Maritime Rights. In one of the earliest motifs in the rhetoric of the movement, the Fathers of Confederation were articulated (rather imaginatively) as strong Maritime Rights' supporters; their substantial patriarchal power alone conferred credence on the region's demands: local men were insisting on "the recognition of the...intentions of the Fathers of Confederation."[38] In **Figure 8**, the imagined Fathers were dramatically seen to be giving the Maritimes special consideration, thus further supporting the goals of the movement--and likely causing many of the highly centralist Fathers to roll over in their graves.[39]

The Maritime Rights Movement claimed to be an important element in the

37 I.e., by political historians before Forbes.

38 "Honour the Bargain," 15 Dec. 1922.

39 The Fathers of Confederation were pictured in a political advertisement entitled "Enforce Their Promises!" in many newspapers during Oct. 1925. They were supporting the Conservative bid for power (termed "The Maritime Ticket") with the following phrase: "Vote as a People, Not as a Party" (3 Oct. 1925).

building of the nation. Consequently, the earlier work of the Fathers was implicitly in danger if the movement did not succeed.[40] This sentiment was evident in the *Halifax Herald* article, "Is Laurier's Life Work To Be Destroyed?"[41] When the *Herald* wished to criticize the policies of Sir Henry Thornton, it asked, "Were Canada's Greatest Statesmen All Wrong In Nation Building? ... Is it possible that these great patriots [MacDonald, Cartier, Brown, Tilley, Tupper, Borden and Laurier] were all wrong and Sir Henry Thornton right?"[42] Transportation policies were a fundamental issue of Maritime Rights, and were articulated as part of the Fathers' alleged grand design. One article, for example, argued that "the Maritime fathers of confederation insisted upon the building of the Intercolonial Railway."[43] Other demands were also granted the Fathers' seal of approval. For instance, in reference to the ports issue, the *Halifax Herald* referred to the "transatlantic trade pledges [made]to us by the Fathers of Confederation"; it was "Pure Insolence" to go against these promises.[44]

Another important set of gendered symbols in Maritime Rights propaganda drew upon the battlefield. The First World War had very recently finished and the language of "a fight for victory" was incorporated into the rhetoric of the new political movement. *Halifax Herald* articles and advocates writing elsewhere of the movement's objectives often used the language of battle when referring to Maritime Rights' activities. Examples include: "Stand-To! The Battle is On. It must be Now!"; "Keep up the Fight"; and "We Fight With Our Backs to the Wall."[45] The movement itself was necessary to "Win Victory"[46] for the Maritime Provinces and supporters of Maritime Rights were portrayed

40 One *Halifax Herald* article argued that "the shattering of the dream of our forefathers would be a tragedy...the Maritime Provinces desire...the building on this part of the continent of a great Canadian nationality;" see "They Must be Solved," 4 Sept. 1924.

41 4 Jan. 1926.

42 "Were Canada's Greatest Statesmen All Wrong In Nation Building?", 2 Jan. 1926.

43 "The Whole Contract Binding," 5 Dec. 1921.

44 "Pure Insolence," 22 Oct. 1923; other examples include "Confederation and the Maritime Provinces," 17 May 1923; "Maritimes Must have Fair Play," 2 Aug. 1923; and "Danger is Lurking," 19 Dec. 1921.

45 Robert Blauveldt to H.S. Congdon, in H.S. Congdon Papers, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS], MG 2, Vol. 1094, No. 238; "Keep Up the Fight," 4 Feb. 1926; and "We Fight With Our Backs to the Wall," 19 May 1925.

46 "Win Victory," 1 Mar. 1926.

as aggressive soldiers fighting for the very future of their region and country.

Once again, McRitchie often utilized battle imagery in his political cartoons; in fact, his illustrations frequently revelled in the explosive atmosphere of war. For instance, the three Maritime Provinces were depicted as fighting together, in a vital component of the Canadian 'front' in **Figure 9**.[47] These are perhaps obvious and trite images to our more jaded eyes, but they may have worked much more powerfully for people with fresh memories of trench warfare and the Halifax Harbour Explosion of 1917.

No less potent, perhaps, were images that drew on the world of spectator sports, which enjoyed considerable inter-war popularity. William March has noted that W.H. Dennis associated the *Halifax Herald* with amateur sports increasingly during the 1910s and into the 1920s in order to tap into popular taste.[48] The region's competition with the Canadian West was depicted again and again in the editorial columns as a game,[49] while in the cartoons fishing, hunting, tug-of-war, prize-fighting (**Figure 2**, entitled "A Knock-Out") and foot-racing were all used to depict the manliness of Maritime Rights' advocates and the competitive struggles which lay before them.[50]

After all this, it is not surprising to encounter specific and candid references to aggressive male sexuality. Although H.S. Congdon's remark that "The port of Halifax is girding up its loins for a grand fight"[51] derived from the Bible, his blunt reference to Nova Scotia on another occasion as having been "rendered impotent" within Canada was less Biblical, and less ambiguous.[52] In fact, the Maritime Rights Movement was often described by the *Halifax Herald* as "A

47 23 June 1926. In a cartoon of 30 Mar. 1923, the Maritimes endures a "Heavy Barrage" from the federal government; on 1 Jan. 1926 the Maritime Rights Movement is transformed into a sword; and on 15 July 1926 the Duncan Report becomes a no-less-phallic gun.

48 William March, *Red Line: The Chronicle-Herald and The Mail-Star 1875-1954* (Halifax, 1986), p. 69, notes that an uncountable number of *Herald* trophies were donated to sporting events, ranging from hockey to foot and bicycle races. The *Herald*'s plunge into schooner racing was certainly memorable, responsible as it was for instituting the races that would make the *Bluenose* an enduring national symbol.

49 E.g., "Western Canada Scores Again on Rail Rates," 11 Oct. 1923; and "They Score Again," 13 June 1924.

50 2 Aug. 1922; 3 Dec. 1924; 18 Oct. 1923; and 20 Jan. 1922.

51 Congdon Papers, PANS MG 2, Vol. 1093, No. 30.

52 H.S. Congdon, "A Haligonian on Maritime Grievances," in *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 23 July 1923. He argued that "In a word...Nova Scotia was rendered impotent and made part of a country which...will not or cannot make use of Nova Scotia's Maritime position."

Potent Campaign."[53] What 'true man' could resist associating himself with such virility and implied potency?

A major campaign of the dominant hegemonic class in the 1920s was to obscure the various class, ethnic, geographical and other disparities that existed in the region and instead to encourage Maritimers to concentrate on those regional grievances they supposedly all had in common. Maritimers should, one and all, become a "United and Aggressive People."[54] In this project, many appeals were made to the common gender identities of Maritime men. Although they had many differences, they were all either actual or potential fathers, as well as breadwinners and sexual beings. More intangibly, certain notions of honour and justice were commonly regarded among them as necessary for any 'true man'. Thus, the divisive identities of 'real' Maritime men were ignored while their commonalities as 'ideal' men were emphasized.

During the early 1920s, there was a great exodus from the Maritime region. This was often articulated as the "Outgoing Stream of Manhood";[55] for instance, a *Halifax Herald* article in 1923 noted the continuing "exodus of young men from Nova Scotia."[56] This population loss was articulated as the loss of masculinity, and thus a loss of strength and virility. This idea was directly communicated via the Herald, in turn, to every man in the region regardless of religion, class, ethnic group or race.

Men were also specifically addressed as 'fathers' and 'breadwinners'. Within this rhetoric, supporting Maritime Rights was synonymous with protecting the futures of sons and daughters. As the *Halifax Herald* remarked to Maritime fathers, "There is no need to tell you of the slow growth of the Maritimes and of the loss of their sons and daughters."[57] The ability to earn a decent living for their families was a central issue to most men at this time and this too was reflected in the rhetoric. The *Herald* refused any suggestion that Maritimers were "beggars," condemned Henry Thornton for his inability to

53 12 Jan. 1926.

54 "A Young Nova Scotia," 1 Nov. 1924.

55 8 Aug. 1923.

56 "What Next," 26 Apr. 1923.

57 "Empty Promises," 15 Nov. 1923.

help "a young and deserving man [to] make a living," and forgave "any red-blooded man for leaving, if he could make $15 a day somewhere else as compared with $5 a day here."[58]

The Conservative Party in Nova Scotia used all of this imagery in order to gain support in its bid for power in 1925. The party platform appealed to breadwinners throughout the province with the promise to provide "a good living for all Nova Scotians" (**Figure 11**). The Conservatives also appealed to men as fathers. For instance, a major campaign slogan was "Vote Him Back Home," another pointed reference to the "lost manhood" of the province.[59] A political advertisement on 9 June 1925 (**Figure 11**) pictured a young boy above the plaintive question, "When is Daddy Coming Home?" The political advertisement, "Let's Call Him Back," illustrates the use of all of these images. Note the references to manhood, fatherhood and breadwinner identities evident in this short excerpt: "How many parents have stood at the gate, dim-eyed, from scenes like these? Steadily, since 1882, with terrible speed since 1921, the young men of Nova Scotia have been leaving the province to seek work in the United States... . Vote Against The Government That Drove Him Into Exile."[60]

The common sexual identity of men was often addressed in the Maritime Rights' rhetoric as well. For instance, in an article entitled "A Great Maritime Victory," the *Evening Mail* argued in 1926 that "the Maritime Provinces, by reason of their traditions and the virility of their people, can become active participants in the future of the Dominion."[61] Here there was no place for the effeminate, for "a man requires virility"[62] to support the causes of the region.

Men were also addressed as a group upholding a common ethical stance: the value of honour. To support the movement was, within this discourse, the

58 "We Are Not Beggars in the Maritimes," 29 Jan. 1924; "Awaiting Results," 1 Dec. 1924; and "Premier Speaks of Maritime Wrongs," 17 Jan. 1925. Out-migration caused by economic disparity was described as tragic "for the children, the wives, the old folks who have been left behind or forced to abandon their homes to follow the breadwinner into exile"; see 9 June 1925.

59 20 June 1925; see also, "'Vote Him Back Home!' The Watchword," 18 June 1925.

60 13 June 1925. The date 1882 is no doubt significant, because it was the year the Liberals took power. The Conservatives were thus struggling against a party which had maintained dominance for over forty years; consequently, the blame for out-migration was laid at the Liberal Party's door.

61 "A Great Maritime Victory," in *Evening Mail* (Halifax), 11 Dec. 1926.

62 "The Acid Test," 20 June 1924.

'honourable' thing to do; indeed, it was only ensuring justice for the region. As a resolution of the Maritime Rights Movement stated, "fair dealing is a Cardinal virtue."[63] Propagandists for the movement often appealed to a sense of "fair play" or a desire to get a "square deal."[64] As H.S. Congdon explained to the editor of the *Financial Post*, it was difficult to forget the past when one's opponent had "hit below the belt."[65] When Congdon felt the shipping terms of Confederation had been violated, he phrased his criticisms in this similar vein: "If all the long stretch of road that was built with a definite purpose is not used for that purpose then we voted on the question [Confederation] under fals pretens [*sic*] on the part of both parties. Among men that is criminal."[66]

A powerful subject-position was articulated throughout this rhetoric: if you are a virile man, concerned about your family, concerned about earning a decent living, and possessed of a sense of personal honour, pride and strength, then you *must* be a supporter of Maritime Rights. To deny the justice of the movement would raise questions about the very nature of your manhood. The Maritime Rights Movement was a particularly masculine endeavour. In fact, no female Maritime Rights' advocates were ever referred to in the *Halifax Herald*. Instead, in all of McRitchie's political cartoons addressing this issue, female figures appeared on only four occasions. In two cases, women represented the Canadian West as that suspect region was being wooed by the Prime Minister (3 and 17 October 1925); in the third case, the woman was a damsel in distress (26 November 1925); and in **Figure 10** she was a nurse who looked suspiciously like Mackenzie King.[67] Although Maritime women were very active in social reform movements throughout the 1910s, their position was clearly subverted in this newly-imagined region of Maritime Rights. Just as class issues were sidestepped in this new regional rhetoric, the 'female'

63 Congdon Papers, PANS MG 2, Vol. 1096, No. 276.

64 E.g., "Maritimes Not Getting Square Deal," 14 Aug. 1926; "Determination But Fair Play," 4 Apr. 1923; "Nova Scotia Asks Justice and That Alone," 23 July 1923; "Maritimes Must Have Fair Play," 2 Aug. 1923; and "Maritimes and West Should Combine to Get Square Deal," 22 Apr. 1924.

65 Congdon Papers, PANS MG 2, Vol. 1094, No. 15.

66 *Ibid.*, No. 26.

67 Ian McKay has made similar observations in his examination of Wallace R. MacAskill's photographs, arguing that these "photographs, still among the most widely distributed and most powerful visual images of the province, are representations of an imagined single-sex community." See his *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal and Kingston, 1994), p. 254.

question was as well. Granted, in a cartoon of 7 November 1925 depicting Maritime Rights' advocates, a "Maritime Women" sign is included with others marked "Business Men," "Workmen" and "Professional Men"--but women were clearly just other Maritimers who happened to wear dresses and were expected to follow the lead of their husbands and fathers.

When women were addressed, moreover, it was in a novel way: as voters--a back-handed acknowledgement, perhaps, of the franchise which had only recently been granted. There were a few articles that appealed "To the Women of Nova Scotia" in this capacity.[68] Even as voters (active participants in the political process), however, women were addressed in extremely traditional ways: as 'mother-voters'. In the very few references made to women, Maritime Rights' advocates appealed to them as the mothers of children who had been forced to emigrate due to disastrous regional economic conditions. For instance, in the 1925 election poster entitled "Where's My Boy?", a woman lamented the loss of her child; the text pointedly encouraged the female vote: "For the sake of our families, for the sake of our future, for the sake of our country, we are going to think of the loved exile on election day and VOTE HIM BACK HOME. VOTE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT THAT DROVE HIM INTO EXILE."[69] In another example (**Figure 11**), a young child plaintively asks: "When is Daddy Coming Home?" Only one article in H.S. Congdon's papers mentions a conversation with a woman--or rather, a "lady"--on the subject of Maritime Rights, and it adhers to the same theme: "We all feel that Quebec and Ontario are sucking the life blood out of us...the feeling of resentment is getting too strong for the general good. As one lady told me, 'what is the difference between annexation to the U.S. and having all our children go there?'"[70]

In conclusion, it is clear that, in addition to the overt message of Maritime Rights, intangible but compelling covert elements gave it a powerfully gendered appeal. Although the region had experienced an exceptionally dynamic and powerful feminist movement in the 1910s, Maritime Rights' rhetoric was implacably masculinist and the movement itself virtually excluded women. No doubt this rhetoric gave the movement a legitimacy and ideological accessibility across the lines of class, race, ethnicity, religion and locality that it

68 22 June 1925.

69 David Frank, "1920s," p. 255.

70 Congdon Papers, PANS MG 2, Vol. 1096, No. 488.

would otherwise have lacked. At the same time, perhaps the movement's inability to articulate women's interests ultimately contributed to its demise.[71] While acknowledging the inherent ambiguity in assessing the impact of propaganda, understanding the power of gendered imagery is still useful in illustrating the complex role of gender in the negotiation of hegemonic power--and gives new insight into the phenomenal impact that Maritime Rights made on the politics of the 1920s.

71 Suzanne Morton's argument that the political labour movement failed to engage with the 'new women' of North End Halifax, who were gravitating to models of consumption and behaviour, may have lessons for the students of Maritime Rights as well. See her "Men and Women in a Halifax Working-Class Neighbourhood in the 1920s," unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, 1990.

Figure 1: 4 Feb. 1922
This figure shows a Nova Scotian businessman chasing away "gloom" through increased effort and change.

Figure 2: 4 Dec. 1924
This figure depicts "Maritime Rights" knocking out "Partizan Politics" through the Conservative by-election victories in Moncton and Kent.

Figure 3: 11 April 1924

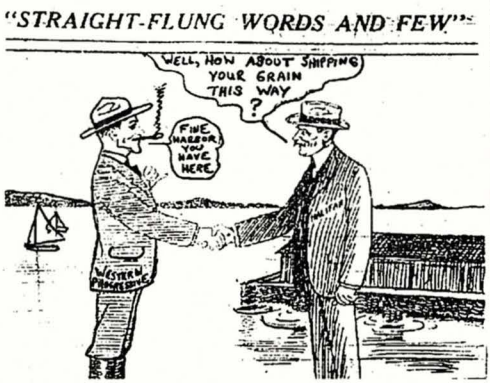


Figure 4: 24 Jan. 1923
In this cartoon, "Portland" hogs the heat given off by Canadian Trade. Halifax and St. John are left cold.

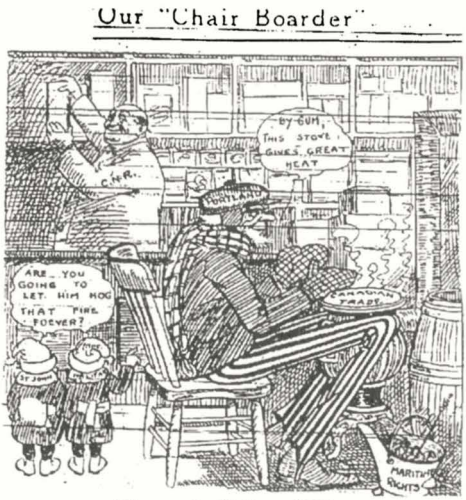
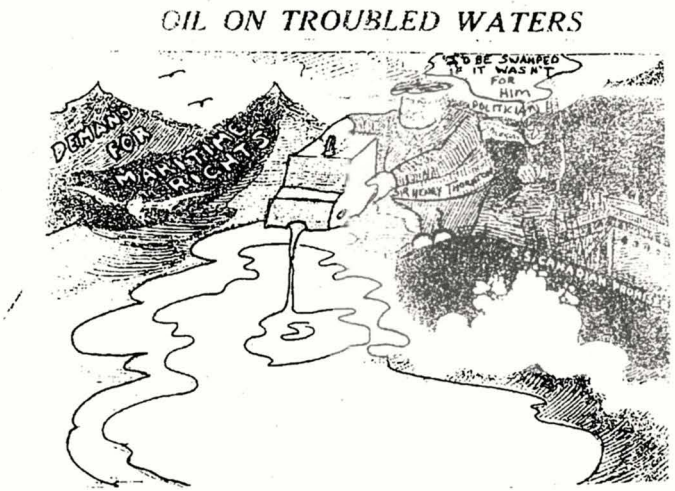


Figure 5: 15 Dec. 1922
Henry Thornton aids the Maritimes through his tranportation policies.

Figure 6: 20 Jan. 1923
Henry Thornton is called upon to notice the way in which a gluttonous "Portland" gobbles up Canadian Trade.

Figure 7: 6 Dec. 1924
A conniving politician and Henry Thornton throw oil on the water of Maritime Rights



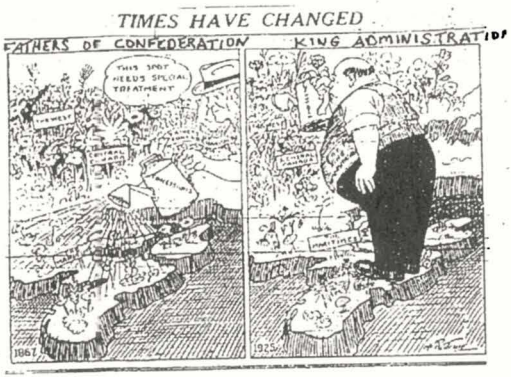


Figure 8: 12 Sept. 1925
The Fathers of Confederation sprinkles the Maritimes with concessions, while the King administration ignores the region.

Figure 9: 23 June 1926
The Maritime provinces are in the forefront of the battle to build a great nation.

Figure 10: 25 Nov. 1926
The federal government is urged to administer the "medicines" of the Duncan Commission to cure the ailing "Maritimes".

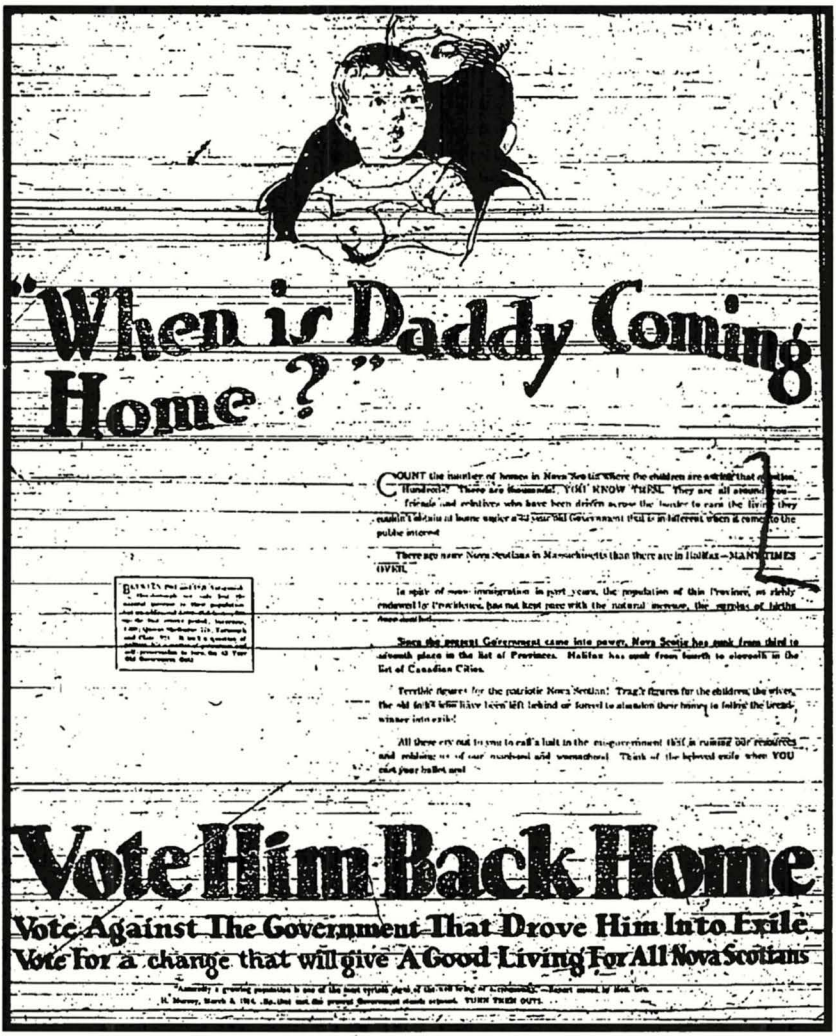


Figure 11: 9 June 1925
The small block reads: "Between 1901 and 1921 Antigonish-Guysborough not only lost the natural increase in population but an additional 4,800. Colchester, 906 to the last census period; Inverness, 1700; Queen's-Shelburne, 776; Yarmouth and Clare 923. It isn't a question of politics, it's a matter of patriotism and self-preservation to turn the 43 Year Old Government out!"

African-American Refugees to Annapolis Royal and Saint John, 1783: A Ship Passenger List

D.G. Bell

Students of Maritimes history often assume that so much has been written on the Loyalist exodus from New York to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1783 that the demographic sources have been sifted pretty thoroughly. This is not so. Even works we think of as incorporating extensive demographic data--notably Esther Clark Wright's path-breaking *Loyalists of New Brunswick* (1955), Marion Robertson's *King's Bounty: A History of Early Shelburne* (1983) and the present writer's *Early Loyalist Saint John* (1983)--drew on only the most obvious of the demographic sources, relating mostly to the evacuation year itself.

Two factors--one geographical, the other bureaucratic--account for the peculiar richness of source-materials on the civilian Loyalists who emigrated to the Maritimes. The British military headquarters was New York (city), and, as most Loyalists either originated in southern New York and adjacent colonies of Connecticut and New Jersey or lived behind British lines at New York for months and even years before the evacuation, their names show up by the thousands in the military's extraordinarily detailed accounting records. A few such records have become well known, notably "militia" company muster-rolls and victualling returns, both of which were created during the process of shipping civilian Loyalists northward and establishing them in their new homes. But these are merely the most immediately serviceable records. What Loyalist historians and family history researchers have yet to take notice of is the fact that the military bureaucracy at New York also engaged day-labourers, contracted for cordwood and rum, leased cellar and wharf space, paid seamstresses, hired transports to move troops between outposts, tendered printing, assigned homeless refugees to commandeered rebel estates and offered charity to the indigent--documenting all of these transactions in useful detail. Most such records relate to individuals, but whole Loyalist neighbourhoods show up as tendering jointly to supply firewood; dozens of free Blacks provided their labour routinely through what appear to be contractors; and the number of civilian Loyalists on charity lists or housed in confiscated rebel property runs into the hundreds.

One obstacle to convenient use of this wealth of information is that the records containing it are divided archivally into two parts. One is the fonds best-known as the British Headquarters Papers (alias Sir Guy Carleton papers), housed currently at the Public Record Office (London) as PRO 30/55 and

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available widely in North America on microfilm. This consists of records created by the senior military staff officers in British-occupied New York, principally at war's end (1782-3) when Carleton was commander-in-chief. However, while this fonds contains Carleton's own official records, as well as a miscellany of more mundane documentation of great use to Loyalist historians, the bulk of records created by Carleton's staff subordinates falls within a different Public Record Office class, War Office 60 ('Accounts'). Documents for the years 1782-3 are clustered in volumes 22 to 33, though there is great disarrangement. So far as I am aware, none of this little-known WO 60 material is available on microfilm. In content these two units of records created by the British military bureaucracy at New York are essentially unified, providing a rich store of unexpected data on Loyalist life previous to the migration.

The suggestion that the age of Loyalist demographic revelation may not yet be closed is offered apropos of introducing a minor gem from the PRO's Loyalist materials: a ship's muster-roll of free Blacks transported from New York to Annapolis Royal and Saint John late in the summer of 1783. Lists of civilian Loyalist families evacuated on public transport from New York to the various ports of debarkation in greater Nova Scotia are not uncommon. A number of those with Saint John as destination were abstracted in *Early Loyalist Saint John*, and those I located for what is now eastern Ontario appear in Larry Turner's *Voyage of a Different Kind* (1984). Though these rosters discovered in WO 60 are of great value, one limitation is that they name only the head of civilian Loyalist households; another is that, so far as I can tell, they do not survive comprehensively. An alternative approach to locating Loyalist passenger lists is to examine muster-books of the vessels lent by the Royal Navy for the purpose of shipping civilians northward. All Navy vessels recorded every person victualled on board, even for a single day. Such listings have one great advantage over the type of Loyalist passenger list which the British military authorities created for their own accounting purposes: they name every passenger and even record the ages of children. Unfortunately for historians, such naval muster-books are few. Most publicly-employed vessels carrying Loyalists to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were owned not by the Navy but by civilian contractors, whose accounting burden did not include making a nominal passenger list. Even when naval vessels were used, muster-books survive only occasionally. My exhaustive search of Admiralty records for musters of Loyalists who went to New Brunswick yielded only three such documents: for the *Cyrus*, the *Camel* and the *Clinton* (galley), the last of which includes the free Blacks listed below. Its survival is fortunate, as the sort of

passenger list created by the British military for civilian Loyalists apparently does not exist for free Black refugees.

What follows is a transcription of names of free Blacks as found in the *Clinton*'s muster-roll, ADM 36/9966, at the Public Record Office. All boarded ship at New York on 26 July 1783; they disembarked at Saint John (1 September) or Annapolis Royal (2 September). Eight died on board ship, a much higher mortality than one observes on comparable musters of white Loyalist refugees. Six are recorded as having been discharged at New York almost immediately after boarding, possibly for misbehaviour. Two bear the sinister annotation, "Delivered up to the Commandant at New York," meaning that they were claimed by a former master and had to have their status adjudicated by a board of inquiry.[1] The order of the list is exactly as in the original: adult males first, then adult females, older children and young children. It will be observed that the list is considerably mixed as between those destined for Annapolis Royal and those for Saint John. Though it is probably fair to say that this important list is unknown, it is offered with some diffidence because most of those on it also appear in Graham Hodges's impressive edition of the so-called "Book of Negroes," a detailed inspection roll of Blacks recognized as free by the British military authorities. For most purposes, the entry in the inspection roll is far superior to that in the passenger list, as it includes the individual's age, a brief description, name of former owner (if applicable), and date of flight. Moreover, family members are listed together--occasionally a great advantage over a muster-roll. Nevertheless, the *Clinton* list does have features warranting its independent reproduction. In addition to the inevitable variation in the spelling of names, the ship manifest, dating from somewhat later than the corresponding entry in the inspection roll, may provide significant particulars, especially the names of a great many more children.

Legend

AR/SJ disembarked at Annapolis Royal or at Saint John

DEL boarded ship but subsequently "Delivered up to the Commandant at New York"

DIS boarded ship but subsequently "Discharged p[er] Committee"

1 G.R. Hodges, ed., *Black Loyalist Directory: African Americans in Exile after the American Revolution* (New York, 1996), pp. xvii-xix.

FB head of household victualled subsequently in a Free Black company at Saint John (1783-4), family statistics on whom are recorded in the principal appendix to *Early Loyalist Saint John*

GT subsequently granted land within the city of Saint John, as noted in *Early Loyalist Saint John*, p. 57

OB died on board ship or drowned

[Adult Males]

1	Edward Godfrey	AR
2	Thomas Bing	AR
3	Robt Bing	AR
4	Valentine Godfrey	AR
5	Bristol Storm	AR
6	John Colquhoun	AR
7	Thos Tucker	AR
8	Walter Hanover [Hammer]	AR
9	Will^{m} Seaman	AR
10	Lewis Kirby	AR
11	John Jackson	AR
12	Henry Mitchel	AR
13	Bristol Godfrey	AR
14	Fortune Dixon	AR
15	Henry Floyd	AR
16	James Liverpool	AR
17	Jacob Bummell	AR
18	John Shephard	AR
19	Dempsie Buckstone [Buxton]	AR
20	Saml Hutchins	SJ, FB, GT
21	Benj Elliott	SJ, FB, GT
22	John Cox	SJ
23	Joe Stone	SJ
24	And^{w} Cole [Coal]	SJ, FB, GT
25	Stepney Hancock	SJ, FB
26	Benj Bush	SJ, FB
27	Fra^{s} Patrick	SJ, FB

28	Ant^{y} Randall	SJ, FB
29	Isaac White	SJ, FB
30	Ant^{y} Stephens	SJ, FB
31	Dick Richards	SJ, FB
32	Job Christeen [Christian]	SJ, FB
33	John Sparrow	SJ, FB
34	James Nickens	SJ
35	Tho^{s} Stevens	SJ
36	Moses Jessup	SJ
37	Will^{m} Keeling	SJ, FB
38	Sam^{l} Hunter	SJ, FB
39	Rob^{t} Flemming	SJ, FB
40	Henry Moore	AR
41	Bristol Mitchell	SJ
42	And^{w} Randall	SJ, FB
43	Adam Randall	SJ
44	Joshua Thompson	SJ
45	Rich^{d} Henry	SJ, GT
46	Saml Sampson	SJ, FB, GT
47	Cha^{s} Britton	DEL 8 Sept
48	Dan^{l} Herring [Haren]	SJ, FB, GT
49	Geo White	AR
50	John Holland	AR
51	Henry Beaverhoudt [Biverowdt]	AR
52	Sam^{l} Jarvis	AR
53	John Prince [Prime]	AR
54	John Williams	AR
55	Henry Waite	AR
56	Sam^{l} Farmer	AR
57	Henry Middleton	AR
58	Rob^{t} James	AR
59	Aaron James	AR
60	Sampson Miles	AR
61	Jingo Johnson	AR
62	Sam^{l} Flemming	SJ, FB
63	Rob^{t} Johnson [Robin]	SJ, FB
64	James Jackson	SJ, FB
65	Rob^{t} Roberts	SJ, FB

66	Peter Scott	SJ, FB
67	Christ^{r} Clumwell [?] [Plummitty] [Chamber]	SJ, FB
68	Josiah Hewlet [Jonah]	SJ
69	John James	SJ, FB
70	Rich^{d} Wheeler	SJ, FB, GT
71	Henry VanRiper	SJ, FB, GT
72	Abra^{m} Smith	SJ, FB, GT
73	John Francis	SJ, FB, GT
74	John Strong	SJ, FB, GT
75	John Smith	SJ, FB, GT
76	Randall Steward	SJ, FB, GT
77	Sam^{l} Thomas	SJ, GT
78	Mark Anthony [Matthew]	SJ, FB, GT
79	Tho^{s} Malby	SJ, FB, GT
80	John Richards	SJ, GT
81	Phil[i]p Woodly [Woods]	SJ, FB, GT
82	Rob^{t} Smallwood	SJ, FB, GT
83	Fra^{s} Marshall	SJ, FB, GT
84	Dan^{l} Stewart	SJ, FB, GT
85	John Manuel [Maxwell]	SJ, GT
86	James Hogwood	SJ, FB, GT
87	John Cato [Cald]	SJ, FB, GT
88	Miles Jordan	AR
89	Davy Tankhard	AR
90	John Gordan [*sic*]	AR
91	John Beavers [Babus]	AR
92	Abra^{m} Saunders	AR
93	John Augustus [Gustus]	AR
94	Christ^{r} Halstead	AR
95	Isaac Mead	AR
96	Peter Warren	AR
97	Mingo Jordan	AR
98	Henry Raddick	AR
99	Bill Williams	AR
100	Henry Warren	AR
101	And^{w} Carey [Casey]	AR
102	Benj Nelus	AR
103	Geo Scarborough [Scarbery]	AR

104	Sam^{l} Tomkins	AR
105	Rob^{t} Johnson	AR
106	Ant^{y} Demarest [Dimry]	SJ
107	Caesar Kingsland	SJ, FB, GT
108	Tho^{s} Mason [Nason]	SJ, GT
109	James Richards	SJ, FB, GT
110	Will^{m} Holmes	SJ, FB, GT
111	John Savage	SJ, FB, GT
112	Nath^{l} Wanzey [Wandry]	SJ, FB, GT
113	Jeremiah	SJ
114	Will^{m} M^{c}Night	AR
115	November	DEL 8 Sept

["Negroe Women"]

116	Daphne Shiels	AR
117	Hannah Kirby	AR
118	Kitty Godfrey	AR
119	Lydia Friend	AR
120	Hannah Bing	AR
121	Phillis Mitchell	AR
122	Dolly Bush [Dorothy]	SJ
123	Barbara Hancock	SJ
124	Ann Randall	SJ
125	Ann Sparrow	SJ
126	Ann Johnson	SJ
127	Pendore Keeling [Pindar]	SJ
128	Hannah Moore	SJ, FB
129	Jenny Hunter	SJ
130	Phebe Randall	SJ
131	Sarah Stevens	SJ
132	Judith Christeen	SJ
133	Peggy Richards	SJ
134	Jane Holliday	AR
135	Elizth White	SJ
136	Nancy Elliott [as Henry]	SJ
137	Jane Shephard	AR
138	Fanny Floyd	AR

139	Mary Coles	SJ
140	Sally Williams	SJ, FB
141	Princessa Prince	AR
142	Mary Miles	AR
143	Miley Wilkins	AR
144	Sally Farmer	AR
145	Cath Livingstone	AR
146	Phillis Crutchley	SJ
147	Jane James	AR
148	Mary Beaverhoudt [Biverout]	AR
149	Elizth Williams	AR
150	Mary Tomkins	AR
151	Amy Waite	AR
152	Crisse Waite [Chressy]	AR
153	Phillis Scott	AR
154	Sarah Middleton	AR
155	Eleanor Flemming	SJ
156	Rachael Johnson	SJ
157	Peggy Jackson	SJ
158	Hannah Flemming	SJ
159	Susannah Nynah [Wynah]	AR
160	Nynah Jordan [Wynce]	AR
161	Phillis Jordan	AR
162	Ann Edwards	AR
163	Phillis Halstead	AR
164	Betty Mead	AR
165	Nancy Mead	SJ
166	Pleasant Raddick	AR
167	Elizth Williams	AR
168	Judith Warren	AR
169	Nancy Babus	AR
170	Jenny Nelus	AR
171	Sarah Scarborough [Scarberry]	AR
172	Judith Johnson	AR
173	Thama [?] Stewart [Tamar]	SJ
174	Polly Richards	SJ
175	Chloe Wansey [Wandry]	AR
176	Jenny Coddimus	SJ

177	Tillah Mosely	SJ, FB
178	Nelly Smallwood	SJ
179	Jane Marshall	SJ
180	Mary Smith or Savage [*sic*] [Savage]	SJ
181	Susannah VanRiper	SJ, FB
182	Dinah Strong	SJ
183	Mary VanRiper	SJ
184	Lydia Sally [Livsa]	SJ, FB
185	Betsey Holmes	SJ
186	Sarah Flee	SJ
187	Rachael Dey [Dye] [Die]	SJ, FB
188	Suckey Smith	SJ
189	Dinah Kingsland	SJ
190	Patty Mosely	SJ
191	Dinah Griffin	AR
192	Sarah Hutchins	SJ
193	Jane Francis	SJ
194	Nancy Johnson	AR
195	Chloe Johnson	SJ, FB

["Children above 10 yrs"]

196	Hannah Johnson 13	AR
197	Esther Richards 12	SJ
198	Betsey Edwards 10 1/2	AR
199	Josiah [Joseph] Raddick 13	AR
200	Lucy Marshall 11	SJ
201	Sarah Kingsland 12	SJ

["Negroe Children under 10 Years Old"]

202	Will^{m} Bing 7 mo	AR
203	Benj Mitchell 8 mo	AR
204	Rob^{t} Hancock 6	SJ
205	And^{w} Johnson 18 mo	SJ
206	Tho^{s} McLeod 3	SJ
207	Moses Stevens 3	SJ
208	Dick Richards 4	SJ

209	James Richards 2	OB: 29 Aug
210	Peter Holliday 8 mo	AR
211	And^{w} Cox 6 mo	SJ
212	Peggy Cox 3	SJ
213	Jacob Crutchley 5	SJ
214	Tho^{s} Williams 3 mo	OB: 31 Aug
215	Ann Middleton 6 mo	AR
216	John Flemming 4	SJ
217	James Johnson 3	SJ
218	Rachael Jackson 8	SJ
219	Lydia Jackson 6	SJ
220	Ann Jackson 1	SJ
221	James Edwards 8	AR
222	Peggy Halstead 3	AR
223	Agnus [*sic*] Raddick 8 mo	AR
224	Elsie Raddick 9	AR
225	Polly Williams 3	AR
226	Elizth Williams 2	AR
227	Jonath [*sic*] Nelus 4	AR
228	Sarah Nelus 2	AR
229	Elizth Scarborough 3	AR
230	Peter Scarborough 8 mo	SJ
231	Charlotte Steward 8	SJ
232	Nancy Steward 4	SJ
233	Jacob Steward 6 mo	SJ
234	John Coddimus 6	SJ
235	Harry Coddimus 2	SJ
236	Elizth Marshall 3 mo	SJ
237	Tho^{s} Strong 7	SJ
238	John VanRiper 18 mo	SJ
239	Will^{m} Holmes 3	SJ
240	Jenny Mosely 2 mo	SJ
241	Sarah Griffin 2	AR
242	Rose Hutchins 7 mo	SJ
243	Jenny Francis 6	SJ
244	Ralph Francis 4	SJ
245	Sarah Francis 18 mo	SJ
246	Elsie Wilkins 9	AR

247	Tillah Miles 6	AR
248	Ann Nelus 9	AR

[Supplementary List]

249	Jacob Adams	OB: 27 Aug
250	Jer^{h} Smith	DIS: 1 Aug
251	Adam Wey	OB: 29 Aug
252	Ben^{j} Lightfoot	DIS: 1 Aug
253	Jos^{h} Steward	DIS: 1 Aug
254	Sam^{l} Saunders	DIS: 1 Aug
255	Bob Johnson	OB: 28 Aug
256	Hannah Bummell	DIS: 1 Aug
257	Nelly Cox	OB: 31 Aug
258	Sarah Steward	DIS: 1 Aug
259	Judith Jackson	DIS: 1 Aug
260	Polly Edwards 9	OB: 30 Aug
261	Hannah Holmes 8 mo	OB: 31 Aug

William Hemlow (1814-1885) and the Liscomb Islands

Joyce Hemlow, Iris Shea and Keith Parker Smith

[Joyce Hemlow was born in Liscomb, Guysborough County, on 30 July 1906, the second child of William Hemlow (1870-1925) and Rosalinda, née Redmond (1869-1957). She attended Sydney Academy, then taught the primer class their ABCs in a one-room school-house in Necum Teuch, and subsequently taught in high schools in Shubenacadie and Stewiacke. She graduated B.A. at Queen's University in 1941 and M.A. in 1942; A.M. at Radcliffe College in 1944 and Ph.D. in 1948. She taught English Literature at McGill University, and in 1965 was the first woman to grace the Greenshields Chair; in 1975 she became Greenshields Professor Emerita. She was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 1960, and was honoured with the degree of LL.D. at Queen's in 1967, and at Dalhousie University in 1972.

By her research and writing she laid the foundations for the on-going Burney projects at McGill and for recent widespread interest in the life and letters of the eighteenth-century English novelist, playwright and diarist, Fanny Burney. When manuscripts were assumed to have been burned, Joyce Hemlow, by insistent research, found them in a trunk under a lady's bed; they now form the Barrett Collection in the British Museum, answering in glory the Berg Collection of Burney papers in New York. Her narrative, *The History of Fanny Burney*, received the Governor-General's Award for Academic Non-Fiction for 1958, the Rose Mary Crawshay Prize, and the James Tait Black memorial book prize for the best biography in the U.K. in 1958. In *A Catalogue of the Burney Family Correspondence 1749-1878* (1971), she identified a myriad of documents comparable in literary and historical importance to the Boswell papers. She was the preponderant editor of *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame d'Arblay)* 1791-1840, published in twelve volumes by the Clarendon Press in Oxford, England, from 1972 to 1984, and she edited *Selected Letters and Journals* in 1986 and 1987.

In her 80s, Joyce Hemlow turned her expertise in documents and archives to establishing the history of her own family in Nova Scotia. Her article in this present issue of the *Nova Scotia Historical Review* is the last of five that have appeared in the journal, beginning with an account of John Umlach (*ca.* 1726-1821). --*Contributed*]

Extending along some fifty miles of the Eastern Shore of Nova Scotia is a succession of islands ranging in area from a few square rods to 900 acres or

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

more. Philip Hartling tells us the area was named the "Baye de Toutes Isles" by the explorer Champlain (*ca.* 1570-1635) and that the fur-trader Nicolas Denys (1598-1688) mentioned eighteen leagues of islands, the number of which he was never able to learn.[1] From Spry Harbour to Liscomb, Highway 107 often affords open views of these outlying islands.

In part forming Lower Liscomb Harbour, Hemlow's Island (at first named Amelia Island), with an area of 285 acres may be taken as the centre of a group including the wooded Vessel Island. Buttressed on three sides by cliffs of the Danesville series of rocks,[2] this island shields Amelia from the southeast winds, thus contributing to a useful mooring for boats. Not far from it is Turnip Island which, covered with tough grass, offers a communal nesting ground for hundreds of herring gulls. Far to the east of Amelia the wooded Hog Island (15 acres) shelters the eastern entrance to the harbour. At the back of Amelia is Burying Island--a burial place, it is said, for sailors wrecked in the long ago.

Far out is Liscomb Island, about 900 acres in area, with a length of some two miles. Previously it was known as Bowden's, then as Crooks's Island, after the names of early settlers. Benjamin Bowden lived there some 35 years before he emerged in applications for land in 1805 and 1809, certainly one of the earliest settlers in the region. By 1809 he claimed a family of ten (a wife and nine children), a fishing station and a well-developed farm (eleven head of cattle and thirty sheep). In 1816, preparing to leave, he sold his homestead to a newcomer in the region, Jacob Crooks of Lunenburg, for £400.[3] From the large Crooks family came a daughter Mary (*ca.* 1821-1892) who would in 1840 marry William Hemlow in St. Paul's Church, Halifax.

Liscomb Island takes the full force of the North Atlantic in storm. In calm after a storm, the continuing crash of waters on its shores and on the back of Hemlow's Island can be heard miles away on the mainland. Often obscured in dense sea fog are the dangerous rocks and reefs on the inner side of Liscomb Island, the site of many shipwrecks even in modern times. In 1913, years after a lighthouse was built on the island, the lightship *Halifax 19*, built in Paisley,

1 Philip L. Hartling, *Where Broad Atlantic Surges Roll* (Antigonish, NS, 1979), pp. 11-12.

2. J.D. Hilchey et al., *Soil Survey*, Report No. 1, Canada and Nova Scotia Departments of Agriculture (Toronto, 1969), pp. 20-27.

3 For the crown land grant of 500 acres, see Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS] RG 20, Vol. 37, p. 247. For the conveyance to Crooks, see Registry of Deeds, Halifax County, Book B, p. 49.

Scotland, and bound on its maiden voyage for Sambro, was wrecked on the treacherous reefs with the total loss of the vessel and all on board.[4]

Before roads were built along the Eastern Shore, the earliest settlers arriving by boat often chose to settle on the inner or sheltered sides of the islands, finding there a livelihood in the plentiful fishery, not then depleted. So James Umlach (*ca.* 1759-1855) and his father-in-law James McDaniel (*ca.* 1752-1822), sailing in the 1790s from St. Margaret's Bay, found deep water, a good landing-place and safe harbourage on the inner side of Amelia Island. They wished to settle there, but since land was unavailable they sailed on to St. Mary's River and built homesteads on its banks instead. In 1811, however, hearing that land grants in Liscomb had been escheated, James applied successfully for land there and on 5 September was granted 500 acres (200 on the mainland, 285 on Amelia Island and 15 on Hog Island).[5]

The 200 acres on the Liscomb mainland he conveyed to his son Henry (1802-1878) on the birth (24 March 1830) of a grandson, dutifully named James (1830-1904). The fifth son of James Umlach and his wife Ann (*née* McDaniel) was William, born in St. Mary's River on 15 October 1814. Only in 1847 did James convey to this son for £5, not the whole but a half of Amelia Island and a half of Hog Island; and later still, in 1853, all of Amelia and all of Hog for £20.[6] Undeterred by the delays, William Hemlow had evidently begun to cut the forest, clear the land and build a home in a choice part of Amelia Island, before his marriage in 1840 to Mary Crooks.

This Hemlow family may be listed as follows:
William Thomas Hemlow, b. 15 Oct., bapt. 30 Oct. 1814 at St. Paul's Anglican, Halifax; d. 20 Aug. 1885, age 70; m. 29 Oct. 1840, St. Paul's,

4 The bodies retrieved from the *Halifax 19* were buried in the northeast corner of the United Church Cemetery at Liscomb. In response to the initiative and suggestions of Byron R. Laing of Liscomb, the Department of Marine and Fisheries in Ottawa provided a memorial stone for the drowned Scotsmen. On 22 May 1973 the marine historian Thomas E. Appleton, representing the Ministry of Transport at Ottawa, conducted a memorial ceremony in the church and cemetery. Exact documentation for the lost vessel and crew was provided by Appleton. Among other memorials of the disaster is a packet of inquiries and letters sent by the Scottish relatives of the lost seamen to the Collector of Customs and Excise at Liscomb, William Hemlow (1870-1925); documents now in the possession of Joyce Hemlow.

5 For information on James Umlach and his activities in the St. Mary's/Liscomb area, see Joyce Hemlow and Iris Shea, "James Umlach and his Descendants in St. Mary's River and the West Cape," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 13, 2 (Dec. 1993), 105-125.

6 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Guys. Co., Vol. C, pp. 234 and 442. As of summer 1995, these records are maintained in the Municipal Building, Guysborough, NS.

Halifax, Mary **Crooks** of Liscomb Island. She was b. ca. 1821; d. 10 Aug. 1892. Their gravestones (with these dates of death) and those of their three sons are in the cemetery at St. Luke's Anglican, Liscomb.

Issue of William Thomas and Mary (Crooks) Hemlow:

1. Maria Ann, b. 6 Sept. 1841; bapt. at Ship Harbour, 4 Oct. 1841; d. 1926; m. 1861, Henry **Redmond**. He was b. 25 Mar. 1833; d. 1917. Their gravestones are in the cemetery of the United Church at Liscomb. Issue: four sons and three daughters.
2. John, b. *ca.* 1844; d. 4 Jan. 1872, age 28; m. 23 Dec. 1868, Hannah **McKinley**, who was b. 18 Oct. 1850; d. 21 Nov. 1927, age 77. Issue:
   a. Laura Bell, b. 30 Jan. 1870; d. 26 Feb. 1909, age 39; m. James Ronald **Hawbolt** (1872-1918).
   b. Olive Maria, b. *ca.* 1872; m. 29 July 1896, Uriah **Turner** (*ca.* 1826-1908) of Marie Joseph.

   Hannah m. (2) on 8 Dec. 1891 as his second wife, Henry B. Hawbolt (1834-1914) of Beaver Harbour. Hannah Hawbolt was a great favourite of her sister-in-law, Maria Redmond and of her god-daughter, Hannah Laing *née* Redmond (1871-1959).
3. William Henry, merchant, blacksmith, JP, councillor (1898-1904, 1910-1919), b. 1 June 1847; d. 10 May 1937; m. 2 Dec. 1869 his cousin (once removed), Isabel **Hemlow**. She was b. 20 Oct. 1852; d. 27 Mar. 1900, age 48. Issue: three daughters and five sons.
4. James, bapt. 30 Dec. 1850 at St. James' Anglican, Port Dufferin; d. 14 Mar. 1873, age 22.

As Philip Hartling has observed, it was not the old but the young people who would carve out viable homesteads on the Eastern Shore.[7] William Hemlow was only 26 when he married and built his home on Amelia Island, then primeval forest. Needed immediately was a landing-place for boats and supplies. The wharf that he constructed of immense flat stones is still in place in the year 1996. Of like construction are the permanent stone walls, straight, high and squarely built, with which he contained his fields and pastures. He would have no need for temporary fences of perishable wood. Nor did he leave either large boulders or untidy piles of rocks in his fields. If men can be judged by their stonework, William even in youth was more long-sighted, precise and exact than was his elder brother Henry. He was also, in contrast to his brother, literate and numerate, able to keep books and accounts. He was prudent, wasting nothing.

7 Hartling, *Broad Atlantic Surges*, p. 19.

Of the hayseed that fell to the barn floor in pitching hay into the mows, he gathered up two bushels in a single season to sow or to sell.

William was of massive build, quick and strong, as evidenced in the bounty claim he collected in 1871 for killing a marauding wildcat.[8] Among the tasks confronting him simultaneously on his island was the provision of food and shelter for his family, and for the livestock that contributed their full share to the early economy in milk, cottage cheese, butter, beef, hides and piles of manure, the best possible additive to the shallow acidic soil. Agriculture and animal husbandry were interdependent on the early farms. The agricultural census of 1871 provides an official account of William's farm after some thirty years of work on it.[9] He had two barns, one sheltering eight head of cattle--which included four milch cows that produced milk and butter for the family and butter for sale. Also for sale was mutton from five butchered sheep, and from the flock of twenty remaining sheep seventy pounds of wool which the good housewife Mary carded, spun and wove into forty-five yards of homespun--probably cutting and sewing some of it into clothes for her family. William had a horse and--unusual for that rocky area in his time--a plough, as well as waggons and sleds. His fields and vegetable gardens yielded in that same year nine tons of hay, fifty bushels of potatoes, twenty of turnips, two of beets, two of carrots and two pounds of hops. Hopvines must have covered the sunny exposures of his house, as they would decorate at a later time his daughter Maria's home on the mainland. In the centre of his field was a grove of apple trees, with a larger orchard in the north-west corner. Never after William's time were such harvests to be reaped on the island, the results of his singular skill and Herculean labour.

The section of shoreline on Amelia Island that William had chosen for his home offered safe mooring for his trading vessel, the *Mary Elizabeth* (24 tons), [10] in the lee of the wooded Vessel Island. Other amenities of his shoreline locale included a beach of hard white sand, a pond and a large circular cove completely enclosed except for a tidal inlet. Above the cove was a steep forested terrain, on

8 District Records, St. Mary's, PANS RG 34-322, Series P, Vol. II.

9 1871 Dominion Census, Marie Joseph, Guysborough Co. [mfm.].

10 The *Mary Elizabeth* was built by William, his brother Henry and their sons, and was registered in Halifax, 24 Apr. 1854; see Canada Department of Transport, Shipping Registers, Port of Halifax, Vol. 52 (mfm.). Henry and his son James later acquired a much larger vessel, the *Grey Hound* (55 tons), but William kept the *Mary Elizabeth* as a trading vessel all his life.

the tall trees of which ospreys still build their huge nests. Above the tree line was a barren rocky elevation into which, with great expense, 'eternal optimists' have recently sunk bores in their search for Captain Kidd's treasure. Running along William's shore was also a deep navigable channel, the means of travel and transport to all parts of Liscomb Harbour, the mainland, the West Side and to the east, Little or Lower Liscomb. In the age of boats, William was commercially well situated on a main thoroughfare.

In money-making pursuits William tended to follow the examples of his father or his uncle, John Umlach (1758-1849) of St. Margaret's Bay, explorer, farmer and trader,[11] but venturing by 1864 much further than they into actual merchandising. As may be seen in *Hutchinson's Nova Scotia Directory for 1864-1865* the Hemlow mercantile enterprises were by then well under way:

Hemlow, Henry	General Store
Hemlow, James	General Store and Way Keeper
Hemlow, William	General Store

Recorded as well in the census for 1871 were William's warehouse, wharf and general store, a solid commercial establishment. In rural areas the storekeeper was in some sort a banker, staking fishermen, for instance, with supplies (a boat, sails and fishing gear), thereby risking or betting on a plentiful catch in the summer season and a satisfactory settlement in the fall. The 'outfitter' or creditor had to be a judge both of ability and reliability. A trader as well as a merchant, William would have sailed the *Mary Elizabeth* to Halifax, carrying produce from his own farm with whatever he could purchase locally (butter, potatoes, turnips, dried or pickled fish and later, lumber) to sell in the city, and returning with manufactured products in demand in Liscomb to retail at his store. From sales in both Halifax and Liscomb there was potential profit.

Far from insular in his interests and activities, William devoted time and energy to public service on the Liscomb mainland and even in Sherbrooke, where in at least six trials he served as grand juror. Probably authoritative, he was appointed constable in 1853, harbour master for at least eight terms (1842-1868), and fish warden in 1864. At age 29 he was asked to assess district rates in 1843 and for at least another seven years between 1848 and 1868. In 1847 he collected school taxes, an educational milestone in the

11 For information on the Umlachs, see Joyce Hemlow, "John Umlach (*ca.* 1726-1821): a 'Native of Scotland', Soldier and Settler," in *NSHR*, 10, 1 (June 1990), 35-52.

underprivileged wilderness as the Hemlows and other early settlers knew it. With the establishment of sawmills in Liscomb Mills he was appointed in 1860 and for the years 1863-64, and 1866-69 surveyor of lumber, his mandate including a check on quality as well as measurement. In 1867-68 he was entrusted with the survey or laying-out of a road some eight miles long between Marie Joseph and Liscomb, and in 1870 he obtained permission to work out his statute-labour time on a road on his island, probably leading through primeval forest to his son John's newly-built house. After the deaths of his sons in 1872 and 1873 he served as health officer, perhaps in an effort to understand the catastrophic causes of the dread 'consumption' that had ravaged his hopes and plans for their future.[12]

A dealer in real estate all his life, William Hemlow made his first purchase of land at age 25 while still a bachelor living in his father's home on the West Cape of St. Mary's River. In 1796 James Umlach had purchased a half-share of lots 5 and 6 in Binneyland, jointly with his father-in-law, James McDaniel. Shortly after this, McDaniel transferred his half-share to his son Thomas (1797-1838), master mariner and trader with a ship of his own and often in Halifax, where on the night of 25-26 May 1838, reportedly inebriated, he was making his way through Point Pleasant to board his vessel moored in the North West Arm, when he was murdered and his body thrown over a stone wall.[13] As administrator of his estate, his brother William McDaniel (1794-1859) found Thomas's affairs in disarray, with debts to be satisfied only by the sale of his lands. When these were put up at public auction in Halifax in December 1839, they were bid in by William Hemlow for £8.5s.[14] William's mother, of course, was Ann *née* McDaniel (*ca.* 1776-1856)--none other than James McDaniel's daughter and Thomas's sister. William did not sell his purchase until long after the deaths of his parents, conveying it in 1870 to Henry, John and Jacob Mailman for $120.00.[15]

At thirty years of age, married and advantageously settled on Amelia or Hemlow's Island, William, along with his brother Henry (with 200 acres on the

12 PANS RG 34-322, Series P, Vols. I and II. The new homestead can be dated *ca.* 1868, the year of John Hemlow's marriage.

13 The Umlach and McDaniel relationships are explained in Joyce Hemlow and Iris Shea, "The Umlachs and the McDaniels of the West Cape of St. Mary's River," in *NSHR*, 11, 2 (Dec. 1991), 115-136.

14 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Vol. B, p. 350.

15 *Ibid.*, Vol. G, p. 21.

Liscomb mainland), remained alert to other real estate opportunities in the area. Late in 1844, they jointly purchased from William Leonard Pye (1819-1912), then of Sherbrooke, for £50, three hundred acres of prime coastal land on Liscomb Harbour.[16] Of all the lands to be obtained by the brothers, this parcel was by far the most significant historically. Bordering Henry's acres and opposite William's island, it afforded in time the site of the flourishing Victorian village and seaport of Liscomb.

It was probably William who, with some experience in surveying, divided the central part of the 300 acres into parallel strips or lots running down to the seashore or harbour front, thus supplying future homesteaders with access to their properties either by sea or by land--and incidentally, with views of both the rising and the setting sun. The front gates would open in orderly fashion on a road that Henry Hemlow worked on periodically in the years 1833-55.[17] At right angles to it another road was built downhill to the waterfront--later the commercial centre of the village--complete with a wharf, a general store and a lobster factory. The planning was there, it would seem, in the very beginning.

Henry Hemlow's only son James (1830-1904), "Squire Jim," yeoman, public servant and councillor, would acquire by gift from his father and his uncle William sixty acres of the new land for a nominal £1.10s.,[18] and this in addition to the property he would eventually inherit from his father. On these lands he built a large house for his family of thirteen, a capacious barn with wide mows for the storage of hay, a stable for his horses, and on his shoreline a wharf and a retail store. To bring products from Halifax for sale he replaced the *Grey Hound*, lost in 1872 to his father's Halifax creditor, with a serviceable boat named the *Lucy Ann* (21-foot keel), acquired in 1878 from Alexander Rudolph for $43.39.[19] As the lower harbour was frozen over in winter, Squire Jim also acquired from William Henry Pye, for $36.00, a winter-landing on "The Head."[20] Resourceful, energetic, able, he prospered,

16 *Ibid.*, Vol. C, pp. 104-105.

17 PANS RG 34-322, Vols. I and II.

18 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Vol. C, p. 476.

19 The seizure of the *Grey Hound* is spelled out in Joyce Hemlow, Iris Shea and Keith Parker Smith, "Henry Hemlow (1802-1878) of Liscomb Harbour," in *NSHR*, 16, 1 (June 1996), 132-150; see n. 18. The *Lucy Ann* was registered *ca.* 25 Feb. 1878, Shipping Registers, Halifax, Vol. F, p. 542.

20 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Vol. D, pp. 564-565.

as did his cousin Squire Pride of St. Mary's River[21]--and like him was one of the principal citizens in the region.

Two of Squire Jim's children also figured prominently in the developing seaport and village. James Hemlow III (1856-1928), merchant, ran a general store at the head of a new government wharf in the inner reaches of the harbour, and was thus well situated to serve customers coming by boat from Lower Liscomb, West Liscomb and Gegoggan. He had shares in the SS *Dufferin*, both a cargo and a passenger steamer calling after 1905 at a number of ports along the Eastern Shore, bringing supplies of all kinds from Halifax and returning with dried fish, for instance, for sale there.[22] The steamship marked an historical turn in travel and transportation, ending the day of the small individual sailing ship. "Boat day" was the most interesting day of the week and, among other merchants, James Hemlow III prospered, building at the top of the "Shore Road" one of the finest houses ever to be seen in the port.

His sister Annie (1861-1947), wife of William L. McDiarmid (1849-1924), ran a general store featuring (besides groceries) dry goods, needles and thread, china and wallpaper. Within the store were the post-office and at a later time the Western Union Telegraph Office. In the stable was a spirited horse, replaced later by a Ford car, one of the first in the region; in the barn, cows supplying milk and butter; in a nearby pen, a flock of hens; and in a cage on the dining-table, to the delight of all children, a large brightly-coloured parrot. The house was a large ornate Victorian structure, and everything in it was equally ornate--the carpets and the drapes, and on the walls large framed pictures painted by Annie herself. Well built, for McDiarmid was by trade a carpenter, the house still stands, though occupied only seasonally by purchasers from Upper Canada or the United States.

The story of land is as long and old as the planet Earth itself; the life of man is short, but to many early settlers the acquirement of land, then more and more land, was a high priority. Among the properties acquired in early days by the Hemlow brothers were two non-adjacent wood lots of fifty acres each on Big Gaspereau Lake.[23] This was primeval forest, and a mill dam

21 Squire Pride's career appears in Hemlow, "James Umlach," pp. 121-125.

22 The *Dufferin*, 125 ft. in length, was built in Shelburne NS, 1905; information from Graham A. Laing, Mississauga, ON. Her captains, W.H. Murdoch (1878-1915) and Charles A. Murdoch (1867-1949) were long and affectionately remembered; the home of the latter, built after a European model, is an important part of the restored Sherbrooke Village.

23 PANS RG 20, Series A, New Book 15, p. 265.

showing on the surveyor's report in 1847 indicates that the brothers had at first meant to build a sawmill there. That idea was impracticable, for though in the spring floods logs could be driven down the rushing Gaspereau over rocks, waterfalls and projecting cliffs, light lumber could be broken or lost. Amateurs in the business, the brothers apparently relinquished their idea of a mill in the hinterland. Whether or not Henry Hemlow forgot or sold his fifty acres is a matter not yet determined by researchers, but William forgot nothing. In an indenture of 1870, in which along with his brother Henry he conveyed 175 acres of land to his son William Henry Hemlow (1847-1937), the land on the Gaspereau appears as "a lot at the foot of 2nd Gaspereau Lake on the south side of the Lake."[24]

By 1880, however, William Henry, deeply in debt as a merchant to a number of Halifax creditors, lost his lands in a series of legal actions (see below); but after the seized lands were redeemed--largely at the expense of his father, William of the Islands--his mother, mindful of the interests of her only surviving son, returned to him his land on the Gaspereau Lake in a deed dated February 1891.[25] Mary, unable to read the crown land grant of 1847 even if it was available, and unacquainted in any case with the backwoods of the mainland, cited the extent of the land on the Big Gaspereau not as 50 but as 75 acres. Who can be displeased at this addition of 25 acres of prime woodland?

Thirty years later, in a deed of 1921, W.H. Hemlow conveyed (among sundry holdings along Gaspereau Brook) the land on Gaspereau Lake to his son-in-law, Kenneth Martin Wilson (1883-1965), lumberman and sawmiller, who on 27 July 1908 had married William Henry's daughter Mary (1884-1979). Whether by design or not, the lot was conveyed not by area or boundaries but merely by a reference to his mother's deed of 1891--"this being," he alleged, "the lot of land conveyed to the said William Hemlow by Mary Hemlow widow deceased."[26]

In later years the Wilson brothers, sons of Louis Wilson (1853-1932), cut the ancient stands of wood along the Gaspereau Brook and Lake and, armed with long gaffs in the spring freshets, they drove the logs down the flooding brook to the shoreline, caught them in booms which they then towed by motorboat through the harbour to their sawmill on Wilson's Cove, sawed them into lumber and sold it. Enlivening it was in the spring to see the

24 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Vol. G, p. 103.

25 The deed, unregistered, is now lost.

26 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Vol. 19, p. 482.

Wilsons "bring their drive down," especially if a massive log-jam should build up on projecting cliffs near the mouth of the brook, all held in place by a single log that the experienced river-drivers soon detected.

Because of the superior growth of trees on well-watered alluvial soil, forest land on the Gaspereau Brook was always of value. In 1870 William purchased from his brother Henry Hemlow, for $20.00, the latter's half-share of 25 acres on the west side of Gaspereau Brook.[27] On the east side of the brook a Rudolph family had procured a crown land grant of 100 acres in 1865, for $44.00. A part of this land (three lots of 25 acres each) William purchased in 1870 for $26.00 from James Rudolph, mariner, and James David Rudolph, shoemaker.[28]

Also in 1865, probably under William's encouragement, his sons John (aged 21) and James (aged 15) procured a crown land grant for 100 acres in the Gaspereau Lakes region.[29] John celebrated a Christmas marriage on 23 December 1868, and in 1870 his father ceded to him a half of Amelia or Hemlow's Island (140 acres) and four acres of Hog Island (144 acres in all).[30] On the same day in 1870, William conveyed 175 acres of land to his second son, William Henry.[31] He had been buying land for nearly thirty years, not so much for himself as for his sons, their future security and prosperity. This motive and all his plans would be cruelly devastated by the early lamentable deaths of two of them.

Living on the mainland less than half-an-hour away by rowboat was William's elder and only surviving brother Henry (1802-1878), who since 1868 had shared his homestead with his daughter Mary Janet (1847-1909) and her husband Jacob Crooks (b. 1837). For some time Jacob had been suffering from consumption and frightful haemorrhages of the lungs, and he died in 1871. Doubtless the Hemlow boys, landing in the cove or on the wharf below Henry's homestead, would often have visited a family doubly related to them (as first cousins on the Hemlow side, and on the Crooks side by their mother Mary née

27 *Ibid.*, Vol. E, p. 542.

28 PANS RG 20, Series A, Vol. 32, p. 260; and Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Vol. E, p. 541.

29 PANS RG 20, Series A, Vol. 33, p. 90.

30 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Vol. E, p. 453.

31 *Ibid.*, Vol. G, p. 103.

Crooks, sister of the stricken man). Contagion, combined with the chilly dampness of their avocation and possibly overwork, may have contributed to the deaths from consumption of John Hemlow on 4 January 1872 at the age of 28 and his brother James on 14 March 1873, aged 22.

Thereafter William seems to have taken to selling rather than buying land. In 1879 he sold some 40 acres of the Rudolph woodland to his son-in-law Henry Redmond (probably in need of firewood) for $50.00. That is to say, Hemlow sold off at $1.25 per acre part of what he had acquired from the Rudolphs nine years earlier for $ .35 cents per acre. Similarly, to William and John Baker who, living on "The Point," may also have needed firewood, he sold some 40 acres of the Rudolph land for $45.00, at a price of $1.12 per acre.[32]

Since his marriage in 1840 to Mary Crooks, William had been interested in her birthplace, one of the most dangerous islands in the Baie de Toutes Isles, that is to say, Liscomb Island, formerly known as Crooks's Island. When Jacob Crooks died intestate, his son George (1832-1871) and his son-in-law William Hemlow undertook to divide the island property of 500 acres equally among sixteen heirs, including Mary (William's wife), who received a typical share for a daughter--35 acres plus $100.00. Beginning in 1854, Hemlow also began to buy up land from such Crooks heirs as were willing to sell, and by 1868 he had acquired a total of 285 acres, paying out in the acquisition some $370.00 or about $1.30 per acre.[33] On Liscomb Island trees were stunted by the salt air and William may have envisaged it as a vast and lucrative sheep farm (not needing fences), to be managed not by himself but by his sons. Following their deaths in 1872 and 1873 he lost all interest in the project.

Tidying up his real estate on Liscomb Island, William must have been indeed pleased late in 1873 to receive $50.00 from the Federal Department of Marine and Fisheries for an unspecified acreage on which to erect a lighthouse--the same lighthouse for which he and others had first petitioned the Nova Scotia Assembly in 1867.[34]

With achievements worthy of a Titan, William of the Islands deserved, one would have thought, peaceful years as he grew older; but worried and sick at heart he must have been to see his only surviving son, William Henry (1847-1937), merchant, blacksmith and JP, about to lose the four tracts of

32 *Ibid.*, pp. 477 and 581.

33 *Ibid.*, Vol. E, pp. 147, 149, 433, 438 and 713; Vol. F, pp. 138 and 143; and Vol. G, p. 570.

34 *Ibid.*, Vol. F, p. 43; and PANS RG 5, Series P, Vol. 60, pp. 25-27.

land (175 acres) that he (William of the Islands) and his brother Henry had ceded to him back in 1870.

In his unpractised roles as merchant, lobster packer and berry-canner, among other ventures, William Henry had incurred ruinous debts. As a merchant he had stocked his shelves on credit from such Halifax wholesalers as Andrew M. Bell, Charles Bell, William Esson and Co., William H. Webb and others. By about 1882, he owed some $10,000 to these merchants and in the next five years they resorted to a series of legal actions against him.[35] Of the various debts the largest ($734.51) was owing to William Esson, who among other measures seized Hemlow's Liscomb lands (four tracts, 175 acres). At this juncture William of the Islands intervened with a payment of $600.00 to Esson, whom the senior Hemlow may have known personally from his own trading days in Halifax. The $600.00 was only partial payment, however, of the sums owing, and after William's death in 1885 his widow Mary continued to reimburse her son's creditors, both from the sale of lands and from her husband's savings deposited in the Dominion Savings Bank, Halifax--where she still had funds in 1892, as shown in her will of that date.

The above facts were corroborated by William Esson himself in a mortgage indenture dated 13 April 1887, stating that Esson did sell to William Hemlow, Liscomb, trader, in 1885 for $600.00, lands "containing in the four lots one hundred and seventy-five acres," for which part of the purchase was paid and the balance had been paid by Mary Hemlow for four tracts of land as described in previous deeds.[36]

After this *éclaircissement* the affectionate and right-thinking Mary restored to her son, as we have seen,[37] land on the Gaspereau Brook (and Lake?); and to her daughter Maria Redmond and her husband Henry she restored in a deed of 1887 the homestead lost to them (see below) in reprisals for William Henry Hemlow's mercantile debts.[38] To this happy outcome an historical note could be added. Out of their property the Redmonds donated in 1895 a third of an acre as

35 PANS RG 39, Supreme Court Records, Guysborough County, Judgment Book, No. 29, p. 172; and Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Vol. G, pp. 233-234, 243, 252, 257-258, 279-280, 579-580, 586, and Vol. H, pp. 17, 19-20 and 43.

36 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Book H, p. 17.

37 See n. 24 and 25.

38 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Vol. G, p. 579.

a building site for the Methodist Church and cemetery.[39]

The will that William of the Islands drew up on 26 January 1885 reflects the compassionate side of his nature, his care and concern for members of his immediate family.[40] His "dear wife" Mary he appointed his "sole executor," bequeathing to her their extensive homestead (house, barns, outhouses and buildings), also cash in the Dominion Savings Bank, Halifax, and cash at hand. To her he also bequeathed eleven acres on Hog Island and half of Hemlow's Island, the other half having been ceded to their son John (d. 1872). To his daughter Maria Redmond he gave ten acres of woodland on the east side of Gaspereau Brook and, drily, to his costly son William Henry, "ten sheep." To his daughter-in-law Hannah, John's widow, went continued maintenance in his own home for her lifetime. To his granddaughters Laura Bell and Olive Maria went ten dollars each and again, maintenance in his home until their marriages. William signed his will with an 'X' in the presence of his nephew, James Hemlow Sr., and great-nephew, James Hemlow Jr., who explained with their own signatures that his "shoulder being broken [he, William] could not sign his name." Evidently he had had an accident; he died nine months later on 20 August 1885, several days before his 71st birthday.

In the closing years of her life, Mary Hemlow was left alone on her island after her widowed daughter-in-law Hannah married Henry B. Hawbolt in 1891 and went with him to Beaver Harbour, taking with her Mary's two granddaughters, Laura Bell and Olive Maria. William Hemlow's faith in his wife Mary as "sole executor" of his will was to be fully justified in the further divisions of his estate that she would make in her own will of 19 May 1892.[41] As the first step in her task she enlisted as her "sole Executor and Trustee...Richard Johnson, Clerk in Holy Orders." Of first priority was a fair division of fields and buildings between her daughter Maria Redmond and--in lieu of her own son William Henry Hemlow--*his* son, her grandson William Clarence Hemlow (1879-1897). Divided equally between them were the wilderness lands and islands and also the "monies due to my estate or

39 *Ibid.*, Vol. J, p. 302.

40 Court of Probate, Sherbrooke, Vol. 3, pp. 133-134; a copy is in Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Vol. G, pp. 620-621.

41 Court of Probate, Sherbrooke, Vol. 3, pp. 171-172.

invested in my name including that in the Dominion Savings Bank." To her unfortunate son Wiliam Henry she entrusted the "charge and management" of the property bequeathed to his son William Clarence during the latter's minority. To her granddaughters Laura Bell Hemlow and Olive Maria (Hemlow) Turner went $10.00 each; and finally, to the "Halifax Branch of the Colonial and Continental Church Society for the maintenance of the Mission in Liscomb," went $100.00. Mary also signed her will with an 'X', which the clergyman attested. To the end she was a daughter of the islands, where she had been brought up without schooling. Mary died on 10 August 1892; her grave is not far from the front door (as it is now placed) of St. Luke's Anglican Church, Liscomb, which in her day she actively supported.

With the deaths of William and Mary the insular parts of this story come to an end. It remains to see how their surviving children, William Henry Hemlow and Maria Redmond fared on the mainland. If William Henry failed in other ventures, he was highly successful as a blacksmith, having obtained an official trademark of his own which he embedded in the molten iron of the implements he fashioned. His blacksmith's shop on the main highway at its junction with the Shore Road was strategically situated to serve seamen and landsmen alike, the place where horses were shod and where implements of all kinds could be repaired. His forge attracted children fascinated by the huge leathern bellows, the hot coals and flying sparks, as iron was pounded into shape on the anvil. A sample of his ironwork can be seen today in the iron frame he welded as a support for his brother John's crumbling gravestone in the Anglican Cemetery. On his property running down to the harbour front William Henry built a fine house for his family of three daughters and five sons. The grounds he landscaped and planted with birches and rose arbours. He was a faithful supporter of the Anglican Church, and for his time a learned public servant. A curious many-faceted man, imponderable.

Not far from the smithy lived his sister Maria Ann, wife of Henry Redmond, fisherman. As a dowry for his daughter, William of the Islands had purchased in 1863 from his brother-in-law Seth Crooks (1829-1911), 35 acres on the shore of Spanish Ship Bay for £20, conveying it later that same year to his son-in-law Redmond for $20.00.[42] Redmond, however, preferred Liscomb Harbour as a shore base nearer to the fishing grounds than was Spanish Ship Bay, and in 1877 he purchased from his brother-in-law W.H. Hemlow three acres on Liscomb

42 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Vol. D, pp. 438 and 463.

harbour for $20.00.[43] Three acres scarcely provided the firewood needed in early homes and in 1879 Henry obtained from his father-in-law, William of the Islands, a 40-acre tract on the east side of Gaspereau Brook for $55.00 (originally part of the Rudolph crown land grant of 100 acres).[44]

Redmond temporarily lost his homestead in legal complications attendant on William Henry Hemlow's debts to Halifax merchants. In lieu of payment for goods supplied, the Halifax merchant Andrew M. Bell had obtained in 1881 a mortgage on the 175 acres owned by his client in Liscomb. The mortgage he sold to Charles Bell, who foreclosed in 1885; and on this matter Henry Redmond, having in 1877 bought from William Henry for $20.00 three acres of the land now attached by Bell, was summoned to appear on 19 May 1885 before the Supreme Court in Halifax to defend his right to the said three acres. In the judgment the innocent fisherman lost both his three acres (valued at $112.55) and the court costs ($17.42), in all $129.97.[45]

Henry Redmond, quietly indomitable, was a survivor. On his shoreline in Central Liscomb he had long ago built a stone wharf, fish flakes on which to dry his catch, and a fish house in which to store the dried fish and fishing gear. He had built a large house for his family of seven (four sons and three daughters). A kind man, he kept peppermints on a high mantel beside the clock for his grandchildren, who in the spring of 1917 roved for hours over woodland paths and open spaces, gathering Mayflowers with which to deck his coffin.

A picture of the thriving Redmond homestead is provided in the activities of Henry's wife, Maria Ann *née* Hemlow, only daughter of William of the Islands and his wife Mary. Maria fertilized her field and gardens with the manure produced in a warm cattle barn, a henpen, a pigeon loft, a sheepfold and a pigsty, and her orchards and garden bloomed accordingly. Currant bushes, black and red, flourished among her apple trees, and gooseberry bushes along her stone walls. She planted lilac trees, white and purple, peonies, hydrangea, a grove of golden glow seven feet high, hyacinths, narcissi and other fragrant flowers beyond recall. As in her childhood home on the island, hop vines covered the sunny exposure of her Liscomb house

43 *Ibid.*, Vol. G, p. 298.

44 *Ibid.*, pp. 477-478.

45 *Ibid.*, pp. 579-580 and 586.

and framed the doors and windows. Whether or not she carded the wool from her flock of sheep, she spun it on a large spinning wheel into yarn that later she knitted into socks and mittens for her sons. Out of whole cloth she cut dresses for her long-legged granddaughters. Once she cut out a coat for Joyce Hemlow who stood before her, very still, looking down at her work-worn feet, hoping that when she herself grew up, she would have bunions "just like hers." This was a thriving place for plants, animals and children alike. On visits to ailing neighbours, Maria carried a small flat basket filled with flowers and freshly-laid eggs. On Sundays when she went to church she wore a fashionable bonnet high on her head and a short, many-frilled taffeta cape probably procured in Halifax when as a girl she sometimes accompanied her father, William of the Islands, in the *Mary Elizabeth*. She had the strength of the Umlachs and kindness and abilities all her own.

Isaac Deschamps's Pisiquid Diary, 1756-57

In 1754 Isaac Deschamps ([*ca.* 1722]-1801), a New England emigrant of Swiss extraction, became the local agent for Halifax's pre-eminent distiller and rumseller, Joshua Mauger, at what is now Windsor.[1] According to his most recent biographer, Deschamps

> was placed in charge of Mauger's truckhouse at Pisiquid (Windsor), where he traded with Indians, Acadians, and the garrison of Fort Edward. Fluent in French and English, he was given permission 'to do any little business the French Inhabitants want without any particular appointment.' He was also called upon to interpret, and to translate such documents as petitions from the Acadians, an oath of allegiance, and the deportation order of 1755... .[2]

Isaac Deschamps was a consummate diarist who kept his journal on the blank pages of an almanac. Few of his diaries survive,[3] which makes the rediscovery of the earliest known of them historically significant. It covers the period of the aftermath of the fall of Fort Beauséjour [Cumberland] in June 1755 and the *Grand Dérangement* in the autumn, and the supervening guerrilla war between the British on one side and fugitive Acadians and Mi'kmaq on the other. Here follows an annotated transcription of Isaac Deschamps's diary from March 1756 to May 1757 inclusive, written in Ames's *Almanack* for 1756.[4]

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1 "By the autumn of 1752 Mauger was shipping large quantities of rum to outposts such as Fort Lawrence (near Amherst) and Fort Edward (Windsor)"; "His ships were used to carry rum from his distillery to a store he owned at Annapolis Royal and to Minas and Chignecto, where he may also have had stores": Donald F. Chard, "Mauger, Joshua," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, IV, 526-7.

2 Grace M. Tratt, "Deschamps, Isaac," in *DCB*, V, 250-1. (The tradition that Deschamps came to Nova Scotia directly from England has no basis in the evidence.) See also Gwendolyn Vaughan Shand, *Historic Hants County* (Halifax, 1979), pp. 12, 29-31; John Victor Duncanson, *Newport, Nova Scotia: A Rhode Island Township* (Belleville ON, 1985), 193-4 ("The Deschamps Family"); L.S. Loomer, *Windsor, Nova Scotia: a journey in history* (Windsor NS, 1996), p. 382 (Index, s.v. 'Deschamps, Isaac'), pp. 210-1. Isaac Deschamps was no stranger to Pisiquid; he almost certainly belonged to the delegation of fourteen Swiss who journeyed to the area in the summer of 1750 to search out the land: Winthrop P. Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Fredericton & Sackville NB, 1990 [repr. of 1961 ed.]), p. 162.

3 Those which do are now in Special Collections at the Killam Memorial Library, Dalhousie University, Halifax NS; photocopies, 1759-1777 (not inclusive), are in the Isaac Deschamps fonds at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS], MG 1, vol. 258A. Important associated material is in the Charles Townshend collection, PANS MG 1, vol. 558.

4 *An Astronomical Diary: or, an Almanack For the Year...1756* / by Nathaniel Ames (Boston: Printed by J. Draper, for the Booksellers). The diary covers Mar.-Dec. 1756 and Jan.-May 1757. NB. The transcription does not include either the phases of the moon or the moveable and immoveable feasts according to the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England.

Formerly in the Legislative Library, this document is now in the Isaac Deschamps fonds, PANS MG 1, vol. 258A. The Editors would like to thank Dr Shirley B. Elliott and Mr John V. Duncanson for their advice and assistance.

Jan^{y}. 1757

1 Sat
2 Sunday
3 M L^{t}. Gordon went for halifax
4 T at 3 in the afternoon a house On fire at fort [Edward]
5 W
6 T
7 F
8 S Snow
9 Sunday. thaw
10 M Sleet & frost Wind N.E. {16 Ducks
{30 fowls Kill'd 2
{14 Geese
11 T frost wind N.E. in the evening Snow
12 W Snow. L^{t}. Gordon Returnd
13 Th
14 F wrote Major Philipps & Sent him his acct. wrote Bro^{r}. Fra^{s}.
&
Sent him Bill for £20.-
15 S
16 Sunday. thaw in the morng. frost aftern.
17 Monday frost
18 T frost, very hard, at night Taylor & Akins went for halifax
19 W frost Continues
20 Th. frost but fine weather inclinable to thaw. a house & Barn
Burnt at Thibodeau Village[5]
21 F thaw. blew hard in the night
22 S thaw Continues & Rain[6]
23 Sunday, frost
24 M frost
25 T d^{o}. inclinable to thaw or Snow
26 W Snow wind S.E.
27 Th. moderate fine weather, Sow Pigs all dead

5 One of seven Acadian villages which lay in the district of Pisiquid; its exact location (on the St Croix River) has not been determined.

6 Words following crossed out.

28 F in the morng. fine, at noon Squally & Snow
29 Sat. frost
30 Sunday at 5 Bourgeois[7] went to fort Sackville.[8] snow at night thaw & rain
31 M. thaw, very fine weather all day

Feb^{y} 1757

1 T hard frost & blows hard
2 W wind E. Cold
3 Th frost & Snow
4 F frost ... blows hard & Cold
5 S frost but fine
6 Sunday Snow in y^{e} night Rain & thaw
7 M. thaw, & Rain at times
8 T in y^{e} morn^{g}. frost, at noon Snow
9 W fine dry frost
10 Th.Wind S. thaw, blows hard, in y^{e} Evening Rain
11 Fr. frost Wind N.W. but fine weather
12 S. Snow aftern: fine, at night frost
13 Sunday frost.
14 M frost very hard & Cold, hens laid.
15 T frost but pleasant weather, began to Cut down brush at y^{e} Village[9]
16 W moderate inclinable to thaw
17 Th thawy weather & Sleet
18 F ditto----------
19 S ditto - - - - & Rain Cap^{t}. Rogers[10] Saild
20 Sunday wind S.W.

7 Improbably identified by Duncanson, *Newport*, pp. 107-8, as the *montbéliardais*, Jacques Bourgeois, a 'foreign Protestant' who immigrated to Nova Scotia in 1752. Deschamps's factor is almost certain to have been an Acadian--perhaps Pierre [Peter] Bourgeois (1699-[17--?]), formerly of Beaubassin. Bourgeois, in short, was a collaborator whom Deschamps 'looked after' by seeing to it that he was included in the Newport Township grant of July 1761: *ibid.*, p. 108.

8 In Oct. 1996 the site of Fort Sackville, at the head of Chebucto Bay (Bedford Basin), was being excavated by a team of archaeologists from Saint Mary's University under the supervision of Professor Stephen A. Davis: "Uncovering fort secrets," *Sunday Daily News* (Halifax), 27 Oct. 1996, p. 6.

9 Possibly a reference to the future site of Windsor (Village Breaux), since Acadian villages were known by their eponyms.

10 Commanded the sloop *Ulysses*, a vessel in the employ of the provincial government.

21 M. Wind W. fine weather
22 T. Wind N. looks like Snow
23 W. Wind W. fine Clear weather
24 Th. morn^{g}. hail. at noon Rain at night blowd hard S.W.
25 F. Rain & warm weather
26 S. fine weather, afterwards Rain
27 Sunday. Snow in y^{e}. morn^{g}: Rain afternoon. at night frost
28 M. snow & hard frost Extremely Cold

March 1757

1 T cold, frost, Continues
2 W frost but fine weather
3 Th fine thaw. went to the Village [Breaux?] & bro home boards &c^{a}. from house
4 F fine thaw
5 S wind & rain N.W. blows hard, frost, At noon thaw
6 Sund in y^{e}. night frost, morn^{g}. Rain & hail
7 M severe frost & very high Wind N.W.
8 T frost Continued
9 W snow in y^{e} morn^{g}. at night frost
10 Th. fine weather, moderate frost at night
11 F Cold Snowy weather wind N.E.
12 S Snow & Rain wind S.E. at night N.W. frost
13 Sund: in y^{e} morn^{g}. frost at night Rain
14 M fine warm thaw
15 T Rain & fog, put up 2 Sows to fatten
a duck egg found
at night sleet & frost
16 W cold but pleasant
in y^{e} night Snow
17 Th. Cold Raw weather & Snow Sometimes
18 F frost high water 10.45
19 S frost Continues but fair overhead
20 Sund. cold Raw weather Wind N.E.
21 M d^{o} d^{o}
22 T d^{o} d^{o} Snow & frost
23 W d^{o}. afternoon Snow & allnight
24 Th Clear but Cold frost, afternoon Snow
25 F fine weather but Cold

26 S morn^{g}. wind S.E. aftern. Snow
27 Sund. Rain & Sleet at night Snow
28 M Cold Raw weather
29 T fair, wind S.W. at night frost
30 W. snow & frost
31 Th. Cold Raw wheather & Snow

[verso]

March 1756

Mr. Peach return'd 14th. March
17th. Capt. Cobb[11] Sail'd for Chig^{o}. [Chignecto]
28th. Moody Returnd from Chig^{o}.
31st. in the Night Saild Cap^{t}. adams for Chig^{o}.

April 1757

Preston begun at Garden the 10th
Sowed - Same day
Radish
Lettice
White mustard
Turnips
Cabbage

April 1757

1 In the Morn fine
2 Weather & y^{e} Even^{g}. [...?]
Snow & rain at Night wind N.W. blowd hard
3 Sund: frost but fair overhead
4 M. frost wind NW, at night SW
5 T D^{o}. wind W.
6 W Thaw all day, night rain
7 Th Thaw continues; Edward saild

11 Sylvanus Cobb (*DCB*, III, 128-9) commanded the sloop *York*, another vessel in the employ of the provincial government.

8 F Thaw continues; found y^e^ 1st Goose Egg.
9 Sat: fine weather; Sl. Edward return'd having sprung a leak
10 Sund. pleasant weather. Red Cow Calved
11 M Ditt^o^. Sl: Edw^d^. Saild again at $^1/_2$ past 4 in morn^g^.
12 T Cap^t^. Mckay arriv^d^. from Chigo.
13 W
14 Th L^t^. Parker went for halifax
15 F Cap^t^. Mackay Saild for Boston
16 S
17 Sund.
18 M
19 T
20 W
21 Th
22 F. Metetals[12] Cow Calvd
23 S
24 Sund. Cap^t^. Tagart[13] arrivd from Halifax & the sloop Edwd. from Chig^o^.
25 M
26 T L^t^ parker returnd.
27 W Cap^t^. Tagart Saild for Chig^o^.
28 Th Cap^t^. Cobb arrivd from Chig^o^.
29 F L^t^. Gordon went to halifax
30 S. Bess, Chevrett, & Red Cow Calv'd
P:S: 1^st^. April Brig^ne^. Mountain went for Halifax, Return'd the 14^th^

May 1757

1 Sund: }
2 M } Snow & frosty
3 T } nights very Cold
4 W }
5 Th marolet[14] Calv'd. M^r^. Gordon returnd[15]

12 A *montbéliardais* 'foreign Protestant' from Lunenburg.

13 Commanded the snow *Halifax*, another vessel in the employ of the provincial government. (NB A snow was a small sailing-vessel resembling a brig and formerly employed as a warship.)

14 Meaning unclear.

15 No further entries for this month.

April 1756

y^e 1^st at 2 o Clock Saild Moody for Boston.
d^o L^t. Mercer & L^t. Peach went w^th. a Party over S^t. Croix River
1^st. 2^d. & 3^d. wind from N.W. to W. & W.NW
Snow Sleet Rain & blowd very hard
5^th. [*sic*] Agreed with Asher to take care of my Garden At 3s. pr. week till the last of may & 2^s.6 afterwards to have Every Saturday Night $^1/_2$ P^ts. Rum
5^th. Sent the hams & 2 flitches[16] to the village ---------- Return'd
9^th. 25 hens & 2 Cock^s.
9 Ducks & 2 drakes
15^th. begun to Plough
-- Cap^t. adams arrivd from Chig^o
16 L^t. Mercer went for halifax
17 Sewed wheat 4 Bushs.
19^th. Sat a goose on 11 Eggs
21^st. Sewed wheat $4^1/_2$ bushs.
Pease $1^1/_2$ d^o.
29^th. Saild Cap^t. adams for Chig^o.
30^th. Set a hen. arrivd Buckskin

May 5th Chevret Cow Calv'd
6^th. 2 hens Set
-- Red Cow Calv'd
9^th. in the Evening Saild Buckskin for Chig^o.
11^th arriv'd Cap^t. Cobb from Chig^o.
-- at night L^t. Parker went for halifax
14 at night Corp^l. Hammond went for halifax
17^th. L^t. Parker Return'd
-- Cobb Saild at night for Chig^o.
19th Corp^l. Hammond returnd
24^th Cap^t. adams came in from Chig^o.
25. Set a black hen on 9 Eggs
27 Black Cow Calv'd
-- Capt. adams Saild on a Cruize
31. Return'd

16 A flitch is a side of bacon.

[June 1756]

2d. Set a Light Cold [coloured] hen on 11 Eggs[17]
4th. Grifin doyle & old Bourgeois taken by a party of Indians
6th Red Cow ----------
4th [*sic*] Large black Cow Calv'd
15th. Sat a yellow hen on 8 Eggs
19th Sergt. Palmer & his Party Returnd
20. Capt Kent & 36 Volunteers arrivd.
21 Warren Sail'd on a Cruize
23d Vulture M.W. [man-of-war][18]came into the Bason [Minas] yesterday
28th. Vulture Saild
29th. Warren Saild
Cucumbers Cutt

[July 1756]

2d. Preston begun to work at Garden
18th. Rum out

August [1756]

5. went for halifax
15th Returnd Burt came ye. 13th.
10th. War declared at halifax
16th. War declared at Piziquid
18. vulture Came into the Bason
23d. Sail'd again
28th. Capt. Cobb arrivd

[September 1756]

ye. 19th. Lt. Pattison & Lt. Parker went for halifax
20th begun to Cutt marsh hay
Preston Robinson & McClure
21st Sergt. Palmer Holmes }
Chivers, Paget, foye} taken
nickols, & Chaplin }

17 Line crossed out.

18 HMS *Vulture* was actually a sloop of war.

wright wounded & bro^{t}. home
the Mass House & 2 more houses & a Barn at vilage Trahan[19]
burnt & Cap^{t}. Mercer's oats
-- Cap^{t}. Hamilton came from Halifax & L^{t}. Parker & Serg^{t}. Rose
return'd wth. him
23^{d}. Mass house at [Village] foret[20] Priests house & a dwelling
22^{d} Cobb Saild for Chig^{o}. [house Burnt

[October 1756]
9th L^{t}. Pattison return'd
12th Cap^{t}. Mercer L^{t}. Steele L^{t} Parker & L^{t} Peach wth. a party
went out & found the bodies of holmes Chivers & nickols
13th. begun to Cutt wood
15th arriv'd Cap^{t}. Colver in a Sloop from halifax wth. melasses
Bread Butter Lime & Bricks for the fort
16th begun again to Sell Rum
18th Colver Saild
21st. arriv'd the Sch^{r} Monckton[21] Cap^{t}. [Solomon] Phipps wth money
23^{d}. Sail'd again [& Rice
27th. In the Night came on a Storm at S.W. blow'd & Rain'd all
the 28th. & in the Evening thunder & Lightning Rain'd & blowd all
night, wind from W.S.W. to S.W.
29th. Rain but Calm then wind S.E.
-- L^{t}. Robinson & L^{t} Ormsby Came from halifax

[November 1756]
12th Cap^{t}. Cobb arrivd from Chig^{o}. with Rum from [?...]
13th L^{t}. Robinson &c^{a}. went for halifax
17th. Capt. Spike arriv'd wth. the party for Chig^{o}. ---
14th. In the Evening L^{t}. Peach wth. a Party went to the Bason in
17th. Return'd [Cap^{t}. Cobbs Sloop
18th. Saild for Chig^{o}. wth. Cap^{t}. Spike &c^{a}.

19 Acadian community, now the site of St. Croix.

20 Acadian community, probably on the edge of what is now the Great Falmouth Dyke in Upper Falmouth (information from John Duncanson).

21 Vessel in the employ of the provincial government.

21st. arriv'd Schr. Young Mary from halifax, was at Long Island
a month ago but wheppe[22] was Gone & Carried wth. him all the
dry Goods. Sergt. Currie Return'd wTH. Sergts. Palmer & foye
23d Lieut Peach went for halifax
26th. old Bourgeois came back
29th Sent old Bourgeois Express to halifax to acquaint Mr. M.
[Joshua Mauger] that the Schr Young mary Could not Sail without more
hands.
22d Hammond begun to take Care of my Bay horse

[December 1756]
Decr. 3d. Schr. Racehorse[23] arriv'd
7th. Sergt. Rose Came back wth. the party that went to halifax
wth. Lt. Peach & wth. him Sergt. Cosby to Relieve Sergt.
Davison. & old Bourgeois ----------Paget & Chaplin
6th begun to unload
11th. old Bourgeois went to Halifax
Young mary Saild.
17th. at night Return'd
wrote my father & Bror. fras under date the 10th.
21st. Sail'd Schr. Racehorse at noon
31st. arriv'd Capt. Rogers from Chigo. wth. Capt. Scott Lt. Hall
Lt. Bowen & Capt. Watmough
Jany. 3d. they went for halifax wth. Lt. Gordon

[verso]

of Gris
to Decr. 28th. 4 Stays wood
Jany. 13. 1 do.
15 - 2 do.

22 Surname.

23 Vessel owned by Joshua Mauger.

Apprentices Beware!: Researching and Writing Local History in Nova Scotia

Julian Gwyn

Windsor, Nova Scotia: a journey in history, by L.S. Loomer. ISBN 0-9680641-0-8. West Hants Historical Society, Windsor NS, 1996. 399 pp., illustrated, paper, $39.50.
Tide & Timber: Hantsport, Nova Scotia 1795-1995, by Allen B. Robertson. ISBN 0-88999-638-5. Lancelot Press, Hantsport NS, 1996. 182 pp., illustrated, paper, $20.00.

It must be clearly understood at the outset that Allen Robertson's history of Hantsport is everything that L.S. Loomer's expedition into the past of Windsor is not. Every page of Robertson's carefully-researched book is worth reading, while not a single chapter of Loomer's idiosyncratic opus is adequate to either the historian's or the storyteller's task. We are left with a very good history of a little town, and a decidedly inferior one of a larger town of far greater significance. The remedy is for Robertson to have been invited to undertake the task, which was simply beyond Loomer's ability.

Loomer's chronicle cannot merely be dismissed as an historiographical disaster. If the principal complaint was that it contains not a single new idea or fact about Windsor's history, there still might be some vestigial reason for publishing it. A well-told narrative of Windsor, even if it recounted a familiar story, would nevertheless be welcome. Since, however, this so-called 'journey' is written in a manner which gives the reader little chance of either understanding Windsor's past or resisitng the author's tedious prose and mordant asides, a cry of protest must be made.

Without the least apparent skill as an historian, Loomer evidently has little more as a storyteller. He has managed to transform Windsor--undoubtedly one of Nova Scotia's more historically interesting towns--into a nearly incomprehensible mishmash. He provides a wholly inadequate historical context for every part of his account. His chapters, which follow a vaguely chronological sequence, have neither introductions nor conclusions. Disconnected facts--few of which are historical--follow one another in a disorderly and confused manner. Very unwisely, his avowed dislike of professional historians has led him to renounce the use of notes for citing or referring to any of the archival materials he has employed. This helps to prevent his readers from learning anything from him. Can we believe, in consequence, that all of his primary sources are suitably cited and correctly copied? If he is so poor an historian of Windsor and its hinterland,

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is he likely to have been a better copyist of the materials on which his account is based?

The greater mischief is not that this embarrassing book has been published--the illustrations alone rescue it from the oblivion it deserves--but that Nova Scotia has a surfeit of badly-composed local 'histories' of the sort Loomer has written. Year in, year out they appear--parading as history, and, if noticed at all, are almost invariably reviewed far too kindly. What makes such would-be authors think that just because they are interested in the past they can write history? Like so many other skills, that of the historian has to be learned. Without such learning, what we too often encounter instead are the premature offspring of unskilled and untrained apprentices, acting as if they were already journeymen. Like Loomer's *Windsor*, almost all such works are not only painful or impossible to read, but also advance historical knowledge not one jot. The real historical writing, in nearly every case, is left undone.

The price of such delinquency is paid at the expense of our collective understanding of Nova Scotia's history--a subject of virtually no interest to anyone outside the province, and to few enough within. Instead of contributing to our understanding of the richness of Nova Scotia's heritage, publications such as *Windsor* provide us with a miscellany of past facts, made largely irrelevant by the confused and artless manner in which they are so often presented.

In complete contrast with L.S. Loomer's trespass against Windsor, one can learn from Allen Robertson's commissioned bicentenary history, *Tide & Timber*, a great deal about the quintessentially Protestant little town of Hantsport. Here is a rare gem by a native son, academically trained to the highest level. The book displays a combination of genuine and hard-won learning--from archival materials, books, teaching, habitual scholarly exchange and mature reflection, together with a profound sensitivity to those people who made the history which is his subject. They include the displaced Mi'kmaq, Acadian *dérangés*, forward New England Planters with their Black slaves, dejected Loyalist refugees, and the arrivistes, some of whom benefited from the economic opportunities created by those who had preceded them. The most prominent early landowners and slaveholders, Henry Denny Denson and Edward Barker, were neither New England Planters nor Loyalists but ex-military officers, Irish and English respectively. Their lands encompassed the future site of Hantsport, which by the time of the 1838 census numbered 140 persons. The population was an amalgam of Baptists and Methodists, among whom were fourteen farmers and ten mariners--perfectly reflecting the earlier and later occupational profile of the community. (The book, incidentally, has far too little on Hantsport's agricultural hinterland for it to qualify as a fully satisfactory history.)

Cleverly deploying an abundance of land, probate and church records, census returns, shipping registers and petitions--as well as the collective memory--Robertson paints an entirely believable picture of early landholding patterns and intermarriage, of shipping and shipbuilding. Between the 1830s and 1880s this insignificant hamlet became a "maritime centre" (p. 49) of some importance. Between the census years 1838 and 1871 the village greatly expanded in numbers and became diverse, as the local settler population was augmented by migrants from Pictou and Lunenburg. At that time an average of two vessels a year were launched at Hantsport, shipbuilders drawing on the abundant supply of softwood timber in the hinterland. So proud were the shipowners of their vessels, which were collectively valued at $275,000 in 1857, that they commissioned portraits of their handiwork--something the agriculturalists had never imagined doing for their apparently unremarkable livestock. Though readers are reminded that perhaps 40 per cent of all such vessels were lost at sea, occasioning high loss of life, we are not told whether marine insurance was underwritten by prominent local residents. If shipbuilding enticed newcomers, then it also exposed pre-Confederation Hantsport seafarers to a rapidly expanding world where literacy, occupational skills and command of the English language were distinct advantages.

Recognition of the village's transformed status came slowly. Hansport was incorporated as a town only in 1895. It had been designated a postal way office in 1849; the telegraph arrived in 1860, the year HRH the Prince of Wales visited the village. Five years earlier, the voters had elected Ezra Churchill as their first locally-resident MHA--but Senator Churchill (as he became in 1867) was to corrupt himself in 1871 by moving to Windsor, the shire town.

When, in the face of increasingly stiff competition from iron-built and steam-powered ships--as wooden vessels became increasingly confined to low-cost schooners used as coasters and in the fishery--Hantsport underwent a decline. This was attended by the predictable outmigration of younger family members, so demoralizing for those who persevered. In this respect Hantsport history differs sharply from that of many other comparable Nova Scotian ports, both in the timing and the amplitude of its decline--factors of which Robertson does not make enough. Diversification became the means to economic survival, as light manufacturing in the form of "machine tooling or food processing" (p. 87), such as confectionery, developed locally. We are not told whether the sugar came through direct West Indies trade, was redistributed from Halifax, Saint John or some other port, or was manufactured within the province. The incorporated village of Hantsport first acquired a new water supply (1905), then locally-generated electricity (1914). We are not told when the first bank branch was

established or when the telephone arrived. The inter-war economic face of Hantsport changed most dramatically thanks to R.A. Jodrey's Minas Basin Pulp and Power Company, which began in 1929 to produce pulp for Scott Paper. This development attracted steel-built ships to the wharf and a spur line from the railway. The ripple effect on the economy, ranging from pulpwood production to jobs in the mill itself, was important for it ensured steady if low-wage employment. That the company survived the Depression of 1929-34--an achievement which draws no comment from the author, perhaps because the story was told by Harry Bruce in his 1979 biography of Jodrey--was remarkable. Minas Basin was joined in 1933 by Canadian Keyes Fibre (another Jodrey company) and in 1947 by Fundy Gypsum--"to mould a new face on the town" (p. 128).

Post-1945 history--there is virtually nothing on the impact of either the Great War or World War II--saw the population double to 1,438 by 1966 (compared with the nadir of 704 in 1931). This period witnessed a rapid rise in living standards, shared generally by other Nova Scotian small towns, through a combination of improved employment opportunities and government social progammes. But there have been serious losses, also experienced by many other communities. The hotels have long gone; students are bused great distances to attend school; public railway travel has vanished. Thanks to improved roads and widespread access to private automobiles, however, Hantsport has latterly, like much of Hants County, become an attractive place to live for those who earn their livelihood elsewhere. Yet unlike many comparable Nova Scotian communities Hantsport still thrives in a modest way, building up its cultural and community institutions amid what has become a very diverse population. This ethnic diversity embraces the Mi'kmaq and African-Nova Scotians, to whose nearby long-established settlements Robertson makes frequent reference.

Tide & Timber deserves to stimulate further research into the Avon River estuary, and thereby provide a solid basis for writing the history of riverport settlement. It would be a pity if, instead, the book were to acquire the cachet of a definitive history, which means that no one will take up the challenge proffered by Robertson. As all good historians must, he elucidates the topic, and suggests, at several points, promising avenues for further research. Whatever its impact may be, this book is a genuinely original and significant contribution to Nova Scotia's regional historiography--regrettably, a specialization still inhabited by far too few qualified microhistorians as committed as Allen Robertson.

Book Reviews

Allen B. Robertson

As I Remember: Hantsport Area in the 30's, by Harold Gloade. ISBN 0-88999-404-8, 0-88999-405-6. Lancelot Press for the Hantsport and Area Historical Society, Hantsport NS, 1988. 2 volumes: vol. 1, 49 pp., paper, $8.00; vol. 2, 56 pp., paper, $8.00.

Elizabeth Bishop: An Archival Guide to Her Life in Nova Scotia, compiled by Sandra Barry. ISBN 0-88999-628-8. Lancelot Press for the Elizabeth Bishop Society of Nova Scotia, Hantsport NS, 1996. 226 pp., illustrated, paper, $25.00.

Hantsport Riverbank Cemetery Survey 1995, compiled by L.H. Harvie and John-Paul Doucette for the Hantsport and Area Historical Society, after work by Allen B. Robertson. ISBN 0-9697863-1-X. Hantsport and Area Historical Society, Hantsport NS, 1996. iv + 116 pp., maps, paper, $15.00. Copies available from the Society at PO Box 525, Hantsport NS, B0P 1P0; $5.00 postage not incl.

A Land of Discord Always: Acadia from Its Beginnings to the Expulsion of Its People, 1604-1755, by Charles D. Mahaffie, Jr. ISBN 0-89272-362-9. Down East Books, Camden ME, 1995. 320 pp., illustrated, cloth, $29.95.

Lunenburg: An Illustrated History, by Brian Cuthbertson. ISBN 0-88780-358-X. Formac, Halifax NS, 1996. vi + 66 pp., illustrated, paper, $16.95.

Nova Scotia: Shaped By The Sea. A Living History, by Lesley Choyce. ISBN 0-670-86507-9. Viking [Penguin Books Canada Ltd], Toronto, 1996. vii + 305 pp., illustrated, cloth, $29.99.

The Siege of Fort Cumberland 1776: An Episode in the American Revolution, by Ernest Clarke. ISBN 0-7735-1323-X. McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston & Montreal, 1995. xxvii + 302 pp., illustrated, cloth, $39.95.

Time and Tide: The Transformation of Bear River, Nova Scotia, by Stephen J. Hornsby. ISBN 0-943197-23-6 [= Northeast Folklore, vol. 31, 1996], 79 pp., illustrated, maps, paper, $22.95.

Exploring unfamiliar territory may confront one with the emotions of fear, excitement and a sense of wonder. Provided the historian maintains that balance of tension when charting a path through known subjects, [s]he can benefit from fresh insights and share the joys of discovery with readers. Subsequent findings

are matched by the contagious enthusiasm of the journey itself. In that context the studious reader must be willing to be open-minded, while the historian must provide substance. If mythic or romantic history is being offered, then intellectual honesty demands that the genre be specified at the outset. There are few more frustrating experiences than encountering what purports to be serious history, yet in reality is myth parading as history or mere ideological assertion. The warning signs are all the more obtrusive if the journey in print begins with a dismissal of professional scholars. Ahead will lie the dangerous shoals of pseudo-history, the siren song of theorizing unsupported by documentation and the Scylla and Charybdis of interpretations propounded without due reflection.

There are proper ways to construct the ship of history. The variation of emphasis, and the desire to offer new and different perspectives on the evidences of the past can result in a wide variety of interpretations. Consequently, one can now make use of political economy, working-class radicalism, feminist gender-analysis, the pyschology of religious experience, ethnocultural analysis and the sociology of alternative lifestyles. Underlying each approach should be the goal of convincingly arguing the likeliest interpretation of all the available evidence. The reader is helped to assess the validity of each argument by comparing text to source notes; hence the utility of the sometimes undervalued (or even devalued) annotation. The leaps of false logic characteristic of pseudo-historical argument are laid bare in the construction of its documentary base. With equal starkness, politically-correct or politically-motivated "histories" succeed only insofar as the evidence is honestly laid for the ribbing of the work concerned and the sheathing that holds it together. The prow of the finished vessel, ready to slip down the ways, will have the author as its figurehead, and will hold to its course if disinterested truth-seeking is its compass.

A necessary tool for helping to reconstruct past lives or lost cultures is a reliable guide to iconography, source-criticism, prosopography and geography. This is all the more essential when attempting to analyse genre writing influenced by place and family. Sandra Barry, herself a poet and historical scholar, has provided just such a handbook in *Elizabeth Bishop: An Archival Guide to Her Life in Nova Scotia*. There has been a renaissance in Elizabeth Bishop studies since the poet's death in 1979. The field has been largely the preserve of American academics, yet Bishop's roots lay in the Maritimes. Barry has already provided an account of the poet's early life in Great Village, Nova Scotia, from 1915 to 1917 (*NSHR*, vol. 11, no. 1 [June 1991]). Those earlier investigations convinced her that an important aspect of Elizabeth Bishop's mature poetry was her rootedness in family-time and community-space, the two

of which were inextricably linked.

Though most of Bishop's life was lived in the United States and in Brazil, she kept in close and regular contact with family and friends in Nova Scotia. It was from those sources that she could derive creative energy without actually residing in the places concerned. Poems such as "First Death in Nova Scotia," "In the Village" (a prose poem) and "At the Fishhouses" cultivate images which Bishop carried in her portable treasury of personal memory. Sandra Barry has sought to assist students of Bishop's oeuvre by identifying archival sources held in Nova Scotia which relate to Bishop, or pertain to her life among the Bluenoses. In particular, Barry has been at pains to identify family connections, acquaintances and localities which appear either directly or by subtle allusion in the poetry. The family fonds and institutional collections identified comprehend both textual records and graphic materials; simply knowing their location will facilitate research and enhance Bishop scholarship.

The work is prefaced with a brief account of Bishop's life, while the conclusion is taken up with a wide-ranging bibliographic essay. Thus has Barry provided an annotated archival inventory within the framework of a sourcebook for Elizabeth Bishop's life, the Bishop-Bulmer-Hutchinson kinship network and academic Bishop scholarship, whether in the form of articles, monographs or collections of essays. *Elizabeth Bishop* represents a flowering of the earlier article by Barry which had for its title, "The Art of Remembering... ." Readers are made acutely aware that the ability to reconstruct and interpret a personal past is based on personal recollection and fragmentary documentation. The more completely the latter can be reassembled, the more comprehensive the understanding of an author's work and life will be. This is indeed the archaeology of 'the remembrance of things past' hinted at in postmodern deconstructionist literary-critical theory.

Sandra Barry has brought to the archival guide her own special insight as a 'Bishopesque' poet and literary historian. One is tempted to observe that it is her own Nova Scotian identity which has enabled her to gain a degree of sensitivity in relation to Bishop's work which has by and large eluded American scholars. As much is evident in Barry's appreciation of how genealogical sources and scholarly research techniques can be successfully integrated to lay the basis for a larger historical work of literary biography. Nor does Barry oversimplify the identification of place. The mythopoetic world of Elizabeth Bishop's Great Village was peopled by archetypes embodying universals, just as Miss Marple's Saint Mary Meade in its myriad foibles and virtues was, for Agatha Christie, the microcosm of humanity. These approaches owe something to Carl Jung's theory of the collective versus the individual unconscious. The self does not

exist in isolation, despite the cultic myth of the individual propounded by Romanticism. The interconnectedness of personal memory, community/family tradition and the spirit of place--interacting with universal icons of human expression--is the line with which to plumb the depths of Elizabeth Bishop's homespun mysticism. The careful reader will discern the juxtaposition of iconography and personal reminiscence attesting that Bishop is both a Nova Scotian and a world poet. It is the assimilation of several disciplines--archives, history, genealogy and source-criticism--which forms the basis of Barry's achievement in compiling the Bishop guide. The Elizabeth Bishop Society of Nova Scotia is to be commended for its sponsorship of an original and significant research tool which will attract attention on both sides of the Canada-United States border.

The collective memory, photographs and archival research form the basis of Stephen J. Hornsby's *Time and Tide: The Transformation of Bear River, Nova Scotia*. As an historical geographer, Hornsby is especially interested in the interaction between the land and the life of the people. Shifting economic and technological emphasis may have left some areas of the country unable to make the necessary adjustments for adapting to change. Bear River, like other shipbuilding centres and inshore ports in Nova Scotia, flourished during the nineteenth century. The decline in importance of the wooden seagoing vessel damaged the viability of the port, at the same time as competition from central Canada and the loss of preferential freight rates undermined the local economy. Moreover, by the turn of the century the workforce itself faced the necessity of outmigration to more stable industrial centres in Canada and the United States. Hornsby evokes that process and its impact on Bear River as a community.

Hornsby generously acknowledges the two pioneer collectors of information on Bear River who made his study possible: Edgar McKay, a grandson of Bear River residents, and photographer Ralph Harris. McKay conducted research in the 1950s to further sociological and cultural inquiries generated by the so-called "Stirling County Studies." Harris, on the other hand, was active in the Digby County area in the early 1900s. Hornsby utilized the work of both in order to produce a comprehensive study of socio-economic change and its impact on the people of Bear River. The photographs splendidly document rural and local-industrial Nova Scotia of nearly a century ago. Hornsby shows how the content of each image can be used to augment textual records and oral history. The approach is one worthy of imitation in case studies of other Nova Scotian communities during the same time period.

Time and Tide is a well-crafted study that seeks to make quantification analysis the basis for testing the validity of generalizations found in popular

literature. To say that commercial shipping and the timber trade were important to the economy of Bear River tells one nothing. Combining business records, wage data, census returns and photographic evidence, however, puts historical flesh on the bare bones of impressionism, creating both a provocative academic study and an opportunity for Bear River residents today to view their own past in a new light. At the same time, Hornsby notes how the decline in shipping, lumbering and agriculture caused local industry to be replaced by tourism--largely under provincial control--and by the modern social welfare regime. These changes, together with the onset of modern telecommunications and transportation, have eroded the community's sense of compactness and local identity. Hornsby cites the fiction of Ernest Buckler as giving voice to nostalgia for those traditional times and reaction against the barefaced harshness of modernity. True to the title of Hornsby's study, time and tide wait for no one--regardless how much the past is treasured.

Among academic cultural critics today it is fashionable to decry tourism as a weapon used historically by the capitalist state to reinforce the hegemony of the vested interests. Rural and small-town urban society is particularly prone to this manipulation. Quaint old ways are fossilized as in a *tableau vivant* for postcards, serving up an image of the past pined for or conceived by metropolitan visitors. At the same time, industrial development is relegated to the periphery. Though there is some validity to this interpretation of tourism as cultural politics, danger lies in forgetting that people from rural and small-town backgrounds may be able to manipulate the tourism agenda to their own advantage. Among the more striking illustrations of the success of that approach are photohistories and walking-tour literature. Brian Cuthbertson's *Lunenburg: An Illustrated History* provides a recent example of how an historic community can assert control of its cultural heritage resources.

Cuthbertson is no stranger to readers of the *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, not only through his former role as managing editor, but also through his authorship of several distinguished works of history and historical biography, as well as a productive decade as Head of Heritage for the province's built environment. He thus brings a wealth of talent and experience to bear on a concise historical account of the town of Lunenburg from 1753, the year of its founding, through the later twentieth century. Particularly noteworthy was the early move towards adapting to the advantages of Lunenburg's shipping potential, and ultimately towards the dominance of the fisheries. That economic base enabled local entrepreneurs to exploit technological change in fish-processing and in the fishing industry generally. Only current fisheries-management crises and multinational interference in the livelihood of

independent fishermen has put the town's primary economic base in doubt.

By judicious use of graphic materials--photographs, sketches, paintings and maps--Cuthbertson shows how, since 1753, the economy has influenced the architectural heritage of Lunenburg, its major and secondary industries, and the social life of the community. Tourism became one service industry among others. Images of folkways are reinforced by agricultural practices of the hinterland--such as the ubiquitous ox-team--and by wharfside stacks of lobster traps. Buildings themselves are seen as touristy because they emphasize the unique streetscapes of the town. By the second half of the twentieth century, that process led to the emergence of local tourism services in the form of inns, chowder houses and antique shops.

Above and beyond the need to generate an income, residents of Lunenburg have made a conscious effort to celebrate their Germano-British roots. It is unfortunate that Cuthbertson does not explain the significance of two world wars in driving German history and tradition underground in the county at large. The post-1945 resurgence of ethnic pride, combined with the folkloric research of the late Dr. Helen Creighton, nurtured interest in German language, cuisine, material culture and origins. This movement culminated in 1961 with the publication of Winthrop Pickard Bell's monolithic *The 'Foreign Protestants' and the Settlement of Nova Scotia*, its author appropriately holding the degree of D.Phil. from the University of Gottingen. Out of the 1950s' reclamation of historical identity and the 1960s' celebration of Canada's centenary emerged a recognition of the need to preserve aspects of more than two centuries of built heritage and cultural legacy.

It has been to the advantage of the government of Nova Scotia to promote the Lunenburg leitmotif, with its Teutonic associations, for the benefit of European visitors and/or potential investors. The designation of the town as a United Nations World Heritage Site, however, will to some extent undermine 'image control' by provincial and federal political interests. For Lunenburgers themselves there is the compound problem of soaring property assessments and the less-than-appealing commercialization of the waterfront. Yet the townspeople have the opportunity to showcase both the historicity of Lunenburg and its adaptation to modern economic reality. Cuthbertson's book vividly illustrates how that dual aspect of Lunenburg has persisted since the eighteenth century. The author was struck by the residents' "enterprise and solidity," characteristics which have remained distinctive in the history of the town.

The guided tour in the final section of the book offers a memorable moving image of industry and domestic economy. The built heritage tradition combined New England ("Cape Cod") prefabs with Germano-Swiss folkways to provide

compact houses without ostentation. These survivals from the late 1750s and 1760s were surpassed in the 1780s by the Georgian mansions of timber and shipping merchants, as illustrated by the Koch-Solomon house (*ca.* 1785). Flamboyant neo-gothic structures, distinguished by the Lunenburg 'double bump', bespoke the success of the fishing industry in the late Victorian era. The granite pile of 1907 which houses the Bank of Montreal, moreover, bespeaks the sure foundation of the fishery in the post-'Age of Sail' period. Finally, the Adams and Knickle ship chandlery on Montague Street documents continuity between the outfitter of vessels of the early twentieth century and the purveyor of latter-day replicas which include *Bluenose II*, HMS *Rose* and HMS *Bounty*. Strengths derived from the past are used to build for the future. Perhaps in the use of folk memory to preserve collective identity there is even to be found an affinity with Elizabeth Bishop.

The impetus to enlarge understanding of a community's present through remembering things past is often provided by local historical societies. Two types of publication from the Hantsport and Area Historical Society illustrate that point. A slim two-volume set contains, respectively, recollections of Horton Reserve and of Hantsport by former resident Harold Gloade. Together they ideally fulfill the mandate of the Society, which is to "afford our young people glimpses of a way of life so different from their own experiences," while providing the older generation with an opportunity to record their memories. Oral history provided the main means of transmission, while documentation to corroborate or supplement the former was left up to the individual researcher.

The fortunate outcome was *As I Remember: Hantsport in the 30's*, where the reader shares the memories of a gifted story- teller. Gloade attended school in the town at a time when--as he notes--he was the only Mi'kmaq student in his class. Vivid detail and lively narrative make for an enjoyable reading experience. In a manner similar to *Cape Breton's Magazine* interviews, the texts are presented without gloss or annotation. However, enough metadata is provided in the way of names, locations and dates to permit one to undertake research (e.g., in newspapers) in order to enlarge on or document many of the events in question. Gloade brings to his memoir the perspective of a First Nations youth growing up near a small 'cross-border' town in coastal Nova Scotia. He shares in the memories of other residents of the town while augmenting them with vignettes concerning hamlets and villages on the outskirts of Hantsport.

Readers of *As I Remember* will find details of schooling, the exciting novelty of motor cars, sporting events, childhood superstitions, employment opportunity and the old-fashioned milk round. Perhaps the most striking topic of all is

handled in "Kellyville Christmas," where Gloade's own words evoke best the strength of religion, the sharing of Christmas conviviality and the continued use of the Mi'kmaq language. In his RC childhood home Gloade's father still led the rosary, whether the occasion was the regular family meal or a high holy day. Mrs Morris of Horton Reserve is the best Christmas gift of all.

But this is not to endorse the anodyne self-delusions of nostalgia and memory-myopia. It is the historian's appreciation of the need for recognition of the human factor in history, in order to counteract the methodological bias of quantification analysis. There is more to history than economics, whether the economy is domestic or political. Professional historians should be able to infer from Gloade's memoirs the context in which they can be placed in order to make them historically significant. Without the efforts of a memoirist like Harold Gloade, or the intermediation of a local historical society, such important evidences of the past are inevitably lost to history.

Historical and genealogical societies around the province are much engaged today in the design and construction of computerized databases useful for research purposes. The Hantsport and Area Historical Society, under the coordination of L.H. Harvie, has augmented the literature by publishing its transcription of gravestone inscriptions from the town's burying-ground. *Hantsport Riverbank Cemetery Survey 1995* is first of all a valuable genealogical research tool, containing essential information for the demographer, social historian and historians of working-class experience. The first section of the work comprises an alphabetized nominal list giving dates (which range from the 1830s to the 1990s), age and family connections, in addition to actual place of burial. John-Paul Doucette assisted the project in 1995 by inputting data for this easy-to-use index. Over 60 per cent of the work reproduces your reviewer's hitherto unpublished "Survey of Hantsport Riverbank Cemetery" (May 1979), together with sectional maps and extracts from inscriptions indicating occupation or cause of death, or displaying iconography (e.g., Masonic symbols).

Bones do tell tales, as do the memorials placed over them. Yet perils of the sea and epidemics are but two of the keys to mortality. Riverbank is the burial place of Senator Ezra Churchill, shipping magnate John B. North, folk artist Francis Silver, local chronicler Hattie Chittick and ethnologist Silas T. Rand. The careful student will have the opportunity to compare lifespans, detect ethnic diversity and gather biographical details. All that is required is to contextualize the information in order to make it historically useful.

Both historical societies and genealogical associations have traditionally drawn upon a variety of sources to gather material for publication. Both types of

organization need to be conversant with the basics of intellectual property law in order to respect the rights of authors and other creators. Unless ownership of copyright is assigned, it is vested in the author of the work; in the case of an unpublished work, copyright endures until publication and thence for fifty years after the author's death. Publishers need to be aware not only of their legal obligations, but also of the author's moral rights. Letters requesting permission to publish copyright material, offering to share royalties or to substitute a tax donation should be sent and replies in the affirmative awaited, lest any society find itself at the business end of a lawsuit for copyright infringement. Fair dealing in matters of intellectual property will ensure that historical societies with ambitious publication programmes do not become pirates, and that amateur and professional historians alike will reap the benefits accruing from reproduction and use of their works.

Several steps beyond the preoccupations of local historical societies is the writing of history by non-professional historians. Here the shore is strewn with the flotsam and jetsam of antiquarian chests, poorly-constructed prose bottoms and derivative accounts lacking in seaworthiness. Successful moorings are made by authors who take seriously the discipline of history as methodology. Historians by avocation use the thematic or topical approach, analytical discourse and a comprehensible prose style in order to produce works which can hold their own alongside professional literature. In this spirit Ernest Clarke has produced a narrative of the failed patriot uprising at Chignecto in 1776 which fully deserves the accolades it has been receiving since its publication.

Clarke's greatest gift is that of storyteller, to which he brings his keen interest in scientific historical research. The fruit of his labours, *The Siege of Fort Cumberland 1776*, provides the first full-dress study of the only major military engagement to take place in Nova Scotia during the Revolutionary War. Jonathan Eddy, John Allen and their compatriots represented disaffected elements among the New England Planter old settlers, Anglo-Irish newcomers and frontiersmen caught up in the newfangled rhetoric of revolution. The Isthmus of Chignecto, as Clarke rightly observes, reflected the diversity of the ethnic blend in the population at large. In the vicinity of Fort Cumberland (formerly Beauséjour) were resettled Acadians, Planters intent on realizing the agricultural potential of the region, and recently arrived Yorkshire emigrants eager to become their own landlords. New England Congregationalism shared the care of souls with the Church of England. Among adherents of the latter were those who had been consumed by the evangelical fires of Wesleyan Methodism. The local population were thus caught in the struggle between British and American allegiance. When revolutionary ferment from the south

spread northwards, the equilibrium among competing interests in the region was shattered by ensuing events.

Clarke is at pains to show that the insurrection of 1776, in the context of its time, was not a minor event. American scholars have rarely given it any notice, while little more can be said for Canadian historians except those with a special interest in colonial Maritime studies. Yet Clarke is surely right to point out that, had the siege of Fort Cumberland been successful--spreading invasion down towards Cobequid or farther south--the event would have received far greater attention from historians. Patriot military success would have made Nova Scotia the 'fourteenth colony' and Eddy a Revolutionary war hero. Instead military failure laid bare the roots of the ideological conflict which convulsed the region for years after the raising of the siege and even after the end of the war. In Nova Scotia the patriot cause faltered and collapsed. That, of course, is more than enough reason for American historians to ignore or dismiss the Nova Scotian experience, lest they have to grapple with the possibility that their rebellion might have failed elsewhere too, especially in the reluctant southern colonies.

The innate loyalism not only of the Planters but also of the vast majority of Nova Scotians, is the assumption underlying Clarke's revisionist reinterpretation of 1776. He deflects attention away from the Loyalist refugees who arrived in 1783, and back to the 'old-comers' who exhibited active and passive loyalty during the Revolution. The impetus to reject established authority hinges on the willingness to risk chaos during the transition period. Clarke comes close to the heart of the "revolution rejected" matter: the population was trying to articulate their attachment to a new land, while resisting attempts to impose order and external authority. The merit of this approach derives from integrating into the Nova Scotian context patriot confrontation with Loyalist ideology in the Thirteen Colonies.

The proximity of what is now Maine to Chignecto and the Saint John River valley, combined with distance from the regional centre of imperial authority at Halifax, contributes to Clarke's efforts to understand the pyschology of Eddy and his associates. Cumberland was a region without hard borders and rigid affiliation. Trade, pastoral ministry, social interaction and kinship networks produced the effect of a melting pot in which Nova Scotian and "Down Easter" were thrown together. Moreover, susceptibility to rebel propaganda was rife among a populace of unsettled allegiance. On each of these matters Clarke breaks new interpretive ground.

Most previous attempts to explain why the "Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia" did not join the American Rebellion have been subservient to John Bartlet Brebner's study of that title (1937). Yet comparison to the 'neutrality' of

the Acadians did not adequately account for the attitudes of Nova Scotia's New Englanders twenty years after the *Grand Dérangement*. Economic, religious, military and intellectual-history perspectives have caused much new light to be shed on those factors which shifted the balance in favour of the Crown. Though it is to Clarke's credit that he revisits the loyalty issue, he underinterprets the religious climate, which in itself was a manifestation of and reaction to psychic unrest. Henry Alline (New Light Congregational), William Black (Methodist) and other radical evangelicals were just beginning to fan the flames of the Great Awakening, which would distract the attention of the dominant Planter element in the population throughout the course of the Revolutionary War. Nonetheless, W.B. Kerr's "critical years," 1775 and 1776, were trying times for a people reorienting themselves in a new geographic and psychological setting. The Planters had been settled long enough for the younger generation to have lost their affinity with any place outside Nova Scotia, including New England, while the parents were seeking to renovate their lives through realigned social hierarchies, mainstream politics and religious experimentation.

Geography was as important as ideology, a truism which Clarke's own regional case study exemplifies to a remarkable degree. Frontier conditions in Nova Scotia and northeastern Massachusetts did not allow for the consolidation of new socio-economic regimes, such as was occurring in the Planter townships of Horton, Liverpool and Truro. Collective identity was stabilizing, and with it acquiescence in imperial authority as the source of legitimate secular rule. The Great Awakening asserted self-affirmation according to the patrimony of New England Congregationalism, while Allinite enthusiasm expressed both spiritual and temporal standing in the new "Promised Land." Examination of how far New Lightism deviated from the norm in the communities of Chignecto and the Saint John River Valley would have enriched Clarke's analysis of the mindset of local 'rebels and royalists'.

There is a density of detail in *The Siege of Fort Cumberland* which threatens to arrest the author's progress. Clarke's admirably intensive research threatens to cling like barnacles to the hull of his narrative. He is intent on giving the reader a synoptic bird's-eye view of what was going on everywhere at once. On one hand, this *embarras de richesses* is invigorating; on the other, it is tedious. The weary reader can be forgiven for asking why Liverpool diarist Simeon Perkins's observations on the weather, or on a visiting preacher, have anything to do with the siege of Fort Cumberland. This is not context; it is minutiae. The author also has a disagreeable tendency to imitate the prose style of the eighteenth century. It is enough for the historian to be *in* the eighteeenth century; he must not also be *of* it.

The claim that the patriot 'invasion' was a pivotal event for Nova Scotia is open to further debate on Clarke's own evidence, though there is no denying that, taken out of context, the episode has been underestimated. The sheer originality of *The Siege of Fort Cumberland* also belies the assumption that the colonial period has been sufficiently studied, so that scholars are now free to concentrate on post-Confederation issues and 'Canada's century'. Ernest Clarke's monograph is an example of the work which still needs to be done on eighteenth-century Nova Scotia, if the search for a pre-Confederation Maritimes historiography is to be successful.

The romance of history continues to lure authors to focus on particular events or on a particular people. Yet another contribution to the genre is Charles Mahaffie's *A Land of Discord Always*, the author of which has been bewitched by the history of Acadia. Longfellow's Evangeline conspired with the Cajuns to turn Mahaffie's attention north-eastwards across the border to explore the origins and fate of the French settlers who were contemporary with Puritan New Englanders. From that source derives Mahaffie's narrative of trading ventures, military engagements, economic rivalry, Acadian communities and British imperial designs. The *Grand Dérangement* of 1755 marks the climax and conclusion of the book.

As with Clarke's *The Siege of Fort Cumberland*, Mahaffie's narrative is extensively documented. There is no doubt that the period treated--1604 to 1755--appeals to the hobbyist, for high drama alternates with the seasonally-turned existence of Acadian farmers, traders and fishermen. The ghost of Francis Parkman hovers over the pages of the book as frontierism is given rather more attention than it deserves. *Caveat lector* must be applied to the promising title, for the subject matter is military and political manoeuvres; the book does not offer an in-depth portrayal of the land and its peoples, whether Mi'kmaq or Acadian. Undoubtedly accessible to the general reader, the work may serve as a useful stepping-stone to Andrew Hill Clark's *Acadia*.

The allusion to Parkman is not inappropriate since *A Land of Discord Always* is dominated by the tug-of-war between French and British interests in the region, a struggle complicated by the aggressive mercantilism of rising New England urban centres such as Boston. There is a hint of Rousseau or Voltaire in the assimilation of 'noble savage' to 'simple peasant'--Acadians in Arcadia. The impact of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's epic poem, moreover, resonates throughout and attests to its continuing hold on the popular imagination. Revisionist cultural historian, Ian McKay, would recognize in Mahaffie's portrayal of French-speaking colonists the lure of antimodernism as proof against present-day urban technological starkness. The tendency to romanticize hard

history is very difficult for non-professionals to resist, whether the focus is Acadians, Planters, pre-contact Mi'kmaq or Victorian rural society. It hints at profound nostalgia for worlds we have lost, a loss which has impoverished us all.

A more serious defect than the Acadian Romance is that coverage of the Acadians is at best superficial and constricted. No attempt has been made to utilize existing interpretive studies bearing on material culture, social relations or domestic economy. The reader is thus left with a less than satisfactory rationale for the purported uniqueness of Acadian society. Mahaffie emphasizes the Acadians' resistance to taxation and external political control, and their nonjuring 'neutrality', but the emphasis is not sustained by collateral perspectives on the nature of peasant society in contemporaneous France, which might have determined whether there was any tradition of self-government at the community level. Oversimplification disposes of active supporters, among the colonists themselves, of French hegemony in Acadia. Nevertheless, and to his credit, Mahaffie implicitly raises the question of why Acadian 'neutrality' was not sufficiently credible to discourage the British military authorities from imposing a final solution to the Acadian problem in the form of the *Grand Dérangement.*

The abrupt termination in 1755 of *A Land of Discord Always* leaves the reader perplexed as to the degree of loss which Acadian society ultimately suffered. Probing forensic historians, such as Naomi Griffiths, have concentrated on those cultural preservation strategies which enabled the Acadians literally to carry their social order with them into the diaspora, and then return it safely to L'Acadie des Maritimes. Mahaffie sees the termination of the imperialist war as the virtual denouement of a people permanently displaced by a hegemonic power determined to plant *their* colonists on vacated Acadian lands. Had the author allowed himself greater scope for treating the Acadians as an ethnic construction, he would have taught his readers more about the origins and character of the discord afflicting the lands which the Acadians settled, and from which they were cleared, and which continued to afflict the new lands after their return from exile. Acadia--a new New France-- still awaits its Mason Wade.

History can be approached as profession, avocation or a game of Russian roulette. *Nova Scotia: Shaped by the Sea. A Living History*--the latest offering from well-known novelist, publisher, university teacher of English and broadcaster, Lesley Choyce--is best consigned to the last category. Wanting to learn more about the past of his adopted homeland, especially as it bears on seascapes, Choyce approached his theme by specially selecting aspects of the province's history, both pre- and post-Confederation, which would reflect the impact of the sea on the lives of men and women living and working by its shores.

Of course, there is no denying that proximity to the sea has had a tremendous effect on the lives and livelihoods of Nova Scotians from the pre-contact period to the verge of the third millenium. Choyce brings into view the rhythmic cycle of fisheries, shipping and migration of peoples. Style and substance echo Thomas H. Raddall's *Halifax: Warden of the North*, both in the high degree of generality and in the attention paid to human-interest stories. Though these elements belong to the essence of popular history, an opportunity also existed for Choyce to inform as well as to entertain a much wider audience. Neither of these goals is necessarily at variance with the other, though Choyce's words here give the impression that they are mutually exclusive.

There are some peculiarly biased omissions from *Nova Scotia: Shaped by the Sea*, as witnessed by the rather too selective 'select bibliography' and the wholly unannotated text. The African-Nova Scotian experience, for example, is discussed in relation to the Loyalists, the exodus to Sierra Leone and the ongoing Africville saga, so one naturally assumes that political correctness has reached critical mass. Whither Black history? Where are William Hall VC and Wellington States? Why is Peter McKerrow's ground-breaking history of the African Baptist Association not cited? Readers will look in vain for any allusion to the Jewish presence in colonial Halifax. Despite the bibliography and index, the complete lack of source-notes is a barrier to those who, on reading Choyce's book, may have their curiosity aroused about an event not covered by any title listed in the Select Bibliography. *Nova Scotia: Shaped by the Sea* offers little or no guidance to the student.

One bemused reader observed that this 'living history' is written straight from the heart rather than the head. Choyce must be given full credit for single-minded devotion to his theme; however, that is not enough to produce history, which must pass muster by historians. The result, like Keats's name, is writ in that very sea water which, according to Choyce, makes Nova Scotia's history come alive. Shaped by the sea, this living history becomes a supermarine Atlantean myth, and its bard a latter-day Peter Pan piping tunes of righteous indignation over past injustices and present economic inequalities. This might explain the inadequate coverage given the New England Planters; their workaday world superseded the romantic *paysage* of the Acadians, and so they receive slight attention. Their descendants (and their historians) would argue that those same New Englanders sought to recreate their own ideal of an Edenic, prelapsarian rural paradise.

Choyce posits the existence of a quasi-spiritual dimension to life lived in close proximity to the ever-surging ocean. As a resident of Lawrencetown Beach and a self-professed Atlantic surf-rider, he obviously can speak with

authority on that point. He can also be forgiven for using the book as a means to articulate his own spiritual response to the sea-shaped land and its sea-affected history. But this is New Age spirituality--hooked on history. Conspicuously absent from *Nova Scotia: Shaped by the Sea* is any attempt to understand how the religious mindset of 'Old-Age' generations shaped their vision of both land and sea. Spiritual angst experienced as a result of the Great Awakening or Methodist revivals affected thousands of lives. The Roman Catholic liturgical calendar gave rhythm and meaning to the seasonal progress of the year for Mi'kmaq, Acadian, Irish and Scottish Nova Scotians shaped by the land as well as by the sea. These are the people for whom Nova Scotia's living history, without such varieties of religious experience, would be dead history--a fact of spiritual life, both personal and collective, which surely deserved the author's attention.

New Age spirituality also raises its hydra-head when early explorers from Europe are discussed in reference to Prince Henry Sinclair, arcane Masonic rituals and the quest for the Holy Grail. This reflects an unwholesome interest in attempts to insinuate romantic fantasy into scientific historical research. *Caveat lector* again: the Grail, according to the pseudo-historians, was a blood-line or dynasty, not the cup used at the Last Supper.

Fantasy, romance and historical fiction each have a place in literature and can be sublimated in extremely vivid, masterful prose and poetry. Ernest Clarke's *The Siege of Fort Cumberland* shows the value of using historical imagination creatively in order to infuse documentary records with the life of the events concerned. In Lesley Choyce one is confronted with the formidable combination of a poet-novelist-essayist, with a highly-developed social conscience, seeking consummation and release in the romance of the sea. He is by no means the first writer on Nova Scotia to have done so. A photograph of 'Tall Ships' illustrates the front cover of the book. The seafaring reader must look again to their rigging, and to the lay of their keels, to judge whether such vessels are seaworthy.

Book Notes

The Chignecto Covenanters: A Regional History of Reformed Presbyterianism in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, 1827-1905, by Eldon Hay. ISBN 0-7735-1436-8. McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston & Montreal, 1996. xvi + 214 pp., illustrated, cloth, $39.95.

Not all of the name are the same. Eldon Hay's scholarly monograph on Reformed Presbyterianism in the Maritimes provides an overdue corrective to the impression that 'Presbyterian' equalled 'Scottish'. Beginning with its rise

under the leadership of Irish missionary, the Reverend Alexander Clarke (1827), Hay closes his narrative with the 1905 absorption of the remaining Covenanters into The Presbyterian Church in Canada. Brief historical sketches of Chignecto Covenanter congregations will be of especial interest to local historians. A fascinating examination of the Scots-Irish-American contribution to religion and life in Atlantic Canada, and a valuable contribution to the distinguished monographic series, Studies in the History of Religion (formerly edited by the late George Rawlyk), in which it is the first Presbyterian title.

Family Ties: The Ancestral and Familial Connections of Thomas Chandler Haliburton, by Gordon M. Haliburton. ISBN 0-9695382-1-9. Stoney Hill Publishing, Wolfville NS, 1996. 142 pp., illustrated, paper, $20.00. Available from the author at Stoney Hill Publishing, PO Box 1276, Wolfville NS, B0P 1X0.

An interest in the New England Planters and his own family connections to the Haliburtons of Newport Township induced historian Gordon Haliburton to compile an intriguing guide to the kinship network of which T.C. Haliburton was part. A genealogy with ample historical context, this extended family reconstitution will prepare devotees of Haliburton for the historical biography which Richard A. Davies (who edited Haliburton's letters) is writing for University of Toronto Press. Well documented, and a salutary reminder to literary biographers, historians and cultural critics alike that, in order to re-evaluate the work, one needs to have mastered competely the life--both individual and family. The new wave of Haliburton debunkers, exemplified by George Elliott Clarke, may pause to reflect on the power of words in the non-literary context. Gordon Haliburton's genealogical inquiry, which he has generously placed at the service of historical biography, is a landmark of Haliburton scholarship.

For the People: A History of St. Francis Xavier University, by James D. Cameron. ISBN 0-7735-1385-X. McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston & Montreal, 1996. xx + 551 pp., illustrated, cloth, $39.95.

Histories of universities in the Maritimes--whether Mount Allison (Methodist), Dalhousie (Presbyterian) or Acadia (Baptist)--are as much a study of the collective aspirations of a religious group as of the formal creation and growth of an academic institution. Cameron, who is well-known for his work on Presbyterianism, deftly outlines Scottish Catholics' drive to assert their presence in Nova Scotia in and through an institution of higher learning. 'St F.X.' served as a focal point for the entire diocese of Antigonish--encompassing both the eastern mainland and Cape Breton Island. Men and women, lay and religious, all

understanding of the nineteenth century's most important industry. No student of regional history can afford to be without this unique and definitive work.

Place Names of Atlantic Canada, by William B. Hamilton. ISBN 0-8020-7570-3. University of Toronto Press, 1996. x + 502 pp., paper, $24.95.

At long last a comprehensive toponymy of eastern Canada that integrates the four Atlantic Provinces within the confines of one volume. It is possible to be intelligently comprehensive without any pretensions to completeness. Though restrictions on length of text meant that not all community place-names are represented, many jurisdictions are included, and the individual entries are long and historically detailed enough to ensure that this encyclopaedic dictionary will quickly become an indispensable tool for researchers and travellers alike. The ethnic diversity of the region is reflected in its patterns of geographical nomenclature, and ethnolinguistic insights inform many of the entries. The introductory chapter is indeed aptly titled, "Windows on History and Culture," for that is precisely what scientific toponymy casts open.

Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada 1820-1914, by Eric W. Sager. ISBN 0-7735-1523-2. McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston & Montreal, 1996. xxvi + 321 pp., illustrated, paper, $22.95.

MQUP has reprinted as paperbacks two important monographs on Atlantic Canadian marine history, *Maritime Capital* (*supra*) and *Seafaring Labour*. The latter, originally published 1989, deconstructs the classical 'romance of the sea' text--namely, Frederick W. Wallace, *Wooden Ships and Iron Men*--in order to paint a realistic picture of seafaring labour. Wages, working conditions, recruitment and technological change all receive detailed attention. As the men who sailed the wooden ships turn out to have been flesh and blood after all, it is impossible to overstate the importance of this study. Perhaps it does not come as a surprise that neither *Seafaring Labour* nor *Maritime Capital* was selected for inclusion in the two-page bibliography documenting Lesley Choyce's *Nova Scotia: Shaped by the Sea*.

Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools, by J.R. Miller. ISBN 0-8020-7858-3. University of Toronto Press, 1996. xvi + 582 pp., illustrated, paper, $29.95.

Current controversies surrounding residential schools for First Nations children in Canada leave many observers perplexed for want of a sound and comprehensive guide to the history of the system. J.R. Miller has achieved such a worthy goal by tracing the origins of the schools, the intentions of their

serve to enliven Cameron's institutional history, as the impetus to higher education, priestly vocational training and Catholic social action was provided by the Church. A thoroughgoing narrative, exceptionally well-executed.

Honour and the Search for Influence: A History of the Royal Society of Canada, by Carl Berger. ISBN 0-8020-7153-8. University of Toronto Press, 1996. xi + 167 pp., paper, $14.95.

"The pilot steers the ship with wisdom, not with force." From the vantage point of the inscription on the Royal Society's seal (1899-1914), historian Carl Berger looks back on the aims and chequered progress of this venerable institution. The narrative candidly reveals problems of internal division which were surmounted thanks to the dedication of individuals who promoted the Society's original aims. Scholars in both the humanities and the sciences were to be encouraged to emulate the highest professional standards possible, and their cumulative record of achievement is impressive. Himself FRSC, Berger speaks with an authority which enables him to introduce into his succinct narrative elements of admonition as well as celebration.

The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism, by Neil Semple. ISBN 0-7735-1400-7. McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston & Montreal, 1996. x + 565 pp., illustrated, paper, $19.95.

The challenge facing any historian of a national church in Canada is the potentially vast scope of the work. Semple has integrated much of the available scholarly literature, both new and old, in order to provide a highly informative, at times provocative, and always well-paced history of the Methodist presence in Canada. The pre- and post-Confederation experiences are united by the unvarying theme of John Wesley and followers--evangelization. The umbilical cord that tied church to movement did not finally unravel until 1925, at which point Semple's study terminates.

Maritime Capital: The Shipping Industry in Atlantic Canada 1820-1914, by Eric W. Sager with Gerald E. Panting. ISBN 0-7735-1520-8. McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston & Montreal, 1996. xxviii + 289 pp., illustrated, paper, $22.95.

First published to great acclaim in 1990, *Maritime Capital* is a quantitative study of the east-coast shipbuilding and shipping industries. Historical-critical monographs such as this are never as popular as, but are always more important than books which magnify the romantic vision of the 'Age of Sail'. Nonetheless, the general reader will find much that is interesting and which enriches one's

founders, response to the phenomenon on the part of First Nations leaders and undermining of the original high ideals behind the experiment. Residential schools are a telling example of intercultural miscommunication that produced an amalgam of curses and blessings. *Shingwauk's Vision* must be read with a view to attempting to understand opposing sides in the highly-charged debate over residential schools. There is no better place to begin.

They Farmed Well: The Dutch-Canadian Agrigultural Community in Nova Scotia 1945-1995, by G.H. Gerrits. ISBN 0-9680723-0-5. Vinland Press, Kentville NS, 1996. 205 pp., illustrated, paper, $14.95.

The contribution to the fabric of Nova Scotian life made by twentieth-century Dutch immigrants is astutely treated by Gerrits, himself the son of an emigrant farmer from the Netherlands. The blend of history, sociology and geography will appeal to latter-day family historians, who will find the book no less useful than academics. Questions of motivation, occupational achievement and acculturation/assimilation all receive thoughtful coverage. Gerrits is to be commended for producing an original and important ethnohistorical study.

Universalism In Nova Scotia: 'Soul-Chearing Doctrines', by Heather M. Watts. Universalist Unitarian Church of Halifax, Halifax NS, 1996. viii + 152 pp., illustrated, paper, $20.00. Orders to Universalist Unitarian Church of Halifax, 5500 Inglis Street, Halifax NS, B3H 1J8 + $3.00 Canadian postage ($5.00 US).

A much-anticipated account of an influential though numerically small denomination, written by the church's official historian. Watts brings to bear her own thorough knowledge not only of the archival records (recently on exhibit at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia), but also of the nineteenth-century context which made Unitarian doctrines so appealing to some Nova Scotian families. Watts's references to links with Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick extend the range of her study well beyond the confines of the Halifax centre of the church. Discussion of controversies with other denominations, together with a series of biographical sketches, make the work both informative and enjoyable to read. A restrained and unselfconscious corporate history for which both author and sponsoring body are to be congratulated.

William of Pleasant Valley [Rev. William Chipman], by James Doyle Davison. ISBN 0-9691287-5-4. Printed for the Author, Wolfville NS, 1996. iv + 120 pp., illustrated, paper, $10.00. Available from the author: PO Box 1092, Wolfville NS, B0P 1X0.

This is the fourth volume in the Chipman family history series issued by J.D. Davison. The influential position of the Chipmans in the history of Kings

County and Nova Scotia generally is not to be underestimated. The Reverend William Chipman (1781-1865) was one of the promoters of Acadia College and a driving force in nineteenth- century Baptist evangelization. Though a pietistic account, *William of Pleasant Valley* brings together the wide variety of published and archival sources which has been a feature of the three previous works in the series--including the similarly-named, *Eliza of Pleasant Valley* (Eliza Ann being Chipman's second wife and a diarist). This biographical chapbook will undoubtedly be of interest to Baptists and historians of religion in the Maritimes.

For a Working-Class Culture in Canada: A Selection of Colin McKay's Writings on Sociology and Political Economy, 1897-1939, edited by Ian McKay and Lewis Jackson. ISBN 0-9695835-6-7. Canadian Committee on Labour History, Memorial University, St. John's NF, 1996. lii + 615 pp., paper, $29.95.

Colin McKay was a complex, talented and outspoken man of parts who, over the course of his life, worked as mariner, journalist and political agitator. In order to recreate his life and thought McKay and Jackson have culled the more important writings of this Bluenose working-class intellectual in order to compile and annotate an extensive anthology reflecting developments in the history of ideas. Ian McKay (no relation to Colin), unfailingly controversial even in his choice of subjects, offers an insightful biographical and literary introduction to guide those readers who may be encountering Colin McKay for the first time. A fascinating, exhaustive inquiry into the passions of the mind of a left-wing activist-intellectual by his late twentieth-century comrades and interlocutors.

Public Archives of Nova Scotia

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