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National Historic Parks and Sites Branch
Parks Canada
Environment Canada
1981

Available in Canada through authorized bookstore agents and other bookstores, or by mail from the Canadian Government Publishing Centre, Supply and Services Canada, Hull, Quebec, Canada K1A 0S9.

En français ce numéro s'intitule Histoire et archéologie nº 47 (nº de catalogue R64-81/1981-47F). En vente au Canada par l'entremise de nos agents libraires agréés et autres librairies, ou par la poste au Centre d'édition du gouvernement du Canada, Approvisionnements et Services Canada, Hull, Québec, Canada K1A 0S9.

Price Canada: $8.75
Price other countries: $10.50
Price subject to change without notice.

Catalogue No.: R64-81/1981-47E
ISBN: 0-660-10843-7
ISSN: 0225-0101

Published under the authority
of the Minister of the Environment,
Ottawa, 1981.

Cover: Main Street Caledonia ca. 1930 (P-005).
(original with Althea Banks, Halifax.)

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ABSTRACT

The area of western Nova Scotia that bounds Kejimkujik Lake has been inhabited by a great diversity of peoples. Beginning with the initial settlement by the Micmacs, various ethnic groups including the French, English, Scottish and Irish have lived in the area at one time or another. The settlers utilizing the natural resources of the area survived by fishing, farming, lumbering, mining and more recently, engaging in the tourist trade. As the mid-20th century approached, the communities in the area had, by self-initiative and adaptation, maintained a distinctive and deep-rooted culture that continued to sustain their life-style.

Dedicated to J. Loran Morrison, 1919-81.

Submitted for publication 1977, by James Morrison, St. Mary's University, Halifax, N.S. and Lawrence Friend, Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

INDIANS AND IMMIGRANTS

In a letter to the editor of the "Gold Hunter and Farmer's Journal" in 1920, a former resident of Queens County expressed a sentiment that was to take four decades to accomplish.

> ".... every effort must be made to pass the establishment of the National Park in all the county North west of Rossignol (Lake).... Every other province in Canada now has such a park and the loveliest possibility of them all is still in danger of being commercialized."[1]

The commercialization that the writer, Rev. Charles Johnson, referred to continued until the early 1960s. At that time large sections of Queens and Annapolis counties, as well as a small slice of Digby County were surveyed and in 1965 a park was established under the authority of the National Parks Act and known as Kejimkujik National Park (Map 1).

The name of the park came from its principal attraction, Kejimkujik Lake, into which three rivers, Little River, West River and Mersey River, and a number of smaller streams and freshets flow. Bounded by luxuriant green meadows and extensive woodlands, its sole drainage is the Mersey River. This river flows southward for thirty miles and empties into the Atlantic Ocean at Liverpool. The lake, the park, and the area bounding it have been mute witnesses to the passage of Nova Scotia history in all its diversity. The early Indian occupants, the transient French traders, the pre-Loyalists and Loyalist settlers, and the Irish and Scottish immigrants all utilized the fertile soil, the well-stocked lakes, and the abundant woodlands that characterize this region of Nova Scotia.

That which is to follow will examine the history of this area from 1800 to 1940 and provide a composite picture of life during this period. The historic role of the area now known as the Kejimkujik National Park with regard to the area around it will thus be clearer than it is at present. This is not the history of just a national park but of the region in which it is situated. Although political boundaries (county lines) are crossed by this study (Map 1), the social and economic characteristics of the region are such that it can and will be treated as a distinctive unit.

Original Inhabitants

To realize the impact of the Indian on this area one need only look at a map and note the place names of Peskowesk, Hilchemakaar, Pebbleloggitch and, of course, Kejimkujik.[2] All are names that have survived the influx of the European travellers and settlers. The number of these place names that still exist not only underline the importance

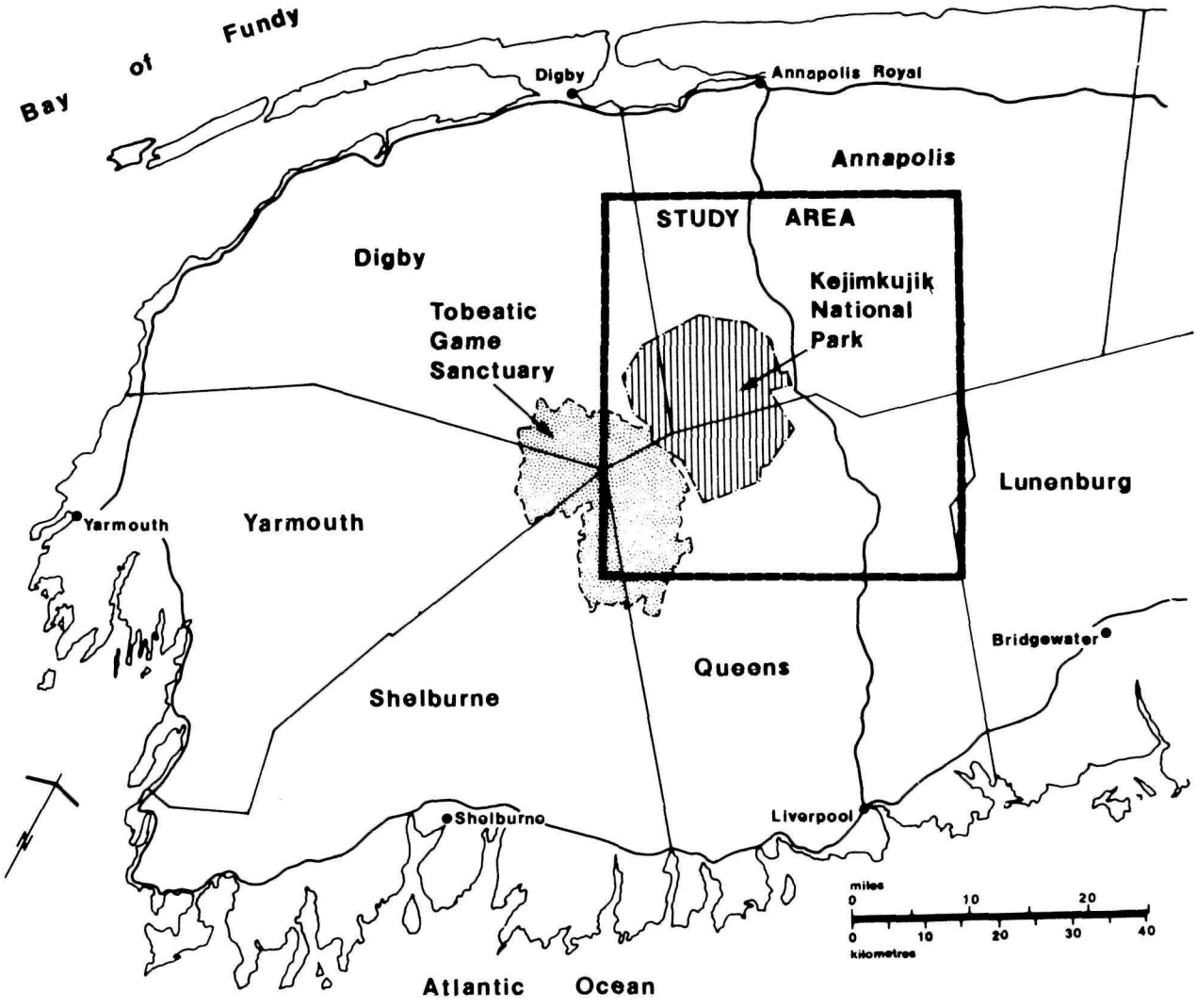


Figure 1. (Map 1) Western Nova Scotia and area of study. (*Drawing by John Gasparac, Parks Canada.*)

of this area to the Indians but also what was important to the Indian; they are all names of rivers, lakes and streams. These were the highways of the Indian and the names given them served as directional as well as descriptive aids to the traveller.[3]

Generally, the Micmacs are considered to be the original native people of Nova Scotia or "Megumage" as it was called. Evidence of human occupation in southwestern Nova Scotia goes back at least four millennia.[4] These peoples were the ancestors of the present day Nova Scotian Indians - the Micmac. They followed a semi-nomadic existence which went through a series of modifications depending on their geographic location but the route remained basically the same - to the sea in summer and to the sheltered interior of Nova Scotia in winter. Therefore, the summer food was sea produce (shellfish and clams) while the winter meant meat and any fish or eels that could be taken from the rivers and lakes of the interior. The central area of

southwestern Nova Scotia was a network of waterways and evidence of Micmac residence is not difficult to locate. Archaeological finds at Indian Gardens on Lake Rossignol led Mr. J. Erskine to state that winter camps were made inland beside a lake or river and summer camps were pitched on the shore on open beaches.[5] Central southwestern Nova Scotia or "Gespogoitg"[6] was ideal for much frequent migration and the shores of both Lake Rossignol and Lake Kejimkujik[7] show signs of Indian occupation. Neither is more than 25 miles from the ocean which is easily reached by a system of portages and waterways. The life-style of the Indian then was not greatly disrupted by the Europeans' arrival in the 16th century. The Europeans were content to remain on the coast, to fish and to pay the Indians in iron and copper to bring furs from the interior. A mutually acceptable relationship was thus established with the Indians receiving metal goods and in return sharing their knowledge with the newcomers of how to survive in this harsh new world. However, as the number of Europeans increased and the full weight of their technology was brought to bear, the relationship changed. The Micmacs began to rely on the Europeans for their metals and thus destroyed indigenous material production. The new relationship also led to a greater exploration of the hinterland for animal pelts. One would assume that the Indians' relationship with nature was also altered.

Finally, of course, the Europeans did not all belong to one "tribe" and therefore, to act as an ally to one was to become an enemy of the other. The Micmacs, for their part, chose to be allies of the French.

The European Intrusion

The French, who arrived in this area in the 16th century, did not change their sedentary European ways when they came to the New World. They built their homes and villages mainly on the coast and travelled between these settlements rather than take their settlement with them as the Indians had done. Their penetration of new areas was simply as transient traders on their way to a destination near the sea which was, in turn, the highway to their homelands. They had already begun to insinuate themselves into the Indian nomadic pattern even before Annapolis Royal was founded in 1605. When Sieur de Monts sailed into what was later to become Liverpool Harbour in 1604, he found a Captain Rossignol already there and conducting a flourishing trade with the Indians of the interior.[8] Consequently, this port and the large inland lake already mentioned bore this Captain's name - Rossignol. By 1632, a fishing operation had been established at Port Rossignol by Nicholas Denys. It was, however, such a strategic location for fish and lumber as well as for trade in furs with the Micmacs in the interior that it can be speculated that settlements were established there before Denys' attempt at a centre for fishermen.[9] The Mersey River was, after all, a much-used highway linking the Bay of Fundy waters and the Atlantic Ocean and, as mentioned above, there was quite possibly a large settlement of Micmacs at Indian Gardens with whom trade could be carried on.

The French thus had settlements at each end of the area under study, Port Royal and Port Rossignol, and apparently travelled from

"Bay" to "Ocean" during the 17th century. This 72-mile journey, however, was not lightly regarded by the French and was always undertaken with Indian guides. The first documented trip across this area was by Monsieur De Meulles in 1686.

> I was told that I could go across country by canoe to Port Rossignol or Lahaive [sic] by a route thirty leagues long. I was reluctant to undertake this trip, for some of the inhabitants said it was very difficult and others that it was impossible. [Nevertheless] I considered the communication between Lahaive and Port Royal so necessary for the settling of Acadie that I risked everything that might happen and decided to leave two days later.[10]

De Meulles does not describe the areas through which he travelled, although one can guess where he may have been, but he certainly found it a hardship. On the fifth day of his journey he and his companions reached Port Rossignol after completing what he calls "one of the hardest (trips) one could make in a lifetime."[11]

By the 18th century this route was being utilized as a major inland route of communication.[12] At the same time Acadian settlers were penetrating inland from their settlements on the shores of the Annapolis Basin in search of farmland and possibly an escape from the official surveillance of Port Royal. They were mostly farmers who supplemented their income with hunting, trapping and some lumbering to satisfy their own needs - not unlike the British settlers who were to gain access a century later to this resource-rich hinterland.

The 18th century saw a constant contest between European powers to gain and consolidate their empires. Nova Scotia, yet another pawn, was swept into this contest.

Port Royal, a strategic fortification that controlled the hinterland, as well as the Bay of Fundy, was exchanged a number of times by the British and French. Finally, in 1710, it came under permanent British control, and in 1713 peninsular Nova Scotia was passed over to the British. The Acadians and Micmacs were thus caught in a dynamic struggle over which they had little control. Many fled to Isle Royale (Cape Breton) to enjoy the protection of the French force in the fortress Louisbourg.[13] However, the majority of the Acadians remained on their farms and ignored the British suzerainty as best they could. The Micmacs, given their nomadic life-style, remained beyond the pale of British administration and their only contact with the Europeans was through the Acadians who still travelled the interior for furs. Thus, an almost symbiotic relationship of support and mutual tolerance between the two cultures was maintained unhindered by the British administration.

By the mid-18th century, however, the Imperial stage was about to erupt once more in war and the Acadians were considered expendable. The expulsion that came in 1755 removed most of the Acadians from the province although a few utilized their relationship with the Indians to flee inland.[14] The ports and the farmlands were now cleared for new settlers from America and Europe.

Settlement: Exploitation and Expansion

It cannot be said that the coming of the New England British and German settlers to the coastal region of southwestern Nova Scotia had any immediate impact on the interior of this area. Lake Rossignol and Lac du Port Royale (Kejimkujik Lake) were noted on a 1757 French map in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia but they held little allure for the few seabound settlers of Liverpool, Lunenburg and Annapolis Royal. Significantly, the New England township system of land grants was used[15] and this, together with defence considerations, discouraged a rapid expansion inland. The hinterland was looked upon as the woodlot to be exploited by the settlements on the coast.[16]

By the Treaty of Paris in 1763 the British Empire established its paramountcy over the whole of what is now known as Nova Scotia. Boundaries had already been drawn in 1759 and five counties, viz. Annapolis, Cumberland, Halifax, Kings, and Lunenburg, had been established.[17] Three years later on July 21, 1762, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia was advised by his council that the townships of Liverpool, Yarmouth, and Barrington be erected into a county, to be called "Queens County," and "that a writ [be] issued to elect members to represent the new county in the assembly."[18] With the great influx of Loyalists to Nova Scotia during and after the American Revolutionary War, Queens County was drastically reduced in size by the formation of Shelburne County in 1784 where many of the Loyalists had settled. New boundaries were authorized on December 16, 1785, and these are basically the same boundaries used today.[19] The demarcation of Yarmouth (1836) and Digby (1837) counties completed the political division of this area.

Those who came to settle the coastlines of southwestern Nova Scotia were not strangers to the area nor were they, for that matter, strangers to America.[20] They were chiefly fishermen from Cape Cod and Nantucket who were well acquainted with the southern and western shores of the colony they were about to make their home. Governor Charles Lawrence's promises of religious liberty, elected representatives, and land grants to prospective settlers were probably secondary to the possibility of readily accessible fishing grounds. The committee that petitioned the Nova Scotia government in regard to the Liverpool township in 1759 stated:

> ... a great part of their group [Liverpool settlers] were people of substance, owners of valuable vessels, both fishing and coastal; others, however, fishermen and farmers needed transportation and some allowance of provision.[21]

By 1760, the chief government surveyor, Charles Morris, described the settlers at Liverpool as satisfied and busy.[22] They quickly established a flourishing community and it is their spirit of independence and enterprise that survived and was carried to the northern section of the county in the next century.

Extensive farming was out of the question on the rockbound coast. However, lumbering soon became a mainstay of the economy as the merchants utilized their ships for more than just the fish trade. The search for timber was to be the major raison d'être for the initial penetration of the interior. By 1762, three water-powered sawmills were

established at the new settlement of Milton two miles up the Mersey River from Liverpool.

The wood products of the interior and their export were to be the key to Liverpool's survival for the many decades to come. It would also draw the inhabitants of the coastal areas farther and farther inland up the Mersey and Medway rivers. Along the valleys of these two rivers grew large stands of white pine - a wood in some demand in the West Indies and Great Britain. With the advent of the American Revolutionary War[23] followed by the French Revolutionary War, there was an enormous surge in shipbuilding. White pine of more than 24-inch diameter was sought by the Royal Navy[24] as well as other types of timber - oak for the keel, birch and sugar maple for the decking, and spruce for oars and paddles. The "woodlot" behind Liverpool was one of many that could be and was exploited.

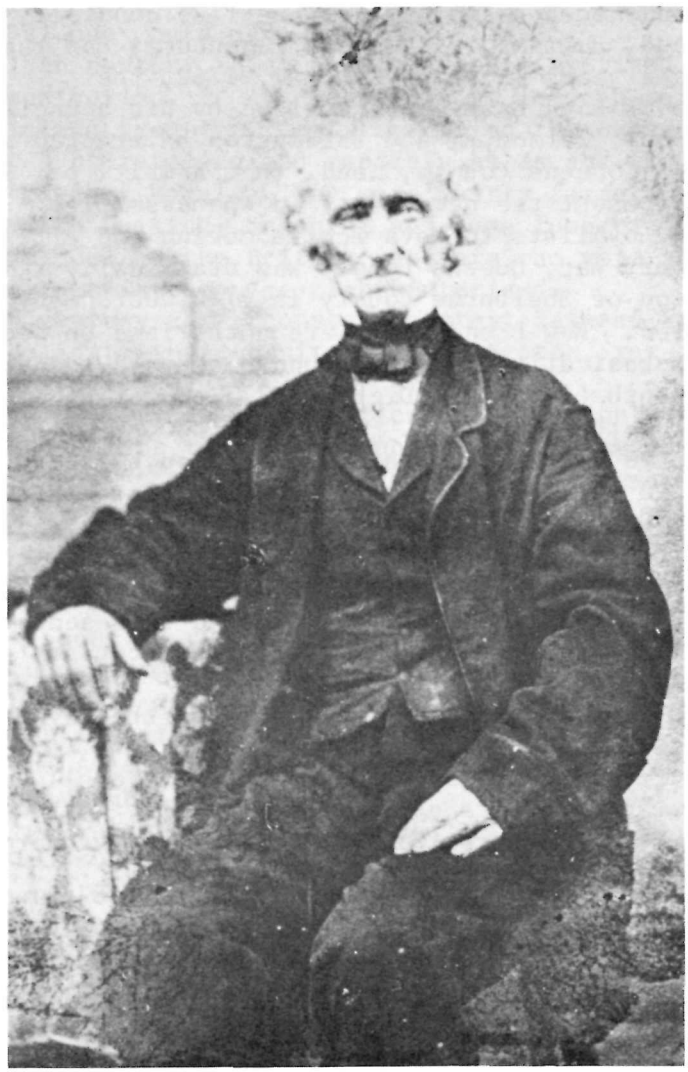


Figure 2. James Fullerton More, Queens County historian ca. 1880 (P-060). (*Original in Perkins House, Liverpool.*) The photographs included in this report can all be found in the Atlantic Regional Office.

Initially, the Medway and Mersey rivers were transport routes just as they had been for the Indians and French. The numerous log drives followed the large rivers down to the coast. Increasingly, however, the river was becoming a power source to drive the grist and sawmills that were being built on its banks. This inhibited the log drives (especially in the 19th century) and an additional means of transport had to be found. Liverpool, being a community whose existence was dependent on the sea, was never overly enthusiastic about roads generally, except for the reason mentioned above. The Assembly in Halifax wished to encourage a transportation network in order to transform this empty hinterland bordered by fishermen and merchants into a viable colony. Perhaps also they did not wish to lose it to the Americans as had almost happened in the 1770s and 1780s, and therefore some effort had to be made to increase communication along the coastline and, at the same time, to encourage settlement inland. The bustling settlement of Shelburne, with its large though, as it turned out, temporary, Loyalist population of 10,000, was "land-bound." It lacked the seagoing men of Liverpool or Lunenburg and therefore sought roads to connect it with other Nova Scotian settlements.[25] A road from Shelburne to Annapolis was begun in 1785 by Captain Pell with government support. However, by 1790 it was still unfinished and by the turn of the century only a dotted line showed where the road might have been. Liverpool was also a favoured destination for a road from Shelburne. In 1787 a sum of 350 pounds was granted for a road between Shelburne and Liverpool. However, Shelburne's enthusiasm for such a road was not shared by the Liverpool townsmen. The enforcement of the statute labour law requiring Liverpool to build half the road was fiercely resisted. Liverpool's interests were directly inland - not along the coast - and for the next decade little was done on the roads in this area.

In 1797 plans were laid for a road other than the traditional water route which De Meulles had taken. It would connect Liverpool with the Bay of Fundy shore at Nictaux. Initially planned as a "path through the woods," the Nova Scotia Assembly granted a total of 400 pounds in 1799 and 1800 to build bridges and causeways on the road, thus transferring it into a more ambitious endeavor than either Nictaux or Liverpool had thought it would be. Further grants made it a tempting venture for unscrupulous contractors in both settlements and within a decade the road was best known for scandals and extravagant wages. Instead of opening up the farmlands in the interior, the road followed the barrens. The sparsely populated forest settlement that was thus established was derisively named "Brookfield in the Wilderness."[26]

Obviously, the aim of the roads being planned and built was not simply to connect two centres but to open up the timberland and farmland in the interior. In 1801, a fund of 1,000 pounds was established to encourage families to settle along these roads, farm the land, and provide overnight shelter for travellers. Each family that would settle would receive 25 pounds.

Food production was very important to Liverpool for, in the face of an increasing population, it was not self-sufficient. From the beginning, it was not the farming that had attracted the settlement of Liverpool, for in that town "The soil was very poor and filled with stones. Flour was so dear that it was almost prohibited by the price."[27] By 1773 the situation had become so critical that there

was talk of leaving Liverpool due to the lack of farm produce. However, with the ready supply of timber for lumbering and shipbuilding, the town grew apace and the Imperial conflicts of Britain in the last quarter of the 18th century played no small part in this growth. The census of 1787 shows a population of 1,434 for the county. Almost 1,000 men, women and children lived in Liverpool, while the rest were scattered along the shore in places like Port Joli and Sable River. Of those who lived in the township, many were families which would in the decades to come take up residence in the hinterland - names like Waterman, Christopher, Harlow and Freeman would become commonplace in Northern Queens County as well as in Liverpool.

The family name was only a small part of the cultural baggage that the settlers carried north. With them went political and religious attitudes that Liverpool had helped shape. Almost all the new settlers were Congregationalists and as early as 1769 Liverpool had a church of this denomination. The Baptist revival in the late 18th century also had its impact on Liverpool. Neither of the above faiths particularly endeared the new settlers to the predominantly Anglican government in Halifax.[28] The insistence on town meetings by the settlers raised another difference of opinion with the authorities in Halifax.[29] These meetings were banned in 1770. The village school was yet another carry-over from New England for it was common in the new settlements to have one in every community no matter the size.[30]

All of the above political, social and religious practices shadowed those who pioneered the northern half of Queens County. The communities they established cannot be understood if this fact is neglected, but it must also be remembered that these settlers met a new set of circumstances when faced with a very different terrain from that of the rock-strewn coast which they had left behind. To deal with these circumstances and the adaptations made by the new settlers, it will be necessary to trace their tenuous stages of settlement in the first half of the 19th century.

THE INTERIOR SETTLED

Despite the initial setbacks, the road between Liverpool and Nictaux had at least penetrated the interior. There was some hope now that this new area would allow for an influx of settlers. A committee in Liverpool, including the prominent merchant, Simeon Perkins, petitioned His Excellency Sir John Wentworth on this matter.

> The Memorial of the subscribers-inhabitants of the township of Liverpool, in Queens County-humbly sheweth: That your memoralists have explored the county between this settlement and the county of Annapolis, and in conjunction with some of the people of that country have opened a communication from Liverpool to Nictaux which has been surveyed by Mr. Millidge one of the Deputy Surveyors of Lands, - in opening and surveying of which has been expended near two hundred pounds; and as the lands in and about this settlement are not very promising for cultivation, and several parcels of the land adjoining and lying contiguous to the said road appear to us suitable for agriculture, (though much intersected with water and interspersed with unimprovable lands,) your memoralists are desirous to attempt a settlement. Several of your memoralists wish to go upon the land this present year, and others wish to promote the settlement by encouraging and assisting industrious families that have not ability of themselves.
>
> And your memoralists are humbly of opinion that a settlement on that road, if accomplished to the advantage of the settlers, will be of great utility to this town and other parts of the province.
>
> Your memoralists therefore humbly pray your Excellency will be pleased to grant by deed or license of occupation, as your Excellency may think proper, _____ thousand acres of land adjoining or lying contiguous to the said road, between the north west line of this township and a certain bound on the said road called the half-way brook, to be divided among the subscribers in shares of two thousand acres or half shares of one thousand acres, and that the surveyors may be allowed to subdivide the same in such division as may give every settler an equitable proportion of the lands best calculated for present improvement.--And your memoralists, as in duty bound, will ever pray, etc.[1]

One of the men who signed this petition was William Burke who, within a year, would be the first white man to settle in the interior of Queens County. In May of 1798 he and a group of men had blazed a trail across the county and they were prepared to cut a path from Liverpool to Nictaux in September of the same year.

Pioneers to Northern Queens

William Burke was not the first to cut his way through the Northern Queens woods. Besides the countless Indians and numerous Frenchmen before him, a party of traders as recent as 1795 had gone across the country. The difference in 1799 was that expansion and settlement into the interior was necessary and expedient. Forty years after Liverpool was settled by the immigrants from the New England colonies, new farmland and new transportation routes had to be thrown open. The fertile soil that was being sought was abundant in Northern Queens and would soon be turned by the ploughshares of new settlers.

The glaciers that had covered this area some 15,000 years earlier had left, in their retreat, numerous rounded hills that contained good quality soil relatively unencumbered by large rocks. These hills called drumlins are immediately obvious to any traveller in Northern Queens and they stand "like fertile islands in a sea of granite boulders and shallow rocky soil."[2] On each of these islands, averaging 20 acres in area, one family or more could clear and raise sufficient food for a family and perhaps for export. Beyond them the "sea of granite boulders" was simultaneously a sea of greenery - hemlock, spruce and pine, all the material that a settler would need for house, furniture, fences and ready cash when the demand was high for timber in Liverpool. Thus, this area could relieve any population pressure that might arise in Liverpool, provide on-the-spot labour for the timbermen of Liverpool, and a ready flow of food and timber southward. But before all this could take place the fertile, yet isolated, hills of the interior had to be settled. The pioneer to do it was a man who already knew the area quite well and had helped to explore the road to Nictaux. William Burke was not a stranger to woodlore nor to Northern Queens County.

William Burke was born in 1764, the son of Walter and Nancy Burke of Halifax. William's father had recently migrated to Halifax from England and worked as a blacksmith in His Majesty's navy yard in Halifax. When William was seven years old his father died. William was then taken in by Samuel Mack, a wealthy merchant in Port Medway (now Mill Village). Here, although his foster father lived by the mercantile trade, William took a great interest in the woods and hunting.[3] He travelled extensively with the Indians in the area - in particular, Joseph Glode. The Glode family had hunted and fished extensively on the Mersey and Medway rivers as well as Kejimkujik Lake[4] and, therefore, were excellent guides for Burke's trips to the interior.

Little is really known of William Burke despite the many eulogies that have been written about him.[5] One of the earliest references describes him as possessing an iron constitution, a firm mind and a hospitable disposition.[6] It is known that he married Mary Foster, daughter of Edward and May Foster of Liverpool in 1786. Fourteen years later he moved his wife and four children from Mill Village to a log cabin he had built just south of the Medway River in what was to become South Brookfield.[7] "Brookfield in the Wilderness" had begun and Burke, before he died in 1835, would witness numerous settlers established and a dozen settlements grow up in the vicinity of the dry knoll near the Medway River where he had first settled.

As would be expected the beginnings were not easy. Burke was a skillful hunter and depended not a little on the game that he killed.

He had cleared two acres within a year of his settlement and then began the long process of burning off additional land, uprooting the tree stumps and transforming what was once a forest into a farm. Frequently in those early years, Mary Burke enjoyed the valuable assistance of the Glode family who were always ready to provide help when she needed it. She was well adapted to pioneer life although William receives most of the plaudits. It was she who "made" the home and walked to Liverpool for supplies. She also had to walk to Liverpool in order to be in the care of other women when she gave birth to four of her children. A sturdy woman, she outlived her husband by 21 years and passed away in South Brookfield in 1856 at the age of 88. Her picture was one of the more popular objects for sale during the centennial celebration in Brookfield in 1899 (Photo P-059). (Reference is made in this report to two different sets of photos. The first is the "P" series the negatives of which are held by both the Atlantic Regional Office and Kejimkujik National Park. A number of these appear in this report. The "MP" [Modern Photographs] series is a collection of black and white photographs taken by the author and now in the possession of the Kejimkujik National Park. A number of these are referred to in this report.)

Figure 3. Mrs William Burke, wife of the first settler in Northern Queens County, ca. 1850 (P-059). (*Original with Cecil Baxter, Maitland Bridge, Annapolis County.*)

The first decade did not bring an anticipated flood of settlers. The road was still but a path and potential settlers had little incentive to leave a Liverpool booming due to the extensive privateering brought on by the French Revolutionary War. However, the interest in the resources of Northern Queens County was also shared by the Nova Scotia government. A surveyor and botanist, Titus Smith, had set out in 1801 to complete a survey of timberland in Western Nova Scotia so that the Government of Nova Scotia would no longer have to rely on "vague reports." He was to explore the unknown interior in order to discover areas best adapted to the furnishing of naval stores.[8] Smith had started his journey by foot on July 8, 1801. By August 8th he had reached Lake Rossignol and continued on until he reached Burke's home, noting the hemlock, pine and birch along the way. Smith wrote that he followed the track to Burke's cabin and commented that the trail was not wide enough for a horse and sleigh.

Burke informed Smith that there was good farmland for 20 miles up the Port Medway River. It was along this line, almost parallel to the river and just west of it, that the later settlements of Caledonia, Harmony, Kempt, and Northfield would grow. Smith noted that the area had good hardwood soil as well as fine meadows covered with blue joint grass excellent for livestock fodder. Others shared Smith's opinion and Burke was not alone in 1801. Seven miles northeastwards was "a Settlement begun by some young men" on excellent land.[9] This was Pleasant River and these young men would soon see other settlers coming to join them.

Neither Smith nor any other contemporary writer can give an adequate reason or reasons for the delayed migration to an area offering a wealth of land, timber and game. Perhaps the lack of roads and the Liverpool "boom" as suggested earlier had something to do with it. Nevertheless there was a trickle of settlers some of whom, like Samuel Freeman and James Daley, remained while others came, saw what pioneering meant, and departed. For example, Samuel Hunt describes in 1860 the rough but effective manner in which the houses were thrown up.

> The manner of building their houses was to log up the walls, (as it was called) form the roof, and rib it, and thatch or split and shave shingles and cover it - lay log floors and dubb them level - split logs and make doors. They layed [sic] their chamber floors ... likely with poles, the upper side dubbed off.[10]

The physical hardships of housing, land clearing and utilizing burnt land as well as the lack of tools and assistance did not help matters.[11] Those who were to come and settle Caledonia later could fall back on the, by then, established community in Brookfield. But the first pioneers were virtually a handful in number and none were established sufficiently to help others as much as was necessary. In addition to this was the unclear nature of the land question. Land grants had been suspended in 1790 and a dispute over church land in the early 1800s had led to the revocation of the suspension order of 1790. No law had been made to replace it and soon thousands of unlicensed squatters were clearing the backwoods of Nova Scotia unbeknownst to the government. High fees for the clear title to the land could not be paid by the poor who entered the wilderness. Therefore, the squatters would have to be tolerated for some time.[12]

It was not until the second decade of the 19th century that this

area began to attract settlers. This is not to say that it was neglected nor that it had no effect on Liverpool other than economic. A religious revival occurred in Pleasant River in 1807 and several young people, including Bartlett Freeman and Zenas Waterman Jr., travelled to Liverpool and went from house to house exhorting all to repent. A similar phenomenon then occurred in Liverpool. Some businesses were shut and a religious revival took place.[13] This was but one of the many influences that gave Northern Queens a strong but, at times, varying cultural connection with Liverpool.

The settlers who arrived in the next two decades were from the north, as well as the south, of Nova Scotia and from points overseas. Although the bulk of the early settlers in this central area were still coming from Liverpool and its immediate environs, there were also the Kemptons from Annapolis who founded Kempt and Nimrod Rowter, an Englishman who settled in Maitland.

Entrepreneurs and Increased Immigration

Caledonia was settled about 1817 by six Scots and two Irishmen, with the community being named poetically after the Scottish settlers' homeland. Three or four Waterloo veterans made their homes in Hibernia and West Caledonia, including Patrick Lacey and James Donnellan. The Irish Catholic influence was so strong that the first church at Caledonia was built in 1836, this being the Roman Catholic Church in West Caledonia. By the late 1820s one of the last settlements, Harmony, was still a wilderness and the new land grant holders of the Harmony area requested "Father" Burke to aid them in establishing a new settlement. Given Burke's age at the time, this request was probably more to honour him as the first pioneer in the area than to utilize his labour. Samuel Hunt remembers the first tree that was ever to fall in Harmony for the purpose of making a farm. In a short time a sawmill was up and a grist mill established. It was only then "they considered that they were pretty well advanced towards civilization."[14] This points out the major aim of the settlers to this area - to manufacture as well as to produce. To be independent in those things that could be locally made was the goal. It is necessary then to examine more closely the temperament, trades, and settlement patterns of this rapidly growing area, for by the early 1840s virtually all the present-day settlements of Northern Queens County and Southern Annapolis County had been established.

Within two years of Burke's settlement, he was joined by James Daley and his wife, Clarissa, from Shelburne. Their son, Wentworth, named after the Governor of Nova Scotia was the first white child born in this district. Other names were soon added: Freeman, Harrington, Barss and Collins. A boat builder, Richard Carder, arrived in this first decade and became the first to export the agricultural produce of the area. He built his boats and filled them with produce; then floated them down the Medway River and on to Liverpool in order to sell both his produce and his transport. By 1812, the new arrivals in the northern district were leaving Liverpool for political as well as economic reasons. The war with the United States meant increased privateering

which many regarded as piracy and it also meant a war against relatives and friends in the new republic. It appears that the Josiah Smith family came to the district in 1813 for the above reasons and there were probably others.

Captain Josiah Smith was the son of Stephen Smith who had come to Liverpool as a pre-Loyalist in 1760. Josiah is said to have gone to sea quite young and he became a sea captain. In 1813, at the age of 40, Smith "retired"[15] and moved his second wife and family to Brookfield. He was probably the first prosperous entrepreneur to come to the district with two probable sources of income - the first, what he had earned at sea and the second, the financial backing of his second wife's father, Captain Joseph Barss, a prominent Liverpool privateer.[16] Whatever his financial sources, Smith bought Burke's farm and obtained a grant of 500 acres. He then proceeded to build a log cabin and later the first frame home in the area (Photo P-051 and MP-006). He cleared and stocked a large farm. In addition, he rebuilt Burke's grist mill,[17] established the first store in the area, and set up a new mill, all of which gave evidence of a certain amount of prescience for by 1820 the wave of migration was at its height and control of the above facilities was a great advantage.

Beyond the boundaries of Queens County, the whole of the Province of Nova Scotia was being affected by an enormous immigration of hopeful settlers. With Waterloo in 1815, the British economy sagged noticeably.

Figure 4. Smith homestead (no date). The small structure behind the buggy is the parlour of the first framehouse in Northern Queens County (P-051). (*Original with Oliver Smith, South Brookfield, Queens County.*)

The Scots, Irish and Welsh who had gone to southern England for their fortune now had to go elsewhere. During 1818, for example, a number of emigrants arrived in Halifax from Wales in great distress and were sent to Shelburne. Nova Scotia, however, was unprepared for this influx. The interior was generally unknown even in 1830 and the Nova Scotia government lacked a good map and reliable information about the lands beyond the coastal areas.[18] There was widespread squatting and many immigrants would travel into the wilderness as soon as they landed making it difficult for the Nova Scotia government to find them, let alone dislodge them. Crown land and land granted to absentee proprietors were settled in this way and there was little that either government or proprietors could do. The new immigrants were usually welcomed in those isolated settlements of Nova Scotia as another family to contribute to the economic and social life of the fledgling communities. A large number of immigrants to Nova Scotia arrived after 1815 from southern Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland.[19] Between 1815 and 1838, 39,243 settlers came from Ireland. In the decade after 1828, at least 8,066 Scots immigrated to Nova Scotia. A few of these immigrants, Scots and Irish, found their way to Liverpool[20] and then to Northern Queens, changing once more the cultural chemistry of the area (Map 2).

Given the haphazard fashion in which settlement was undertaken in Nova Scotia, it should not be surprising to learn that there is a disparity in the dates of origin for some villages in Northern Queens County. Caledonia is a prime example of this lack of knowledge about origins. In various places it has been cited that Caledonia was founded at differing times between 1815 and 1820. Even the origin of the first settlers is not definite. They have been said to be seven Scots, six Scots, six Scots and one Irishman or six Scots and two Irishmen. It can be safely argued then, given the name of the community and the above information, that Caledonia was begun by a group of settlers of whom the majority were Scots. Seven names have been cited for the first settlers, including John Douglas, James Forrest, Andrew MacLeod, George Middlemass, David Middlemass, and an Irishman named Hayes.[21]

As soon as a clearing was made in Caledonia, the settlers got their lumber from the Smith sawmill in South Brookfield. As George Middlemass was the only married man, his home was built by the newcomers near the brook just north of present-day Lake Nancy or Lake Charlotte on the map (Photo MP-019) and named, naturally, "Scotch House." George's wife, Peggy (Photo P-085), arrived in time for the winter and was not too enamoured with what she found. One morning shortly after she arrived, she sat down suddenly, gazed through her cabin door and exclaimed "there's nothing but haels and haels and haels."[22] That winter the settlers spent together in Scotch House and the next year Richard Telfer had the first frame house in Caledonia built. It was his wife, Mary, who provided the name for Mary Lake just south of the settlement. From such beginnings, Caledonia eventually emerged by the end of the century as the most prosperous and most populous settlement in Northern Queens. The founding Scots were tradesmen, two stonemasons, two carpenters and two wheelwrights, all very important professions in an area of few craftsmen. Due to Caledonia's expansion, the road that ran from Liverpool through Brookfield to Nictaux was of little importance by the 1860s and by the turn of the century was rarely used. The most

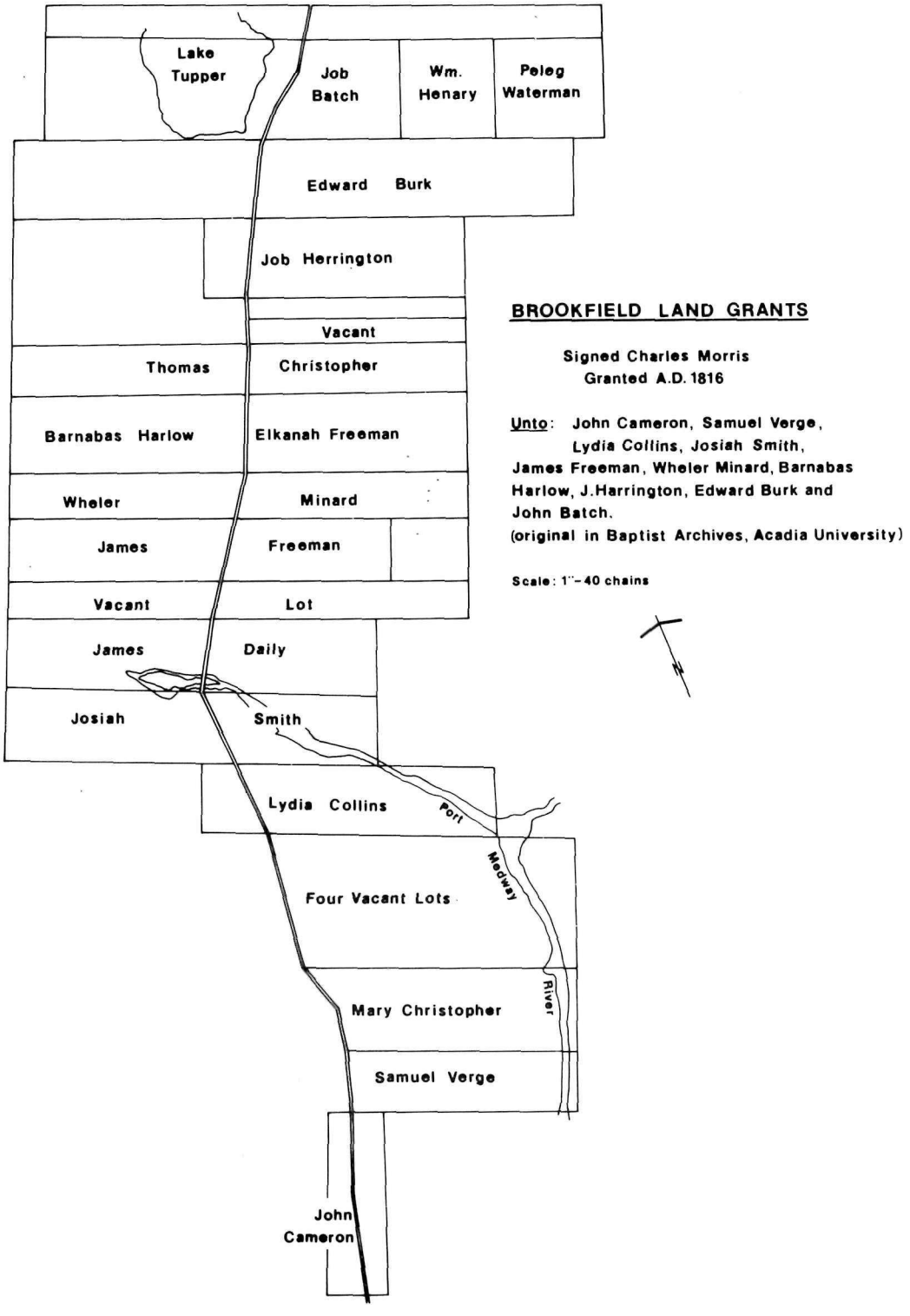


Figure 5. (Map 2) Map of Brookfield Land Grants 1816. (*Drawing by John Gasparac, Parks Canada from original in Baptist Archives, Acadia University.*)

trafficked route by this time (1860) wound through Caledonia, crossed the Mersey River at Maitland Bridge and ended in Annapolis Royal.

The 1820s and 1830s saw the settlement of those areas to the north and northwest of Caledonia and the district increased in population quite rapidly. The Kemptons were among the first into the area that lay around the Annapolis and Queens County boundaries, ca. 1821. Jacob Kempton settled in Maitland with part of his farm on the Queens County side of the line. Two or three miles southwest of him were Francis, Richard and Thomas Kempton while beyond them about two miles in the same direction David and John Kempton settled. Not surprisingly, the whole area was known as "Kempton's Settlement."[23] By 1830 these three sites had become Maitland (or Hillsborough), Kempt, and Harmony. Later New Grafton, Northfield, and Delong Settlement (Albany New) were added.

Maitland was named after Sir Peregrine Maitland, Governor of Nova Scotia (1828-32) and in 1925 it was renamed Maitland Bridge. Aside from Jacob Kempton whose given name is preserved by Jake's Landing on the Mersey River, other pioneers included Nimrod Rowter of England (via Wilmot), Michael Sypher of Digby (Photo P-048), William Baxter, John Dukeshire, and William McBride. Maitland settlers were quick to exploit the timberland for which this area was noted. The timberland through which the Mersey flowed was cut extensively between the new settlement of Milford in Annapolis County and Lake Rossignol in Queens County and the wood floated down to Liverpool. Not surprisingly, Maitland, due to its position on the river, built up a number of social and economic connections with Northern Queens County instead of being identified closely with Annapolis County.

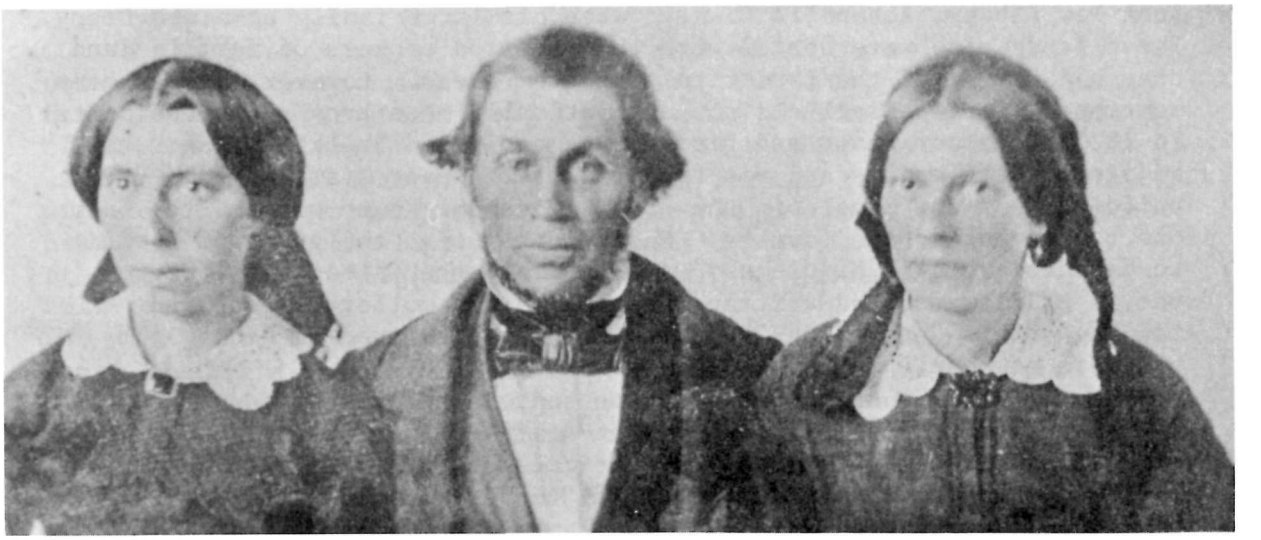


Figure 6. Michael Sypher, one of the early settlers in Maitland Bridge and his two daughters, n.d (P-048). (*Original with Cecil Baxter, Maitland Bridge, Annapolis County.*)

Kempt also derived its name from a governor. In this case it was Sir James Kempt, Governor of Nova Scotia from 1820 to 1828, who visited the area in 1822. By 1828, 1,000 acres of land had been granted to James Freeman, John Kempton, John Kempton the Younger, Enoch Dexter, and

Charles Cushion (Cushing). Generally, land grants at this time included at least one piece of land with a boundary on the main road,[24] meadowland for grazing, and a good-sized woodlot for personal as well as profitable use. This may have consisted of one or more parcels of land. As with Maitland, Kempt was valued for its timber as much if not more than for its farmland.

It would seem that the Harmony area had been exploited for timber before it was used as farmland.[25] But although the timber had attracted migrants it was the farmland that made them settlers. Once farming was established, it seems to have been the preeminent profession with the timber trade providing ready cash or goods. In 1829 Harmony, together with Brookfield and Caledonia, was cited as supplying over half the wheat produced in Queens County. Harmony farmers were said to have 26 horses, 121 cattle, 139 sheep, and 81 pigs; it was one of what Haliburton called the "thriving settlements" in the interior of Queens County.[26] The possibly ironic reason why Harmony was given its name was that in those days the people fought so much they called it Harmony.[27]

Reactions and Adaptations

The settlement to the east and west of this chain of villages came later: Westfield and Northfield named for their geographical positions, New Grafton named after Grafton, Massachusetts and Delong's Settlement (Albany New) which was initially settled by Rev. Thomas Delong who came from New Albany, Annapolis County, with his large family at mid-century. These lands also were dotted with the inverted pockets of fertile land that had attracted the farmer to the other areas. However, as has been mentioned, fertile soil did not automatically mean prosperous residents. In 1822, Governor Kempt and his entourage visited Brookfield and the adjoining settlements and was troubled by the poor state of the buildings and the people in the area. Governor Kempt was not the only one to comment on the poverty. Coincidental with the governor's visit to Caledonia, David Middlemass, a brother to the Caledonia pioneer George Middlemass, had written a letter to his mother in Scotland telling of his "state" in "a Marica." He was advised accordingly by his brothers at home.

> but I think your situation at present is not very good, I am very sorry to think of your state in America. I think you will work hard in America and very small will be your gain. We hear that money is very scarce with you ... and I think you will not gain your money that you have lost[28]

Many immigrants, including David, remained and found the land and the freedom that the "wilderness" entailed much to their liking. Ten years later another Scottish settler wrote to Scotland in a very different vein. John Sheriff, a convicted poacher, had escaped the authorities in Aberdeen, Scotland with the assistance of William Baxter, a shoemaker. Sheriff came to Halifax and then found his way to Caledonia. He communicated his enthusiasm for the area to Baxter in 1832, at a time when Scotland was going through one of its periodic

depressions.

> I say make all the haste possible and come here ... the land in Caledonia is of excellent quality and produces good crops of every kind without any dung.... Where I am there are 11 farmers, all Scotchmen in a bunch, who live in the greatest friendship.[29]

Sheriff then goes on to advise Baxter what to bring for provisions and how to come to Caledonia. He mentions the trout and game with which, being a poacher, he would be very familiar. He then closes with a comment that undoubtedly helped Baxter to decide to take the gamble and come to America.

> If you wish to live happy and free from care and trouble, come here. You and your sons will all be freeholders, and more than likely rich men.[30]

Somewhere between these extremes was the reality of pioneering and settlement - the hardships that the newcomers faced. Perhaps a brief look at the farming settlements, their labour and social life would be appropriate here.

One of the more obvious features of these settlements today is the many homes that were built on the hilltops or the drumlins. One hundred and fifty years ago Governor Kempt commented on precisely this feature. He is said to have remarked, presumably after a long day of wearily following the road which stretched from hilltop to hilltop:

> Gentlemen, when the creative hand of the Supreme Being formed your country he kindly regarded your wants, and furnished an admirably level line for a highway ... but you seemed to have entirely disregarded a gracious arrangement of Providence which is so palpably indicated.[31]

A glance at a map of houses and drumlins will show how closely they coincide. No ready answers can be given. The soil of the drumlin was free of stone and logically the farmer would wish to farm or pasture it all. However, although a house in the hollow would have eased access to water and provided shelter in the winter, perhaps the settler and his wife felt some communal spirit in seeing the neighbour's house on the next hill. Or it may have been as Campbell puts it "the strange predilection of the Highlander for building his house on a hill-top."[32]

The early log cabin was quickly replaced when possible by a frame home, usually a one-storey building with moderate to steep roofs. The doors and windows usually came well up to the eaves of the house.[33] An artistic and practical feature was the addition of dormer windows to the roofs. To this basic box design would later be added rooms and ells as the family grew or took in relatives or friends.[34] The chimneys were large and there would often be a fireplace upstairs and down. The cooking was done in the large open fireplace situated in the kitchen. Often, a large brick oven was built beside the fireplace for baking. The furniture was simple and functional, the spinning wheel and the loom being of great importance to the family. Beside the house would be a barn or a few sheds, whatever the farmer needed to shelter his animals and store their feed and his tools. More will be said of this aspect of the study in the chapter on farming.

Sewing bees, stump clearing, roof raising and neighbourly visits were all important aspects of the social life in these villages.

However, before the advent of the many clubs and organizations that were to come in the second half of the century, the church was the most important force in these societies. Its moral code and social structure were paramount to all of these communities. Generally, it gave structure and substance to any community[35] and, as has been noted, religion had an early influence on the North Queens settlements. In 1828 a regular Baptist church was organized at Brookfield; a Methodist class was meeting in Caledonia in the 1820s; a Roman Catholic church, recently (1977) destroyed by fire, was built in West Caledonia in 1836; in 1846 the Congregational Church of Pleasant River was formed and by 1855 the Anglican church in Caledonia was completed at a cost of 410 pounds.[36] Some inkling of the diversity of faiths should be obvious from this brief list. In general, as with other parts of the province, the Methodists, Congregationalists and Baptists coexisted amicably enough with one church being used by each denomination in turn. The Anglican and Roman Catholic churches usually went their separate ways. The early decades of settlement saw preachers travelling on circuit from Liverpool, Annapolis or Nictaux to preach the gospel in the interior.[37] The ministers were often paid in kind rather than cash - meat, grain or hay, whatever was on hand. They and the elders of the church disciplined members, solved disputes and generally were a social and religious force in the community.[38]

Just as religion was important to the settlers so too was the education of their children. Initially, the teachers were wandering tutors who taught in the scholar's home for a fee which was usually bed and board. One of the early itinerant tutors in Maitland Bridge was a man named McQuinn. One learned nomad, James Bryden, a schoolmaster, was teaching in Brookfield and Caledonia as early as 1824. In a letter by the Queens County Commissioners of Schools dated 12 July 1824, eight locations were listed where schools were requested in the county and Brookfield and Caledonia was one of these. James Bryden was already teaching 12 students in the area and could teach eight more but they lacked the means to attend. For his profession, Bryden charged 52s. per annum or 10 pence per week if paid in cash. The Commissioners felt he was sufficiently qualified to be recommended, as one of only four teachers in the county, to receive a grant of 15 pounds from the government. A similiar amount was to be paid by the inhabitants who would also be required to find board for the teacher. However, no such sum was forthcoming from the Brookfield-Caledonia area for the education of other children.[39] This reinforces what the Middlemass family and Governor Kempt have already stated about the level of prosperity in the area.

By 1840, the farms, churches, schools, and mills all contributed to the establishment of a string of settlements distinctive from the coastal towns from which the inhabitants of these settlements had come. They had rejected the sea as their livelihood and turned to the land. The settlement of these lands, however, meant the displacing of those who had made the central Nova Scotia woodland their home and their livelihood. Joseph Glode little realized when he guided William Burke to a spot on the banks of the Medway River that Burke would be followed by a deluge of Europeans. Numerous Indians still lived and trapped in the area and they were said to have had an important feast and festival in 1836 which was attended by 113 Indians.

However, by 1841, the Indian's way of life had been so altered

that he requested that some provision be made to allow him to live in the fashion of the white man.[40] He saw all around him the forests being cleared for farms and settlers arriving who competed with him for his game. Perhaps agriculture was the only way he could live with these strangers. It certainly seemed to be the mainstay of the societies that surrounded him in Northern Queens County.

FARMS, FAIRS AND APPLE FAILURES

Concurrent with the early settlement of Caledonia was an incident which occurred in the provincial capital of Halifax. It would have profound effects on the agriculture of Nova Scotia and Northern Queens County. On July 15, 1818, the first letter of Agricola was published and its appearance drew excited interest and enthusiasm. Just as in Britain, commerce in Nova Scotia, after Waterloo, was in a depressed state and agriculture had to be revitalized.[1] Generally, the province had failed to profit by the agricultural revolution in Britain. Settlers were still farming without ploughs and not undertaking proper soil management by rotating their crops. Lieutenant-Governor Dalhousie (1816-19) encouraged agriculture but it was the Letters of Agricola, written by a young Scot named John Young which had the most impact.[2]

Young set out in some detail how to farm scientifically. He explained land culture, urged that lime be used as a fertilizer and that fairs and ploughing matches be held. He also helped to form agricultural societies and encouraged the careful raising and breeding of livestock. By the time his Letters had been completed and published in 1822, he was recognized as the catalyst of an agricultural revolution in Nova Scotia. By 1819, a year after his Letters were begun, 12 agricultural societies had been formed and this quickly grew to 25. Many of these societies claimed a membership of from 40 to 100 farmers. A Central Agricultural Board under John Young's supervision was set up by the provincial government and it lasted until 1826 when government grants for agriculture were terminated.[3] During that period, however, the inhabitants of the interior of Queens County made agriculture the principle support of their society. Other occupations, trapping, lumbering, gold mining, and guiding, in the years to come would alleviate the hard labour that farming entailed but would not replace it. When all else had folded, closed or gone broke, the people came back to the land.

"Scientific" Agriculture in Northern Queens

Due to the emphasis on fisheries in western and southwestern Nova Scotia generally, very few agricultural societies were formed and even fewer survived. On the south shore, Lunenburg, Yarmouth and Queens counties all had societies with the former two becoming inactive quite soon after being organized. However, the Queens County society, founded in 1821, remained very active and still carried on with much of the support coming from the new inland community of Caledonia. Cattle shows were being held in Queens County (presumably Liverpool) in 1820 and

1821. By 1822 the interior of the county was exhibiting its agrarian production and presaging what the future would hold for the "bread basket" of Queens County. In the competition for county prizes that year Josiah Smith of Brookfield took first place in wheat production and the Queens County Agricultural Society expressed great hopes for the future.

> ... within the last month, there have been brought into this town Liverpool for sale, no less than 50 barrels of Wheat Flour, of a very excellent quality, raised in Brookfield and Caledonia Settlements, and ground in a Mill lately erected there. This may be supposed by some to be trifling, and scarcely worth mentioning; but when it is remembered that it is in the County of Queen's, where so many obstacles to the cultivation of the soil have been supposed to exist; and in addition to this, when it is known that a considerable part of it is the produce of farms on which it is little more than 3 years since the first tree was cut down; it will no doubt be deemed a very fair sample and proof of that spirit for Agricultural improvements, which is extending its beneficial influence through this as well as every other part of the Province.[4]

This was of great importance to Liverpool for much of the wheat flour of this town was being imported. For example, in 1823 over 100 barrels of flour was brought in by ship and it was hoped that food importation could be halted by this internal production. By the late 1820s the villages of Brookfield, Caledonia and Harmony were said to be thriving.[5] With a population one-tenth the size of Liverpool, they were producing more wheat grain than Liverpool. The livestock holdings for this area were 67 horses, 523 cattle, 782 sheep, and 449 pigs. All this for a population estimated at about 450 men, women, and children. R.R. McLeod's comment some 75 years later appropriately sums up the growth that was to come.

> The villages of South and North Brookfield, Pleasant River, Westfield, Caledonia, Harmony and Kempt are but extensions in various directions of an agricultural community.[6]

The growth of agriculture, the wealth of land and the encouragement of the Central Agricultural Board may explain why there was such a tremendous influx of settlers into the area in the years ahead.

The decade that was to follow was generally a period of stagnation in Nova Scotia. There were business failures and two successive crop failures. The farmer was also hampered by the lack of adequate transport for his produce. Joseph Howe's persuasive powers brought about the railway boom in the 1840s and 1850s but this hardly affected the Queens County area. The goal of the railway then constructed was to feed Halifax. Some agricultural societies survived, however, and although Liverpool was more interested in the timber trade, the Northern Queens farmers still maintained their enthusiasm for agriculture. In 1841 the Central Board of Agriculture was revitalized in Halifax due to the continued interest in agricultural progress and provincial aid was granted by the House of Assembly to encourage agriculture. The Northern District Agricultural Society of Queens County in Brookfield had 35 members and hoped for 70[7] (a figure they reached within two years).

By December 1841 it had become the Brookfield Agricultural Society with the avowed objective of improving the condition of the farmer and consequently making him "independent." To attain this objective the society imported new breeds of livestock, new farm implements and new types of seed. Improvement of farming methods was slow as the area was still being settled. Lewis Smith of Brookfield points out in a letter of 14 December 1842 that "the most of the people in this district are still engaged in chopping and clearing land, but many are now beginning to turn their attention to improved modes of cultivating the soil."[8] Under the directions of men like James B. McLeod, William T. Waterman, Lewis Smith, and others, the society encouraged local initiative by providing "bounties" for:

(1) best half acre of turnips manured with clay ashes - £1
(2) best 100th of an acre of clover seed raised - £1 10s
(3) best homespun clothes - 10s
(4) best farm implements: hay raker, hay fork and dung fork
(5) Bounty of £7 (an enormous sum for the area) to any person in the District that will make a good threshing machine.

Concerning locally manufactured tools, it was noted by the secretary with some pride that:

> The farming implements ... [are] as good as any imported from the United States - I think farming tools of all most [sic] any description can be manufactured in this district of as good a quality and at as low a price as any imported.[9]

New innovations continued. By 1845 turnips were being planted in abundance and turnip drills were used widely. Drainage of the land was more widely practiced and rolling the planted seed had become general. Guano fertilizer and lime were being imported and the value of exports was reckoned at £5,000. The 1840s was a very active period for the Northern Queens Agricultural Society in Brookfield.

However, the slump came again in the 1850s. In 1851 the potato crop failed in Nova Scotia and the business community went through a depression cycle.[10] Despite an attempt by the Central Board of Agriculture to revive the farming industry in Nova Scotia with a Provincial Exhibition in 1854, a "fatal inertia" set in and by 1860 one observer was calling for a second Agricola to stimulate agriculture.[11]

The second Agricola never appeared. Instead interest in agriculture in Nova Scotia was revitalized by two external forces. The first two years of the American Civil War (1861-63) were good years for Nova Scotian agriculture. Well-placed geographically, Nova Scotia could supply foodstuff to the coastal states whose usual sources had been disrupted by the war.

Nova Scotian farm products were also making their entry into a different market for different reasons on the other side of the Atlantic. In 1862 the apple growers of Nova Scotia exhibited their products at the International Fruit Show in London. The reaction of the English fruit buyers was very enthusiastic.[12] A new market was in the offing and provided a more systematic exploitation of the apple growing potential in the province. This, as will be shown, had long-term effects on Queens County for by the latter part of the century the Northern District was shipping large quantities of apples.

This was in the future; yet Northern Queens County in 1861 was already showing its potential for farm production. The statistics for Queens County in that year exhibit strong evidence of an ever-expanding agricultural base. On 15,456 acres of improved land, the county produced 9,698 tons of hay, 27,570 bushels of grain, 114,782 bushels of potatoes, 20,852 bushels of roots, and 23,615 bushels of apples. The livestock numbered 546 horses, 6,033 cattle, 467 pigs, and 5,292 sheep.[13] Much of this production must be credited to the fertile drumlins of Northern Queens County and the two or three generations which had cleared and worked these rich pockets of soil.

The Agrarian Life

If the farmer of Queens County could have taken stock of what had happened in the 50 years since he or his father had arrived in that area he would have been pleased and concerned. On the one hand, he would have witnessed the horse treadle and threshing machine replacing the windlass and flail.[14] The horse-drawn rake was in use by 1840 and beginning to replace the long-handled rakes so prevalent in the past.[15] The sickle and later the scythe were still widely used in the 19th and early 20th centuries but change was on the horizon. The mechanical mowing machine - single-wheeled Ketchum mowers - had come into the province in 1853 and was being touted as able to do the work of ten men.[16]

On the other hand, these labour-saving devices in some ways achieved the same ends as the excessive labour that they eliminated. William Baxter, mentioned earlier, was one of many who decided that farming was not for him and went back to Scotland. By the second half of the century, as will be seen from the chapters to follow on mining and guiding, the nine men that lost their jobs to the one man and his mowing machine had to go elsewhere to find employment.[17] The scattering of the families continued through the boom and bust of the century that was to follow.

However, this was yet to come. The farmer had his home and a well-stocked cellar in winter. A stretch in the lumber woods or a few beaver trapped in the nearby lake would bring some cash. Otherwise he could pay for what he needed with commodities. For example, around 1850 Michael Sypher of Maitland Bridge set out to collect and help to pay the Methodist minister's stipend. Sypher is said to have travelled 50 miles and returned with a variety of goods - a load of hay, a steer, ten pounds of tallow dips, 15 yards of red flannel and a ham. But, no money!

A barter situation occurred when the farmer went for his provisions, sold his products or needed repairs. The wheelwright, the cooper, the farrier, and the blacksmith would have to be prepared to take foodstuff, as would the ever-present storekeeper.[18] A farmer could expect a modicum of income in the spring with the log drives or in the fall with harvest time but he would usually be paid in credit by the general store which was owned by the lumberman for whom the farmer had worked.

To convey some impression of farm life in the 1880s and to make it as accurate as possible, perhaps Maurice Harlow's diary can be perused and the eighteenth year of his life recounted briefly.[19]

Maurice Harlow was born in North Brookfield, the son of Albert and Matilda Harlow, and was brought up on a farm beside Lake Tupper. On his eighteenth birthday, July 19, 1877, he decided to begin a diary which he kept faithfully until the time of his death in 1935. He hoped that all volumes of his diary would be carefully preserved and expressed the belief they would be valuable for future reference. His life adequately personifies the North Queens area for he worked in the lumber woods, owned a store, tended the post office, and farmed all his life. At eighteen Maurice was still farming and attending school.

In August of 1877, he and his father had finished the light or English haying (Photo P-013) and had already reaped the rye and hayseed. It had to be threshed and then a start made on the barley. It was mowed, raked and hauled in by late August as was the buckwheat. By late August the oats were being raked and Maurice had sufficient time to pause and mend his shoes or go 'berrying'.

September brought the last load of hay into the barn and the hauling in of oats was also completed. The wheat and buckwheat were threshed and stored and the meadow hay at Upper Lake (presumably Tupper Lake) was cut and stacked for the winter.[20] Now Maurice turned his attention to the garden crops and began to harvest the corn, apples, pumpkins, and potatoes. Again it was not all harvest work. There were fences to be repaired and land to be burnt for next year's planting. This was usually done before the potato planting for fertilizer was not available.

October saw the end of the potato harvest. Maurice Harlow records that 125 bushels were packed away in the cellar and 40 bushels of small potatoes were put aside for livestock feed. The carrots (12 bushels) and turnips (20 bushels) were stored and by the last week of October plowing and the removing of boulders and rocks was also begun to initiate the whole cycle once more. Maurice does not exaggerate when he states that this was "a very tedious work." When not in the fields, Maurice would be at home husking corn or making what was needed in the house. The work was made more enjoyable with apple-paring parties to which the whole community came. Another break, if it can be considered such, was a trip to Liverpool in order to sell 1,500 board feet of lumber. This was Maurice Harlow's second trip to Liverpool in his lifetime. The oxen were used as the sole means of locomotion (Photo P-047), just as they were the most widely used source of power on the farm.[21]

The harvest was in but the work was not over - it never was. In November, fields had still to be plowed and cleared of rocks. Wood had to be hauled and the house banked for warmth in the winter. November was also the "month of blood" when geese, hogs, and cattle were to be slaughtered and stored in the icehouse or simply hung in the barn during the winter.

The farm products were still being processed in December. The barley and rye were threshed and winnowed and cleaned. This was done by hand with a flail and by the 29th of December Maurice could proudly announce that all the grain was clean - 90 bushels in all. Although written in a different context, perhaps a description of the well-filled cellars and storehouses of the successful farmer would more readily

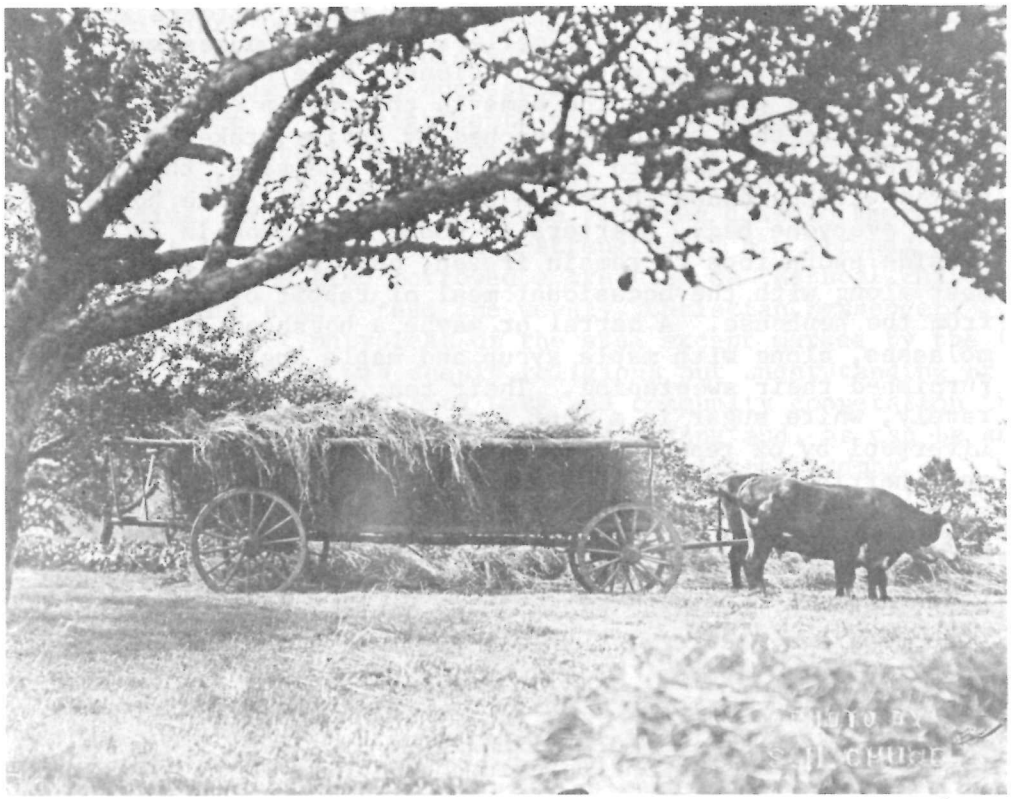


Figure 7. Hay wagon, Northern Queens County ca. 1920 (no source) (P-047).

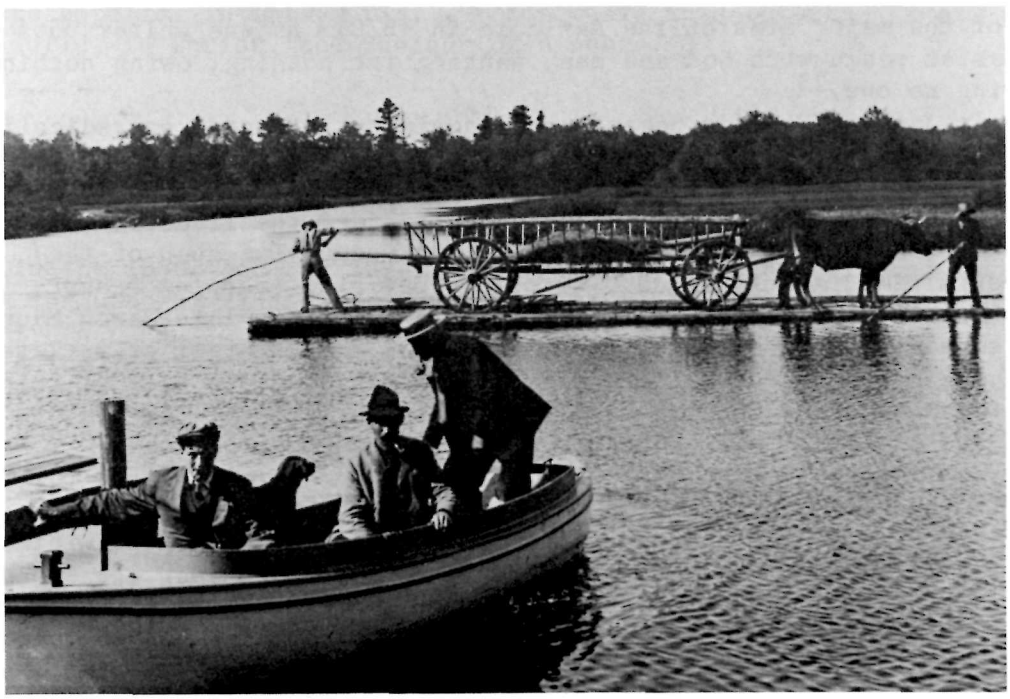


Figure 8. Wagon for meadow haying, Jake's Landing, Lake Kejimkujik ca. 1915 (P-013). (*Original with Kejimkujik National Park.*)

convey what the culmination of the farmer's yearly efforts were.

> ... When winter came, their cellers and storehouses were filled to overflowing with provisions. Huge barrels of salt beef and pork with the hams in the bottom of the barrel where they would be reached by spring, taken out and soaked for a week to remove part of the salt, then smoked with hardwood chips and sawdust in the smoke house which everyone had. Quarters of moose meat hung in an outside store room to remain frozen, and furnish fresh meat along with the occasional meal of rabbit or fowl from the henhouse. A barrel or maybe a hogshead of molasses, along with maple syrup and maple sugar furnished their sweetening. Their tea, molasses, and rarely, white sugar in a loaf form, was brought from Liverpool by ox team, a trip that took four days. The salt herring and dried codfish that were staples for winter must have been brought from Liverpool too. In the cellar would also be found: huge crocks of sausage meat, head cheese, mincemeat, butter in brine, eggs in dry salt, casks of homemade cidar [sic] vinegar, bins filled with potatoes, carrots, turnips, barrels of apples. Upstairs dried apples, dried berries of all kinds.[22]

The barn was filled with sacks of flour, oats, barley, rye, and buckwheat, all ground at the local grist mill. From this came the farmer's bread, unblocked and unrefined and leavened by yeast made with his own hops.

In addition to banking the house, firewood had been stacked in preparation for the winter winds. Handwoven wool blankets and quilts of wool bats were additional protection against the cold. All this reflects the farmer's self-sufficiency and independence which had been one of the major aims of the Agricola in 1820. As one writer puts it, he was at peace with God and man, wanting for nothing, owing nothing, envying no one.[23]

In January Maurice began school again but attended sporadically as farm work intervened. By mid-January the ice was thick enough to cross the lake with teams in order to haul the meadow hay from Upper Lake that had been carefully stacked in September to feed the livestock until spring. February and March saw woods work occupying much of the farmer's time, mostly in cutting timber but also trapping beaver, fox or other game for profit. The sawmill was busy and in late March Maurice hauled away the spring's work from the mill - 2,248 feet of marketable pine, 283 feet of refuse, 222 feet of hemlock, and 200 feet of shingles. Oak was also being cut for firewood and by early April the rye was being taken to the grist mill in South Brookfield to be processed.

April also brought harrowing, the cutting of poles for a pole fence and the hauling of manure for the backfield. Road work, either self-employed or for statute labour, was essential after the winter snow and spring rains. The tools were repaired for the summer ahead and the winter banking removed from the house. By early May the first ploughing was being done and the grassland rolled. The planting was to follow. Once more the cycle was initiated in May and June with the planting of the various grains and vegetables that would fill the farmer's bins for another winter. In the pleasant spring warmth of May 1878, the cold February of 1879 had to be considered and planned for. The farmer's

work rhythm in North Queens may alter to circumstances but an unchanging basic pattern was essential to his survival.

This was not, however, to suggest that Maurice found neither leisure nor pleasure in his eighteenth year. The summer work was interspersed with baseball and swimming. The long winter months brought skating, social evenings, school concerts, card games (a favorite was snap) and reading. For example, Maurice read the classic temperance book "Ten Nights in a Bar Room" which strengthened his already strong temperance beliefs. He also borrowed a treatise on "Natural Philosophy" from his teacher and avidly read the weekly "Christian Messenger." Harlow was probably not untypical of the area except marked by the fact that he kept a diary. He was deeply religious but understanding of others' foibles. To him, the hard work and community cooperation that went with it was a way of life not a way of living and, as can be seen from the over 50 volumes of his diary, he saw this philosophy as bringing progress and stability to the community in which he lived.

This self-reliance, however, was not everyone's good fortune, as will be shown in a later chapter. A reading of the diary of Zenas Smith provides a different perspective. Here was a man at the other end of a lifetime and at the age of 81 he was repairing fences, hoeing, and taking his turn in the rhythm of farm work. During his last summer of life he remarked frequently on how tired he was and on July 26, 1893, he noted,

> I am glad that the hay is put in, but I feel a sort of sadness. I have assisted in haying on this place every year since I was fifteen years of age. Am now 81 years. What a change since that time in myself and the people of the county. All the old ones that I then knew have passed away, and I am left almost alone. I have nothing to hope for in this world. My hopes are in a better world, in Christ, the Saviour of sinners.[24]

Agricultural Promotion: The Exhibition

In the 1880s and the 1890s, North Queens farms experienced two major influences. The first was the attempts by the agricultural society to organize, yet again, the farmers and their products. This continuing interest in agriculture would, in the long run, lead to the establishment of a Department of Agriculture in the provincial government. The second major influence was the new market created by the gold mines.

Near a new mill erected by John Freeman over the brook near Harmony, Queens County's first exhibition was held in 1880. There was a large crowd and a fair number of exhibits, including foodstuffs and clothing. Thomas Keillor, Esq., a prominent resident of Kempt and later MLA (1897-1901), opened the exhibition and it was said to afford "additional proof to the power of the soil in North Queens."[25]

Mr. Keillor, although mainly interested in lumbering, was also active in promoting Kempt's membership in the "Patrons of Husbandry," also called the Dominion Grange in July of 1882. He and 15 other lumbermen and farmers of the area were issued a charter at that time by

the Dominion Grange in Brampton, Ontario.[26] Unfortunately, little is known of this organization in Kempt and it appears to have had a quiet and short-lived career, as oral informants could supply no evidence of its existence or activities. Before the exhibition was finally established in Caledonia in 1886, one-day exhibitions were held in Pleasant River and Kempt.[27] Perhaps by becoming a member of Canada's Grange Society, Kempt had hoped that the exhibition might settle permanently with them.

In 1886 the trustees of the North Queens Agricultural Building, comprised of David Sherriff, Richard Hunt, and William Dolliver, purchased a lot of land from Frederick Kempton of Bear River for $10.00. This lot was situated in Caledonia, certainly the most central village of this area, and was then established as the Baptist Meeting House Lot. Little time was wasted and during the summer a large building for the fall exhibition was erected which still stands. On October 13th and 14th of that year the exhibition was held and it was a huge success. There were estimated to have been 2,000 people present. Over 200 teams of horses were on the grounds and the stables were filled to overflowing.[28] From that time on the exhibition occupied a permanent place in the life of Northern Queens County (Photo P-020). By 1892 consideration had to be given to expansion and an additional 20 acres of land were acquired. This land, through which the present Westfield highway now runs, was obtained from the Crown.

By the turn of the century the exhibition enterprise and farming in general had become prosperous enough to consider incorporation. Given the mining activities in the area, this "rush to riches" should not be surprising. Thus, in 1907, the Provincial Assembly passed an Act to incorporate the North Queens Agricultural Association. It was now a body corporate consisting for the most part of well-known citizens from Brookfield and Caledonia; namely, William P. Dolliver, Rufus C. Henry, Josiah Smith, Edgar B. Smith, George Rafuse, and, finally, Richard Hunt (MLA, Queens County, 1890-97).

The aims of the Association were not too far removed from the Agricola tenets of 90 years previously.

> The objects of the Association shall be the encouraging and promoting of the introduction of improved stock, seeds, fruits, agricultural implements, methods of culture, drainage, orchard cultivation, domestic manufactures and industries, the holding of exhibitions and the awarding of premiums for excellence in respect to any such matters, the diffusing of information concerning agriculture and horticulture, and generally the advancing of the interests of agriculture and horticulture.[29]

Shares in the Association were offered at a reasonable rate of five dollars each to all residents of Northern Queens with a capital stock of $1,500 and these were quickly purchased. Interest in agriculture had certainly not flagged. Even the local newspaper published in Caledonia recognized this fact. It had been founded by W.H. Banks who had come to Caledonia as part of the rush for gold in the 1880s. Disappointed in this venture he had established a newspaper - The Gold Hunter, perhaps named ironically after himself. He quickly recognized, however, the importance of agriculture in the area and during the 1890s renamed his newspaper The Gold Hunter and Farmers Journal.

In 1908 an additional two acres were purchased by the Association

Figure 9. North Queens Exhibition Grounds, Caledonia ca. 1900 (P-020). (*Original with Oliver Smith, South Brookfield, Queens County.*)

between the building lot and the Halifax and South Western railway line for $225. The exhibition continued to prosper and it drew prominent personalities, politicians and writers yearly. The lieutenant-governor of the province attended during the first decade of the twentieth century. He was the first governor to reach this area since Kempt's visit in 1822 and he highly praised the northern Queens County farmers.[30] Money was rarely lost on the ventures. In his financial statement of 1912, J. Smith shows a credit of $161.04 for the Association despite two days of rain. The total cost for the exhibition was $915.00 and over half of this was prize money. Much of the labour and supplies were donated as the many communities in the area cooperated in this enterprise.

Cooperation, more than provincial grants, was what kept the exhibition in existence. In 1935 the focus shifted from agricultural promotion generally to the exhibition specifically. In that year the North Queens Agricultural Association became the Queens County Fair Association. Growth continued and today it is considered one of, if not, the biggest little fairs in Nova Scotia.[31]

Markets for the Farmer

Before turning to another successful venture that began in this area, the economic forces that were acting on the district should be examined more closely. The gold mining, the lumbering industry, and the railway have been hinted at and will be dealt with in detail in later chapters. However, as they had some influence on agriculture, a cursory look would be useful at this point.

For the area under study, 1885 to 1905 was an economic boom period. Gold had been found in Whiteburne, Brookfield, and Molega in quick succession and the population and capital influx into the district rose sharply. The Molega area, previously inhabited only by a few Indians, quickly grew to over 1,000 inhabitants with four general stores and two hotels. The labour had to be fed, as did the many travellers who were passing through the area and staying at the new hotels in Caledonia. Men like George Parker[32] and Maurice Harlow[33] of North Brookfield found ready markets for their farm products. The bread basket of the North was now selling most of its merchandise at home.

By 1905, however, the wealth had passed, the gold had run out for a variety of reasons and the farmers turned once more to supplying the lumbermen, as they had done in the pre-gold-rush era. The men who came to work in lumbering and, by the early years of this century, in the pulp industry were boarded and fed locally. By the 1920s yet another industry, albeit minor, was making its demands on the farmers. The tourist trade was in its infancy and the lodge at Kejimkujik, Minard's Cabins and the Milford House were popular spots for the (mainly American) tourists. They had also to be fed and, given their appreciation of the local produce, they became a ready market for local agrarians.

The major drawback to the expansion of agricultural markets had been lack of transport. The gold-mining industry had brought a secondary benefit to North Queens. When the mining market closed in 1905, the railway which had been built in 1903 to service the mines (Photo P-043) was still there. Crops could now be transported by rail and not be delayed as readily by the elements. Instead of the long journey that Harlow had experienced to take his crops to Liverpool, fresh vegetables, fruits, and meat could be in Bridgewater within a few hours. Thus, besides the normal export of lumber on the trains, foodstuffs were also going out. The railway also made a more accessible machinery, chemicals and other modern devices for the twentieth century farmer. Perversely, the railway also provided an even faster means for the young to leave. Machinery that came in on the train meant less need of maintaining a large family and the young were quickly whisked away to Boston or western Canada for adventure and/or fortune.[34]

The Apple Industry

The railway had provided an enormous boost for the apple industry in the Annapolis Valley in the 19th century. North Queens was an excellent apple-growing area as well. It was this crop that was to

initiate the formation of a cooperative venture in the early part of this century which has lasted up to the present day; this being the Queens County Co-operative Association.

In a photograph taken of South Brookfield at the turn of the century, the apple orchards in the foreground are immediately obvious.[35] Not surprisingly, it was from Brookfield that much of the impetus for apple exporting came. A dozen apple trees were an integral part of a nineteenth century farm. However, it was not until the settlement of this area was firmly established that the viability of large apple orchards became evident. In 1886, W.S. Crooker was reported to have planted 1,000 apple trees of different varieties - Non Pareil, Baldwin, Gravenhurst and Ribston Pippin - on his farm in South Brookfield. He now had over 3,000 apple trees to tend. Crooker was no doubt influenced by the extensive apple growth in Annapolis Valley and the expanding trade with Great Britain in the 1870s and 1880s.[36] Much of this trade was going to Halifax and on to Britain.[37] However, in 1881, the Neptune became the first steamer to carry apples directly from Annapolis Royal to London. It transported 6,806 barrels of apples and the demand in Britain was constantly increasing.[38] The drumlins of Northern Queens were not unsuited to orchard culture and the farmers, like Crooker, responded enthusiastically.

The problems that arose by the 1890s were not "too little" but "too much." In 1870-71 Queens County had produced 11,427 bushels; by 1880-81 production had doubled to 23,615 bushels, and by 1890-91 it had doubled once more to 59,312 bushels.[39] In 1896, the complaint was distribution. The Liverpool Advance in September of that year noted that the greatest need was proper facilities for reaching a market and predicted that for want of proper facilities, thousands of barrels of fruit would be practically valueless.[40]

By the turn of the century a Mr. S.D. James was in the North Queens district buying apples for the English market. He was the "pioneer" buyer in the district and paid spot cash for the 1,000 barrels he bought in the fall of 1901.[41] McLeod noted in a book published in 1903 that the apple culture had enjoyed "gratifying success." The fall crop (presumably 1902) had brought 3,000 barrels of marketable fruit and experts pronounced them second to none in the province.[42]

The farmers, however, felt they were not getting their money's worth from the buyers who offered far below the market price.[43] Therefore, in 1908, the North Queens Fruit Packing Company Ltd. was established with its head office in Caledonia. Its paramount object was to buy and sell fruit, fodder and other farm produce for the farmers. Section 19 of the bylaws dealt specifically with apples and stated that all apples grown by any shareholder of the company should be handed over to the company for packing and marketing.[44] In 1914 the company became a Joint Stock Company with bylaws similar to those already mentioned. A warehouse was built to handle the apples in 1914 (Photo P-021) and a rail spur was constructed to connect it with the main railway line. This fitted the Nova Scotia pattern very nicely, for between 1895 and 1921, 105 fruit warehouses were built during this - the boom time of the fruit industry. Mr. Clarence Crooker who had attended the Agricultural College in Truro was secretary of the company and ran the store for some time. By the 1920s problems with insects and diseases were being noted and the company imported fertilizers and insecticides at a reduced rate for the farmers. Hopes were so buoyant that a canning factory was set up in 1930 in Caledonia. However, this

Figure 10. The North Queens Fruit Packing Co. Ltd., Caledonia ca. 1930 (P-021). (*Original with J. Kenneth Hunt, Caledonia.*)

was to last only two or three years. The decline of the apple industry[45] and, of course, the world-wide depression reduced apple production enormously and by 1937 the company had to reassess its position. It was decided in that year that the Fruit Packing Company had failed in its original function and it turned to marketing potatoes and other vegetables. As of 1940, some progress had been made but to break into a market previously monopolized by Prince Edward Island potatoes was not an easy task. However, the farmers held firm to their cooperative movement and to agriculture despite the discouraging words of one shareholder in 1944 that "... no farm in Queens County can support a family on a decent scale of living."[46] In 1945, to prevent shares falling into the hands of a few members, the Queens County Co-operative Company was formed and in spite of the development of shopping centres and improved communication - roads and television - has managed to draw sufficient clientele in Northern Queens to remain in business.

Thus, by 1940 the lodestar of the Northern Queens County residents was still agriculture. From the earlier agricultural competition of the 1820s, through the era of improved machinery, gold mining, co-op movements, and depression, it had prospered or faltered but never lost its position as the foundation of the society.

PINE, PULP AND BUTTER BOXES

Just as agricultural land was consistently an important part of Northern Queens County through 140 years of its history, so too were the timberlands. The two were in tandem and when one fell back it was hoped the other would take up the slack. Sometimes they pulled together and prosperity resulted. Neither really ceased to provide some income to the inhabitants of the area. The exploitation of the timberland, however, must be considered as secondary to the exploitation of the farmland. Lumbering was, and would remain, a prop which strengthened the society but, if removed, would not lead to the society's collapse.

As a small part of the Empire's "woodyard," Queens County's timber production in the late 18th and early 19th centuries reflected the demands that Britain made upon it.[1] If the cheaper timber trade of the Baltic region was closed to Britain, as it was during the war with the French Republic in 1808-9, Britain turned to her colonies for material support. As the century wore on the spectacular post-civil-war growth in the United States created a considerable demand for timber. By the second half of the 19th century the virgin growth had been removed with a thoughtless disregard for what later generations would consider minimal conservation practices and the secondary growth was substandard. Fortunately, however, the beginning of the 19th century saw the perfection of the process of creating paper from wood pulp combined with a growing need for paper, much of it for printing in order to amuse and inform the rapidly increasing literate population, a product of the introduction of universal free public education in the mid-years of the century. Pulpwood was thus in demand and once more Queens County had a market for its raw materials.

It was not the fertile farming soil that had brought the many travellers and traders to Northern Queens before 1800 but the wood products of the dark forest and the game it sheltered. Liverpool from its earliest beginnings took a great interest in the timber of the hinterland. Many of the new settlers who came to the northern part of the county in the early 1800s came to cut, then stayed to farm. Throughout Nova Scotia the cutting went on and, in fact, the Central Agricultural Board in Halifax encouraged this destruction of the timber. In 1819, medals were given for the clearing of the forest and the cultivating of new land. However, this practice was discontinued in 1821 as John Young was quite perturbed by this "rage for cutting down and occupying the forest, which spends itself to the detriment of our cultivable lands."[2] Young need not have been so cautious for the timberland was rich in Northern Queens. Smith in his ramblings of 1801 notes the great tracts of hardwood land and the young growth of maple, ash, and beech.[3] In the area just northeast of William Burke's home, the trees had been blown down by a gale ca. 1720 and the next year a fire had destroyed a wide stretch of woodland. These tracts were now covered by beech, hard maple, and white ash. The Smith report was

meticulous in this regard and serves to demonstrate the particular interest that the Nova Scotia government and the British government had at that time - namely, timber.

Beginnings of the Timber Trade

The demand in the West Indies for timber in the last half of the 18th century had led to the construction of a number of sawmills in Liverpool and the area. For example, the Falls (Milton) had three sawmills by 1764.[4] In the wake of the American and French revolutions, Nova Scotia's prime export became timber, either white pine for masts and spars or "ton timber" (hewn logs) for the English sawmills to turn into boards for the construction of ships for an empire at war. It would also serve to build houses for the burgeoning urban population that the industrial revolution had spawned in England.

In Northern Queens County the first settler, William Burke does, in his own fashion, personify the interests that the Liverpool merchants had for this area. Burke and the later settlers would usually work in the woods and sell to the timber interests in Liverpool. For example, many of the early grants of land in Northern Queens County were taken up by lumbermen in Milton and Liverpool and most of these areas bordered on the lakes and rivers of the interior.[5] A more accurate symbol of the early life in the area would be Josiah Smith who built a sawmill soon after arriving in the north of the county. It was his mill that turned timber to boards for the newly arrived Caledonia settlers. Using the up-and-down saw of the water-driven mill was certainly easier than the labour required if the settlers had been forced to use the open pit saw.[6] Thus, the new settlers were not lacking in material to construct furniture, utensils, and homes.

With new settlers as labour and with roads leading to Liverpool, timber production could only increase. Despite this, lumber crews were still being recruited in the Liverpool area by the timber merchants there and the river drive in spring was a much faster means to transport timber down to Liverpool. Rarely were the sawmills in this area used for export in the first half of the nineteenth century, as it was more usual to drive the logs to Liverpool before processing them into the various cuts. If the sawmills in the north were used this would mean that the lumber would have to be transported by road or raft, both methods being very cumbersome, expensive, and time-consuming. The north had to be content to ship out their timber in its natural state.

The monopoly in timber production that the colonies in the British empire had built up during the Napoleonic War held firm after 1815. In Nova Scotia the major export from the port of Liverpool to the motherland in the first quarter of the 19th century was hewn logs or "ton timber" and, as mentioned, any change in demand there had its effect in Liverpool.[7] The early 1820s saw increased prosperity in Britain but this led to excited speculation, higher prices, and inflation. By the mid-1820s the pace had become too fast and money tightened up. Prices crashed and the shipping and timber industry by 1826-27 was in ruins. The exporting of hewn logs from Liverpool virtually ceased. This export industry was greatly affected by the

British collapse. However, other factors must be taken into consideration. The best of the white pine in coastal Nova Scotia had been cut[8] and in Liverpool the timber merchants had to send crews farther and farther inland in order to cut the desired wood. Perhaps these factors all combined to turn the merchants away from the export industry and forced them to use their timber resources for their own consumption. Applying the profits of shipping and earlier privateering, the merchants used their planks and boards for the building of ships. As the timber export slump continued into the 1830s, Liverpool capital was diverted to the shipping industry.[9] The 1840s saw the yards turning out square riggers, thus taking part in a widespread shipbuilding movement in Nova Scotia which rapidly took over the province's carrying trade in lumber and fish.[10] The production was spurred once more by events occurring elsewhere for "no storehouse of raw materials needed by the outside world can have much mastery over its destiny."[11] The Crimean War (1854-56), the Indian Mutiny (1857), and the Civil War in the United States (1861-65) provided demand for Nova Scotia's industry. It was not until the 1870s that Liverpool, beneficiary of events beyond its control, became the victim of an external phenomenon - a widespread business depression. However, before this is considered, a closer examination of how all this activity affected Northern Queens County must be made.

From 1830 to 1860 the initial settlement of Northern Queens was paralleled by a scramble to take up the Crown grants of timberland that lay on the rivers and lakes above Lake Rossignol.[12] The oak, beech, and birch that grew there was useful for shipbuilding, as well as for making containers - barrels and buckets - in which goods could be shipped. The almost 200 square miles of lakes and rivers facilitated the movement of timber and, where necessary, roads were built for easy access to these waterways. Between 1845 and 1848, a road was built from Devonshire connecting Caledonia with Lake Rossignol, presumably for no other reason than to aid the timber industry. It extended the road already there which connected this area (near present-day Payzant Lake) with Caledonia.[13] The farmers in the area certainly divided their yearly workload, working on their farms in the summer and in the woods during the winter when they left the upkeep of the farms to their usually large families. Joseph Howe warned that such a procedure would lead to neglect of the farm and thence to poverty.[14] However, the lure of cash or credit could not fail to attract many workers from the area and they fed the growing lumber and shipping industries in the south. By 1870 there were 30 sawmills in operation in Queens County, supplying internal and external demands, and almost one-third of these were water mills in the northern section of the county. During the boom period before this (1840-70) an enormous number of ships were built. In 1864, the peak year of production, the shipyards at Milton, Liverpool, and Brooklyn launched 14 ships.[15] It was during this period that Canada looked to a second major customer to supplement its trade with Britain. The United States began to play a bigger role, both as customers for raw materials and capitalists for business ventures. Such a shift was bound to have its repercussions on Liverpool and the area to the north. The boom of the 1860s was about to become the bust of the 1870s. In Queens County the Bank of Liverpool had been founded in 1871 and the Bank of Acadia in 1872. The logging and shipbuilding operations went on, merrily climbing to new profits on a mountain of banknotes

printed by these Liverpool banks. The bank managers borrowed in turn from one of the big banks in Halifax. However, somewhere up the line where much of this money was coming from, the reaction set in. A financial panic in New York, brought on by a stock market crash, spread like a tidal wave across the whole of North America, leaving once prosperous industries in disarray.[16] Banks closed and their notes became valueless. When the repercussions finally hit Queens County, it was disastrous. To pay back loans everything had to go - ships, mills, timberland, homes, and belongings. By 1875 Liverpool was in a depression cycle which it would not pull out of for half a century.[17]

Needless to say, the financial prospects in Northern Queens plummetted with the withdrawal of labour and capital by Liverpool merchants and bankers. The lumber industry ground to a halt and local businesses and entrepreneurs suffered accordingly. Melton Douglas of Caledonia was a prominent lumber merchant and, as was the usual custom of lumber merchants in the last century, he opened a small store to supply his woodsmen in the 1870s. With the failure of the Bank of Liverpool and the double liability due on his loans, Melton Douglas' store and lumber business went broke.[18] Another example of the effect of Liverpool's collapse was in Brookfield. In the prosperous times, two Brookfield natives, Waterman and Hunt, had established an up-and-down sawmill on the Medway River near Brookfield. The mill went "flat broke" soon after the Bank of Liverpool went out of business and the two men returned to farming.[19] Fortunately for the northern part of the county the depression was not to last more than a decade for in 1884 gold was discovered in Northern Queens. There followed a period of prosperity for the area unequalled in the nineteenth century. The discovery of gold in Whiteburn, some six miles southwest of Caledonia, in 1884, brought to Northern Queens County a virtually unending stream of labour looking for work in the mines and capitalists looking to finance golden dreams.[20] Despite a brief slump in 1893-94, brought about by the lack of capital investment from the United States, the "golden age" continued in this section of the county until 1905 when the last major mines manager, W.L. Libbey (Photo P-046), closed up the Brookfield Mine and moved to Mexico to mine silver. Later, due to the rise in the price of gold on the world market, there was increased interest in the Queens County gold mines during the 1930s but any shafts that were opened closed down due to lack of labour, capital, and gold. However, the 20 years of prosperous mining from 1884 to 1905 provided not only work in the mines for the young men but also work in the woods. Homes and stores had to be built, pit props hewn and cordwood cut and carried to feed the numerous steam boilers used in the mines (Photo P-009). The long trek to Liverpool was no longer necessary. For most farmers-cum-lumbermen the market was now the mines. The money earned in this market helped to build a larger Caledonia centered in the middle of the gold fields and assisted the area partway through that rough period beginning with the financial collapse in the 1870s to the beginnings of the modern pulp industry in the 1920s.[21] Wood-based industries flourished in Caledonia. During the 1890s there were two carriage makers situated in Caledonia - William Gibbons and Charles Harlow. The Freeman brothers (Thaddeus and John) started a furniture factory just north of Caledonia (Photo MP-040-41) around 1892[22] and Thaddeus, an experienced carpenter, turned out a number of very fine pieces of

furniture using local wood.[23] At least in wood products, the economic connection had finally been completed with the raw materials, manufacturing, and actual consuming occurring wholly in Northern Queens.

The "Woods Work"

Throughout this period of the study, the bulk of the population that worked with wood in Northern Queens were involved in cutting, limbing, and hauling the unprocessed timber to the mills. To fully understand this process, a complete examination of the woodsman, his tools, his dress, and his lodgings, at the turn of the century would be useful.

There were two basic types of timber producers. The first was the independent farmer who would cut in the woods, have the logs sawed locally, then haul the board by ox team to Liverpool or Annapolis to sell. At the same time, the whole of the population in the Northern Queens area utilized the forests.[24] Timber would be cut into short lengths and split for firewood or dragged home as poles for fences and tools or perhaps planed into boards and planks and used as building materials. As Martin puts it:

> ... most farmers became part-time loggers, and wood provided an important part of his cash income ... [he could come home from Liverpool] ... with flour, tea and footwear for his family.[25]

The second type was the seasonal labourer - the man who went into a woods camp, stayed the winter, helped with the spring drive and was paid off by his employer.

Very often a farmer, or more likely one of his sons, would carry out both of the above roles in order to supplement the family income. Maurice Harlow recounts working with his uncle, George, and his father, Albert, in April 1878 attempting to move a raft of logs across Tupper Lake, then hauling the logs home. Within two weeks Maurice was hauling the same logs, now lumber, from the mill in Brookfield, again with his uncle and his father. Fifteen thousand feet in all was taken from 100 logs and the two brothers each got 6,300 feet, the remainder being refuse. Such cooperation and payment in kind, by a division of the product was the usual practice when timber was cut.[26] Some of this lumber may have been sent on to Liverpool. The previous fall Maurice had taken such a trip to the coast. It was not an enviable task. At two o'clock on the morning of October 16, Harlow left North Brookfield with 1,000 feet of lumber on a wagon drawn by oxen. By noon the next day he had reached Liverpool, transacted the necessary business, and was home by dark on the eighteenth of October[27] - a three-day journey now done in a morning. Others found Annapolis Royal a better customer. In the early part of this century the firm of Pickles and Mills Limited drew a lot of timber trade from Maitland Bridge and New Grafton.[28] Although it was a shorter trip, a major reason for not making it was that the ox team would have to negotiate "Mickey hill," a rather tortuous winding pull in the best of seasons. Still, the driver would receive $8.00 a thousand in cash as compared to $10.00 a thousand

in credit from the Liverpool merchants and might, therefore, view Annapolis as the better market.[29] Either way the farmer had a market to which he could turn if he needed additional cash or supplies.

Maurice Harlow may also be taken as an example of the second type of woods labour although not typical for he spent only ten weeks logging on Lake Tobeatic, four miles west of Lake Rossignol. In his diary he describes briefly his only sojourn in a woods camp. He also notes his production stating that he cut 558 logs in two months and eight days and averaged $10\frac{1}{2}$ logs a day. By the time he left for home, however, his taste for woods life was noticeably dampened for he describes the area in which he worked as "... a wild, rocky, barren wilderness."[30]

Somewhere in this wilderness a camp had to be built for men to sleep, eat, and entertain themselves as they cut their "10 logs a day."[31] Once the timber surveyor (or cruiser) had determined the best area in which to cut timber, a campsite was selected (Photo P-042) close to a meadow so the hay could be used to feed the oxen and horses. In the early days, the men's living quarters were usually mere hovels of logs, moss, and mud, with a dirt floor. The roof was a spruce or hemlock bark which was peeled off the whole circumference of the tree in four foot sheets. The fireplace faced the door and behind it was space for the cook with his pots and pans. On each side of the structure were the men's sleeping quarters where the men lay on a floor of boards softened somewhat by a layer of brushwood. They were very rough structures with no stove, table, chimney, or windows to add a measure of comfort to the dwelling. By the 1890s stoves became more common and more buildings were being added. Tarpaper covering became more prevalent (Photo P-079). Despite such improvements, these difficult conditions would not be endured by men who could make more money in greater comfort in the gold fields of Brookfield or the streets of Boston. No doubt, the large flow of emigrants from the area reflected this fact.

The food eaten in the camps was not fancy but it was filling. Fresh meat from the surrounding forests, beans, bread, tea, and molasses were common.[32] This fare was basically to fortify men working from dawn to dusk six days a week (Photo P-075). There was little time for entertainment in this all-male society but in the evening when the work was done and the men not too weary a musical instrument could be found and a singsong might be held. Others might play checkers or cards or read. Sunday was often visiting day with a trip to a neighbouring camp or perhaps a two- or three-day trek home to see how the farm was managing without the farmer.

The axe was the tool of the woodsmen in the nineteenth century. The single-bitt "pole ax" was the most popular but by 1900 the double-bitted ax was being used. It was used mostly by the young men, for the older loggers considered it a "dangerous weapon."[33] Before the introduction of the crosscut saw ca. 1900, the axe was used to cut, trim, and peel the log and the butt was "sniped," that is, rounded at one end so it would not catch on the rocks as it was being dragged to the log brow. The oxen were usually the draught animal (Photo P-042) but they were eventually replaced by horses in the twentieth century.[34]

Figure 11. Rowter's Logging Camp, Milford Lakes, left to right: William Rowter, his sons John and Robert, and Archie Martin, 1908 (P-079). (*Original with Mrs. A. Parker, Maitland Bridge.*)

Figure 12. Rowter's Mill, Milford Lakes, John Rowter of Maitland Bridge, cook, fourth from left, back row, ca. 1905 (P-075). (*Original with Mrs. A. Parker, Maitland Bridge, Annapolis County.*)

The "White Water" Work

Man and animal worked their way towards spring and day by day the log piles grew. The piles, looking like a log cabin settlement, dotted the frozen lake and the lakeshore. By March or April, the ice melted and one by one the log brows collapsed into the water and were steered into log booms. The men began to pack up their clothing, jackets, homespun pants and shirts, mittens, and larrigans,[35] in preparation for the spring drive. Some would be paid off and return to their homes. Others, the more skilled (and some would say foolhardy) would join the special "white water" men[36] and take the logs through the waterways of Northern Queens and down to Liverpool or Port Medway. Only the best men would go, for this job required skill and endurance where one slip on a log jam meant a violent death.[37]

A log drive by the early years of the 20th century might begin up the Mersey River above Lake Kejimkujik. From Eleven Mile Lake to Lake Kejimkujik might take up to a week. Then once the lake was reached the logs had to be boomed and winched across. This would usually be done at night to avoid the wind and the whole procedure might take a couple of days.[38] The logs would be grouped into blocks of a dozen or so and each block would be held together by hooks and chains or "toggles." The blocks would be connected in a tram-like procession with ropes. At the head of this train of logs would be fastened the "headworks" where the winch and rope (or warp) would be situated. At the end of the winch rope was an anchor. This anchor was placed in a small boat[39] and rowed away from the headworks the length of the winch rope before being dropped into the lake. Six men on the headworks would then crank the windlass and, in this way, pull the train of logs towards the spot where the anchor was sunk. Once this point was reached the anchor was drawn up and taken further on. The groan of the windlass and the grunts of tired men echoed across the still dark lake and the logs, like the tail of an inchworm, slowly drew closer to Liverpool. Once across the lake, blocks of logs were broken up and the drive continued down the Mersey to Lake Rossignol.[40] Here the whole agonizing process was repeated. The men wrestled with the heavy logs armed only with the "handspike" and the "canthook." (By the early 1890s the "peavey" was becoming popular with the men on log drives as it combined the sharp spike and the cant hook into a simple yet very adaptable tool.[41]) Besides the manoeuvring of logs on the lake, the loggers had to use their tools to ensure that logs would not become "winged" or pile up on each side of the Mersey River thus forming an increasingly narrow water channel which could easily be jammed by an errant log. A jam formed quickly and the larger it grew, the more dangerous it became. It was the job of the river driver to nimbly keep the drive going and at the same time avoid being crushed by the tons of timber.

The drive, once safely across Lake Rossignol, would take another 30 days to reach the sawmills in Milton.[42] Thus, a drive beginning a few miles above Kejimkujik Lake might entail well over six weeks of log driving. Supplies, therefore, were carried with the crew. Roy Gordon remembers the drive he was on carrying potatoes, salt beef, salt cod, sauerkraut and molasses. Sanitary conditions were not the best for he notes that a rat was found in the molasses keg and the men went off molasses "for a few days."[43] Able men had to be fed well and, as

has been noted, these men were specialists in the most dangerous part of woods work. A skillful river driver was valued and paid accordingly.[44] A number of the Indians living in Northern Queens were considered excellent drivers. Morton notes in his diary in 1920 that Lem Hunt was given five dollars a day to be on the drive while the daily rate then was $4.25. Morton justifies his action with the comment "... an awful price but he is considered a good man."[45]

Processing the Timber

In this way the timber reached Milton,[46] the men were paid off, no doubt spending some of their earnings in Liverpool, and the lumber merchant collected his money from the Liverpool dealers at a rate dependent on the type of timber he had brought down river. More usually, the Liverpool dealers had financed the woods work from the beginning and it was they who ran the sawmills to which the timber eventually came. Robert McLeod notes that John Millard was not only a principal timber operator in Liverpool but he was also engaged in the shipbuilding industry.[47]

The resistless power of the saw, be it an up-and-down saw, a gang saw, or the rotary,[48] slowly reduced the great stands of timber in Northern Queens. The list of the mills in the whole of the county by 1900 is almost endless. The small mills in the interior bordered the rivers and streams from Milford to Brookfield. By 1900 an ever-increasing number of steam mills were being used which would allow the lumber operator to free himself from the water power he once needed and also permit him to saw all year round if he wished. He could then move his operation to where the best stands were. This naturally meant an increased dependency on roads and, later, railways.[49]

The following sawmills of Northern Queens County were running at full throttle ca. 1900, many managed by men connected with dealers on the coast but some by independent entrepreneurs. James Dailey, John McLean, and Ira Pittman Smith each had a sawmill in Brookfield, a village which had reached the peak of its prosperity due to the gold mines. The Nathaniel Smith mill in Harmony used the waterpower of Long Lake, now Harmony Lake, to turn a set of wheels within wheels for it served as a thresher and grist mill as well as a sawmill (Photo P-078). The Delong Settlement, now Albany New, was busy with Humphrey, and later Everett Delong running a shingle and lumber mill on the Medway River.[50] Everett's brother, Eldridge Delong, built a water-powered mill on the shores of Grafton Lake in this period and cut in the Grafton Lake area for over a decade.[51] Further north William Rowter had established a sawmill in Maitland Bridge while at the same time running a general store.[52] These mills could handle local consumption which needed boards, planks, shingles, or even the pit props required by the mines. The larger operators like John Millard and A.W. Hendry in Liverpool and the Pickles and Mills firm in Annapolis wanted the timber for export.[53] Hendry maintained his close contacts with his birthplace, Brookfield, and, in fact, the names of his ships reflected his nostalgia for the north country.[54] However, the decline of the sawmill era had set in. The almost silent swish of water mills was

being replaced by the chug of steam engines[55] and the ever-diminishing stands of timber were rapidly being cut and ground up to satisfy the increasing world demand for pulp.[56]

Pine to Pulp

The process for producing paper from spruce pulp was in the experimental stage before the middle of the 19th century. However, it was not until the later part of the century that the cheap machinery necessary to complete this process was being produced. By 1895 Charleston, on the Medway River north of Mill Village, had a small pulp mill and by 1901 another was built, this time on the Mersey River at Cowies Falls. By 1902 Milton had two pulp mills owned by Acadia Pulp and Paper Mills Company Limited and powered by water.[57] With the disappearance of the forest monarch - pine - in the early 1900s, the chief export in the lumber trade of Northern Queens was spruce. By 1907 the two small pulp mills had gone bankrupt due to a slump in the market and became part of the MacLeod Pulp and Paper Industry. This company also bought the extensive timber holdings of the old Liverpool lumbering firms on the Mersey River. In Northern Queens the suppliers of the timber to be pulped soon realized the advantages of having their own pulp plants. The Halifax and South Western Railway was completed to Caledonia in 1905 and although it had proven convenient for timber and lumber export, timber and pulpwood river drives still took place. Pulp chips, however, could not be "driven" and the railroad boxcars were seen as an effective way of shipping this partially processed resource to the paper mills. All it would take was some capital and expertise and Northern Queens could make its own pulp.

James Cushing of Caledonia was a busy man and said to be a wealthy one, having made money in California. At first a lumberman, he later ran a large red store at Caledonia Corner ca. 1885 (Photo P-050). Cushing had then begun a carding mill which was on the same site and used the same power source as Thaddeus Freeman's furniture factory.[58] By 1900, however, Cushing had sold his carding mill and was looking very closely at the pulp industry. Spruce was abundant in the area and the Medway River offered a ready power source. The "dreamer," as one writer calls him, built a dam at McGowan Lake[59] (which flows into the Medway River near the present road from Harmony to Westfield). Eventually he got the buildings up and a road, still called Cushing Road, was cut to shorten the distance from the mill to Caledonia and its promised railway. By about 1905 he was grinding spruce trunks to pulp but he did not have the capital to continue. Thus, by 1908 the Harmony Pulp and Paper Company had been formed, with the latter part of the title - Paper - a vision of the future. Captain William Brooks ran the company for some time[60] but the price of pulp had fallen and a severe flood had washed away the head gates of the pulp mill. No further capital was forthcoming and Cushing foreclosed his mortgage and "took back his mill."[61] While in operation the mill had produced good quality pulp, as well as employment,[62] but there were too many difficulties to overcome. Cushing could not run his mill on enthusiasm and when he died ca. 1910 perhaps he hoped it would be run on faith for

Figure 13. James Cushing General Store ca. 1900 (P-050). (*Original with Fred Shay, Caledonia, Queens County.*)

he left it to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Baptist Church.

In 1916 Amos W. Broughton arrived from the United States looking for investment possibilities. He bought the mill and after ordering and installing new machinery, began production. However, his major "customer" stymied him. The United States placed an embargo on pulp in 1917 and thus Broughton's sheds stood full of pulp with nowhere to ship it. By 1918 it had been named the Caledonia Development Company Limited but this did not improve its financial position. In 1922 it was taken over for a brief period by the Summit Pulp Company in Bear River but this company did not make a success of it either.

In 1923 new capital and a new name, Caledonia Mills, appeared in Caledonia and, once more, an attempt was made to revitalize Cushing's dream. A familiar face was back - A.W. Broughton. This time he had greater capital baking and was himself a one-third owner of the new company. Again the mill was rebuilt and soon employed two dozen men directly as it turned out up to 20 tons of pulp per day. The Gold Hunter, the local newspaper, had always encouraged local industry in its editorials and this was another venture that got its approval. In its advertisement columns in 1925 the new pulp concern[63] stated that 3,000 cords of spruce were needed for the following year. Although prices are not quoted, the advertisement does note that if pulpwood is shipped out of Northern Queens only $5.00 is left in the district. However, pulp made at the Harmony Mill will keep $20.00 in the district. Certainly, this appealed to the Gold Hunter's readership.

A little more than a year after this advertisement the mill was gone, its passing marked by the headlines "Fire of Unknown Origin Takes Heavy Toll in Queens County." On 22 June 1926 the plant was destroyed in two hours and with its fiery demise went an estimated $75,000 to $100,000 worth of equipment and buildings and the jobs of over 100 men employed by the industry.[64] Pulp processing in Northern Queens

would not be revived for some time but, fortunately for the area, the wood industry, despite over a century of exploitation, could still provide some income for those who wished to go into it. Two industries, one in Liverpool and one in Brookfield, would help to ease the Northern Queens area through the economic depression that would soon darken the horizon.

Liverpool's overall economic stagnation had been partially overcome by the First World War. The shipyards turned out a fleet of three-masted schooners and a wooden cargo steamer. The pulp and sawmills were not lacking business. However, with the war's end, speculators took over the pulp holdings, mills, and timberland, and without producing, hoped the selling price of this acquisition would rise. The shipyards were dormant and during what was known as the "roaring twenties" elsewhere, silence echoed in Liverpool. However, the late 1920s were to bring the roar of an industry based on pulp that would take Liverpool through the difficult thirties and the war years and into the second half of the 20th century on a stable economic keel.

In 1928 the Mersey Paper Company was incorporated under I.W. Killam, a Nova Scotian who had made his fortune in Montreal. The next year, due to his persistence and capital, the Nova Scotia Power Commission built a storage dam just below Indian Gardens. Hydroelectric plants were set up and the Mersey Paper Company began to roll in December 1929. A large amount of the timberland in the north was acquired by the company and, in an interesting turnabout from the previous decade, jobs were plentiful in the forests of that area during the 1930s while the rest of the country lined up for the dole.

In the Gold Hunter issue of 6 September 1937, the company ran an advertisement for experienced pulpwood cutters at $80.00 a month (with board) which was a good wage for that time, especially when farming was in such an economic slump.[65] The pulp industry had certainly helped to create a partial economic upswing in Northern Queens but, given capital and enterprise, there were still other uses to which the forests of Northern Queens could be put and an entrepreneur from Quebec was about to supply both.

Brookfield Buckets

In the late fall of 1929 land clearing had begun in South Brookfield not far from where the major industries of Brookfield had stood at the Medway River Bridge (Photo P-062).[66] In October of that year, J. Wilfrid Bienvenu from Disraeli, Quebec, had arrived in Brookfield and looked over the ground with a view to constructing a factory which would specialize in making buckets. The pine that once supplied masts for the Royal Navy was about to become the mainstay of a new wood industry in Brookfield.

Under the guidance of Charles Bienvenu, the Bienvenu family, including sons Lionel and the above-mentioned J. Wilfrid, had decided to move their manufacturing plant "lock, stock and barrel" from Disraeli, where it had been established in 1914, to Brookfield, Nova Scotia. A more surprising move could not have been envisioned since the factory brought the whole board of the company and 17 French-speaking families from Quebec to labour in the new factory.[67] Suddenly Brookfield's

population had nearly doubled but it was no longer the homogeneous Protestant English-speaking village it previously had been. By April 1930 construction had begun on a bucket factory and a dry kiln house (Photo P-057) for the newly formed "Nova Scotia Woodenware Company Limited" under the presidency of Charles Bienvenu. In May of the same year frames were being erected for a dozen homes to accommodate the incoming factory workers in close proximity to the factory. The street on which these homes were built became known, not unnaturally, as French Street (Photo MP-015). At the head of French Street stood the management homes and within a few years a Catholic church (Photo MP-009) was added to this white clapboard cluster. Within a year of the area being cleared, the factory went into operation and Brookfield began an era of social and cultural diversity that few communities in Nova Scotia would ever experience.[68]

Brookfield offered certain natural advantages to the new industry - an abundance of timber and a convenient waterway to carry logs to the mill. There were also other benefits that occurred from a move to Brookfield. A population of four to five thousand people could be drawn upon for experienced labour; for transport the Halifax and South Western Railway, now the Canadian National, was less than a mile away; and, as for power, the Nova Scotia Power Commission had recently (1929) completed the construction of a hydroelectric dam at Indian Gardens. Undoubtedly, adequate and accessible electric power had been one of the major concerns of the new factory, for within a year of the dam's completion the plant was in operation.

The new industry quickly attracted labour and men came from as far away as Milton[69] to work. The factory employed over 100 men, with another 100 in the woods cutting timber. The farms were able to supply foodstuffs to some of the labour and, naturally, the small businesses like Lem Hunt's Confectionary or Ray Neily's general store benefitted.

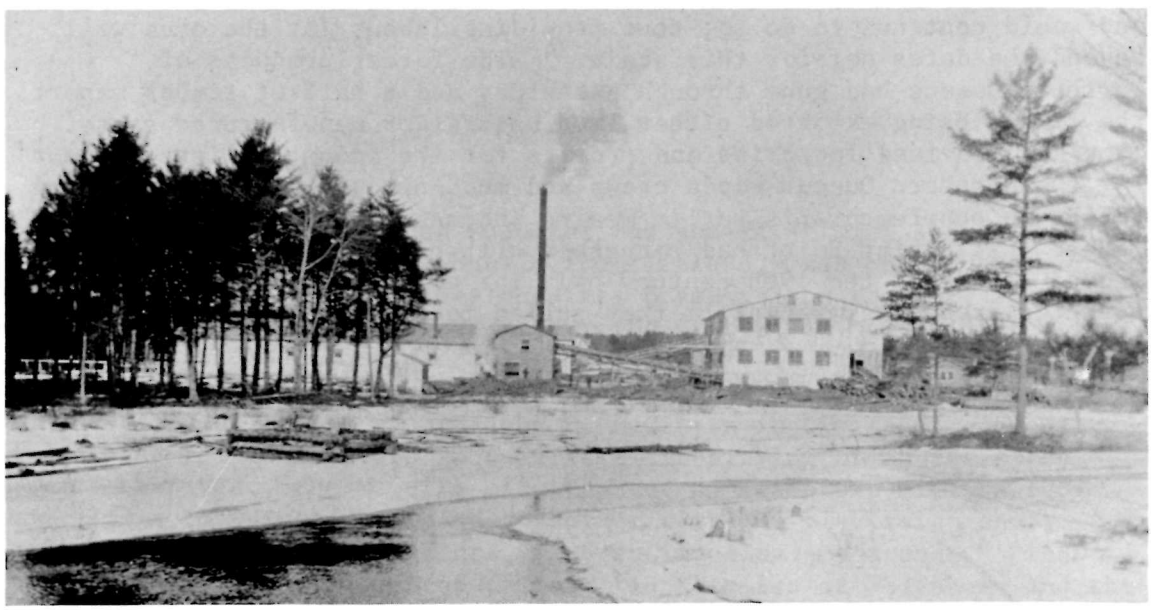


Figure 14. Nova Scotia Woodenware Factory, South Brookfield ca. 1935 (P-057). (*Original with B. Berringer, South Brookfield, Queens County.*)

Throughout the depression the factory ran full time and at full capacity. Containers of all types were manufactured - lard and candy pails, lard tubs, orange crates, and butter boxes. Nova Scotia's 'woodenware' was going to England, South Africa, Australia, and the West Indies. Without this $30,000 a month industry and, alternatively, the pulpwood work supplying the Mersey Mill in Liverpool, the impact of the world-wide economic depression on Brookfield would have been much more severe.

In February 1939 the factory was operating day and night[70] and by 1940 "Merchantable" spruce logs were being bought at $15.00 per thousand feet.[71] This latter development was perhaps a reflection of the increased expense in getting pine that no longer grew in close proximity to the mill or an attempt to diversify the operation by supplying logs to pulpwood operations. With the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939, Canada became more firmly committed to the defence of Britain and this led to a number of men from the Northern Queens area joining the armed forces. More money was in circulation. The labour supply, once so plentiful, was steadily diminished and the woodenware factory advertised incessantly for "men or boys 15 years of age and above" to work in the factory.[72] In August of 1941, a fire broke out in the boiler room of the factory and spread to the dry kiln house. Luckily for the working population of South Brookfield it was extinguished. They were less fortunate in 1944 when another fire started in the factory and, fanned by high winds, destroyed an estimated $300,000 operation.[73] It was not rebuilt and the scattered blackened timbers, twisted cable, and the remains of a brick kiln (Photo MP-016) are all that remain. The company moved out, taking the French families with them and leaving in its wake the houses of French Street, the Catholic Church, now the Calvary Baptist Church (Photo MP-009), and the remnants of one of the more successful wood-based industries in the area.

The Mersey Company, some 30 miles away, was still consuming pulp and would continue to do so, thus providing labour for the area well beyond the dates set for this study.[74] The forest products of Northern Queens had gone through a century and a half of timber export; the timber being exported either in a natural or manufactured state. They had provided factories and profits for the industrialists, labour for the Northern Queens woods crews and much-needed ready cash for the farmer to supplement his rather meagre income. The tandem of field and forest that Josiah Smith had harnessed with his primitive sawmill in the second decade of the 19th century had, for well over 100 years, changed position frequently yet still they pulled together.

GOLD: THE PROMISE UNREALIZED

During the last half of the 19th century, the cry of "Gold" went up in three continents - Africa, Australia, and North America - and echoed through the remainder of the world bringing wave after wave of goldseekers-cum-settlers to the new worlds. Nova Scotia, an old established part of this 'new world', was not lacking in such mineral resources and, therefore, was not immune to the rush. Gold had first been discovered in Nova Scotia in 1858 but there was little sustained interest due to its apparent scarcity and the rich strikes made elsewhere - notably Australia. However, the 1880s brought a renewed rush to Nova Scotia generally and to Northern Queens County in particular. In 1884, the first discovery of gold in Queens County[1] took place at Whiteburn, six miles southwest of the town of Caledonia, and by 1885 the Department of Mines noted that the McGuire brothers had opened up a rich gold lead to a depth of 20 feet.[2] Then the deluge began and men, machinery, and capital flowed into the area. This tide did not diminish for 20 years and even when it did it left pools of experience and wealth.

Agriculture, lumbering, transportation, and eventually tourism were all affected. The gold mining period was indeed an important watershed in the history of Northern Queens County for the mining of gold and the wealth it distributed brought to the area new capital, new hopes, and new horizons, all of which would have their beneficial and detrimental effects.

Mining at Whiteburn

A Whiteburn native, Hugh McGuire, the son of William and Margaret McGuire who had come to Nova Scotia from Ireland,[3] was one of the owners of an early mine. James McGuire, presumably a brother, is identified by the Halifax trade paper, the Critic, as "a resident of Caledonia," not to be confused with John McGuire of McGuire and Eaton.[4] Early in 1886 the mines were booming at Whiteburn and the McGuires, through their agent, John D. McClearn in Liverpool, were advertising for contractors to undertake the sinking of shafts.[5] By July of that year, the McGuire mine boasted a five-stamp mill, a large shop, and a boardinghouse which, together with the blacksmith shop, shaft house, and other buildings, made an imposing appearance.[6] The year's end saw the erection of two additional mills at Whiteburn and the McGuire lode was credited with producing 20 pounds of gold from an 11-day crushing, with a clear profit of $4,400.00, after $400.00 for labour and expenses had been paid.[7]

In 1887 Whiteburn was declared a Gold District and an official

return of over two ounces per ton was shown from two mines.[8] Under the management of Roderick McLeod of Pictou the McGuire property continued to produce well, while to the east the Parker Douglas Mine had 40 men employed with a monthly payroll of $1,400.00 and had installed a ten-stamp mill in 1886.[9] During 1888 the McGuire mine was the only one in the district to operate continuously and accounted for well over half the return. The following year Messrs. McGuire were operators of one of two mines in Whiteburn filing returns with the government and their mine produced just under 50 per cent of the total.[10]

In 1889, owing to the inefficiency of the plant at the McGuire mine and unable to continue the development of the area, it was decided to cease work at the end of the year, pending the purchase of more adequate machinery.[11] This promise was never realized and the Messrs. McGuire were never again mentioned in connection with the gold mining industry of Queens County.[12]

The mill, according to the Department of Mines, was hampered by the fact that it was only capable of handling minimal tonnages of quartz monthly and it lacked modern compressed-air-driven drills for underground work. It may be assumed that the McGuire mine suffered a fate, not uncommon in the early gold mining industry in Nova Scotia; namely, that the absence of proper machinery had prevented the mine from being operated to any depth and, as a consequence, it was merely skimmed and left.

With the closure of the McGuire mine, the Whiteburn Gold District was to enter a period of decline from which it was never to fully recover. The destiny of the Whiteburn district in the formative early years of the industry in Queens, as well as that of its sister districts of Molega and Brookfield, was henceforth to be in the hands of companies comprised chiefly of American capitalists. Local initiative was largely confined to the exploring of previously abandoned work and prospecting.

The enigmatic figure of Gilbert Parker of Philadelphia[13] proved to be one of the more prominent foreign entrepreneurs. The paucity of documentary material available and the constant property transfers which were to take place in the industry during its first ten years in Queens County make an accurate and full assessment of his role impossible, yet the significance of his presence is undeniable.

Gilbert Parker, it appears, arrived in Northern Queens in 1886, for in December the Critic notes that the Philadelphia and Caledonia Mining Company was about to start a new ten-stamp mill at Whiteburn. The president of the company, Mr. Parker, was at the mines and "intends taking a fine brick home with him to Philadelphia."[14] In the same year the Parker Douglas Company was organized under the Laws of the State of Maine with Gilbert Parker as President.[15] We may assume that at sometime during this year Mr. Parker entered into some form of business relationship with Nelson F. Douglas, a prominent Caledonia merchant. The initial work carried on by the Parker Douglas Company at Whiteburn was on a series of claims presumably held by Nelson F. Douglas. The two names are to be linked repeatedly over the next five years.

It appears that Mr. Parker's interest in the Parker Douglas property at Whiteburn met with little success, for no returns specific to the property are registered with the Departmnet of Mines. By 1888 the mine was recorded as idle.

However, Parker had other interests. He was president of two

Boston-based companies, The Queens County Mining Company which was to reopen the idle McGuire mine, and The Rossignol Mining Company[16] which had purchased the largely undeveloped Cushing property in the southern part of the district. Parker was thus continuing an active involvement in the Whiteburn district. Indeed, it was almost like the mid-1880s all over again. In 1890, the Critic commented,

> Machinery and lumber is coming into Whiteburn daily, with lots of other freight from Liverpool and elsewhere. The order of the day is new buildings going up everywhere. Men are in demand both carpenters and miners.[17]

Molega - The Many-Monied Interests

Parker's influence went beyond Whiteburn and extended into the finds at Molega ten miles distant. An area, "rocky and sterile"[18] in 1886, within a decade would become a centre of economic activity and prosperity with an estimated population of 1,000 persons.

In June 1886 two young Brookfield men, Robie Hunt (Photo P-053) and Hubert Spidel, were the first to discover gold in what was to become the Molega Gold District. The richness of the find led to protracted litigation over the location of areas and prompted the Critic to comment,

> Like Carrion crows these jumpers haunt the claims office and are always ready to flop down on any rich district ... A coat of tar and feathers would be a fitting reward for these sneaking professionals.[19]

Understandably, development was slow during that first year but by March of 1887 the mine owned by Parker Douglas at Molega was expanding and they laid plans to erect a 20-stamp mill on their property.[20] Three mills were erected in the district in 1888 - a 20-stamp mill on the property of the Minneapolis and Molega Company; a 20-stamp mill on the Molega Company property; and a ten-stamp mill on the Parker Douglas property which also boasted an air compressor. Mill returns for 1889 indicated that the Parker Douglas mill crushed 789 tons of ore, producing 287 ounces of the 3,976 recorded for the district.[21] Despite such apparently disappointing results, Mr. Parker erected what Malcolm refers to as "a very complete mill and did a large amount of development work in the Northeastern part of the district"[22] on the Caledonia Company property in which he held an interest. It appears that Gilbert Parker intended a long-term investment, for in June 1890 the Caledonia and Parker Douglas companies built a house on a rise which commanded a view of lakes and operations and was used as a place for the management to eat and sleep.[23]

Gilbert Parker could not have been pleased with the results however. Despite an official return of 3,883 ounces for the district in 1890, Caledonia Company produced only 190 ounces of gold with 343 tons of quartz being crushed.[24] Work was curtailed by the Parker Douglas Company and 20 men were discharged.[25] That year the mill and mine buildings at the Caledonia Company property were levelled by a fire which also destroyed the diamond drill Parker had brought in to discover fresh leads.

In early 1891 things looked brighter for Mr. Parker and his associates. The Parker Douglas property at Molega, described by the Department of Mines as being "probably the best equipped mine in the province,"[26] was reopened under the capable management of Roderick McLeod who had previous experience in Whiteburn. Both the Queens and Rossignol Company holdings at Whiteburn were active, prompting the Critic to foresee that "Mr. Parker will have good reason to be happy with his mining investments yet."[27]

Such optimism was to prove unfounded. By the close of 1891, all three mines were idle, as well as the property of the Philadelphia Mining Company which had been purchased by Parker, Roderick McLeod, Nelson F. Douglas, and George Kenty at an auction earlier in the year.[28] With the complete collapse of his mining empire, Gilbert Parker returned to his home in Philadelphia in December 1891 and no further reference to the gentleman is found.

Parker's introduction of compressed air drills and the use of diamond drills to aid in exploration would seem to indicate that he was a mining man of some experience. However, the Canadian Mining Review was to note, following the closure of the Parker Douglas Mine at Molega in November 1891, that although the mine had been extensively equipped with air compressor, drills, and hoisting gear, and also had a large stamp mill, no depth had been reached. Although the mine had been working for three years, the average depth of the workings did not exceed 100 feet.[29]

In view of such revelations we may hypothesize that, in the formative years of the gold mining industry in Queens County, an era of understandably vigorous booming, Mr. Parker and his associates, in their enthusiasm "to strike it rich," mismanaged and over-speculated their properties. Vast sums of capital must have been spent on their surface plants. The loss incurred by fire at the Caledonia Company Mill in 1890 alone did not fall far short of $15,000.[30]

The collapse of the Parker enterprises in 1891, for whatever reason, had a detrimental effect on the industry in Northern Queens County. The major districts of Whiteburn, Molega, and Brookfield were to produce only 2,822 ounces of gold in 1892, as opposed to the 5,619 ounces declared the previous year. The bulk of this production came from the two remaining mines at Molega, the Malaga Mining Company under the management of John McGuire of Maine,[31] and the Boston Gold Mining Company which had completed a mill on their property in 1890. This decline was further reinforced in 1893 when the Malaga Mining Company closed its works,[32] and the combined return of the three districts amounted to a mere 858 ounces, prompting the Department of Mines to state, "That in this county gold mining is not so actively prosecuted as hitherto."[33]

The year 1894 saw a general recession in the gold mining industry of Nova Scotia, no doubt the result of the unstable economic climate in the United States, the source of a great proportion of the development capital. Surprisingly, this year saw slight resurgence in the industry of Queens County, with the major districts returning 1,703 ounces, over half coming from the mine of the Boston Company at Molega. This renaissance at Molega was indeed short-lived, for with the exception of 1898 when 2,040 ounces were produced, the district was never again to approach its previous production figures. Until the arrival of the Queens Mining Company nearly 40 years hence, operations were limited

almost exclusively to small-scale prospecting and tributing by local men.

Brookfield - Wilbur and His Water Problems

The third and final gold centre was the Brookfield Gold District. Here, in September 1894, Wilbur L. Libbey of Boston (Photo P-046) and a number of associates[34] unwatered a mine which had been idle for a number of years. Under Mr. Libbey's management, this mine was to occupy a prominent position among the gold properties of Nova Scotia for 11 years.

Figure 15. W.L. Libbey, President and Manager of Brookfield Mining Company (P-046). (*Original with Otto Wile, Broad Cove, Lunenburg County.*)

Early in 1886, John McGuire who had interests in gold mines in both Queens and Lunenburg counties purchased the areas at Brookfield held by George Colp of Pleasant River and Simeon Ernst, a Bridgewater jeweller.[35] Immediately, underground operations were commenced and by July teams were busy hauling ore from the new workings to the McGuire-Eaton Mill at Pleasant River for crushing. By 1 January 1887[36] a ten-stamp mill, built by the Truro Foundry and Machine Company, was in operation at Brookfield and active mining was carried on through the year, with the mine producing a respectable 1,418 ounces of gold from 1,691 tons of crushed quartz.[37] During the following year little work was done, for in its annual report for 1888 the Department of Mines notes that the neighbouring Philadelphia Mining Company had leased the McGuire mill and built a tramway to it.[38]

In 1889 the McGuire works are reported closed, due to meeting with a break in the formation, prompting the Department of Mines to comment, "If a more determined effort is not made to develop the areas the district must necessarily have but few working mines."[39]

It appears these words went largely unheeded. The Philadelphia Company continued operations making the major returns for the district in 1889 and 1890, but in 1891, shortly after the company passed into the hands of the ubiquitous Gilbert Parker, it too closed. The district remained idle until that autumn day in 1894 when the pumps were started and the old McGuire mine was unwatered.

> Mr. Libbey had the underground workings all surveyed and planned, and in the course of this examination it was found that a well defined paychute existed and was to be looked for some distance from the break. Preparations were at once made to open the Brookfield mine on a different system and an incline shaft some 600' in length was driven so as to undercut the paychute and the methods of ore cutting changed from underhand to breat stoping ...[40]

By February 1895, C.N. Crowe, Libbey's underground foreman, a miner with wide experience outside the province,[41] was directing operations and approximately 45 men were at work. By the year's end 4,242 tons of rock had been milled, yielding 2,975 ounces of gold.

In Nova Scotia, gold occurs not only free and visible and amenable to amalgamation, but also intimately bound up with sulphides and requiring other methods of treatment for its recovery.[42] One of these methods which had met with some success in the American mines was the chlorination process developed by Mr. Adolph Thies of the Haile Gold Mine, Lancaster County, South Carolina.[43] During 1896, under the supervision of the inventor's son, Libbey and his associates had the largest chlorination plant in Canada erected, capable of handling 16 tons of concentrates daily.[44] It was indeed a busy year at Brookfield.

> The Brookfield mining associates are expending large sums in equiping [sic] their mine. The mine being over 20 miles from steamboat or railway lines necessitates a great deal of teaming, and as 250 bbls lime, 150 bbls cement and upwards of 140,000 brick, and about 20 tons of castings will be required, it furnishes much employment to teams and means a considerable amount of money will be put in circulation.[45]

By the year's end, in addition to the chlorination plant, a 20-stamp mill, various dwellings and a lighting plant capable of illuminating the works and the boardinghouses were completed.[46] Such expansion certainly seemed warranted, as the return from Libbey's enterprises amounted to over 4,667 ounces, "placing the district second only to the larger and much more thoroughly developed locality of Stormont, Nova Scotia."[47]

On 18 January 1897 the Brookfield Mining Company Limited was incorporated with Wilbur L. Libbey as president and manager and operations were pushed throughout the year with continued success. (Map 3)

Eighteen-ninety-eight saw the installation of a compressed air drilling plant at Brookfield and Libbey himself outlined the advantages in an article entitled "Mining and Milling Costs at the Brookfield Mine."

> The result thus far was apparently to place our own at the deck head ten cents per ton cheaper with an air plant than by hand work. In fact, it would be impossible to place enough men in the mine to equal by hand the work done by power.[48]

By his own reckoning Libbey put the cost of mining and milling at $3.07 per ton, a remarkable saving over the $9.00 per ton attributed to the previous owners.[49] Understandably, the returns for 1898 were again satisfactory, though down from the 3,906 ounces produced the previous year.

With the completion of a reasonably efficient and complete surface plant, and an understanding of the nature and extent of the ore body, the Brookfield Mining Company Limited was able to systematically exploit its holdings and it maintained its position as the foremost gold mine in Queens County for a number of years (Photo P-043). By January 1904, 78,109 tons of ore had been extracted with a value of $595,798.55.[50] In the same year a bromo-cyanide plant was erected to replace the chlorination plant which had never lived up to expectations and operations were pushed into 1905 with an additional 23,191 tons of ore going to the crusher, yielding 8,163 ounces of gold.[51]

However, this was the last year for Mr. Libbey's operation. In September 1905 Maurice Harlow notes in his diary that the Libbey mine had shut down after running night and day for 12 years. "Things look very blue."[52] It was all over. By December Mr. and Mrs. Libbey were preparing to move to Chihuahua, Mexico, to pursue mining interests there.[53]

Wilbur L. Libbey had a special place in his heart for Nova Scotians - "Life and property rest in unrivaled security. The earth does not know a more hospitable people."[54] He was a man much respected by his neighbours, for while defeated in his bid for a seat in the Provincial Legislature in 1901, he swept the three wards in the Northern District. Among the mining fraternity of Nova Scotia his influence was undeniable, having served as president of the mining society of Nova Scotia in both 1900 and 1901. Yet, overnight he was gone and the mine which he had managed with such success slowly filled with water.

The influence that had driven Libbey out, however, did not come to fruition overnight. Libbey had to deal not only with the engineering problems of water seepage but also the religious protest which had begun seven years previously. In September 1905 the Industrial Advocate

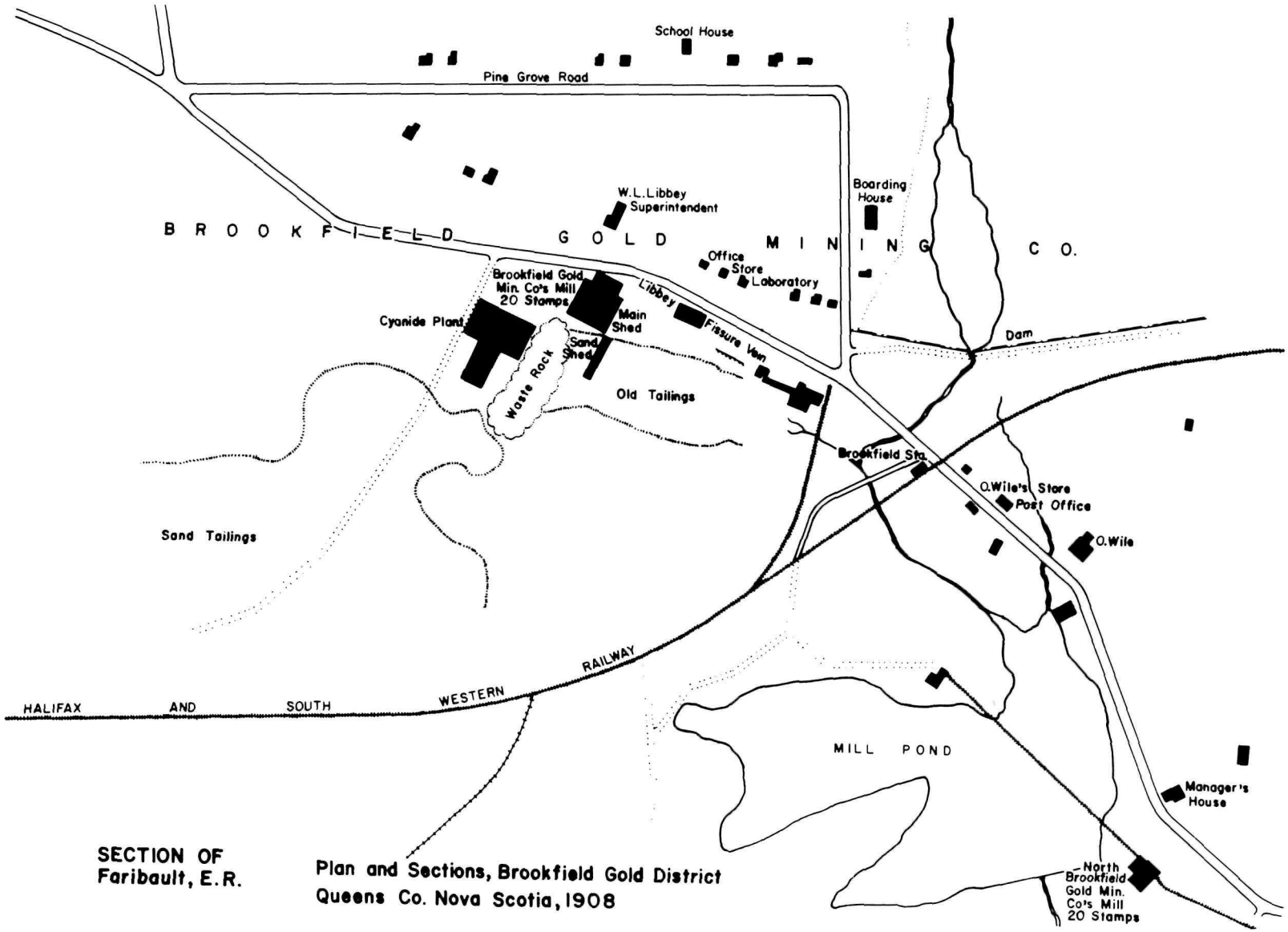


Figure 16. (Map 3) Plan and Sections of Brookfield Gold District, Queens County, 1908. (*Original in Gold Fields of Nova Scotia by E.R. Faribault.*)

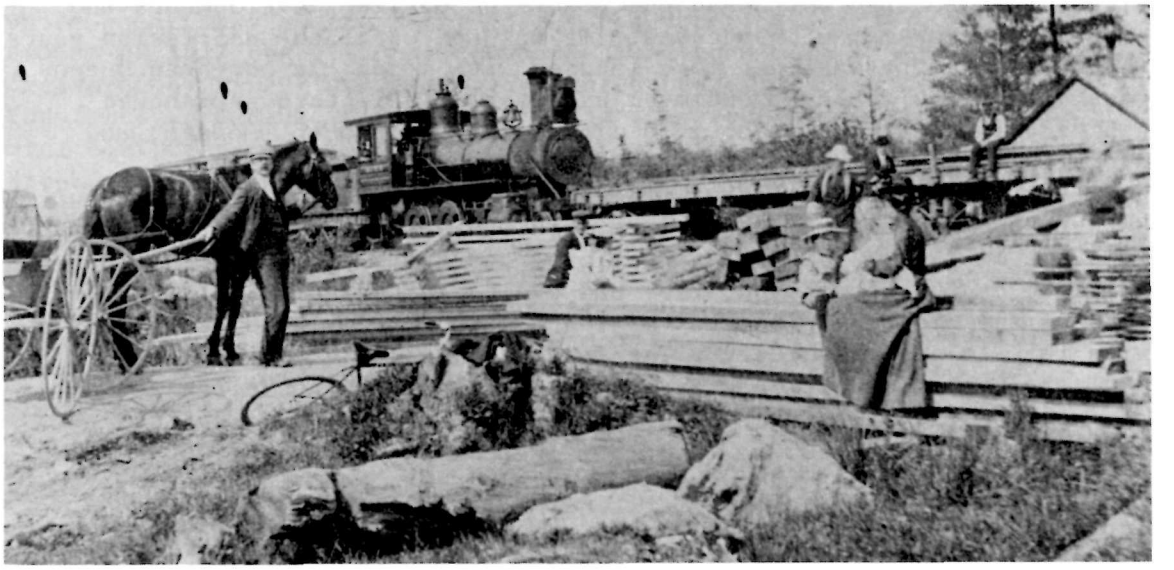


Figure 17. Nova Scotia Central Railway at Brookfield Mines, Queens County ca. 1906 (P-043). (*Original with W. Wile, Broad Cove, Lunenburg County.*)

commented on "prospects that the crushing capacity of the mill will soon be cut down through human agency, as the Lord's Day Alliance has threatened prosecution unless the mill is stopped on a week day instead of Sunday to allow for cleaning up."[55] Indeed, the Alliance had been active in Northern Queens during the summer of 1905 and the eloquence of the Presbyterian minister, Reverend J.G. Shearer of Toronto, at the mines attracted crowds and moved Maurice Harlow to lament the very small attendance at Sunday School and prayer meetings.[56] The influence of the Reverend's evangelical fervour on the sudden closure of the Libbey mine is difficult to estimate. However, it has been suggested that it may have helped to discourage capital which the Brookfield Mining Company Limited needed desperately in order to develop cheap electrical power.[57] A report on file at the Nova Scotia Department of Mines lends support to such a view, indicating that the lack of compressed air, necessitating the exclusive use of steam power, caused excessive condensation to accumulate at the lower levels of the mine and eventually forced the closure of the deepest mine in Nova Scotia.[58]

The Thirties and Renewed Interest

The failure of the Brookfield Mining Company Limited in 1905 and the consequent collapse of the gold mining industry in Queens County came two years after a general decline in the industry in Nova Scotia. A malaise was to grip the industry for almost 30 years and while new operations were pushed in various gold districts throughout the province, including Molega and Brookfield, they generally lacked the

vitality and energy which had characterized earlier developments and therefore never met with success. It was not until the depression years that the industry was once more infused with life. In Northern Queens County this new sense of optimism expressed itself through renewed activity in the three major gold districts - Whiteburn, Molega, and Brookfield.

Perry and Lee Douglas of Caledonia, sons of Nelson F. Douglas of Parker Douglas fame, began surface work on leases they held at Whiteburn sometime in 1931.[59] By 1935, utilizing the cheap labour made possible by the depression, they had erected a ten-stamp mill on the site of the old Parker Douglas mill and were testing a number of leads with fair to good results.[60] The following year the Douglas brothers continued exploration and testing work on the Yellow Jacket lead on the old Hall-Owen property and on the Telfer lead on the Parker Douglas property, with six to eight men. During the year the hand windlass used the previous year to raise ore was abandoned and replaced by a six-cylinder Chevrolet engine.[61]

By 1939, 16 men were employed by the Douglas brothers and a shaft on the big and little south leads on the old McGuire property, now unwatered, was deepened. Alton Hirtle recalls that Perry Douglas dressed the plates at the mill daily and, lacking a crusher, rocks were broken by hand and shovelled into the stamps.[62] The stamps ran only days, while the pumps and underground work were double-shifted. The Douglas brothers at some time erected a cookhouse, with Donald Scott as cook, and a camp near the mill where the men slept on hay.

Work was pushed through to 1941, with the crushing carried on in a five-stamp mill. The ten-stamp mill used previously was presumably destroyed by an exploding boiler.[63] By November 1941 the works had closed due to the shortage of labour and difficulty in getting supplies[64] brought on by the Second World War.

It is difficult to judge the success of the operation. However, paying only $1.75 a day for experienced miners[65] and with the increased value of gold, we may expect that some profit was made from the return of over 1,872 ounces between 1935 and 1941.[66] This was the last underground work at Whiteburn, although at different times surface exploration has been carried on by various parties.

In October 1933 Kingsley Brown, in an article entitled "Government to aid Development of Sound Gold Mining," announced

> The Macdonald Government's [provincial] first step in it's program for promoting the development of gold mining in Nova Scotia has been announced by Hon. Mr. Dwyer. (Minister of Mines, Nova Scotia). This is the decision to set up immediately at Brookfield Queens County, a new type of Ball Mill with a daily capacity of 25 tons of ore. The cost of this plant which will utilize electric power will be $12,000.[67]

By February 1932 electric power from the recently completed Mersey River power development had been carried to property of the United Goldfields of Nova Scotia in the southern part of the district on what was known as the "King Fissure." These areas had undergone intermittent development since 1908 and had been acquired by United Goldfields some time in 1930. It was here that the Government of Nova Scotia erected its ball mill which was operational by early 1934 (Photo P-073). However, things did not go too well. By 1936 work was at a standstill

while negotiations were carried on for further capital.[68] In the summer of 1937 the offices, cookhouse, and bunkhouse (Photo P-074) were destroyed by fire[69] and the government appears to have lost interest completely. During the summer of 1938 the electric hoist, some of the mine equipment, and most of the equipment of the mill were removed from Brookfield and installed at the Lacey Mine at Chester Basin.[70] It appears the first step in the government program to aid gold mining was not a great success and, with the exception of a small amount of work carried on by the Mooseland Mining Syndicate in 1939-40, Brookfield, too, had seen the last attempt to carry out organized gold mining.

During the lean years Molega was more active than her sister

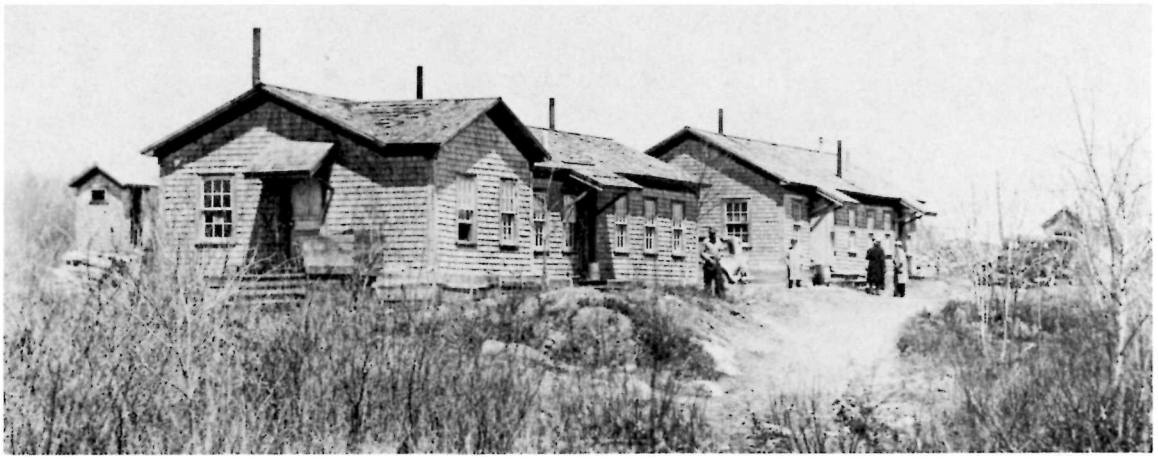


Figure 18. Brookfield Mines, kitchen and "Feed home" ca. 1931 (P-074). (*Original with L. Freeman, Brooklyn, Queens County.*)

districts (Photo P-049) and during the depression years of the 1930s considerable work was carried on there. In 1938 the Queens Mines Limited, owned by Colonel S.C. Oland of Halifax, commenced operations on the Twin Lead in the area known as the Saddle. By 1940 a 50-ton-capacity ball mill had been completed and electric power was turned on in March.[71] Oland was to continue operations for a number of years. John Taul who worked for Oland for six years recalls Oland as first working on the Saddle property and setting up a cookhouse and boardinghouse. Later the mine moved up to the Parker Douglas property, requiring the men to walk a mile or so to work. On the Parker Douglas property Oland carried on extensive underground work, the ball mill requiring enormous amounts of rock to treat. However, the profits were thought to be better elsewhere[72] and in 1946 Colonel Oland left Molega.

With the transportation of the surface plant of the Queens Mines Limited to Millipsigate, Lunenburg County, mining as an industry in Queens County pulled its pumps for the final time. It was over; in the first flush of gold finds the Nova Scotian had enthused

> ... a brighter day is dawning and there is a fair prospect that she [Queens County] will ere long become the centre of a great mining industry that will completely revolutionize her position and place her in the vanguard of provincial progress.[73]

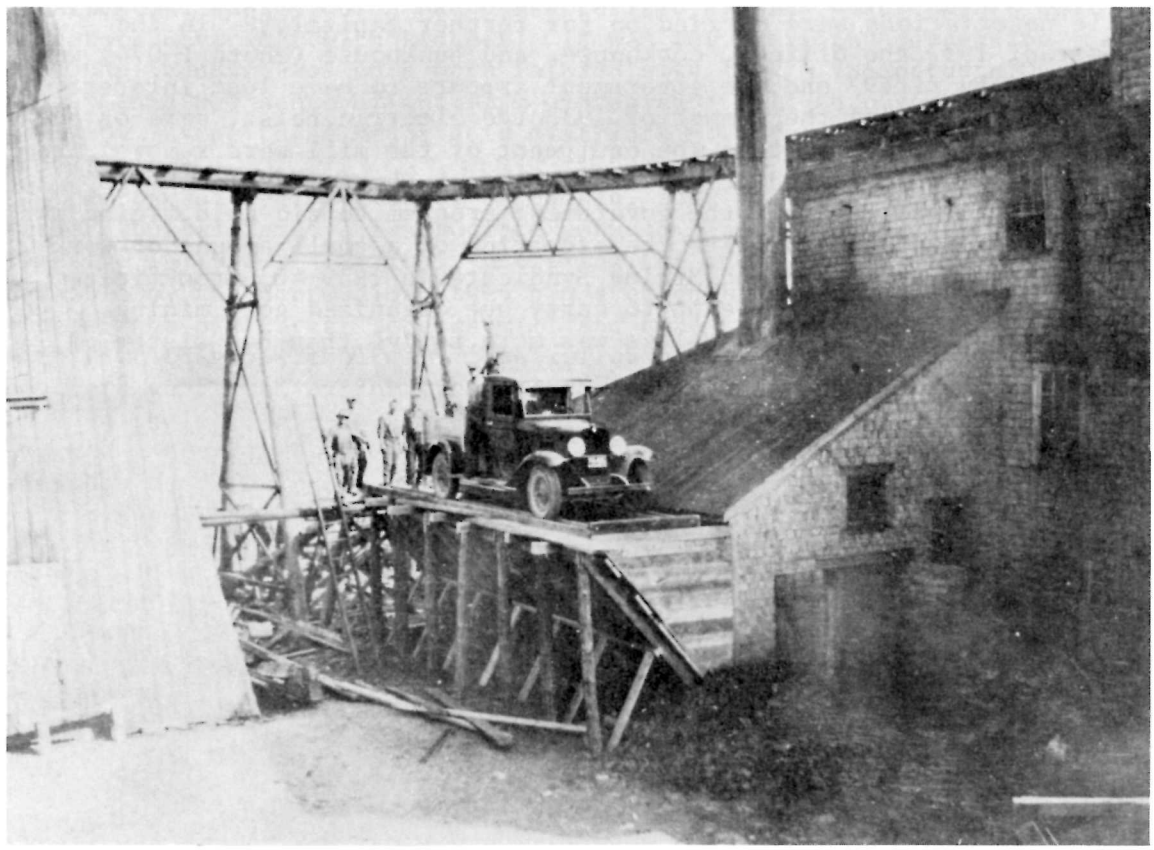


Figure 19. Molega Mines. Truck owned by John Seldon, Boiler and Stamp Mill on left and Shaft house on right, 1928 (P-049). (*Original with B. Berringer, South Brookfield, Queens County.*)

This promise was largely unrealized. Yet there had been other effects. Gold mining had infused the district with life, markets for the skills and products of its people, and a living in hard times. Without it the Northern District would not be what it is today.

Impact - Increased Income and Immigrants

The impact of the almost simultaneous discovery of three major gold districts in Northern Queens was awesome. Roads were pushed to the gold fields and they were soon alive with teams hauling mill equipment and timber (Photos P-033 and P-049). Hardrock miners, men familiar with the use of handsteel and sledge, were following the roads to the mines eagerly seeking work (Photo P-029). Coaches bore mine speculators and investors; men seeking fortunes to the sites of the rich finds. The settlements of the Northern District were stirred and were soon pulsing with a vitality, previously unknown.

Caledonia at "the corners," by June 1888, was a base of supplies for both Whiteburn and Molega, boasting two fine new residences and

Figure 20. Miners at North Brookfield Gold Mines, ca. 1903 (P-029). (*Original with J. Kenneth Hunt, Caledonia, Queens County.*)

having, at times, every appearance of a mining town.[74] Between 1886 and 1892 Dunn and Bradstreet noted no less than 8 new enterprises in Caledonia, including two general stores, a jeweller, a drugstore, a "team for hire," and a newspaper.[75]

Nowhere was activity as brisk as in the immediate vicinity of the goldfields themselves. Passing between Pleasant River and Brookfield Mines in 1886, a correspondent for the Critic noted

> as our destination was reached, signs of prosperity manifested themselves. Barns were being enlarged, painters were at work and long wings were being added to the old homesteads that lined the way ... the farmers were at their wits end to provide accommodation for their boarders.[76] (Photo P-008)

Molega, nestled on the barrens between the shores of Ponhook and Molega lakes, uninhabited when the first discoveries were made in 1886,[77] had by 1889 established a school and boasted a population of 500 people. So it was, existing enterprises were enlarged and new ones erected almost overnight.

The gold mines of Northern Queens County required vast quantities of wood to feed the boilers which powered the stamp mills and hoisting works of the new industry. The three boilers in operation on the Parker Douglas property at Molega, alone required 2,400 cords of wood annually.[78] This demand provided work for the men of the Northern District. In order to supply the Brookfield Mining Company Limited with fuel, William Vienot of Pleasant River kept a gang of men in the woods throughout the year felling trees and cutting them into four-foot lengths and delivering them to the mines with ox teams in the winter when the cordwood piles about the mine often approached one-half mile in length.[79] At Molega, the timber lands nearby were soon stripped and scows were busy hauling cordwood across Molega and Ponhook lakes to the

mines (Photo P-063). Money was in circulation and a constant procession of teams hauled wood, men, and supplies into the mining districts.

In the beginning, before a large outlay of capital could be made, the men were vital to the mining operation whether they were experienced miners or not. They came as single men or with their families to this remote area of Nova Scotia. Fortunately for the mine managers, most men came from the previously established gold districts of the province, places like Oldham in Halifax County and Mount Uniacke in Hants County. Some arrived from outside, as did the group of Newfoundlanders who found work with Libbey at Brookfield.[80] A few local men, seeing the opportunities in the new industry, left their farms and entered the goldfields looking to try their hand at hardrock mining. There was work for them all. The single men found accommodations at the various private boardinghouses which had been established, or in those hastily erected by the mining companies themselves. Family men often cleared small plots of land, enough to plant a small garden, and built shanties for their wives and children.

Given this urge for riches by both labour and capital, it is surprising that there were not more accidents like the following.

> Edward Wentzel came to his death while working down the shaft on what is called the Cole Lead ... by the falling of a rock or water tub through the defect of the shackle that connected the hoisting rope to the tub.[81]

Remote from wordly pleasures and facing such dangers daily, many of the miners turned to drink. In the gold districts, liquor was always available: at Molega in 1892, both Joseph Ferguson and Charles Mason ran bars. Walter Wile's father always kept a keg of beer in his store at Brookfield Mines[82] and blind pigs were set up everywhere. It was this intemperance that seems to have most upset the Northern Queens residents, especially the Baptists in the Brookfield district. Maurice Harlow's diary contains numerous references to the drunkeness of the miners and the apparent need for temperance work.[83]

The gold districts also had their share of violence and crime. They were not felt to be safe for a respectable woman on the streets at night. Cliff Wamboldt recalls as a child peeking into a miner's shanty at Molega where there had been a fight the previous night "and there was blood around the shanty walls and even on bread on the table."[84] Another incident, which also took place in Molega, was the burning of the Hardy Bros. Hotel in 1892. Levi Dinnock and James F. McBain were remanded to the Supreme Court for trial after confessing to robbing the hotel, claiming the fire must have resulted accidently. Charles Mason, the barkeeper, was also remanded, as a result of the crime, for receiving the stolen goods from Dinnock and McBain.[85] The majority of the miners, however, appear to have been honest, hard-working men who raised children and sent them to school, who attended church, and who gained the friendship and respect of those around them. Neil McLean, a miner, was such a man. His obituary in the Gold Hunter in 1937 states

> .... The deceased was born in Irish Vale, Cape Breton, and came to Molega when a young man in his twenties during the gold rush mining days. He was a good citizen of quiet disposition, and highly esteemed by all who knew him.[86]

With the decline in the gold prospects of Northern Queens County in 1905 following the closure of Libbey's mine at Brookfield, many of the

miners began to drift away. Some, if may be assumed, returned to the homes they had left in other parts of the province or sought employment in the goldfields of eastern Nova Scotia, despite the general malaise in the industry. Some went to the far West or stopped in Ontario where gold had been discovered in 1899 in the Rainy River, Lake of the Woods district, and where the silver mines of Cobalt were booming. The Industrial Advocate of January 1906 carried the following advertisement - "Miners wanted." Required at once about 12 good miners capable of operating machine Air Drills ... Rainy River District ..."[87] There were jobs to be had in Ontario and Nova Scotians were always in demand.

"In Ontario, if you said you were from Nova Scotia, you had a job, if there was any chance at all."[88] With the departure of the miners, business prospects in the gold districts understandably slackened and, as early as November 1905, Maurice Harlow who had for 20 years carried on a brisk trade at Molega and Brookfield was beginning to feel the financial pinch due to the mines shutting down.[89] The hotels and saloons were soon closing their doors for without the trade the miners had provided they could not survive long. By 1908 it appears only one general store, operated by Mrs. Neil McQuarrie, remained to serve those few who continued to make their homes in the Molega district.[90]

Hardrock miners were never again to pour over the Northern District in great numbers, seeking employment in the goldfields. Future operations were to find the nucleus of their work force in those who had stayed behind or their sons. They were the family men; men who saw in Northern Queens an opportunity to put down some roots. They had made their homes. (Some of these miners too found it necessary to travel to the mines of Ontario.) They were miners and that was all they knew. Leaving children in the care of their wives they went west, often for periods of up to two or three years,[91] brought back by letters from home telling of renewed activity at Brookfield and Molega. Others among them remained in their adopted home, earning what they could by doing prospect and tribute work.[92]

During the slack years of the industry in Northern Queens County tributing offered a living to those miners who had remained, although it appears that rather than carrying on operations at a previously abandoned mine, it often took the form of prospecting and searching for new veins of gold.[93] Thus did those who had stayed behind support their families through the quiet years in Northern Queens. When operations were periodically renewed they were there, the miners of experience. Once again they went to work and carried regular pay cheques home to their families.

Gold mining as an industry in Queens County ended over 30 years ago. Rusting hulks of cast iron, alder choked trenches and water-filled shafts are all that remain of the once active mines. The homes, mine buildings, churches, and schools that once stood in the mining areas of Brookfield, Molega, and Whiteburn are largely only memories. Many were disassembled for the wood they contained or hauled away to serve other people in other villages. The Orangeman's Lodge at Brookfield Mines, which today stands in North Brookfield, is used by the residents as a community hall, and the old Libbey residence is now situated on the Rosette Road in Brookfield.[94] These and the few people in the district who can recall those days when gold was mined in Northern Queens County bear testimony to times of adventure and excitement,

expansion and depression.

Gold mining was a vital factor in the history of Northern Queens and its financial impact was widespread. Its prominence gave rise to a markedly improved transport system and aided the rise of tourism, two developments that will be discussed in the following chapters.

WHEN WORK WAS DONE

All the foregoing themes dealing with timber, mining, and agriculture were the major influences on this society. But each in turn spawned various other types of industry that provided enjoyment, employment, and service to the populace of Northern Queens County. These secondary industries such as smithing, coopering, or merchandizing lubricated the primary ones and lent not only economic stability to growing villages (Map 4) but also a social stability to the various organizations that this area had in abundance. The minor activities of the society - what the people talked about or laughed at in their spare time - can then help one to understand the social interaction of the society like no set of statistics can. Finally - who were the "leaders"? what was their profession? their life style? Prominent men and women often personified the life of a village or even an area, be they businessmen or pastor, pauper or poet. This area had each of the above and they occupied their own special niche in village society.

Church and Society

As mentioned previously,[1] the major prop of these societies in the 19th and 20th centuries was the church. By 1850 virtually all the different denominations had been established in buildings of some description in the Northern Queens area. It is not the purpose of this chapter to trace "church history"; however, an outline of the religious activities of these communities must be included in order to understand the social order.

Generally speaking, the area was, and still is, overwhelmingly Protestant. Very often communities might be well represented by a particular denomination. For example, the Baptist congregation in Kempt and North Brookfield was notably active. Naturally, the minority faiths followed a similar pattern. The Catholic church in West Caledonia had a number of strong adherents and for a brief period (1930-44) the Catholic church in South Brookfield flourished.[2] Christ Church of Caledonia was established in the 1850s but the Anglican church failed to arouse the following that the Methodists and Baptists had obtained. The nearest Anglican church to the one in Caledonia was in New Germany while the other Protestant churches virtually had a church in each settlement by 1900.[3] It has been noted that the church played an important social as well as religious role in the community and the church members played a prominent role in the various lodges, temperance movements, and local social and political committees. However, as the decades passed in the twentieth century, new influences brought by transportation and rapid communication tended to diminish the influence of the church and,

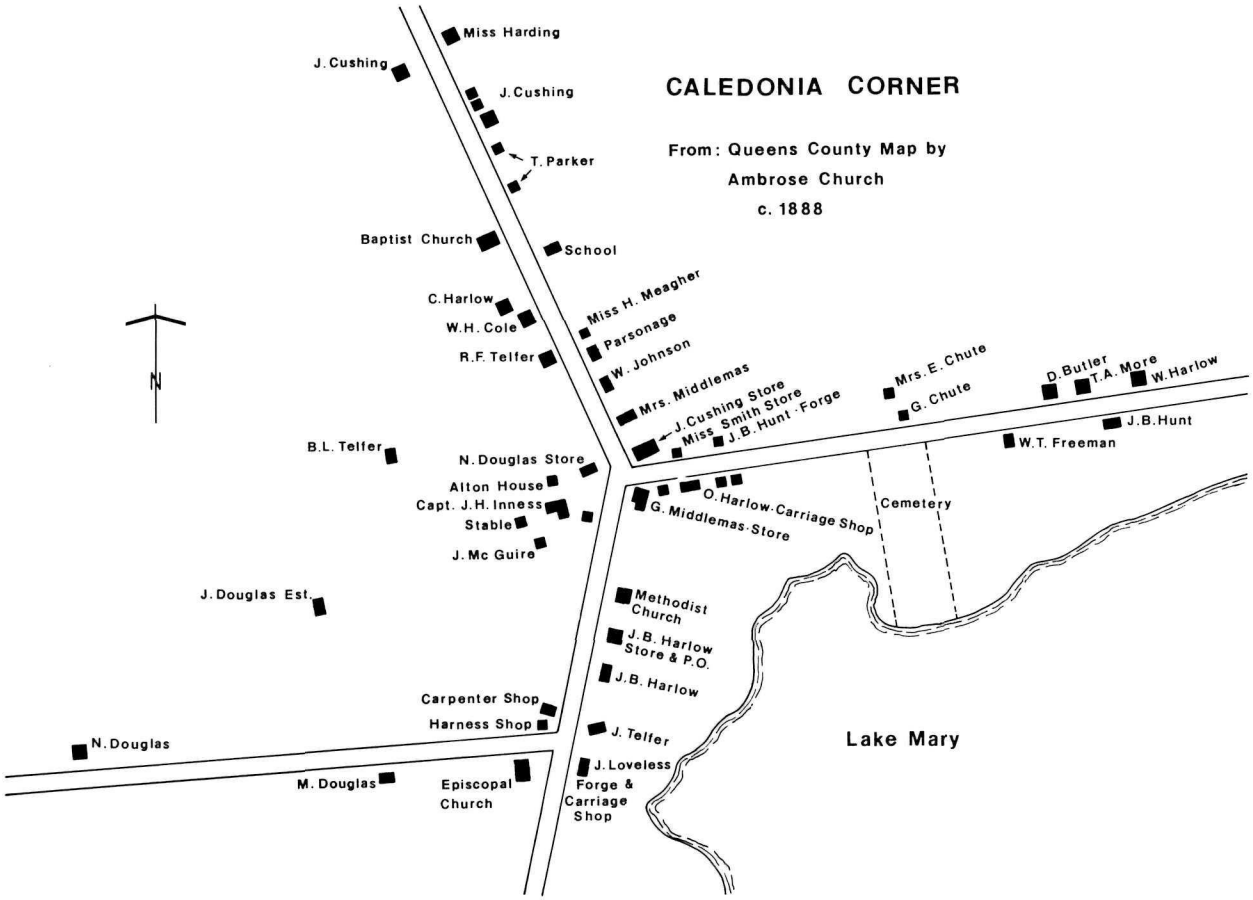


Figure 21. (Map 4) Caledonia Corner ca. 1888 (*Public Archives of Canada National Map Collection V1/220 "Queens County Map" by Ambrose Church.*)

although it is today a vibrant force, for many people it is no longer held in the same regard as it was a century ago. In fact, by the 1920s one can ascertain from documents and oral accounts that other forces were intruding in everyday life, and church matters of discipline, censure or expulsion were not raised.[4]

Let us then examine briefly the specific religious threads of the period before 1920 in order to appreciate the interweaving of church and society.

St. Jerome's Roman Catholic Church was built in West Caledonia in 1836. Virtually all of the early settlers of this community some three to four miles west of Caledonia were from Ireland and it was one of these early settlers, Patrick Lacey from County Waterford, Ireland, who initiated the church's construction. Eventually, with the assistance of families like the Corrigans, Flynns, Boyles, Scotts, and others of Irish descent, the church (and later a school) was erected and dedicated to St. Joseph. As there were said to be more Catholics in West Caledonia than Liverpool, the resident priests moved their headquarters from the coast to West Caledonia in the 1840s.

Great care was taken of the church and it was viewed with greater respect than the Anglican church seems to have been.[5] Patrick Lacey

had obviously taken a great interest in "his" church and in 1865 over 62 pounds was paid out for repairs on the chapel, not a small amount by any means. This included nails, glass, laths, labour, and accommodation.

In 1879, the church became St. Jerome's Catholic Church[6] and with this dedication it was also renovated. A new Glebe house was planned and a collection begun but the fund was not completed (despite the gold rush) until 1902, at which time Father LeBlanc was parish priest. The editor of the Gold Hunter was given a guided tour in 1902 and in his typical "booster" fashion praised the work of the local craftsmen who had built the structure with local wood and furnished it with products from the Caledonia Furniture Factory.

The 1930s witnessed an influx of French Catholic families from Quebec and soon a church was built in South Brookfield.[7] It was named, not surprisingly, St. Charles in tribute to Charles Bienvenue who owned the bucket factory which had brought these families to Nova Scotia. When the factory burned in 1944 the French families moved away but the church remained Catholic until recently.[8]

The parish priest had to manage on donations and his own resourcefulness. He would usually have his own garden and one, Father O'Sullivan, operated a sawmill and employed a number of men. Religious prejudice existed to some degree between Catholics and Protestants as it did elsewhere in the province[9] but, as will be seen with the other denominations, it did not inhibit social intercourse to any great extent.

The Protestants had certainly come to the area in numbers and by the 1850s felt, not unnaturally, that they were the dominant force in these major communities. This, it should be noted, was self-perception. The Baptist church was the earliest to be established and, as will be seen, had its own peculiar impact.[10]

Religious controversy between Liverpool and the northern part of the county began as early as 1809 when the baptism of 18 members of the area took place in Pleasant River which also included residents of Brookfield. The new members were baptized by immersion and, as a result, were debarred from the Liverpool Baptist church. The conflict over methods of baptisms went on for some 20 years between the practitioners of each method in the newly settled area. It was not until a Baptist church was built in 1828[11] that the dispute abated.

By the 1830s Baptist conference meetings were a monthly occurrence and from 1835 on there were two per month - one in Brookfield at Pleasant River and the other in Harmony or Kempt. It should be noted at this point that the predominately Scottish settlement of Caledonia, presumably Presbyterian and Congregationalist, expressed little interest in the Baptist religion at that time.

It was not until 1841 that a Baptist meeting house was finally built in Caledonia. Previous to that time, meetings had been held in the homes of church members on Saturday evenings. The early 1850s saw agitation by Kempt for a separate church although a new meeting house was erected there in 1851. In 1856 Kempt obtained its church[12] and it served a congregation as far north as Maitland Bridge and south to Caledonia. Its large representation from Caledonia, 25 in all, succeeded in gaining "dismissal" from the Kempt church and they formed the United Baptist Church in Caledonia. The present Baptist church was completed in 1868 and eventually the two sects of the Baptist Church, Free and Calvinistic, formed the Union Baptist Church in 1904. This

action occurred in the province generally two years later. Maitland Bridge and Northfield also had their own church structures, both built in the 1880s - Northfield (1885) and Maitland Bridge (ca. 1889). But "church" meant more than a wooden or stone structure. There was a great deal of passion surrounding these buildings and well there should be, for church was paramount in many people's lives.

In 1831 a special meeting was called by Baptist church members in the Pleasant River schoolhouse to settle a dispute between Brother Parker and Brother MacPherson. "Father" Ansley, the pastor of the church, had to be brought in to settle it. The result: "Christian Fellowship was withdrawn from offending members" for a period of time. Such difficulties had to be settled by the minister or respected members of the congregation. In 1853, for example, a conflict arose in which the minister, James Parker, threatened to resign. The elders, David Kempton and James Minard, led by John Douglas, were required to intermediate[13] and Parker remained.

The church did not exclude itself from personal affairs and at times these were not settled quite so amiably as the cases mentioned above. In 1855 a divorce case came to the Baptist church's attention when John Munro was accused of parting from his wife without just cause. As punishment, Mr. Munro was excluded from the church which, within the context of the time, was a considerable social disgrace.[14]

The congregation which supplied this social censure was guided by elders who were prominent in the village. Under their guidance a minister would be "called" to preach in their church or, if not satisfactory, be terminated. In August 1860, the latter incident took place when Reverend Thomas Keillor's services were terminated after one year at the Kempt and Brookfield churches. He was considered not satisfactory because he did not preach "in agreement" with the Brookfield Baptist Church.[15]

The latter part of the 19th century brought a number of causes to the Baptist church, both locally and provincially. As mentioned in Chapter Three, Maurice Harlow was a devout Baptist and an avid reader of the Christian Messenger, a weekly periodical. When he began his diary which occupied half a century, he had pledged himself to abstain from anything that intoxicated and also from the use of tobacco.[16] Mr. Harlow was not alone in his practice of abstinence for the Baptist community of Queens County took a strong stand on this "evil." The Queens County Baptist Quarterly meetings were initiated in May 1895 and the traffic in intoxicating liquors was an immediate topic of discussion. On 6 August a resolution was passed in which the Baptist Church of Queens County "avowed its enmity to this evil."[17] Not satisfied with simply a moral condemnation, the meeting indulged in political condemnation as well. Political aspirants would be repudiated at the polls if they did not oppose the traffic and were not abstainers themselves.[18]

For over 30 years the Baptist church was firmly behind total prohibition and actively campaigned to ensure such a measure was maintained. However, in 1929 a plebiscite held in the province showed that Nova Scotians were in favour of placing the control of the sale of liquor in the hands of the Nova Scotia Government. Undeterred, the Baptists of Queens County went on record as being "... utterly opposed to the Government Sale of Liquors in any way and in favour of total Prohibition."[19]

The other issue that held the attention of many in the Northern Queens area was the Lord's Day question in which members of the Baptist church campaigned to ensure that no person would work on Sunday unless absolutely necessary. The Baptist church was in no way different from other parts of Nova Scotia which saw the increased industrialization of the province as corrupting moral and upright Christians. In the 1880s and 1890s the gold mining in Queens was seen as a major source of corruption by the Baptist community. The church was very active in the mine area and on 26 April 1896 it was noted that six persons were baptized at Molega and received into the church. But many more were not so well received and Mr. W.L. Libbey, President of the Brookfield Mining Company Limited, was singled out as one who had to be dealt with.[20] In order to maintain a working mine, Libbey had found it necessary to pump out his mine shaft every day. This, of course, meant Sunday as well. If he had stopped pumping on Sunday, he would have had to wait until Tuesday or Wednesday before he could again extract the ore. The Baptists, however, were not sympathetic and on 2 July 1898 a resolution was passed to the effect that "Brothers J.S. Daily and Leadbetter be a committee to wait on Mr. Libbie [sic] the manager of the Brookfield's mine and request him to stop his works at the mine on the Sabbath Day."[21] Mr. Libbey refused, despite threats of legal action. At their monthly meeting on 3 September 1898 a lengthy discussion was held and the church decided to take all necessary steps to stop the works at the mines and such other desecrations of the Sabbath as came to its notice.[22] This presumably alludes to the problems of drunken miners which Harlow often refers to in his diaries.[23] A month later, however, the church had backed down from pursuing a legal suit, perhaps due to the expense,[24] and turned to public pressure where possible. The Queens County Baptist Church became a branch of the Nova Scotia Lord's Day Alliance and in 1903 Reverend J.G. Shearer, secretary for the Dominion Alliance, was speaking in Liverpool.[25] By July 1905 Shearer was holding a revivalist meeting at the Brookfield Mines and within a year the mine had closed.

How much effect the Baptist campaign had on the closure of the mines is not known. Libbey was experiencing problems with his water pumps and directly related to that were his problems with obtaining capital. Perhaps the rather vociferous campaign of the Baptists had had some effect on this. Nevertheless, the mine closed and although the Lord's Day issue lived on for a few years, it soon became as obsolete as the temperance movement was to be.

By the late 1920s the prohibition issue was the only item of note in the record books. Passions seemed to be less easily aroused in the 20th century. Perhaps the increased mobility and the rapid communication system that were slowly inundating these societies had something to do with this trend. The best example of this change took place at the monthly meeting in Liverpool on 7 May 1930. It was not the lack of reports, issues, or attendance that strikes the reader but the fact that no one from Caledonia went to Liverpool and they gave their report by telephone.[26]

Teachers and the Taught

As pointed out previously, the intention in this section has not been to examine all the churches of Northern Queens County but to highlight a few of the incidents that occurred and in this way shed light on the role the church assumed in the community. Almost as important and almost as long established as an institution was the village school. The importance of education had followed the New England settlers to Liverpool and the later settlers to Northern Queens. A teacher was practicing his profession in Brookfield before the first church had been built.[27] Thus, the schooling systems in Northern Queens will be examined next.[28]

An Education Act passed in the Nova Scotia Legislative Assembly of 1826 made it compulsory for every settlement in the province to have a school supported by voluntary subscription. This measure was not particularly successful as only those who had children in school subscribed. It would take some 40 years before a new education system would be introduced. Finally, in 1865 an education act was passed which provided the financing of schools by utilizing the taxes paid by the community.[29] This system, although changed to meet new circumstances, is basically what is in practice today.

In the early years, the school was the home and the teacher was an itinerate tutor like James Bryden in Caledonia or Mr. McQuinn in Maitland Bridge. Some communities were able to subscribe enough funds to construct a building for the teacher to use. In 1844 Maitland Bridge had its first schoolhouse and the first teacher was the poet, John McPherson of South Brookfield, about whom more will be said later. In Caledonia a Mrs. Gill kept the first school which was built where the present N.F. Douglas store now stands.[30] It is believed to be the first public building erected in Caledonia and, as was the practice in other communities,[31] the school served as day school, Sunday school and public meeting-house.[32] Later in the century a new school was built and served the community until 1906.[33] (Photo P-030). In that year the classes moved to Pine Grove School, a two-room building which had been constructed under contract by N.F. Douglas and Delbert Annis (Photo P-006). The children of Caledonia attended this school well past our period of study.[34]

The above chronology of movement of school pupils to different buildings could be recounted for each village but what is of greater interest is the school as an institution. Therefore, some mention should be made of the work and play of a school in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the last half of the 19th century it was a single room centred by a wood stove which the students stoked incessantly during the cold weather (Photo P-080). Slates were used instead of notebooks and rote learning instead of text books. All grades shared the same room and the teacher (usually female), the "master" of all subjects, attempted to keep her class alert and attentive (Photo P-019). However, education for many was simply to learn to read, write, and "figure," and once this was accomplished a child rarely remained in school. The lure of farm, forest, travel or family pressures took the child away from school. Perhaps a glance at the school register for Grafton, Northern Queens County, will best convey an impression of schooling in 1866-67.[35] The Grafton school had 26 pupils enrolled - 16 boys and

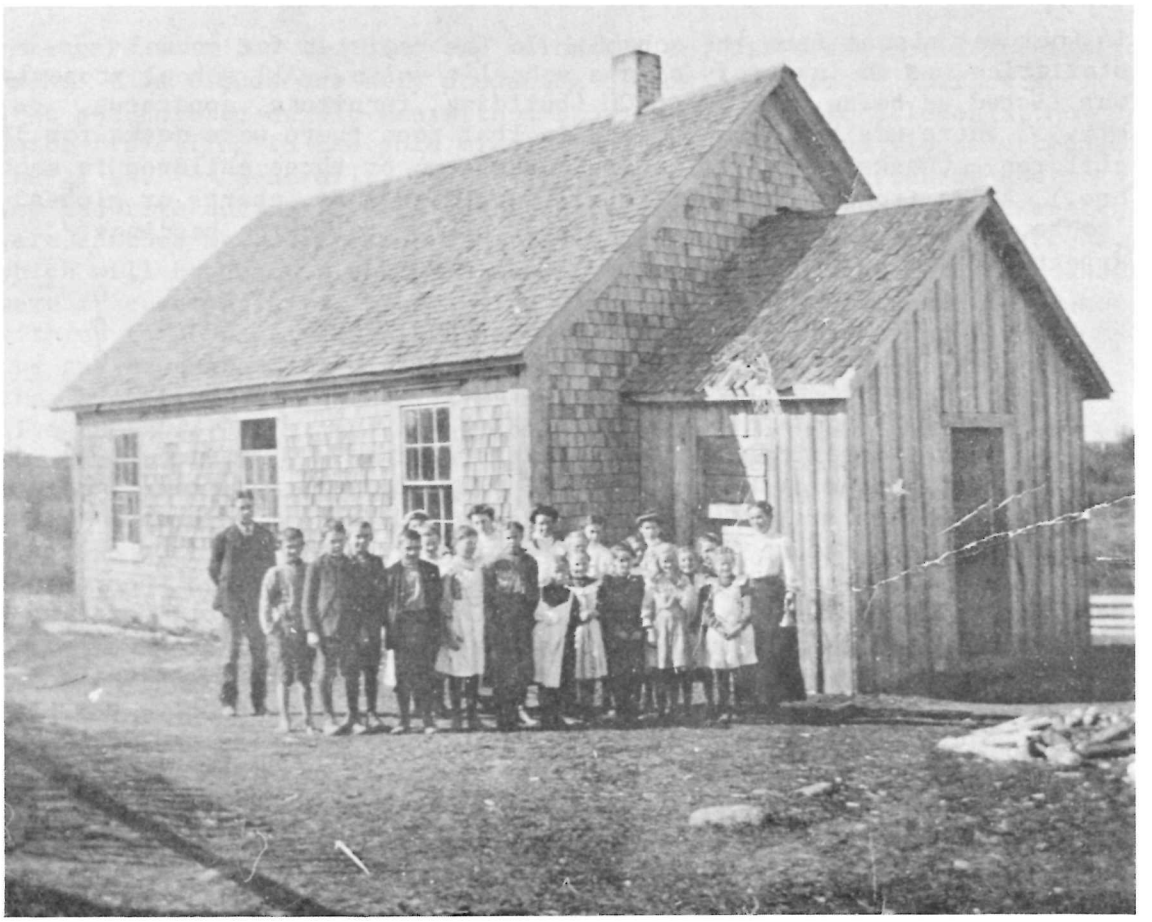


Figure 22. Maitland Bridge School 1907 (P-019). (*Original with Cecil Baxter, Maitland Bridge.*)

10 girls. None of these were over 15 years of age and five were under five years of age, giving the teacher even more responsibility than simply teaching. Of the above 26 pupils the average daily attendance was only 13 and when the half yearly term ended on 28 April 1867, the teacher, Bessie Cushing, remarked that the children had not attended school regularly at all and only three pupils came "anywhere near all of the time." The reasons for the low attendance were at times poignantly put. "Schoolroom had been very uncomfortable during the cold weather," "bad weather," "work at home," "too far to walk," or finally, "no clothes fit" were all cited as causes affecting attendance.[36] Exams were written in June and of Ms. Cushing's 26 charges, 21 wrote the exams in Arithmetic, Geography, Reading, Writing and Spelling. The other five were under age and two were not yet four years old. For $10.00 a month plus board Bessie had shared her knowledge with the youth of Grafton. Hopefully, the recent Education Act would improve such conditions.

Almost 50 years later the teacher's salary had skyrocketted to $125.00 a year.[37] Estella Doane was now teaching in what was by then called New Grafton. She had 23 pupils from Grades 1 to 9 and four others whom she tutored in her off-hours. Attendance had continued to be a problem. Ten out of 23 came to school for less than 99 days during the school year. Again problems of weather but perhaps the reason rests

in what was absent from the school. In the register for annual statistics was an inventory of the school's value. All school property was listed as being worth $500.00 (building, furniture, apparatus, etc.). There was but one room and in that room there were desks for 34 children. (Desks at that time could seat two or three children in each one.) Aside from the teacher, there were five maps, charts or globes "to be used as equipment." Beside each of the following headings appeared zeros:

1.	No. of cases or libraries	0
2.	No. of volumes at beginning of school year	0
3.	No. of volumes added during the year	0
4.	No. of scientific or other collections	0
5.	No. of Domestic Science laboratories	0
6.	No. of chemical or physical laboratories	0

The teacher, as she or he had been 100 years before, was still "the school." The "laboratories" were outdoors and in this volume of 1910 is a list of "Local Nature Observations" which were compiled in the area. Sixty-five plants and 18 birds were listed and it was noted when they were first seen. Plowing, planting, and harvesting were all noted as the teacher used the "classroom of nature" for her pupils.

The school in many ways embodied the community's future in the same way as the church embodied its past and present. The teacher, however poorly paid, was a well-respected member of the community and much was expected of her, socially and morally. The children attending a school in their own village were not separated, either physically or psychologically, from their immediate environment. They were thus in close commune with the natural and human history of their community. Perhaps the best event to exemplify the value of the school was the school concerts. This was an evening display of school talent - songs, poems, and skits - for all. It was an unchanging procession of children through time performing in the way that their fathers or grandfathers had done before them. This is graphically illustrated by a comparison of the programs for Maurice Harlow's school exhibition in 1878 and Mrs. Douglas Parker's (née Rowter) Christmas concert in 1931.[38] Each included the dialogue, recitations, solos, and choral readings for the child to perform. These events would usually attract a "good congregation," both from the village immediately concerned and the outlying villages. As with the church, the school activities were well attended and were an important part of the social milieu of Northern Queens County.

"We're Too Organized"

By the last half of the 19th century, entertainment and other activities were not all church-related, although many were church-oriented. The Sunday "outing" was very popular and this would usually take the form of a Sunday school picnic. Maurice Harlow writes of such a picnic in September 1877 near the Caledonia-Liverpool road. Over 150 people were there and as with any event such as this at harvest time "a sumptuous repast was partaken."[39] Occasionally entertainment would arrive from outside the community. Maurice Scott

remembers as a boy watching the rainmaker and his steam boiler trying to "make" rain clouds but only producing clouds of steam.[40] Harlow in 1886 encountered an old man with a show on the road to Caledonia, no doubt travelling to the gold mines. Harlow stopped and "looked through the glass."[41] Generally, these were rather exotic occurrences and few had time during the day to be entertained. The evenings, however, were another matter. Aside from the meetings of various organizations, which will be dealt with later, home parties, sewing circles, and dances were frequent affairs. The sewing circle often met at the Harlow home with up to 30 people in attendance.[42] Mrs. Christenson remembers the gay house parties with the village fiddler trying to keep up with the "high steppin' dancers."[43] Marriages, births, and deaths would give cause for other social gatherings. Some, like the charivari given for Maurice Harlow on his wedding night, were not welcomed[44] but on the whole there was always "something doing" in what to any outsider was simply a scattering of sleepy villages (Photo P-031). Harlow's "social" diary for 1878 included 130 social gatherings for the year including plowing frolics, skating frolics, and three funerals.[45] Mr. Harlow was a busy man.

The 20th century saw an increasing interest in baseball[46] (Photo P-036) and a band was organized in Caledonia and headed by the editor of the Gold Hunter"[47] (Photo P-083). The Gold Hunter and Farmers Journal was founded in 1888 and brought new fashions and trends from the wider world (Photo P-005). The constant and increasing flow of American tourists gave impetus to these phenomena as well and helped to create new tastes. The ageless practice of visiting homes still occupied some time but there were other attractions now. People might be attending the Caledonia dramatic club presentations "Hearts and Pearls" at the Caledonia Masonic Hall.[48] By 1912 the first moving picture advertisement appeared in the Gold Hunter with an admission fee of ten and fifteen cents.[49] This program usually included a few sleight of hand tricks or perhaps a ventriloquist routine by Professor Taylor who was also the "moving picture man." Caledonia even had a box ball bowling alley by 1913 installed by J.D. Chute.[50] Given the circumstances mentioned in the mining and lumbering section of this paper, this shift towards a more varied entertainment pattern in the community should not be surprising. One wonders to what extent the newspaper rather than the various other factors mentioned was the greatest force for social change.

These villages did not lack in organizational ability. Aside from entertainment, however, there were other more serious considerations to be given. The Masonic Lodge, the British American Order of Good Templars, and the Women's Institutes were a few of the many organizations that contributed to the order and stability of these communities. It would be impossible to include all within this study. Therefore, two will be examined briefly to show their function in the social pattern.

It would be a mistake to credit the church with initiating the anti-temperance movement that spread throughout Nova Scotia in the first half of the 19th century. Perhaps if William W. Ashley had not gone to Yarmouth the movement might not have occurred.[51] Ashley was from Liverpool, Nova Scotia, and in 1827 after seven years in Yarmouth he became quite concerned with the excessive use of alcohol and began a series of lectures to halt its spread. In July 1827 he returned to

Figure 23. Main street Caledonia looking south on #8 highway ca. 1930 (P-005). (*Original with Althea Banks, Halifax.*)

Liverpool and gave his first sermon in Milton. Lacking the cooperation of the church, Ashley then took the next logical step and in 1827 the Queens County Temperance Society was formed.[52] Soon after that Milton and then Brookfield had formed their own temperance societies. In less than 50 years there were 25 societies connected with temperance in Queens County and, significantly, every Baptist minister was now involved with these societies. Although adopting various names, e.g., Independent Order of Good Templars, Sons of Temperance or, as in Brookfield, British American Order of Good Templars,[53] all were pursuing the goal of temperance in all things but especially alcohol.

One very active temperance society was established in Brookfield. The Volant Lodge No. 161 of the Good Templars of Brookfield was begun in 1866 and attracted a membership of 21 women and 24 men.[54] Meetings were held every two or three weeks and were attended by many in the community in order to renew their commitment to the temperance movement. Such gatherings were also social occasions in which members entertained each other with music or recitations. There would also be a debate on some rather mundane topic. For example, it was noted in the minutes that in 1867 Brother D. McPherson and Brother Joseph Freeman debated the question "Which will a man gain the most information from - travelling or study?" Generally, this was the subject level of the topics chosen to be debated. However, in 1867 the question posed was of a different nature. "Which could be most benefit to Nova Scotia - annexation to the United States or Confederation to Canada?" was scheduled for the second of April but was put off until "some other evening." Such an occurrence

was not uncommon for topics had often been postponed until the next meeting when they could be more conveniently debated. However, in this case, the debate was never held and in fact Confederation was not even mentioned in the whole of the minutes for 1867.[55] Perhaps it was considered best to keep the, at times volatile, topic of Confederation apart from such social gatherings. Temperance in alcoholic matters united the members and, therefore, moderation in political debates had to be practiced to keep them together.

The temperance societies of Northern Queens were quite active in sending delegates to conferences[56] and when the gold mines began to proliferate, guest speakers were brought in to address the mining areas and surrounding communities as well.[57] R.R. MacLeod makes mention of the fact that Northern Queens was free from the curse of rum shops due to the work done by the temperance societies in the early life of the area.[58] However, even if there were no shops, rum was certainly available to the miners or anyone else who wanted it. Maurice Harlow abhorred the practice in the 1880s of the miners going to Caledonia on Saturday night for their rum but social censure was the only recourse.

The temperance organizations of Northern Queens took an active part in anti-alcohol campaigns and the affair with W. L. Libbey and the plebicites of the 1920s in Nova Scotia were influenced by their activities. The defeat of the Temperance Alliance in 1929 and the economic slump of the 1930s did not dampen their zeal notably. In 1940 the Gold Hunter reports that the Sons of Temperance was still holding weekly meetings in the Masonic Hall at Caledonia.[59] The cause was still being preserved and the flame of temperance that Reverend Ashley had sparked in the 1820s was still being nurtured in Northern Queens.

It should be remembered that most members of the Temperance society were often active members of other organizations as well. Thus each different club that met would frequently bring the same people together to socialize. Such was the case with the Overseers of the Poor, for here a familiar litany of prominent names occurs. The Overseers of the Poor for Northern Queens was 'newly organized' and centred in Caledonia in 1839.[60] The first slate of officers consisted of John Douglas, James More, and Benjamin Christopher. Their duties were not clearly defined but they normally dealt with the various needs that might befall persons unable to support themselves. For over 100 years this form of social security existed in Northern Queens County.[61] A brief glance at some of its activities should convey more understanding of the problems the destitute faced.

2 October 1841	Two pounds, three shillings and four pence paid John Doil to keep Mary Ann Dailey, a pauper, from 3 June to 2 October 1841.
27 April 1847	Cashman was paid seven shillings and six pence for digging a grave for J. Tate and Richard Bryden got twenty shillings as payment for the coffin.
1849	James McGowan paid two pounds, four shillings and nine pence for keeping bastard child.

Annual meetings were held by the Overseers and at these meetings it was discussed how best to support the poor. However, other issues also caught the attention of the Overseers. For example, in 1843, a committee of three persons, W.T. Waterman, Stephen Smith, and Lewis Smith, was sent to inform "certain persons" that they could not build a sawmill on a particular site as the pond at that site was reserved for

the public. The committee also undertook to write the history of the settlement of the Northern District. This was done in 1841 but by 1844 the "Revisionists" were at work. Five men, all from Brookfield, were appointed to draw up a new record of history and the former one was criticized as "vile trash in the form of a record in the town book without the authority of a town meeting is a gross violation of trust committed by the overseers for 1841."[62] Given the preponderant number of members from Caledonia as Overseers in 1841 there would appear to have been some conflict over what the history was or should be. (To this day, there is still a rivalry beneath the surface between Caledonia and Brookfield in various activities.) In April 1845 the new revised record of the settlement of North District of Queens County was read and approved.

But history was not the only issue that divided the communities. Increasingly Caledonia was paying the bulk of the assessment being levied on the settlements of Brookfield, Pleasant River, Greenfield, Harmony, and Kempt. In the late 1850s the executive was changed twice to reflect a higher Caledonia representation. In 1862 the matter came to a head when a special session of the Overseers of the Poor was held in Harmony, together with the Justice of the Peace of the area. Three clerks for the three districts of Caledonia, Brookfield and Pleasant River, and Harmony and Kempt were appointed and it was moved by I. Hendrey and seconded by Zenas Waterman, both of Brookfield, that the different districts raise their own proportion of money for the support of the poor instead of charging it to the Northern Districts. The paupers were then divided by lot among the three new districts[63] and each took up their new responsibilities.

Each of the new districts was very careful as to what their jurisdiction was as none wanted to pay for the paupers of others. Harmony and Kempt District took one such case to court. It appears that an inmate of the almshouse in Annapolis County, one Henry Daly, claimed legal settlement in Harmony and Kempt and wished to be treated as a pauper. The Overseers refused to acknowledge him as a resident of the area and at the trial in Annapolis in 1884 their decision was upheld.[64]

The work of the Overseers changed through time and by the first part of this century it was rare for paupers to be "tended" as they had been in the past. If a person was in need one would normally approach the Overseers and present one's case to them. A general store in the area would then be informed that credit was to be extended to such a person and the Overseers of the Poor would pay the bill. A poor farm was maintained in the Harmony and Kempt district for those who had no shelter.[65]

By the end of the period this study examines, the government had introduced some form of social security for the aged and the poor. The Overseers of the Poor as a political and social institution passed away and the "benevolence" of prominent men went the way of sewing circles and charivaris.

Poets and Politicians

The prominent men, however, did not disappear and the Northern District of Queens County certainly had its share. It is not the intention of this chapter to deal with each of them in great detail. However, their works, in fact their very existence, should be noted before they are completely forgotten. Businessmen, politicians, poets, and villains all played their part in the history of these settlements. Some gained greater glory beyond the boundaries of this area while others rarely travelled beyond even the county lines. The following persons are presented as just a hint of the wealth of human experience that this area accommodated.

Andrew Spedon, in his book Rambles Among the Bluenoses, makes much of the fact that he once asked a Nova Scotian why the country was destitute of poets. He stated that he received the following reply: "Poets! ... don't talk of them here, they are exotics that our country does not produce; the 'almighty dollar' is our immortal bard; ..."[66]

Perhaps so, but Queens County gave birth to its own 'bard' in the first half of the 19th century. John McPherson, the self-styled 'Bard of Acadia', was born in Liverpool, Queens County, in 1817.[67] At the age of 17 McPherson moved to North Brookfield and lived with his uncle, Donald McPherson. It was here that he began to write his poetry which was in the florid romantic style of the day. Here also he met and married his cousin, Irene, and taught school in Kempt for two years. He then moved to Maitland Bridge and tried to build what he called his 'Fairy Cottage'.[68] He never finished it, however, for his health broke down, presumably tuberculosis, and he returned to the home of his father-in-law in May 1845. By July 1845 he was dead and thus passed what one later poet called "A vain and feverish soul that yearned to be/ An echo of some feverant melody ..."[69]

The poet who wrote the above lines, William E. Marshall, also wrote a poem dedicated to another literary figure that Northern Queens shared with Nova Scotia - Robert R. McLeod.[70] McLeod's origins were in Brookfield but his outlook was American. He was raised and educated (Harvard) in the New England states and returned "home" to Brookfield in the 1880s. Taking up residence in South Brookfield, in a house overlooking Brookfield Corner,[71] McLeod quickly established himself as a naturalist,[72] historian,[73] and miner. It is in the first two capacities tht he was most successful, and in 1903 he published his best-known work Markland or Nova Scotia, its History, Natural Resources and Native Beauties. He wrote and lectured widely on local history as well, and was the guiding force behind the celebration of a century of settlement in Northern Queens County in 1899 (Photos P-028 and P-054). William Burke was memorialized and a monument in South Brookfield cemetery was raised in his honour.[74] Ten years later McLeod himself had died at the age of 68 and was buried in Cambridge, Massachusetts. His epitaph appears on a plaque in Liverpool Town Hall and reads in part "He had a prophet's passion for justice and rightousness and was a persistent and uncompromising opponent of wrong ..."[75]

It is rather ironic that McLeod's home, and later hunting lodge, "Pinehurst" would be occupied by a well-remembered embezzler from Chicago. A. Byron McLeod, who was the executor of R.R. McLeod's estate,

sold Pinehurst to a businessman named Lou Keytes in 1924. Keytes was described as a city slicker, complete with bowler hat and pearl grey spats.[76] He sported a bushy beard and exuded wealth, thus making quite an impression on Liverpool society in the winter of 1923-24. Keytes identified himself as an American but said he had come to Nova Scotia to "get away from it all." This was not an unusual occurrence. He purchased Pinehurst for between 25 and 40 thousand dollars[77] and was said to have spent $30,000.00 for extensive improvements on it. He soon became as popular a figure in Northern Queens as he had been in Liverpool and was well thought of although in these small communities he was still somewhat suspect as newcomers often are. Some residents were not surprised when Keytes was arrested in Halifax in the fall of 1924 and identified as Leo Koretz, a lawyer from Chicago who was wanted for a two million dollar swindle.[78] To the rural communities of Northern Queens this was "like a bolt from the blue" and the Gold Hunter warned the public to be wary of the highly coloured write-ups in the daily press for Keytes was "at all times courteous, genial and a gentleman and had come to the area highly recommended."[79] The excitement passed but the memory did not, neither of the man nor his wealth.[80]

Provincial politics played a great part in county life. Mention has already been made of Thomas Keillor, minister,[81] politician and local "booster." He was Queens County's Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) from 1897 to 1901. Another resident of Kempt, Charles Allison, had represented the North District when it was a constituency from 1863-67. Being a Confederate, Mr. Allison was defeated by the anti-confederation vote of 1867 and did not run again.[82]

South Brookfield had sent a representative to the Legislative Assembly from 1890 to 1897 in the person of Richard Hunt. Formerly a blacksmith and farmer,[83] Hunt, together with R. Harvey, spoke firmly in the assembly for a railway to open up the central and northern section of Queens County. The first sod was turned for the Nova Scotia Southern Railway by Hunt in 1893 and in his address he noted that it had been 22 years since the question of railway facilities for Queens County was first agitated.[84] Over a decade would pass before the train eventually reached Caledonia.

Whatever a person's prominence, all fell under the watchful eye of William H. Banks, editor of the Caledonia Gold Hunter. William Banks, born and raised in Annapolis County, had come to Caledonia in the 1880s, presumably lured by the gold boom that was taking place in Queens County at that time.[85] In September 1888 the Gold Hunter and Farmer's Journal appeared in Caledonia under his editorship (Photo P-004) and it was published weekly for over 50 years (Photo P-011). It catalogued the local news of everyday people and provided the residents with their own glimpse of the world outside.[86] Banks died in 1910 but his son, George, assumed the editorship of the paper for another 30 years until it was destroyed by fire in 1941. The paper, although at times lacking financial support from its subscribers,[87] was a vociferous booster of Caledonia in particular and of Northern Queens in general. Perhaps an extract from the edition for Friday 31 March 1919 would best exemplify this.

> Stop knocking, you pessimists, and join the procession for a bigger, better and brighter Caledonia. The larger the prosperity for Caledonia, the better for the whole district and county. The men and women who are lifting

Figure 24. "Gold Hunter Building" ca. 1930 (P-011). (*Original with Althea Banks, Halifax.*)

> the world upward and onward are those who encourage and boost.[88]

With its passing in 1941, Northern Queens County lost its most enthusiastic supporter.

The above has been but a perusal of some of the more prominent residents of Northern Queens County. To halt at this point is arbitrary for one could also include Dr. Joseph, surgeon, whose father, David, was a merchant in Caledonia; Hosea B. Morse, a scholar of Chinese literature, born in Brookfield; and Grace MacLeod Rogers, writer of a number of books,[89] also from Brookfield. The list is endless and it reflects the cultural contribution that this small area has made to the county, the province and the nation.

The social milieu of the Northern Queens area can never be adequately described, for there is that undefinable human spirit that is so difficult to quantify. Perhaps, the writings of Maurice Harlow best portray the life and culture of Northern Queens County and his entry of 31 December 1900 exemplifies its spirit.

> Thus closes the year 1900 with us. While we have not made much advancement we have held our own and have not gone behind....[90]

TENT DWELLERS AND MODEL T'S

Undoubtedly William Burke appreciated the value of the woodlands which surrounded his cabin in Northern Queens. However, his appreciation was probably more utilitarian than aesthetic. The vast timberland mentioned in the chapter entitled "Pine, Pulp and Butter Boxes" was an obvious asset of this area. Presumably, the wildlife was of even greater relevance to Burke and those who came immediately afterwards. The game, especially the moose and caribou, was an important food source for incoming settlers and supplemented their rather sparse diet. Bears also inhabited the area and were looked upon as an ever-present danger to man and beast well into the 20th century.[1]

The Renowned Jim Charles

The most successful hunters in the 19th century were the Micmac Indians who knew this area so well. When Burke went on his hunting trips, he was always accompanied by a Micmac guide.[2] Later settlers were aided by the Indian as well. Their knowledge of the woods was adapted by the white strangers but never mastered. The birch bark canoes, the crooked skinning knife, and the horn of birch bark for calling moose[3] were all of Indian origin. These were after all the implements of their livelihood and provided the means for their survival. It should not be surprising then that the early (and later) settlers depended on Indian guides. By the last half of the century, hunting had also become somewhat recreational as well, and the Indian who would act as a guide was in great demand. At the same time both European and Indian inhabitants of the Northern Queens area utilized the woods for food and for pelts that would bring cash in the larger urban centres. Oral informants remembered a number of the better-known trappers who, together with the Indians, also acted as guides to the visiting hunters. Although a few Indians were still living in Southern Annapolis and Northern Queens counties, most lived near the larger urban areas - Liverpool and Annapolis Royal. John Francis recounts that ca. 1870 there were many Indians living in the immediate vicinity of Milton. Family names like Luxi, Glode, Francis, Paul, and Labrador were common then.[4] Obviously, the Indian guides would be unable to find employment among the experienced woodsmen of the interior. The town dwellers of Liverpool and any interested travellers were the customers the Indians relied upon. The Indian was the best guide to have. Thomas Anderson writes in his tourist guide of 1892 that if a camper wishes to go to the Lake Rossignol area in order to visit Indian Gardens "He will need a guide ..., and if he can secure an Indian one, so much the better."[5] The Indian's reputation as a guide was impeccable and

deservedly so. Stories, however exaggerated, very often reflect the ability of the Indian. Matteo Jeremy was one of the more famous hunters and trappers around the turn of the century. His family formerly lived around Lake Kejimkujik and Jeremy Bay was named after the Jeremy family. It was said that Matteo Jeremy was so skilled that he could creep up behind a wary moose without the moose realizing it. He would then slap it on the haunch and shout 'Chiglahsee' which means "Get out of here" in Micmac.[6] Apocryphal or not, the tale is still evidence of the widespread awe which the Micmac hunters enjoyed then and now.

In the hinterland of Annapolis and Queens counties was perhaps the most famous guide in the province - at least, the most written about. Even if his life had not been later preserved by books and stories about him, a rough sketch and a two-line caption on the grey, worn rocks of Lake Kejimkujik serve to immortalize him at least as a hunter. In flowing script, neatly etched, is the caption "Jim Charles his Moose, September 19, 1867" beside a sketch of a moose as it would have appeared in winter or early spring.[7]

Jim Charles has been so "fictionalized" that it is very difficult to get an accurate account of his life. Beginning with Albert Bigelow Paine's short story in 1906 through to Thomas Raddall's tale of 1968, Jim Charles has become part of the mythology of the area under study.[8] From all of this literature, however, a few basic facts arise.

In 1862, Jim Charles of Cecumcega (or Kejimkujik) purchased 100 acres from John Jeremy and his family for 60 dollars. This was the same grant of land that Jeremy had obtained from the government in the 1840s.[9] Charles then built a cabin[10] and started to farm on a stretch of land on the point where the Mersey River flows into Lake Kejimkujik. Although he worked in the woods occasionally, he leased his own woodlot to Syphorous Freeman of Harmony in 1871 and allowed Freeman to cut, if he wished, all the hemlock and spruce timber on this land for 30 dollars.[11] It was about this time that Jim Charles was reputed to have made his gold find. However, it was not known where his gold vein was located. He had evidently found something of value, for his wife, Elizabeth (Lizzie), began to appear much more affluent and it was noted that she was making trips to Boston and returning with cash and goods.[12] A number of local people attempted to learn the whereabouts of Jim Charles' gold. One David Lewis undoubtedly came the nearest in this regard but was stymied by the ever-cautious Charles.[13] By the 1880s Jim's inaccessible gold was forgotten in the great scramble by prospectors to make claims in the Molega and Brookfield areas.

Jim Charles, however, was not remembered for only his gold mine. He was also accused of killing, in a jealous rage, a man named William Hamilton and presumably after this (1890) it was rumoured that he had shot three men - Ruggles, Stoddard, and Burrell - who were canoeing across Lake Kejimkujik.[14] With regard to the former charge, Charles spent a winter in the woods to escape the law. However, no case was brought against him as it was adjudged that the death of Hamilton occurred while Charles was defending himself.[15] The latter rumour arose from an incident on the lake during which the three men mentioned above were making their way across the lake in an overloaded canoe. The canoe upset and the men drowned. Charles was accused of shooting holes in their craft as they passed his cabin. No charge, however, was ever laid against Charles for these three deaths.[16]

By the turn of the century Jim Charles had become old and decrepit. He had moved from his cabin on Jim Charles Point and settled on the Westfield road.[17] He had one son, Malti (James Martin Charles), who drifted away to the New England states.[18] Charles made his way to Two Mile Hill (near Milton) and lived with John and Andrew Francis. He died shortly afterwards and was buried in an unmarked grave there.[19] Naturally, the legends persisted, as has been pointed out, until at one point it was said among other things that he had defeated single-handedly an invading force of Mohawks.[20] As should be obvious, this event was not historically possible even for a man as renowned as Jim Charles. The Mohawks took little interest in invading Nova Scotia in the 19th century.

Pleasure Seekers

As early as the mid-19th century, fishing and hunting in some of the wooded areas of Nova Scotia had become a sport for many of the well-to-do. For most others it was still an integral part of survival. Nova Scotia's network of rivers and streams were taken advantage of by the urban dwellers of the province, especially in Halifax, from the late 1850s on and it was said that "... few cities ... (could) boast of more trout fishermen than Halifax...."[21] This was no doubt due to the large number of military officers stationed in Halifax in both the British fleet and the military garrison.[22] These men were also quite taken with the "greatest sport of all" to be had in Nova Scotia - moose hunting.[23] John Rowan, in a book written in 1876 especially for sportsmen, notes that in the 1850s and 1860s Nova Scotia was one of the best grounds for moose hunting in British America.[24] However, by the 1870s the numbers were diminishing rapidly and it became necessary for the Nova Scotia legislature to place a closed period on killing moose in order to allow them to renew their numbers.[25] From the 1870s on Queens and Annapolis counties were noted for their abundance of moose. A Tourists Handbook for Nova Scotia published in 1872 was enthusiastic about the "... famous hunting grounds for moose ..."[26] near Liverpool. Maurice Harlow notes in his diary entry of 9 January 1881 that a captain from Halifax together with an Indian guide had visited the lumber camp near Tobeatic Lake in which Harlow worked carrying two moose which they had killed.[27] A decade later a Baedeker travel book notes that moose hunting is excellent from Halifax to Yarmouth and the moose are increasing in numbers.[28] Yet another guide book, this time concerned only with the south shore of Nova Scotia, calls the Caledonia hinterlands "the paradise of sportsmen" and calls it an area especially famous for moose and probably the best centre in the province for trout fishing.[29] In 1910 Queens and Annapolis counties accounted for one-quarter of the total number of moose killed in Nova Scotia.[30]

From the above it should be clear that the area of this study was subject to the attention of that element in the population which enjoyed hunting and fishing as a pastime long before it gained wider repute when the gold seekers came in the 1880s. Moose, caribou,[31] and trout were the natural resources to be tapped by this particular interest

group and sportsmen could now be added to the duo of lumbermen and gold miners who came to extract the natural wealth of this region. This sporting reputation would eventually lead to the construction of hunting lodges in Milford, on Lake Kejimkujik, and in South Brookfield. This, in turn, would attract many who came not for the shooting of game but to observe the sheer beauty of the forests and lakes which sheltered this game. By the 1920s the automobile brought the "tourer" or tourist and thus a new type of traveller into this area who came simply to enjoy the scenery rather than take wildlife from it. This aspect of the resort era will be dealt with in more detail below.

Before 1880 accommodation for a traveller was dependent on the goodwill and hospitality of the houses in the villages through which he/she passed. The stagecoach from Liverpool to Annapolis with its noted driver, Thomas Waterman,[32] spent an overnight in Caledonia or Milford, depending on the weather. As early as ca. 1860 Abram Thomas' "Halfway House" was putting up stagecoach passengers[33] and, in Caledonia, Jonas Parker had a home-cum-hotel with the catchy slogan "Entertainment for man and horse."[34] It was not until the gilded 1880s that there was an increase in accommodation for travellers. This was due, not surprisingly, to the gold mining near the settlements of Caledonia and Brookfield. Caledonia had established itself as a stopping point on the road from Liverpool to Annapolis for transient passengers. It now became a terminus for mine managers and labourer alike (Map 4). In 1882 John McGinty owned the only hotel in Northern Queens, while in Southern Annapolis Milford House offered accommodation (Photo P-027). The latter part of the 1880s saw a great increase in travellers, as the former McGinty Hotel became Alton House ca. 1885.[35] By 1888 it was Caledonia House and being run by a J.H. McClelland[36] (not a familiar name in the Northern Queens area then or now). During one week in March 1889 the hotel had 28 guests. Many of these were from Molega while the remainder noted their home address as Halifax, Chicago, or Ohio.[37] Truly an "international clientele." If Caledonia House was not satisfactory the traveller could stay at the hotel run by Isabella McGuire or in B.L. Telfer's home behind the present-day N.F. Douglas store. Suddenly hotels or boarding homes had sprung up everywhere. In Whiteburn, a mining town, there were two locations - W. Johnson ran a boarding home and the other was Whiteburn House managed by Jim Sheriff.[38] Molega, which by 1890 was the centre of the gold rush, boasted three hotels - Minneapolis Hotel and Boarding House run by Alonzo Faulkner, P.T. Beardlsey's Hotel and W.J. Custance's hotel and boardinghouse.[39] In North Brookfield, George J. Parker had begun Parker House and he catered to the mining population working in the North Brookfield mines throughout the 1890s.[40]

From the names mentioned above, it became obvious that there was a mix of both local and outside entrepreneurs who were taking advantage of the large influx of unhoused labour into the area. By the turn of the century many of these hotels had closed as the mines shut down. However, there was sufficient demand to keep a few open for the travelling public, especially in Caledonia. After all, it was becoming increasingly convenient, given the level of prosperity and the much more efficient transportation system, for the indigenes of the area to travel out, either temporarily or permanently.[41] The hotel nearest the stagecoach stop was usually a departure point and anyone in the area who

Figure 25. Milford House, South Milford, ca. 1890 (P-027). (*Original with Warren Miller, South Milford, Annapolis County.*)

wished to travel would spend the night before in a hotel. Again Maurice Harlow's diary can be consulted, for his trip to Boston best exemplifies this practice. Harlow had visited his sister in Boston in 1887 and returned by boat to Annapolis. He then travelled by coach, presumably Stallings Coach Lines, to his home. A stop was made at Milford House in Milford for supper and the coach reached Caledonia that evening. Harlow spent the night at Alton House and walked to his home in Brookfield the next morning.[42]

By 1905 the last gold mine of any consequence closed in North Brookfield. With no gold to attract the businessman, the area began to exploit that which it had been famous for before the gold fever - its hunting country. The gold mines had attracted a wealthier clientele than had come previously and these businessmen mixed business and pleasure. For example, The Critic notes in 1886 that:

> Lord Russel and his son make the Alton House their lodging place, when en route to the moose hunting grounds, and the landlady cannot say enough in their praise.[43]

Entrepreneurs inside and outside the province, as already pointed out, had begun to exploit Nova Scotia's natural beauty as they facilitated the means by which the affluent members of American Society could reach what to them was a quaint backward wilderness. The dependence on the American tourist dollar had just begun. After the civil war in the United States, the American economy accelerated and by the end of the century, despite slight recessions, a very wealthy upper class with, at times, quite exorbitant tastes had established a niche and reputation for itself. Imitatively, the middle class with the aid

of the press, followed the fashions and follies of the rich. Travel was one of the more prominent fashions. The rich went to Europe while the imitators settled for hunting, fishing, or touring the northeastern coast of the North American continent. It was a close and convenient territory with adequate transportation and accommodation. Canadians were not ignorant of this trend and ensured that the conveniences for travellers did not end at the American border. The New Brunswick and Nova Scotia railway systems provided onward transport to seekers of game and beauty. The tourist trade as it is known today was in its infancy.

Their Transport

It is a truism to state that the 19th century was the century of the railway while the 20th century was and is the century of the automobile. Both means of transport had far-reaching social and economic effects. Typically, however, for seabound Nova Scotia, ocean transport was of equal importance in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Those who wished to visit the province would either make the journey directly to Halifax or, increasingly after the 1890s, to Digby and Yarmouth with onward travel by rail. As early as 1834 the Royal Tar (256 tons) was transporting goods and passengers between Annapolis and Boston[44] (with stops in St. John and Digby). The spirit of railway building in the 1840s and 1850s provided the means by which Nova Scotia's agrarian products could reach their markets. The civil war in the United States brought an increase in freight and passengers and by 1866 a rail route between Halifax and Yarmouth was being discussed especially to accommodate the increased American trade. Trains ran between Annapolis and Halifax, and by 1879 the Western Counties Railway was completed and taking passengers from Yarmouth to Digby. In Digby they took the steamer to Annapolis, then the train again to Halifax. Given the appalling state of the roadbed of this undercapitalized line, it was not the most convenient method of transport; thus, many through-passengers who travelled to Boston via the Yarmouth steamer, preferred the Digby-St. John route.[45] By 1891 the "missing link," that 18-mile stretch between Digby and Annapolis, had been forged. Significantly, the Windsor and Annapolis line acquired the first Pullman parlour car, the "Haligonian," the same year and it ran between Annapolis and Halifax.[46] Both factors, especially the former, accelerated the tourist trade whose possibilities had been realized as far back as 1871.[47] In 1895 the Dominion Atlantic Railway took over the Halifax to Yarmouth route. Quickly realizing the value of adequate steamship service for the American tourists,[48] a "tourist" ferry, Prince Edward, was introduced between Yarmouth and Boston in 1897. The Yarmouth Steamship Company which had monopolized the route previously could not compete due to the Dominion Atlantic Railway's control of the railway lines and in 1901 the steamship company was bought out. The DAR and later the CPR would dominate the tourist trade in the "Land of Evangeline" well into the 20th century.[49]

Between the Kejimkujik and Rossignol lakes was an area of great beauty and abundant wildlife only 30 miles from Annapolis which could not avoid being influenced eventually by the flow of tourists. The sportsmen had known of it for some time[50] and now, with the attraction of many tourists to the province, it was just a matter of

time and transport before the area would become a popular destination. After all, it was already gaining mention in the burgeoning tourist handbook industry - the best-known of these being the "Karl Baedeker" series. In the Baedeker volume for 1894 it was noted that inland from Liverpool was a lake-studded area which afforded excellent fishing and could be approached from Annapolis, Liverpool, or intermediate stations on the Nova Scotia Central Railway (the closest being New Germany).[51] Baedeker's map of the province notes only the two communities of Maitland and Caledonia Corner but there is no specific mention of them in his text.[52] Three years before this book was published a tour book specifically for the Maritimes had been written. In 1891 The Maritime Provinces: a Handbook for Travellers made its appearance, not surprisingly, in Boston. In it reference was made to a trip through the Liverpool lakes region commencing in Annapolis and terminating in Liverpool.[53] Over this rugged road the tourist passes through Milford, an area "little used by the works of man"; Maitland, "a settlement of 400 inhabitants"; Northfield, "from which a forest road leads S.W. 6 M. to the shore of Fairy Lake (Kejimkujik)"; Caledonia with its "small inn"; and, finally, Brookfield, "a centre of farming settlements."[54] This prose was aimed at the sportsman but those who appreciated natural beauty (Photo P-001) would also be attracted by the "picturesque sights" and "pleasant solitudes."

Their Accommodation

One of the early favourites of American sportsmen was Thomas Hotel which later became Milford House (Photo P-027). Situated in Milford at the headwaters of the Mersey (then Liverpool) River, it was "... a favourite resort for fishermen and sportsmen generally."[55] By the late 1890s it had increasing appeal for American tourists and with excellent guides the owner of Milford House, A. Delbert Thomas, had

Figure 26. View from porch of Kedgemakoogee Lodge ca. 1415 (P-001). (*Original with L. Freeman, Brooklyn, Queens County.*)

established a wide repute for his lodge. He was provided with no end of publicity by the publication of a book in 1908 entitled The Tent Dwellers written by an American, Albert Bigelow Paine, "man of letters, novelist, author of children's books ..." and a biographer of Mark Twain.[56] Paine's book is delightful to read and recounts with illustrations the humourous trip to the "edge of the unknown," i.e. through much of present-day Kejimkujik National Park. Paine, together with his comedy relief, Edward Bracken, and their two guides, Charles the Strong and Del the Stout (Photo P-024) made an irregular loop of about 150 miles beginning at Jake's Landing on the Mersey River near Lake "Kedgeemakoogee." They were eventually picked up at their starting point by transport from Milford House. Paine gives an excellent account of the guides' duties and the way in which they efficiently managed these excursions. Undoubtedly he sums up for the majority of travellers the reason why this lake area was so popular to so many beginning sportsmen and sportswomen. "There were trout here and I could catch them. That was enough."[57]

Paine's companion, Eddie Bracken, was not quite the foil that the author makes him out to be. His interest in and concern for animal life continued long after Paine had made his well-known visit to Milford House. Bracken, who in reality was Edward Breck, returned to this Annapolis County resort year after year, and both he and his wife wrote vividly of their summer stays in Nova Scotia.[58] The other two

Figure 27. "The Tent-Dwellers." L. to R. Charles (the Strong) Charleton, Del (the Stout) Thomas, Eddie (Brachen) Breck, ca. 1925 (P-024). (*Original with Warren Miller, Milford House*).

members of this quartet were Delbert Thomas (Del the Stout), owner of Milford House, who often guided his guests, and Charles Charleston (Charles the Strong), one of the best known guides employed by Milford House.

One year after the publication of Paine's book another sporting lodge was being constructed not far from where he had launched his canoe into Lake Kejimkujik. Built on Jim Charles Point, it would dominate the tourist trade in this area and also give rise to a couple of competitors bordering the same lake. Ked-ge Makooge Lodge, as it became known, appears to have been in a class by itself. Aside from the advantages of nature, the new lodge was situated in an area near Maitland Bridge and New Grafton where experienced guides lived. They were in close proximity to the railway station in Caledonia and, most importantly, had sufficient financial capital provided by a Mr. C.W. Mills to launch such an enterprise.

By the turn of the century the Indians who once permanently occupied the "Fairy Lake Reserve" on the shores of Lake Kejimkujik had departed. Both the Charles and Gloade families had moved elsewhere. This was all part of a wider movement that saw many Indians give up "their bark wigwams, their bows and arrows, and moccasins and blankets and ... cling to the outskirts of the white man's towns and villages."[59] Many would itinerate and sell their baskets or canoes in towns and at celebrations like the Brookfield centennial celebrations (Photos P-054 and P-081). The reserve around Kejimkujik Lake became deserted and it did not take long for the non-Indians to see the advantages presented by the beauty surrounding the lake. The view from

Figure 28. Indian camp at Centennial celebration, South Brookfield 1899 (P-081). (*Original with Mrs. Freda Smith, South Brookfield, Queens County.*)

a point just above where Jim Charles' cabin stood presented a vista of green-grey islands framed by the blue of lake and sky - surely a serenity that would calm the most jangled nerves of a city-worn traveller (Photo P-001). It was from this advantageous point that the first lodge would be built in 1909 (Photo P-002).

Previous to this, however, the Kedgemakooge Rod and Gun Club had been founded and one of its few Nova Scotian members (the rest were American) was Clarence "Will" Mills from Annapolis Royal (Photo P-070). Mills was the son of Albert D. Mills, an able entrepreneur who together with Frank W. Pickles had established the Pickles and Mills Company which was successfully employed in lumbering, shipping, and manufacturing.[60] The Pickles and Mills Company had acquired a great

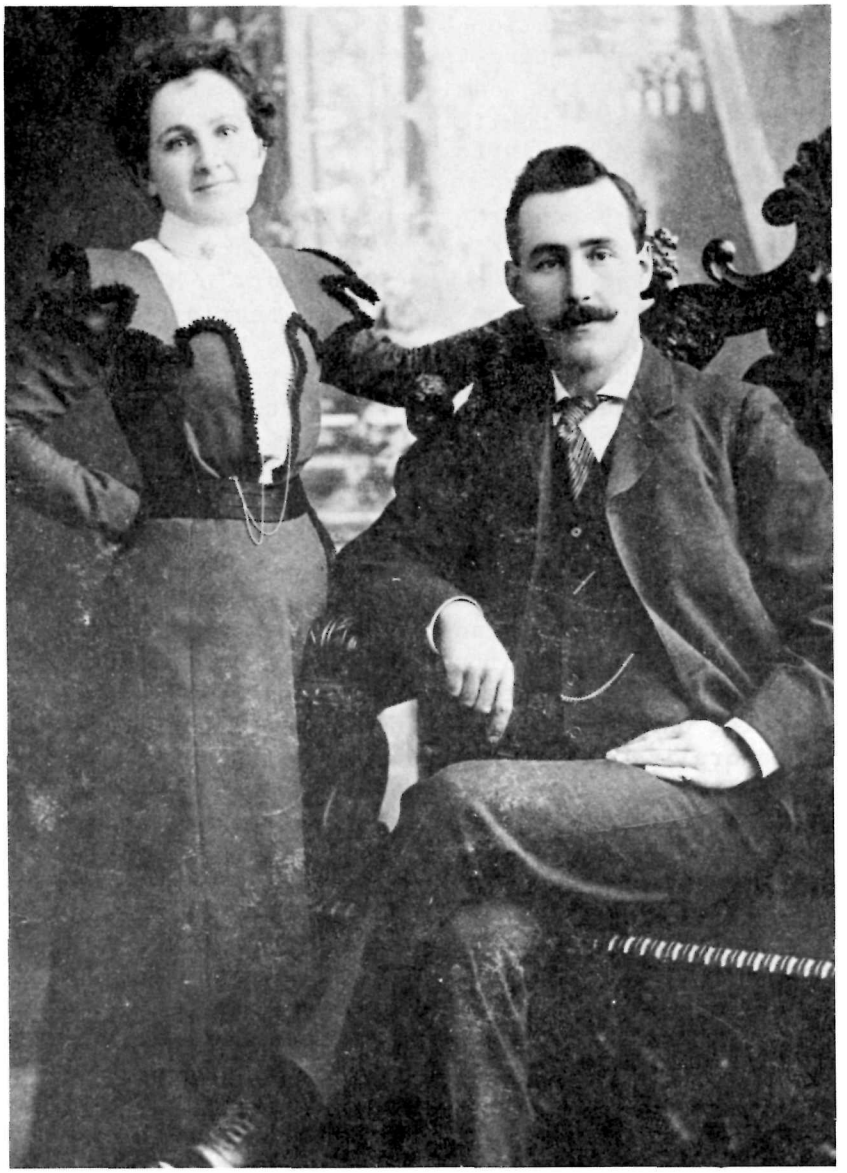


Figure 29. Mr. and Mrs. C.W. Mills. Will Mills was owner of Kedge Lodge 1909-1944, ca. 1900 (P-070). (*Original with K. Mills, Annapolis Royal, Annapolis County.*)

deal of timberland near the Kejimkujik Lake area and "Will" Mills was very familiar with the area as he was an avid sportsman. No doubt he played some part in the building of the first cabin of the Rod and Gun Club in 1906.[61] By 1908 Mills had acquired all those lots of land in the Fairy Lake Indian Reserve (totalling over 1,000 acres) from the Department of Indian Affairs for an annual fee of 30 dollars.[62] Within a year Mills was visiting the site to inspect the cellar being dug for a new clubhouse.[63] Both the labour and material were local with the logs for the lodge and the cabins that were built all being cut and sawed near Fairy Bay and then taken over to Jim Charles Point in a scow[64] (Photos P-012 and P-013). As the frame was going up in May 1909 for the new lodge, so were expectations for increased tourist travel in Northern Queens County. The Northern Queens Board of Trade met in Alton House, Caledonia, 10 May 1909 and a major topic of discussion was the accommodation by local hotels of a party of American newspaper men who were visiting the south shore of the province. It was realized by all those at the meeting that the farther afield the North Queens area was favourably publicized, especially by American newspapers, the greater the inflow of tourists would be. The manager of the new Kedgemakooge Rod and Gun Club clubhouse was not idle and he made his pitch in November of that year. Laurie Mitchell, sportsman (Photos P-014 and P-016), addressed the Liverpool Board of Trade on the topic "Our Game and Fish as a Commercial Asset." Mitchell stressed the larger revenues and increased business that tourists would bring to this "... veritable paradise ... for fishermen and hunters ..."[65]

The lodge soon became a popular spot attracting visitors from far and near (Map 5). Aside from the American tourists who might spend the whole summer at the clubhouse, there were also the shorter visits by the more affluent members of Liverpool society. The Gold Hunter for 29 July 1910 notes that A.W. Hendrey of Liverpool and his two daughters stayed overnight at the clubhouse[66] and in the off-season local societies would be invited for a day excursion to the clubhouse by Laurie Mitchell. The Maitland Methodist Knitting Circle were so invited and spent a quiet evening of piano and autoharp music in December 1910.[67] Not all in the community, however, approved of the influx of increasing numbers of sportsmen. Reverend C.J. Steeves of the Caledonia Baptist Church considered that these sportsmen "have a tendency to demoralize these [Grafton and Maitland] communities."[68] The flow, however, could not be staunched and soon became a flood with the advent of the automobile. The Gold Hunter observes that automobiles are getting to be a common sight in 1910[69] and Mrs. Peter Christensen notes that the first one she ever saw belonged, not surprisingly, to Will Mills.[70] However, the impact of the auto was not immediately evident in the first decade after the clubhouse was built and the long trip to Annapolis was still being made by horse and wagon to pick up tourists[71] who had arrived by ferry, all eager to gain their secluded retreat by the lakes. Many of those who lived in the area could not really understand why any of this "rich crowd" would pay ten dollars a week to sit beside an old oil lamp.[72] Nevertheless, pay they did and the receipts for 1915 show a total income of $5,883.50. Not a staggering sum but a 10 per cent profit was shown once the expenditures were subtracted.[73] The original clubhouse (Photo P-025) burned early in 1916 but Mills was not long in completing another. By 1 May 1916 it was finished and opened once more to the

Figure 30. Laurie Mitchell, manager of Kedge Rod and Gun Club, 1910 (P-016). (*Original in Kejimkujik National Park.*)

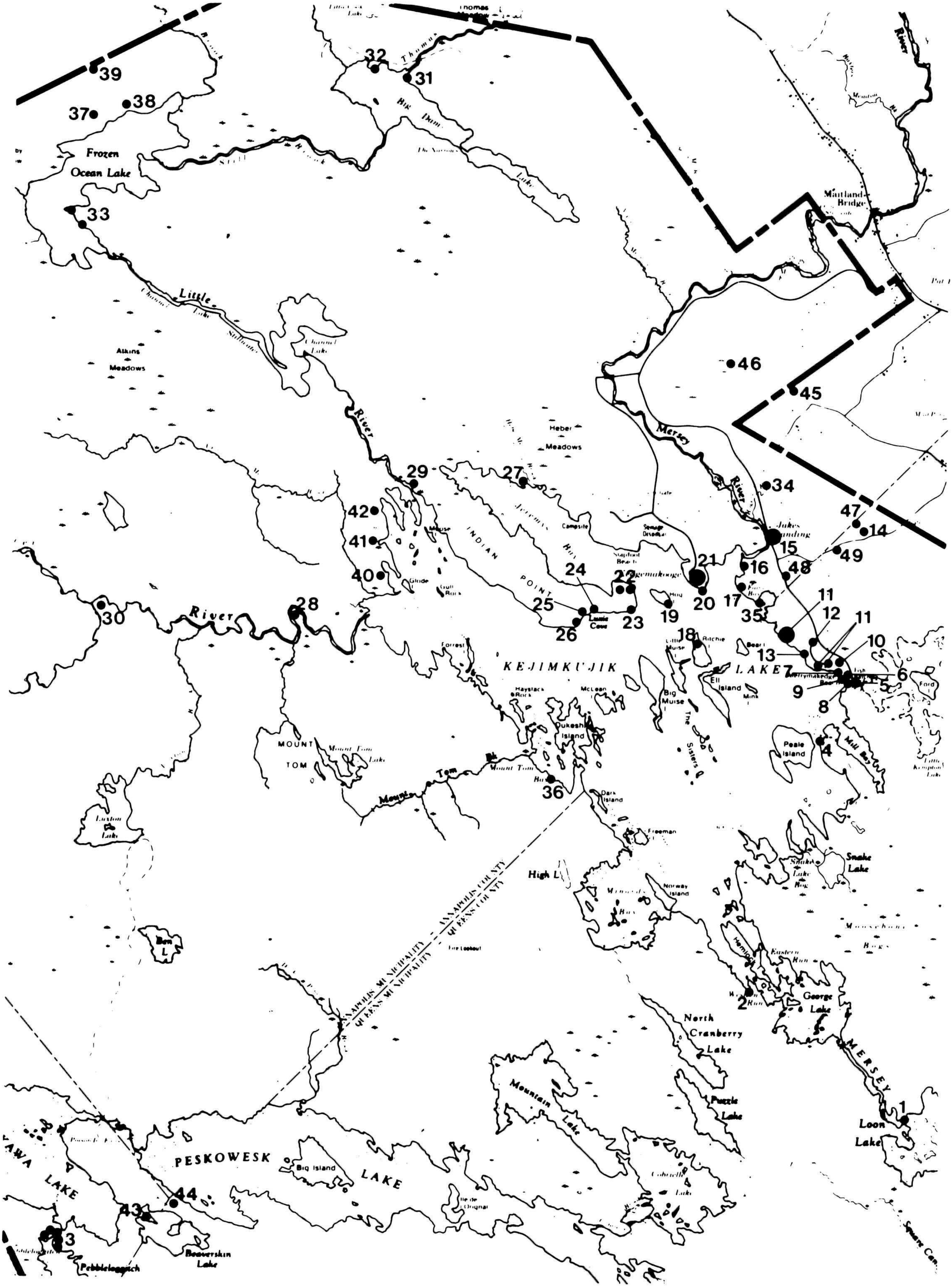
public.[74]

The first reference to the Kedgemakoogee Clubhouse appears in a tourist book by Ruth Wood titled The Tourists' Maritime Provinces (1915). She devotes six pages of her very detailed volume to the "Lake of the Fairies" and includes a photograph of one of the many cabins that were built around the clubhouse on Jim Charles Point.[75] As the Nova Scotia government became cognizant of the revenue to be realized from tourism, information brochures were published and distributed to the increasingly mobile tourist who could go where whim and his automobile would take him. Although Kedgemakoogee Lodge was not specifically mentioned, the lake is touted as an "ancient home" of the Micmacs and "well worth a visit." The first edition (ca. 1920) gave only a very brief description of the lake area but by the next edition (ca. 1930) the fishing and the hunting at this site were being extolled and reference was made to the petroglyphs on Fairy Lake.[76]

Figure 31. (Map 5) Cabin and site locations within Kejimkujik National Park ca. 1960. (*Drawing by John Gasparac, Parks Canada.*)

No.	Name	No. of Buildings
1	Victor Lacey	1
2	Bligh and Dakin	1
3	Ruby Mason	5
4	Perry Douglas	1
5	Harry Minard	1
6	Robert Crooker	1
7	Dr. Bird	1
8	Reg Cushing	1
9	B. Lohnes	1
10	Gordon Forrest	1
11	Arthur Merry	13
12	Willis Forrest	1
13	P. Grimm	1
14	H. Holdright	1
15	Joseph Rogers	23
16	John Merry	1
17	N. Phinney	1
18	A. Quinn	1
19	Dr. Rowter	1
20	C. Batho	1
21	Kedge Lodge Camp	34
		1 Diving Float
		1 Wharf
		1 Water Tank

No.	Name	No. of Buildings
22	Dr. Crowe	1
23	Dr. Burgess	1
24	Harry Orde	1
25	A. Buckmaster	1
26	M. Rawding	1
27	George Minard	2
28	Claude Morgan	1
29	Walter Sheffer	1
30	Walter Sheffer	1
31	Wrightman	1
32	R. Barnston	1
33	Fred Lewis	1
34	William Routes	1
35	C. Brownell	1
36	W. Creighton	6
37-42	Allan Arnold Rowterin	1
43	William Sheldon Cab	1
44	Tom Canning camp	1
45	John Lewis farm	
46	Cushing Pasture	
47	Arthur Canning farm	
48	Tom Canning farm	
49	Glode Field	


Frozen
Ocean Lake
Little
River
Atkins
Meadows
Heber
Meadows
Mersey
River
Maitland
Bridge
Jakes
Landing
INDIAN
POINT
KEJIMKUJIK
LAKE
MOUNT
TOM
Mount Tom
Dukeshire
Island
Peale
Island
Big
Muise
Ell
Island
The
Sisters
Campsite
Sewage
Disposal
Glide
Gull
Rock
Forrest
Haystack
Rock
McLean
Little
Muise
Ritchie
Hog
Dark
Island
Freeman
High L
Norway
Island
Snake
Lake
Eastern
George
Lake
North
Cranberry
Lake
Puzzle
Lake
Mountain
Lake
PESKOWESK
LAKE
Big Island
Loon
Lake
MERSEY
Luxton
Lake
Ben
L
Beaverskin
Lake
Pebbleloggitch
ANNAPOLIS MUNICIPALITY
QUEENS MUNICIPALITY
ANNAPOLIS COUNTY
QUEENS COUNTY
Fire Lookout
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Kedgemakoogee, the tourist resort, had made its mark.

The lodge begun by Mills and the Rod and Gun Club was not the only one to exploit the lake's natural beauty. Local entrepreneurs of Maitland Bridge and New Grafton also catered to the needs of the tourist/sportsman. One year before the completion of the clubhouse, Minard's cabins were in operation on the shores of the lake, just southeast of Fairy Bay.[77] These were built by Mert and Charles Minard and run by Mert Minard of New Grafton and William Cummings from Maine. In 1910, perhaps due to the competition offered by the lodge, a new road connected the cabins with the Jacob's Landing road which came through from New Grafton.[78] Mert Minard died soon after this and Cummings returned to Maine. The cabins, including a large cabin and several tourist cabins, were then taken over by Charles Minard. In 1919 he advertised in the Gold Hunter proclaiming "splendid fishing, beautiful scenery, easy of access, and the best of attention."[79] In a booklet published in the 1920s Minard's cabins are noted as clean and comfortable at a rate of $2.50 per day or $15.00 per week. (This compares rather favourably with the Kedgemakoogee Rod and Gun Club rate of $4.00 per day or $25.00 per week.)[80] Again perhaps due to the competition, Minard's cabins were modernized. Electric heating was installed, the main cabin enlarged, and additions were built on the other cabins.[81] However, by 1944 Minard's had gone out of business. The main cabin had burnt and Charles Minard had died. These would later become the Merrymakedge cabins of the 1950s and 1960s.[82]

There were others as well - Fred Rogers[83] and Smith Baxter[84] - who ran cabins for tourists although not of the scale or price of the lodge owned by the Rod and Gun Club.[85] Farther south Caledonia continued to offer accommodation to the tourists who arrived by rail or road. Freeman House, Parker House,[86] or the seemingly ageless Alton House administered to the traveller's needs. Elsewhere, A. Byron MacLeod had established Pinehurst in 1905 as a hunting lodge of some note just south of South Brookfield. Moose hunting was favoured and there were 24 members of the club, almost entirely from Boston. The ubiquitous R.R. McLeod provides his lyrical descriptions of this "commodious" lodge among the "green-robed senators of the mighty wood" in the book Pinehurst.[87]

Their Hosts

All of the above structures would not have been frequented as often as they were if the area had not had an abundance of competent and experienced woodsmen (Photo P-038). Guides could be obtained in virtually any village in Southern Annapolis and Northern Queens, be he Charles Charleston in Milford or Jim McLeod in Brookfield. In the Kejimkujik Lake area alone there was an abundance of guides - Tom Canning, Howard Germain, Watson Forrest, Freeman Lewis, Judson Lewis, and Fred Rogers, to name a few. As was to be expected, some were "characters" and stories of their adventures are still savoured by those who knew them.[88] Others enjoyed a wider fame in print and celluloid. For example, Will Rogers of New Grafton was featured in the photo page of the Boston Herald dated 11 November 1928 under the caption "Another famous Will Rogers, one of the best known guides in Nova Scotia."[89] Fred Lewis who worked for the lodge for over 30 years

made his film debut in "Grounds for Fishing" which provided tourist information on the "Village of Kedge Makoogee."[90] Guiding became in the 20th century a major source of income for villages like Milford, New Grafton, and Maitland Bridge. The lodges paid well and the tourists were usually sufficiently wealthy to leave a sizeable tip.[91]

Just as Milford House had its famous Americans, Breck and Paine, so did the other lodges. One of the Rockefellers visited Caledonia and Charles Sheldon, the naturalist, had his cabin on Beaverskin Lake.[92] Summer in central Nova Scotia brought the rich, the near-rich, or simply the famous to enjoy the "primitive" and serene beauty that this area had to offer. Undoubtedly, the bulk of these travellers were American and, generally, it can be stated that it was not until the Second World War period and after that the trend began to change and more Canadians and especially Nova Scotians were participating fully in the "age of the automobile." Unfortunately, the guest registers for the tourist accommodations on the Kejimkujik Lake are not available. However, perhaps the statistics for Milford House could serve as an indication of the origin of tourists in this area.[93] Both Milford House and KedgeMakoogee appealled to a similiar clientele and Milford House statistics could as easily have been KedgeMakoogee's. In 1930 almost 70 per cent of the guests at Milford House were from the United States. No doubt it was higher than this a decade or so earlier. During the decade from 1930 to 1940 the yearly percentage of Americans never went below 50 per cent. Most of the remainder were from Nova Scotia.[94] Thus, within the period of this study, the American tourist accounted for a great influx of cash, not to speak of the less obvious importation of the fashions and tastes of American culture. This, however, would be a whole new study not to be undertaken here.

Northern Queens County and Southern Annapolis County had realized yet another way in which their natural resources could be utilized. In this case, however, employment was provided but not so as to destroy the natural resources of the counties. As the tourist industry in Nova Scotia grew,[95] this southwestern portion of the province became a favourite spot for the travellers. During the 1940s a paved road stretched from Annapolis to Liverpool allowing greater access to the area. Gone was the era of oxcarts and the Model T Fords manoeuvering around granite rocks that blocked the road and the American tourists who stayed for three to four months at a time. Just as with its other occupations, farming, lumbering, and mining, the area had moved on to new and different horizons. Tourism in 1940 had changed in style but it was on its way to becoming one of the major money earners in the two counties of Annapolis and Queens.

CONCLUSION

To fully comprehend the sum of Nova Scotia's past, it is important to understand the diverse parts of this history. Too often the coastal lands of the province with their "tall stately ships" dominate Nova Scotian history and the adventures of its sea-going men have linked the province firmly with the ocean. However, the inhabitants of the interior of this boot-shaped peninsula followed their own particular life-style. Therefore, a study of these basically agrarian areas of the hinterland will demonstrate a different type of history from the urban or coastal studies that have been the focal point of the Nova Scotian past.

In the period before 1800 the area dealt with in this study was inhabited largely by Micmacs. The Europeans occasionally used the area as a trade route and it would appear that a number of the Acadian population took refuge there in the 1750s. With the settlement of the coastal areas by the British in the 18th century, trade with the interior declined, as did the indigenous population of Micmacs. As the new town of Liverpool expanded so did its need for timber and agricultural products. By the late 18th century roads were reaching inland to tap these resources. Still the main means of transportation was what it had always been - the Mersey River.

With the settlement of the area of Northern Queens and Southern Annapolis counties during the first half of the 19th century, the river began to be perceived more as a source of power than as a transport route. The settlers - predominantly agrarian - utilized the Mersey and Medway rivers and their numerous tributaries to power their gang saws for cutting their timber and to turn the mill stones for threshing and grinding their crops. The river also provided a means of transporting the products of the forestland to Liverpool and the sea. This, in turn, strengthened the initial cultural and economic ties that the interior had with this booming port. Not all who came found prosperity in either farm or forest but those who stayed gave evidence by their institutions that they were establishing an independent society that wished to become self-sustaining.

Throughout the period from the early 19th century to 1940, agriculture was the stable base upon which these societies were built. The avid interest in agricultural societies, the establishment of a yearly exhibition in 1884, and the ongoing work of the North Queens Fruit Packing Company (later Queens County Co-op) demonstrate the seriousness with which the farmers took their profession. From this base other economic activities would come but without this base the settlements would become waystations for a transient labour force on its way to another source of income.

Parallel but supplementary to agriculture was the timber industry. Farmers sold their timber or timberland to merchants in Liverpool and Annapolis Royal. Timber merchants working in the area employed men for

the winter, thus bringing badly needed cash when the agricultural season was slack. The exploitation of pine during the 19th century virtually exhausted the supply of the resource. Fortunately, the 20th century dawned with a great demand for wood pulp which brought the woodlots of Northern Queens and Southern Annapolis counties once more to the fore. By 1940 both raw pulp and manufactured wood containers were being exported. Thus, although sold in various forms, timber continued to be an important source of income throughout the 19th century and the first four decades of the 20th century.

The discovery of gold in Northern Queens County could not help but have a great influence on the social and economic life of the communities in Northern Queens. For over two decades the promise of gold attracted capital, labourers, and capitalists. The indigenous people furnished supplies and labour but they did not possess the capital or expertise to make their fortunes in the gold mines. The presence of the gold mines brought other influences as well. Boardinghouses and hotels were hastily erected and by the turn of the century the railway had come to Caledonia. Not everybody agreed that the gold mines were a positive influence, for there was widespread criticism by the Baptists of the immoral presence of the characters at the gold mines. By 1905, however, the gold had been depleted and despite an effort in the late 1930s and early 1940s to reopen the mines, the "golden age for Northern Queens" had obviously passed.

The lodgings built for the human traffic arriving in the area did not go unutilized. The early 20th century saw an ever-increasing interest in travel and tourists were being attracted to the lakes, forests, and streams of Northern Queens and Southern Annapolis for hunting or simply "viewing." Hunting lodges were built and by the 1920s and 1930s tourism had become an important source of income in the area.

These economic influences stimulated or were stimulated by the religious and political forces at work in the communities. The social milieu was incredibly active and the church, the school, and the various volunteer societies helped to shape opinions and prejudices. From this setting, the area brought forth poets, novelists, and politicians, men and women whose influence spread well beyond the bounds of county, province, or even, nation. Certainly, these communities could be said to be isolated at times, but given their social and intellectual contribution to Canadian culture, they were certainly not insular.

One would be extending the evidence to its breaking point by suggesting that this local study could serve as a microcosm of the province itself. However, a few observations can be safely made which may reflect the trends occurring in the other communities in the province. The extraction of natural resources - in this case, timber and gold - is the most obvious theme throughout the period of this study. The bulk of the timber trade went to Liverpool and its exploitation was sponsored by the timber merchants in that coastal town. The capital for the gold mining came, for the most part, from American sources and the profits also went south of the border. When each of these resources slumped or petered out, the populace returned to the land and farmed. Agriculture was the brake on any slide into an economic depression usually brought on by the world outside.

Such a base allowed for a very active social and political milieu. Creativity in the form of novels, poetry, or history came out of the area. Individual initiative in the fields of farming, lumbering, and

the tourist trade was evident. Numerous small businesses - hotels, general stores, restaurants - were formed, then stabilized or dissolved throughout this period, always reflecting the general economic trends in the area.

The people of these two counties, however, did not really control the resources of the area and therefore, could not govern its productive capacity. Related to this was a second problem, one by which Nova Scotia generally was and still is plagued. This was the increasing emigration. Whether it be to the "Boston States" as it was in the last part of the 19th century or to "Upper Canada" and points west as in the 20th century, the loss of a segment of the population could not fail to affect the area. In most cases these were the young men and women who sought adventure and, more importantly, employment as they drifted away from the farm and forest work. Some returned but, as has been the case with Nova Scotians generally, most stayed away.

By the close of this period, however, the area examined in this study was emerging from the depression of the 1930s with a demand for pulp, an increased interest in gold mining, and a bucket factory busy on the Medway River. The future for the inhabitants of this handful of communities in the central part of southwestern Nova Scotia looked considerably brighter than it was for numerous other towns and villages in the province. As the nation shifted to a war footing with all the doubt and uncertainty that this brought, these communities could view their survival of more than 100 years with some pride. From the very unpromising beginnings in a small clearing in South Brookfield in 1800, they had held their own.

APPENDIX

Kejimkujik Oral History

Biographical information of the persons interviewed for this study is essential to establish their ability to comment on various aspects of North Queens history. The résumés given below are of those informants whose information contributed most to the study.

1. Althea Banks, 1521 LeMarchant Street, Halifax, N.S.
   - daughter of George Banks, editor of the Gold Hunter and Farmers' Journal, and Francis Harlow of Harmony;
   - raised in Caledonia;
   - taught in Harmony at age of 15;
   - graduated from Acadia University and left area to work in Halifax.

   Interviews: KOH #5a, 10 February 1977
2. Cecil Baxter, 70s, guide and trapper, Maitland Bridge, Annapolis County
   - born and raised in Maitland Bridge;
   - son of Smith Baxter, guide and trapper, who owned three cabins for tourist accommodation on the banks of Kejimkujik Lake;
   - lived in Maitland Bridge all of his life;
   - widely recognized as village historian and very knowledgeable on family history;
   - was guide at Kedgeemakoogee Lodge for over 40 years.

   Interviews: KOH #11, 24 February 1977
   KOH #13, 25 February 1977
   KOH #30, 18 March 1977
3. Wellington Brown, 87, retired guide, West Springhill, Annapolis County
   - has lived in the area all his life;
   - guided for Milford House for over 40 years and retired in the 1950s;
   - worked in the woods in the winter.

   Interviews: KOH #40, 7 April 1977
4. Peter and Doris Christensen, both 86, Maitland Bridge, Annapolis County

   Doris - raised in Maitland Bridge,
   - mother was Edith Allison who later married G.M. Lohnes,
   - informant visited Charles Allison house in Kempt as a child,
   - has lived in Maitland Bridge all her life;

   Peter - from Denmark,
   - left ship in Annapolis and cooked at Bear River,
   - met and married Doris and settled in Maitland Bridge,
   - farmed all his life.

Interviews: KOH #12, 24 February 1977
KOH #27, 17 March 1977

5. Carlton Delong, 70s, guide and lumberman, Kempt, Queens County
- father was a lumberman;
- informant has worked and lived in Kempt and Albany New area all his life;
- worked at Kedge Lodge from 1890s and retired in 1940s.

Interviews: KOH #29, 18 March 1977

6. Leonard Delong, 76, storekeeper, Kempt, Queens County
- family from Albany New;
- lived in Kempt all his life with a trip to the United States ca. 1917;
- father, Humphrey, ran general store in Kempt;
- informant took over store in 1920s and sold out in 1946.

Interviews: KOH #19, 18 March 1977

7. Nelson Douglas, 53, storekeeper and lumberman, Caledonia, Queens County
- Douglas family has operated a general store in Caledonia for almost a century and informant operates present store;
- worked and lived here most of his life;
- attended Maritime Business College in 1940.

Interviews: KOH #47, 26 April 1977

8. Mrs. Donald Dukeshire, 84, New Grafton, Queens County
- Atkins family (informant's maiden name) has been in area since 1800s;
- informant spent much of childhood in United States;
- husband, Donald, deceased, worked on Kedge clubhouse;
- worked on farm most of her life.

Interviews: KOH #20, 4 March 1977
KOH #33, 25 March 1977

9. Stewart Fader, 76, farmer and woodsman, New Grafton, Queens County
- born in Maitland Bridge;
- father, farmer and woodsman;
- has lived in New Grafton most of his life.

Interviews: KOH #18, 3 March 1977

10. Lauchlin Freeman, 88, merchant, Brooklyn, Queens County
- raised in Harmony;
- father was John Freeman who owned store;
- pilotted ferry boat to Kedge Lodge across Kejimkujik Lake 1914-15;
- worked in Halifax 1915-18;
- moved to Caledonia in 1923 and had a restaurant there in 1930s;
- moved to Brooklyn, Queens County, and opened a store;
- now retired.

Interviews: KOH #80, 6 July 1977

11. Alton Hirtle, New Elm, Lunenburg County
- born 1903;
- worked in mines in Ontario at age 19;
- worked at Whiteburn for Perry and Lee Douglas in 1930s;
- deceased.

Interviews: KOH #92, Tapes 53 and 54, 19 May 1977

12. J. Kenneth Hunt, 64, labourer and farmer, Caledonia, Queens County

- born and raised in area;
- attended Pine Grove School;
- worked in Nova Scotia Woodenware factory in South Brookfield.

Interviews: KOH #45, 26 April 1977
KOH #52, Tape 32, 28 April 1977

13. Fred Lewis, 65, guide and farmer, New Grafton, Queens County
- raised in New Grafton;
- father had small farm and worked for Kedge Lodge;
- began guiding with father at an early age;
- worked for lodge full-time from 1934 on;
- became head of guides at Kedge Lodge in 1944;
- remained with lodge until Kejimkujik National Park was formed, then went to work for Park.

Interviews: KOH #10, 23 February 1977
KOH #69(a), 8 June 1977
KOH #78, 5 July 1977

14. Mrs. Maud Longmire, 87, South Milford, Annapolis County
- arrived in community as a schoolteacher in 1910;
- lives in one of the oldest homes in the community built by Alex Thomas;
- husband, Ritsen Longmire (deceased), was guide for Milford House for over 40 years and guided Edward (Brachan) Breck.

Interviews: KOH #39, 6 April 1977

15. Russell McBride, North Brookfield, Queens County
- born Whiteburn Mines in 1900;
- lived early life at Brookfield Mines;
- worked as a miner in Northern Queens County, as well as other Nova Scotia gold districts;
- worked for Perry and Lee Douglas at Whiteburn and at Brookfield Mines;
- except for time away at mines, entire life spent in Northern Queens.

Interviews: KOH #88, Tapes 47, 48 and 49, 5 May 1977

16. Reverend A.G. McClare, Aylesford, Hants County
- born 1897 in Hillsvale, Hants County;
- father was a miner and lumberman;
- mother was an Annis from West Caledonia;
- worked with father at Ford Mine in West Caledonia during summer of 1921.

Interviews: KOH #86, Tape 45, 16 April 1977

17. Horace McClare, Hillsvale, Hants County
- brother of Reverend McClare;
- worked extensively in West Caledonia gold district, first in 1927 and then from 1935 into World War II;
- worked Ford Mine.

Interviews: KOH #87, Tape 46, 5 May 1977

18. Thomas McGinty, West Caledonia, Queens County
- born 1886 on same farm in which he now lives;
- lived and farmed in West Caledonia all his life.

Interviews: KOH #94, Tape 56, 8 June 1977.

19. Arthur B. Merry, 60s, resort owner, 41 Forest Hill Road, Bridgewater, Lunenburg County
- stayed at Fred Roger's cabin as a visitor (1930s);
- acquired Charlie Minard cabins in 1953;

- expanded "Merrymakedge" until Park took over and he left in 1964.
Interviews: KOH #79, 6 July 1977

20. Warren Miller, manager, South Milford, R.R. #4, Annapolis County
- came to work in Milford House in 1943;
- worked for Del Thomas for 25 years;
- at present manager of Milford House.
Interviews: KOH #38, 6 April 1977

21. George Minard, farmer, New Grafton, Queens County
- grandfather moved to New Grafton in 1854;
- father was Hebert (Heber) Minard;
- informant has lived and farmed in New Grafton all his life.
Interviews: KOH #19, Tapes 12 and 13, 3 March 1977
KOH #75, 15 June 1977

22. Roland Minard, 77, retired, Caledonia, Queens County
- family part of original settlement group;
- raised in Harmony and farmed;
- left area to work in the lumber woods when he was 28;
- has genealogy of family;
- moved to Caledonia in 1950.
Interviews: KOH #31, Tapes 22 and 23, 25 March 1977
KOH #37, 26 May 1977

23. Mrs. Claude (Gussie) Morgan (nēe Rogers), 79, retired school teacher, New Grafton, Queens County
- informant's family, Rogers, from this area originally;
- informant returned 1912 and finished high school;
- worked at Kedgemakoogee Lodge for two summers;
- married in 1918 and farmed with husband, Claude Morgan;
- taught school in Caledonia.
Interviews: KOH #17, Tape 10, 2 March 1977

24. Mrs. Beulah Murray, 86, retired post mistress, Caledonia, Queens County
- born and raised in Harmony;
- daughter of John Freeman, merchant, of Harmony;
- worked in United States at age 16;
- married and came to Caledonia in 1915;
- husband, Clark, and informant took over post office in Caledonia in 1925.
Interviews: KOH #56, Tape 33, 17 May 1977
KOH #58, 18 May 1977

25. Eleanor Parker, Bridgewater, Lunenburg County
- born Pleasant River, Queens County, 1887;
- father, William Vienot, successful farmer who supplied cordwood to Libbey and the Brookfield Mining Company Limited;
- left area in 1907.
Interviews: KOH #89, Tape 50, 11 May 1977

26. Norman Phinney, 65, retired businessman, Wilmot, Annapolis County
- visited Kedge Lodge as a boy in 1921;
- worked in Halifax and Middleton;
- informant, father, and two other men took over Kedge Lodge in 1940s;
- father ran lodge;
- sold in 1957 to Norman Bowers.
Interviews: KOH #74, 15 June 1977

27. Mrs. Ethel Rawding, late 70s, Northfield, Queens County
    - raised in Gloucestershire, England;
    - met and married Robert Rawding in 1921;
    - has lived in J.W. Rawding home since 1921;
    - husband was a farmer and worked in lumber mill;
    - informant and children ran (and still run) the farm.

    Interviews: KOH #36, Tape 26, 28 March 1977
28. Joseph Rogers, New Grafton, Queens County
    - grandfather settled in Kejimkujik Park area in 1864;
    - later moved to Boston and informant's father, Fred, moved back to New Grafton sometime later;
    - father and later informant owned land near Jake's Landing and operated Rogers' Cabins from ca. 1920;
    - informant involved in guiding and the cabins closed when Kejimkujik National Park formed;
    - at present a local councillor.

    Interviews: KOH #16, Tapes 8 and 9, 2 March 1977
29. Miledge Rowter, 50s, game warden, Maitland Bridge, Annapolis County
    - born and raised in Maitland Bridge;
    - worked at Kedge Lodge as a guide in late 1930s;
    - worked also with Arthur Merry's cabins in 1950s;
    - employed as a game warden by Kejimkujik National Park.

    Interviews: KOH #71, 13 June 1977
30. Maurice Scott, 78, retired storekeeper, Caledonia, Queens County
    - born and raised on a farm in West Caledonia;
    - moved to Caledonia and was the barber there in 1920s;
    - acquired store in 1931;
    - sold first store and acquired another in 1934;
    - prominent member of the Caledonia Band;
    - involved with Roman Catholic Church activities.

    Interviews: KOH #46, 26 April 1977
    KOH #51, Tape 30, 28 April 1977
    KOH #62, 18 May 1977
31. Fred Shay, 84, carpenter and lumberman, Caledonia, Queens County
    - grandfather came to this area in 1840s;
    - informant born and raised in the area;
    - farmed and lumbered with his father;
    - joined army in 1915;
    - worked in United States during 1920s;
    - came home to stay in 1930s.

    Interviews: KOH #59, Tape 34, 18 May 1977
32. Walter Sheffer, 68, retired, New Grafton, Queens County
    - informant's family has been here for two or three generations;
    - informant born in Clementsvale and brought to New Grafton at two years of age;
    - farmed and guided in the area for 50 years;
    - worked for Kedge Lodge.

    Interviews: KOH #15, Tape 7, 2 March 1977
33. Bernard Slaunwhite, Chelsea, Lunenburg County
    - born 1908 on shores of Molega Lake;
    - son of Frank Slaunwhite, miner;
    - at age of 16 went to mines at Timmins, Ontario;
    - returned to Nova Scotia after seven or eight years;

- worked at Whiteburn, Molega, and a number of other Nova Scotia gold and iron mines.

Interviews: KOH #96, Tapes 59 and 60, 14 June 1977

34. Oliver Smith, 78, retired, South Brookfield, Queens County
- born and raised in South Brookfield;
- descendant of Josiah Smith family;
- farmed most of his life;
- prominent in North Queens Fruit Packing Company;
- president of Co-op in 1940s;
- worked for Mollins lumber office in South Brookfield.

Interviews: KOH #63, Tapes 37 and 38, 25 May 1977
KOH #65, 26 May 1977

35. James H. Smith, 83, lumber mill manager, Harmony, Queens County
- father, Nathaniel, moved to Harmony from Caledonia and started grist mill ca. 1872;
- informant started working in mill at 14 years of age;
- took over mill at 25 in 1918;
- has lived and worked in the area all his life.

Interviews: KOH #32, Tapes 24 and 25, 25 March 1977
KOH #60, 19 May 1977

36. Chester Sutherland, South Brookfield, Queens County
- born Molega Mines in 1922;
- grandfather had come to Molega from Rawden Hills with development of mines;
- father, miner, killed at Molega;
- informant well-known trapper and worked at Molega for Queens Mines Limited.

Interviews: KOH #93, Tape 55, 7 June 1977

37. Mrs. Edna Sutherland, 79, retired school teacher, Caledonia, Queens County
- father, George Parker, lived in Brookfield;
- Parker family moved to Caledonia and Parker House opened in 1912;
- informant taught in Pine Grove School, Caledonia, in 1919 and helped in hotel;
- moved west and married out there;
- returned to Caledonia over a decade ago when her husband died.

Interviews: KOH #61, Tapes 35 and 36, 19 May 1977

38. John Taul, Pleasant River, Lunenburg County
- born at Molega in 1907;
- son of John Taul, miner;
- worked at Brookfield Mines and Molega;
- trapped extensively in Northern Queens and worked in woods.

Interviews: KOH #90, Tape 51, 16 May 1977
KOH #91, Tape 52, 18 May 1977
KOH #95, Tape 58, 9 June 1977

39. Clifford Wamboldt, Molega, Queens County
- born Queens County, 1885;
- moved to Molega Mines at age of three;
- has lived at Molega Mines for rest of his life;
- worked as a miner at Molega, as well as in the woods.

Interviews: KOH #100, Tape 64, 29 June 1977

40. Ralph Waterman, Pleasant River, Lunenburg County
- born 1883 on same farm on which he now lives;

- father, Simeon Waterman, carpenter and amalgamator for 12 years for the Brookfield Mining Company Limited;
- informant was cook on railway when it was going from Pleasant River to South Brookfield;
- operated farm from time he was 15 years.

Interviews: KOH #98, Tape 62, 16 June 1977
KOH #99, Tape 63, 22 June 1977

41. Willard Waterman, 82, retired farmer, South Brookfield, Queens County
- family has been in the Brookfield area for a century;
- informant lumberman and farmer who has lived in the area most of his life;
- travelled west in 1916, then worked on a farm in the United States;
- returned home in 1918 and took over father's farm.

Interviews: KOH #64, Tape 39, 26 July 1977

42. Walter Wile, Broad Cove, Lunenburg County
- born Brookfield Mines;
- son of Otto Wile who operated boardinghouse at Brookfield Mines from 1896 to 1923;
- father also ran general store;
- left area in 1923;
- deceased.

Interviews: KOH #85, Tapes 44 and 44(1), 16 March 1977

ENDNOTES

Indians and Immigrants

1 "Letter from Rev. Charles H. Johnson," Gold Hunter and Farmer's Journal (Caledonia) (hereafter cited as GHFJ), 23 July 1920, p. 3.

2 All of these are lakes within the bounds of Kejimkujik National Park.

3 For example, Ponhook or Banook is the name given to the first lake on any river as one goes upstream. Pescawah was originally Uk-soosk-ah-we-getchk which means hemlock grave or hemlock land.

4 J.S. Erskine, "Micmac Notes," Occasional Paper No. 2, Archaeological Series 2, 1962, p. 33. Other archaeological sites in Nova Scotia, namely Debert, have given evidence of human habitations 10,500 years B.C.

5 Ibid., p. 3. Thomas Raddall, in his biography (In My Time: A Memoir, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), describes the plethora of Indian artifacts at this site and Mr. J. Lynton Martin of the Nova Scotia Museum suggests that this site may well contain a wealth of information that could tie together the archaeological information from Debert with the evidence about the Micmacs given by the first European explorers.

6 Union of Nova Scotia Indians, Nova Scotia Micmac Aboriginal Rights Position Paper, 1976, p. 16.

7 The petroglyphs on the northeastern shore of this lake have aroused a great deal of interest. Four hundred and thirty-four of them have been recorded and interpreted by various people. These sketches include drawings by both Europeans and Indians as well as examples of Indian calligraphy. Various dates are also scratched into the rock. How far back the Indian symbols go is a subject for conjecture but their presence in the Kejimkujik area suggests that this is a sacred area of some antiquity. See Brad H. Myers, The Recording and Mapping of Petroglyphs from Fairy Bay, Kejimkujik National Park, Vol. 1 and 2, Manuscript Report Series No. 70 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1972), and Marion Robertson, Rock Drawings of the Micmac Indians (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1973).

8 Dalhousie University Archives (hereafter cited as DUA), Thomas Raddall Papers, H.91, "Traces of Early French in Queens County and Adjacent Parts of Nova Scotia."

9 Andrew Hill Clark, Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760 (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1968), p. 96.

10 William Inglis Morse, Acadiensia Nova (1598-1779) (London: Bernard Quaritch Ltd., 1935), Vol. 1, pp. 110-11. Morse suggests that the route was probably Grand Lake, Milford Lakes, Mersey River to Kejimkujik, Mersey River to Lake Rossignol thence Mersey River again to Port Rossignol. De Meulle's map (Map "C") shows that he saw the journey as a sequence of 15 bodies of water like beads on a string stretching from Port Royal to Port Rossignol.

11 Ibid., p. 112.

12 Clark, op. cit., Fig. 6.4, p. 251.

13 It may have been at this time that the large Micmac populations in central southwestern Nova Scotia began to decline as the Micmacs fled to Cape Breton. By the time the pre-Loyalist Americans came to Liverpool (1759) there were very few Indians left at Indian Gardens. Some writers suggest that this was due to typhus - a not unusual occurrence among the aboriginal population that had suffered from imported diseases since the coming of the Europeans.
Thomas C. Haliburton, History of Nova Scotia (Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing, 1973), passim.
DUA, Raddall Papers, H.91, op. cit., p. 6.
Raddall also treats the event in a novelistic way. See Thomas Raddall, Roger Sudden (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), pp. 86-88.

14 DUA, Raddall Papers, H.91, op. cit., p. 7. Raddall was told by a Micmac, Mokone, that the Micmacs met the Acadians on the Medway River and hid them on an island east of present-day Port Medway. He also quotes Joseph Howe who stated in 1842 that there was an old stone-walled camp 200 feet by 60 feet at the head of Lake Ponhook. Raddall feels this may have been built by the Acadians of 1755 seeking refuge. Also see Grace McLeod Rogers, "The Kaduskuk Giant" in Stories of the Land of Evangeline (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1923). The above tale cannot be fully substantiated but even as late as 1759 150 Acadians had surrendered at Cape Sable, evidence that they had escaped British authority for four years and had taken refuge somewhere in the interior. See Virginia Clark, Settlers of Nova Scotia, Manuscript Report Series No. 172 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1972), p. 17.

15 Andrew Clark, op. cit., p. 368. Thirteen townships of 100,000 acres each were established - nine on the Bay of Fundy and four (including Liverpool) on the Atlantic coast.

16 This was not an exceptional circumstance as Professor Arthur Lower points out. See Arthur R.M. Lower, Great Britain's Woodyard: British America and the Timber Trade 1763-1867 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973). Virginia Clark notes that Lunenburg was a major source of firewood for Halifax. See Virginia Clark, op. cit., p. 40.

17 For a full discussion of boundaries and how they were drawn see Charles Bruce Fergusson, The Boundaries of Nova Scotia and Its Counties, Bulletin No. 22 (Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1966).

18 Beamish Murdoch, A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie, (Halifax: Barnes, 1867), Vol. II, p. 419.

19 Queens County then covered an area of 1,065 square miles. From the rocky seacoast, it stretched some 35 to 40 miles into unsettled back country reaching an elevation of 500 feet above sea level. The bulk of this study will deal with this northern half of Queens County as it was the most active and most heavily populated portion of central southwestern Nova Scotia. Thus, when reference is made to Northern Queens County, this will include Maitland which, although in Southern Annapolis County, has economic, social, and familial ties with Queens County.

20 Robert R. McLeod, "Old Times in Liverpool, Nova Scotia," Acadiensis IV: 2 (1904), p. 97. This particular volume of Acadiensis is dedicated wholly to Queens County. McLeod points out that many of the grants were made to Mayflower descendants. For example, Robert Leon Smith of the Smith family in South Brookfield has been certified as a member of the Society of Mayflower Descendants by right of descent from a passenger on the Mayflower.

21 W.O. Raymond, "Colonel Alexander McNutt and the Pre-Loyalist Settlements of Nova Scotia," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Series 3, Section II (1911), pp. 55-56.

22 Virginia Clark, op. cit., p. 66.

23 Again, Raddall can be perused here for a description of Liverpool during this period. His novel His Majesty's Yankees (New York: Doubleday, 1942) also reflects the divided loyalties of these transplanted New Englanders during the British Empire's "civil war." The most valuable reference for this period is, of course, The Diaries of Simeon Perkins: 1780-1789 edited by D.C. Harvey (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1958).

24 In 1760 Charles Morris, the government surveyor, was sent to this area to mark with a broad arrow those trees which the British navy wished reserved for making spars and masts. See James F. More, The History of Queens County, Nova Scotia Mika Publishing Company, Belleville, Ont. (first published Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1873), p. 60.

25 W.S. MacNutt, The Atlantic Provinces: The Emergence of Colonial Society 1712-1857 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), p. 91. Also see W.R. Bird, "History of South Shore Roads," ms., ca. 1942. Available in DUA, Raddall Papers, H.91, op. cit.

26 See chapter entitled "The Interior Settled." Much of this road was later to be included in Highway 8.

27 Robert R. McLeod, "Markland"; or Nova Scotia, its History, Natural Resources and Native Beauties (Kentville: Markland Publishing, 1905), p. 311.

28 The revivalist movement of Henry Alline is treated in A People Highly Favoured of God by Gordon Stewart and George Rawlyk (Toronto: Macmillan, 1972).

29 Virginia Clark, op. cit., p. 70.

30 D.C. Harvey, "A Documentary Study of Early Educational Policy," Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia Vol. I, No. 1 (1937), p. 3.

The Interior Settled

1 James F. More, op. cit., p. 51.

2 J. Lynton Martin, "Glaciers, Drumlins and Deserted Farms." Reprinted from the Journal of Education by the Nova Scotia Museum (May 1966), p. 2. See also map of drumlins on p. 2.

3 Robert R. McLeod, "Historical Notes of Queens County," Acadiensis, Vol. IV, No. 2 (April 1904), pp. 144-45.

4 Union of Nova Scotia Indians, op. cit., p. 12.

5 His gravestone in South Brookfield reads in part "He was eminently distinguished for the qualities useful and valuable in a new country." R.R. McLeod calls him one of nature's noblemen.

6 Liverpool Transcript (Liverpool), 16 February 1860, p. 228. In a letter to the editor Samuel Hunt describes the early history of Brookfield and William Burke a man with whom Hunt would have been personally acquainted.

7 GHFJ, 2 January 1897, p. 3.

8 Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter cited as PANS), RG1, No. 380, Document 4, "Report on a Survey of Timber Land in Western Nova Scotia" by Titus Smith (1801). Smith felt the area could support 100 families and also noted that the wild fruit in the area bloomed three weeks before fruit in Annapolis.

9 Ibid., p. 17. More implies in his History of Queens County (1873) that Zenas Waterman and Simeon Harlow were the first "permanent occupants" of Pleasant River area in 1802. Smith's evidence shows that there was some semblance of settlement before 1802.

10 Liverpool Transcript, op. cit., p. 228.

11 A comparison with the settlement of the present community of New Ross in 1816 would be useful in providing some background to the initial settlements in Northern Queens. See J. Lynton Martin, "Farm Life in Western Nova Scotia Prior to 1850," Nova Scotia Historical Society Collection (hereafter cited as NSHSC), Vol. 37, (1970), and J. Lynton Martin, The Ross Farm Story, Occasional Paper No. 8, Nova Scotia Museum (n.d.).

12 W.S. MacNutt, op. cit., pp. 148-51. See also chapter entitled "Tent Dwellers and Model T's" for the period 1815 to 1828.

13 Acadia University Baptist Archives (hereafter cited as AUBA) (Wolfville, Nova Scotia), North Brookfield Baptist Church Record Book 1828-1857, Vol. 1, William Sutcliffe to Missionary Committee Methodist Magazine, 6 May 1807.

14 Liverpool Transcript, 8 March 1860, p. 3.

15 It is not clear from the documents if Smith actually did retire or simply wished to follow other pursuits in addition to his seafaring. One writer notes that he returned to the sea in 1815. What is known is that he lost his first son, Lewis, to yellow fever on a cruise in the West Indies in 1817 (see Robert L. Smith, The Smith Family (n.d.), privately published and in the possession of Oliver Smith, South Brookfield) and after 1817 he was a permanent part of Brookfield society. See Kejimkujik National Park, Settlement #6-6, "Many Changes since 1840 in North Queens Village" (n.d.) and GHFJ, Letter by Robert R. McLeod, 9 January 1897, p. 3.

16 W.S. MacNutt, op. cit., p. 151.

17 The evidence is not precise as to who set up the first grist mill in Northern Queens County. (A grist mill preceded the sawmill.) McLeod would usually be the authority on such a matter and he states that Josiah Smith built the first grist mill. However, the Smith family records (Robert L. Smith, op. cit., p. 4) note that Josiah rebuilt the grist mill on William Burke's property. Also, Burke is credited with digging a canal for his grist mill that was placed on a brook flowing into the Medway River near his home. (Kejimkujik Oral History (hereafter cited as KOH), Interview No. 16, Tape 9, Counter 285, Joseph Rogers, New Grafton, N.S., 2 March 1977). Regardless of who set it up, it was certainly Captain Josiah Smith who made it the success it was to become.

18 Virginia Clark, op. cit., p. 118.

19 G.G. Campbell, The History of Nova Scotia (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1948), p. 189.

20 The Liverpool of the 19th century was a thriving, prosperous community. "In the Acadian Recorder of June 19, 1819, there is a list of vessels belonging to Liverpool, Nova Scotia, comprizing 5 brigs, 12 schooners and 1 sloop, engaged in the fisheries, - 2 ships, 10 brigs, and 2 schooners, in the West Indian trade, - 1 brig for St. Andrews, and 2 brigs for England; - in all 36 merchant vessels." (Beamish Murdoch, A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie, (Halifax: James Barnes, 1867), Vol. III, p. 440). Many of the migrants came over on timber boats, were paid to help load the boat, then left at the port. Liverpool, being quite prominent in the timber trade, probably received a number of immigrants in this fashion.

21 Alice L. Hebb, "History of Caledonia," Liverpool Advance and Western Counties Advocate (Liverpool), 19 October 1910, p. 3; NSHSC, Vol. XVI (1912), "Notes Historical and Otherwise of the Northern District of Queens County" by R.R. McLeod, pp. 110-11; James F. More, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

22 Liverpool Advance and Western Counties Advocate, op. cit., n.p.

23 Calnek feels that only Maitland was "Kemptons' Settlement" but given the fact that a number of Kemptons settled farther to the southwest, it seems that his name would have included those areas as well. See W.A. Calnek and A.W. Savary, History of the County of Annapolis (Toronto: Wm. Briggs, 1897), pp. 271-73; A.W. Savary, History of the County of Annapolis: Supplement (Belleville: Mika Publishing, 1973, reprint of 1913 ed.), p. 41.

24 AUBA, "Land Grants for Brookfield A.D. 1816." See Map 2 in text. The grants either border or straddle the road and if possible a grantee would hope for a river flowing through his property. From the map it can be seen that Josiah Smith could not have done much better than he did.

25 Ibid.

26 Thomas C. Haliburton, op. cit., p. 150. The accuracy of these reports is suspect due to the famous Agricola's (John Young) penchant for inflating statistics to encourage farming. However, they do give a rough idea of what crops the population of Harmony concentrated on in their agricultural pursuits.

27 KOH, Interview No. 32, Tape 24, Counter 85, James Smith, Harmony, 25 March 1977.

28 Private collection of Mrs. Elton Smith, Caledonia, Nova Scotia, letter from Middlemass family to David Middlemass, 2 August 1822. The punctuation and spelling mistakes in this quote have been omitted for clarity.

29 Fort Anne Museum, Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, John Sheriff to William Baxter, Caledonia, 18 May 1832.

30 Ibid. Both families still have descendants in Northern Queens and Southern Annapolis counties.

31 James F. More, op. cit., p. 55.

32 G.G. Campbell, op. cit., p. 204.

33 See Photographs MP-027 and MP-009. The latter is a view of a house in Caledonia that is said to be the oldest in the settlement, probably 120 years old. It is at present owned by Lauchie Seldon. The former is what is known as the "Old Weare Home" on the New Grafton road. It is presently owned by Norman Bowers.

34 See Photograph MP-068. This house at present belongs to Mrs. Maude Longmire, South Milford. The house once belonged to one of the Thomas brothers. They are considered the first settlers to the Milford area a century and a half ago.

35 G.G. Campbell, op. cit., p. 202. As Campbell points out succintly, its admonition was respected, its censure feared.

36 See a series of articles by Reverend Allen Gibson entitled "Churches by the Sea" in the Halifax Chronicle Herald. The communities, churches, and the date the article appeared are listed below.

Brookfield (North)	United Baptist	24/ 3/1962	p. 4
Brookfield (South)	Union	4/ 6/1966	p. 4
Brookfield (South)	Roman Catholic	24/ 7/1971	p. 9
Buckfield	United Baptist	17/ 8/1968	p. 4
Caledonia	United	9/ 7/1966	p. 4
Caledonia	United Baptist	23/ 1/1965	p. 4
Caledonia	Anglican	20/ 6/1964	p. 4
Caledonia (West)	Roman Catholic	30/ 7/1966	p. 4
Greenfield	United Baptist	20/ 5/1961	p. 4
Kempt	United Baptist	4/ 6/1960	p. 4
Maitland Bridge	United	7/ 9/1968	p. 3
Maitland Bridge	United Baptist	19/ 6/1971	p. 19
Maitland Bridge	Roman Catholic	4/ 9/1971	p. 11
Middlefield	United Baptist	5/ 8/1972	p. 19
Northfield	United Baptist	17/ 2/1973	p. 19
Pleasant River	United	14/12/1968	p. 4
Westfield	United Baptist	2/ 9/1972	p. 19

37 D.W. Johnson, History of Methodism in Eastern British America (Sackville: Tribune Printing Co., 1924), pp. 112-16.

38 An excellent source for further information on local church activities is the Record Book of the North Brookfield Baptist Church, 3 vols., 1828-1940, in the AUBA.

39 Winifred McFatridge, "A Documentary Study of Early Educational Policy," Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1937, pp. 33-34.

40 Joseph Howe, agent for Indian Affairs, visited Maitland Bridge area in 1842 at the request of John Jeremy, an Indian who wished to settle and become a farmer. A number of Indians were given title to a grant of government land on Fairy Lake (Kejimkujik Lake) to encourage their interest in farming and provide an example for others to follow. For more details see Nova Scotia Legislative Library, Halifax, Journals of House of Assembly of Nova Scotia (hereafter cited as JHANS) 1844-1845, Appendix 50, pp. 119-28.

Farms, Fairs and Apple Failures

1 G.G. Campbell, op. cit., p. 208.

2 John Young, Letters of Agricola (Halifax: Holland & Co., 1822).

3 J.S. Martell, "The Achievements of Agricola Societies 1818-1825," Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Vol. II, No. 2, (1940), p. 2.

4 Ibid., p. 36.

5 Thomas C. Haliburton, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 150.

6 Robert R. McLeod, "Historical Notes of Queens County," Acadiensis, Vol. IV, No. 2 (April 1904), p. 146.

7 PANS, Brookfield Agricultural Society Papers 1815-1841, E.H. Barnaby, Brookfield secretary, to Titus Smith, Secretary of Central Board of Agriculture, 20 May 1841.
8 Ibid., Lewis Smith to Titus Smith, 14 December 1842.
9 Ibid.
10 R.G. Flewwelling, "Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia 1839-51," NSHSC, Vol. 28 (1949), p. 104.
11 G.G. Campbell, op. cit., p. 210.
12 Marguerite Woodworth, History of the Dominion Atlantic Railway (Kentville: Kentville Publishing Co., 1936), p. 49.
13 J. Lynton Martin, "Glaciers, Drumlins and Deserted Farms." Reprinted from the Journal of Education by the Nova Scotia Museum (May 1966), p. 3.
14 Ibid. Much of the detail which Mr. Martin provides about life on a small upland farm could as easily be applied to the area of Northern Queens. I have, therefore, refrained from giving an account of the tools used or the farm work done and refer the reader to this excellent book and, more specifically, to Mr. Martin's article entitled "Farm Life in Western Nova Scotia Prior to 1850," NSHSC, Vol. 37 (1970), pp. 67-84.
15 These are still being used for meadow haying. KOH, Interview 15, Tape 7, Counter 324, Walter Sheffer, New Grafton, 2 March 1977.
16 "The Passing Years," Halifax Chronicle Herald, 1 August 1955, p. 5. Taken from the Daily Sun, August 1855.
17 Mrs. Freda Smith, South Brookfield showed me a bill of sale dated July 1879 for a "Cossitts Patent Horse Hay Rake" which was sold to Edward Freeman for $35.00 by Zenas McLeod of South Brookfield. Mr. McLeod was an agent for G.M. Cossitt and Brothers of Brockville, Ontario - a fact which confirms Mr. Martin's statement that by 1880 the farm implement agent for out-of-province manufacturers was a common part of the agrarian scene. J. Lynton Martin, The Ross Farm Story, Occasional Paper No. 8, Nova Scotia Museum (n.d.), p. 84.
18 Mrs. Edna Sutherland points out that her grandfather, William Parker, a shoemaker, rarely received money for his work in the 1870s. He usually received firewood or potatoes in lieu of cash. KOH, Interview No. 61, Tape 35, Counter 78, Mrs. Edna Sutherland, Caledonia, 19 May 1977.
19 PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries 1877-1935, North Brookfield, 1 January 1878. Mr. Harlow's conscientious work, although at times lacking in details, is the best personal account of this half century period in Northern Queens.
20 Ibid., 15 September 1878. There is an excellant account of meadow haying by George Minard from the cutting of the hay to the trip across Kejimkujik Lake in January to pick it up. KOH, Interview No. 19, Tape 12, Counter 690-800, George Minard, New Grafton, 3 March 1977. Roland Minard remembers the gathering of the stacked hay up the West River which runs into Kejimkujik Lake as a dangerous task especially the crossing of the lake which in January was usually pock-marked with air holes. He feels it would have been easier and safer to raise two acres at home rather than trek five to ten miles to get meadow hay. KOH, Interview No. 31, Tape 22, Counter 436, Roland Minard, Caledonia, 25 March 1977.
21 Their power was of greater value than their speed obviously. Harlow's journey to Liverpool, although broken for rest and sleep,

took 34 hours. This, for a distance of 30 miles. PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 16-18 October 1877.

22 North Brookfield Women's Institute, History of North Brookfield (1970), p. 11.

23 Ibid., p. 12.

24 Collection of James H. Smith, Harmony, diary of Zenas Smith of Caledonia, 26 July 1894.

25 Liverpool Advance, 13 October 1880, n.p. Extracted from assorted clippings held by Mrs. Edna Sutherland, Caledonia.

26 See the "Patrons of Husbandry" charter for Kempt in Perkins House, Liverpool. For detail on Granges in Canada see W. L. Morton, The Kingdom of Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), pp. 383 and 410.

27 The fair in Kempt in 1882 was organized solely by the Kempt Agricultural Society. It was held near Kempt Corner. KOH, Interview No. 27, Tape 18, Counter 220, Mrs. Doris Christensen, Maitland Bridge, 17 March 1977.

28 Letter from Matilda Dailey to Samuel Dailey, 25 October 1886. Original held by Mrs. Amie Smith, Allendale, Shelburne County.

29 JHANS, 7 Edward VII, 1907, "An Act to incorporate the North Queens Agricultural Association," pp. 346-49. Later amended in 1935. JHANS, George V, 1935, pp. 639-40.

30 Sir James Kempt had complained of the roads. Lieutenant-Governor D.C. Fraser suffered no such duress for he came via the newly built Halifax and South Western Railway in 1907, taking only four hours.

31 Blain Henshaw, "Exhibition: The Caledonia County Fair," Axion, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Aug./Sept. 1975), p. 10.

32 KOH, Interview No. 61, Tape 35, Counter 390, Mrs. Edna Sutherland, Caledonia, 19 May 1977. Mrs. Sutherland was George Parker's daughter.

33 PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 11 April 1892.

34 The Halifax and South Western Railway, a constituent of the Canadian Northern Railway System, which had a spur line to Caledonia offered a booklet with the stimulating title "25,000 free homesteads along Canadian Northern Railway." See GHFJ, 26 July 1912, p. 2.

35 R.R. McLeod, op. cit., opposite page 139.

36 F.G.J. Comeau, "Origin and History of the Apple Industry in Nova Scotia," NSHSC, Vol. 23 (1936), passim.

37 Norman H. Morse, "Economic History of the Apple Growing Industry in the Annapolis Valley," Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1952, p. 14.

38 F.G.J. Comeau, op. cit., p. 19.

39 Norman H. Morse, op. cit., p. 18.

40 Liverpool Advance, 16 September 1896, p. 2.

41 Ibid., 23 October 1901, p. 2.

42 R.R. McLeod, "Markland"; or Nova Scotia, its History, Natural Resources and Native Beauties (Kentville: Markland Publishing, 1903), p. 315.

43 KOH, Interview No. 63, Tape 38, Counter 354, Oliver Smith, South Brookfield, 25 May 1977.

44 Queens County Co-op Store, Caledonia, "Articles of Association."

45 The immediate decline came in the early 1920s and hit Queens County especially hard. See Norman H. Morse, op. cit., pp. 284-87.

46 Queens County Co-op Store, Caledonia, Minutes of the 30th Annual Meeting of Shareholders and Directors for the Queens County Co-op, 7 February 1944.

Pine, Pulp and Butter Boxes

1 Arthur Lower, op. cit., passim.
2 J.S. Martell, op. cit., p. 22. Raddall describes the 'clearing away' much more romantically in his description of the first settlers of Halifax. "You swept away the shadow and the mystery and the menace and geared it to the broad sky where the winds blew always and there was light." See Thomas Raddall, Roger Sudden (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), p. 98.
3 Titus Smith, op. cit., p. 17.
4 James More, op. cit., p. 86. All these mills were waterpowered and thus the expansion up the Medway and Mersey rivers was not surprising. The rivers served as both transportation routes and power sources.
5 James Stanley, Paul Comeau, and Donald Dodds, The Vegetation of Kejimkujik National Park (Ottawa: Forest Management Institute, 1973), Appendix C, pp. 200-5. The statistics here should serve as only a guide for the writer refers to "early settlers" but the settlers listed are post-1840 arrivals or relatives of earlier settlers.
6 Eric Sloane, A Museum of Early American Tools (New York: Ballantine, 1964), pp. 70-71. Also see J. Lynton Martin, The Ross Farm Story, Occasional Paper 8, Nova Scotia Museum (n.d.), p. 29.
7 Arthur Lower, op. cit., pp. 67-75.
8 Ibid., p. 71.
9 KOH, Interview No. 43, Hector MacLeod, 74 Park Street, Liverpool, 21 April 1977. Mr. MacLeod holds two volumes on Liverpool trade.
1. Accounts of import duties into Liverpool 1821-1840.
2. Coastal Trade in and out 1823-39. Liverpool had as many as 32 vessels in the harbour in 1830 and it should also be noted that a large number of these vessels were involved in the West Indian trade.
10 G.G. Campbell, op. cit., p. 214.
11 Arthur Lower, op. cit., p. 119.
12 DUA, THomas H. Raddall, "The Indian Gardens," unpublished manuscript, n.d., p. 4.
13 A land survey map held by Clifford Donnellan, Caledonia, is dated 1845 and the later plan is in the Crown Land Records office, Halifax Book 16, p. 156, 1 February 1849. Hector MacLeod's estimate of the first log drive coming from Lake Rossignol in 1865 would appear to be too late. KOH, Interview No. 43, op. cit.
14 JHANS 1844-45, op. cit., Appendix 72, p. 187.
15 DUA, Thomas H. Raddall, "The Pine Woods of Queens County," H.87, p. 2.
16 W.L. Morton, op. cit., pp. 345-46. It should be noted that the depression in the United States also affected Canada's manufacturing industries for American overproduction was dumped on the Canadian market. For further details see E.P. Neufield, Money and Banking in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), p. 176.

17 By the late 1860s and early 1870s Liverpool was no longer able to satisfy the export market demands for white pine; for the great stands in the Mersey and Medway watersheds had been cut or destroyed by fire. In addition to this there was the decline in the value of wooden ships which were being replaced by metal ships that had proven themselves in the American civil war. The depression that struck Liverpool in the 1870s simply hastened a more general decline.

18 KOH, Interview 47, p. 5, Nelson Douglas, 53, Caledonia, 26 April 1976. Melton Douglas was the informant's great grandfather.

19 KOH, Interview No. 64, Tape 39, Counter 354, Willard Waterman, 82, South Brookfield, 26 July 1977. Informant's grandfather.
KOH, Interview No. 52, pp. 18-19, J. Kenneth Hunt, 64, Caledonia, 28 April 1977. This was the informant's grandfather.

20 See chapter entitled "Gold: The Promise Unrealized."

21 It should be noted that a small groundwood pulp mill was built at Charleston on the Medway River as early as 1895. There was also a glimmer of interest in Northern Queens by the turn of the century. However, a pulp-induced prosperity was still on the horizon some 30 years away.

22 R.G. Dunn and Wiman Co., Mercantile Agency Reference Book for the Dominion of Canada (hereafter cited as MAC), No. 584, July 1892, p. 568.

23 Mrs. Muriel Freeman and J. Kenneth Hunt of Caledonia both possess beautiful pieces of furniture made in this early factory.

24 For a fuller description of the types of wood and their use on the farm see J. Lynton Martin, The Ross Farm Story, Occasional Paper No. 8, Nova Scotia Museum, (n.d.), p. 29.

25 Ibid.

26 PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 18 April 1878 to 3 May 1878.

27 Ibid., 16-18 October 1877. Today such a trip would be done in a morning with both breakfast and lunch at home.

28 Stewart Fader remembers his father, Robert, taking a load of logs to Annapolis and returning with needed supplies. KOH, Interview 18, Tape 11, Counter 120, Stewart Fader, 76, New Grafton, 3 March 1977.

29 KOH, Interview 31, Tape 22, Counter 262, Roland Minard, 77, Caledonia, 25 March 1977. Although not noticeable today, Mickey Hill near Graywood once consisted of a number of switchbacks in order to allow the oxen a less precipitous climb.

30 PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 1 January 1881 to 8 March 1881. Others went to the woods as a means to a different end. Reverend Clayton Munroe, a native of Maitland Bridge, worked in the Maine woods in the 1880s in order to earn enough money to pay his way through college. Personal communication with Mrs. D. Parker, Maitland Bridge, 25 February 1977.

31 For the description of the lumber camps in Queens County generally I have found the following useful - J. Lynton Martin, "The Lumber Woods Yesterday," Mersey Quarterly (Christmas 1975), pp. 4-7, and DUA, Raddall Papers, "Interview with Seward Coombs." Generally, lumber camps did not have the best of reputations being considered somewhat a cross between slave labour camps and dens of iniquity. Arthur Lower, op. cit., pp. 106-7.

32 Harlow notes in his diary for 7 February 1881 that dinner was wheat bread, cold meat, and tea. A week previously a hunter and his

Indian guide had come to camp and traded moose meat for some flour and molasses. See PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 30 January to 7 February 1881.

33 DUA, Raddall Papers, "Interview with Seward Coombs," p. 3.

34 J. Lynton Martin, "The Lumber Woods Yesterday," Mersey Quarterly (Christmas 1975), p. 5. Also see P-042 and P-022, the latter being a photo of the lumber woods in Maine ca. 1900 with both horses and oxen as draught animals.

35 Ibid. Larrigans were basically a pair of high-topped laced moccasins made of leather as rubber footwear was unknown then. Larrigans are still used by woodsmen in the Nova Scotia lumber woods. Also see A Concise Dictionary of Canadianisms (Toronto: Gage, 1973), p. 137.

36 KOH, Interview No. 4, p. 6, Roy Gordon, 88, Milton, 31 January 1977.

37 Each village had its own tragedy. A tombstone in a graveyard in Kempt notes the death of a young man in 1865 at the age of 21 years. He was drowned on the Port Medway River while on a log drive.

38 Fred Lewis who has worked on and around the present Kejimkujik National Park for over 40 years stated that a day and a night in good weather would usually be enough time to get the logs across the lake. He also noted that whether the log drives came down the West River, Little River or the Mersey River, all would use "Lantern Rock" to guide them to the mouth of the Mersey once more. This was a rock on which a lantern was placed to give the log drivers their bearings at night.
KOH, Interview No. 69(a), pp. 2-3, Fred Lewis, 65, New Grafton, 8 June 1977.

39 DUA, "Interview with Seward Coombs," p. 5. Mr. Coombs notes that some clinker-built boats with about a 14-foot keel were used in the big lakes like Kejimkujik and Rossignol. These were rowed by two men and could carry up to 1,500 pounds of equipment and supplies. Thaddeus Freeman, a skilled carpenter, made these boats in the Caledonia area.

40 KOH, Interview No. 18, Tape 11, Counter 310, Stewart Fader, 76, New Grafton, 3 March 1977.

41 The route across Lake Rossignol was much more complicated before 1929 when the Mersey River was dammed. Logs would have to pass through Lake Rossignol, then Hopper Pond, Second Lake and First Lake before reaching the Gardens. See "Guide Map Kedgemakoogee and Rossignol Lakes" (Kentville: Dominion Atlantic Railway, ca. 1919), Appendix

42 DUA, "Interview with Seward Coombs," p. 3. Mr. Coombs calls them the Bangor Peavey and states that he first saw one in the Queens County woods in 1895. The Concise Dictionary of Canadianisms, p. 181 notes that the peavey was "almost certainly" devised in the woods of New Brunswick and Maine and one persistent claim is that the inventor was a J.B. Peavey of Bangor, Maine, thus the etymology of Coomb's term for it.

43 KOH, Interview No. 4, p. 6, Roy Gordon, 88, Milton, 31 January 1977.

44 Ibid.

45 Each man had his tricks of the trade. Kenneth Hunt remembers his grandfather telling of the log drives down the Medway to Port Medway. He would wear a pair of quilted socks of wool over two

other pairs of socks instead of the habitual cork boots and this would help him "stick" to the logs. See KOH, Interview No. 52, pp. 18-19, J. Kenneth Hunt, 64, Caledonia, 28 April 1977.

46 DUA, Thomas H. Raddall, "Extracts from diary of John G. Morton," H.41. This was taken from Mr. Morton's entry for 26 April 1920. John Morton was a prominent merchant and lumberman in Milton.

47 See photo from the collection of the Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax (reference p. 116.33, titled "Sawmills at Milton").

48 R.R. McLeod, "Markland"; or Nova Scotia, its History, Natural Resources and Native Beauties (Kentville: Markland Publishing, 1903), p. 588. John Millard did an enormous amount of logging in Northern Queens and included in this was some work done around the Kejimkujik Lake. Personal communication, Eric Millard, Liverpool, 5 August 1977. Mr. Millard is the grandson of John Millard.

49 For a fuller explanation of saws and sawmills in Nova Scotia, see J.L. Martin, "Early Sawmills in Nova Scotia," op. cit., pp. 10-12. Nathaniel Smith of Harmony is believed to have installed the first circular or rotary saw in the Northern Queens area. This could have been as early as the 1880s. See KOH, Interview No. 31, Tape 22, Counter 80, Roland Minard, 77, Caledonia, 25 March 1977; and Interview No. 32, Tape 24, Counter 110, James H. Smith, 83, Harmony, 25 March 1977. There was a rotary sawmill at West Caledonia being run by Messrs. McClair and Annis in 1889. See GHFJ, 13 April 1889, p. 3.

50 See chapter entitled "Tent Dwellers and Model T's."

51 KOH, Interview No. 23, Leonard Delong, 76, Kempt, 16 March 1977. Mr. Delong is a retired storekeeper and Humphrey Delong's son.

52 KOH, Interview No. 29, Tape 19, Counter 54, Carlton Delong, Kempt, 18 March 1977. Most of side one of this tape provides details of the Grafton mill. Timber was cut around Grafton Lake as well as on the east side of Kejimkujik Lake. The water-powered mill became a steam-powered mill ca. 1920 with the shipment to Caledonia of a steam engine which was then hauled by four oxen to the mill site.

53 The store has since been moved to the east side of the road and is now run by Mr. Alton Demmons. See Photo MP-053.

54 The Pickles and Mills firm had possessed a large area of timberland in Southern Annapolis and it was the son of Albert D. Mills, C.W. Mills who was to see other possibilities for the land around Kejimkujik Lake and convert it into a tourist resort area. See chapter entitled "Tent Dwellers and Model T's."

55 Abram W. Hendry was born and schooled in Brookfield and established his shipping company in Liverpool with trade connections in the West Indies and the United States. Between 1884 and 1914 he built 24 ships including Gold Hunter (1891), Gold Seeker (1896), Caledonia (1903), and the Rossignol (1908). The above was taken from notes held by Hector MacLeod, Park Street, Liverpool.

56 John Rowan states that "A first-rate sawmill at work is one of the sights best worth seeing in Canada." John J. Rowan, The Emigrant and Sportsman in Canada (Toronto: Coles, 1972), p. 267. First published in 1876.

57 The last logs to be river-driven down the Medway were cut near Kejimkujik Lake in the winter of 1926-27. The logs, for the most part, white pine, were harvested from a strip of land between Kejimkujik Lake and Peskowesk Lake according to Thomas Raddall.

They were then taken down the Peskowesk Brook to the Mersey and from there across Rossignol, Second Lake, and First Lake and down to the booms at the Potanoc Sawmill. Then in the fall of 1927 they went through the last surviving water-powered sawmill on the Mersey and by the spring of 1928 the sawn lumber was in Halifax or the West Indies. DUA, Thomas H. Raddall, "The Pine Woods of Queens County," H.87, p. 5. Presumably Raddall is referring to the strip of cutting done ca. 1928 between Peskowesk and Hilchemakaar lakes. Personal communication, Miledge Rowter, Maitland Bridge, August 1977.

58 Robert R. McLeod, "Markland"; or Nova Scotia, its History, Natural Resources and Native Beauties (Kentville: Markland Publishing, 1903), p. 588.

59 The Freeman Furniture Factory has been mentioned earlier in this chapter. KOH, Interview No. 80, Tape 43, Counter 437, Lauchlin Freeman, 80s, Brooklyn, 6 July 1977.

60 "The Romance of Caledonia Mills," Liverpool Advance (Liverpool), 1 January 1926. From a collection of cuttings held by J. Kenneth Hunt, Caledonia.

61 KOH, Interview No. 32, Tape 24, Counter 304, James Smith, 83, Harmony, 25 March 1977. Mr. Smith's wife is the daughter of the late Captain Brooks.

62 "The Romance of Caledonia Mills," Liverpool Advance (Liverpool), 1 January 1926, Hunt collection.

63 KOH, Interview No. 32, Tape 24, Counter 323, James Smith, 83, Harmony, 25 March 1977.

64 The Caledonia Mills, Limited, with A.W. Broughton as President and General Manager, was a subsidiary of the Scott Paper Company of Chester, Pennsylvania. See clipping titled "Caledonia Mills in Queen's County, Mass of Ruins" in the Hunt collection mentioned above.

65 Clipping from J. Kenneth Hunt Collection dated 23 June 1926, Volume 64, No. 185. Due to the type used and the layout, I believe this to be a Halifax daily paper.

66 GHFJ (Caledonia), 6 September 1937, p. 3.

67 See chapter entitled "Gold: The Promise Unrealized."

68 John Stephens, "Place of Welcome," Port and Province (July-August 1934), p. 14.

69 The arrival of a large number of Quebecois in Brookfield and their subsequent sojourn of 15 years would be a fascinating study. A number of the Brookfield children learned French in primary school from a bilingual teacher. The Protestant church was used for Catholic services and a number of other social adaptations were made by both the immigrants and the indigene. All this would be an appropriate study given "Canada-1977." However, time and space prohibit such an examination.

70 KOH, Interview 76, Miss Beryl Berringer, South Brookfield, 5 July 1977.

71 GHFJ (Caledonia), 24 April 1937, p. 2.

72 Ibid., 26 January 1940, p. 2.

73 Ibid., 24 October 1941, p. 3.

74 "N.S. Woodenware Plant Destroyed by Fire," 15 June 1944. Clipping from a Halifax newspaper in a volume of clippings held by Mrs. Edna Sutherland, Caledonia.

Gold: The Promise Unrealized

1 Controversy surrounds the actual discovery at Whiteburn. Thomas H. Raddall credits the find to two brothers who accidently found rich sights of gold while hiding from the law. After settling their debt with society, they returned to take up claims. (DUA, Thomas H. Raddall Papers, H-114B). The Critic (Halifax), 15 January 1886, p. 12, credits the discovery to a Mrs. Howe, the only lady miner in the province.

2 Nova Scotia, Commissioner of Public Works and Mines, Report of the Department of Mines, Nova Scotia, for the year 1888 (hereafter cited as Mines Report, N.S., 1888) (Halifax, 1889), p. 32.

3 GHFJ (Caledonia), 23 August 1929, p. 3.

4 "Westward Ho! The Gold Fields of Queens County," Critic (Halifax), 30 July 1886, p. 13. McGuire and Eaton had gold mining interests in the Pleasant River Gold District in Lunenburg County and the John McGuire referred to carried on extensive operations at Brookfield in the late 1880s.

5 Critic (Halifax), 5 February 1886, p. 12.

6 Critic (Halifax), 30 July 1886, p. 3. Stamp mills were common in the gold fields of North America during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These mills were used for crushinng gold-bearing ores. The stamp is composed of a crushing member (generally weighing between 450 and 750 lbs) which is dropped on a die. The ore is crushed in water between the head and die. The pulverized ore is carried by water through fine screens and over a sloping table, on which are copper plates covered by a thin film of mercury. The fine particles of precious metal are amalgamated with the mercury. A stamp battery generally contained five stamps and the mills often had numerous batteries. Power was commonly water or steam.

7 Critic (Halifax), 10 September 1886, p. 13.

8 Nova Scotia, Mines Report, N.S., 1887, p. 51. Lands containing gold were surveyed and proclaimed gold districts by the Nova Scotia Department of Mines. The districts were laid off in areas 150 feet by 250 feet for licensing and administrative convenience.

9 Critic (Halifax), 18 Febrary 1887, p. 12.

10 Nova Scotia, Mines Report, N.S., 1889, p. 42.

11 "Sketch of Whiteburn," Industrial Advocate (Halifax), December 1898, p. 8.

12 GHFJ, 23 August 1929, p. 3. Mentions that both during and after the gold-mining days Hugh McGuire was the carrier of H.M. Mails from Caledonia and Whiteburn.

13 Critic (Halifax), 17 December 1886, p. 12. Identifies Gilbert Parker as a Philadelphian.
Critic (Halifax), 26 July 1889, p. 13. Speaks of him as being "a Caledonia boy." Perhaps he had been born in Northern Queens County and relocated to the United States as a young man. Oral informants could shed no light on this apparent contradiction.

14 Critic (Halifax), 17 December 1886, p. 12.

15 Canadian Mining, Iron and Steel Manual (Ottawa: Montreal), Vol. 1, 1890-91, p. 98.

16 Ibid., p. 116. Both the Queens County Mining Company and the Rossignol Mining Company were organized in August of 1890 and had their offices at 64 Senherst Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

17 Critic (Halifax), 15 August 1890, p. 12.

18 "Molega and That Sort of Thing," Nova Scotian (Halifax), 22 June 1889, p. 11.
19 Critic (Halifax), 1 July 1887, p. 12.
20 Critic (Halifax), 11 March 1887, p. 12. This district was also known as Molega.
21 Nova Scotia, Commissioner of Public Works and Mines, Molega Gold District (Halifax: King's Printer, 1929), p. 11. A series of pamphlets on the gold district were compiled from data obtained from Reports of the Provincial Department of Mines, sworn returns to the Department, records of the G.S.C., and other sources considered reliable.
22 W. Malcolm, Gold Fields of Nova Scotia, Geological Survey of Canada, Memoir 385 (Ottawa, 1976), p. 120. Originally published as Memoir 156 (1929). A compilation based on the work of E.R. Faribault of the Geological Survey of Canada.
23 Critic (Halifax), 13 June 1890, p. 12.
24 Nova Scotia, Commissioner of Public Works and Mines, Molega Gold District (Halifax: King's Printer, 1929), p. 12.
25 Canadian Mining Review (Gardenvale, P.Q.), Vol. IX (1890), p. 162.
26 Nova Scotia, Mines Report, N.S., 1890, p. 32.
27 Critic (Halifax), 3 April 1891, p. 12.
28 Ibid.
29 Canadian Mining Review (Gardenvale, P.Q.), Vol. X (1891), p. 262.
30 Ibid., Vol. IX, 1890, p. 182.
31 Industrial Advocate (Halifax), September 1898, p. 11. This is the John McGuire of McGuire and Eaton who we were earlier warned not to confuse with James McGuire of Whiteburn (see endnote 4).
32 Nova Scotia, Mines Reports, N.S., 1893, p. 35.
33 Ibid., p. 36.
34 Ibid., p. 13. Mentions A.H. Harding making improvements to machinery. KOH, Interview No. 98, Tape 62, Side II, Ralph Waterman, Pleasant River, 16 June 1977. Refers to Harding Mill which Libbey took over and converted. A.H. Harding is a principal in Brookfield Mining Company Limited. However, whether he and Libbey had formed a partnership in 1893 when Harding was improving what must have been the mill built by John McGuire in 1886 is unclear.
35 Critic (Halifax), 21 May 1886, p. 13. W.D. Nelson holds bond on Ernst and Colp property. Issue of 25 August 1886, p. 12, indicates Nelson sold to a group of Duluth gentlemen. KOH, Interview No. 98, Tape 62, Side II, Ralph Waterman, Pleasant River, 16 June 1977, discusses discovery (see transcription).
36 Critic (Halifax), 28 January 1887, p. 12.
37 Nova Scotia, Mines Report, N.S., 1887, p. 51.
38 Ibid., 1888, p. 28.
39 Ibid., 1889, p. 42.
40 Nova Scotia, Department of Mines, File 21-N-01 (03), Percy E. Browne, The Development of an Ore Shoot in Nova Scotia. This appears to be a draft of an article of the same title later appearing in an issue of Transactions of the Mining Society of Nova Scotia, Vol. XII (1908), pp. 57-61, which could not be located. Stoping is the subterranean extraction of ore. Overhand stoping consists of cutting into the ceiling of the mine. Breast stoping and underhand stoping require cutting into the wall and floor respectively. Overhand stoping saves considerable labour as timber

staging can be erected with loading chutes through which ore can be shovelled for removal to the surface.

41 Ibid., p. 2.

42 W. Malcolm, op. cit., p. 44.

43 "Free Milling and Chlorination of Gold Ores at North Brookfield, Queens County, N.S.," Canadian Mining Review, Vol. XVI (1897), p. 180. The chlorination process was a chemical process designed to remove that portion of the gold not free and visible but bound up with sulphides. For additional information on this process and the equipment required for a plant, a number of articles are available including J. Norman Richie, "Chlorination Plant at Brookfield," Industrial Advocate, March 1901.

44 Industrial Advocate (Halifax), December 1896, p. 14.

45 Liverpool Advance (Liverpool), 12 August 1896, p. 4.

46 Industrial Advocate (Halifax), January 1897, p. 9.

47 "Brookfield Gold District," Industrial Advocate (Halifax), May 1900, p. 16. Stormont, Guysborough County, is comprised of Isaac Harbour, Upper and Lower Seal Harbour, County Harbour, and Forest Hill, and as early as 1862 the district returned 397 ounces from 197 tons of crushing material.

48 W.L. Libbey, "Mining and Milling Costs at the Brookfield Mine, Queens County, Nova Scotia," The Gold Measures of Nova Scotia and Deep Mining... (Halifax: Mining Society of Nova Scotia, 1898), p. 30.

49 Ibid.

50 Canadian Mining, Iron and Steel Manual, Vol. XIV (1904), p. 41.

51 Nova Scotia, Commissioner of Public Works and Mines, Brookfield Gold District (Halifax: King's Printer, 1929), p. 12. Calculated from February 1904 to September 1905 when the last crushing was made in the W.L. Libbey Mill, Brookfield.

52 PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 1877-1935, 25 September 1905.

53 Industrial Advocate (Halifax), December 1905, p. 14.

54 "Presidents Address," Journal of the Mining Society of Nova Scotia (Halifax), Vol. VI (1900-1901), p. 14.

55 Industrial Advocate (Halifax), September 1905, p. 8. As early as 1898 the Baptists of North Brookfield had petitioned Libbey to close his mine on Sundays.

56 PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 1877-1935, 11 June 1905. It should be noted that although a devout Baptist, Maurice Harlow seems to have taken little interest in the campaigns of Reverend Shearer.

57 Industrial Advocate (Halifax), January 1906, p. 12.

58 Nova Scotia, Department of Mines, G.L. Holbrooke, Report on Libbey Property, Brookfield District, Queens County, N.S. (31 October 1963), report on file. KOH, Interview No. 89, Tape 50, Side II, Mrs. Eleanor Palmer, Bridgewater, Nova Scotia, 11 May 1977, mentions difficulty Libbey had removing water without electric power.

59 Nova Scotia, Mines Report, N.S., 1931, p. 120.

60 Ibid., 1935, p. 107.

61 Ibid., 1936, p. 145.

62 KOH, Interview No. 92, Tape 53, Side I, Alton Hirtle, New Elm, Lunenburg County, N.S., 19 May 1977.

63 Ibid., Interview No. 92, Tape 54, Side I, Alton Hirtle, New Elm, Lunenburg County, N.S., 19 May 1977. Interview 96, Tape 59, Side I, Bernard Slaunwhite, Chelsea, Lunenburg County, N.S., 14 June

1977. This informant also mentions accident at boiler. Thus, the mention of a ten-stamp mill being used by Douglas and a five-stamp mill in 1940 in the Mines Report, N.S. is explained.

64 Nova Scotia, Mines Report, N.S., 1941.

65 KOH, Interview 92, Tape 53, Alton Hirtle, New Elm, Lunenburg County, N.S., 19 May 1977 and Interview No. 96, Tape 59, Bernard Slaunwhite, Chelsea, Lunenburg County, N.S., 14 June 1977. Both informants concur that Douglas paid $1.75 a day for miners. In Ontario, working for March Gold Mines, Hirtle had earned up to $14.00 a shift. At Hollinger Mines, Ontario, Slaunwhite had earned $5.25 an hour as a helper. When Slaunwhite left Whiteburn he went to Oldham, Halifax County, where Americans were paying $6.00 a day.

66 Nova Scotia, Mines Report, N.S., 1934, p. 220 gives production figures of 9,984 ounces from Whiteburn District to that date, while Mines Report, N.S., 1941, p. 165, shows 11,856 ounces as having been produced.

67 Kingsley Brown, "Government to Aid Development of Sound Gold Mining," Port and Province (Halifax), October 1933, p. 4.

68 Nova Scotia, Mines Report, N.S., 1936, p. 142

69 Ibid., 1937, p. 147. Directors of United Gold Fields of Nova Scotia with head office in Liverpool are listed as: D.W. MacKay (President, Liverpool), F.L. Anderson (Vice-President, Digby), W.C. McGill (Shelburne), G.E. Romkey (West Dublin), Capt. B.N. Menalson (Pubnico), F.W. Bower (Shelburne), H.A. Kenney (Liverpool), A.H. Cook (Secretary, Brookfield Mines), Logan S. Ball (mine captain, Brookfield Mines).

70 Nova Scotia, Commissioner of Public Works and Mines, Brookfield Gold District, File F.01.1.

71 Nova Scotia, Mines Report, N.S., 1940, p. 52.

72 KOH, Interview No. 95, Tape 58, Side I, John Taul, Pleasant River, 9 June 1977. Taul has numerous recollections of Queens Mine.

73 Nova Scotian, 22 June 1889, p. 4.

74 Critic (Halifax), 1 June 1888.

75 R.G. Dunn and Wiman Co., Mercantile Agency of Canada, 1886, 1892.

76 "Westward Ho! The Goldfields of Queens County," Critic (Halifax), 30 July 1886, p. 13.

77 Critic (Halifax), 26 July 1889, p. 13. Credits Gilbert Parker with building the first shanty at Malaga. By 1891 the population had reached 1,000 persons.

78 Ibid., 27 November 1891, p. 12.

79 KOH, Interview No. 98, Tape 62, Side I, Ralph Waterman, Pleasant River, 16 June 1977. Born in 1883, this informant has firsthand recollections of Brookfield Mining Co. Ltd. operations. Transcript of this interview has been prepared.

80 Ibid.

81 PANS, RG21-A, Vol. 20, J.B. Harlow to Gilpin, 17 June 1889.

82 KOH, Interview No. 85, Tape 44, Side II, Walter Wile, Broad Cove, Lunenburg Co., 16 March 1977.

83 PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 1877-1935, 23 August 1886. "There seems to be a need of temperance work. The miners go to Caledonia Saturday nite for their drinks."

84 KOH, Interview No. 100, Tape 64, Side I, Counter 240, Clifford Wamboldt, Molega, 29 June 1977. Informant John Taul (Interview No. 92, Tape 58) also recalled this specific incident.

85 Critic (Halifax), 29 April 1892, p. 15. Levi Dimock is remembered by informant John Taul as being "a mean bugger."
86 GHFJ (Caledonia), 16 April 1937, p. 3.
87 Industrial Advocate (Halifax), January 1906, p. 17.
88 KOH, Interview No. 96, Tape 59, Side I, Bernard Slaunwhite, Chelsea, Lunenburg Co., N.S., 14 June 1977.
89 PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 1877-1935, 11 November 1905.
90 R.G. Dunn and Bradstreet Co., Mercantile Agency of Canada, 1908.
91 KOH, Interview No. 90, Tape 51, Side I, John Taul, Pleasant River, 16 May 1977. This seems to have been common. Numerous informants went to Ontario at one time or another.
92 For a brief description of the tribute system as practiced in Nova Scotia, see W. Malcolm, op. cit., p. 5.
93 For descriptions of prospecting and tribute work in Northern Queens County, see KOH, Interview No. 90, Tape 51, and Interview No. 100, Tape 64.
94 KOH, Interview No. 88, Tape 49, Side I, Russel McBride, North Brookfield, 5 May 1977. The house was purchased by Larry Gates who moved it to the Rosette Road near Silvers Lake. Madelaine Frank now owns the property.

When Work Was Done

1 See chapter entitled "The Interior Settled."
2 See chapter entitled "Pine, Pulp and Butter Boxes."
3 D.W. Johnson, op. cit., passim; Dr. T. Watson Smith, History of Methodist Church in Eastern British America, 2 vols. (Halifax: Methodist Book Room, 1877 and 1890). Also see Reverend Gibson's articles tabulated in Chapter Two. Little critical historical work has been done on Nova Scotia churches in the 19th century. For biographical information on the early ministers, see Grace McLeod Rogers, Pioneer Missionary in the Atlantic Provinces (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1930).
4 This statement is based on personal observation in the Baptist Archives at Acadia University, Wollville, and the Maritime Conference Archives of the United Church of Canada, Halifax.
5 The Anglican Parish of New Germany, Nova Scotia (Bridgewater, ca. 1970), p. 18. This publication takes its information from Church Work dated 1913.
6 Mr. and Mrs. Maurice Scott, History of St. Jerome's Parish, (ms), ca. 1976.
7 See chapter entitled "Pine, Pulp and Butter Boxes."
8 M. Allen Gibson, "Churches By The Sea," The Chronicle Herald (Halifax), 4 September 1971, p. 11.
9 One informant noted that there was almost a boundary line between Protestants and Catholics in Caledonia and West Caledonia respectively until the turn of the century. This informant prefers to remain anonymous. Such feelings were sometimes expressed about different denominations by the ministers themselves. For example, the Union Church in South Brookfield has always been shared by Baptists and Methodists. This point was made clear to one Reverend gentleman ca. 1900 who felt in his role as the Methodist Church minister he would naturally chair the local trustee meetings. It was pointed out to him, however, that the church belonged to the

community, not to any one denomination. He left muttering "I'm an angry man." KOH, Interview No. 63, Tape 38, Counter 702, Oliver Smith, South Brookfield, 25 May 1977. Informant's uncle, S. Primrose Smith, had attended that meeting.

10 The Vaughan Library at Acadia University, Wolfville, has an enormous store of material on the Baptists of the Maritime region. For this study the Record Books for both the North Brookfield Baptist Church quarterly meetings and the Queens County Baptist quarterly meetings were examined.

11 AUBA, North Brookfield Baptist Church Record Book, 1838(?)-1917. On 1 December 1828 Reverend Thomas Ansley helped form the First Baptist Church with a membership of thirteen.

12 In 1902 this building was demolished and a new church erected. This structure was dedicated in October 1904 and Reverend W.B. Bezanson of North Brookfield preached the dedication sermon. See M. Allen Gibson, "Churches By The Sea," The Chronicle Herald (Halifax), 4 June 1960, p. 4.

13 AUBA, North Brookfield Baptist Church Record Book, 1838(?)-1917, 5 October 1853.

14 Ibid., 25 February 1855.

15 Ibid., 27 August 1860. This was the same Thomas Keillor mentioned previously who was Liberal MLA for Queens County 1897-1901. Ministers' salaries were negotiable and thus no set sum can be quoted for their income. During the late 1860s, the Baptist ministers made approximately $170.00 a year as compared to an annual income of $1,000 in 1932. However, the former salary also included transport, servants, and foodstuffs when available. In neither year could they be considered affluent by any means.

16 PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 1877-1935, 1877, first page before text begins.

17 AUBA, Queens County Baptist Record Book, 6 August 1895.

18 Ibid.

19 The results saw Government control outpoll the Nova Scotia Temperance Alliance 85,078 to 61,202. However, in Queens County the Alliance polled 43 votes more than those in favour of Government control. The final tally was 1,685 to 1,642. Queens was one of eight communities that voted against control. See "Government Control Wins in Nova Scotia," GHFJ, 1 November 1929, p. 2.

20 See above Chapter Five. The contributions to the Baptist church by those living in North Brookfield had risen significantly (200%) due to the industry in the area brought by the gold mines. See AUBA, Queens County Baptist Record Book, 6 December 1897.

21 AUBA, North Brookfield Baptist Church Record Book, 1838(?)-1917, 2 July 1898.

22 This would most certainly include intemperance on the part of the mine workers. AUBA, Queens County Baptist Record Book, 23 February 1904.

23 As early as 1886 Maurice Harlow was noting the need for temperance work as the miners were going to Caledonia on Saturday nights for their drinks. PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 1877-1935, 23 August 1886.

24 There was also no guarantee that the church would win its legal action either as the law was very unclear on this matter. AUBA, North Brookfield Baptist Church Record Book, 1838(?)-1917, 3 October 1898.

25 Ibid., 7 June 1903. Reverend Shearer was a prominent Presbyterian minister from Toronto.
26 AUBA, Queens County Baptist Record Book, 7 May 1930.
27 Liverpool had established its Grammar School in 1816 and Gorham College was founded in 1848. James F. More, op. cit., p. 93. Also see chapter entitled "The Interior Settled."
28 As with the churches, a dearth of secondary material is a problem in regard to schools. However, the following works are useful: John E. Crockett, "Origin and Establishment of Free Schools in Nova Scotia," M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1940; Edward Logan, "Educational Achievements in Nova Scotia, 1840-1865", M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1936; Winnifred McFatridge, op. cit., passim.
29 A complete examination of the politics behind this act may be found in P.L. McCreath, "Charles Tupper and the Politics of Education in Nova Scotia", Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly (hereafter cited as NSHQ), Vol. 1, No. 3 (September 1971), pp. 203-4. Also see John E. Crockett, op. cit., passim.
30 This information extracted from page three History of Caledonia (1935) in clippings collection held by Mrs. Edna Sutherland, Caledonia. This was corroborated by a number of oral informants.
31 KOH, Interview No. 31, Tape 22, Counter 450, Roland Minard, Caledonia, 25 March 1977. Mr. Minard was originally from Harmony. The school in Harmony (Photo MP-043) was used as a multipurpose building.
32 History of Caledonia, Sutherland Collection.
33 It was then used as a band hall for Caledonia's Band and now houses the Credit Union and the Tourist Bureau.
34 "History of Caledonia School," photocopy. The building that once housed this school has been renovated and is now used for apartments.
35 West Spring Hill, Annapolis County, and New Grafton, Queens County, School Registers. Mr. Wellington Brown, West Springhill, Annapolis County, and Mrs. Claude Morgan, New Grafton, were kind enough to allow me to photocopy these registers.
36 Grafton School Section No. 14, Register of the Attendance, Department and General Progress of the pupils, 1866-67, passim.
37 Ibid., 1910-11, passim. Maurice Scott recalls the time ca. 1908 when the school teacher in West Caledonia requested a $2.00 addition to her yearly salary. She was earning the princely sum of $100.00 a year. Mr. Scott chuckled over the school meeting that was held to discuss the "grave" matter and related the arrival of the school commissioners with fancy horse teams worth over $300.00 to discuss a two-dollar raise. KOH, Interview No. 51, Tape 31, Counter 190, Maurice Scott, 78, Caledonia, 28 April 1977.
38 A Photocopy of this program is on file at Kejimkujik National Park.
39 PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 1877-1935, 18 September 1877. In the 20th century, the Kedgemakoogee Lodge was a popular spot for Sunday picnics. See KOH, passim.
40 KOH, Interview No. 51, Tape 30, Counter 014, Maurice Scott, 78, Caledonia, 28 April 1977. Mr. Scott stated that the rainmaker "damn near brought the barn down but never brought any rain."
41 PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 1877-1935, 18 August 1886.
42 Ibid., 5 November 1877.

43 KOH, Interview No. 12, Tape 4, Counter 343, Mrs. Peter Christensen, 86, Maitland Bridge, 24 February 1977. At times formal invitations were sent. For example, Cecil Baxter possesses one that reads "Mr. and Mrs. Middlemass request the pleasure of Miss Mary Rebecca Baxter's Company at their house on Tuesday evening, the 24th inst. at 5 o'clock P.M. Caledonia - June 20th, 1862."

44 PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 1877-1935, 26 April 1888. Harlow, not surprisingly, called it disgraceful.

45 Ibid., 31 December 1878.

46 The Photo P-036 was provided by Lauchlin Freeman, Brooklyn, Queens County, and he states that he was playing and at bat at the time.

47 "The band was organized in 1912 under the leadership of the late W.H. Banks, editor of the "Gold Hunter" and the first meetings were held in Mr. Bank's printing offices...." Clipping titled "Gold Hunter Editor First Band Leader," 1943, Sutherland Collection (Caledonia). The date 1912 is a misprint for Mr. Banks died in 1910. Mr. Maurice Scott believes the band was started in the 1890s. It certainly was in operation at the turn of the century for the Gold Hunter of 23 June 1905 bought a new Imperial Euphonium for $55.00. The band members were to sell ice cream every Saturday night in order to pay for it. Mr. Scott played in the band for well over 20 years and recounts that there were bands as well in North Brookfield and the Brookfield Mines. KOH, Interview No. 51, Tape 31, Counter 300-380, Maurice Scott, 78, Caledonia, 28 April 1977.

48 "Local News," GHFJ, 24 November 1916, p. 3.

49 Ibid., 26 January 1912, p. 3.

50 Ibid., 14 February 1913, p. 3.

51 Hazel M. Clayton, "Who was Rev. W.W. Ashley?," Forward March, 1957. This was a Baptist journal published regularly.

52 Ibid. This Society was founded in Liverpool at the home of Russel Douglas, Senior, and had 35 members.

53 Ibid.

54 Volant Lodge No. 161, British America Order of Good Templars Minutes. Mrs. Freda Smith, South Brookfield, kindly allowed me to read these documents which she possesses.

55 Ibid., passim. This should not be surprising, given the name of the Society as the "British America Order" and the fact that some members may well see it as a choice between two evils.

56 Liverpool Advance (Liverpool), 3 March 1886, p. 3, reports that Thomas Keillor of Kempt was in Halifax as a delegate at a temperance convention.

57 Ibid., 13 April 1887, p. 3. Mr. Lewis, a "temperance agent" was holding public assemblies.

58 R.R. MacLeod, "Historical Notes of Queens County", Acadiensis, Vol. IV, No. 2 (April 1904), p. 151.

59 GHFJ, 6 September 1940, p. 3. The Masonic Hall had been built in 1890 for the Mechanics Lodge No. 78 of the Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Caledonia, Nova Scotia. The Free Masons of Northern Queens County had formed a Masonic lodge in 1887 due to the distance they had to travel to the nearest lodges in Milton and Liverpool. Perhaps, their ability to finance this new two-storey building in Caledonia was helped more than a little by the mining activities going on around them. The plans were made by Arthur Boucher of Liverpool who secured the contract to erect it.

60 The Overseers of the Poor was a committee which assessed the needs of the "unfortunates" in the settlement. This organization was supported by the taxes collected from the various villages in the area. The minute book of their meetings is held by Mrs. Freda Smith, South Brookfield.

61 This is not to say that it did not exist elsewhere in the province. See Judith Fingard, "The Relief of the Unemployed Poor in Saint John, Halifax and St. John's, 1815-1860," Acadiensis, Vol. V, No. 1 (Autumn 1975), pp. 32-54.

62 Minute Book for the Overseers of the Poor, held by Mrs. Freda Smith, South Brookfield. The history written in 1841 was then cut out of the town book and destroyed. The later history has not been found.

63 It is rather pathetic to note that Wentworth Dailey "the first white child in Northern Queens" was a pauper and had to be cared for by Harmony and Kempt. He was kept by John Wambolt for one year for $40.00, and in each ensuing year tenders would be called for W. Dailey and the lowest offer "won" him.

64 Poor District Book for Harmony and Kempt, in the possession of Ira Mailman, Kempt.

65 Ibid. There is an entry in 1933 for $21.16 for maintenance of a poor farm.

66 Arthur L. Spedon, Rambles Among the Bluenoses; or Reminiscences of a Tour through New Brunswick and Nova Scotia (Montreal: John Lovett, 1863), p. 158.

67 GHFJ (Caledonia), 22 July 1921, p. 3. A more complete biography of McPherson is in a volume of his collected poems entitled Poems, Descriptive and Moral (Halifax: Theophilus Chamberlain, 1862), pp. III-XXXVII.

68 Perhaps due to McPherson's propensity to use the word "Fairy" to describe various locations, he may also have given Lake Kejimkujik its name "Fairy Lake" which appears on a grant map for Queens County in 1860. See Public Archives of Canada (hereafter cited as PAC), National Map Collection, Queens County, Nova Scotia, T 107, 1860.

69 PANS, "McPherson's Grave." Clippings from GHFJ. Includes the complete poem written by W.E. Marshall. There is a stone erected in McPherson's memory by relatives and friends situated in the North Brookfield Baptist Church Cemetery.

70 Liverpool Advance and Western County Advocate, 3 June 1914, p. 3. This was a long historical poem entitled "Brookfield" and was published some five years after McLeod's death.

71 Robert R. McLeod, "Historical Notes of Queens County," Acadiensis, Vol. IV, No. 2 (April 1904), p. 138. This is a photograph of South Brookfield taken ca. 1900. McLeod's home, which no longer stands, is the large structure situated on the left-centre of the photograph on a hill above the town. See also P-035.

72 Both of the following concentrate on McLeod's observations of nature: Robert R. McLeod, In the Acadian Land: Nature Studies (Boston: Bradlee Whidden, 1899); and Further Studies in Nature (Halifax: Commercial Printing Co. Ltd., 1910).

73 McLeod's contributions to history have been noted elsewhere in this study.

74 This celebration was widely reported and photographed. See P-028, P.-54, and P-067. See also GHFJ (Caledonia), 9 September 1899, p. 3; and 16 September 1899, p. 3; Liverpool Advance (Liverpool), 20

September 1899, p. 2; Halifax Herald (Halifax), 14 September 1899, p. 7.

75 Also see Clara Dennis, More About Nova Scotia: My Own, My Native Land (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1937), p. 394, and a photograph of the plaque in Volume IV (MP-074).

76 Thomas H. Raddall, In My Time: A Memoir (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), pp. 129-130. Raddall remembers Keytes quite well and considered him "... a jolly good fellow.2

77 PANS, MG9, No. 320, "Pinehurst Scrapbook," no author. No sources are given for the information on prices.

78 Ibid.

79 "Mr. Keyte Arrested at Halifax," GHFJ (Caledonia), 28 November 1924, p. 3. Both Keytes and Keyte were aliases used by Mr. Koretz.

80 KOH, Interview No. 51, Maurice Scott, 78, Caledonia, 28 April 1977, passim.

81 Thomas Keillor's church is presently the Kempt Community Hall.

82 KOH, Interview No. 27, Tape 18, Mrs. Doris Christensen, 86, Maitland Bridge, 24 February 1977, passim. Charles Allison's home stood on a hill in Kempt. The stone cellar still remains on the right of Highway #8 about half a mile south of the Albany New road. Mrs. Doris Christensen was a grand-daughter of Charles Allison and describes the house in some detail.

83 KOH, Interviews No. 63 and No. 65, Oliver Smith, South Brookfield, 25 May 1977.

84 "Turning the First Sod at the Nova Scotia Southern Railway." Clipping from J. Kenneth Hunt collection. (This is likely from the Liverpool Advance of August 1893.)

85 Harriet Kempton, "Gold Hunter, of Caledonia, Gives Nuggets of News," Halifax Chronicle (Halifax), 27 April 1928, n.p.

86 At present the Public Archives holds only one copy of this newspaper. However, due to the kindness of Mrs. Marguerite Douglas, Mrs. Beulah Murray, Mr. J. Kenneth Hunt and Mr. Gerald Lohnes, I was able to read a number of issues of Gold Hunters which they had in their possession. The newspaper office stood approximately where the present Shell service station stands in Caledonia. See Photo P-004, P-005 and P-011.

87 The paper always seemed to be on the verge of bankruptcy. In the December 1 issue of 1939 the following rather pathetic plea appeared.

"Our thanks are due to a few subscribers who have paid their subscription. Just why hundreds of others fail to give attention to our request for at least partial payment, we cannot understand. We owe bills, but how can we pay if those who owe us refuse to pay. It is not a fair deal. Hundreds of our subscribers, who are in arrears, have money in the Bank or in their home, and let us go on waiting for the money due us. It is a mental condition beyond comprehension. Something has got to happen - either we go out of business or our delinquents pay up."

88 GHFJ (Caledonia), 31 March 1919, p. 3.

89 Grace Rogers (nēe McLeod) is of interest here due to her short story "The Kaduskak Giant" which appeared in Stories of the Land of Evangeline (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1923), pp. 49-66. She dedicated her volume to her grandfather, William T. Waterman, and James B. McLeod, both well-known natives of Brookfield. She also

published Joan at Halfway (New York, 1919); and Pioneer Missionary in the Atlantic Provinces (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1930).

90 PANS, Maurice Harlow's Diaries, 1877-1935, 31 December 1900.

Tent Dwellers and Model T's

1 "A Romantic Experience of Bear Killing," GHFJ (Caledonia), 27 February 1897, p. 3. In this clipping Daniel Frail tells the tale of a bear killing a cow, being tracked by man and dog, and eventually being brought down with seven shots. The bear measured nose to tail nine feet nine inches. In 1920 or 1921 bears attacked and killed a number of cattle belonging to the Telfer family in Caledonia. See KOH, Interview No. 30, Tape 21, Counter 377, Cecil Baxter, 18 March 1977.

2 See chapter entitled "The Interior Settled." During the centennial celebrations of 1899 it was noted that Mrs. William Burke often had the valuable assistance of the Indians in the area, especially Joseph Gloade. See Halifax Herald (Halifax), 14 September 1899, p. 7.

3 Thomas Raddall showed me one he had in his possession. It has a cone-like shape, about 8"-12" in length, and made entirely of birch bark.

4 DUA, Raddall Papers, "Interview with John Francis 1944," H 19.

5 Thomas F. Anderson, Nova Scotia: The Land of Evangeline and the Tourist's Paradise (Boston: C.B. Webster, 1892), p. 34.

6 Matteo Jeremy is well remembered by informants in Northern Queens County and I heard the story from a number of informants. It was also retold on the file card Acc. 1323 (4061) in the Nova Scotia Museum which notes also that the Nova Scotia Archives holds a photo of this famous Micmac.

7 Brad Myers, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 490, Fig. 348.

8 The tale of Jim Charles' gold mine has been twisted and retold many times. The first was probably Albert Bigelow Paine who wrote "The Flight of Jim Charles" and published it in 1906 in a magazine called Musical Million (Boston: The Butterick Publishing Co., 1906). A copy of this short story appears in the papers of Frank Parker Day in the Business Archives, Dalhousie University. Paine's story may have fermented in Day's mind and have given rise to John Paul's Rock (New York: Minton, Belch and Co., 1932) which had the title "Jim Charles' Rock" when it was still in manuscript form. The rock which was Jim Charles' refuge for some time was eventually traced by Watson Peck in 1967 and his trip and a photograph of the rock appeared on the front page of the Halifax Chronicle Herald in the edition of 4 November 1967. The Digby Courier of 12 October 1967 also carried this story on page 7. Finally, Thomas Raddall exercised his considerable storytelling skill and included "The Lost Gold of Kejimkujik" in a volume of short stories entitled Footsteps on Old Floors (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co. Inc., 1968). An earlier attempt by Raddall called simply "Jim Charles and His Gold Mine" exists in manuscript form in the Liverpool High School Library, Liverpool. If alive, Jim Charles would undoubtedly have made more on the royalties from what has been written about him than from the gold he found.

9 See chapter entitled "The Interior Settled."

10 Jim Charles' cabin stood about 100 yards south of the present park facilities on this site. KOH, Interview No. 69(a), Fred Lewis, 65, New Grafton, 8 June 1977.
11 Bridgetown, Nova Scotia, Town Office, B.83, P.544, 20-year lease James Charles, Harmony, to Syphorous Freeman, Harmony.
12 Kejimkujik National Park, Settlement 6-6. Clipping from Halifax paper of 25 May 1929. This account also occurs in all of the stories of Jim Charles mentioned in endnote 8 above.
13 KOH, Interview No. 11, Tape 2, Counter 630, Cecil Baxter, 71, Maitland Bridge, 24 February 1977.
14 Cecil Baxter to Mrs. Howard, 15 March 1973. Original held by Cecil Baxter. Mr. Baxter's account of this incident has been gleaned from a lifetime of observation and attentiveness to what the older people had to say about Jim Charles.
15 This event became the focus of the plot woven by Frank Parker Day in his novel John Paul's Rock. Day's book has naturally changed the names and personalities of his characters. For example, the Mooin River is obviously Maitland Bridge, Lawyer Freeman is Charles' friend, Judge Ritchie, and John Paul is Jim Charles.
16 Cecil Baxter to Mrs. Howard, 15 March 1973.
17 KOH, Interview 80, Tape 42, Counter 32, Lauchlin Freeman, 88, Brooklyn, 6 July 1977.
18 Ibid., Counter 100, Lauchlin, Freeman, 88, Brooklyn, 6 July 1977. Mr. Freeman attended the same school as Malti.
19 Thomas Raddall, "Jim Charles and His Gold Mine" (Halifax: Thomas Raddall Papers, Dalhousie University Archives), p. 8. Raddall obtained his information in an interview with Claude Hartlen, funeral undertaker at Milton, Queens County in 1926. It is believed by many that Jim Charles was buried under an oak tree on Jim Charles Point near where the Kedgemakoogee Lodge once stood, and his ghost haunts the site. However, the hummock of ground there covers the dog of the lodge owner, C.W. Mills, and the ghost story was told for the entertainment of the lodge guests. KOH, Interview No. 69(a), Fred Lewis, 65, New Grafton, 8 June 1977.
20 Will R. Bird, Off-Trail in Nova Scotia (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956), p. 105. Will Bird, an imaginative storyteller, succeeds in portraying Jim Charles in an heroic role making him chief of the Micmacs and, of course, marrying a pretty girl in the camp. This section on Northern Queens and Kejimkujik is from page 104 to page 114.
21 Frederick Harris Vieth, Recollections of the Crimean War Campaign (Montreal: Lovell and Son, 1907), p. 173. The author was stationed in his birthplace, Halifax, from 1857-61.
22 Ibid., p. 173.
23 Ibid., p. 201.
24 John J. Rowan, op. cit., p. 145. For an excellent summary of hunting, especially deer, in Nova Scotia see D.W. Benson and G.D. Dodds, The Deer of Nova Scotia (Halifax: Department of Lands and Forests, 1977).
25 John J. Rowan, op. cit., p. 145. Vieth noted in his book the three usual ways of hunting moose: (1) stalking; (2) moose calling; and (3) running them down with dogs in the deep snows of February and

March. This final method was widely decried by the sportsmen and was eventually declared illegal by the Nova Scotia government. Both Vieth and Campbell Hardy in his book Forest Life in Acadia (London: Chapman and Hall, 1869), p. 321, note and deplore the practice.

26 Railway and Steamboat Guide and Tourists' Handbook for Nova Scotia New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island (Halifax: A. Inglis Harrington, September 1872), p. 39.

27 PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 1877-1935, 9 January 1881.

28 Karl Baedeker, The Dominion of Canada (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1894).

29 H. Bradford, "The South Shore of Nova Scotia" Bradford's Guide Book, (Truro, 1907), n.p.

30 GHFJ (Caledonia), 2 December 1910, p. 2.

31 By the 20th century the caribou in southwestern Nova Scotia had virtually disappeared. Visiting sportsmen like the Earl of Dunraven had no doubt contributed to the diminishing populations of caribou. Raddall mentions one account of a "shoot" in Dunraven Bog (named after the aforementioned Earl), Queens County, told to him by an Indian who remembered the plain there littered with dead caribou shot by sportsmen. (DUA, Raddall Papers, op. cit., H.116). For further information on the sporting activities of the Earl of Dunraven, see Earl of Dunraven, Canadian Nights ... (London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1914), especially the chapter entitled "Moose Hunting in Canada." Also see Who Was Who: 1916-1928 (London: A&C Black, 1929).

32 PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 1877-1935, 20 January 1878. "Tommy Waterman" was known for his coach driving and humour. It was he who kept Joseph Howe amused with his stories in the 1840s when Howe visited the area in his capacity as Commissioner for Indian Affairs. Clara Dennis tells one of the many stories about him when she relates the occasion when Waterman's death was published in the paper. When Tom was asked what his thoughts were when he read this notice, he replied, "I knew it was a lie as soon I saw it." Clara Dennis, op. cit., p. 411.

33 The present home of Mrs. Maud Longmire (Photo P-069) during part of the 19th century was a rooming home for travellers called "Rest for the Weary." Later Abram Thomas began the "Halfway House" and as the stagecoach traffic increased after the 1860s, it becme the Thomas Hotel and finally Milford House ca. 1880. See KOH, Interview No. 39, Mrs. Maud Longmire, 80s, Milford, 6 April 1977.

34 Liverpool Advance (Liverpool), 19 October 1910, p. 3.

35 Ibid., 2 June 1886, p. 4. An advertisement was placed in this paper offering the building for sale. "Alton house - contains 15 furnished rooms; stable with nine stalls for carriage horses. A good well and a chance for the right parties to make money. - J.H. Inness"

36 GHFJ (Caledonia), n.d., Spring 1889, p. 3.

37 Ibid.

38 KOH, Interview No. 7, Tape 1, Counter 190, Bill Sherriff, 68, Halifax, 22 February 1977. Also see PAC, National Map Collection, Map of Queens County by Ambrose Church, 1888.

39 PAC, National Map Collection, Map of Queens County by Ambrose Church, 1888.

40 KOH, Interview No. 61, Tape 35, Counter 390, Edna Sutherland, Caledonia.

41 Emigration from North Queens County or Nova Scotia in general was not a new phenomenon in the 1880s. In the 19th century and early 20th century much of it was flowing to the New England states. "Boston! One could easily have yelled "Gold!" and received the same effect in eastern Nova Scotia during the decades between 1880 and 1920." D. Campbell and R.A. MacLean, Beyond the Atlantic Roar ... (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), p. 185. Again, Harlow notes in 5 October 1884 that three girls have left for Boston to work (PANS, Maurice Harlow's Diaries, 1877-1935). Naturally the migration was to speed up as employment opportunities evaporated early in the 20th century and the railway pushed through to Caledonia in 1903. This exodus began to favour Ontario and points westward in the 1920s.

42 PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 3 November 1887. At the time Whiteburn was busy enough to have an express coach service run by Martin Chivers. Three days a week it brought passengers, freight, and baggage to "Caledonia Corner" and returned to Whiteburn the same day. See clipping from the Gold Hunter 1888 in possession of Mrs. Edna Sutherland of Caledonia.

43 "Westward Ho!," Critic, 30 July 1886, p. 13.

44 Marguerite Woodworth, op. cit., p. 20.

45 PANS, Maurice Harlow Diaries, 1877-1935, 27 October 1887. Harlow left Caledonia by coach and took dinner at Annapolis. By the afternoon he was on the "New Brunswick" and stopped at Digby to pick up some cargo. By early evening of the next day Harlow was in Boston.

46 Marguerite Woodworth, op. cit., p. 104.

47 Ibid., p. 80. Woodworth notes that in July 1871 the first large group of tourists, 400 in all, had been "successfully landed over the Windsor and Annapolis route in a special train."

48 Ibid., p. 115. The first regular steamship service between Boston and Yarmouth was established in 1885 by the Yarmouth Steamship Navigation Company. By 1885 it had become the Yarmouth Steamship Company and was considered "... the pioneer tourist line in Nova Scotia."

49 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem Evangeline (1847) has provided the romantic legends that were, are, and will be long associated with the Annapolis valley region. Some 50 years later (1895), the recently formed D.A.R. made practical use of this legend by engaging another poet, Charles G.D. Roberts, to write a tourbook on Nova Scotia entitled The Land of Evangeline and the Gateways Thither (Kentville: D.A.R., 1895). It would not be the first time that myth would be utilized for monetary ends in the Nova Scotia tourist trade.

50 Charles Hallock in The Fishing Tourist ... (New York: Harper Brothers, 1873) gives the first account of a tourist trip through Northern Queens County which he took ca. 1869. Such phrases as "stout wagon" and "dreary wilderness" suggest that the trip was not

one of the pleasanter ones of the day. The road was filled with rocks and the villages were small with no inns. But the fishing was good which, for the sportsman, made up for it all. Forty years later the tourists would be a little more discriminating of their comfort.

51 The Nova Scotia Central Railway from Middleton to Bridgewater was completed in 1889. Originally incorporated as the Nictaux and Atlantic Railway Company in 1873, the economic recession of the 1870s slowed down the completion of this railroad (Nova Scotia Legislative Library, Statutes of Nova Scotia 1873, 36 Victoria, Chap. 40, "An Act to incorporate the Nictaux and Atlantic Railway Company"). Eventually a subsidy was granted to the Central Railway and a branch line from New Germany to Caledonia was completed in 1903. This was due mainly to the gold mining which unfortunately closed down two years later. However, the lumber industry made use of the new facility and a number of tourists also made the trip along this route. However, the shorter and more traditional route by road from Annapolis was still favoured.

52 Karl Baedeker, The Dominion of Canada (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1894), pp. 83-85. The map of Nova Scotia faces page 83.

53 Moses Foster Sweetser, The Maritime Provinces: a Handbook for Travellers (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1891), pp. 129-130. The cover of this volume is titled "Ticknor's Maritime Provinces."

54 Ibid.

55 Nova Scotian (Halifax), 22 June 1889, p. 3. This information came from a tour done by a reporter sent by his newspaper not for the purposes of tourism but for the boom in gold mining. His reactions were similar to others of wealth who came into the area for business and found it an excellent area to return to for pleasure.

56 Albert Bigelow Paine, The Tent Dwellers (New York: Abercrombie and Fitch, 1967), reprint of 1908 ed. The quote referred to is from the "Note to the Reader."

57 Ibid., p. 44.

58 Edward Breck, Wilderness Pets at Camp Buckshaw (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1910); Edward Breck, Sporting Guide to Nova Scotia (Halifax: Imperial Publishing Co. Ltd., 1904); Mary Stanley Breck, "The Lady and the Moose," Outdoor Recreation (March 1925). The "Ritson" referred to in the last article mentioned was Ritson Longmire, a guide at Milford House and late husband of Mrs. Maud Longmire. KOH, Interview 39, Mrs. Maud Longmire. Breck, later Lieutenant-Commander Edward Breck, USN, also founded the Anti-Steel-Trap League in which he campaigned against the use of steel traps by trappers.

59 R.R. McLeod, In the Acadian Land: Nature Studies (Boston: Bradlee, Whidden, 1899), p. 153.

60 KOH, Interview 83, p. 1, Katherine Mills, Annapolis Royal, 6 August 1977. Miss Mills was the niece of the late C.W. Mills.

61 KOH, Interview No. 74, p. 2, Norman Phinney, 65, Wilmot, Nova Scotia, 15 June 1977. This cabin later became Cabin #7 in the circle of cabins that would eventually surround the clubhouse. It would seem that much of the information which appears in Kejimkujik National Park: Resource Atlas and Base Description (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1976) on the lodge was provided by this informant.

62 Mills took out a 25-year lease in 1908. See Bridgetown Town Hall records, B.139, P.447, 5 June 1908. On 2 May 1910 the lease for these lands was transferred to the Kedgemakoogee Rod and Gun Club which had been incorporated the previous year, with Mills, his brother, Ernest, and his father, Albert, sitting as directors. A certificate of shares shows C.W. Mills holding seven hundred of the 1,000 shares, each of which was worth $100.00.

63 GHFJ (Caledonia), 14 May 1909, p. 3.

64 KOH, Interview No. 74, Norman Phinney, 65, Wilmot, N.S., 15 June 1977.

65 "Our Game and Fish as a Commercial Asset," GHFJ (Caledonia), 5 November 1909, p. 1. Laurie Mitchell was an Englishman who came to Maitland Bridge around the turn of the century. An avid sportsman, it was said that he built and outfitted a small gymnasium on the site of the present home of Peter Christensen. A skillful hunter, he enjoyed an excellent reputation in the area and started the guide sport meets which were held yearly and which kept alive the interest in woodlore. KOH, Interview No. 11, Tape 2, Counter 164, Cecil Baxter, 71, Maitland Bridge, 24 February 1977.

66 GHFJ (Caledonia), 29 July 1910, p. 3. Mr. A.W. Hendrey was a prominent businessman, formerly of South Brookfield. Non-members of the Rod and Gun Club could occupy the cabins at a slight increase in cost over what members would pay.

67 Ibid., 2 December 1910, p. 3.

68 AUBA, Queens County Baptist Church Records, 2 October 1913.

69 GHFJ (Caledonia), 29 July 1910, p. 3.

70 KOH, Interview No. 12, Tape 4, Counter 618, Mrs. Peter Christensen, 86, Maitland Bridge, 24 February 1977.

71 The road from Annapolis to Maitland Bridge was a granite-strewn wagon track. Even in the 1920s it had not apparently improved. Lauchlin Freeman (KOH, Interview No. 80, Tape 42, passim, Lauchlin Freeman, 88, Brooklyn, 6 July 1977) describes his trips in the 1920s when he was driver of the lodge's Model T as "excursions around four foot high rocks." The fare from Annapolis to the Lake was $5.00 each way or $3.50 each for two or more persons in the car. If the traveller came by rail to Caledonia, they would then take a carriage the last 12 miles to the lake at $2.50 per person each way. Ruth Kedzie Wood, The Tourist's Maritime Provinces (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1915), p. 144, footnote 3.

72 KOH, Interview No. 19, Tape 13, Counter 300, George Minard, 75, New Grafton, 3 March 1977. Mr. Minard is mistaken here as tourists actually paid a sum total of $12.00 to sit around an old oil lamp. Ruth Kedzie Wood, op. cit., p. 147.

73 "Receipts 1915," Appendix VI. Original obtained from Miss Katherine Mills, Annapolis Royal.

74 GHFJ (Caledonia), 7 April 1916, p. 3.

75 Ruth Kedzie Wood, op. cit., photograph opposite p. 112.

76 The booklets entitled Historic Nova Scotia included very brief sketches on towns, villages, and sites in Nova Scotia. Of the three that were found the first contains no date but was undoubtedly published previous to the second booklet which was put out while Percy Black was Minister of Highways (1925-33). The third, and final booklet was published in 1937.

77 KOH, Interview No. 19, Tape 12, Counter 310, George Minard, 75, 3 March 1977. It is not often that precise dates given by an informant are cited in this work. However, in this instance the cabins were being built at the same time as a dated incident that occurred and thus the informant was able to give a date for the construction of the Minard cabins.

78 The road followed a lumber road and was surveyed by S.P. Smith in April 1910. See S.P. Smith survey book in possession of Mrs. Freda Smith, South Brookfield.

79 GHFJ, 18 April 1919, p. 3.

80 Fishing and Hunting in Nova Scotia (Boston: Boston and Yarmouth S.S. Co. Ltd. and Dominion Atlantic Railway Co., ca. 1920), pp. 9-13.

81 GHFJ (Caledonia), 20 May 1932, p. 3.

82 For a fuller account of Merrymakedge and its founder, Arthur Merry, see KOH, Interview No. 79, Tape 41, passim, Arthur Merry, Bridgewater, 6 July 1977.

83 Fishing and Hunting in Nova Scotia, op. cit., p. 13.

84 P-018. Cecil Baxter, Smith Baxter's son, is the best source for information on these cabins especially KOH, Interviews No. 11 and No. 13.

85 KOH, Interview No. 74, p. 1, Norman Phinney, 65, Wilmot, N.S., 15 June 1977. No doubt an accurate description.

86 In June 1912 George Parker of Brookfield bought the Dr. W.H. Cole residence in Caledonia and opened it to the travelling public. See the brief news item in the Liverpool Advance (Liverpool), June 1968, p. 1. More detailed information can be obtained from KOH, Interview No. 61, Tape 35, passim, Edna Sutherland, Caledonia. A few pages from the hotel register listing the guests in 1929 and their home address are included in Appendix VI. The hotel register is in the possession of Mrs. Edna Sutherland and Mrs. Muriel Freeman, both of Caledonia.

87 R.R. McLeod, Pinehurst or Glimpses of Nova Scotia Fairyland (Boston: Bartlett Company, 1908). This volume also includes a number of photographs of the South Brookfield area and the Pinehurst lodge. This was the same "Pinehurst" that was purchased by the confidence man, Lou Keytes, in 1924.

88 For a small sample of such stories see KOH, Interview No. 74, pages 7 and 13, Norman Phinney, 65, Wilmot, N.S., 15 June 1977. Aside from Louis Harlow there were very few regular Indian guides around Kejimkujik Lake area in the 20th century.

89 Boston Herald (Boston), 11 November 1928. A photocopy of this page is in the possession of Kejimkujik National Park File 6-9.

90 Mr. Norman Bowers, Caledonia, holds two films that feature the lodges. Both were made ca. 1940. They are "Spring Fever" by Nova Scotia Film Board, 16 mm, colour; and "Grounds for Fishing" by Bureau of Information, Nova Scotia, 16 mm, colour. Some insight into Fred Lewis' career can be gleaned from KOH, Interview No. 69(a), Fred Lewis, 65, New Grafton, 5 July 1977.

91 KOH, Interview No. 39, Tape 27, passim, Maude Longmire, 6 April 1977.

92 Maurice Scott of Caledonia believes that it was J.D. Rockefeller who registered at Alton House under the pseudonym John Davidson. See KOH, Interview No. 51, Tape 30, Counter 707, Maurice Scott, 78, Caledonia, 28 April 1977. Sheldon was a "superb woodsman" and a prolific writer of books on nature. His three major works are: The Wilderness of the Upper Yukon (1911); The Wilderness of the North Pacific Coast Indians (1912); The Wilderness of Denali (1930).

93 Hotel Register from Milford House. Mr. Warren Miller, South Milford, kindly permitted me to borrow these three volumes from which I extracted the information in the text.

94 Ibid. The Second World War cut the American tourist trade drastically and in 1944, for example, the hotel register for Milford House shows over 75 per cent of the guests were from Nova Scotia. Thirty-five percent of these came from Halifax and many were men and women in the Canadian Armed Forces. The naval base at Cornwallis accounted for 18 per cent of the guests. From 1945 on, the former hunting lodges had to appeal to a very different and more transient patronage. See KOH, Interview No. 74, passim, Norman Phinney, 65, Wilmot, N.S., 15 June 1977; Thelma Bowers, Caledonia, 9 June 1977, passim.

95 Graphs on the number of tourists entering Nova Scotia by car from 1922 to 1970 are available in the volume Some Aspects of the Tourist Industry in Nova Scotia (Halifax: Department of Tourism, 1973).

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