

REPORT  
OF THE  
**Board of Trustees of the Public  
Archives of Nova Scotia**

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For the Year ending 30 November, 1948



HALIFAX, N. S.  
1949

# Report of the Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia

For the Year 1948

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TO HIS HONOUR

THE HONOURABLE J. A. D. McCURDY, M. B. E.,

Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia

May it please Your Honour:

I have the honour to submit herewith the report of the Provincial Archivist to the Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, for the year 1948, together with a statement of receipts and expenditures for that period.

Respectfully Submitted,

ANGUS L. MACDONALD,  
Premier.



# Board of Trustees

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF NOVA SCOTIA

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HIS HONOUR, THE HONOURABLE J. A. D. McCURDY, M.B.E.,  
Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOSEPH CHISHOLM, KT.,  
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia.

THE HONOURABLE ANGUS L. MACDONALD, B.A., LL. B., S.J.D., LL.D.,  
Premier of Nova Scotia.

RUSSELL CUNNINGHAM, M.L.A.,  
Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly.

J. C. WEBSTER, C.M.G., M.D., D. Sc., LL. D., F.R.S.C.,  
Shediac, N. B.

ALEXANDER E. KERR, B.A., B.D., D.D.,  
President of Dalhousie University.

PROFESSOR D. C. HARVEY, M.A., LL. D., F.R.S.C.,  
President of the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

MISS WINIFRED MCFATRIDGE,  
Secretary.



## Report of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia

FOR THE YEAR 1948

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BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF NOVA SCOTIA

GENTLEMEN:

I have the honour to present my eighteenth report as Archivist of Nova Scotia.

Throughout the past year there has been a steady flow of visitors to the Archives from Halifax and all parts of the province, while during the summer months an increasing number came from many parts of Canada and the United States. Though the greater number of the latter came from New England, New York and the mid-western states, at least twenty different states were represented, including Florida, Texas, California and Washington. At the same time a few came from the British Isles, France, Denmark, Estonia, South Africa, Northern Rhodesia, Honolulu and New Zealand.

Much of the time of all members of the Archives staff was occupied in attendance upon these visitors, who wanted information immediately on a wide variety of people or subjects, or continued assistance with systematic research. This ever-increasing use of the material in the Archives is reflected in the following comparative statistics, the figures for the preceding year being shown in brackets:

number of books used in the Archives	5,127	(3661)
number of MSS. volumes consulted	2,284	(1839)
number consulting photograph collection	290	( 338)
number consulting map collection	282	( 232)

While not occupied as above, we have been busy with a long term plan of organizing and cataloguing the different manuscript series, the map and photograph collections, and with assimilating new material as it was received. Over 600 books and pamphlets were added during the year to the Archives library, which was com-



menced in 1931, now numbers 8110 volumes, apart from duplicates, and is constantly being increased, not only by current publications but also by books and pamphlets which, though long out of print, turn up from time to time in the shops of second-hand dealers, or in Nova Scotian attics. This library, together with the Akins Library, which has not been added to since the death of Dr. Akins in 1891, but is especially rich in older authorities on Colonial history, tends more and more to meet all needs of those who are carrying on research in the Archives proper.

Publication number 8, "The Establishment of Negroes in Nova Scotia", and other papers or articles prepared for the Nova Scotia Historical Society or for periodicals are also in a sense by-products of the innumerable inquiries that have come from individuals and are designed to furnish in permanent form detailed, accurate information on the subjects of the enquiries, thereby avoiding repeated investigations of the same subjects.

As the representative of Nova Scotia on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, I am glad to report that five tablets were erected in Halifax during the past year; and that plans are well advanced for erecting six in Halifax and one in Guysborough county next year. Those presented by the Board last year were in honor of the "First Responsible Government in the British Empire Overseas", "James Boyle Uniacke", "Hon. W. S. Fielding, P. C.," "Thomas Beamish Akins" and "Beamish Murdoch". Those to be presented next year will commemorate Captain Savalette, Sir John S. D. Thompson, P.C., K.C.M.G., and five native-born admirals of the Royal Navy: Wallis, Augustus and Philip Wesphal, Watts and Belcher. The latter will be placed on the Museum Building in H.M.C. Dockyard; and it is hoped that they will be unveiled during the bi-centennial celebrations.

An alphabetical list of those who presented material to the Archives during the year will be found in Appendix A. Special mention should be made of the following: George R. Brigstocke, Hyde, Isle of Wight, who gave an oil portrait of Major-General P. T. Hopson, Governor of Nova Scotia (1752-3); J. E. A. Macleod, Calgary: a view of Halifax showing the National School, St. Paul's and the Grand Parade in water colors, by Joseph Partridge; Dr. J. W.



Falconer, Halifax: a topographic view of Halifax from Fort Needham in water colors by G. I. Parkyns; Col. John Thompson, Ottawa: an oil portrait of his grandfather, John S. Thompson, by Wm. Valentine; the late Miss Florence M. Daking, Birch Cove: a mahogany corner cabinet dating from the early 19th. century; J. L. Hetherington, Esq., Halifax: various reports and memoranda of the Halifax Harbour Commissioners, etc., and a miniature of the bronze tablet unveiled at Pier B., Halifax, December 10, 1934; and of Rev. C. R. Harris, Parrsboro: extensive genealogical studies of the families in Lunenburg county made by the late Canon Harris.

Special mention should be made also of a mourning ring in memory of Hon. Sampson Salter Blowers, seventh Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, and the diary of his journey through part of France in 1776, presented by the Misses Vida and Georgina Odell of Halifax; and of the papers of the Hon. A. G. Jones presented by his grandson, Col. A. N. Jones of Halifax.

The diary of this Boston-born Harvard graduate, who was later to become a Loyalist and Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, shows him to have been an alert and intelligent tourist, with a keen eye and a ready pen. He visited the shops, theatres, churches, art galleries, gardens, historic buildings and historic sites; commented shrewdly on the means of transportation, the condition of the streets and highways, the accommodation in the inns; and described at considerable length his visit to Versailles and his impressions of the Royal Family. This diary is printed in Appendix B.

The papers of the Hon. A. G. Jones (1824-1906) comprise, besides a valuable scrap-book, personal correspondence and occasional letters from other Canadian statesmen, thirty-six (36) letters from Hon. Alexander MacKenzie, Prime Minister of Canada (1873-78), which I plan to publish separately, and the four letters to William Garvie, two from Joseph Howe and two from E. M. McDonald, which I now publish as Appendix C of this report.

The letters of both Howe and McDonald deal with the same subject, the divisions among the anti-Confederates in the summer and autumn of 1868. Generally speaking, they explain themselves, except for the opening paragraph of Howe's first letter in which he



refers to Garvie's "noble victory". This victory was the winning of the first prize and exhibition in constitutional law awarded by the Council of Legal Education in England in competition with picked men of the British Isles. Garvie had gone to England in 1866, leaving the *Citizen*, which he had founded in 1862, in charge of E. M. McDonald; and had been of great assistance to both the Anti-Confederate and Repeal Delegations while there. Both Howe and McDonald felt it necessary to keep Garvie informed as to local developments: the former to vindicate himself in the eyes of a brilliant youthful admirer; and the latter to explain why he had lent support of the *Citizen* to Howe, although his attitude must have adverse effects upon the fortunes of its owner.

Though these letters of Howe, by themselves, do not add much to those already published in the collected edition of his Speeches and Public Letters, when placed side by side with those of a warm friend who was prepared to make great sacrifices to stand by him and yet had to admit great faults, they do help the openminded student of that difficult period to get a clearer picture of Howe as he really was: for to borrow an idea from Oliver Wendell Holmes, everyone is of composite character, as he sees himself, as others see him, and as he really is.

A statement of the receipts and expenditures for the financial year ended November 30, 1948, will be found below.

Respectfully submitted,

D. C. HARVEY,

Archivist.



## Statement of Receipts and Expenditures

YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1948.

### RECEIPTS

Balance on hand November 30, 1947 .....	\$ 336.86
Government of Nova Scotia .....	23,000.00
City of Halifax .....	500.00
Interest Savings Bank .....	2.95
Sales of publications and miscellaneous items .....	187.57

### EXPENDITURES

Maintenance and Expenses of Building ..	\$ 1,151.14	
Furnishings and Equipment .....	318.40	
Salaries .....	19,426.09	
Temporary Salaries .....	989.50	
Office Sundries .....	271.61	
Transfer and Express .....	19.23	
Library and Manuscript Room .....	478.24	
Bindery Materials .....	106.61	
Purchases, Archival Material .....	129.15	
Printing Publications .....	885.76	
Sundry Expenses .....	35.00	
	<u>23,810.73</u>	
Balance on hand November 30, 1948 ..	216.65	
	<u>\$24,027.38</u>	<u>\$24,027.38</u>

For and on behalf of

BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF  
NOVA SCOTIA.

D. C. HARVEY, Archivist

WINIFRED McFATRIDGE, Sec.

I have audited the records of receipts and disbursements of the Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia for the year ended November 30, 1948, and certify that the within statement is true and correct, and that the balance shown as on hand and in the bank has been verified.

G. WALLACE DICKSON, C. A.



## APPENDIX A

Gifts of Books, Pamphlets, Periodicals or Pictures were received from the following individuals and public bodies:

Allen, Mrs. Chesley, Halifax.  
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.  
Anderson, Major C. A., Halifax.  
Archives Board of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Sask.  
Archives of the Province of Quebec, Quebec.  
Board of School Commissioners, Halifax.  
Brigstocke, George R., Esq., Isle of Wight.  
British Columbia Historical Association, Victoria, B. C.  
Business Historical Society, Boston, Mass.  
Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa.  
Cameron, J. M., Esq., New Glasgow, N. S.  
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Halifax.  
Carr, Miss Constance, Weymouth North, N. S.  
Carriere, Prof. J. M., University, Virginia.  
Chisholm, Sir Joseph, Halifax.  
City of Leicester Museum and Art Gallery, Leicester, Eng.  
Cowan, R. E., Esq., Halifax.  
Coward, Mrs. Elizabeth, Bridgetown, N. S.  
Cox, Dr. George H., New Glasgow, N. S.  
Cutten, Dr. G. B., Chapel Hill, N. C.  
Daking, Estate of the late Miss Florence Maude, Birch Cove,  
N. S.  
Dalhousie University, Halifax.  
Department of Education, Halifax.  
Derome, Gaston, Esq., Montreal.  
Doane, F. A., Esq., Truro, N. S.  
Edwards, A. W., Esq., Halifax.  
Ells, Mrs. J. E., Halifax.  
Falconer, Dr. J. W., Halifax.  
Fergusson, C. Bruce, Esq., Halifax.  
Forbes, Ralph P., Esq., Halifax.  
Government House, Halifax.  
Government of Nova Scotia, Halifax.  
Graham, Dr. J. V., Halifax.  
Grant, Miss Claudia, Halifax.  
Halifax Industrial School, Halifax.  
Harris, Rev. C. R., Parrsboro, N. S.



- Harvey, Dr. D. C., Halifax.  
Hattie, R. M., Esq., Halifax.  
Henderson, Dr. G. H., Halifax.  
Hetherington, J. L., Esq., Halifax.  
Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Man.  
Houlihan, Miss Kathleen, Boston, Mass.  
Howard, G. M., Esq., Halifax.  
Institute of Historical Research, London, England.  
Isnor, Gordon B., M. P., Halifax.  
Johnson, Rev. C. H., Bridgewater, N. S.  
John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.  
Jones, Col. A. N., Halifax.  
Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario, London, Ont.  
Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.  
Littler, Miss Margaret, Halifax.  
MacDonald, Miss Hilda H., Glendyer, Inverness Co., N. S.  
MacKay, Donald C., Esq., Halifax.  
MacKenzie, Dr. Kenneth A., Halifax.  
MacLeod, J. E. A., K. C., Calgary, Alberta.  
McGroarty, Wm. Buckner, Esq., Alexandria, Virginia.  
McHale, John J., Esq., Halifax.  
McInnes, Mrs. Hector, Halifax.  
McLennan, Miss Katharine, Sydney, N. S.  
Maritime Telegraph and Telephone Co., Ltd., Halifax.  
Martin, J. P., Esq., Halifax.  
Medinus, Mrs. Carl, Chicago.  
Mitchell, John H., Esq., Halifax.  
Monaghan, Lt. Col. J. D., V. D., Halifax.  
Morse, Dr. William Inglis, Cambridge, Mass.  
Morton, Miss E. H., Ottawa.  
Murray, Miss Grace E., Wolfville, N. S.  
National Archives, Washington, D. C.  
Nelson, R. J. R., Esq., Halifax Shipyards, Halifax.  
New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, N. B.  
Nickerson, E. R., Esq., Halifax.  
Northamptonshire Record Society, Northampton, England.  
Odell, Misses Vida and Georgina, Halifax.  
Ontario Historical Society, Toronto, Ont.  
Parent, Monseigneur Alphonse Marie, C. S., Quebec.  
Perrin, Georges St. C., Esq., Halifax.  
Peters, D. G., Esq., Halifax.



Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.  
Ritchie, Henry C., Esq., Scotia, N. Y.  
Ritchie, Mrs. S. G., Halifax.  
Ritchie, Mrs. W. B. A., Halifax.  
Rogers, Marshall, K. C., Halifax.  
Sanderson, Charles R., Esq., Toronto, Ont.  
Smith, Miss Edna, Armdale, N. S.  
Stairs, Miss Eleanor, Halifax.  
Starr, Miss Kathleen, Halifax.  
State Historical Society, Madison, Wis.  
Stewart, Mrs. H. L., Halifax.  
St. Augustine's Monastery, Tracadie, N. S.  
St. Joseph's University, Memramcook, N. B.  
Taylor, George H., Esq., Stewiacke, N. S.  
Theakston, Professor H. R., Halifax.  
Thompson, Col. John, Ottawa.  
Town Council, Bridgewater, N. S.  
University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.  
University of Western Ontario, London, Ont.  
Victoria College, Toronto.  
Vroom, Miss M. G., Halifax.  
Wade, C. B., Esq., Glace Bay, N. S.  
Wainwright, Evan P., Esq., Halifax.  
Wainwright, Rev. K. B., Auburn, N. S.  
Warner, F. A., Esq., Halifax.  
Webster, Dr. J. C., Shediac, N. B.  
Wilkie, Miss Ruth K., Boston, Mass.  
Wright, C. H., Esq., Halifax.  
Young, Mrs. C. A., Armdale, N. S.



## APPENDIX B

## JOURNEY TO &amp; THRO' PART OF FRANCE &amp;C

By Sampson Salter Blowers (1743-1842), Chief Justice of  
Nova Scotia (1797-1833)

March 13th, 1776. Took places for Mrs. B. & myself in the Post Coach for Brightonthelmstone and set out from ye Swan Lad lane London in Company with Mr. & Mrs. Amory &c at 6 oClock in ye morning and arrived at Brighthelmstone at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 PM. when Mr. & Mrs. Amory leaving us at ye Inn went to the house of a Mr. Lucas whose wife is aunt to Mrs. Amory where they Lodged and the next morning Mrs. Lucas being inclined to accommodate us also we took lodgings there and concluded to remain there a fortnight to oblige Mrs. Amory who wished to be with her aunt a few days. In this family we passed our time very agreeably tho not very elegantly. The man & his wife are plain honest people & were disposed to oblige us. Mr. Amory & I employed our time chiefly in riding & walking about ye neighbouring Country and upon ye Clift on each side ye town from whence we had a most extensive view of ye English channel. I had a very strong desire to take a ride on horse back to Portsmouth & mentioned it to Mr. Amory but Mrs. Amory objected to his going without her & we could not take ye ladies without great expense and therefore ye project was dropt - Brighthelmstone is a small but neat Town where the nobility & gentry from all parts resort in ye Summer Season for ye benefit of bathing in ye Sea. At which time the Inhabitants exert every means to accommodate their Company who pay exorbitant prices for all they have. The rest of ye year a very trifling oyster fishery is carried on. The oysters taken here are however not carried immediately to market, but ye small or young oysters are picked out & carried from hence to Milton & other places situated on rivers where ye tide ebbs & flows and then laid down in beds to fatten with ye brackish river water &c. In these beds or feeding grounds they will grow very fast and when well fatted they are carried to the London market.

It is melancholy to observe the devastation which ye sea has made in and about Brighthelmstone. It is continually gaining on and washing away part of the land, and whenever a strong south west wind blows the Sea is driven in against the Clift with great violence. At Hove a village about a mile from Brightone & several



other places there also you see ye ruins of houses fences etc. on ye beach. It is evident this part of ye Country was formerly much more populous. There are several parish churches within the circle of our daily walks in ruins - *Wednesday 27th* at 8 oClock in ye Evening Mr & Mrs A. a Son of Mr. Lucas a Gentln. of Havre de Grace Mrs. B & myself sailed in ye packet boat for Dieppe in Normandy and having passed a very disagreeable night tormented with fleas and incessant puking (except Mr Leorne) we arrived ye next day about 11 oClock at Dieppe and were landed in a french boat and conducted to la grand cerf, a french Inn kept by a Mr. Anquetil where Mrs. B. Mr. Leorne & I had coffee & tea made for our breakfast which indeed we could not eat. The tea was ye worst of bohea, served in coarse yellow cups with soup spoons the sugar but indiffert. the butter vile. The room very cold with a brick floor. The furniture two monstrous high beds standing paralel to each other. Before we had finished our breakfast Mr Amory came to tell us he feared we could not be accommodated with them at his aunt Deslandes as she had no servant. This was bad news to us who had [all] along expected to have lodging with them & not to have been left alone Sally lost her spirits, and I mine, of course. I told Mr. A. our situation at an Inn would very soon oblige us to quit Dieppe and therefore beg'd him to mention again to Madame D. our desires to be accommodated with her & that if ye want of a servant was ye only obstacle, to request her to take one for us and at our expence. In the afternoon he came again to tell us his aunt was very willing to take us to board & if we could dispence with ye many inconveniences we should find at her home, this we readily agreed to and accordingly took a bed with her that night and were lodged very comfortably. Her family consists only of herself and daughter a lively sensible fille about 22 years old with whom Mrs B very soon became well acquainted Madame has been a very active showy woman, and tho' now near 60 she enjoys a very good share of health & spirits. She came over from Brighthelmstone to Dieppe at 18 to learn ye french language when her fine black eyes & pretty face won ye heart & hand of a french merchant near or quite 40 years old moderately rich & of a good family Her long residence in this place has made her altogether a french woman. With this lady & her daughter we purpose to remain 10 days or a fortnight.

*Friday 29th & Saturday 30th.* I spent the days in viewing ye different quarters of the town, which is very regularly built of brick & stone, in all the principal streets owing to its bombardment during



Queen Anne War when it was almost entirely destroyed by some English ships sent agst. it. Its harbour which is but indifferent is formed at ye mouth of ye river Arc by two very extensive & costly stone Jettées or Piers, built by ye late King. There was formerly a considerable foreign trade carried on from this port which is now greatly diminished ye same trade being carried on from Havre de Grace. They send however some ships to Newfoundland, but their principal business is a chanel fishery for Whiting Oysters &c with which they supply ye Paris market. The town covers not more than half ye ground Boston does but it is more closely built & has more than 30,000 Inhabitants, indeed ye french accounts say 40,000, almost all of whom women as well as men are daily employ'd in ye fishery. The first make & keep in order ye netts lines &c, prepare ye bait, assist in dragging ye vessells in & out of port carrying ye fish to ye packers & to ye Town market Those for ye Paris market are packed in baskets with wheat straw & carried night & day in waggons this being the nearest sea port to Paris. There is also a considerable quantity of thread lace & Ivory & bone baubles made here—

The people are civil, very industrious generally poor—and multiply at an astonishing rate. The streets especially about ye Quay are always crowded & the numbers of children are incredible. There are very few genteel families who reside here, but they have their full proportion of Ecclesiastics—They have two large handsome churches St. Jaques & St. Remis the first built by the English (I suppose in Henry 6th reign by ye order of building) as also many chappels & convents most of which we visited. At ye convent of St. Marie. our ladies spent an hour in conversation with a Nun who said she had been there 20 years. She was a sensible decent looking woman of about 40 & came to the grate at their desire to sell pin cushions &c which they work.

*Sunday*—Spent ye forenoon at home & after dinner walk'd with the ladies to a neighboring village called Neuve ville, where we visited a handsome church ornamented with a pompous alter piece & a variety of Saints in wood. The neighboring fields were crowded with Peasants their wives & children diverting themselves at—different games & sports which I am told is a general practice all over France after service is ended. Pass'd ye Eving at cards after ye french fashion, altho Mrs. A. made no scruple to say she tho't ye practice very wicked.



Monday 1st April

Walked with Mr. Amory into ye Country this and Tuesday Wednesday & Thursday, to the neighboring villages. The Country round about appears fertile & pretty well tilld. It is very hilly and ye vallies are particularly pleasing, as they are generally laid out in garden spots for ye cultivation of vegetables for ye kitchen, in the management & growth of which ye French are very neat & expert. In the tilling & management of their fields they fall far short of the english, their plowed land in general is but indifferently dress'd. Their horses & all the utensils of farming are poor indeed. We saw but few Sheep and those indifferent many of them with long wool thin & lank like Goats hair—About 4 miles from ye Town to ye South lies ye village of Arc formerly ye principal Town in this neighborhood. Here are ye ruins of a very ancient Castle rendered famous for a seige it endured for ye King in ye civil Wars of Henry 4th. At present there remains only part of the walls & ye cellars & subterraneous passages which were built at great expence. It is said some of the passages extend thro' ye Hills leagues They have a frightful look and made me often shudder as we walk'd over the ruins. The hill on which it is built is very high & commands an extensive prospect. It is surrounded with a very deep ditch & must have been a strong place before ye use of cannon was so well known—About 2 miles also from Dieppe to the eastward in a situation formed by nature for safety, you see the figure of a very extensive encampment called here the Camp of Caesar. It is a flat on the top of an high cliff washed by the sea on ye no. side with a remarkable steep ditch on the south, having towards ye west a narrow passage on the ridge of ye hill to ye surroundg country and on the east a very level plain It is encompass'd on all sides except towards ye sea with an huge ditch & rampart in many parts entire.

*Friday* This being good friday went to the Chappel of ye Capuchin friars & there heard a Sermon in french preached to a very numerous and devout audience. The discourse was delivered without book or notes in a moving animated manner & (from what I could understand) was calculated & intended to excite the passions of the hearers At ye conclusion the Preacher produced a small Ivory crucifix which he addressed with great fervour often shewing it to the People as their God & Saviour their Judge & Redeemer frequently repeating Ecce Homo! Voici! Voila! at which they would bow & cross their foreheads & breast. The Sermon lasted an hour & be-



tween ye several heads or divisions ye preacher sat down & a brother monk led an hymn in which the people all followed. This Music was solemn & pleasing & very simple—

*Saturday. Sunday & Monday.* Nothing material occured. On Tuesday. We went to the "*Hotel Dieu de miseracorde*" & were introduced to a very sensible Sister of that house, who behaved to us with great complaisance. At the passage leading from ye street sat near 20 poor wretches waiting for ye distribution of the charity collected for 'em There all as one made ye most earnest entreaties as we pass'd for Charity. This establishment is founded on a more rational ground than any other I have yet seen or heard of—It is for ye relief of ye sick who are poor & friendless. The sick room is well disposed with beds on each side & an area in the middle open at both ends. About a dozen of the beds were occupied and we were particularly pleased with the tender manner with which ye holy Sisters administered to their helpless patients. The appartments were all throughout ye house very clean & neat particularly ye nuns great room and the Chappel was very well furnishe'd & had an air of elegance about it which is not often met with in such places. Our nun was so com-  
plasant as to go into their room adjoining to ye chappel & draw ye curtain that we might see it. In the Chapel were two neat little misses who attended with ye silver dishes to collect money. Mr Amory was very liberal & instead of Sous or Sols gave 6d pieces—The nun to whom we were introduced was a protestant Girl who during ye time of ye persecution of ye Hugunots was taken from her parents & lodged in a convent. She was then about 15 Years old, and seeing no prospect of relief, she was prevailed on to embrace ye faith of ye church of Rome & take ye veil. She told us, she had been professed 38 years. She was very cheerful & appeared happy & contented with her situation.

*Tuesday* The weather being very cold & disagreeable, we kept ourselves chiefly at home. Mr Amory & I however took a few turns on ye Cours or public walk & from thence to ye Quay & Jettee against which a monstrous Sea came tumbling in.

*Wednesday & Thursday* Spent in writing Letters and preparing for our departure.

Friday morning April the 12th. Having ordered a Chaise at 8 oClock it came at 10 when we (4) set off in it with 3 horses a breast



for Rouen, having first taken an affectionate leave of Madam Deslandes & her Daughter, the last of whom wished much to have made one of our party. In this Chaise we travell'd about 4 miles an hour & arrived  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 o'clock at a large spacious, but gloomy and ill furnished Inn in a Village called *Tot* [Totes] where we dined very well & having rested two hours set off again with ye same Chaise horses & driver for Rouen & arrived there about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 in ye Evg at the hotel des bon Enfants in a street of same name. We had a letter from Mr Bellon jr. Interpreter of the English language at Dieppe, to the Master of this hotel.

As soon as we had drunk tea we desired our Landlady, a very civil good kind of woman, to engage us places in the dilligence for Paris on Monday but sending, she learn't the places were all engaged but that we might have a Berlin which would cost us a  $\frac{1}{2}$  Guinea more for each person, and that unless we took a Berlin we could not get places untill Tuesday night. We determined to let the matter rest until the morn'g. Mrs. Amory declared fully for the Berlin & that she could not content herself at an Inn for so long time where we should spend more than the difference between the two conveyances in waiting for the cheapest. As I was by no means of her way of thinking I was strenuous for the dilligence even if we were to wait until Wednesday. We went to bed without determining & having slept comfortably and breakfasted Mr Amory & I went to the Bureau or Office for Carriages & there found that we might have 3 places in a dilligence to set off on Monday afternoon at 3 o'clock and one place in the Cabriolet a place before the Coach where the drivers box is generally fixed which is in this machine covered & holds three passengers at  $\frac{1}{2}$  price—These we engaged & agreed to ride in the Cabriolet by Turns.

This business being settled we spent ye rest of ye day in viewing the City, which is about one third larger than Boston in general very closely built with dirty narrow Streets, lighted indeed at night with large lamps hung across the streets and furnished with brighttin'd concave reflecters which increased the light so much that one of these french lamps are equal to six or eight common English ones—I think they reckon 30 parish churches in Rouen besides monastries Convents &c. The Church of *Notre Dame* is singularly beautiful for its painted Glass and other ornaments It is as large as the Cathedral at Exeter and is kept in the neatest order—There are several other ancient and some modern buildings that are worthy a strangers notice, as



well as several agreeable walks particularly one on the south part of the City on the banks of the Seine from whence you have a good view of that river. At the farther end of this Walk is a very steep high hill which Mr. A & I ascended on Sunday and from thence had a full view of the City and its Environs, together with the river & its many Islands and the Country round to a great extent ye whole forming the most picturesque Prospects I have ever beheld. The *Bourse* or Exchange is situated on the Quay & is full of merchants at 12 or 1 oClock. The river and Quay was well furnished with shipping many of considerable size. This City is the mart for the produce of Normandy & great part of Bretagne. The business upon the Quay appeared to me as considerable as at Bristol. There are also a very great number of shops well furnished with different kinds of Goods and a very considerable manufactory of stained Cottons & Calico—In the environs of the City you see vast quantities of these Cottons spread on the grass, as well colour'd as white. There is also a very curious bridge of boats called *Le grand Pont* which is always afloat and rises & falls with ye river. It is divided into several parts to prevent the paving, with which it is covered, being broke up by any unequal rise or fall of the bridge and there are two or three of the arches which draw to admit large boats & Vessells with masts above bridge. The Walls and fortifications are in ruins, but there is a Castle called *le vieux palais* which is yet standing. It has several towers that in the day of them must have been good defences against any attack. The Walls also are high & all well built of brown stone. The whole is surrounded with a wet ditch & the entrance is over a draw bridge.

April 15th.

On Monday we ordered dinner early and at 3 oClock P.M. we set off in the dilligence for Paris Mr & Mrs. Amory & Mrs. B. with in side I without in the Cabriolet a place in every respect, save that of easy riding, better than ye inside and for ought I know as reputable I had for my Companions a young fellow of genteel appearance & ye conductor of the Baggage who travell'd with the Coach In the Coach besides our family, was one lady genteely dress'd and four Gentln one of whom was a young ecclesiastic and another a German who was all ye voyage full of spirits & very droll tho' not always very decent. The Horses were changed every 6 or 8 miles and we generally travell'd with 8 & sometimes 10 & three postillions. At about 11 oClock at night we rested at an Inn on the road an hour



where we had supper well served and in great variety but every dish so larded with onions that I could not eat of any save of a leg of Mutton roasted which was lean & dry. Mr. A. & I changed places every two or 3 posts and about 10 oClock Tuesday mornng. we were set down at the Kings Bureau or place for examination of baggage. As there was a great number of Trunks & packages which came in the coach, to be examined, Mr. A. took a Fiacre or Hackney Coach and went in search of Mr Caulier, to whom we had a Letter from Mr. Bellon for lodgings, leaving me in charge of the baggage and in expectation of his speedy return. The Trunks were all open'd and ye contents very slightly examined and all would have been very well could I have spoke sufficient french to have explain'd a matter which occasioned some difficulty. Mrs. Amory had kept back a large parcell of their baggage when the rest was sent to the Bureau at Rouen to be ranged as they call it, that is to say enter'd in ye books and put into the baggage basket, and ye accounts being made up & perhaps forwarded it could not then be enter'd, indeed ye bureau keepers made some little difficulty about receiving it, however it was put into ye coach & during the Journey put into ye Basket with ye rest of the things, and when the basket was unloaded this parcell was taken out & carried into the store, and on my offering to take it away, it was refused me. I insisted on having it and ye Office keeper who was dressed as fine as a Lord told me a long story which I did not understand and show'd me the book where ye baggage was enter'd & this not mentioned amongst our things. I endeavor'd to tell him ye reason but in vain for I could not make myself understood. He there upon seem'd in a pet and of course put me in one, when I told him in bad broken french which he luckily understood I would say no more about it he might keep it or deliver it as he pleased there was the gentlms name on a card sewed to it & that this baggage belonged to the lady. After considering some time & saying a great deal which I did not understand, I was suffer'd to take it away with ye rest. Mr. Amory was gone a long time during which I continued waiting in the yard and on his return he told me Mr. Caulier had quitted the hotel he formerly kept and had but just removed into another house to which he had carried ye ladies. We took the Baggage into the Fiacre and carried it to Mr Caulier, where we found the ladies at Tea but excessively out of humour with their appartments and accommodations. Mr Caulier being a Tailer the house was litter'd throughout with shreds and shockingly dirty and the room we were in scarce half furnished. Having Letters to Mr. Deslandes Mr Amory & I set out in search of him. We found his



house but he was from home however he came to us after diner & we three went to seek lodgings and after some enquiry we took up our abode at the Hotel Grenelle Rue Grenelle a very elegant house in an exceeding good part of the City near the Palais royal & Thuilleries. Here we have two very handsome well furnished rooms for 35/per Week and have agreed with the landlords domestic to serve us also for which we are to satisfy him reasonably. We have agreed with a *Traiteur* recommended by Mr Deslandes to serve our dinner and all things consider'd are well provided.

*Wednesday* Walkd with the ladies in the Palais royal gardens & Thuils. with which they were highly pleased. returned home to Tea & spent the Eveng at cards—The streets of Paris are so very dirty and narrow, without foot paths as in London that it is very difficult for Ladies to get along at all and almost impossible to avoid dirt & spatter. The Fiacres are not so good in any respect or so well regulated as those of London It is often difficult to get one or when you have got it to ride clean in it—

*Thursday* Almost the whole day was spent in higgling with the merchant des modes for different articles of dress. Mr Amory was obliged to stand Interpreter for us all and he being quite young in French made it very difficult & tedious to transact the necessary business. In ye Eving. he & I went to the Theatre and saw represented Moliere's comedy of the Blunderer of which we understood very little. The part of the Valet was well play'd so far as I could judge, the rest of the Characters, so-so,—The house is well design'd & elegantly finish'd but is not so bright & clean as those of Drury Lane & Covent Garden. There are no Galleries as at London but those who chuse to see cheap, go into the Parterre which answers to the Pitt in England but without seats the rest of the house is divided into small boxes which hold in general six persons & for places there you pay different prices according to their situation, the upper Boxes are cheap as the parterre, but at too great a distance.

*Friday* Most of the morn'g was spent like ye day before. At 4 oClock we took the ladies with us to ye opera comique where we were all very much entertained—We had places in a well situated box in the second loge for which we paid 3/6 each & which answer to the lower green boxes at Drury lane play house. There was no book of the opera to be had and we could understand scarce any part of the recitative or airs. The music however was very good & well con-



ducted, the dancing excellent and a representation of the house and scenes of fire admirable. We were all exceedingly pleased with our Eveng. entertainment. Many of the ladies were very much painted, but there was also a considerable number without paint.

*Saturday* In the morn'g. Mr Amory and I waited on Messrs. Cotile & Fils with our letters of Credit & rec'd of him twenty five pounds sterlg. each for which we drew Bills on London—In the afternoon we carried ye ladies to see Place Victoire & Place Vendome both elegant squares with excellent Statues of Louis le grand, represented with all ye adulation & flattery he was so fond of—

*Sunday* Mr. Amory & I in the morn'g. walk'd to the Bastille and contemplated with horror its awfull towers the wretched abode of such as ye policy of arbitrary princes & ministers have wished to destroy, or put out of sight. In the afternoon we walk'd with ye ladies to the Gardens of ye Thuilleries which were crowded with an immense number of all ranks & conditions dressed in their gayest attire—

*Monday*— We all visited the church of Notre Dame and were much disappointed. It is represented by the french as one of the most magnificent structures in the world. It is not however so elegant in any respect as the church of N. D. at Rouen nor do I think it so large or well built by any means as Westminster Abbey—Its west front & portals are large & magnificent abounding with figures as large as ye life but in a great measure defaced—The inside of the church on all sides is hung with paintings some of which are well executed but the greater part appeared to me but indifferent The choir is handsome and so is the great altar & sacristy, and we should have been better pleased if we could have examined the whole church more accurately, but the multitude of devotees who daily throng this place renders it very inconvenient for strangers to pass thro' especially those parts where Mass or confessions are performing without giving obstruction to these services. It is curious to observe protestant strangers picking their way thro ye church between ye kneeling devotees in every quarter—

After having wearied ourselves at Notre Dame we carried ye ladies to see ye Bastille & Place Royal & from thence to ye Boulevards where we were much entertained with ye great variety of people diverting themselves at ye several houses of entertainment



*Tuesday.* In the forenoon Mr. A & I walked to the Luxembourg, and having spent an hour in the gardens & enquired the time & manner of gaining admittance to ye Gallery & Apartments we walk'd round ye Boulevards to ye hotel des Invalids & so home. In the Eveng. we went with ye Ladies to the Comedie Francois and saw Moliers covetous man pretty well performed. We took places in the Amphitheatre, which I think is ye best place in the house for sight.

*Wednesday.* Mr A. & I walk'd to the Arsenal and spent some time in the gardens and then took our departure from the Bastille with design to ascertain the length of the City, which ye french accounts say is 6 leagues. We walk'd at ye rate of three miles an hour according to our Judgt. and arrived at ye Corner of Rue Grenelle in Rue St. Honore in less than 30 minutes. We measured in this walk almost 2 thirds of ye City—In the afternoon we took ye Ladies to see the Apartments & Gallery of the Luxembourg. There is a large Collection of Pictures and many by the best masters well preserved but they are generally ildisposed and some of them in so bad a light it is almost impossible to obtain a good view. After spending a considerable time in the picture rooms we passed into the famous Gallery painted by Rubens and then feasted our eyes with his very celebrated History of Mary de Medici There are twenty one Tables or Compartments each representing a particular Epoch in the life & history of this illustrious Queen, as also a very fine portrait of her over ye Chimney and on each side two other portraits one of her father & ye other of her mother I bought a catalogue of ye Pictures &c of the Swiss attending for which I paid a shilling and this was all the expence we were at—We walk'd from the Gallery into the Gardens in which were a great number of Gentln & ladies walking & sitting in the different walks & returned home well pleased with our afternoon entertainment.

*Thursday.* We spent this mornng. in walking on the new Cour, and in visiting several monastries as also in taking a view of the royal observatory and Port Royal School. In the afternoon we went with the Ladies to the Comedie Italiene where we heard the famous Mademoiselle' Colombe, & le Feure the first admired for her talents in serious the other in comique characters. Amongst the Dancers after ye play, was a Boy who appeared about 11 or 12 years of age, who danced incomparably well—We paid 2/6 each for places in ye second loge—The house is large but rusty and badly lighted. There are a few seats in the front of the parterre in this Theatre, as in ye Pit.



*Friday* Mr. Amory attended ye Ladies as Interpreter to different Shops, while I walk'd to St. Dennis' Gate to take a more particular view than I had before been able to get. It is built in the form of a triumphal arch. dedicated to Ludovico magno and is adorned on both sides with flattering representations of his atchievements, excellently done in basso relievo—I enter'd in my way home several churches in Rue St Denis to find if I could, one which would answer my Idea of the Church of St. Denis where Mary De Medici was crowned, but I saw none I tho't would answer; in one however I saw a number of Paintings which I tho't very good representing divers parts of the history of J. Christ.

In the afternoon we took ye Ladies to see the Hotel des Invalids a most magnificent hospital built by Louis le grand for disabled & superannuated Soldiers. In this hotel is one of the handsomest Chapels I ever saw built of stone with a beautiful marble floor, a very rich altar piece and a great number of Statues & paintings, the whole forming together one of the most magnificent, best bilt & best adorn't churches of modern architecture in France—The Ladies were uncommonly pleased with this place.

*Saturday* This forenoon Mr. A. & I walked thro' rue St. Jacques round ye Boulevards to Le Jardin royal des Plantes where is a very large & curious collection of plants exotic & domestic, as also a cabinet of natural History. In passing thro' Rue St. Jacques we stop'd to view several Religious houses and among ye rest were much pleased with the new front & Portal of a church building there. The Stone pillars which support it are of the corinthian order fluted & exceedingly well executed, above which is some very handsome sculpe. in basso relievo, in which the french particularly excel—We pass'd also thru ye old palais formerly the residence of the Kings of France and the house from whence ye barbarous Chas. the 9th beheld the horrid Massacre of Barthw.

*Sunday* Set off this morn'g at 8 oClock in a remise or Job Coach for Versailles and arrived there in little more than two hours and having a Domestic with us whom we had hired for this occasion, were conducted by him to the royal Chapel and after hearing mass & viewing the Church & Comp'y. we proceeded under the direction of a Swiss officer who observg we were strangers had complassantly introduced himself, to the royal Gallery & public appartments and from thence we returned again to the chapel & there saw ye King,



Monseigneur & ye Count d'arfois his brothers at mass; after which we went again into the royal Gallery & there saw ye King & his brothers return from Chapel. The King is well made rather taller than ye midle size, with an acquilene nose, and sallow Complexion & a turn of the eyes which either is or appears like a Squint. Monseigneur is much handsomer with a sprightly countenance & ruddy face, laughs much & appears good temper'd. The Count D'arfois looks more like the King, and is said to be of an amorous cast & fond of Women—In about half an hour after ye King had returned from mass The Queen, the Countess D'arfois and the Ladies of the Court pass'd thro' ye appartt to chapel and having a good stand, we had the pleasure of seeing them, both going & returning. The Queen has a fine person is tall & well made but so disguised with Rouge that we tho't her not handsome She has however ye reputation of being so. The Countess D'Arfois is very short and rather unsightly. The faces of all ye ladies we saw were painted so much alike it was almost impossible to distinguish even the difference of features—While their Majesties were at church we were shown their appartments which are very magnificent. The Kings bed chamber is richly hung with silk work'd with Silver. The bed &c of ye same. In the Kings private appartment for his own business lay on his writing table ye foot of a stag, which they told us he had himself killed in hunting. We were also shewn into the Queens dining room where the table was laid & dinner prepared for her. Her bed chamber is hung & furnished with a brocade uncommonly rich & beautifull. Many of ye other appartments are magnificently furnished. We spent 2 or 3 hours in viewg. them under the guidance of a Gentln our Swiss officer had introduced to us. This person was well acquainted with every part of the palais and took great pains to oblige us. We invited him to dine with us, and after dinner we returned again to the palais & travers'd almost every appartment as well those we had seen before as such we had not, and on the whole were highly delighted with every part of the palais. The great Gallery is I suppose, one of the most magnificent rooms in the world. It was crowded all the day with ye beau monde, who generally resort here in great numbers on Sundays to see & be seen. One may have admittance to this Gallery & indeed to ye other appartments in any decent dress. We were all full dress'd, but many were there in morng. dresses—After having satisfied ourselves with the Palais we walk'd over every part of the gardens, which are grand but not equal to what I expected. There is a prodigious number of fountains with spouting figures recevoires &c but none of them were throwing water. There is also a



great collection of statuary and some very excellent figures in marble. There is also the largest, best contrived & most magnificent hot & green house I have ever seen. We had order'd our remise to be ready at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5, but it was 7 before we could quit the gardens, We then took a peep at the park in which there is a very fine walk, and returned to Paris at a  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 9.

*Monday* Having nothing special to engage us Mr. A. & I compleated our design of paceing ye City. We set out from Rue Grenelle & walk'd to the Statue of L 15 [Louis XV] (which stands on ye Boulevard opposite ye Bastile) in sixteen minutes, which with the 31 minutes spent in walking ye rest of the way, makes only a walk of 47 minutes from the Bastile to the opposite Boulevard. In ye afternoon we took ye ladies to an entertainment call Ambigue comique were we saw a kind of farce performed with dancing, by young lads & girls, not indeed much to our taste. There was a great collection of the Parisian Filles de joie, painted & dress'd in the highest fashion.

*Tuesday* Went this morn'g to the royal messageries to engage places in the dilligence for Lille and found the coach full untill ye 9th of the month & were therefore obliged to wait untill then. We took places for 4 & paid 4 Louis earnest. The weather being cold & disagreeable we remained at home most of the day.

May the 1st.

*Wednesday* This being a high holy day among the Catholics. Mr. A. & I in ye forenoon went to the church of Notre Dame to see ye crowds of devotees at prayers, confession &c. We visited also ye old church & street of St. Bartholw. where ye horrid Massae. of the protestants began—In the afternoon we took the ladies to see ye Ecole Militaire an excellent institution of L15. for the education of the sons of Gentl. designed for the army. The building is magnificent of white stone beautifully finished fronting the Seine with a fine esplanade before it capable (ye french say) of affordg room for 10,000 men to encamp. In the centre of the court yard is an elegant white marble statue of L15. on foot, armed except his head which is naked. Mrs. A. not being well was unable to walk round ye house and therefore she & Mr. A. turned back. Mrs. B. & I went into the Court yard & house. The Chapel is very elegant and furnished all round with paintings representing particular parts of the history of



St. Louis, designed & executed by ye society of painters. Some of ye tables are very well executed. In the kitchen which is very large & well furnished we counted six spits each with six joints of mutton on it, all roasting together.

*Thursday* Went this morning with Mr. Amory to Messrs. Cotin & Fils & rece'd of them Thirty five pounds sterling for which we draw Bills on our friends in London. In the afternoon we walk'd with ye Ladies on the Boulevards & thro' ye Faubourg St Anthoine to the glass manufactory, where we saw ye process of polishing plate glass, We measured some plates 9 ft by 6. There are 500 people employ'd in this manufactory. The Eveng we spent at "*Waux Halle*" a place of resort resembling Renelagh near London. It consists of two rooms one circular, ye other square, elegantly built with galleries round them & a piece of ground between them enclosed, but open at top, in which was exhibited the very grandest & best disposed illumination I ever saw. The lights were beautifully disposed in a variety of figures the principal of which was the crown of france, and being of different colours the effect was uncommonly pleasing. The Company was very numerous & brilliant. The music good. There was also some Cottillons well danced, and two Lads who each play'd well on ye french horn & Violin together—

*Friday* This was the first rainy day we had since our leaving London. The morning we spent at home. In the afternoon Mr A. & I walk'd thro' ye *Thuileries*, & *champs du Elisees*". The fields are prettily laid out & well planted with Trees in exact rows, and in the midst is the Collisse, a house & gardens for public entertainment like Renelagh house. It is not yet open for company, but is repairing agst. ye next month—In returning thro' ye Gardens, I took the opportunity to examine particularly the marble Statues &c several of which are very fine, & particularly the Hunter & his dog resting, & the Group in which Lucretia is shewing the wound in her breast to her busband Collatinus.

*Saturday* Mr A & I walk'd on the Boulevards, and after dinner he & Mrs. A. went to an entertainment of dancing the rope, leaping &c. Mrs. B. not caring to go, she & I took a turn in the Thuilleries, and there had the luck to see the King Queen & family pass by in their several Coaches. They drove excessive fast with 8 horses to a Coach. We afterwards walk'd thro' the *Champs des Elisees* to the Collisee with all which Mrs. B. was much pleased. The afternoon was fine, ye way dry & not dusty.



*Sunday* This was a raw, blowing rainy day, so that ye ladies, much agst. their inclinations were obliged to remain within doors. Mr. A & I walk'd a few turns in the Palais royal gardens before dinner, but were soon driven out by the rain. In the afternoon I walk'd to Place Victoire & intended to have gone further, but the rain had render'd ye streets intollerably dirty. I therefore turned into ye Palais royal gardens & from thence went to the Thuilleries which were bare of company on account of ye rain. I had a great inclination to go to one of the Theatres this Eving where all the beau monde usually make their appearance on Sunday Eving but I could get none of our Company to go with me—

*Monday* Spent the forenoon in walking, and went with ye ladies in the afternoon to the Gobelins, to see ye manufactory of tapestry, with which we were all well pleased—we paid 6d each to our conductor—We next took ye ladies to ye Kings Botanical Garden & then to ye old Palais & home to our lodgings where we pass'd ye Eving.—In the old Palais are held ye Courts of Justice both for civil & criminal matters—Mr. A. & I spent the other day about an hour in hearing a cause argued before a Judge & his assistants who sat on each side of him in their robes. We tho't it remarkable that ye pleader never used the expression of "Client", but that of "ye persón for whom I speak."

*Tuesday* Mr. A. & I for the first time walk'd into the Country a few miles. We went first to take a view of a royal house called "*Chatteau de bells view*" on account of its beautifull situation which commands a very fine & extensive prospect of the neighboring Country. We after wards walkd to the top of a high hill about a mile from Paris, called "*Mount Martel*" from whence you have an excellent view of Paris, which from this place appears very large & magnificent—

*Wednesday* May 8th. This day was taken up with paying our Bills & other preparations for our departure. It rained most of the day & ev.g. tho' not violently, however by 11 oClock at night the streets of Paris in the lower situations were deluged with water. It was impossible to pass without wading to ye knees and in Rue St. Denis thro' which our Coach pass'd to the Bureau of the Dilligence ye water was two feet deep.

*Thursday* This mornng. at 12 oClock we set off for Lille in Flanders in the Dilligence havg. for company an English officer, who was returning to England from Gibralter, two Gentln. of Brus-



sels and a lively french woman of Lille. We travelled about 6 miles an hour with six horses & excepting the fatigue of so long a Journey pass'd our time very agreeably. The accommodations at the Inns on the road are very good & reasonable and a stranger who travels in this way thro' France is sure of being well used, and of avoiding many impositions he would be otherwise liable to. Our french woman sang & laugh'd all ye way.

Having rode until 7 oClock this Eveng we set up at a ville called Peronne & Mr. & Mrs. A. & we had two good beds in one chamber—

*Friday* This mornng we were called up at 4 oClock and before 5 continued. our Journey. We pass'd thro' Cambray a fortified City and dined at Douay another garrison town, both besieged & taken by the Duke of Malborough. We were particularly delighted with ye County we rode thro'. It is uncommonly fertile & cultivated like a garden. They grow prodigious quantities of rape & Flax. I often wished to have been on horse back that I might have better enjoyed the delightful prospects which all along presented. About 7 oClock in ye afternoon we arrived at Lille & having given our names with ye house we designed to put up at before we enter'd, we went to ye hotel Villeroy, together with our English Officer and there took chambers, at 15d each per day, and agreed to pay ye same price each for our meals exclusive of Wine,—

*Saturday* Lay late in bed this mornng and remained at home most of the forenoon. After dinner one of the Town majors, in consequence of an application from Major Dalrymple our fellow traveller, came to our lodgings to attend us round ye fortifications of the City. He was polite and pointed out to us the lodgment Prince Eugene made at the famous attack of the Tenaile in which he lost 6000 men. As this was a weak part of the fortifications our Major told us they had greatly strengthen'd it since by a number of additional works After we had satisfied our curiosity on the ramparts we took a short ride out of the Town to a pleasure house called Nouvelle Aventure, where we heard music, spent an hour or two & returned home.

*Sunday* Mr. A. & I set out this mornng 9 oClock under the conduct of major D. for the Cittadel to obtain leave to see the fortifications there, and attended by a Grenadier to whom we paid at parting a shilling, were permitted to walk round the works, which



appear to be very strong. The figure is a regular pentagon on a perfect plain fortified alike on all sides—We return'd at 12 to the Parade in the City and there saw ye guard relieved. They mount between 4 & 500 men who have good countenances, are well disciplined cloathed & accouter'd. The music was very good. In the afternoon Majr. D. Mrs. B & I went to the Opera comique to see ye *Barbier de Seville*, which was well represented. We took places in the Balconie or stage Box, for which we paid each, une petite ecu, or  $\frac{1}{2}$  a Crown. After the play we were agreeably surpris'd by Mr. Dickenson & Mr. Sears who seeing us in the play house came to us. They have been in this place a fortnight. From them we learn'd the unexpected news of Boston being abandon'd by the Kings troops. These Gentln. supped with us. At 11 oClock Major D. took leave of us, he being to set off for St. Omer early in the morn'g. He had been very civil to us & being quite acquainted with the language & manners of the French, was of considerable use to us.

*Monday* Spent the day in walkg within & about the City. Messrs. D. & S. who had accompanied us drank tea & supped at our lodgings. This City is much frequented by English. The Town Major shew'd us a list of near 25 English families now resident here. The houses are well built, the streets large spacious & clean, and the people being a mixture of flemish, much more neat & clean than in ye other parts of France we have seen. There is one thing however which would always render a residence here disagreeable to me. I mean the Circumstance of its being a Garrison town—one seems always a prisoner, by being so much under the controul of the military.

*Tuesday* Mr. A. & I paid a visit this morn'g to D & S and in the afternoon we all drank tea with them. The Eveng was spent in preparing for departure &c.

*Wednesday* At 5 oClock this morn'g we set off in the dilligence for Dunkerque having left Lille & particularly our hotel with regret. We were 5 nights at this hotel and were served uncommonly well in every respect.

The country from Lille to Dunkerque is most excellent, indeed I do not recollect to have seen in all Flanders a barren spot of ground, the whole is very fertile & well improved. The flatness of the Country indeed gives a sameness to the whole. There is however a very remarkable hill at Cassel where we dined from which you have a



very extensive prospect interrupted only by ye horison all around. It is said, that from this hill you may see with a clear sky the Ships riding in the Downs, which I should think was 20 leagues distant. It was cloudy when we were there. We arrived at Dunkerque at 6 oClock & put up at ye desire of ye ladies at an English Inn kept by one Oakely & were tollerably well accommodated. We were all, however, soon convinced of the preference due in France to a French Inn where you generally fare better & pay less. Our bed was in this place particularly disagreeable, after sleeping on the french ones—

*Thursday* Spent the day in walking about the Town, viewing the Dock harbour & ruined Pier or Jettée, the distruction of which is a mortifying proof to every frenchman of ye superiority of the British arms over those of France. The harbour has a high brick wall round it the gates of which are shut at night. There were 40 or 50 sail of topsail Vessels lying in it, belonging chiefly to English Dutch & French. You meet with great numbers of renegads English & Irish, who have tho't fit to leave their own Countries—The Ladies intended to have visited the English Convents in this place, but unfortunately this was assension day & kept as a high holy day. We saw a very pompous procession guarded by a Company of Grenediers who take especial care to have ye church properly respected—

*Friday* Set off this mornig at 7 oClock in a large cover'd Barge which is daily drawn by horses thro' ye Canal to St. Omer and carries conveniently 40 or 50 passengers in 3 different appartments. We took the best at 30 Sous each and paid one shilling Sterling more for our baggage. This method of travelling was not agreeable to Mrs. A. or me, for we were both made maukish with ye motion of the barge small as it was—We stop'd about  $\frac{1}{2}$  way and I went with the other passengers to an Auberge & dined on fish it being meagre day Mrs. A. Mrs. B. & Mr. A. remained on board and satisfied their hunger with cakes &c. It was only 11 oClock when we stoppd for dinner—too early for them—About 5 oClock we arrived at St. Omer and set up at the Conseirgerie a pretty good house—

*Saturday* Spent the morning in walkg. about the Town and Ramparts. We went into a Church or two & then to the English College and there introduced ourselves to a Mr. Montf. l an English Gentln. of the College who very politely carried us over the different appartments which are commodious and conveniently disposed. In one of the rooms is a very good painting in Titians stile of the



death of St. Joseph, our Saviour & his Mother sitting by—The Ladies having an inclination to see a Convent, Mr. M. complaisantly conductd & introduced them to that of ye Ursalines—Having tired ourselves with walking, we returned to our Inn, took an early dinner & set off in a Coach & 3 horses, which we hired for 30 livres for Calais. We were 6 hours nearly in going, during the greatest part of the time it rained & blew violently. I was in constant pain lest our baggage should have receiv'd damage however it arrived safe—St. Omer is well built, with clean streets and strong fortifications. It is however solitary and without an acquaintance with the military a residence here must be disagreeable unless for an ecclesiastic. There are however many English who reside here under an Idea of its being a cheaper place than can be found with ye like conveniences in England. As for Calais it is much smaller than I apprehended, being little more than a quarter of a mile from one part to ye other. The fortifications extend indeed much further, being near 2 miles from No. to So. &c. We put up at the lion d'argent, a house recommended to us by Mr. Dickinson—

Sunday. It rained & blew violently all the mornng, which prevented the Packets sailing for Dover. After Dinner we took ye Ladies to ye Convent of Dominicas of which Mrs. Grey is Superior. She was ill and therefore we did not see her—A Mrs. Day came to ye Grate of whom ye Ladies bought some baubles, which I little expected to see sold on a Sunday. About 7 oClock in the Eveng ye master of ye Packet came to tell he should certainly sail that night at 12, and that it would be necessary for us to leave the Town before 8 as ye Gates would then be shut for ye night. Accordingly having obtained our passports we went without the Gates and took up our abode at a small Auberge on ye Key expecting to sail as soon as ye tide should serve. After sitting in this house sleeping in chairs untill past 2 oClock we were told there was no wind for the Packet to sail that night we therefore went to bed and ye next day about one oClock we went on board and after an agreeable passage of 4 hours and an half, in which ye ladies only were a little sick we were landed at Dover. We were 18 or 20 passengers in all, consisting of French German, Flemish English &c. We paid 3/ a head to the boatman who came off to us, the tide being out. As soon as we got on shore our baggage was seized on by the hungry Dover porters who carried it all [to] ye Custom house, where it underwent a slight examination and was then sent to the ship Inn where we put up—



## Expenses

Paid for 2 places in ye Coach to Brighthelmstone	1	8
Paid Coach man		1
Paid extra baggage		3
Paid at ye Inn at B.		11
Paid Mrs Lucas for board there	4	4
Paid for Wine		12
Paid Hair dresser		7
Paid Shoe cleaning		1 3
Paid Custom house for searching &c two shillgs. each		4
Paid boatman for carrying us & our baggage to ye Packet @ do		4
Paid for passage @ a Guinea	2	2
Paid boatmen on ye french side	0	4
Paid at ye Grand Cerf. at Dieppe	0	6 8
Paid for dining knives	0	7 6
Paid Madam Deslandes for Board & lodging @ 15/9 a week		
2 weeks	3	3
Paid for Wines	0	5 3
Paid Perruquier	0	4
Paid for chaise to Rouen 36 liv our 1/2 18 liv is	0	15 9
Paid postillion for 2	0	1 9
Paid Dinner at Tostes	0	6
Paid at ye Inn at Rouen	1	1
Paid Servants	0	1
Paid for places in the Dilligence from Rouen to Paris including		
Baggage @ 20/ each	2	2
Paid on ye Road	0	5
Paid at Paris for Dinner ye day we arrived for 2 persons	0	5 3
Paid for appartments one day	0	5
Paid Traitures Bills and other necessary articles of living while		
at Paris	9	
Paid for appartment @ 5/3 a day my part 2/7 1/2		
Paid our domestic my part	1	1
Paid for two places & baggage in the dilligence from Paris to		
Lille	3	13
Expences on ye road	1	1
Paid for Coach to Versailles	0	7 6
Paid Coachman his Dinner & wages	0	4 6
Paid Laquais my 1/2	0	2
Paid for Permission my 1/2	0	2 6
Paid Dinner at Versailles	0	7
Paid Hair Dresser 3 weeks	0	7 6
Paid at ye hotel Villeroy	1	17
Paid Servants	0	2
Hair dresser	0	2 6
Paid for 2 places &c to Dunquerque	1	0 6
Paid expences on ye road there		6
Paid Coach man	0	1
Paid porter for carryg. baggage to our Inn	0	1



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Paid expences there my $\frac{1}{2}$	0	12	4
Paid waiter & Chambermaid	0	2	
Paid for places in ye Barge to St Omers @ 15d each	0	2	6
Paid Boatman & rider	0	0	6
Paid expences at St. Omers $\frac{1}{2}$	0	11	
Paid $\frac{1}{2}$ ye coach to Calais	0	13	6
Paid Driver my part	0	0	9
Paid Comis		1	
Paid expences to ye Inn at Calais my part	0	14	6
Waiter & Chamber maid my part	0	1	3
Paid passport	0	2	
Paid for portorage of baggage to ye Packet boat	0	1	6
Paid Comis at ye Gate	0	1	
Paid passage to Dover @ 10/6	1	1	0
Paid boatman for carryg. us to shore 3/ each	0	6	
Paid porters for carryg. baggage to ye Custom house	0	2	6
Paid Sailors of ye Packet	0	1	
Paid at ye Custom house at Dover	0	2	6



## APPENDIX C

## I

Fairfield,  
Aug. 14, 1868.

MY DEAR GARVIE

It was with a sense of inexpressible joy and triumph that I heard of your great success. As poor McGee has sung "Peace hath her victories no less than War", and this was one of them, and "twas a noble victory", won alone in the great center of our civilisation, from the youth of an Empire, among whom ambition and emulation are instinctive, won alone, single handed, without friends to counsel or interest to aid you, and nothing but your own natural pride and the prayers of a kind mother ascending to Heaven nightly to depend on. Truly it was "a noble victory" and we are all grateful in proportion to its importance. Go on and prosper. The world is opening before us here and there will be work enough for you to do before you are ready to come out. Be careful of your health. The Doctor has had an ugly fight for life recently and has barely escaped. I saw him in the street a few days ago. He has still a cough, which I trust he may throw off as his general system recuperates.

Here we have had a political crisis of no ordinary character, and the elements are still rumbling and muttering all around us. You know that when Brights motion for enquiry failed I gave repeal up as hopeless unless the three other Maritime Provinces could be rallied round us, some practical scheme of union devised and a conditional promise of reciprocity obtained from Washington. All this I wrote to Robertson, repudiating, at the same time, all idea of open violence or annexation. Annand and Troop, though spouting blood & thunder, acquiesced in this policy when I showed them the letter. On my way out I met Mr. Mun, the wealthiest merchant in Harbour Grace. He told me that he and others had opposed Confederation but were now inclined to accept it. That the Legislature of Newfoundland had pauperized the population, and had got the duties up to 15 & 22 per cent. That Confederation could make things no worse, and might have some advantages. This was on [not] very encouraging.

On returning home I found that Robertson had been to St. John, N. B. Had seen Cudlip and Anglin, who while assuring him that there was in New Brunswick a strong anti feeling were not prepared



to move or give us active assistance or material aid. Mr. Vail had spent a day or two in Charlotte Town—found George Cole becoming imbecile and without influence. Hensley, the leading spirit, informed him that the question of a union of the Maritime Provinces had never been considered by the people of P. E. I. They were opposed to any union but the question might be worked up if any body would do it. This was no cheerful outlook, and changed the whole base as suggested in my letter. I saw that repeal under such conditions was impossible.

A day or two after we returned I was asked to meet the Executive Council to see what was next to be done. I attended, and it was suggested that we should call in a few of our Halifax friends. This was done, and about 15, hastily summoned met us in the Treasury. When we were assembled, Annand rose and in an excited manner said that Mr. Howe, at Temperance Hall, had declared that if we failed in England "we would hold a Council of War." "Here was the Council of War. What had he now to propose." I rose and said that, whether war or peace was to result from its deliberations the Council I would propose was a united gathering of the Local and Dominion Members, who were responsible to the country for its future, and I proposed that as the former would come up to the Session on the 6th all hands should be summoned to be here on the 3d. This was agreed to and the meeting dispersed.

The day after I landed I had a long and curious conversation with Tilley, who had been here a few days and who saw clearly that Tupper's patronage panacea would not cure the evil. Out of this chat I think came the visit of John A., Cartier, McDougall, Mitchell, &c. which has just come off.

Though we had all agreed that, until the Convention had chalked out a line of policy we were all to reserve our opinions as to the future, I found that the Chronicle was daily committing us to Annexation—the Recorder was discussing whether Treason was Treason if the people said it was not, and when it was announced that the Canadian Ministers were coming down here openly suggested insult and rough handling. All this was a breach of faith and stupendous folly and would lead to fearful retaliation when our Merchants and shipmasters entered the St. Lawrence. There was not much time to lose as a few days would tarnish our honor, precipitate collisions and ruin our cause. I had to think pretty quick



and act on my sincere convictions. The Letter enclosed was the result. It startled the blood and thunder people, who at once began to cry out treason, but it set all parties to thinking, produced the desired effect, ensured for the Missionaries safe passage to and fro and courteous treatment and has given me a very high position with the prudent and thoughtful everywhere. Think of it—1st that the high and mighty were compelled to come down, and 2d that they owed their security from insult to that great rebel whom for three years they had labored to crush.

They arrived here on Saturday the 1st Aug. Sir John immediately wrote to me requesting an interview and I spent two hours with him the next day. This created immense jealousy among the locals. On Monday evening the Convention met, and on Tuesday I addressed them in a simple speech of an hour and a half, attempting no rhetorical flourishes, but explaining candidly the true position of affairs. I did not conceal from them the fact that without the active sympathy and assistance of the other Colonies repeal was hopeless. That I was opposed to violence of any kind in any part of the country, unless the Members present chose to sign a declaration, "pledging their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor", and putting themselves at the head of the people risked their own heads and necks. To annexation I had never pledged myself and would not now because it could only be got by a bloody war which the United States would not risk, and if they did, would leave our country a desert. I rebuked them for dealing unfairly with the Dominion Members last winter but assured them that if "the locals" were prepared to strike work, resign their offices and repudiate the act I would resign and go to the Country with them! All this was very distasteful to the Departmental folk, who wanted to hold their offices, cry out for repeal, and throw the responsibility of a compromise on the Dominion men. After three days of discussion the Convention could see no daylight or come to any conclusion. I reported my conversation with Sir John, whereupon Annand went to Government House to acquaint him through the Governor that if he had any communication to make the Executive Council were ready to receive it. He got snubbed as he deserved and came away furious and determined that no communication should be held with them.

On McLellan's motion a Committee of 17 was appointed by the Convention to go out, survey the situation and report. The whole Executive was placed on this Committee and for two days the more



violent of them schemed and labored to prevent the Canadians from having a majority. They were finally broken and overruled, and the Missionaries were admitted.

Sir John made a neat and fair statement, admitting the gravity of the situation, the unanimity of the people, and professed an anxious desire to meet us in a fair spirit to adjust the financial questions on any basis of entire fairness to give to the majority the patronage and influence of the Dominion Government—to cooperate with the locals and, to consider fairly any suggestions that might be made for improving the Constitution as a scheme of government. He had not consulted his Colleagues or Lord Monck before coming down and was therefore not prepared to make any formal proposition, but hoped on his return that his views would take that shape. He was prepared, however, either to discuss the whole subject with us or to consider any distinct propositions which we might make. Of course we had none, and for many reasons did not wish a general discussion. We bowed them out, and then resuming the discussion for an hour came to the conclusion to report Sir John's statement to the Convention & to report that we had nothing to suggest. This was done in the evening and a general resolution was then passed to close our ranks and hold our ground, but providing that every thing was to be done within the lines of "Law and the constitution". This settles the questions of most delicacy. The locals will now proceed to answer the Duke's Despatch and to blow off steam generally. The Dominion men will rest on their arms, waiting till the Canadian offer comes here in due form. It will then be dealt with on its merits, independently. In the meantime the blood and thunder people will get up meetings and try to coerce everybody into another Delegation or a scheme of passive resistance to last forever. Sensible people are rapidly settling down, and before the next mail goes over there may be some daylight through the clouds. Keep my counsel—wait—and

Believe me ever

Sincerely yours

JOSEPH HOWE

II

Fairfield, 31 Dec. 1868.

MY DEAR GARVIE

Thanks for your long playful letter, and for the information sent about the Estates, which was just what I expected.



To understand "the mystery of iniquity" which has been going on here you require three or four bits of information not perhaps given in the newspapers.

1. Charley Annand has hated me ever since the strong expression of my opinion on the formation of the Government that the Citizen was entitled to the Queen's Printership. The day McHeffy was sent for he threatened me that if he and his father were not satisfied they would join Blanchard and upset the Government. To undermine McDonald in his county and elsewhere was a labor of love to him while I was away; and he boasted, a month ago, that he had now got Mr. Howe just where he wanted him, and had been working for weeks to provoke a rupture.

2. Wilkins could not forgive me because his law was proved to be nonsense, and because I compelled him to bring down Palmers & Harcourts opinions.

3. Annand & Troop were, I think, deeply mortified that they were not invited to Stowe. I thought little of this at the time, but it colored their thoughts, and made them jealous and suspicious. I think they began to impart this feeling, perhaps unconsciously, from the moment they landed here.

4. Delegations are pleasant things, and Annand was bent upon having another. Just before we left Gisborne and he had projected another grand Company scheme, in which some gold areas, to be purchased here, were to be mixed up with English fancy stocks, so that a power of money could be made without any capital. Another visit in his public capacity might help on this hopeful enterprize, but that other visit could not be had without a Delegation.

When I left England, acting upon Brights opinion and our own experience, it was with the full conviction that any more appeals to England would be a waste of time and money unless we could go over with a Union of the Maritime Provinces in our hands. I expressed this conviction in a long letter to Robertson, and urged that messengers should be sent to the other Provinces to see what could be done before our return. Vail went to Charlotte Town and Robertson to New Brunswick, and both returned with discouraging accounts. A merchant from Newfoundland, who I met at Liverpool



assured me that Newfoundland would come into the Union this winter. When we landed it was plain that there was no hope of a Maritime Union.

We had a meeting of a few friends the day after we landed and at which I stated my opinion frankly, that, without some new and startling movement on our side of the water it would be useless to go again to England. Annand evidently did not like this statement, as it cut across his hopes of another Delegation, and spoke cheerfully of what might be expected from the new Parliament and administration. We decided to call a Convention to assemble on the 3d. of August.

When it met I discussed the whole subject with the utmost frankness and declared my inability to point out any course which promised a reasonable prospect of success. We sat for three days and nobody else could. Annand was the only person who seemed to expect much or any thing from a change of Ministry. He still favored another Delegation.

When in England I told the Duke of Buckingham that the Canadians would trample his Despatch under their feet and make no sincere effort to do us justice within the boundaries of the Act. This was my sincere opinion. The day before the Convention met McDonald, Cartier, Kenney and Mitchell came down. Sir John wrote to me and requested an interview. I found him anxious for peace and disposed to make large concessions in the pecuniary line and to adjust all commercial questions to suit our views and to make a strong effort to recover the Reciprocity Treaty, leaving improvements of the constitution itself open to discussions in Parliament: Repeal of course could not be yielded. He offered me a seat in the Cabinet which I declined, giving him to understand that no man, worth having from our side, could take office till the country was satisfied that repeal could not be had, and that the scheme had been revised and substantial justice done. I went down to the convention and reported the substance of our conversation.

But now comes in the vanity and jealousy of our friends. While I was sitting with Sir John, Wilkins, who had not been sent for, called to pay his respects and seek an interview. He was informed by the General that I was with Sir John and asked to call again. He went off in a rage, and the fat was at once in the fire. The day after



I had reported to the Convention Annand without consulting me or having any instructions from the Convention went up to Government House and sent in a message to Macdonald "that, if he had any propositions to make, he, Annand, was ready to receive them." He got a civil snub, and came away in a towering rage. I was the acknowledged Leader of the whole party, but what of that, the Dominion Members must be put aside and Wilkins and Annand must assume the leadership. They at once combined, stirred up their colleague, and determined that the Canadians should be bluffed off without a hearing. The party was nearly rent to pieces by a vain attempt to do this in the Committee, but they finally backed down, the Canadians were admitted and Sir John made a conciliatory and frank statement of their desire to meet us fairly and do even more than justice within the boundaries of the Act. As they had come down without consulting Lord Monk or their colleagues they were not then prepared to make official propositions, but Sir John promised that what he said should be reduced to writing and sent down on their return. All this was reported to the Convention, which, dispersed that evening with a general resolution, to which nobody attached any importance, pledging us to seek for repeal within the limits of law and the Constitution.

The Canadians went home. I retired to my Books. The Locals got together the next day, and spent two or three weeks in fighting Blanchard and passing their Minute and Resolutions. Then came Wilkins bunkum speech, for which he was made to apologize—then the Vote of Censure, which they had to expunge—then the dirty trick played me about the vote of thanks—then the Vote of \$50,000 for secret service, not a dollar of which they could draw without the Governor's Warrant. Then the ousting of Blanchard, who would have won his seat back but for Ned McDonald and so they went on blundering till the close of the Session.

While all this was going on I neither changed nor concealed my opinions. I did not write in the newspapers or hold any Meeting, but when our friends asked what I thought I expressed my convictions freely, that Gladstones Cabinet would be filled with our enemies, and that a Delegation, even after the Elections, would be a hopeless affair. When the House had risen a system the most ungenerous and unfair was commenced by our friends. All the public printing that could be kept from McDonald had been divided between the Chronicle and Recorder and to give point to slanders privately cir-



culated articles were published in both from time to time often covertly and sometimes directly aimed at me, the object being to frighten me into silence or make me come into line and favor a delegation. I would do neither, then they praised me a bit and tried to make the public believe that there was no difference of opinion between us. This was difficult as mine were well known. At last Stiles challenged me fairly and gave me a chance to publish my views on Annexation, which both the Government organs had been assiduously writing up. This startled our friends a bit and led to a conference between Annand, Robertson, Dr. Murray and myself, at which mutual explanations and professions of friendship were exchanged. We parted with the understanding that the newspaper nuisance was to stop, and that liberty of conscience was to be enjoyed. Two days after this another attack appeared in the Chronicle, then came another, and Judge Marshall who had previously published an ill natured letter of which I took no notice, wrote another in which he demanded to know what my position and opinions were. As I had stood this sort of thing for many weeks, and had nothing to conceal, I at once accepted his challenge and took up my pen in earnest, writing under my own signature only. The boys told me that they sent all the letters to you.

What I presume somewhat precipitated the contest was the receipt, by me, of a semi-official letter from Sir John Macdonald in which were embodied the statements he had made to the committee of the Convention. On receiving this I offered to the members of the Government to let them read it and, if they chose, to be parties to the correspondence. This Annand declined. I then said "suppose I put the letter in my desk and wait six months till you get your answer from England. What will you then do if it is unfavorable?" He would then "go for Annexation". I then determined to take my own course, and getting Stairs, Jones, Power, Gibson, Boak and West together laid Sir John's letter and my answer before them. This correspondence has drawn forth the important reports from the Finance Minister and the Accountant General, in which admissions are made that must lead to the recovery of at least a million of dollars, with important modifications as regard trade and taxation. McLelan and I are now at work at these, and we hope to have a new face put on this part of the scheme when the House meets. I was amused yesterday by an intimation that the Government would now take part in the negotiation if formally asked through the Lieutenant Governor, and would send Vail and Dickie to assist us. I declined the honor, and we shall manage the matter alone.



The Govt are now in this position. Time is running on—they have promised Repeal, and this any body with half an eye can see they cannot get from Gladstones Cabinet. They could get from Bright a plain answer to a plain question in two days for £10. They dare not ask it well knowing what the answer must be. Meanwhile no notice has been taken of their Minute & Resolutions. The Governor has now written for an answer, which must soon be here. If unfavorable Annand and Wilkins are pledged to seize the Revenue Offices and declare for independence or annexation, which neither has the courage or can command the physical resources to do. If they falter they will be devoured or deserted by the more violent section of our old party, who expect them to do something bold, and will desert them if they do not. Of all this nonsense, having thought over every possible alternative I have shaken myself clear. I have pledged myself to nothing but to make the terms better if I can, and in the meantime, though a seat in the Cabinet, and one at the [Senate] have been open to me for months I have accepted and will accept nothing until my countrymen are convinced that there is no hope in any other direction, and that nothing better can be done.

Your loyalty I do not doubt. Let me know when to expect you, and keep yourself free and unpledged to any line till you come out.

The Delegation is, for the present I think, knocked on the head. Annand intended, I believe to slip off and postpone the meeting of the House till midsummer, but no Resolution of the Legislature was passed authorizing a Delegation, and the prospect being gloomy his colleagues will not, it is said, indulge him. The House it is now said, will meet in March.

For me have no fears. I will preserve my honor untarnished, and events will prove the soundness of my judgement: our people are rational and are rapidly coming to see clearly through the smoke.

This is a tedious yarn, but I wanted to give you a peep behind the scenes. Good by, and a happy New Year.

Yours ever

JOSEPH HOWE

Mrs. Howe scolds me for not sending you her kind regards. Wish Mrs. Tompkins and the girls a happy New Year. Has the Dr. got home.



## III

Halifax 25th Dec. 1868

W. GARVIE ESQ

Dear Sir

You must have seen with surprise and regret the unseemly controversy that has grown up in the ranks of the party that you and I helped to construct and organise in Nova Scotia. You have probably had Mr Annand's version of the inner history of this new movement, for I see by the *Chronicle* that he is in correspondence with you. Mr. Howe's version of it I suppose is also in your possession. It may also be of some interest and perhaps importance to you to have my version of it,—for two reasons:—first, from my elevated position “on the fence”, (see *Chronicle* and *Recorder*) I may be able to see both sides of the fight more clearly than some others; and second, because it is not impossible that my position in a short time may affect your interests, and therefore you have a right to know what the position is now and is likely to be hereafter. It is a long story, but I will be as brief as I can in telling it. I never had much faith in the repeal movement, or hope of its success. While our Provincial constitution remained, I strove to defend and maintain it; but from the moment that it was taken away, by the passing of the British America Act in England, I had little hope of winning it back. If we had not the strength or skill to prevent its destruction, there was small ground for belief that we could effect its restoration. I felt about it as David felt about Bathsheba's child—while the child lived he fasted and prayed; but when it died, he arose and anointed himself, and went about the discharge of the duties still devolving upon him. This I believe was the feeling of a great majority of the thinking men of the party, and the Repeal petition and delegation to England were sent, not so much with the hope of getting Repeal, as, first to vindicate the action of the anticonfederates in sending their petition and delegates before, and second from a belief that it might result in securing a modification of the terms of union more favorable to Nova Scotia. There also was a hope, a slight one, entertained by a good many, that the sweeping majorities with which we had carried the elections, might be considered as a popular demonstration of so startling a nature, as to induce the British government and Parliament to reconsider their decision, and grant a restoration of our former privileges. I did not indulge such a hope, and therefore was not disappointed at the result. Besides, I may say it to you, although it would be rank heresy at present for me to say it here, I doubt if Re-



peal even if we could get it, is the best thing to be got at present for Nova Scotia. If we could go back and be as we were, it might be well enough—but that is impossible. Repeal would not put us as we were; our status relatively to the other Provinces would be changed and lowered; and our debt, brought up to its present enormous figure by Tupper, partly as a means to and partly in consequence of confederation, would be found a burden almost unbearable.—When the Delegates returned from England in June the question of the party's future action, became a subject of most serious consideration. The first duty evidently was to keep our party together, that the control of the country might not fall into the hands of Tupper's crew, and that we might be able to act unitedly, if not for repeal, in any other direction that might be agreed upon. The most of us here in Halifax felt that another appeal to England, without the co-operation of the other maritime Provinces, would be a useless waste of time. At a meeting held in Annand's Office the day after the delegates arrived from England, Mr. Howe gave this as his decided opinion. Previous to that time Mr. Robertson had visited New Brunswick (unofficially, Mr. Annand says) in compliance with the hint contained in Mr. Howe's letter, and at that meeting reported that our neighbors in that Province were not in a position to help us. The reason the St. John repealers gave for this was, that the Confeds having control of the local legislature could always neutralize by legislative action, any thing that the people by public meetings or conventions might attempt. But the true reason he seemed to think and I believe, was that Mr. Anglin who since the death of McGee considers himself the representative Irishman of the Dominion, sees his way clear to a seat in the cabinet some of those days when he can trip up Mr. Tilly's heels, and therefore preferred that New Brunswickers should talk as little as possible about Repeal. At that meeting it was determined to summon a convention of the members of both Parliaments before the Local House met for business. Previous to the sitting of the convention, Mr. Vail visited Charlottetown and brought back from that place a report similar to that brought by Robertson from St. John. The Islanders were determined to have nothing to do with unions of any kind, either Canadian or maritime. They had not got us into the scrape, and felt under no obligagion to help us out. They were determined to paddle their own canoe and let us paddle ours. This was the state of affairs as reported to the convention on the first day of its sitting. What took place at the convention, you will find partly described in two articles I published in the Citizen some weeks ago, but only partly, for to have published a full report of proceed-



ings would have caused the total destruction of our party. Annand was very sanguine of success from another appeal to England, with or without aid from the other Provinces—Mr. Howe had no hope, and said so. There were evidently three classes of opinion:—A few individuals would have laid down their arms unconditionally, but hardly dared openly to say so;—a large number, perhaps a majority, believed there was nothing left for us but to make terms, while fear of their constituents prevented them from advocating that course. Another class professed to believe that a Repeal was possible, and that an appeal to the new government of England, when formed, must succeed, but there were probably not five men in the convention who in their hearts believed this, however, they might profess to believe it. The position of affairs at the convention was a curious and in a certain sense an uncomfortable one. Although a full month had elapsed since the return of the delegates, the government met the Convention without any policy matured, or the slightest shadow of a suggestion to make. All eyes turned to Mr. Howe for advice. He discussed at large four or five different modes of action, but without holding out much hope that any of them would be successful. The possibility of getting N. B. and P. E. I. to unite with us in an appeal to the new Parliament was the keystone of the fabric on which all his hope of success from such an appeal rested; and when the co-operation of those Provinces could not be secured, he felt there was no hope, and was honest enough to say so. Then the government and their more violent supporters, having no policy of their own to propose, denounced him for throwing cold water on the repeal enterprise and damping the zeal of the party. From that moment it became apparent, that the Wilkins faction, seeing that sooner or later a collapse of the repeal policy was inevitable, was determined, that Howe and the Dominion members should be blamed for it, and set themselves diligently to work to create and foster a split between the Anticonfederate members of the Local and Dominion Parliaments. It needed a good deal of tact in the convention, and has called for the exercise of a great deal of forbearance on the part of some of us ever since, to prevent this from being done. The country is not and has not been for almost a twelve month, in a reasoning mood. It refuses to see the inevitable; and if the members of the Commons, while the appeal to the new ministry is pending, should allow themselves to be taunted or driven into a position different from that taken by the Locals, the whole blame of the failure that is sure to come would be laid on our shoulders, and the angel Gabriel could not persuade the majority of the people but that Repeal might have been



obtained if the Dominion men had stood firm with the Locals for it. We must keep our ranks as they are until Earl Granville sends his answer to the minute of Council and the last address of the House; and when that comes, as it probably will in January, it will be our turn to dictate a policy, when the locals must be called in to show their sincerity by resigning their seats and offices in order to block the wheels of the Dominion machine, and prevent the business of govt in Nova Scotia from going on. The adoption of this course might not get Repeal, but it might show England and Canada that Nova Scotia is in terrible earnest and help us to a favorable modification of the scheme. If they adopt it, I believe the Dominion members will support them in it, and resign with them. If they don't adopt it, but content themselves with screaming for Repeal, while accepting the situation all the while and pocketing their salaries under it, the country will see through *their* game, and absolve *us* from the necessity of being any longer governed by their folly. They won't adopt that course, however, as the sequel will show. They will be quite as unwilling to adopt it when proposed to them solemnly through the press next February, as they were when Mr Howe proposed it, (as they say in jest) last August. The end, therefore, in my opinion, is not many months in the future. The "deliverance" of the convention, to continue the agitation for Repeal by the use of further Legal and constitutional means, was arrived at by a sort of trick. The Convention met on Monday evening. On Wednesday a committee of 16, nine of whom were the members of government, was appointed to deliberate on and report a line of policy to be adopted. On Friday that committee admitted Sir John A McDonald, and his colleagues to an interview, at which that gentleman stated the willingness of the Dominion government to make such financial concessions as might be reasonable and just to Nova Scotia. The committee adjourned at six, without coming to any decision, agreeing to meet again at ten a.m. Saturday, and in the mean time, Mr Howe was to report progress verbally to the convention at half past seven. At that hour, the convention met, and after Mr Howe's verbal report was made, to the surprise of everybody Mr Henry Chipman rose and moved the legal and constitutional resolution. Mr Howe, the leader of the party and chairman of the committee, never heard of it until it was read by Mr. Chipman, and I believe no body else did except Wilkins and Annand whose joint handy work it is said to have been. The thing was a complete surprise. There was no time to discuss it, and it would hardly have been prudent to do so, because one could hardly oppose it, without seeming to oppose the



further prosecution of measures for repeal; and therefore, although some of us saw that the thing was a mere fizzle, it was allowed to pass without objection, the Convention rose, and the Committee that was to have met at 10 on Saturday never met again. The resolution itself was indefinite allowing the use of any legal and constitutional means but the House, afterwards gave it shape and meaning by passing the resolutions and address which have since been sent to England. I always felt that this third appeal was a useless waste of time, and feeling this I have said very little in favor of it, but on the other hand, having consented to the adoption of the resolution by the convention, I felt myself bound not to oppose any policy that might be adopted under that resolution until it was fairly tried out to its legitimate conclusion. And this is the only point in which I have differed in opinion from Mr. Howe. I thought that under the circumstances he ought to have submitted to almost any kind and amount of misrepresentation in the press, rather than take a position that looked like opposition to the Govt. policy until the minute of Council and address were answered from England. I thought he ought to have endured thus long for two or three reasons; first his consenting to the action of the convention seemed to bind him to that course—2nd until that answer was obtained, it would be impossible for any large number of the members either of the Assembly or the Commons to support him save at the expense of quarrelling with their constituents—and third, because his own action in the case would be almost sure to be misunderstood and misconstrued. Had he published his views the day after the convention rose, giving the reasons why he dissented from the action of the convention, his motives could not be called in question; but not having done this, having assented to this course of procedure, and then after the lapse of two months, and before the experiment was fairly tried out, to break in upon the policy with a declaration of its uselessness, was certain to cause his motives to be called in question, and to give the Wilkins faction the advantage they sought of raising the hue and cry against him in the country. On the other hand I admit that the sneers, the inuendoes and the low unmanly misrepresentation almost daily doled out against him for weeks in the Chronicle & Recorder were hard to bear, and more than any man of his long tried integrity and self sacrifice in the public service ought to be called on to endure; and while I do not blame him for not enduring it quietly, still I think it might have been better for himself, and for the chance of keeping our party united had he submitted to it for two or three months longer. The attacks upon him have been dictated from two sets of



very unworthy motives, The first I have already explained. The other was personal jealousy and mortified vanity on the part of Wilkins and Annand. The same day that Sir John A McDonald and his associates arrived in Halifax Sir John sent for Mr. Howe asking for an interview. On the following day I had a note from Sir John making a similar request. Neither of us called on them till we were sent for. Wilkins called and left his card, and I think Annand also, and neither of them was sent for or recognized in any way. They were terribly indignant at this, and, determined that their position as leaders of the government must be recognised, and that the negotiations with the Dominion govt must be conducted by and through them or not at all. Annand called on Governor Doyle on the second day of the convention, and informed His Excellency that if the Canadian ministry had any proposals to make under the Duke of Buckingham's despatch, he thought it would be proper that they *should be made to the local government*. Mr Annand was informed, that Sir John probably knew best with whom he was to negotiate, and that the members of the Dominion government could only deal officially with the gentlemen who represented the Province in the Dominion Parliament. This rebuff of the local leader accounts for a good deal of the bitterness against the Dominion members since exhibited in the paper that he controls. To many persons it may seem almost impossible that after having been thus forward, unsolicited, to negotiate terms with the Canadians he should kick up such a pow-wow about Mr Howe doing the same thing that he wanted to do; but you, who remember how nearly he came in March 1866 doing the very thing that three weeks afterwards he joined us in denouncing Miller for doing, will not have much difficulty in believing. I have obtained from the hon. Albert Smith a copy of the letter I sent him in March of that year, at the request of Robertson and McLellan, that prevented Annand from going to New Brunswick on his *new convention* mission; and it shows a curious and striking parallel between his actions in March 1866 and in August 1868. It was after Mr. Annand came back from his fruitless mission to Govt House, that the intention became apparent in the Convention to throw the blame of everything on Mr Howe, and that the determination was declared not to permit any negotiations to be made. A word about these negotiations for which Mr Howe is so much blamed, and about his share in them is necessary. He has been most shamefully maligned in this matter. He was chairman of the convention's committee when Sir John and his colleagues made the promise of concessions already referred to. Sir John's statement had been made in hearing of the



committee, he was asked if he had any objection to put it in writing. He replied that he could not then do so, because no details were arranged, and the matter had not been discussed formally by the Privy Council; but said that when he returned to Ottawa and had a full meeting of the cabinet he would be very willing to put in writing the substance of what he had then said, which might serve as a basis for further negotiation. Sir John was then allowed to retire from the committee with the full understanding that he was to do all this, and although the nine members of the local government were present, not a man of them objected to his doing so. Now, the whole point of Mr Howe's offence in the matter consists in this, that he received the written statement the committee authorized Sir John to send down from Ottawa, and answered it. He did not even answer it without advice, for when his reply to it was prepared, he submitted it to a meeting of our friends, at which Mr. Stairs, Gibson, Boak, Jones, Power, West and others were present, and only sent it after it was amended to meet their suggestions. Had Sir John's statement been sent to the leader of the local govt, negotiation might then have been all right, but when that official was passed by and his position ignored, then negotiation became an unpardonable offence. The correspondence has taken only one step beyond Mr Howes reply to Sir John. With that reply was sent a copy of Mr Annand's speech delivered last September in the Legislative Council, and also a condensed report of a speech delivered at Ottawa by Mr McLellan last April prepared by himself, as containing in a tangible shape the grounds of Nova Scotia's financial objections to Confederation. The arguments in those speeches have formed the subject of a careful and elaborate review by Mr Rose and the first Clerk of his department, Mr. Langton. Their statement in reply has been received, and it is a valuable document, making two or three important admissions as to the financial unfairness to Nova Scotia of the Union scheme as it stands, covering a large part of the financial objections that we urged against it from the first. Nothing further in the way of negotiation will be done immediately, but Mr. Rose's statement may perhaps be reviewed, and the whole papers as they will then stand will contain the ground work on which a definite system of financial concessions may hereafter be constructed should circumstances render it necessary for our party finally to accept concessions which we may be driven to do.

I fear I have wearied you with this long story, but as I said at the outset I think it due to you to explain the present position of



affairs in the Province fully as my position in the next few months may possibly affect your interests as well as my own. When Earl Granville sends his answer to the address now in England, there will be three courses open to the local government—first, resign and thus force a crisis by depriving the Lieut Governor of a set of constitutional advisers and the means with which legally to carry on the business of the country;—second, make the best terms they can with the Dominion, reserving always the right to escape from it should the opportunity to do so ever offer; and third, keep on crying for repeal without doing anything to get it, save perhaps another delegation to give two or three new hands a pleasure trip to England and thus deceive the country with false hopes a little longer. If they adopt the first of these courses I think a majority of the Dominion members will likely sustain them in it; but I do not believe they will adopt it, for two or three of them who are now making money out of the concern know that when they resign their offices they have about as much chance of ever getting into them again as Jonathan McCully has of getting to be premier of England. If they adopt the last course, which I think is every way likely they must have my decided opposition and that you know involves the Queens printership going to Charlie Annand,—a contingency that he had been keeping sharply in view for some time past. I have written this statement in confidence and would very much like to have your views of the position in the same way. Do you ever see Mr Bright, or have you any means of access to him? It would be very important to us just now to know how he views the Nova Scotia matter since he has taken office. The fact is, that to accept some reasonable concessions seems now the only rational course for Nova Scotia to follow. Bad as Confederation undoubtedly is for this Province, the political agitation and excitement under which the country is suffering, makes the case a great deal worse than it otherwise would be. If Repeal, as I believe, will not be granted by England, the sooner the fact is made manifest to Nova Scotia the better, and in that case, perhaps the best solution of the difficulty would be to put Mr Rose's statement and the other papers to which I have referred into the hands of arbitrators to be appointed by the British govt. who would report on the nature and extent of the changes in our favor to be made by the Dominion, and whose report, coming before the Dominion Parliament clothed with the authority of an Imperial Despatch would be certainly ratified and thus avoid the difficulty and danger of defeat that any measure brought down by the Dominion govt on their own responsibility would be sure to encounter.



There are symptoms of defections and drifting about to a considerable extent among the members of the Local House on the question of Repeal, but I have already wearied both you & myself and shall not dwell upon that matter just now. I will be glad to hear from you, if your leisure will permit, by return mail and in the mean time remain

Yours very truly

E. M. McDONALD

IV

Halifax, 11th March 1869

MY DEAR SIR

Since I last wrote to you, events have followed each other here in rapid succession, and a course of action has been developed different from what I desired or believed likely to occur. The breach between the Provincial Government and Mr. Howe seemed daily to grow wider, until at last it became impossible to close it. In December the Canadians invited Howe to meet Rose at Portland, bringing any Nova Scotia gentlemen whom he might choose, with him. He decided to go to Portland in January, and take McLellan with him. Jones and I wished him to take a member of the local government, and before proposing this to him Jones consulted the Locals, and got their consent to have Vail go, if an invitation came through the proper official channel. When this was proposed to Howe, he at first objected, saying that the Provincial government ought not to be compromised in the matter—he would go on the errand on his own responsibility—if he succeeded the Provincial government would get the benefit of his success—if he failed they were not responsible for and could not be compromised by his failure. When I found that he and McLellan were determined to meet Rose at Portland I gave up all hope the matter being referred to an Imperial Commission, as hinted in my last; and therefore in order that the Portland trip might be successful, I united with Jones in urging him to take Vail with him, so that the consent of the local government might be secured to any arrangement that might be entered into. We represented to him that before any promised concessions could be secured, they must be carried through the Dominion Parliament—and the members of the Privy Council would hardly feel at liberty to bring in a bill of concession to Nova Scotia, until some Nova Scotia mem-



ber with a following was ready to take a seat in the government and help to carry it. We wished him to be in a position to do that, and he could not do it with safety until the hostility of the Provincial government was neutralized. This could only be accomplished by making them parties to the arrangement. He then consented to take Vail with him, and said that when John A. wrote to him in October, he invited Mr Annand or any other member of the local govt to meet Mr Rose, and that invitation was still open to them. Jones replied that after what had taken place between him and the locals, he could hardly expect them to accept an invitation coming through his hands, but that if they were invited officially through the Lieutenant Governor, Vail would go, and Jones hinted also, that he would accompany him. Howe's temper then got up. He said if the local gentlemen had pride, so had he; if they stood on their dignity, so would he; and if they did not choose to accept an invitation merely because it came through his hands, he "*would see them d-d*" before they should get one through any other source. Thus through this miserable difficulty of official etiquette aggravated by personal jealousy on both sides the attempt made by Jones and myself to smooth difficulties out of the way failed. Jones was annoyed at the failure for two reasons,—first, the negotiation was more likely to succeed if Vail went with Howe, and second Jones wished to go with Howe, but Howe did not invite him. Before leaving, Howe assured us both that he would not take office, until his friends in Halifax wished him to do so. He went to Portland and to Ottawa, and the rest you know. Just as I foresaw, he was urged to take office. At first he declined. It was hinted that if he did not go into the govt. Tupper would, and could easily carry Cumberland with 300 or 400 majority. McLellan joined John A. in urging him, and showed a letter he received from Jones, complaining that Howe's refusal to take office would peril the whole negotiation. Thus pressed on all sides, he at last gave way, and was sworn into office. Then the storm got up in Halifax. The Chronicle and its proprietor floundered about for a few days most helplessly. One day they would "submit to force they could not resist,"—the next, they would appeal to the Yankees for aid—then again, they would accept thankfully the money Howe was getting for the Province, as an instalment of justice, but would expect and demand more—and yet again they would denounce Howe as a traitor who was to be punished for presuming to negotiate at all. The latter idea finally prevailed in the councils of the govt. and the League, and before Howe returned, a formidable opposition with Jones as its leading genius, was organized in Hants. I disapproved



of the opposition. Much as I disapproved of Howe's rashness by which the crisis was brought on, I saw clearly enough that matters could not be made better, but might be made much worse by opposing him. If he were allowed to take his seat without opposition, the Province would get the benefit of the additional subsidy in the mean time, while the government could still keep the Party well in hand, and be in a position to contend for and probably gain further concessions of a constitutional kind. But, if, on the contrary, they opposed his return, the contest would turn upon the issue of repeal and nothing but repeal, on the one side and better terms on the other. All the "sit and sulk" repealers, with a good many who believed repeal to be impossible but whose vanity was wounded by Howe's selfwilled precipitancy, would range themselves on the one side and the large section of people who believe that nothing is left to be done but to gain better terms if possible, would side with Howe. The Party, no matter whether Howe beat or was beaten, must thus be divided, and in the event of a dissolution of the local House, that is only too likely to come upon us, a triumph would be given to Tupper's party, destroying for ever, all chance alike of repeal, and of any further concessions of either a financial or constitutional kind. I represented all this to Vail, but without effect. He replied that they were determined to show Mr Howe that they were not to be driven by him into accepting the concessions that he might dictate. They were determined to beat him; and, that done, they would summon the House, pass a series of resolutions embodying a statement of the concessions that the Province ought to accept, and then dissolve the House and appeal to the country on that issue when they would hope to be sustained at the polls, and the thing would be done. I pointed out to him, that something more than this was necessary before it could be said to be done. The question was, not what concessions the Province could take, but what she could get, and there was danger that the terms they might propose, Canada would not give. Thus Mr. Howe's arrangement would first be defeated—then, the terms they proposed, even if they succeeded at the the polls, which was at least open to doubt, would be rejected by Canada;—and they, having destroyed the unity of the party by opposing Howe, and having further, destroyed the repeal platform by consenting to make terms, repeal and concessions would become alike impossible. For the sake of the party, and of the country's interests, I contended that they should hold aloof from Howe and his arrangements, accepting the additional subsidy, if he succeeded in getting it, but keeping such a position that they might without in-



consistency and as a still united party, demand and win other modifications of a constitutional kind. Wounded official vanity in the government, a stubborn pride in the League prevented this from being done. The repeal flag was hoisted higher than ever for Hants men to rally under, although not ten men in the League have any hope of repeal. I then had to decide whether to support Howe or Annand. On the one side I knew there was honesty of purpose and energy in action, even if there was rashness and occasional wrong-headedness. On the other there was both insincerity and wavering imbecility of purpose. On the one side there was good hope to save something out of the wreck of the Provincial fortune for the public good—on the other was the certain loss of everything. It was not without a struggle that I made up my mind to take the course I have done. It involved a sacrifice that in justice to myself and my family I ought not to make, and it also involved you in the same sacrifice. But I saw that the defeat of Howe would be a disaster to the Province. The weakest point in his position was the want of an organ to advocate his interests. The *Chron & Rec* were both against him. The friendship of the *Col.* and *Rep* would do him more harm than good, the *Cit* runs the only paper that could help him, and therefore it *must*. By keeping silent I might have kept the office; but keeping silent would not help Howe and would be a most dishonorable course to pursue. I felt that there was nothing left for me to do, but to follow my convictions, and take the consequences. And the consequence has come, sharp and swift. Blackadar is Queen's Printer, and he and Annand divided the whole Provincial printing between them. There is a considerable balance due you, but I do not know at present the exact amt. There are a great many sums due the Gazette from Barristers all over the Province, many of which I fear it will be difficult, and some impossible, to collect. Mr. Fowler will exert himself to have everything collected that can be got, and have the acts. closed at the earliest possible day, when I will arrange the matter with your brothers as heretofore.

The result of the Hants Election cannot be predicted with certainty. The government and the League had Goudge's work well advanced in the way of organizing committees, before Howe got into the county, which gave them an advantage. A large majority are with Howe in sentiment, but money is being poured into the county by the League and may have its effect. Many thousands of dollars will be spent in that way. It is an argument that can only be met



in kind, and I do not know how full Howe's purse is likely to be—I only know there is nothing in it at present. Of the members of our old League of the Maritime Provinces, Wm Stairs, the Northups, the Seetons, the Tropolets, J. Reeves, N. Russell and A. James of Dartmouth, and some others in town, sympathise with Mr. Howe and will help him. The chances are at present, that he will win, but his majority may not be large.

Yours truly

E. M. McDONALD

WM. GARVIE ESQ.