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Manuscript Report
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CARTOGRAPHIC SURVEY 1601-1946

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND NATIONAL PARK

by Fred Horne

1978

GREEN GABLES HOUSE REPORT

by Fred Horne

1979

HUMAN HISTORY, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND NATIONAL PARK

by Fred Horne

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Cartographic Survey 1601-1946
Prince Edward Island National Park
by Fred Horne
1978

Green Gables House Report
by Fred Horne
(with assistance from Mary Burke)
1979

Human History, Prince Edward Island National Park
by Fred Horne
(with research assistance from Eleanor Lamont)
1979

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Cartographic Survey
1601-1946
Prince Edward Island
National Park
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Introduction

Chapter One: Development of Maps of P.E.I.

First Division: 1601-1775

Second Division: 1775-1873

Subsections - General P.E.I. Maps
- Lot or Township Maps
- Coastal Areas
- Roads
- Coastal Charts

Third Division: 1873-1946

Atlases

Conclusion

Chapter Two: List of Cartographic Material

Part One: PAPEI holdings copied from PAC originals

Part Two: Public Archives of Nova Scotia

Part Three: Public Archives of Canada

Part Four: Public Archives of Prince Edward Island

- Boundary Maps by Lot Number
- Coastal Area Maps
- Harbours and Bays
- Lot Maps
- Rivers
- Roads

Part Five: Miscellaneous Repositories

- British Museum
- Confederation Center

Appendix A - List of Surveyors General for Prince Edward
Island - 1770 - c. 1873

Appendix B - Nomenclature of Communities and Geographical
Features in National Park area

Endnotes

Bibliography

Illustrations

- 1 Carte De Lisle St. Jean.
- 2 A Sketch of the Island of St. John's in Gulf of St.
Lawrence.
- 3 Capt. Holland's Survey of Island of St. John.
- 4 P.E.I. 1851.
- 5 Part of Lot 22 by John Plaw.
- 6 Lot 23 No. 2 by Robert Fox.
- 7 Part of Lot 24 by John Plaw 1812.
- 8 Lot 23 by Joseph Ball.
- 9 Lot 35 No. 2 Map of Lot 35.
- 10 Tracadie Sand Hills, 1837.
- 11 Grand Rustico Breakwater.
- 12 Covehead Road, 1824.

- 13 Hydrographic Survey (Britain), Gulf of St. Lawrence, 1847.
- 14 Hydrographic Survey (U.S.A.), Prince Edward Island and adjacent coasts, 1898.
- 15 Postal Map of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, 1897.
- 16 Topographical Survey. Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 1910.
- 17 Topographical Survey. Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 1918.
- 18 Topographical Survey. Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 1940.
- 19 Prince Edward Island Travel Bureau, 1942.

Introduction

There are three natural divisions into which cartographic material relating to the National Park falls. The first division includes the French maps and those English maps up to the time of Samuel Holland's survey of the Island of St. John in 1764-65. The second division begins with Samuel Holland's survey of 1765, and carries through the remainder of the Island's days as a colony. The final division then consists largely of those maps emanating from Federal and Provincial sources such as the Federal Department of the Interior or the Prince Edward Island Travel Bureau.

Chapter One: Development of Maps of P.E.I.

First Division 1601-1775

Prince Edward Island first appeared on a map as a tiny part of the Levasseur world map of 1601. This is documented in W.F. Ganong Crucial Maps in the Early Cartography and Place Nomenclature of the Atlantic Coast of Canada.

The Magdelen group has two Cartier names,...
and also an Y.S. Jean which despite its anomalous position (probably laid down from report) is clearly our Prince Edward Island, first appearing on a map.¹

Several years passed before Champlain in 1632 more accurately defined and placed the Island.

"Champlain in his maps of 1604 finds no place for Isle St. Jean. His map of 1612 reveals it as a speck off the coast of Acadia, and it is only in his map of 1632 that it is correctly placed, carefully outlined and definitely named."²

There was little progress in mapping Prince Edward Island or Isle St. Jean during the 17th century. Indeed, until Samuel Holland's survey of 1765 the several French maps and the few English succeed only in varying degrees to represent the general shape of Prince Edward Island. There are nine such maps listed in Chapter Two of this report.³ Useful information first appears on the 1751 maps, Carte De L'île St. Jean, surveyor unknown. (PACH3/204-1751). Offshore islands separated by channels on the north shore begin to appear in this map. (Fig. 1) Tracadie and Havre St. Pierre are marked and there is a portage between the two. There seems to have been a settlement

between Tracadie and R. du Nord-Est.

The next map of significance is the 1764 English presentation of information on the largely French settlement on the Island, A Sketch of the Island of St. Johns in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, surveyor unknown (PAC H3/204-1764). On a larger scale it is not much more accurate than the 1751 attempt but what is extraordinary about it (Fig. 2) is the tremendous amount of land cleared in general and on the West shore of the Harbour of Tracadie in particular. Compared with the 1751 map, this map gives a much less accurate picture of the bays and waterways of the National Park area. It does, however, place "Petit Restico" and "Grand Restico" on the map even though distances are quite inaccurate. The distance between Petit and Grand "Restico" is double that between "Petit Restico" and Harbour of Tracadie. What seems to be represented is cleared land at both Harbour of Tracadie and "Petit Restico" and according to this map of all points in between. This map is the first to record sand bars, with one at the entrance to the Harbour of Tracadie. In fact the notation "11 feet" appears at the Harbour mouth. The other significant detail is the church and the cleared land called Hillsborough in the area settled soon after by the Glenaladale Scots. The amount of cleared land on the map in general seems to be exaggerated, it being more likely that the cleared portions were at this time less in large blocks and more in small patches more highly dispersed. On the other hand it does provide a picture of the legacy of the Acadians following the expulsion of 1758.

The only other of the pre-Holland maps which gives information is the undated Carte De L'isle De St. Jean (PAC - S.H. Port F. 125-8-2 204 N.D.) surveyor unknown. With a degree of accuracy similar to the previous mentioned maps it denotes "R. Tracadie", to the West of it "R. Touboutouinee" (Hunter R.?) and half the distance to the East again "R. Gurguebougouet" (Stanley R?) it is impossible to say which rivers are referred

to in this case.

No maps prior to Samuel Holland's 1775 publication of his 1765 surveys were noted for their accuracy. Considering the amount of activity especially after the influx of Acadians which occurred during the early 1750s, it is unfortunate that no maps of the area in question, other than the few general ones listed, were produced. There was no capable land surveyor in the colony at the time.⁴ It was not until the English and Captain Holland arrived that a great need was filled. The results of his survey are remarkable by comparison.

Second Division 1775-1873

It was the British Colonial period which produced the bulk of the extant cartographic materials encompassing the National Park area. The maps and charts included in this division actually extend beyond the 1873 cut-off date in the case of lot maps or portions thereof. These are maps from local sources such as the land registry office. They generally represent smaller areas and although later than the 1874 Map of P.E.I. compiled for the Post Master General, by John Dewe they seem more suited to this division.

Captain Samuel Holland's survey of the northern portion of British territories in North America was deemed necessary to facilitate settlement of the lands, including the Island of St. John, formally ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris 1763. Captain Holland was charged with surveying the Island and dividing it into counties, parishes and townships. The work was begun in 1764 and completed in 1766 while the photograph of the National Park Area (Fig. 3) is of a version of the map published in 1775.

Holland's map is a very important map relative to the human history of the National Park area because it marks the beginning of what were intended to be concentrated efforts to

settle all lands of the Island. The detail, though far from perfect due mainly to the difficulties of inland travel, is readily identifiable as Prince Edward Island as opposed to earlier efforts where the outline only vaguely resembled the actual physical characteristics. Coastal detail including bays, rivers, coves, water depths, sand bars and their relative positions are for the first time represented by this map. Although the whole of the National Park area falls within Queen's County it lies within three parishes, Grenville, Charlotte and Bedford. Also the Northern extremities of seven townships, numbers 22, 23, 24, 33, 34, 35 and 36 are now a part of the Park.

Holland is responsible for naming several of the geographical features of the area. In addition he includes the location of three mills one in each of lots 34, 35, and 36. Other signs of human activity are the tiny structures, presumably representing houses which he has drawn clustered together on Bedford Bay, close to Stanhope Cove, and two large individual structures near York Town and Petershams Cove, Lot 33. Finally there are roads, remarkably straight and wide, they are clearly only approximations nevertheless one leads to Harris Bay straight through the centre of Lot 33 and the other leads to the present day Stanhope-Covehead area through Lot 34. These representations of the roads were road allowances normally included in any survey.

General P.E.I. Maps

Sub-Sections:

The maps of the British Colonial period may be divided into several subsections. There are the general maps of the whole of the Island and there are the maps and the plans of lots, or townships, roads and coastal areas. First we look at the

general maps taking us up to 1903, then we backtrack to the 1790s and look at the map of specific areas.

It was not until 1851 that another survey of the whole of the Island was undertaken and a map produced.⁵ This time it was H.J. Cundall who did the work and the results indicate the movement of human settlement to all points on the Island. (Fig. 4) There are many roads and the rivers are traced inland to their sources. In addition to the roads many churches and mills are indicated. Although many principal roads such as the Rustico Road, the Brackley Point Road, the Covehead Road, and the Sandhills Road are named there is not the proliferation of community names which appear later. It is interesting to note that Rustico Island is here called Peters Island. The shape and extent of the sand dunes blocking entrance to the four major bays is becoming clearer in this map.

Prince Edward Island was mapped on an even larger scale in 1863 when C.E. Lake surveyed the Island and produced what is commonly known as the "Lake Map." It is notable for its detail and the inclusion of the names of rural residents at their place of residence. It also indicated the presence of blacksmith shops over and above what the Cundall map of 1851 had indicated. In addition the presence of Post Offices is indicated. There is no evidence as to the existence of place names more local than the Post Office areas. The Lake Map gives water depths along the coast and in bays and harbours.

There were many maps made of specific areas of the Island. There are no French maps of areas encompassed by the National Park but there are a great many Lot or Township maps, maps of proposed roads, and maps of coastal area including Hydrographic Surveys generated by the British colonizers. The introductory paragraphs to Chapter Two of this report explain which of these maps are listed in that chapter.

Lot or Township Maps:

Five examples of these maps exist for Lots 22, 23, 24, 33, 35 the earliest being c. 1790 and the latest being 1847. (See Figs. 5-9) These maps give excellent views of the National Park area including detail of some of the fragile coast lines seen almost two hundred years ago. They also show growth in settlement from little more than remnants of French settlement in the c. 1790 Lot 35 map, surveyor unknown, to much greater settlement in the 1847 map of Lot 33 by Joseph Ball. Of particular interest on the Lot 35 map is the Burying Ground close to the mouth of the harbour. There were many more maps of parts of each of these lots most of them adding to the story of the settling of the area. They are listed in a separate part of this report.

Coastal Areas:

Two of the four maps listed on pages 17 and 18 of this report were chosen to illustrate this category. (PAPEI D-204.76-1837) The plan of the Tracadie Sandhills by Daniel Hickey shows the division into lots indicating planned human use of the Sand Dune system for purposes of pursuing the fishery. (Fig. 10) The second example is a much later plan outlining the Department of Public Works proposal for a breakwater at Rustico Harbour entrance in 1875. (H3/240). (Fig. 11) This plan shows clearly the extent of Rustico Island at that time. Further Public Works plans may become available, however, their number is unknown and they are currently not easily retrievable through the Public Archives of Canada.

Roads:

The growth in the number of roads accurately tells the story of the progress of human settlement in the early part of the

nineteenth century. By mid-century as can be seen by Figures 4 & 8 (Cundall 1851 and Lot 33 1847) many of the Island's roads were established. Figure 12 shows one of the first roads surveyed in Prince Edward Island. Similar plans exist for some roads in the Rustico, New Glasgow and New London Areas.

Coastal Charts:

There have been only two charts located to date and they are shown in Figures 13 & 14. Figure 13 is a portion of a Hydrographic Survey by Captain Bayfield done in 1847 entitled "Gulf of St. Lawrence and Eastern Parts of Northumberland Strait, Malpeque to East Point." (PANS) The second was dated fifty three (53) years later in 1900 done by an unknown U.S. concern. (PANS P.E.I. Chart C. 1900 H.O. U.S.A. 1099) Both these charts clearly indicate the changes in the fragile coastal area. (Fig. 14)

Third Division 1873-1946

The maps of the third division are largely the maps of the 20th century. They tend to be maps of the whole Island and defined by source they originate with a Federal Government Department or they are Prince Edward Island Road Maps. The first postal map of Prince Edward Island appeared in 1874 (by John Dewe PAC H3/204-1874). The version included here is the 1897 Postal Map of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island (PANS Drawer 12) (Fig. 15). Postal Maps are available from the PAC and at the PAPEI for the following years 1874, 1881, 1889, and 1905.

The Topographical Series 3.95 (PAC Scale 3.95 mi to an inch) includes the years 1910, 1911, 1918, 1921, 1927, 1931 and 1940. It shows very clearly the changes during the first half of the 20th century. An especially important period of activity was that between 1912 and 1918 when several bridges were con-

structed in the National Park area. (Figures 16, 17 18) This period is particularly important in the current human history of the National Park area because it is that period best remembered by many of the older residents.

The final group of maps are the road maps. Various officially endorsed road maps directed toward the motoring public began to appear when in 1919 it was finally decided by Act of the Provincial Legislature that motor vehicles would be permitted on Prince Edward Island highways. These maps serve to indicate the degrees of improvement and general condition of the roads in the National Park area. Figure 19 (PANS ROAD MAP 1942) is additionally valuable as a curiosity, the boundaries of the Park being so generously expanded.

Atlases:

There is a fourth possible division for the maps of P.E.I. and that consists of the 1880 Meachams Atlas of Prince Edward Island and the 1925 Cummins Atlas of Prince Edward Island and the World. The latter is valuable in that it lists the names of residents of each lot but otherwise the maps seem less carefully done than those contained in Meachams. Meachams Atlas is an extremely valuable contribution to the cartography of the National Park area as it provides landscape sketches as well as detailed lot maps.

Conclusion

The evolution of the cartography of the Prince Edward Island National Park begins with the identification of a tiny ill placed dot on the Lavoisieur World Map of 1601 and for the purpose of this study climaxes with a severely exaggerated green space on a road map three hundred and forty one years later. The turning point was the Holland Survey of 1765. Samuel Hol-

land's work resulted in an image that accurately reflected the real shape of the island. Since that time the maps have revealed the movement inland of settlement and as they did so they became more accurate. Accuracy notwithstanding some became more cluttered with roads, grades of roads, place names and of course the National Park itself sporting its green and its little flags. The evolution of the Park area from wilderness to heavily used recreation area is evident in the maps.

Clearly, past events which happened within the National Park boundaries qualify for study and ought to be recorded as part of the Human History of the Prince Edward Island National Park. Some of the early Stanhope settlers, for instance, must have lived on future Parklands. In spite of the efforts of the 1942 vintage map makers the National Park remained a very thin line of coastal property. If all that happened within the Park is eligible that which has happened in adjacent areas which help explain the Park events ought to be thoroughly studied as well. Some happenings will doubtlessly go beyond communities found next door to the Park extending perhaps to the limits of a Township, for instance the settlement of Lot 34 by James Montgomery. In general, however, places like Bedford Station, New Glasgow, Hunter River, and Charlottetown will be clearly outside the study area when spoken of by the people of the Park. As the history is chronicled these places will develop as attraction points like magnets but their stories will only be told to complement the more intensive study of the Park area. The Park divides into four centres of activity roughly coinciding with the bays in the area. The Tracadie Bay-Dalvay area seems naturally divided from the Stanhope-Brackley-Covehead Bay area which in turn is clearly separated from the Rustico Bay area. Finally there is the Green Gables Cavendish area bounded by the west of New London Bay. There are at least this many separate stories making up the Human History of the National Park. The Southern boundary of the geographical area

to be studied has to be as far north as possible so that one of the bay area histories does not get cut short. In summary then the geographical area to be studied will be that of the Park venturing South only as it is necessary to explain and clarify.

Chapter Two: List of Cartographic Material

This portion of the Cartographic Survey of the Prince Edward Island National Park consists of a list of available maps. They are listed by repository. Part I lists the holdings of the Public Archives of Canada for which the Public Archives of Prince Edward Island has copies. Part II lists holdings unique to the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. Part III the holdings unique to the PAC. Since the bulk of the cartographic material is held by the PAPEI it is only Part IV which is further subdivided as to content of the maps. Atlases are listed at the completion of Part IV. Part V lists material found in Miscellaneous Repositories.

In the case of Part IV not all holdings relevant to the area are listed, as the seemingly useless ones are omitted. There are many of marginal value included, they usually have no comment as to content while those of more value do. Then there are those that make references to a "Card Index" which is being compiled for those more valuable still. In general the card index compares the information on the entry to that contained on the representative map chosen to be photographed. Place names for instance are noted on the cards. Most maps photographed are included in the text, the first part of the Cartographic Survey.

List of Maps

<u>Part 1</u>	Public Archives of P.E.I. (PAPEI) holdings copied from Public Archives of Canada (PAC) originals		
<u>PAPEI</u>	<u>Desc.</u>	<u>PAC Map Division</u>	
C-204 c. 1772	Isle de St. Jean and part of Acadie	F/204-c. 1772	
C-204 1751	Carte De L'île St. Jean (photographed).	H3/24 1751 - 2 copies -	
C-204 1763	A plan of the Island St. John.	H3/204-1763	
	Mr. John Grey's Proposed sites for fishing villages in the Island of St. John. Location: BTNS Vol. 20 M51 Enclosed in a letter of John Grey to Lords of Trade and Planations 14½ x 18½ See Mss. N.S. A72 p. 157		
C-204 1764	A sketch of the Island of St. Johns in the Gulf of St. Lawrence (photographed)	H3/204-1764 - 2 sections -	
C-204 ND	Carte De L'île De. St. Jean	S.H. Port F. 125-8-2-204 N.D.	
C-204 1764	Isle St. Jean	H2/204-1764 - 2 sections -	
C-204-1775	A plan of the Island of St. John	Photo - S.H. Port F 125-8-4. 204-1775	
C-204-1775	A map of the Island of St. John in the Gulf of St. Lawrence divided into coun- ties and parishes...incl. soundings round the coast ..improved from the late survey of Capt. Holland	H2/204 1775 - 2 sections -	
C-204-1775	A plan of the Island of St. John	H2/204-1775 - 2 sections -	

C-204	1798	Prince Edward Island divided into counties and parishes with the lots as granted by Government published by H. Ashby, King St., Cheapside	H12/204-1798
C-204	1832	A plan of the Island St. John in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the Province of Nova Scotia from Holland's survey.	H1/204-PEI 1765-1832 - 3 sections -
C-204	1850	From recent surveys and original survey by Holland with additions to 1850. No name.	S/204-1850
C-204	1851	"P.E.I. in the Gulf of St. Lawrence from the latest surveys by H.J. Cundall 1851" (photographed).	H2/204-1857 - 3 sections -
C-204	1856	Map of P.E.I. from survey by George Wright 1852 published 1856.	V2/204-1856 - 2 sections -
C-204-1859		Map of P.E.I. surveyed in 1852 by Geo. Wright with corrections to 1859 by H.J. Cundall.	V2/204-1859 - 2 sections -
C-204-1863		The "Lake Map" of P.E.I. by C.E. Lake with several inserts.	PAC
C-204-1874		Map of P.E.I. by Geo. Wright 1852 - Corrections etc. to 1874 by H.J. Cundall.	V2/204-1874 - 3 sections -
C-204-1874		Maps of P.E.I. compiled for the Post Master General by John Dewe Chief P.O. Inspector.	H3/204-1874
C-204-1877		Map - Wright 1852 corrected etc. to 1877 by Cundall.	V2/204-1877 - 3 sections -
C-204-1881		Postal Map of Nova Scotia and P.E.I. by A. Maingy, Post Office Department.	V1/202-1881

C-204-1889	Postal Maps of N.S. and P.E.I. by A. Maingy, Post Office Department.	H1/202-1889 - 2 sections -
C-204-1903	Map - Wright 1852 corrected etc. to 1903 by Cundall.	V2/204-1903 - 3 sections -
C-204-1905	Postal Map of N.S. and P.E.I. pub. by A. Maingy, Post Office Department.	H1/200-1902 - 2 sections -
C-204-1920	Map P.E.I. endorsed by Department of Public Works, Boards of Trade and Motor Association as the official Road Guide by Calverleigh Milford.	H1/204/1920

<u>Part II</u>	Public Archives of Nova Scotia.	(PANS)
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<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Location</u>
1778	Plan De L'île De. St. Jean Au Nord de L'Acadie et dans le Sud de Golfe de St. Laurent.	Drawer 11
1835	Survey of Prince Edward Island published by Laurie, London April 1830 with additions to 1835.	PANS
1847	Hydrographic Survey by Capt. Bayfield "Gulf of St. Lawrence and Eastern Part of Northumberland Strait, Malpeque to East Point."	PANS
1897	Nova Scotia and P.E.I. Postal Map.	Drawer 12
1900	P.E.I. Chart c. 1900 H.O. U.S.A. 1099 ("Sea Chart").	PANS
1914	Nova Scotia, General 40 mi. to an inch.	PANS

1919	Nova Scotia and P.E.I. Postal Map.	Drawer 12
1942	Road Map, P.E.I.	PANS

Part III Public Archives of Canada.

1826	Subject: Mills, Manufact- uring, Ship Building, Land Ownership by John Gates & H. Adlard (18.7 x 35.3) 1:538,560.	H12/204-1826
1875	Grand Rustico (Public Works plans for breakwater).	H3/240
1910	Topographical Series 3.95	
1912	P.E.I., N.B., N.S., Scale	PAC
1918	3.95 miles to an inch.	
1921	Sheet 14 S.W. & S.E. 15	
1927	(parts of).	

Part IV

REPOSITORY	Public Archives of Prince Edward Island
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Introduction: Boundary Maps by Lot Number

The difficulty of obtaining accurate surveys in wilderness territory led to many disputes over the years and many attempts at solving them. In 1834 not even the township boundaries were clear. In that year an act was passed by the Colonial Legislature for ascertaining and establishing lines of Counties and Townships and parts of Townships and for regulating the duty of Surveyors. Hence the following Boundary Maps were made in an attempt to clarify the positioning of boundary lines from one point of commencement to the opposite point of commencement. By 1939 the period of disputed land claims had all but ended according to H.H. Shaw in "Land Grants and Surveys in Prince Edward Island."

<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Location</u>
1839	Lots 21 and 22 by Joseph Ball Plan of division line Lots 21 & 22 as established by Boundary Commissioners CARD INDEX.	D-204.71-1839
1839	Lots 22 and 23 by Joseph Ball Division line Lots 22 and 23. CARD INDEX.	D-204.71-1839
1836	Lots 23 and 24 by Joseph Ball. Plan showing commencement of Lines of Lot 23 on North Shore. CARD INDEX.	D-204.71-1836 - 2 copies -
1835	Lots 33, 34 and 35 by George Wright. Plan showing position of the Northern Points of Commencement of the lines dividing 33 and 34, 34 and 35. (Other reference is Lot 33 No. 9). CARD INDEX.	D-204.71-1835
1840	Lots 33 and 34, no name - Division line Lots 33 and 34. (Other reference is Lot 33, No. 10). CARD INDEX.	D-204.71
1856	Lots 36 and 37 by Owen Curtis. Boundary line 36 and 37. CARD INDEX.	D-204.71-1856

COASTAL AREA MAPS (Beaches, Fishery Reserves, Sandhills, etc.)
(Alphabetical)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Location</u>
1858	Fishery Reserve, Bedford Bay by Joseph Ball. Plan showing the situation of that part of the fishery reserve on the shore of Bedford Bay near the sandhills at the North East corner of Lot 36.	D-204.76-1858

- 1857 Fishery Reserve, Bedford Bay by Joseph Ball. Plan of that part of the fishery reserve on the bank or shore of Bedford Bay in possession of Mr. Wm. C. Sinclair. (This gives an idea of how the often troublesome and ill-defined Fishery Reserve appeared on paper). CARD INDEX. D-204.76-1857
- 1869 Orby Head, Fishing Establishments by Joseph Ball. The situation of the respective fishing establishments fronting on Harris or Rustico Bay, Lot 24. (This is a large scale more detailed model on much the same information found in Meachams Atlas 1800). CARD INDEX. D-204.76-1869
- 1837 Tracadie Sandhills by Daniel Hickey Plan of Tracadie Sandhills showing division into lots, being the property of Donald MacDonald Esq. and situate in Lots 35 and 36. (photographed). CARD INDEX. D-204.76-1837

HARBOURS AND BAYS

- 1858 Grenville Bay by Geo. Wright. Plan of part of Lot 21, 22 & 23 copies from original survey, showing Grenville Bay. CARD INDEX. D-204.75-1858

LOT MAPS

CHRONOLOGICAL

LOT 22

- No Date (c. 1850?) Lot 22 No Name, No Date. CARD INDEX. D-204.22 N.D.
- 1805 Lot 22 No. 2 by George Wright. CARD INDEX. D-204.22-1805

1808 Lot 22 No. 3 by John Plaw D-204.22-1808
(photographed). CARD INDEX.

1869 Lot 22 by John Ball. Plan D-204.22-1869
of Lot or Township number
22 in Prince Edward Island,
part of the estate of the
Right Honourable L. Sulli-
van. From the latest sur-
veys copied by John Ball L.
S. (Other reference is Lot
22 No. 59 Sullivan Estate).
CARD INDEX.

LOT 23

1809 Lot 23 No. 2 by Robert Fox. C-204.23-1809
Plan of Lot or Township 23
in P.E.I. the property of
Abram and Josh Kirkman Es-
quires from an actual sur-
vey taken in Sept. 1809 by
Robert Fox (photographed).
CARD INDEX.

LOT 24

No Date Lot 24. No Date, No Names D-204.24-N.D.
Area around mouth of Whit-
ley, Winter and Hunter
Rivers.

No Date Lot 24 (No. 2) No Date No D-204.24-N.D.
Name. Pre 1812? CARD INDEX.

1784 Lot 24 No. 1. No Name. Earl- D-204.24-1784
iest Map of this Lot. CARD
INDEX.

1805 Lot 33, (No. 3), Part of; D-204.33-1805
by George Wright. CARD INDEX.

1820 Lot 24. No Name. Divisions C-204.24-c.1820
laid off by John Plaw, Assis-
tant Surveyor General, Dec.
1812 (photographed).

- 1886 Lot 24 by Thomas MacKinley, D-204.24-1886
Plan of Township No. 24
copied from a plan furnished
by proprietors, with numerous
corrections from surveys by
H.J. Cundall and others by
Thomas MacKinley, February
1886. Scale 20 chains to an
inch. (Other reference. No.
67 Winsloe Estate).
- 1896 Lot 24 Estates of John Win- D-204.24-1896
sloe, H.J. Cundall. Plan of
the farm and other lands the
property of John Winsloe.
In the area of Wheatley River
- New Glasgow Road.
- LOT 33
- 1795 Lot 33, Part of Photocopy of D-204.33-1795
Map showing Brackley Point
area. McCallum and Gregor
lands. Includes the narrows.
- Pre 1798 Lot 33 No. 1. No Name (R. D-204.33-Pre 1798
Fox?). Draft Plan, complete
except for South end of Lot.
CARD INDEX.
- 1834 Lot 33 of Joseph Ball. Plan C-204.33-1834
of Township No. 33 in Prince
Edward Island. Part of the
Estate of John Hedges Winsloe
Esq. According to the latest
surveys. CARD INDEX.
- 1847 Lot 33 by Joseph Ball. Plan C-204.33-1847
of Township No. 33 in P.E.I.
part of the estate of John
Hedges Winsloe Esq. from the
late survey by Joseph Ball
D.S.G. Dec. 2, 1847 (photo-
graphed). CARD INDEX.
- Pre 1850 Lot 33, No. 4 Part of. No D-204.33 Pre 1850
Name., Plan of MacMillans
Point Lot 33. Very little
detail, however it does in-
clude the portage across the
point as in Lot 33 No. 1 Pre
1798 map.

Pre 1850	Lot 33 No. 2 Part of. No Name. Plan of Part of Lot 33, shore area on Grand Rustico Bay. CARD INDEX.	D-204.33 Pre 1850
 <u>LOT 34</u>		
Pre 1850	Lot 34, Part of. No Name. Plan of Part of Covehead Lot 34. Difficult to read however it shows the names Neil Shaw, Murdock McCloud and John Crabtree.	D-204.34-Pre 1850
Pre 1850	Lot 34 No. 6. No Name. Part of Lot 34 Covehead Area. A good map which complements Lot 34 1854 Bevan, however it covers a much wider area from Lot 33 line east to include 800 acre Stanhope Farm and both sides of Stanhope Cove.	D-204.34-Pre 1850
1854	Lot 34 Part of by J.J. Bevan Plan of a tract of land the property of the Messrs. Mac-Millan and Peter Higgins in the Covehead area. Scale 10 chains to an inch.	D-204.34-1854
1850 (Post)	Lot 34. No Name. Plan to Lot 34 Montgomery Estate No. 90. CARD INDEX.	D-204.34-Post 1850
1834	Lot 34, Part of, by Joseph Brennan, a plan of a bridge expected to be built across Covehead Mill River, Lot 34	B1-204.34-1834
c. 1800	Lot 35, No. 2, No name. Map of Lot 35, property of Hon. Alex Maitland, includes Lot 36 property of Spence and Mill and Part of Lot 34 property of John Dinm (photographed). CARD INDEX.	D-204.35-c. 1800

- | | | |
|-----------|---|--------------------|
| 1823 | Lot 35 No. 3 Part of, by Wm. Curtis. Plan of Grand Tracadie, Property of Margaret MacDonald. Scale 10 chains to an inch. | D-204.35-1823 |
| 1829 | Lot 35, Part of by William Curtis. Plan of Division of District or Estate called Castletrom into 6 parts | D-204.35-1829 |
| Pre 1850 | Lot 35. No Name. Lots 35 and 36 divided into 7 parts. Good indication of early Scot Plans for the area. Basically an outline however. | D-204.35 Pre 1850 |
| Post 1850 | Lot 35. No Name. Scale, 20 chains to an inch. Plan of that part of Township 35, property of Rev. A.S. MacDonald; the green colored tract owned by John A. MacDonald, Esq; that in yellow owned by the heirs of the late Hon. David MacDonald and that portion in red is freehold. Map is in very poor condition, peeling from its backing, etc., cannot photograph or make much use of. | D-204.35-Post 1850 |
| c. 1875 | Lot 35 Part, No name. Unfinished plan of Part of Lot 35 on Bedford Bay, shows Corran Ban Bridge; commons property of the Capt. John MacDonald, and Phillip Hughes Freehold. | D-204.35-c. 1875 |
| c. 1875 | Lot 35, Part of by R.I. Weeks of the Donaldston property, owned by John Appollinarius MacDonnell Esq. on Bedford Bay. Shows landowners in area; Black River flowing into Bedford Bay. | D-204.35-c. 1875 |

1878 Lot 35, Part of, by W.C. Harris. "That part of Lot 35 located on North Side of Hillsborough River." D-204.35-1878

1895 Lot 35 Part of by H.J. Cundall Dalvay Area plan including Duck Pond. Made in connection with land transactions in the area.

1910 Lot 35, Part of by T.W. May. Plan of lands held by John W. MacDonald Sr. and John W. MacDonald Jr. at Grande Tracadie. Basic outline including two buildings and what appears to be an enclosed passage way between them. D-204.35-1910

RIVERS

1802 Black River, Survey of Black River area by George Wright. D-204.74-1805

ROADS (Alphabetical)

1888 Bedford Bay Road by James E. Kelly. New line Black River Road to Bedford Bay. D-204.72-1880

1824 Covehead Road by David McGregor. Road from Stanhope Rd. to Covehead drawn under order of Governor Smith. (photographed). D-204.72-1824

1825 Covehead to Grand Tracadie, by W. Curtis. Scale 10 chains to an inch. CARD INDEX. D-204.72-1825

Post 1850 Covehead by H.C. MacMillan (c. 1890?) Plan of Beach Road at Covehead along shore of Harrington or Covehead Bay. Landowners similar to those of Meachams Atlas 1880. CARD INDEX. D-204.72-Post 1850

1829	New Glasgow Road by W. Curtis. Road from Milton through Wheatley River to New Glasgow. CARD INDEX.	D-204.72-1829
1835	New Glasgow to Hazel Grove by W. Curtis. Line from New Glasgow to the Malpeque Road at Hazel Grove. CARD INDEX.	D-204.72-1835
1829	New London Road by W. Curtis. Plan of a line of road from Hunter River to New London (Mill River). CARD INDEX.	D-204.72-1829

ATLASES

1880	Meachams Atlas. Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Province of Prince Edward Island. J.H. Meacham and Co. 1880.	PAPE1
c. 1925	Atlas of Prince Edward Island and the World, Cummings Map Co. Toronto.	PAPE1

Part V

MISCELLANEOUS REPOSITORIES

<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Location</u>
1758	A map of the Island of St. John near Nova Scotia, lately taken from the French. 1758. CARD INDEX.	British Museum
1768	Map of Nova Scotia as Acadia with the Islands of Cape Breton and St. John's from actual surveys by Capt. Montessor Engineer, 1768. CARD INDEX.	Fathers of Confederation Memorial Buildings Library permanent display

Appendix A Surveyors General for P.E.I. 1770 - c. 1873.
(Source: H.H. Shaw - See Bibliography)

1770 - 1812 Thomas Wright. Previous association with Holland survey 1764-66. His plans form a chief source of description for most properties. He died in 1812.

1812 - 1813 Charles, son of Thomas Wright. He died in 1813.

1813 - 1829 Charles, son of Charles Wright. He died in 1829.

1829 - 1842 George Wright, son of Charles. Four times he was appointed administrator 1834, 1835, 1837 and 1841. On these occasions his son George Wright Jr. was Surveyor General.

1842 - 1853 George Wright Jr. He died in 1853.

1853 - 1859 Joseph Ball appointed Surveyor General and Commissioner of Crown Lands.

1859 - 1867 John Aldous held the dual position.

1867 - ? Joseph Ball re-installed and held the position till his death. Surveyor General position discontinued at his death.

Appendix B Nomenclature of Communities and Geographical Features in the National Park Area (Sources: Rayburn plus cartographic material listed in Main Report.)

Anderson Creek: Flows N. into New London Bay, 1 mi N.E. of Stanley Bridge, Lot 22. Named for Robert Anderson who was born at New London of Scottish parents, and settled at the creek c. 1816. In Meacham 1880.

Andersons Point: Now unnamed.

Maps: Boundary Map Lots 21 & 22. D-204.71-1839 (possibly 1859) PAPEL (Andersons Point located on property of Charles Anderson just inside Lot line, lot 22). Andersons Point extends into New London Bay.

Anglo Rustico: 2 mi S.E. of North Rustico in Lot 24. English-speaking community in a predominantly Francophone district. School district c. 1855.

Bayview: 6 mi W. of North Rustico in Lot 22, beside New London Bay. PO 1876-1913.

Bedford: In Meacham 1880 for a school district in Blooming Point.

Bedford Station: 8 mi N.E. of Charlottetown. Probably derived from Bedford Bay, the name given by Holland to Tracadie Bay, and from Bedford Parish. PO 1904-1969. School area c. 1864. Bedford Corner is 3/4 mi. S. at the junction of Highways 2 & 6.

Black Point: See McMillan Point.

Black Pond: Now

Maps: Roads: Covehead to Grand Tracadie D-204.72 c. 1825.
Small pond shown between Farm St. John (Mrs. MacDonald's) and
Oyster Cove, Grand Tracadie area.

Black River: Flows N.E. into Brackley Bay, Lot 33. In Meacham
1880.

Black River: Flows N.E. into Tracadie Bay, Lot 35. Formerly
shown on the maps as Mill Cove Creek and Mill Cove Brook.
Douglas 1925 notes a Black River in Lot 37 from Meacham 1880 but
he must have met Black Run, a small brook 1/4 mi W. of Clarks
Creek, now unnamed.

Blooming Point: 5 mi W. of Mount Stewart in Lot 36. Selected
for PO name 1882-1913 not named for any particular person, place
or thing according to the postmaster in 1905. Formerly called
Tracadie Sand Hills and Glenaladale. Also PO Blooming Point
North 1907-1913. Meacham 1880 shows Bedford as the school
district. The P.E.I. National Park map identified the sand
hills enclosing Tracadie Bay as Blooming Point, but there would
appear to be no basis for this in local usage.

Brackley: 5 mi N. of Charlottetown in Lot 33. PO Brackley
Point Road 1868-1912; PO Thorndyke 1896-1912.

Brackley Bay: Adjacent to Lot 33. Named for a Mr. Brackley,
who was the Clerk of the Legislative Council from 1772 -1776. He
had come to P.E.I. in 1770 with Governor Patterson. He was
drowned in 1776, possibly in this bay. Named by Samuel Holland,
1765, Petersham Cove for William Stanhope (1719-1779) Viscount
Petersham.

Brackley Beach: 13 mi N.W. of Charlottetown in Lot 33. PO
1889-1967.

Cavendish: 4 mi N.W. of North Rustico in Lot 23. Named by William Winter c. 1772, probably for Field Marshall Lord Frederick Cavendish (1729-1803). PO 1833-1913; PO Green Gables from 1953.

Cavendish Beach: In P.E.I. National Park and Lots 22 and 23. In MicMac Penamkeak, "sandy beach " Cavendish Capes is an adjacent feature.

Cavendish Road: PO 1871-1897 in Mayfield, Lot 24.

Chapel Creek: Flows N.E. into Rustico Bay, Lot 24, adjacent to St. Augustines Church. Formerly called Winter River, for William Winter who lived near it from 1772-1775 and from 1783-1805. A plan of 1809 shows Robert Winter's farm there. Plan 1784 Louis River; Louis Gailant was a settler there.

Clarkes Pond: In P.E.I. National Park at Cavendish, Lot 23. Census 1798 lists Wm. Clark in Lot 23. Meacham 1880 shows Andrew and Wm. D. Clark there, and Cummins 1925 has Ernt. Clark.

Corran Ban: 10 mi N.E. of Charlottetown in Lot 35. Derived from Gaelic "white sickle" and refers either to the shape of Winter River there or to white froth on the shore in the fall of the year. Occurs as early as 1772 or 1773 when it was settled by Scottish Highlanders. PO Corran Ban Bridge, Grand Tracadie 1867-1871; change to Grand Tracadie 1871.

Covehead: 11 mi N. of Charlottetown in Lot 34. Probably named because it is at the head of a cove of a bay, which was subsequently called Covehead Bay. PO 1851-1883.

Covehead Bay: Adjacent to Gulf of St. Lawrence, Lot 34. Probably named for the place called Covehead at the head of the Bay. Cove Head, shown as the name of a point at the entrance of the bay on recent charts and maps, has no basis in local usage, and has been rescinded by the CPCGN. De la Rouque 1752 Petit Racicot; Holland 1765 Stanhope Cove; JHA 1774 Stanhope-Cove-Bay or Little Rustico; Bouchette 1832 and Bagster 1861 Stanhope Cove. In MicMac Nologonetjg, "armpit" (Pacifique 1934). See also Harrington for a note on Harrington Bay.

Covehead Road: 8 mi N. of Charlottetown in Lot 34. PO 1856-1913.

Covehead West: PO 1870-1913 at West Covehead, 11 mi N. of Charlottetown in Lot 34.

Cymbria: 5 mi S.E. of North Rustico in Lot 24. Named for the lodge of William Hodges, who came from Wales in 1822 to manage the Winsloe estate. It is a poetic name for Wales. PO 1895-1914. NTS maps prior to 1967 placed it incorrectly in South Rustico at St. Augustines Church.

Dalvay Beach: At E. end of P.E.I. National Park. Named for Dalvay House, built by Alexander MacDonald of Cincinnati, Ohio, 1896. MacDonald's original home in Scotland and his home in Ohio were also called Dalvay. Dalvay Pond and Dalvay Lake are beside the National Park's headquarters at Dalvay by the Sea.

Deroche, Point: Extends in Gulf of St. Lawrence Lot 37. Possibly derived from an Acadian family name; Etienne Charles Phillippe dit LaRoche was settled near it in 1752; the census of 1798 shows Joseph Deroche in Lot 19; DesRoche and DesRoches are current family names in that lot. Wright 1852 Point De Rouge; Bagster 1861 Pointe des Roches.

Fyfes Ferry: See Stanley Bridge.

Glenaladale: Former school district in S. part Blooming Point and in Tracadie Cross, Lot 36. Given by Capt. John MacDonald, 1772 to one of the seven divisions of his P.E.I. estates after Glenaladale, Inverness, Scotland. Why the name was not adopted locally is a mystery.

Grahams Creek: Flows W. into New London Bay, Lot 22. Meacham 1880 Shepherd's Pond, with Edward and Jas. Graham as adjacent landowners.

Grand Pere Point: Extends into Rustico Bay. Lot 24. Named for Simeon Gallant, surnamed Grand-père, who had a farm there. Noted in JHA 1855. Also known as Simeons Point. Grand Pere Point was also a school district in the 1800s.

Grand Rustico: Now Rustico Bay.

Maps: Boundary Map Lots 33 & 34 D-204.71-1835 PAPE1.

Grand Tracadie: 12 mi N.E. of Charlottetown in Lot 35. Possibly a French settlement originally. Noted in JHA 1854. PO C. 1871-1913.

Grenville Parish: Named by Samuel Holland 1765 for Lots 20, 21, 23 and 67. Rarely used and now never referred to.

Harrington: 8 mi N. of Charlottetown in Lot 33. Derived from Harrington Bay, the name given by Samuel Holland 1765 for Covehead Bay and Brackley Bay. The bay was named for William Stanhope (1719-1779) Viscount Petersham, 2nd Earl of Harrington. School district 1855. PO 1888-1918.

Harris Bay: Now Rustico Bay.

Appears on the following maps. Boundary Maps Lots 33 and 34.
D-204.71-1835 PAPE1

Hope Point: Now unnamed.

Maps: Lot 22 D-204.22-N.D. (Circa 1850?) PAPE1. Small head-land area dividing East and South Branches of Hope River.

Hope River: 7 mi N.W. of Hunter River in Lot 22; district on both sides of Hope River and including St. Ann. In Meacham 1880. PO 1855-1914.

Hope River: Flows N.W. into New London Bay, Lot 22. Named by Samuel Holland 1765, probably for Colonel Hope, a friend of Frederick Haldimand, and later Lieutenant Governor of Quebec.

Hornes Creek: Flows N. into Rustico Bay, Lot 33. Bayfield 1846, MacIntosh Creek; Meacham 1880, Matheson's Creek, with Jno. Horne at mouth; also James, Alex, Jno., Mary and Geo. Matheson shown as property owners. NTS 11 L/6 1967 Matheson Creek. William Mathieson had a sawmill there in 1939.

Hunter River: In Lot 23. PO Hunter River 1875 - c. 1901 and from 1967; PO Hunter's River c. 1901-1967.

Hunter River: Flows N.E. into Rustico Bay, Lots 23 and 24. Named by Samuel Holland 1765 for Thomas Orby Hunter, Lord of the Admiralty 1761. A local tradition that the river is so named because Fred Hunter perished near it is incorrect because his death occurred about 50 years after Holland's survey. Settlers from Glasgow C. 1820 called it Clyde River, and this is often found later in references, such as Meacham 1880, p. 60. It has also been called New Glasgow River.

Jimmy Angus Cove: Adjacent to Winter River, Lot 35. Named for James Angus MacDonald, noted there by Cummins 1925.

Lexlip Point: Now unnamed.

Maps: D-204.24-N.D. (Pre 1812?) Point of land in Rustico Bay area.

Little Rustico Harbour: Now Covehead Bay.

Maps: Boundary Map Lots 33 & 34 D-204.71-1835 PAPEL.

Little York: PO from 1872 at York, Lot 34. Little York was the first name of the community.

Lockerby's Cove: Former name of a cove adjacent to Cape Turner, P.E.I. National Park. Named for John Lockerby (1798-c. 1898) who lived there.

MacArthurs Creek: Flows N. into Rustico Bay, Lot 33. Meacham 1880. Douglas 1925 and NTS 11L/6 1967 Smelt Creek.

MacDonalds Cove: Adjacent to Winter River, Lot 35. Meacham 1880 shows Angus and R. MacDonald there, and Cummins 1925 has Ronald and D.A. MacDonald at it.

MacDougalls Cove: Adjacent to Winter River, Lot 35. Neither Meacham 1880 nor Cummins 1925 show any MacDougall at the cove, although the name occurs in the lot in 1925. Holland 1765, Meacham 1880 and Douglas 1925 Oyster Cove.

Makems Pond: See Lake of Shining Waters.

Marshall's Pond: On Auld Creek, Lot 34. The Census of 1798 lists Sandy Marshall in Lot 34. Meacham 1880 shows Robt. Marshall with a shingle mill, and Cummins 1925 indicates Dave Marshall there.

Mayfield: 3 mi W. of North Rustico in Lot 24. PO Cavendish Road 1871-1897, when it was changed to Mayfield at a public meeting; PO Mayfield 1897-1913. A French school was known as St. Ignatius or St. Ignace.

McCallum Creek: Flows N. into Brackley Bay, Lot 33. Duncan McCallum, an immigrant from Scotland settled there 1771. Meacham 1880 McCallums Cr., with Neil, Jno, and Jas. G. McCallum nearby, and a sawmill on John's property. Holland 1765 R. au Vergne.

McMillan Point: Extends into Covehead Bay, Lot 33. Meacham 1880 Black Pt., with Mrs. Jno. McMillan there, and Cummins 1925 has John McMillan there.

McEwens Point: Extends into New London Bay, Lot 21. Duncan McEwen was living at Campbellton before 1831. Meacham 1880 shows Wm. and Ed. McEwen in possession of the point. Lake 1863 Campbellton Id.

Millboro Road: Former community name on Millboro Road between Brookfield and Wheatley River, Lot 24. Possibly named for a sawmill on Wheatley River. Noted in JHA 1854. Also Millborough Road.

Millvale: 5 mi N.E. of Hunter River in Lot 22. Douglas 1925 notes it was in use before 1843. Meacham 1880 shows a flour mill and a sawmill there. PO 1872-c. 1873 and 1895-1914.

The Narrows: (at Brackley Pt.) Now nonexistent
Maps: Lot 33 Part of D-204.33-1795

New Glasgow: 4 mi N. of Hunter River in Lot 23. Named by settlers from Glasgow, Scotland, 1819. PO c. 1834-1968.

New Glasgow Mills: 6 mi N. of Hunter River in Lot 23. PO 1908-1913. Formerly called Clyde Mills.

New Glasgow River: See Hunter River.

New London: Northern parts of Lots 20 and 21 with PO 1827-1969 at Clifton in Lot 21. Named by Robert Clark 1773 for a port at French River in then Grenville Bay, now known as New London Bay.

New London Bay: Adjacent to Gulf of St. Lawrence, Lots 21 and 22. Named by Samuel Holland 1765, Grenville Bay for George Grenville (1712-1770) then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. Holland also adds the secondary name as used by the French, Petit Havre. Bellin 1744, Havre Quilibougat; Map 1750, R. Quilibougouet; map 1758, Kikbougat Harbr; JHA 1832 has both Grenville Bay and Granville Bay; JHA 1836 New London Bay. In MicMac Kicheboogwek Booktaba, "bay of shoals", or "enclosed bay".

North River: Now unnamed.

Maps: Roads: Covehead to Grand Tracadie D-204.72-c. 1825. Flows into Winter River above Oyster Cove and appears to drain a swamp.

North Rustico: Village incorporated in 1954 in Lot 24. PO from 1855. North Rustico.

Orby Head: Extends into Gulf of St. Lawrence 3 mi N. of North Rustico, Lot 24. Named by Samuel Holland 1765 for Thomas Orby Hunter, Meacham 1880 has Cape Hall here, with Orby Head identifying the sandy point at North Rustico Harbour where it is also shown on Holland 1765. Frederick Holland 1791 shows Orby Head at Doyles Cove, 2 mi N. of the location named by Samuel Holland.

The Department of Interior map of 1910 has it at present Cape Turner, with Cape Turner 1 mi W. The Department of Interior map of 1921 restores the placement shown by Frederick Holland. NTS 11 L/6 1939 applies it to its present position, and Cape Turner is omitted.

Oyster Bed Bridge: 12 mi N.W. of Charlottetown in Lot 24. Named for oyster beds on each side of the bridge crossing Wheatley River. Noted in JHA 1840 when local residents petitioned for the bridge. PO 1875-1968. Meacham 1880 shows it near the bridge with two schools, Wheatley and Rustico Cross, 1 mi S. at present Cudmores Corner, a part of the Oyster Bed Bridge district. Holland 1765 notes "Oyster Banks" at the site of the present bridge.

Oyster Cove: See MacDougalls Cove and Winter River.

Oyster Creek: Now unnamed.

Maps: Lot 24 D-204.24-N.D. (Pre 1812?).

Parsons Creek: Flows E. into Covehead Bay, Lot 34. Said to be named for the Rev. Theophilus DesBrisay (1754-1823), first Protestant clergyman in P.E.I. He resided at Covehead for about 20 years.

Pickerings Point: Extends into New London Bay, Lot 22. Probably named for William Pickering, a settler in Lot 24 in 1786 and in Lot 21 in 1798. Meacham 1880 also shows a Wm. Pickering there.

Pipers Creek: Flows W. into Tracadie Bay, Lot 36. Named for one of the McInnes family who was noted as a piper. Meacham 1880 names Peter, Michael and Mathew McInnes there.

Pleasant Grove: 9 mi N.E. of Charlottetown in Lot 34. Named by W.W. Duck, first postmaster, after someone remarked that a group of beech trees made a "pleasant grove." PO Suffolk Road 1870-1885; PO Pleasant Grove 1885-1920. School district in 1880 was Tracadie Road.

Point Carleton: Now unnamed.

Maps: Lot 24 D-204.24 N.D. (Pre 1812?) Point on Rustico Bay.

Point DeRoche: 4 mi N.E. of Mount Stewart in Lots 36 and 37. PO Point de Roche 1900-1913. JHA 1839 Point De Rouge; JHA 1843 Pointe de Roche; Meacham 1880 Point Deroche. (See also under Deroche).

Point Desire: Now unnamed.

Maps: Lot 24 D-204.24 N.D. (Pre 1812?) Located at mouth of Winter River, Rustico Bay.

Port Ash Road: Now unnamed.

Maps: Lot 24 D-204.24 N.D. (Pre 1812?) Road from Oyster Creek to Spring Creek. Probably Portage Road but widely known locally as the Port Ash road.

Prince Edward Island: Named by the Legislative Assembly 1798 for Prince Edward, Duke of Kent who was then in command of troops at Halifax. Douglas 1925 notes that the King confirmed it February 5, 1799, and that Governor Fanning appears to have used it first on June 13, 1799. Champlain 1603 Lisle de Saint Jean, probably given earlier by French voyagers. Guérard 1631 La Terre de bauchimyeq; Southack 1717 island St. John's. After British occupation 1759 it officially became St. John's Island, which led to confusion with Saint John, N.B., and St. John's, Nfld. It was changed to New Ireland 1780, but disallowed because the name was in use elsewhere. New Anglesea and New

Guernsey were also rejected. In MicMac Epagwit, "parallel to the shore"; also Minegoo "The Island". Since the late 1800s called Garden of the Gulf. Lieutenant Governor Howlan called it Million Acre Farm in the 1890s.

Prospect Point: Now unnamed.

Maps: D-204.24 N.D. (Pre 1812?) Point on Rustico Bay area.

Queens County: Named by Samuel Holland 1765 for Queen Charlotte (1744-1818).

Queens Point: Extends into Tracadie Bay, Lot 35. Named for Catherine "Queen" MacDonald, the widow of Capt. John MacDonald, who established the settlement in the area of Tracadie Bay.

Rennies Road: 1 Mi N. of Hunter River in Lot 23. Named for David Rennie, a proprietor of part of Lot 23 in early 1800s.

Robinsons Island: See Rustico Island

Rustico: An area name for the N. half of Lot 24. PO 1852-1967 at South Rustico.

Rustico Bay: Adjacent to Gulf of St. Lawrence, Lots 24 and 33. Named for René Rassicot from Normandy 1724. Jumeau 1685, possibly R. Bobkimik; Map 1750, R. Touboutouinee; De la Roque 1752, Grand Racico; Holland 1765, Harris Bay, with Grand Rustico a secondary name; JHA 1774, Harris's Bay or Grand Rustico. In MicMac Tabooetooetun, "having two outlets". Blanchard 1938, suggests "three mouths", but gives no authority. Caven 1899, gives Quiquibougat as a MicMac name, but this is New London Bay.

Rustico Cross: See Oyster Bed Bridge.

Rustico Island: Between Gulf of St. Lawrence and Rustico Bay, and part of P.E.I. National Park. Map 1758 Gotteville Island; M'Gregor 1832 Peters Island for its owner, Peter McAusland; Bayfield 1851 McAuslin Island; Meacham 1880 Robinsons Id. (with E. end called Halls Island) with P.W. and J. Robinson as owners.

Rusticoville: 2 mi S. of North Rustico in Lot 24. PO 1886-1947.

St. Ann: 6 mi N.W. of Hunter River in the district of Hope River, Lot 22. Named for the mother of the Virgin Mary. School district c. 1849. PO St. Ann's c. 1873-1928.

Savage Harbour: Adjacent to Gulf of St. Lawrence, Lots 37 and 38. According to Gesner 1846, it was called Savage Harbour from an old tradition of a fight between Indian tribes. Bellin 1744 havre à l'Anguille. In MicMac Kadotpichk, possibly meaning "eel water place" or "eel screen." Map 1750 R. Cadopigs; Map 1758 Cadecepich; Caven 1899 also given Quibuonidinique.

Shaws Beach: Adjacent to Brackley Bay, Lot 33. Named for Neil Shaw, who is noted as a landowner in Meacham 1880, and who was the founder of a hotel in the 1880s which is still operating. Duncan Shaw is noted as a settler in Lot 34 in the Census of 1798; he settled at Brackley Point with four sons in 1809.

Shepard's Pond: Now Graham's Creek.

Maps: Lot 22 D-204.22-N.D. PAPEL circa 1850.

Shining Waters, Lake of: In P.E.I. National Park at Cavendish, Lot 23. Derived from Lucy Maud Montgomery's "Anne of Green Gables." Formerly called Makems Pond.

Simpsons Pond: On Hope River, Lot 22. Meacham 1880 and Cummins 1925 both show a Jas. Simpson there.

South Rustico: 3 mi S.E. of North Rustico in Lot 24. PO Rustico 1852-1967; PO South Rustico 1967-1968. Meacham 1880 shows the school as Anglo Rustico, the PO as S. Rustico and the area as Commercial Cross and S. Rustico.

Stanhope: 12 mi N. of Charlottetown in Lot 34. School district before 1880. PO 1882-1968. Also PO Stanhope by the Sea from 1961. Stanhope Bayshore is a summer camping area beside P.E.I. National Park. Stanhope Beach extends from Cape Stanhope to Long Pond.

Stanhope Cove: See Covehead Bay.

Stanley Bridge: 9 mi N.W. of Hunter River in Lot 21. Named by E.L. Lydiard C. 1865 for a bridge built ten years earlier over Stanley River. Formerly called Fyfes Ferry for William Fyfe or (Fife) who ran a ferry there for about forty years. PO 1872-1969.

Stanley River: Flows N. into New London Bay, Lot 21. Named by Samuel Holland 1765 for Sir Hans Stanley (c. 1720-1780) then Lord of the Admiralty. On Holland's map of 1765 the name is applied on the next river W. Southwest River.

Stawell Grove: On Map 1775 in the area of Union Road, Lot 33. Named by Thomas DesBrisay, probably for the second wife of the Earl of Hillsborough, the Baroness Stawell. Another map of 1775 shows Killwarlin Grove.

Stevensons Pond: At South Rustico, Lot 24. Meacham lists R. Stevenson with grist and sawmills, and Cummins 1925 shows Jas. Stevenson there.

Tenmile House: 10 mi N.E. of Charlottetown in Lot 35. Site of tavern in early 1880s. PO Ten Mile House 1884-1913.

Thorndyke: PO 1896-1912 at Brackley, Lot 33. Believed to be named from "thorn dykes" or hawthorne bushes at the front of farms there. Johnstone 1822 refers to thorns planted on dykes.

Tomkins Cove: On Holland 1765 for a cove at the mouth of Stanley River, adjacent to New London Bay, Lot 21. Possibly named for T. Tomkyns, then a Treasury official.

Toronto: 4 mi W. of North Rustico in Lot 23. School district c. 1865. PO Martin 1891-1914 with Moses Martin the first postmaster.

Tracadie: CN station at Tracadie Cross in Lot 36.

Tracadie Bay: Adjacent to Gulf of St. Lawrence, Lots 35 and 36. Derived from MicMac Tulakadik, "camping ground." On Franquet 1751. Bellin 1744 Port Chimene and Trocadie; Map 1759 Shimene Port; Named by Samuel Holland 1765 Bedford Bay, with Tracadi Harbour as a secondary name.

Tracadie Cross: 5 mi W. of Mount Stewart in Lot 36. PO 1871-1968. Near here was a MicMac place called Noobogunech.

Tracadie Road: See Pleasant Grove.

Tracadie Sand Hills: See Blooming Point.

Trout River: Flows N.W. into Stanley River, Lots 21 and 22.

Tryon, Cape: Extends into Gulf of St. Lawrence, Lot 21. Named by Samuel Holland 1765 for William Tryon (1725-1788).

Turner, Cape: Extends into Gulf of St. Lawrence, Lot 24. Named by Samuel Holland 1765, possibly for Sir John Turner, Lord of the Treasury in 1762. In MicMac Kwesowsak, "headland". In late 1705 a Capt. LeForce was killed by his mate and buried here and for many years after the feature was called Cape Leforce.

Union Road: 6 mi N. of Charlottetown in Lot 33. On Wright 1852. PO 1875-1968. Also PO Union North 1904-1911. CN station is Union.

Wheatley River: 4 mi E. of Hunter River is Lot 24. PO 1856-1952.

Wheatley River: Flows N.E. into Rustico Bay, Lot 24. Named by Samuel Holland 1765 Whitley River, probably for Thomas Whately, politician and horticulturist. An old tradition that a man called Wheatley built a hut there and then disappeared cannot be substantiated. Bouchette 1832, Whately River.

Wheatley: See Oyster Bed Bridge.

Winsloe North: 9 mi N.W. of Charlottetown in Lot 33. PO Winsloe Road 1875-1919.

Winter River: Flows E. into Tracadie Bay, Lot 35. Origin unknown. On Wright and Cindall 1874. Winter Bay, which appears in Meacham 1880 and on NTS 11 L/6 1967, is really the mouth of the river, and is unknown locally. Holland 1765, Oyster Cove; by the French River de Blang.

Wright's Creek: Now unnamed.

Maps: Lot 24 D-204.24 N.D. (Pre 1812?) Flowing into Hunter River at Lot 33 line.

Yankee Hill: At French River, Lot 21. Named for an American who lived there in the early days of settlement and kept a store. Late 1863 Yankey Hill.

York: 6 mi N.E. of Charlottetown in Lot 34. First called Little York with first reference.

York Bay: Now Brackley or Covehead Bay (Former Petersham's Cove area)

Maps: Lot 33 D-204.33-1834.

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- 3 They are the first six listed in Part I, the first listed in Part II and two listed in Part V.
- 4 H.H. Shaw, p. 6.
- 5 H.J. Cundall, reproduced with corrections and additions in 1859, 1874, 1877, 1903.

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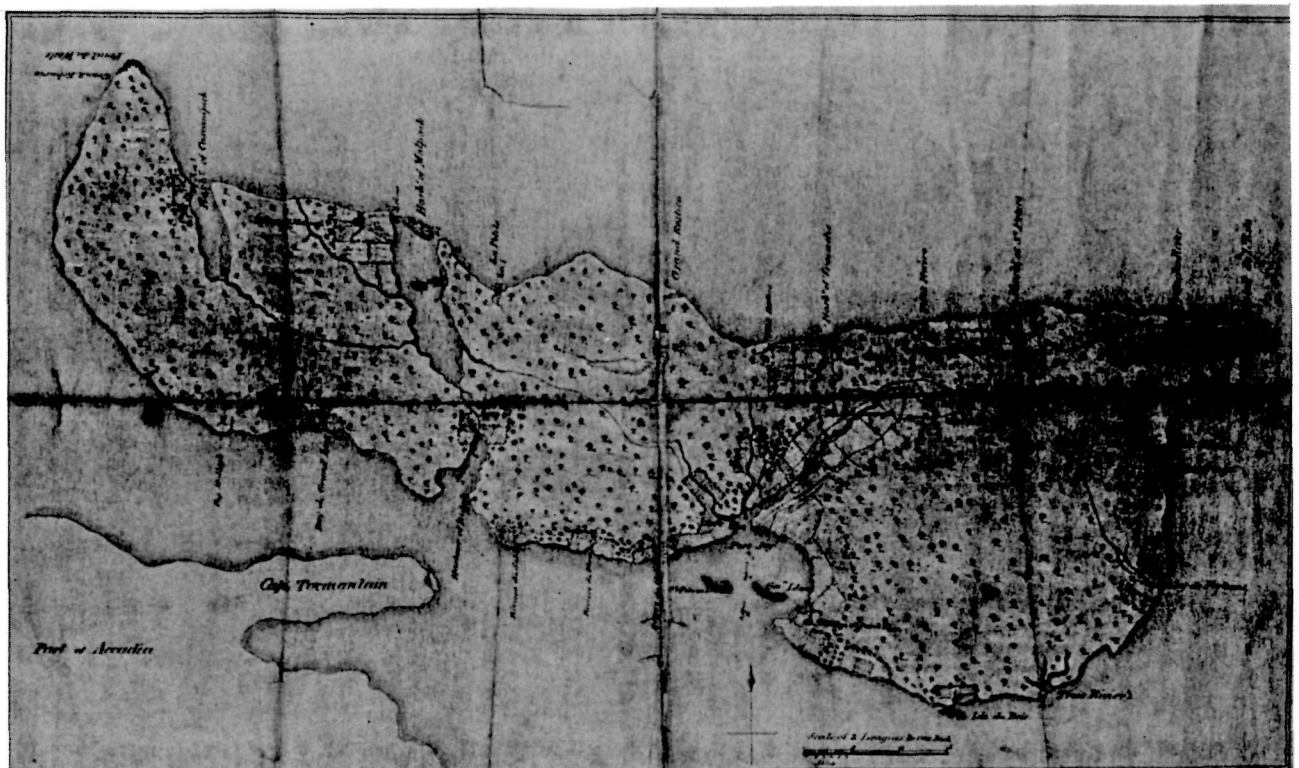
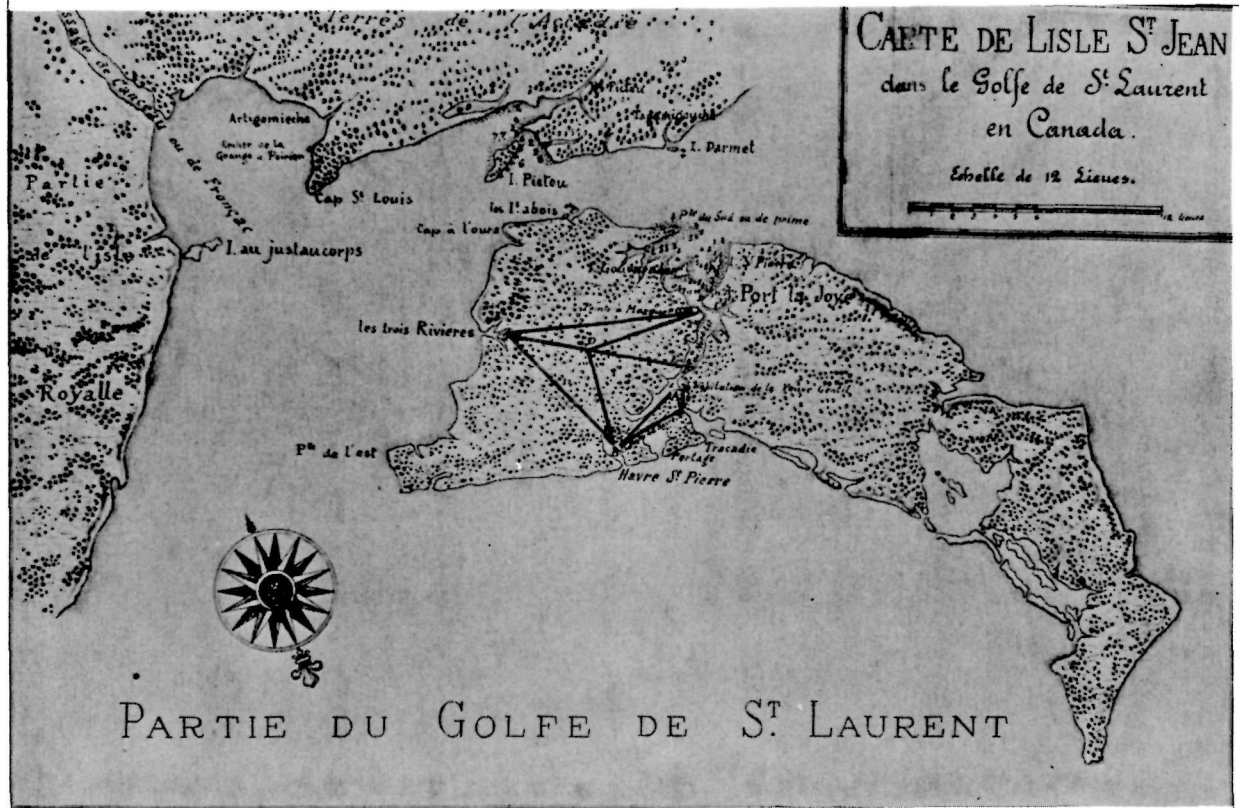
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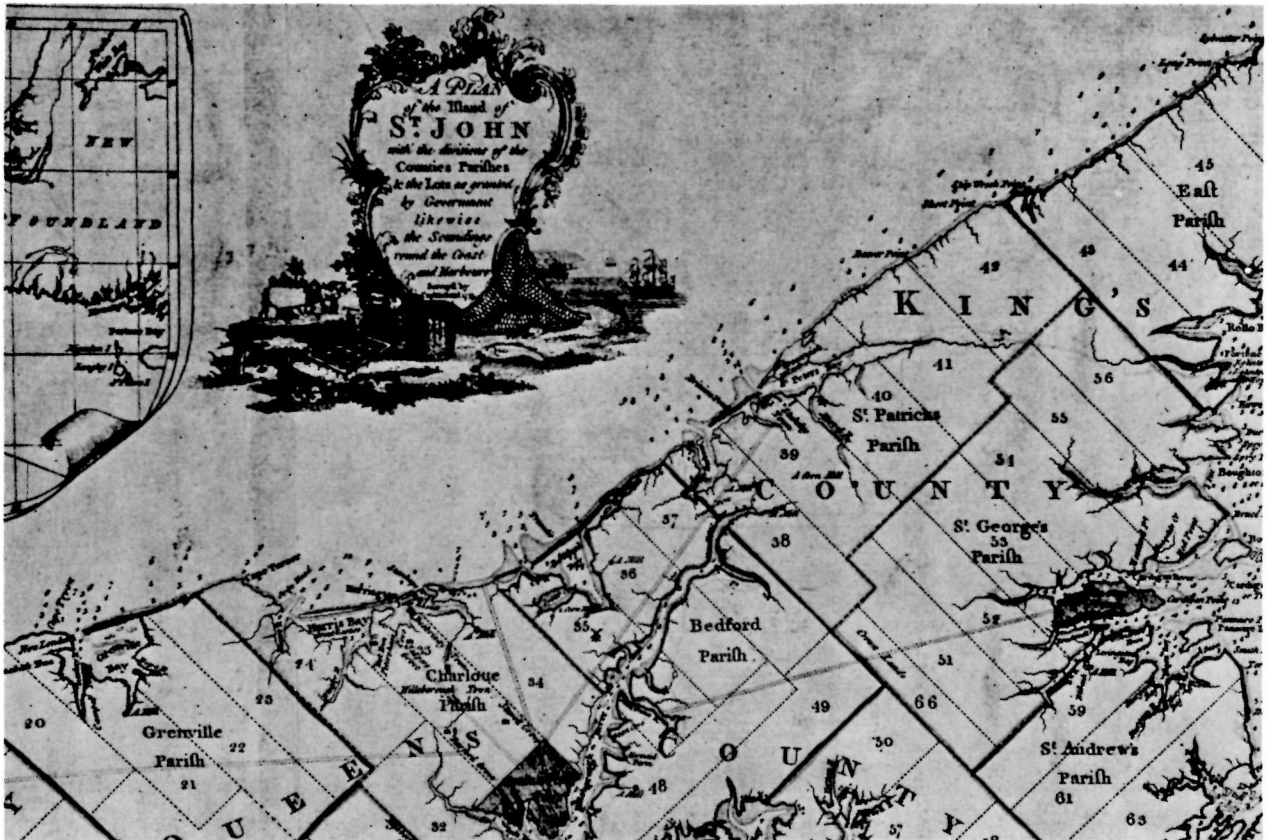
ILLUSTRATIONS

- 2 PAC H3/204-1764 A Sketch of the Island of St. Johns in
Gulf of St. Lawrence, surveyor unknown.



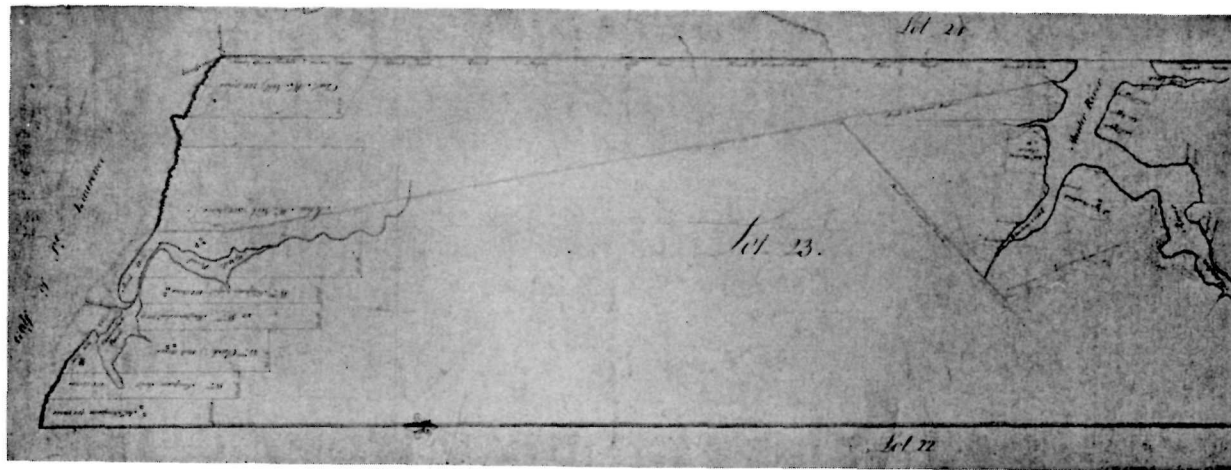
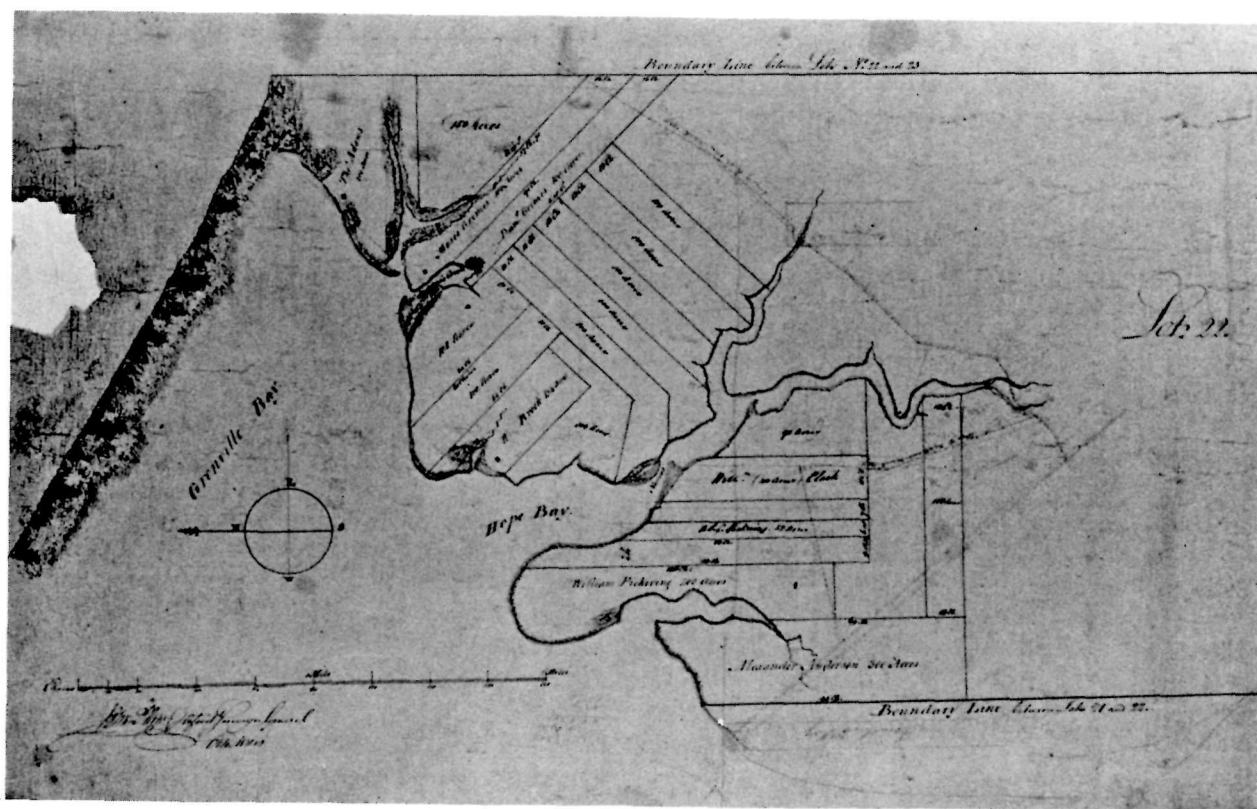
3 Capt. Holland's Survey of Island of St. John. PAC
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4 "P.E.I. 1851 by H.J. Cundall" PAC H2/204-1857.



5 "Part of Lot 22 by John Plaw" PACEI C-204.22-1808.

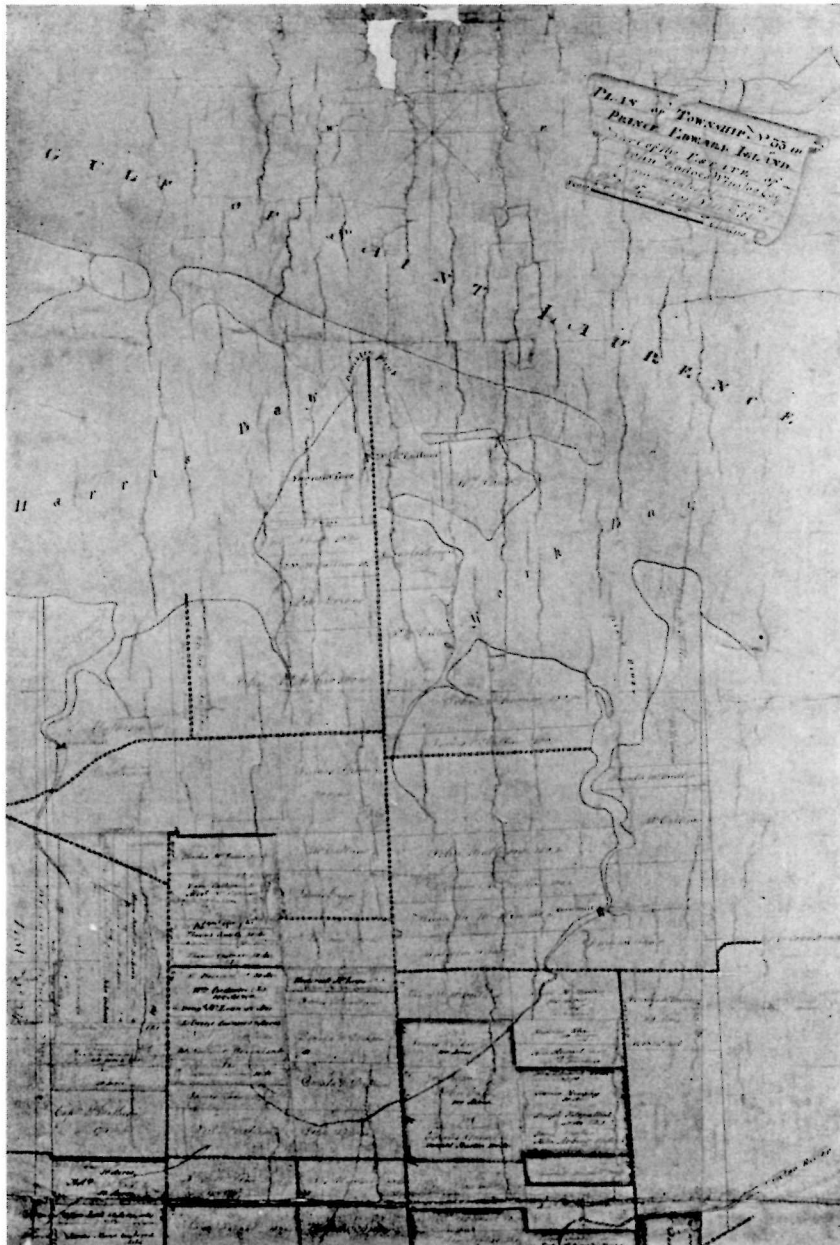
6 "Lot 23 No. 2 by Robert Fox" PAPEI C-204.23-1809.



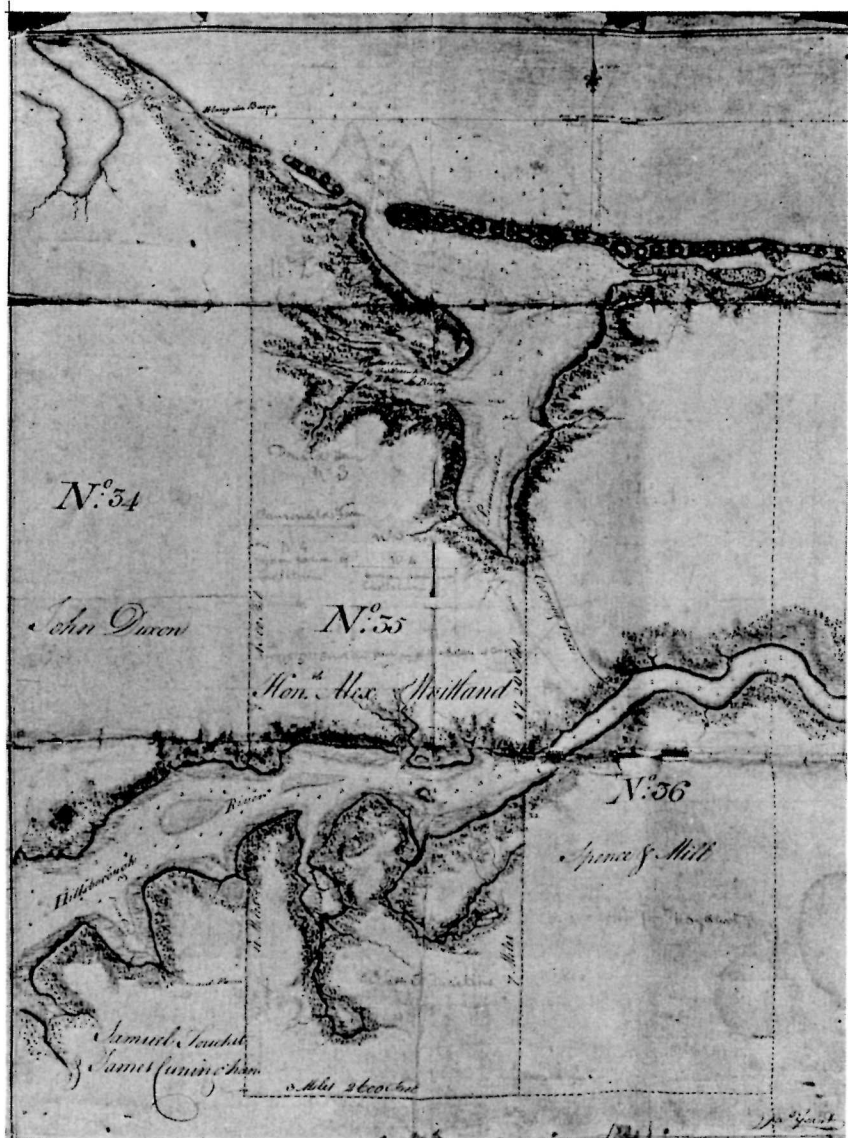
- 7 "Part of Lot 24 by John Plaw 1812" PAPER. C-204.24-
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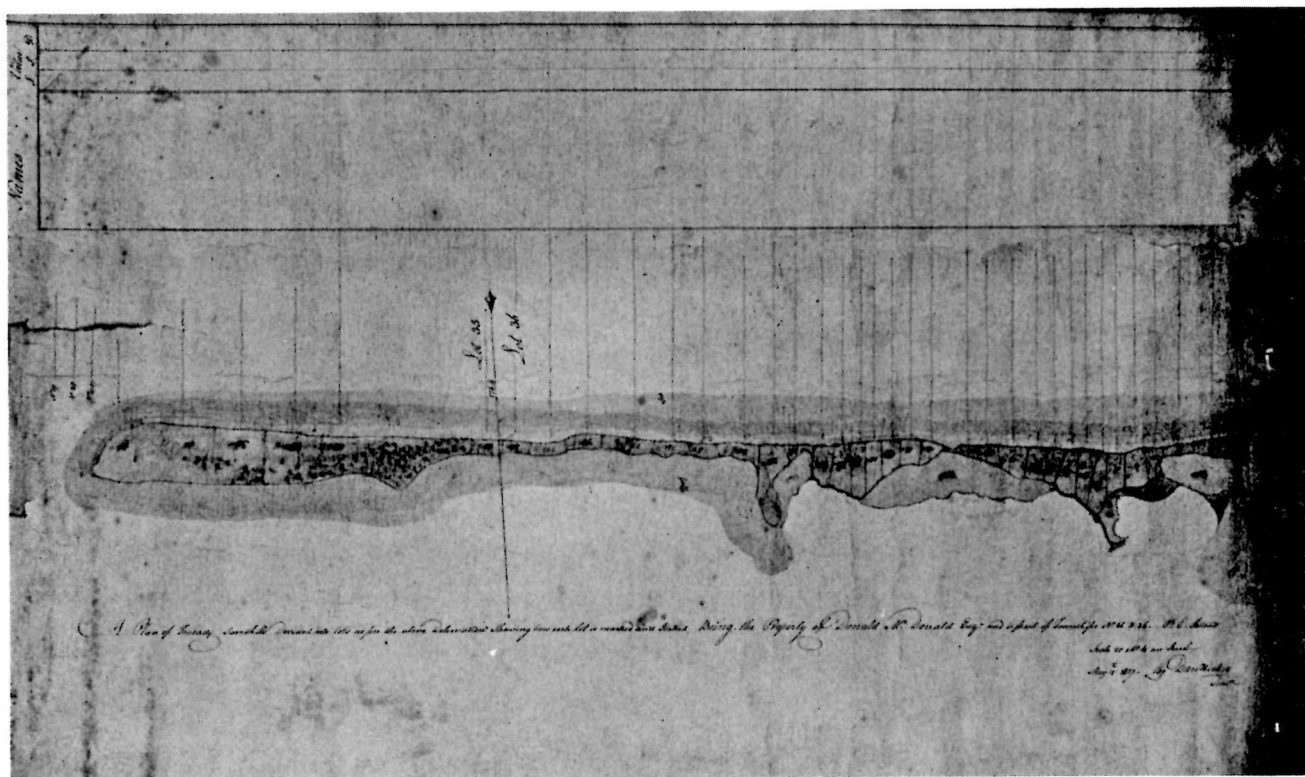
8 "Lot 23 by Joseph Ball" PAPEL C-204.33-1847.



9 "Lot 35, No. 2 Map of Lot 35" c. 1800 PAPEL D-204.35-
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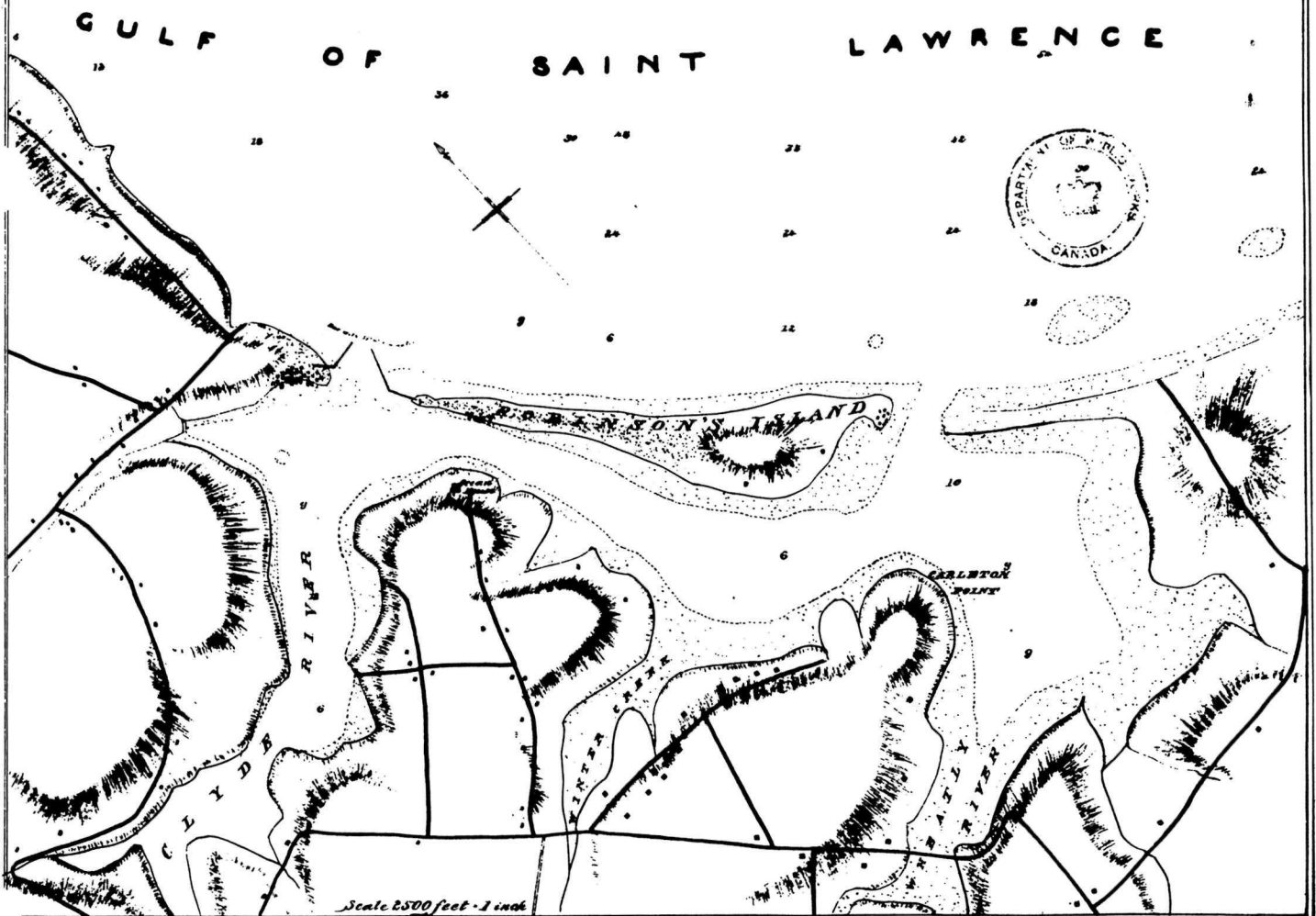
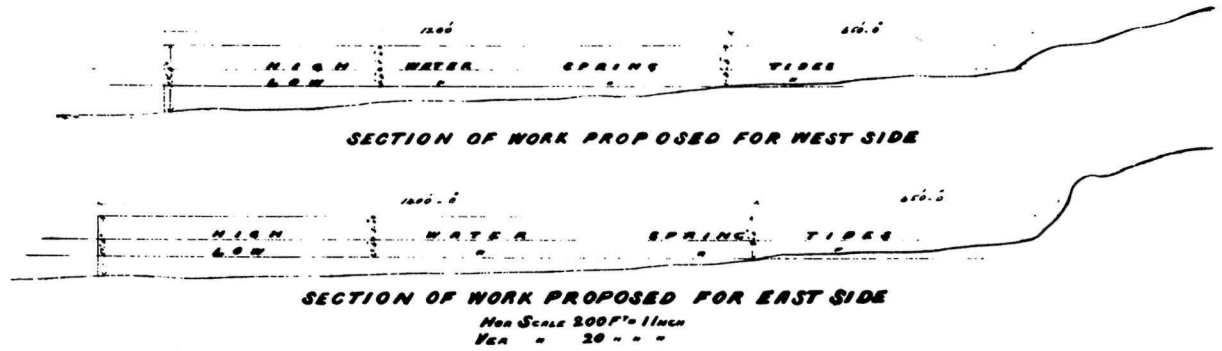


- 10 "Tracadie Sand Hills by Daniel Hickey 1837" PAPEL
D-204.76-1837.

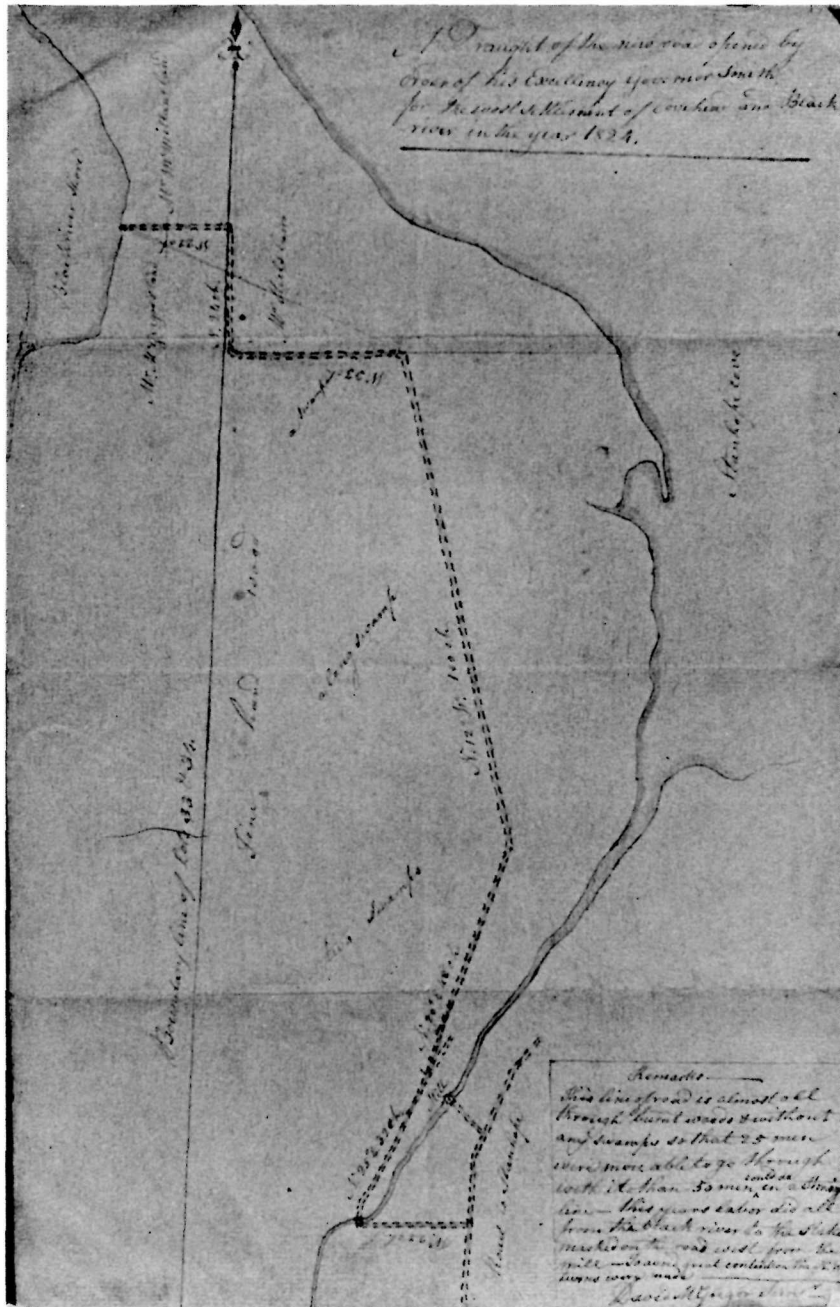


11 Grand Rustico Breakwater PAC H3/240.

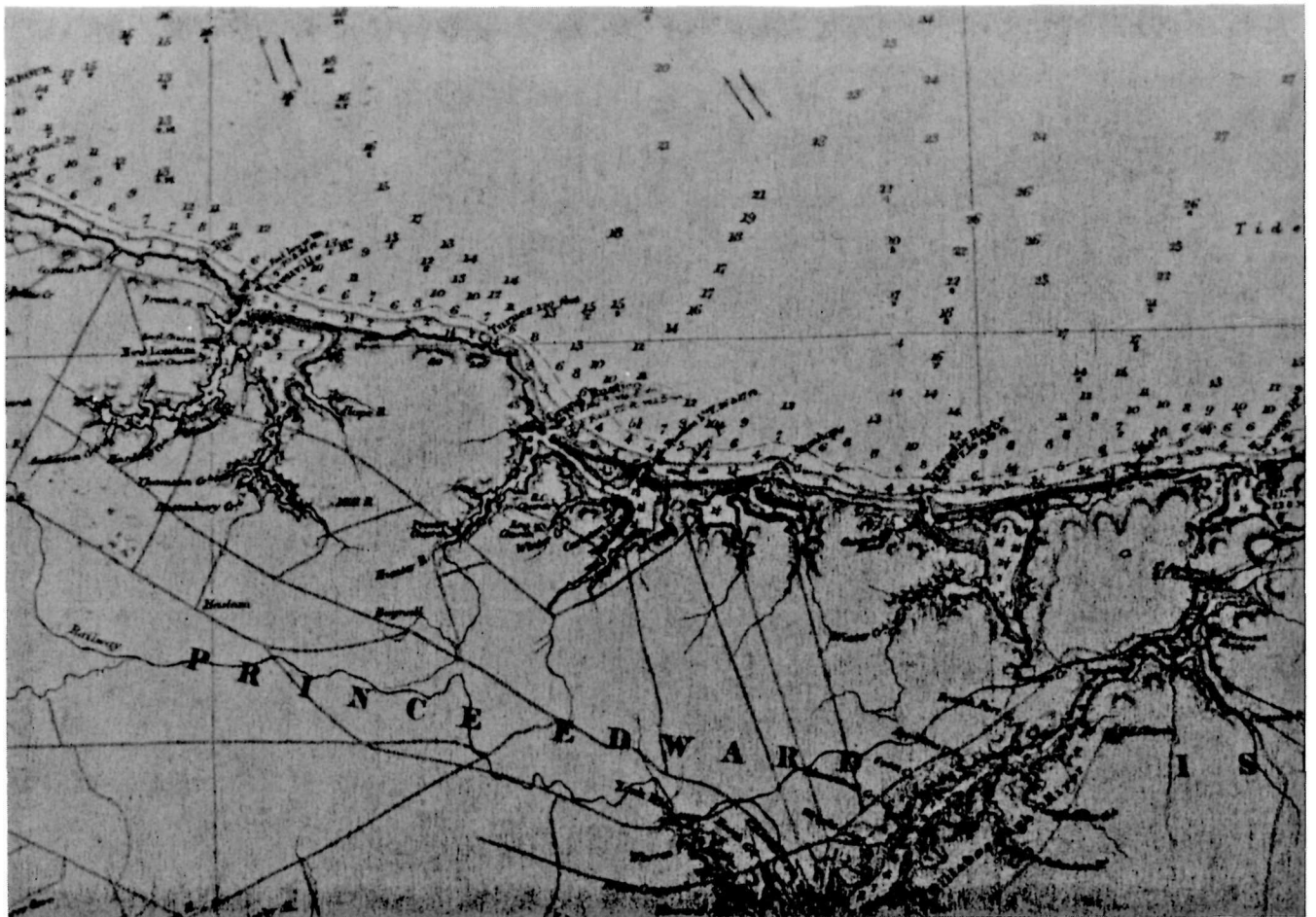
GRAND RUSTICO, P. E. ISLAND



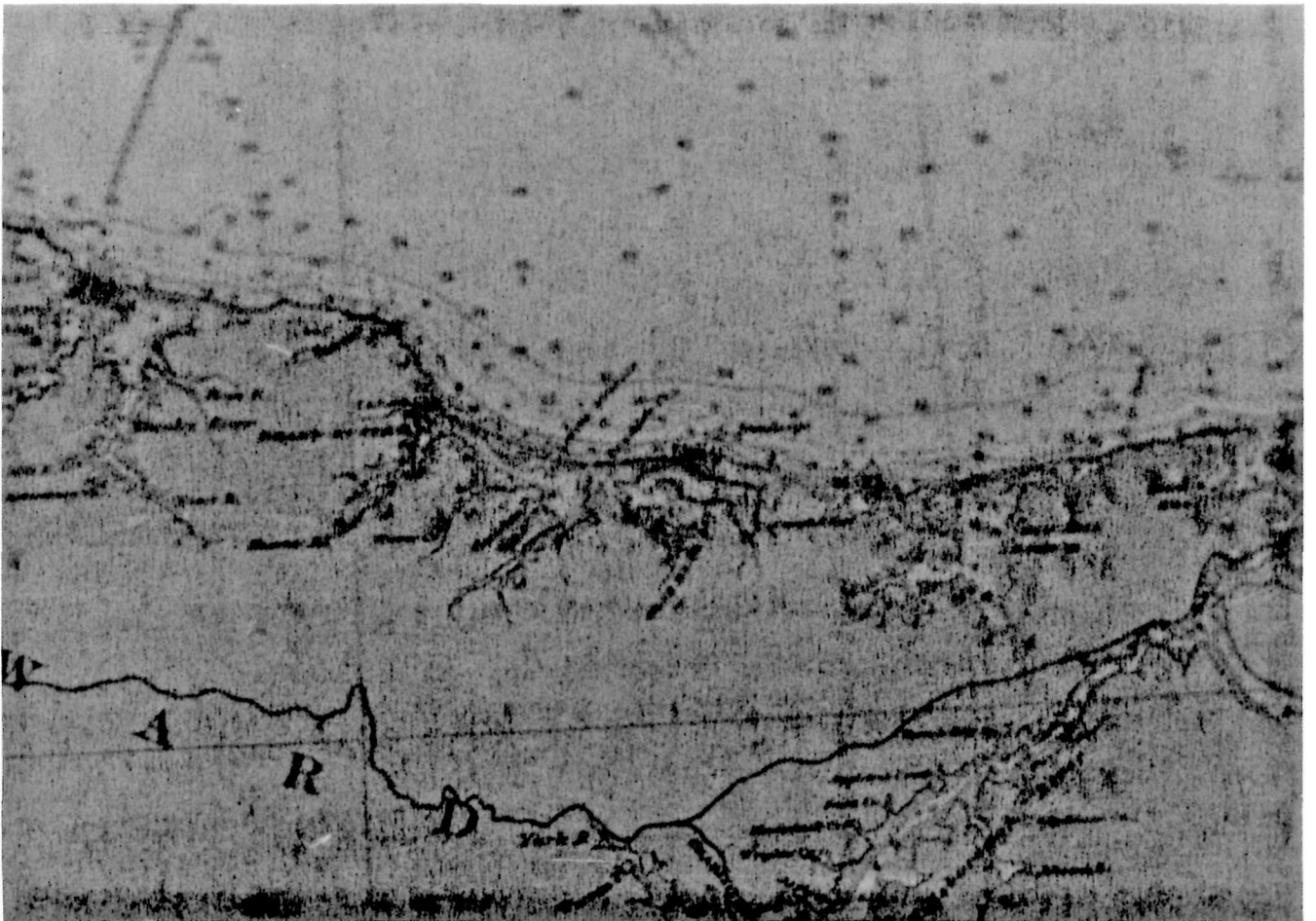
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- 13 Gulf of St. Lawrence, Sheet IX, Eastern Part of
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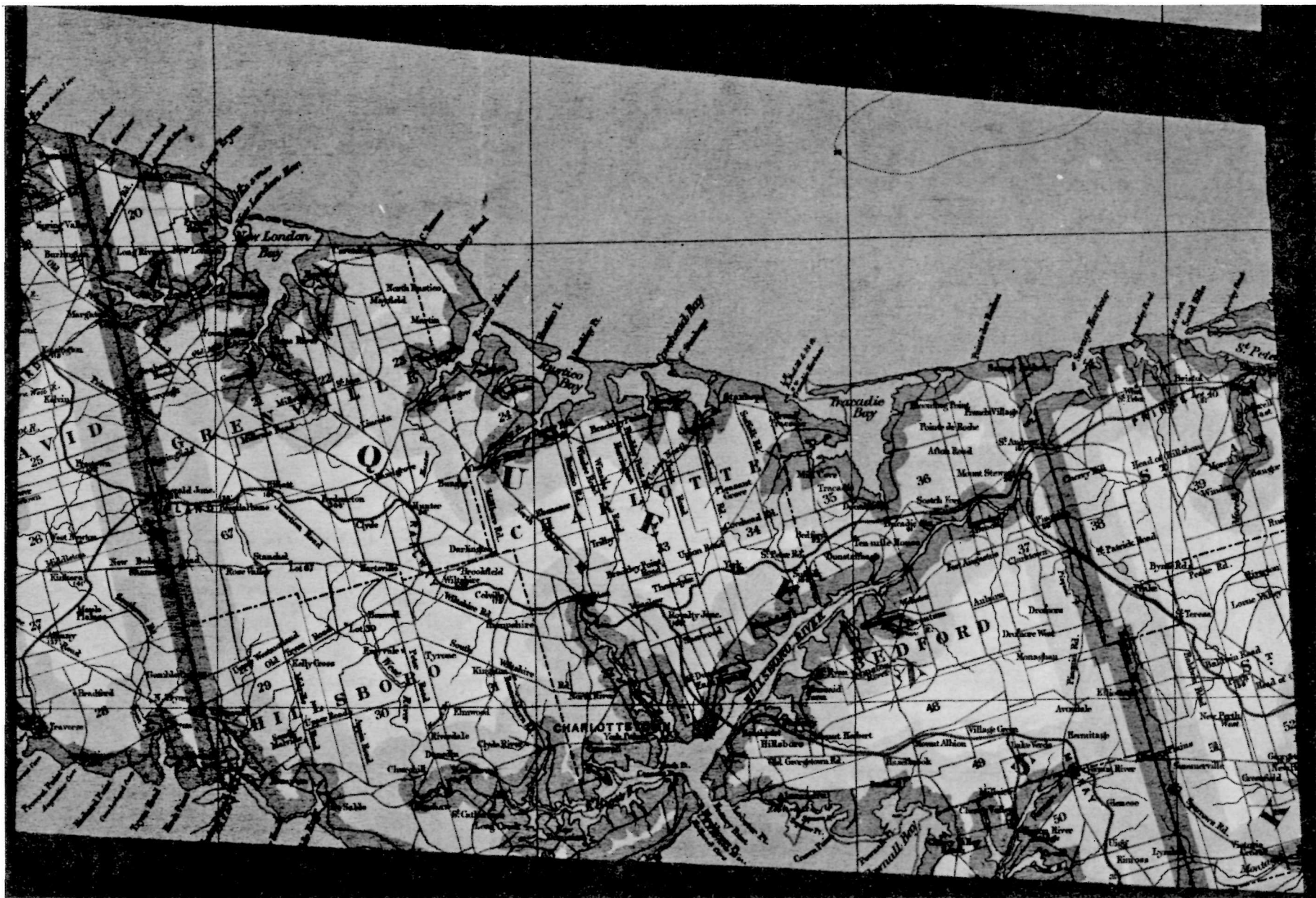
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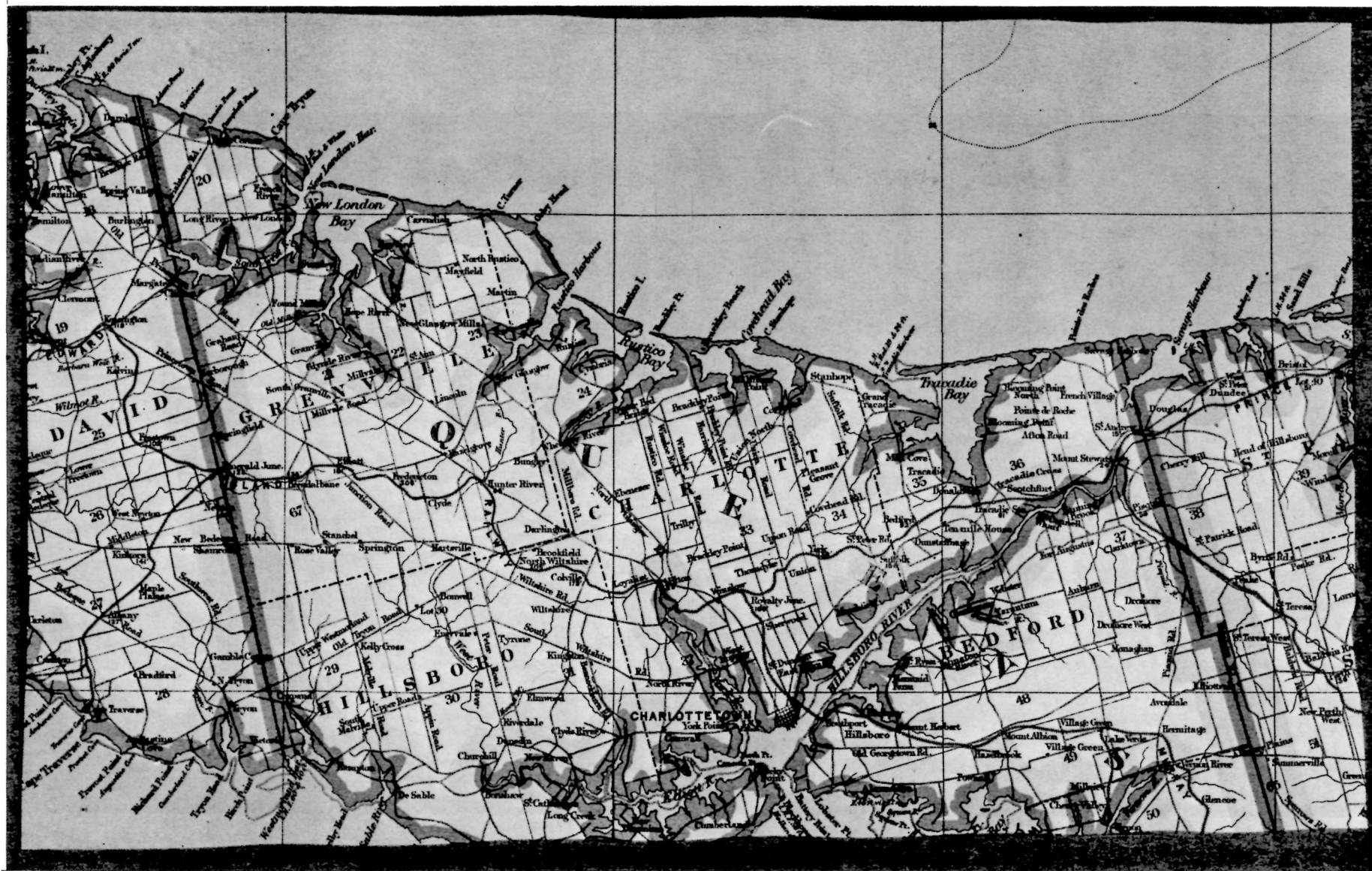
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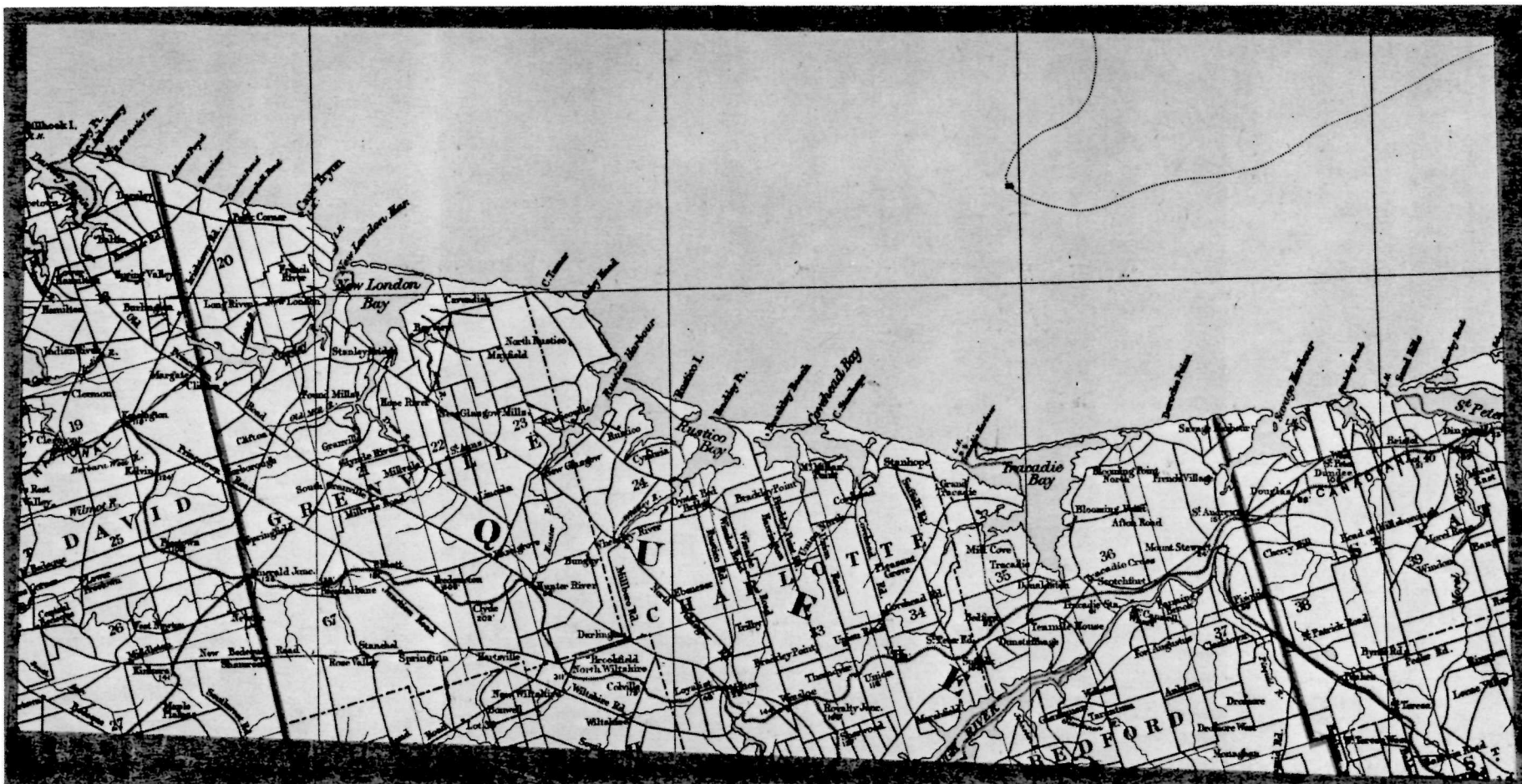
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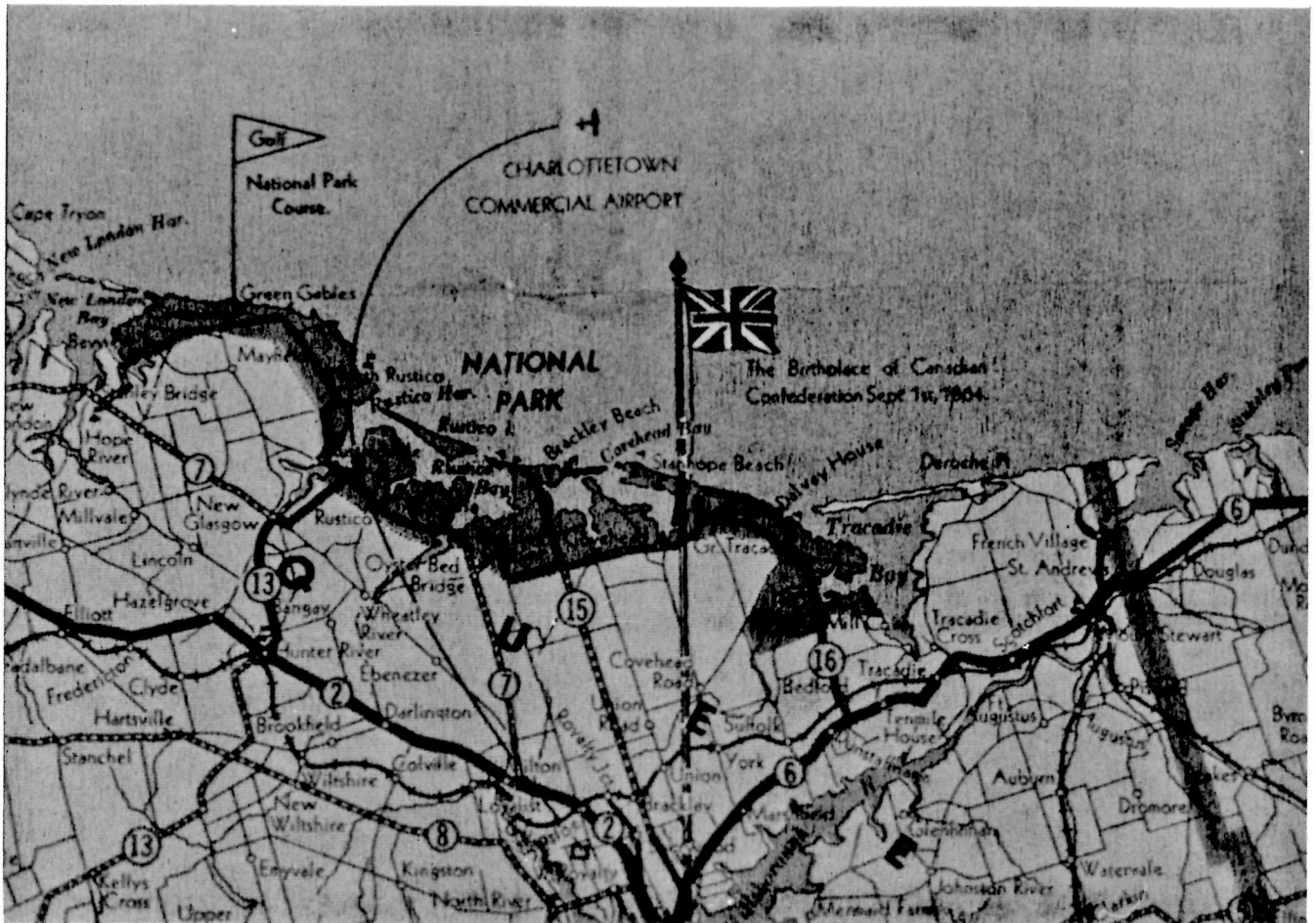
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GREEN GABLES HOUSE REPORT

by

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with assistance from

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1979

GREEN GABLES HOUSE REPORT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	p.	1
List of Illustrations	p.	iv
1. Structural History	p.	3
2. Interior and Furnishings	p.	8
3. Interior and Furnishings from L. M. Montgomery's Novels	p.	14
4. Exterior and Landscape Setting	p.	23
5. Exterior and Landscape Setting from L. M. Montgomery's Novels	p.	33
Endnotes	p.	38
Bibliography	p.	46
Illustrations	p.	47

ILLUSTRATIONS

- | | |
|---|-------|
| 1. MacNeill Homestead, c.1895. | p. 49 |
| 2. Webb house from east, c.1914-1920. | p. 51 |
| 3. Webb house from west, c.1914-1920. | p. 53 |
| 4. Lady from Montreal feeding chickens, c.1928. | p. 55 |
| 5. Webb house from south-west, c.1930. | p. 57 |
| 6. Front garden, Webb house, c.1930. | p. 59 |
| 7. Hauling hay to barns, Webb farm, c.1932. | p. 61 |
| 8. Webb house, kitchen wing from north-west. | p. 63 |
| 9. Webb house from west. | p. 65 |
| 10. People on front lawn, Webb House, c. 1930 | p. 67 |

INTRODUCTION

The story of the Green Gables House is really two stories. Green Gables was the home of the fictional character Anne of Green Gables and as such existed only in the imagination of the early 20th century novelist L. M. Montgomery of Cavendish, Prince Edward Island. In real life the Green Gables House was one of the homes of a large family of MacNeills, late 18th century immigrants to Cavendish. This report is a narrow study of the house from both the fictional and the real life perspectives. The actual structural history of the house is discussed exclusively from a real life perspective while the interior and exterior landscape are examined from both perspectives.

In real life the house was the home of one branch of the MacNeill family from as early as 1831 and it remained in that name exclusively until shared as a home by Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Webb and family commencing in 1906. The last MacNeill to live there was Margaret and she died in 1924. The Webbs continued to live there, after 1936 as part of the Prince Edward Island National Park, until 1946.

I wish to express special thanks to Mary Burke who contributed time and support during all stages of research and production of this report. Also this report would not

have been possible without the cooperation of Miss Anita Webb of Toronto. Thanks to evidence and explanations furnished by Anita Webb with assistance on certain points procured voluntarily by her from brother Keith of Norval, Ontario; and sisters Marion, Mrs. Murray Laird also of Norval, Lorraine, Mrs. Harold Vessey of Ottawa, and Pauline, Mrs. Heber Jones of Charlottetown the following report is possible.

1. STRUCTURAL HISTORY

It is still impossible to assign exact dates to the construction of the various parts of the Green Gables house. It is known that David MacNeill Senior received the land on which the house is presently situated in 1831. It is believed that the kitchen wing of the house is much older than the rest, and was either constructed on the farm or moved there from a site closer to the shore after David received the land in 1831.¹

In its original state the kitchen wing could be described as a small building, the width of the present kitchen, with the main door to the outside on the west side. This door had a shed-roofed porch, which may or may not have extended along the entire west side of the building. The house was divided into two rooms, and there was a small, low sleeping-loft above them. Whether this small 'house' was merely the kitchen wing of another main house which has been replaced by the present structure, is unknown. There is no information at all on this, and the only grounds for speculation are that the present kitchen wing would make a very small house for a family of seven, which is what David Sr. eventually had. It would seem, given the 1831 land transaction and the 1838 and 1838 birth dates of children, David and Margaret, that David Sr. married in the early 1830's if not before.

It is believed that the main part of the house was constructed in the 1870's,² possibly by a Wyand man.³ It is possible that by this time David Sr. had given up the farm work to his second son, David. At any rate, in David Sr.'s will, dated 4 June 1887,⁴ David Jr. was left the farm of 135 acres. His sister Margaret, presumably the only other child left at home, was left a sum of money, and provision for a home and all necessities with her brother David. Thus the brother and sister continued to run the farm by themselves. Margaret MacNeill later became blind, and Myrtle MacNeill, daughter of a cousin of David and Margaret, came to live with them on the farm and help with the housework. During this time the farm became somewhat rundown through neglect, and it is doubtful that any structural changes took place at this time.

The earliest photograph of the house dates about 1895.⁵ It shows the house from the south-west, covering the south and west sides of the main house, and the west side of the kitchen wing. Notable is the fact that the shed-roofed porch extends along the entire west side of the kitchen wing, creating the unusual southward-facing niche with its handmade "South Door." The roof over this area, which can be seen to be in rather a poor state of repair, seems to have been simply continued from the main kitchen roof, thus creating the unusually long west slope.

Myrtle MacNeill married Ernest Webb at the Green Gables house in 1905. After a year spent with the Webb relatives in the western part of P.E.I., Ernest and Myrtle returned to Green Gables and took over the running of the farm, as David and Margaret were growing too old to manage on their own.

From 1906 to 1914 Green Gables was quite static, structurally speaking. Then, in 1914, Ernest Webb undertook the job of raising the roof over the kitchen wing, thus creating three additional bedrooms. There was a door cut into the north wall at the top of the stairs in the main part of the house, and this door led to a narrow passageway running the width of the kitchen wing. This passageway was lit by a six-paned window above the South Door, and had two doors entering the new upper kitchen area. One door was directly across from the door into the front hall, and allowed entry into the large bedroom on the east side of the kitchen wing. This was Myrtle and Ernest Webb's bedroom, and it extended from the passageway to the chimney. There was another door from this bedroom to the kitchen stair landing, and thus was the only means of getting from the kitchen stair landing to the upstairs front hall. The second door in the passageway gave access to the small south-west bedroom. The north-west bedroom opened onto the kitchen stair landing, as presently.⁶

This alteration was probably made because of the pressures of an increasing family. However, the extra bedroom space was quite useful when the lucrative practice of providing accommodation for summer visitors began, about 1920. Some other changes were made for this latter purpose about 1920. These included removal of the wall between the pantry and the south porch to provide a family dining-room and removal of the east-west partition between the two rooms in the main part of the kitchen, to create a larger dining-room for the summer visitors to dine.⁷ A note of interest regarding the family dining-room, or summer kitchen, as it was known: it encloses the cellar-way which, according to Miss Webb, has always been there, and is the only one there ever was. Yet in photo #1⁷ there is a structure under the two sitting-room windows which looks very much like an exterior cellar hatch. There is no further evidence to prove that it was a cellar hatch, or if it was, when it disappeared.

Even later changes, dating into the 1920's, include moving the kitchen door from the north-west porch to the east side of the kitchen, and the replacement of the door with a window on the west. It would seem that the exterior window trim on the downstairs kitchen windows was all replaced at this time, for consistency. The pointed roof over the front porch was lowered about this time,⁹ and inside the house the double doorway between the front room and the

sitting-room was created.¹⁰

Ongoing during the period 1906-1930 were cosmetic changes to the house and grounds including whitewashing and painting, gardening, and a general sprucing up of the property. Presumably a similar sort of work with paint and wallpaper was taking place indoors at the same time.

The Prince Edward Island National Park took over Green Gables in 1936, but the Webbs continued to use the kitchen wing, both upstairs and down, until 1946. During this period the major structural change was the addition of the bathroom in 1937 or 1938.¹¹ The bathroom was installed in part of the former large east bedroom in the kitchen wing. This created the passageway between the bathroom and the west kitchen, and the widening of the east dormer window from one to two windows, one in the bathroom and the other in the enlarged kitchen landing. Exterior changes of the period include the installation of shutters on most of the windows, the change of the windows in the main house from six-over-six to two-over-two sashes, and green paint on the gable and dormer peaks.

The installation of cupboards in the former back porch, and the boarding up of the summer kitchen door may also have been changes of this period. Further changes, including the new foundation and the change in access to the upstairs kitchen wing are much more recent, and are thus outside the range of this study.

2. INTERIOR AND FURNISHINGS

It is difficult to say with certainty how Green Gables was furnished before the park take-over, first because of the complete lack of photographs of the interior, and second because all of the original furniture, particularly the old family pieces, was removed from the house when the Webbs left. These pieces have either been distributed to various members of the family, or remain at the Webb house in Cavendish, the former Baptist manse. Therefore, this section of the report will deal with the functions and appearance of the various rooms in the house, as recalled by Anita Webb, daughter of Ernest and Myrtle Webb, b.1911, with such furnishings evidence as is available introduced into its proper room.

There is no known source of information on the appearance of the house as early as 1904-05, when Anne of Green Gables was written and when Myrtle MacNeill lived there with her cousins David and Margaret. Myrtle married Ernest Webb and they returned to take over the running of the farm in 1906. It is doubtful that many changes took place in the house interior for the first few years of their marriage. This would at first probably be for financial reasons, as the needs of a growing family would leave little for such luxuries as new furniture. Later, many of the old pieces of furniture which had been in the house in David and

Margaret's time would be kept for sentimental reasons. Of course, there may have been some loss through breakage while the family was growing up, and this would necessitate replacement.¹ Anita Webb feels that at the time of the writing of *Anne of Green Gables* the furniture in the house would be plain and rather sparse, with possibly some hand-made pieces.²

The room to the left as one enters *Green Gables* by the front door is referred to by Anita Webb as the front room. It was sparsely furnished with very old furniture, and she recalls that it often served as a bedroom when family members were ill. Miss Webb recalled a rocking-chair like the one now in the room, and a stove, though not like the one there, located in the same position.³ Guy Rollings of North Rustico owns a grapevine sofa and chair which is said to have come from *Green Gables*.⁴ Such furniture would surely have been located in the parlour.

The room beside the front room was used as a sitting room by the family, especially when the front room was being used as a bedroom, and in winter. Originally there was no connecting doorway between the two rooms, and the place of the doorway on the sitting room side was occupied by "Aunt Margaret's cupboard," a small cupboard with glass doors, used to store dishes. There was also a stove in this room, located by the cupboard. In later times this stove was a base burner.⁵ Some of the 1830 cane-seated

chairs described by Anita Webb may have been located in this room.⁶

The small room between the sitting-room and the kitchen was used as a dining-room by the family, until their numbers grew so large they could no longer be accommodated in so small a room. From then it was used as a pantry.⁷ There was a cupboard for dishes in this room.⁸ This small dining-room may have been the location of the six cane-seated chairs purchased by David MacNeill at Rev. John Geddie's sale in 1846. Two of these chairs have since been returned to the Geddie Memorial Church in New London by Mr. and Mrs. Webb.⁹

In the kitchen, an indentation in the west wall between the boarded-up door and the south-west corner of the room shows the location of the original door to the South Porch. This room was used as a dairy and cellar-way at first, and, being quite small, was probably unfurnished save as a work room. The churning was done in this room, and the Webbs had a big barrel-type tumble churn which was kept in this room.

The boarded-up door first led to the pantry, which was a narrow room, about twice the width of the doorway, and lined on either side with shelves. After the small dining room became the pantry the wall was removed between this room and the South Porch, and this larger room was used as

a family dining room in summer, and as a workroom in winter. It was never heated and thus could not be used for dining in winter. It was referred to after this change as the summer kitchen.¹⁰

The main part of the kitchen was originally divided in two with a partition running east and west just north of the chimney, creating a passageway along the north, separate from the kitchen proper. In the kitchen proper the stove and pump were located close to where they are today. The stove was not of the type there presently. The pump stand was a much more homemade-looking structure, with an iron sink, unlike the 'glorious' stripped pine structure where the pump is now installed.¹¹ The large cupboard on the east wall beside the door to the front hall was not there during the time the Webbs lived in the house. It seems to be the same date as the cupboards in the former back porch.

The passageway along the north end of the kitchen wing led from the back porch on the north-west corner to the kitchen door beside the stove. In the east end of this passage, lit by the north window under the kitchen stairs, the Webbs did their laundry. When the partition was removed, in the 1920's, the large room which resulted was used as a combined kitchen and dining-room, for guests in summer and for the family in winter. After the partition was removed, the space under the kitchen step was used by the Webbs for

hooking and quilting in the winter-time.

The back porch always had the window facing north. The back door came in where the west window is now. It was a typical farm back porch, with hooks for barn clothes, and a woodbox. After the door was shifted from the west to the east in the 1920's, the use of this room is unknown. The present cupboards were not added until after the park came in.¹²

In the upstairs front hall there always was a stove in the ell by the chimney, to heat the upstairs in winter.

The small room labelled "Matthew's" the Webbs always thought of as Anne's room. All of these rooms would have been wallpapered, to cover coarse plastered walls. The floorboards were painted, and covered with handmade rugs, or later with oilcloth squares. Miss Webb has a bed identical to that in "Anne's" room, which came out of the house -- it had been Uncle David's bed. The curtained arrangement for hanging clothes was one they always used in the house, in addition to the closet at the south end of the hall.¹³

Some of the older bedroom furniture which Miss Webb describes as having come from the house include another spool bed,¹⁴ and a bedroom set which L. M. Montgomery had given to Marion Webb when she was a child.¹⁵ After they

moved from Green Gables Mr. and Mrs. Webb sold some furniture privately, but this was mainly bedroom furniture which had been purchased when the kitchen roof was raised in 1914.¹⁶

Before 1914 the area above the kitchen was used for storage. When the roof was raised three bedrooms were created, a large one for Mr. and Mrs. Webb along the east side, and two small ones along the west. The furniture in the two bedrooms now open to the public Miss Webb feels is right in period for the rest of the house, though the furniture they had in these rooms was newer. They did, however, have such things as the small dresser-top mirrors, and washstands.¹⁷

As much of the furniture once in Green Gables is now in the Webb house in Cavendish, it should not be difficult to find similar pieces for the house. It does not seem to be necessary to have the original items of furniture themselves, as most visitors come to see "Anne's" house rather than the Webb home. In fact, it might be wise to follow L. M. Montgomery's furnishing blueprint as far as it goes, and fill in with Webb styles insofar as accuracy is desired.

3. INTERIOR AND FURNISHINGS FROM L. M. MONTGOMERY'S NOVELS

There are a few specific references to rooms and furnishings of the Green Gables house to be found in the novels of L. M. Montgomery. These references do not usually clash with reality, and so could be used as a guide for someone anxious to provide thousands of visitors with a more accurate experience of the site of the novels than is presently given.

Two of the rooms in the Green Gables of the novel are portrayed in particular detail, the kitchen, and Anne's bedroom. For the rest of the rooms we are given a smattering of information, mostly names, items of furniture, or hints on layout. With this we must be content, and attempt to fit these details to the physical reality of the house, noting any sources of disagreement.

The Green Gables kitchen was obviously as important a part of the house as it is in other Island farmhouses. It is described in some detail at the first of the book "Anne of Green Gables," before Anne herself enters the scene, in fact. It is characterized always as being cheerful but extremely clean. Its east window looks down the slope to the brook, and were the orchards and gardens which once surrounded the house still in their places today, they

would doubtless be visible from this window. A disagreement between fiction and fact arises over the placement of the other window, however. The only other real window in the room faces north, while the reference in the novel is to one on the west, looking out on the back yard. Now, the back yard does lie to the west of the kitchen wing, but the west wall of the kitchen is a completely interior wall, due to the porches which extend along that side, and which were in place as early as 1895.¹ If a west window once existed in the kitchen, no trace of it remains.

There is also mention made in this passage about the kitchen table being behind Marilla as she sat at the east window, knitting. This could be taken to mean that the table was placed along the east wall, between the window and the door leading to the front hall, if Marilla were facing north. It is not likely that the table was on the other side of the window, as the pump and stand have always been situated there, historically speaking. Another furnishings clue can be gained from the fact that Marilla was knitting in front of the east window, which indicates that there was a chair suitable for such activity there, or that the space under the window was empty, so that a chair could be pulled up from the kitchen table and used there.²

In other passages mention is made of plants on the kitchen window sill -- in one case an apple-scented geranium,³ and in the other a blossoming fuschia plant.⁴

Still in the kitchen, a couple of mentions are made of the kitchen stove, which was an "old-fashioned Waterloo,"⁵ presumably with a grate or window, for seeing the fire, about two or three feet off the floor, as Anne is later described as gazing into its flames from a Turk-fashion position on the hearth rug.⁶ At one point Matthew is said to be reposing on the kitchen sofa,⁷ which is described in a later novel as "shiny and leather covered."⁸ Mention is also made of the kitchen clock shelf, though its location is not given.⁹

Anne's bedroom is the other room in the house which receives a full description in the novels. It is described upon Anne's arrival and again four years later, showing the changes which Anne has brought to it. It is thus necessary to choose between these two descriptions in furnishing the room. Anne's room is the most important in the house for the readers of the books, and any variation from the description would be quickly noted by the serious Anne enthusiast.

The first mention of Anne's room is made when Marilla tries to decide where to put Anne to sleep the night she arrives. The 'kitchen chamber' had been readied for the boy they had been expecting.¹⁰ Marilla decides this kitchen chamber is unsuitable for Anne, but the spare room is too grand. She decides the midpoint is the east gable room.¹¹ Now, there are two bedrooms upstairs with windows

in the east gable, and it seems more likely that Anne, "stray waif" that she is, would be given the smaller of these two rooms, the north-east one. Another hint that this is the case could be the cherry tree outside Anne's window, since the cherry orchard was said to lie to the left, or north, of the house.¹² However, in a later passage when Matthew visits Anne in her room to persuade her to apologize to Mrs. Lynde, he must walk along the hall to her room,¹³ while the north-east room is located just at the top of the stairs.

In any case, the room to which Anne is assigned upon her arrival is very plain, with whitewashed walls and bare floor, except for a braided rug. "Bare" floor probably indicates exposed painted floorboards, which was the historical case in the house at the time. The room's furnishings were few: a high bed of dark wood, a small triangular table with mirror above, and a washstand, presumably holding a chamber set, opposite the window. A yellow chair is also mentioned, though its location is not given.¹⁴ There is no indication given of the type of coverings on the bed, though later it was noted that the bed had a feather tick.¹⁵ The window is covered by an "icy muslin frill"¹⁶ which probably means a white valance arrangement of some sort.¹⁶

Four years later, Anne has made some changes in her bedroom. The bare floor has been covered with a

"matting," which probably means a type of rush-woven covering. The window was "softened" with pale green "art-muslin" curtains, which may mean that they were draped and fastened rather than being left to hang straight. The window also had a blind. The walls were papered with an apple-blossom pattern, and the furniture was mainly painted white: the bookcase and the low bed. There is also a wicker rocker and a curtained toilet table, over which was a mirror with "chubby pink cupids and purple grapes painted over its arched top."¹⁷

Probably the better of these two descriptions to follow when furnishing Anne's room would be the second, since the visible manifestations of her character would be of greater interest to visitors.

The rest of the rooms in the house are not so thoroughly described. To continue on the upper floor, there are several other bedrooms mentioned in the novels. There is Marilla's room,¹⁸ the spare room,¹⁹ the west gable²⁰ and the north gable.²¹ These, together with Anne's east gable, make five rooms, while at Green Gables in 1904-05 there were only four rooms upstairs. This creates some difficulty in ascribing roles to the various rooms as they actually exist. The difficulty rests mainly in nomenclature. Each bedroom has one window, located either in the east or the west gable of the house. There is no evidence of north or south dormer windows in any of these rooms at any time.

Thus it is difficult to decide which of the two rooms with windows on the west, for instance, would be meant by 'west gable,' which was the room, in "Anne of Avonlea," where Davy Keith was put to sleep. Later in the same book the north gable room became Rachel Lynde's bedroom, and the spare room became her kitchen, which would necessitate having the chimney pass through the room. It is possible to avoid these problems by concentrating on Anne of Green Gables, thus keeping the spare room as a bedroom.

Marilla's bedroom is not described in any great detail in any of the L. M. Montgomery books. There is one indication that the window looked west, as there is mention of sunlight coming through the window in the afternoon.²² The only other information available on Marilla's room is mention of some items of furniture, namely the bureau²³ and a trunk.²⁴ There was a pin cushion on the bureau, probably a Victorian, highly-decorated one made for jewellery, and a china tray also.²⁵ The trunk was used for daily clothes storage, and so would be easily accessible; that is, not used as a table or in any way covered.

There are a couple of items of furniture mentioned as being in the spare room. These are pictures of George Whitefield and the Duke of Wellington, which hung in the room on either side of a good clear mirror, the only one in the house that didn't twist...[Anne's] face a little."²⁶

There are really no other descriptions of the upstairs bedrooms. Matthew's bedroom is mentioned briefly, but it is not upstairs. Presumably in deference to his heart condition,²⁷ Matthew sleeps downstairs in "a little bedroom off the hall."²⁸ Now the only room in the house which might meet this description is the small dining-room or pantry between the kitchen and the sitting-room,²⁹ though of course it is not off the hall. However, given visitors' familiarity with Matthew's heart problem it might be wise to consider setting up this or another ground-floor room as Matthew's bedroom.

The two rooms and front hall in the main part of the house fit quite well with the descriptions given in the Montgomery books. The hall is mentioned a couple of times, first, upon Anne's arrival, when Marilla sets Anne's hat and bag on the hall table,³⁰ and again when Anne rushed upstairs after her first meeting with Mrs. Lynde.³¹ On this latter occasion it is notable that the door from the kitchen to the hall was kept closed, and that this door was close enough to the porch to make pans hanging on the wall there rattle when the door was slammed. If the porch indicated by this is the south porch, then this may indeed be physically possible. If this porch was being used as a dairy, as it was during the Webb occupancy of the house,³² the pans may have been milk pans.

It would seem from the descriptions of the two

rooms in the main part of the house that their uses were as parlour and sitting-room, rather than parlour and dining-room as they are presently furnished.

The sitting-room was the one located across the hall from the kitchen. It has the two windows mentioned,³³ though there is no mantelpiece as such.³⁴ Mention is also often made of the sitting-room jam closet,³⁵ and this would seem to correspond with "Aunt Margaret's Cupboard" as referred to by the Webbs.³⁶ It is to this room that Anne is sent to find the illustrated card containing the Lord's Prayer,³⁷ and here she finds, hanging between the two windows, the chromo of "Christ Blessing Little Children."³⁸ No particular mention is made of the furniture in the sitting-room, though its use would seem to be that of a family parlour, which would indicate possibly shabbier or more comfortable furniture than that found in the more formal parlour. It is also possible that the sitting-room was used for serving tea on formal occasions, such as the visit of the minister and his wife,³⁹ thus there may have been a table which could be pulled out and set for such a purpose.

The parlour at Green Gables is described as being severe and gloomy. No doubt the gloom resulted from the practice of keeping little-used rooms darkened with blinds to prevent sun-fading. Also, the two windows in the room face east, so the room would get no direct sunlight past noon. As this was before the opening of the double doorway

between the parlour and the sitting-room, there would be no sun spill-over from the south windows in the sitting-room.

Despite the fact that it is so seldom used or mentioned in the novels, there is a considerable detailed description of the parlour furniture. There was a suite of horsehair furniture with white antimacassars, a polished table, a shining black mantelpiece, and a whatnot. Mention is made of a grate,⁴⁰ which may indicate a coal fireplace, though there is no evidence of one actually existing in the house. The two windows were covered with "stiff lace curtains."⁴¹

The only other room of the house which is mentioned in other than a cursory fashion is the pantry. Its location is not given, other than the fact that it was off the kitchen⁴² and had a window.⁴³ Here Anne often washed the dishes,⁴⁴ and the room was furnished with a table as well as shelves.⁴⁵

4. EXTERIOR AND LANDSCAPE SETTING

There have been a great many changes to the exterior and landscape setting of the Green Gables house since the park take-over; changes which render it almost unrecognizable as the setting for L. M. Montgomery's most famous series of novels. One must take into account that Montgomery has both admitted and denied that this particular house was the setting for the books;¹ however, examination of photographic and oral sources on the former appearance of Green Gables indicates that the two have a great deal in common. Some of the similarities rest on the simple fact that Green Gables had many of the elements typical of a Prince Edward Island farm site. Many of these elements have been removed, leaving only the house, a rather incongruous wooden monument in the middle of a golf course.

Some of the changes which have occurred to effect the transformation from farm to golf course include the removal of the farm buildings; the change in the slope of the land directly in front of the house, to accommodate #9 sand-trap; the removal of the fences and other boundaries denoting farm fields and yards; drastic changes in location or eradication of orchards, single trees, and other vegetation; change in the location of the lane; cosmetic changes to the house such as the addition of shutters and green paint on the gables and dormers; and the addition of parking

lots, pavement, gift shop, and other golfing necessities. These changes will be described in detail, and the original state fully outlined, in the following section.

Anne of Green Gables was written in 1904-05, and, according to the author, there were no revisions made after its completion, though it was not published until 1908.² Thus, the Green Gables described would date 1904-05. However, the house and grounds underwent a great many changes after 1906, when Ernest and Myrtle (MacNeill) Webb took over the farm and initiated a program of expansion, tidying up and modernization of the property. It is these changes, plus a lack of evidence, both photographic and oral, of the appearance of the house in 1904-05 which makes the establishment of a date for exterior restoration so difficult. The earliest photograph discovered of the house and grounds dates approximately 1895.³ It shows Green Gables looking rather neglected, the house unpainted, the roofs of some of the buildings patched and in a poor state of repair. There is a hiatus of some twenty years in the photographic evidence; the next photographs, dating after 1914 but before 1920, show some of the changes wrought by the Webb family.⁴ In particular these include the raising of the roof over the kitchen wing, the picket fence separating front and back yards, and the general painted and tidied up appearance of the house. The next photographs, dating after 1920,⁵ show additional structural changes, the movement of the kitchen

door from the west to the east side of the wing and the addition of a third west window where the door had been and the change in the roof over the front porch.

These exterior structural changes are not irreversible, but it is doubtful that the trouble and expense of removing them would add a great deal to the site. However, their presence necessitates a post-1920 cut-off date for the site. This is also necessitated by the fact that the major part of the evidence for the house's appearance comes from this period. Outside of these structural changes probably the only other changes were in the improvement of the general appearance of the house, buildings and grounds resulting from a combination of increased affluence, brought about in part by the summer tourist trade, and the assistance offered by a now growing-up family. This family's interests ranged from gardening to youth groups, and the size of Green Gables made it ideal for a meeting place for such organizations as the Young People's society. These changes in appearance of the property began in 1906, so it may be more desirable to establish a range date for the exterior appearance of the house, the range to be 1906-1920 or thereabouts.

We thus come to the examination of the photographic and oral evidence for the appearance of the house during this period. The earliest photograph, c.1895, shows the house from the south-west.⁶ It is unpainted. The windows of the main part of the house have six-over-six sashes. The

long shed roof on the west side of the kitchen wing covers the porch on the north-west corner, the pantry in the middle, and the porch-dairy-cellarway on the south-west corner, with its extant homemade door facing south. It is interesting to compare this early photograph with photo #5,⁷ taken from about the same angle, c.1930. The farm building nearest the house c.1895 has been removed, and another interesting feature is the screen door on the south-west porch outside the white-painted handmade door. It looks identical to the screen still on the main kitchen door.⁸

The two photographs which come next in age are photo #2⁹ and photo #3.¹⁰ Photo #2 shows Green Gables from the east. It has been painted or whitewashed white, with dark trim on the windows, corner boards, downspouts and barge boards. Some interesting features are the dark-shingled pointed roof over the front door, the rain barrel under the downspout in the corner between the kitchen wing and the main house, and the absence of the door on the north-east corner of the kitchen. This, together with the raised roof over the kitchen wing, dates the photograph as earlier than 1920 but after 1914.

Photo #3 shows the house from the west. It must date about the same as the last as the door to the kitchen faces west, and the roof has been raised. The dormer window in the kitchen shows the extant two-over-two vertically divided panes. It also shows the picket fence running

north from the kitchen wing.

Anita Webb, in discussing the exterior of the Green Gables house, feels that in the first part of her family's occupation of the farm the buildings would have been whitewashed; later the house would be painted. She recalls it as being white always with green trim.¹¹

Miss Webb states that the back yard, to the west of the house, was grass, and that on occasion the horses were allowed to pasture there, as were the sheep when they had any.¹² The picket fence¹³ dividing the front yard from the back would keep the animals out of the flowers in front. The rest of the back yard was fenced with wire,¹⁴ with gates where the lane entered the back yard in the north-east corner; where the lane ran through the woods to the south ("Lover's Lane"); and a small one to the barnyard, directly opposite the large doors in the barn.¹⁵ The large Balm-of-Gilead trees near the monument were the western boundary of the back yard and Miss Webb recalls a tansy patch there.¹⁶ There was a woodshed, first located where the monument is presently, then later moved over to the fence between the back yard and the barnyard.¹⁷

There was a gate in the north section of the picket fence, allowing admission from the back yard to the front. After the kitchen door was moved to the east side of the kitchen wing, there was a sandstone footpath running

from this gate to the kitchen door,¹⁸ though it did not extend to the front door. The front yard was also surrounded by a wire fence, and a wooden gate in the north-east corner led down through the pasture below the house to the brook.¹⁹ The front yard had at that time a gentle downward slope, like that still existing to the north or south of the front sand-trap. Below the area of the garden the land falls more steeply, and was used for a coasting hill by the Webb children.²⁰ The front yard fence was bordered by gardens on the north and east sides, enclosing a grass lawn with fruit and other trees. There were also flowers, mainly bushes rather than beds, close to the house. The grass was cut with sickles at first, later mown.²¹

The placement of flowers and trees which follows comes from Anita Webb's diagrams and oral evidence, and from photographs. Much of this information dates at least into the 1920's.

On the north end of the kitchen wing the grass ran from the house out to the side flower garden along the fence. There is no evidence of flower beds close to the house, though in one photograph²² the entire north wall is covered in vines, which might be hops. There was a row of lilac bushes running east-west along the fence, and a large Manitoba Maple close to the eastern gate in the fence, near the top of the north set of steps running down the hill in front of the house.²⁴ The beds along the north section of

fence were devoted to flowers close to the house; farther east was the kitchen garden.

Along the east side of the kitchen wing there were rose bushes. These, being low, would not obstruct the view from the kitchen windows. There were pink peony bushes on either side of the front door, and there was a sandstone step at the front door. The lawn again began at the house, and ran out to the wide border of flower beds along the east fence. There are some notable trees in this area, particularly a large "Wealthy" apple tree in the flower bed near the east gate,²⁵ and a large Acacia (Robina hispida) near the inner edge of the flower bed, near the front door.²⁶

Along the south side of the front yard fence there were lilac bushes, and then, rather than flower beds, the apple orchard was located between the lilacs and the lawn. There are only two trees left of this orchard, the Duchess in the sand-trap, and the large crabapple near the south-east corner of the house.²⁷ Besides the Wealthy, Duchess and crabapple varieties, Miss Webb recalls that there were also Strawberry and Ben Davis varieties,²⁸ and possibly others which she does not recall. The birch trees which are to the south of the house were there at the time of the Webbs, and there were also silver maples, close to the picket fence on that side.²⁹

There were flower beds along the south side of

the house, with rose bushes and other particularly sun worshipping flowers. There the earliest spring flowers bloomed also.³⁰

The gate in the east side of the fence led down to a log bridge across the brook -- a single log, located about where the present wooden bridge is. Here in the brook beside the bridge the Webbs kept their creamers in the summer. The Webb children used this route -- through the gate, down the hilly pasture to the log bridge, then through a path in the woods -- to go to school, which at that time was located beside the graveyard on the Mayfield road.³¹

The fence between the barnyard and the front yard extended down the hill to the brook; and the field to the north was used for pasturing young cattle. The field to the south was small and quite steep.³²

The buildings of the barnyard were located along the north and west, sheltering both the barnyard and the house from the winter weather. They consisted of a long barn running east and west, a hen house to the west of the barn, and a pig house, granary and wagon house running perpendicular to the hen house. The barn ran a bit farther east than the house does. The east end was used for hay storage for young cattle and as a horse stable. The large, southward-facing double doors in the barn were to the west of the centre of the building, and this shorter western

section was used as the cow barn.³³ The hen house was located at the west end of the barn, about where the present paved area south-west of the grass island in the parking lot is located. It was a small building, with an enclosure for the hens in front.³⁴ The pig and wagon house ran north and south from the south-west corner of the hen house, in a position just east of the present tea house. The pig pen and grainary were at the north end of this building, and the wagon house was at the south end, near where the lane branched into the barnyard.³⁵

The original Green Gables lane is still in existence, though it has had a lot of additional undergrowth since it has fallen into relative disuse. It begins on the Cavendish road, next to the Green Gables Bungalow Court, and runs south to the 'old orchard' -- possibly an early home site, there are still apple trees there. From there the lane used to turn to the south-east, toward the house, crossing what is now the #18 fairway. It branched at the fence between the back yard and the barnyard, the first crossing the back yard and running through the woods to the back of the farm, and the second entering the barnyard. There were fenced fields on both sides of the lane where it crossed the present fairway, and there were no trees along these fences, though there were large Balm-of-Gilead trees along the section from the road to the 'old orchard.' This north-south line along the lane continued south, marking

the property line between the Webbs and the Stewart property to the west.³⁶

5. EXTERIOR AND LANDSCAPE SETTING
FROM L. M. MONTGOMERY'S NOVELS

It is rather surprising to discover that, given the lavishness of the descriptions of nature to be found in L. M. Montgomery's novels, there is not a great deal of specific information about Green Gables and its surroundings. And, of course, not all of this is concrete evidence for restoration.

The Green Gables house itself is mentioned as a "big, rambling, orchard-embowered house,"¹ and there is a contradiction as to its colour. In one place it is "dimly white with blossoming trees in the twilight of the surrounding woods"² and in another it is "once green, rather faded now."³ In the first passage the whiteness may have come from the blossoms, though it seems doubtful that a green house would be visible for any distance with dark trees in the background. But then, if it were not painted green, where does the name come from? This is a puzzle which seems to have no answer in fiction.

The back yard and barnyard of the house in the novels seems to correspond to Green Gables to some degree. The back yard does lie to the west of the house⁴ and contains the woodpile.⁵ There was a gate from the back yard to the lane.⁶ In the barnyard there was a hen house⁷ and a barn, with a milking-pen behind it.⁸ There seems to have

been an outdoor cellar hatch to the south.⁹ There were Balm-of-Gilead trees and golden willows along the lane and some of the Balm-of-Gileads along the western boundary of the back yard, but there is no evidence for borders of willows and Lombardy Poplars as described.¹⁰ There was a back porch with sandstone step¹¹ up until the 1920's, located on the north-west corner of the kitchen wing. The room on the south-west corner, also with a door to the back yard and a sandstone step, was probably the dairy, as there is a description of a shelf of "milk pails and stewpans" over the cellar stairs,¹² and these are located in this room. Another mention of the back yard is of a pansy bed there which had to be saved from the hens.¹³ There is no information given on the location of the pansy bed, though it does indicate that the hens were allowed loose in the back yard.¹⁴ Again, currant bushes are said to grow in the back yard.¹⁵

By contrast the front yard is much more fully described in the novels, both because Anne's bedroom looks east over it, and because some of the action of the novels takes place there.

Anne first views the orchards and garden in the front yard on the morning after her arrival at Green Gables. She sees orchards in bloom on both sides of the house, one of cherry trees and one of apple trees, dandelions in the grass under the trees, and lilacs in the garden.¹⁶ Another passage tells us that the orchard to the left, or north,

was the cherry orchard, thus the apple trees grew to the south of the house.¹⁷

From descriptions of the house interior it would seem that most of the windows are covered with vines,¹⁸ though there is only one kind mentioned, and that is honeysuckle, at the parlour window.¹⁹ There are many kinds of flowers listed as being in the garden, though their locations are seldom given. These include roses, peonies, bluebells, snowballs, ferns, yellow poppies,²⁰ lilies-of-the-valley,²¹ cabbage roses,²² Madonna lilies,²³ sweet peas,²⁴ June lilies (narcissus),²⁵ and red poppies.²⁶ Mention is also made of annuals, but their kinds are not given.²⁷ At the front door mint was planted,²⁸ and there was a stone bench by the door with a row of pink and yellow hollyhocks behind it.²⁹

A description and list of flowers is also given for the Barry garden, and these might also be used for more variety in the Green Gables garden, particularly in the area of perennials, as many of the above named flowers are bush or clump types. The flowers are described as those that love the shade, and include tiger lilies, bleeding-heart, red peonies, white narcissi, Scotch roses, pink and blue and white colombines, lilac Bouncing Bets, southern-wood, ribbon grass, purple Adam-and-Eve, daffodils. white sweet clover, scarlet lightning, and white musk.³⁰

There are three varieties of apple trees given

for the Green Gables orchard; summer apples,³¹ Red Sweetings,³² and Yellow Duchess.³³ There could certainly have been other varieties. No such information is given for the cherry trees.

Some description is given of the farm lands, though not in terms of layout so much as general landscape. Again, the view of the farm begins at the east gable bedroom window. Below the garden Anne sees a green field sloping down to a brook bordered by birch trees, and a spruce woods climbing the hill on the other side of the brook. Off to the left she sees the barns, then the fields of the farm, and beyond that, the sea.³⁴ The brook below the garden was crossed by a bridge made of a single log, and a path up through the woods was a short-cut to Orchard Slope, the home of Anne's friend Diana Barry.³⁵ The brook had a spring in the hollow near the log bridge, which Anne called the Dryad's Bubble.³⁶ It was bordered with smooth sandstones.³⁷

Of course, the Lake of Shining Waters which figures so largely in the novels, should be located to the north-east of the house, and should run north and south, crossed by the Cavendish road. However, this feature has been transplanted, by the novelist, from Park Corner, and has no parallel in the Cavendish area.

Another feature of the Green Gables landscape which receives a great deal of attention in the novels is

Lovers Lane. This is the extension of the farm lane which goes through the woods to the south of the house to the back of the farm. It was used for taking the cows to the back pasture in summer and hauling wood home in winter, as well as for many 'nature walks' for Anne herself.³⁸

ENDNOTESStructural History

1. Prince Edward Island. Public Archives, Land Registry Records, L.47, F.284.
2. Fenner Stewart, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 9, S1-290. Mr. Stewart says kitchen part of house was built approximately 170 years ago. This, like so much other information on the 19th century life of the house, lacks substantiation.
3. Anita Webb, Interview Notes, September 10, 1978.
4. Prince Edward Island. Public Archives, Probate Court Records, Charlottetown, L.13, F.215.
5. Photo #1, Negative #7, Film #1, Webb Collection. "Photo #1" refers to one of the 10 photos reproduced in this report. Film and negative numbers refer to the films used in the Pictorial Inventory, September 1978. Note that the following though used in this report were not specifically named as part of the Inventory: Photos numbered 2, 3, 5, 8 and 9.
6. Anita Webb, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 11, S1-022.
7. Ibid., S.-109.
8. Negative #7, Film #1, Webb Collection.
9. See Photo #2, Negative #8, Film #3, and Negative #12, Film #1, Webb Collection for illustration of these changes.
10. Anita Webb, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 11, S1-022.
11. Ibid., S1-350.

Interior and Furnishings

1. Correspondence, Anita Webb, January 26, 1979.
2. Anita Webb, Interview Notes, July 1978.
3. Anita Webb, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 11, S1-022.

4. Guy Rollings, Park Files, 1972.
5. Anita Webb, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 11, S1-050.
6. Correspondence, Anita Webb, January 26, 1979. Mrs. Louise Lowther, Miss Webb's niece, has two of these chairs.
7. Anita Webb, P.E.I.O.H. Tape. No. 11, S1-098.
8. Ibid., S1-174. Miss Webb has bottom part of this cupboard.
9. Correspondence, Anita Webb, January 26, 1979. Two more of these chairs are in Miss Webb's collection, in the house in Cavendish.
10. Anita Webb, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 11, S1-109.
11. Ibid., S1-217.
12. Ibid., S1.190.
13. Ibid., S1-310-416.
14. This bed was given to Keith Webb when he married and later passed to Wilbur Wright of Bedeque. Correspondence, Anita Webb, January 26, 1979.
15. Correspondence, Anita Webb, January 26, 1979. This bedroom set is still with Marion in Norval, Ontario.
16. Ibid.
17. Anita Webb, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 11, S2-010.

Interior and Furnishings from L. M. Montgomery's Novels

1. Photo #1, Negative #7, Film #1, Webb Collection.
2. Lucy Maude Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, Ryerson Press 1967, pp. 4-5. "The kitchen at Green Gables was a cheerful apartment -- or would have been cheerful if it had not been so painfully clean as to give it something of the appearance of an unused parlour. Its windows looked east and west; through the west one, looking out on the backyard, came a flood of mellow June sunlight; but the east one, whence you got a glimpse of the bloom white cherry-trees in the left orchard and nodding, slender birches down in the hollow by the brook, was

greened over by a tangle of vines. Here sat Marilla Cuthbert...knitting, and the table behind her was laid for supper."

3. Ibid., p. 38.
4. Ibid., p. 85.
5. Ibid., p. 148.
6. Ibid., p. 253.
7. Ibid., p. 148.
8. L. M. Montgomery, Anne of Avonlea, Ryerson Press 1969, p. 173.
9. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 148.
10. The kitchen chamber would be the loft area over the kitchen wing, which, before expansion by the Webbs, would have been a long room, with sloping walls on two sides, reached only by the back, or kitchen, stairs. In a reference in a later novel (Anne of Avonlea, p. 228), it is noted that this chamber had one window, presumably in the north gable.
11. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 29.
12. Ibid., pp. 4-5, see note 2.
13. Ibid., p. 75.
14. Ibid., pp. 29-30.
15. Ibid., p. 37.
16. Ibid., p. 30.
17. Ibid., pp. 281-82.
18. Ibid., p. 101.
19. Ibid., p. 29.
20. Montgomery, Anne of Avonlea, p. 79.
21. Ibid., p. 304.
22. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 108.
23. Ibid., p. 102.

24. Ibid., p. 108.
25. Ibid., p. 102.
26. L. M. Montgomery, Anne of the Island, Ryerson Press 1969, p. 3.
27. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 7.
28. Ibid., p. 75.
29. See Interior and Furnishings section.
30. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 28.
31. Ibid., p. 69.
32. See Interior and Furnishings section.
33. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 60.
34. Ibid., p. 150; L. M. Montgomery, Anne of Windy Poplars, McClelland and Stewart 1973, p. 186.
35. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, pp. 129, 131, 135, 150; Anne of Avonlea, p. 187.
36. See Interior and Furnishings section.
37. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 59.
38. Ibid., p. 60.
39. Ibid., p. 75. "Once in a while he (Matthew) ventured into the parlour or sitting room when the minister came to tea." Naturally the minister would 'sit' in the parlour rather than in the less formal sitting room, so possibly, for greater formality, the tea table would be set in the sitting room rather than the kitchen. No mention is ever made of a dining-room at Green Gables.
40. Montgomery, Anne of Avonlea, p. 183.
41. Ibid., pp. 183-84.
42. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 160.
43. Montgomery, Anne of Avonlea, p. 228.
44. Ibid., p. 188.

Exterior and Landscape Setting

1. Mollie Gillen, The Wheel of Things, Fitzhenry and Whiteside 1975, p. 180.
2. L. M. Montgomery, The Alpine Path in "Everywoman's World," Vol. VII, No. 9 (September 1917).
3. Photo #1, (Negative #7, Film #2, Webb Collection).
4. Photo #2 (Negative #8, Film #3) and Photo #3 (Negative #10, Film #3).
5. Photo #5, Negative #26, Film #2, c. 1930.
Photo #8, Negative #21, Film #1, Webb Collection.
Photo #9, Negative #9, Film #2, Webb Collection.
6. Photo #1, Negative #7, Film #2, Webb Collection.
7. Photo #5, Negative #26, Film #2, Webb Collection.
8. Photo #10, Negative #15, Film #2, Post Park. This door is shown much more clearly in a photograph from Film #2 of the Webb Collection, Negative #15.
9. Photo #2, Negative #8, Film #3, c. 1914-1920.
10. Photo #3, Negative #10, Film #3, c. 1914-1920.
11. Anita Webb, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 11, S2-340.
12. Correspondence, Anita Webb, April 2, 1978.
13. Photo #5 shows this fence clearly.
14. Photos 3 and 9 as well as 5 show the depth of the back yard.
15. Interview Notes, Anita Webb, March 1978.
16. Anita Webb, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 11, S2-375.
17. Ibid., S2-375. Photo #9 shows the woodshed and also a cottage to the south of the house. The family outhouse was located east of Lover's Lane at the edge of the woods. It is hidden by the woodshed in this photo.
18. Anita Webb, Interview Notes, March 1978.
19. Photo #6 (Negative #15, Film #1) shows this gate.

20. Anita Webb, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 11, S2-270.
21. Correspondence, Anita Webb, April 2, 1978.
22. Photo #8.
23. Anita Webb, Interview Notes, March 1978.
24. Anita Webb, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 11, S2-350.
25. Photo #6 shows the flower beds and an apple tree.
26. Anita Webb, Interview Notes, March 1978.
27. Anita Webb, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 11, S2-217.
28. Anita Webb, Interview Notes, March 1978.
29. Ibid. Also P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 11, S2-217.
30. Anita Webb, Interview Notes, March 1978.
31. Anita Webb, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 11, S2-305.
32. Ibid., S2-217.
33. Ibid., S2-475. Also Interview Notes, March 1978.
34. Photo #4, Negative #23, Film #1, c. 1928.
35. Anita Webb, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 11, S2-475.
36. Ibid., S2-445.

Exterior and Landscape Setting From L. M. Montgomery's Novels

1. L. M. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, Ryerson Press 1967, p. 3.
2. Ibid., p. 23.
3. Montgomery, Anne of the Island, p. 67.
4. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, pp. 4, 206.
5. Ibid., pp. 95, 206.
6. Ibid., p. 39.
7. Montgomery, Anne of the Island, p. 174; Anne of Avonlea, p. 276.

8. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 95.
9. Montgomery, Anne of Avonlea, pp. 318-19.
10. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 4. "Very green and neat and precise was that backyard, set about on one side with great patriarchial willows and on the other with prim Lombardies."
11. Montgomery, Anne of Avonlea, p. 193.
12. Montgomery, Anne of the Island, p. 169.
13. Montgomery, Anne of Avonlea, pp. 318-19.
14. Ibid., p. 276.
15. Montgomery, Anne of Windy Poplars, p. 225.
16. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, pp. 33-34.
17. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
18. Ibid., pp. 4-5. "but the east (kitchen window)...was greened over by a tangle of vines."
 Ibid., p. 60. "The white and green light strained through apple trees and clustering vines outside (the sitting room windows)."
 Ibid., p. 108. "...the sunlight, falling through the vines that clustered thickly about the window (of Marilla's bedroom)...."
19. Montgomery, Anne of Avonlea, p. 184.
20. Ibid., pp. 183-84.
21. Montgomery, Anne of the Island, p. 292.
22. Montgomery, Anne of Windy Poplars, p. 225.
23. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 105.
24. Ibid., p. 296.
25. Montgomery, Anne of Windy Poplars, p. 225.
26. Montgomery, Anne of Avonlea, p. 1.
27. Ibid., p. 283.
28. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 325.

29. Ibid., p. 326.
30. Ibid., p. 91.
31. Ibid., p. 197.
32. Ibid., p. 130.
33. Montgomery, Anne of Avonlea, p. 275.
34. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 34.
35. Ibid., p. 90.
36. Ibid., p. 182.
37. Ibid., p. 67.
38. Ibid., p. 112.

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Anita Webb, Tape No. 11, August, 1978. Ania Webb, Interview Notes, March 1978, July 1978 and September 1978.

Anita Webb.

Personal Collection of Green Gables Photographs, c. 1896-1946.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Photo 1

MacNeill Homestead from south-west, c.1895

Courtesy Anita Webb
See Pictorial Inventory: Webb Collection,
Film 2, Negative #7

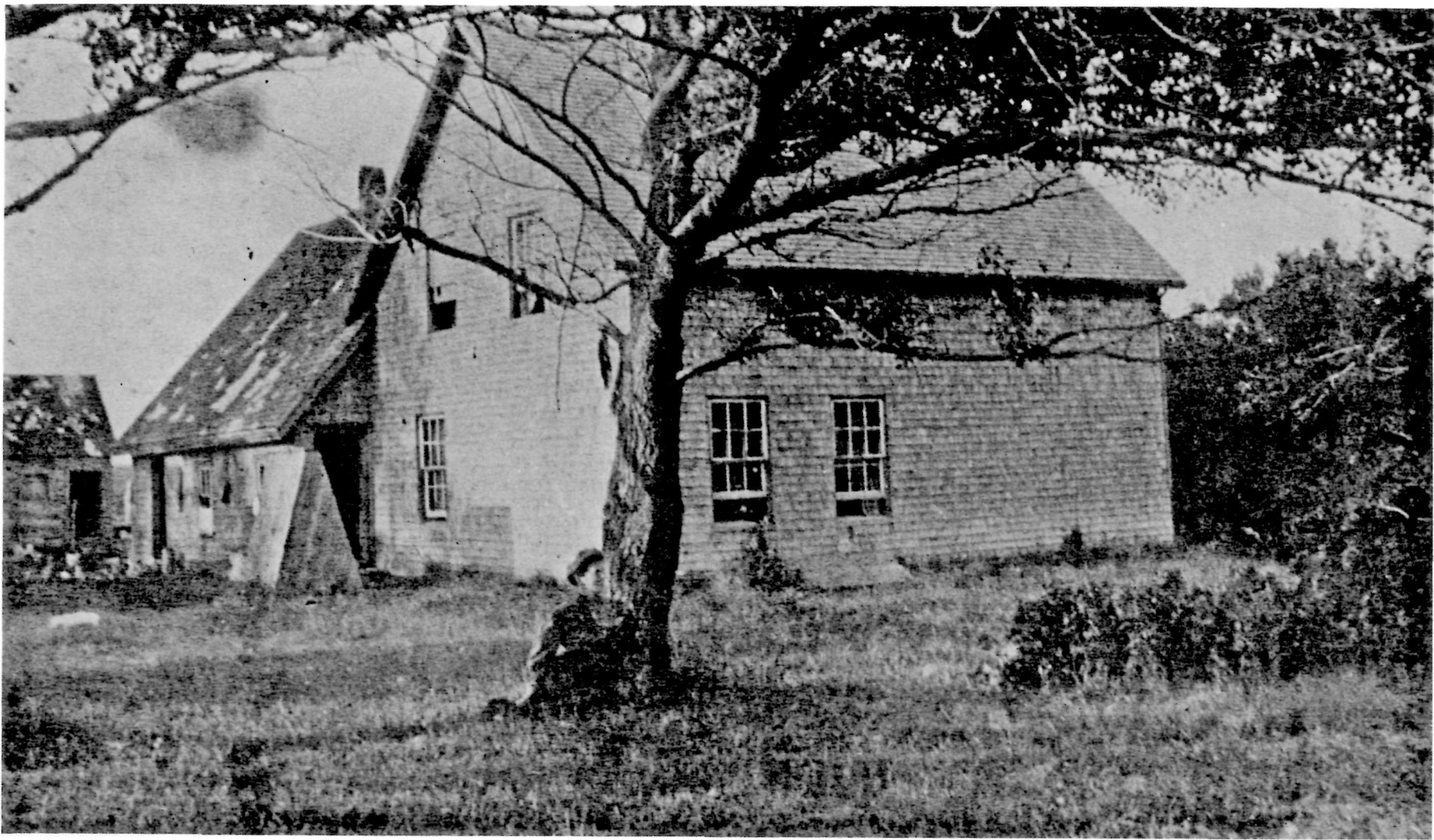


Photo 2

Webb house from east, c.1914-1920

Courtesy Anita Webb
See Pictorial Inventory: Webb Collection,
Film 3, Negative #8



Photo 3

Webb house from west, c.1914-1920

Courtesy Anita Webb

See Pictorial Inventory: Webb Collection,
Film 3, Negative #10



Photo 4

Lady from Montreal feeding chickens
north-west of Webb house, c.1928

Courtesy Anita Webb
See Pictorial Inventory: Webb Collection,
Film 1, Negative #23



Photo 5

Webb house from south-west, c.1930

Courtesy Anita Webb

See Pictorial Inventory: Webb Collection

Film 2, Negative #26

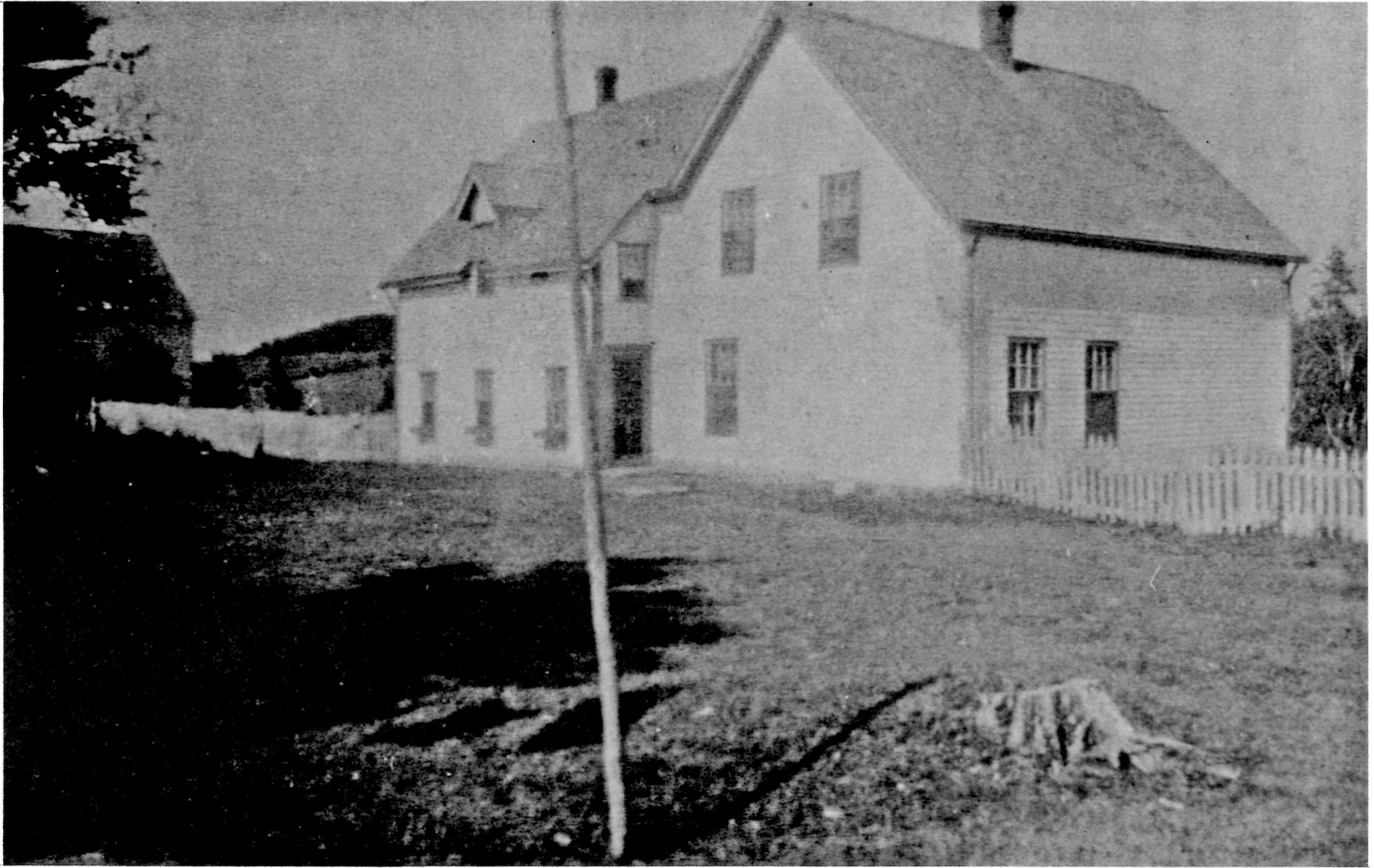


Photo 6

Front garden, Webb house, c.1930

Courtesy Anita Webb

See Pictorial Inventory: Webb Collection

Film 1, Negative #15

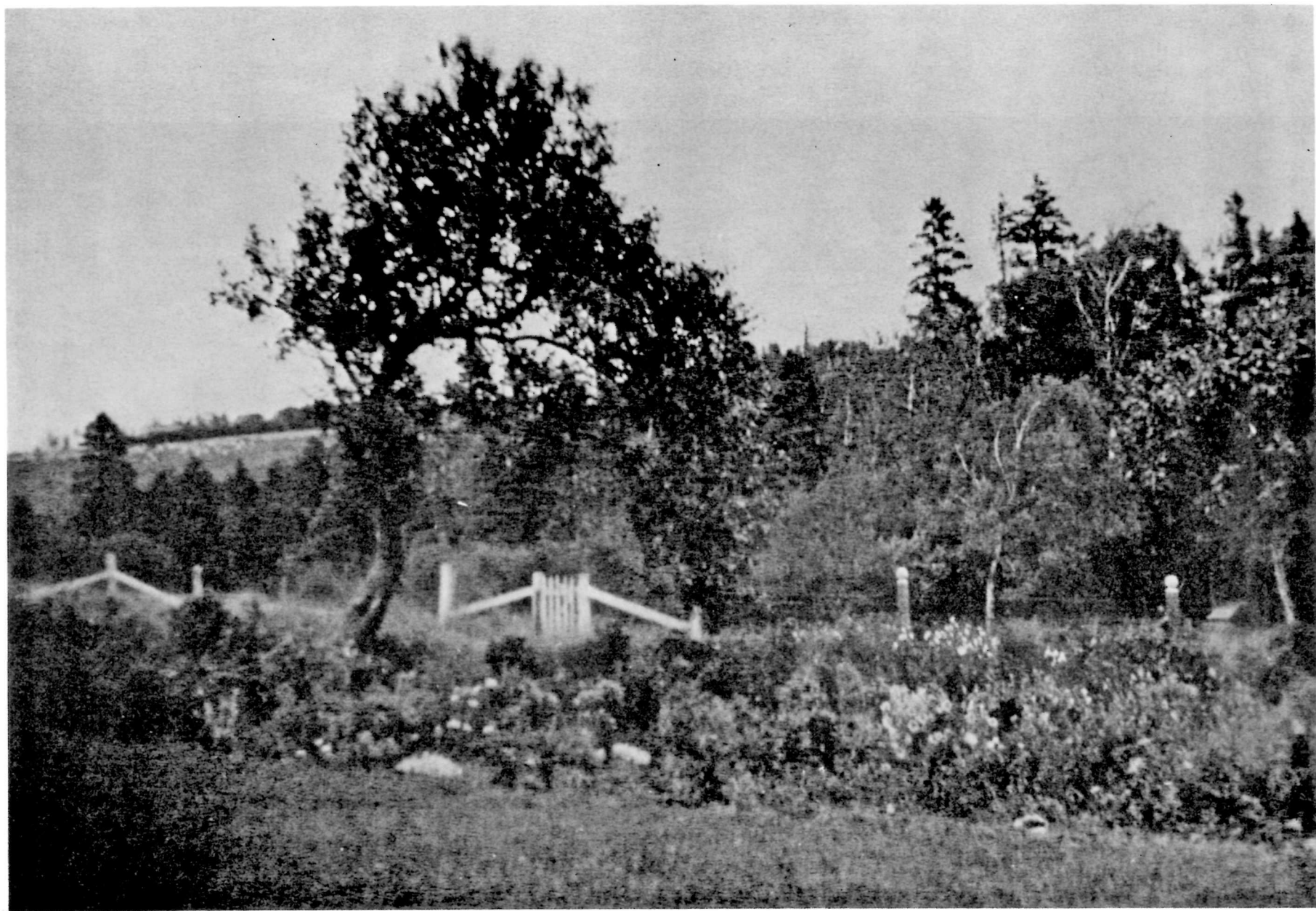


Photo 7

Hauling hay to barns, Webb farm, c.1932

Courtesy Anita Webb

See Pictorial Inventory: Webb Collection

Film 2, Negative #22

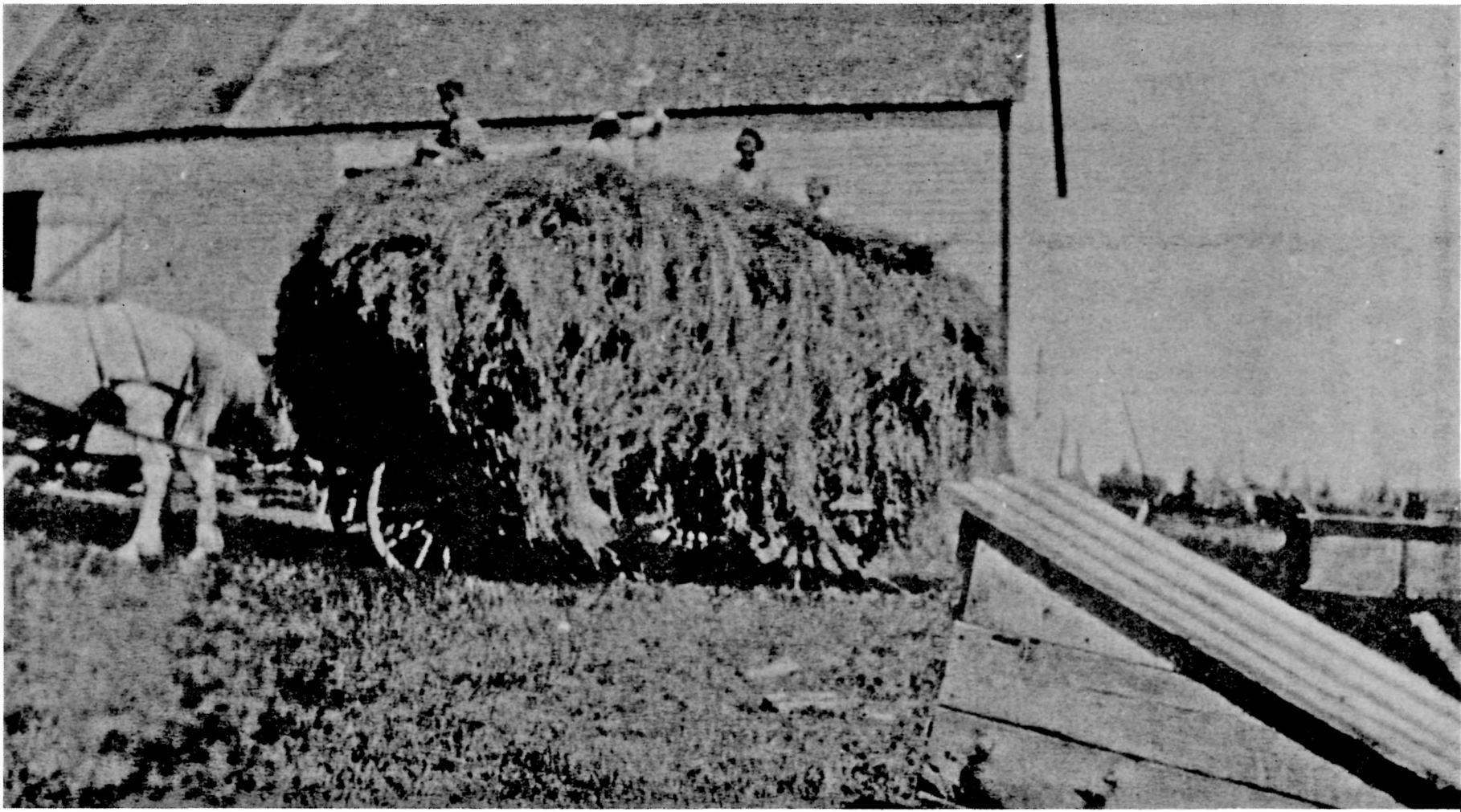


Photo 8

Webb house kitchen wing from north-west, c.1935

Courtesy Anita Webb

See Pictorial Inventory: Webb Collection

Film 1, Negative #21



Photo 9

Webb house from west, c.1919

Courtesy Anita Webb

See Pictorial Inventory: Webb Collection

Film 2, Negative #9



Photo 10

People on front lawn, Webb house, c.1930

Courtesy Anita Webb

See Pictorial Inventory: Webb Collection

Film 1, Negative #12



HUMAN HISTORY,
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND NATIONAL PARK
by Fred Horne with
research assistance from
Eleanor Lamont
1979

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page	
1	Introduction: Human History, Prince Edward Island National Park
v	List of Illustrations
2	Settlement Theme: Human Activity to Early 20th Century
3	Indian Period
5	French Period
8	British Colonial Period
17	The Immigrants
24	Elements of the Area's Social History
32	Farming Theme
32	French-Acadian Period
33	Early English Farming to 1825
37	New Era 1826-1860
41	High Farming 1840's and 1850's
47	High Farming Achieved 1860-1890
50	New Dairy Industry and Mixed Farming 1890-1941
55	Mixed Farming and Robinson's Island
71	Farming: Conclusion
74	Fishing Theme
74	Introduction
75	The Fishery to 1850
78	1850-1890
85	Fishing: Conclusion
86	Shipbuilding Theme
86	Introduction
89	Number of Vessels Built
96	Shipbuilders, Owners and Yards
103	Community Impact
109	Tourism Theme
109	Introduction
112	The Age of Leisure
124	The Wealthiest of All
127	Farmers -- Open Your Homes
130	Goodbye Horse and Buggy
133	Tourism: Conclusion
136	Park Theme
137	Lobbying for the Park
140	Legislation and Choice of Site

TABLE OF CONTENTS

(continued)

Page	
136	Park Theme
142	Background to the Park Issue
142	Tourism Growth, 1920's and 1930's
143	Island Political Situation
145	Establishing the Park
156	The Aftermath
156	Immediate
158	Long Term
159	Appendix A: Lot 23, Land Ownership
176	Endnotes
209	Bibliography
216	Illustrations

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Page	
217	Road Map, P.E.I., 1942
219	Map of Lot 35, c.1800
221	Map of the Island of St. John, 1775
223	Road from Stanhope Road to Covehead
225	Prince Edward Island, 1851
227	Robinson family, c.1901
229	L. M. Montgomery, c.1920
231	Cleveland Robinson in boat
233	Cranberry Harvest, c.1933
235	Map of Shipbuilding Sites
237	Shaw's Hotel, Brackley, 1891
239	Residence of Alexander MacDonald, 1896
241	Seaside Hotel
243	Mackerel Fishing

HUMAN HISTORY, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND NATIONAL PARK

The north shore of Prince Edward Island is an area which has a long history, in Island terms, of human activity. When in 1936 the Prince Edward Island National Park was placed along the twenty-six miles of sand dunes and sandstone banks between New London and Tracadie Bays the area took on a new identity. It became for Islanders and visitors alike more of a resort area than it had ever been before. What follows is a history of human activity, or more precisely human activities, which took place in the immediate area of the National Park (see Figure 1). Though Indian and French activities are mentioned the bulk of the report deals with the period after the English conquest. The story begins with settlement, continues through the development of industrial activities and ends with the establishment of the park. Each activity is treated as a separate theme making the whole a series of chronologically overlapping themes. The following study places in better perspective the role of the park area in the Island's history.

SETTLEMENT THEME

Human Activity to Early 20th Century

The settlement theme outlines the growth of human activity in the area now known as the Prince Edward Island National Park. The human history of the area consists of two historical periods: the Indian beginning eighteen thousand years ago and ending when Jacques Cartier recorded his discovery of the Island in 1534; and the European from that time until the high point of British settlement about 1880. The European period consists of the French era to 1758 and the English period immediately afterward. Integrated with the chronology of English settlement to 1880 are details of the social history of the area. The chronology of settlement is then dropped and the discussion of the period 1880 to mid-20th century is based on a few of the socially significant facts of life in the park area. A social history of the area was intended as a separate theme; however, the material collected during the course of this study combined with the published materials readily applicable to the area did not warrant such a theme. There are, however, elements of social history integrated into all themes but it is left to this point to mention the more obvious questions of religion, education, socializing and other every day aspects of life in the area.

Indian Period 11,000 B.C. 1534 A.D.

Thirteen thousand years ago Maritime Canada was no longer ice covered. When the ice age receded it revealed that Prince Edward Island was joined by land with New Brunswick. The first evidence of human activity places a Paleo-Indian site at Debert, Nova Scotia 10,600 years ago. The Paleo-Indians came from continental North America and had moved into the area apparently as far as present day Prince Edward Island at this time. Evidence of their presence has been found at Basin Head, Prince Edward Island, an area quite similar in its sand dunes and shore line to the park area.¹ The Paleo-Indians may have lived on Prince Edward Island but no evidence of activity in the park area has surfaced.

The Paleo Indians disappeared from the area either through extinction or assimilation into a new people which moved into Maritime Canada about 3,500 B.C. They came up the eastern seaboard of the United States. These people were the Shellfish People so named because of their propensity to leave heaps of shells behind them when moving from camp to camp. They lived along Prince Edward Island's north shore very likely in the Rustico Island area as evidenced by shell heaps in the banks unearthed by erosion from the sea.² The Shellfish People existed until about the time of Christ when a group of Eastern Algonquins or Micmac moved into the area. It is not known if the Shellfish People were

conquered or assimilated by the Micmac.

The Micmac, the third group to occupy the area, lived in almost all parts of the Maritimes until the contact period with the European explorers and fishermen. Contact occurred during the 15th and 16th centuries and before this time they at least summered on the Island. It has not been proved conclusively among historians that the Micmac did not winter on Prince Edward Island. At the contact period a very rough estimate of the native population that the Island supported on a permanent basis would be between 350 and 600 people. It was a subsistence food gathering economy and the population dropped to about 300 during the British Colonial period.³

The Micmac summered on Prince Edward Island preferring the park area bays because the sand bars across their entrance offered protection. One source gives the name Tapo Toiten meaning "double entrance" for the Rustico Bay area, an important Micmac area.⁴ Large camps were set up along the beaches in the area with favourite camp sites having been "inhabited every summer for thousands of years. Wigwams were placed in a single row just above the high water mark."⁵ Both socializing round good food, and the serious business of inter-tribal affairs were conducted on the beach as the Micmac, a nomadic people, moved their whole existence for the summer.

Micmac activities in and around the park area were frequent and well established by the time the contact period occurred. Travel was easy along the many Island waterways. "From Rocky Point the Micmac canoed up the Hillsborough River and then, near Glenroy, portaged about two miles to Tracadie Bay."⁶ The Island belonged to the Micmac until after contact with the Europeans. The Micmac existence changed as they were forced to share the Island. No specific information as to relations in the park area is available as the new Europeans recorded little of the movements of the Micmac. The role of the Micmac in the park area seems to diminish probably for lack of record as significantly as for a lack or more accurately a change of their role in relation to the area. The Micmac were no longer the dominant force in the area. Their existence was further complicated by the wines and brandies introduced by the French and the reserves introduced by the English.

The French Period 1534-1758

Attempts at populating Prince Edward Island in the early 18th century were made by the French. Isle St. Jean was the name used by the French and so it remained until the English gained possession in 1763 by the terms of the Peace of Paris. Just as it signified the end of French domination in North America it brought an end to the French Regime in Prince Edward Island and it severely set back the

progress the French and Acadian had made in settling the Island. In 1758 there were estimated to be 5,000 persons resident on the Island. This number was reduced to approximately 300 in 1763; the level it had been at in 1720 the first year for which there are figures.

The greater part of the growth in population during the period 1720-1758 was not gradual, in fact the increase was quite sudden occurring during the 1750's when the Acadians began to flee their homeland first because of the increased presence of the British after the founding of Halifax in 1749 and secondly because the British expelled from their homeland many of their numbers in 1755. This resulted in a sudden increase of some 2,000 people between 1748 and 1755, followed by an increase of 2,000 more over the following three years.⁷

Prior to the great influx of Acadians the populations grew quite gradually reaching only 735 in 1748. Isle St. Jean was all but totally neglected by the French being used as a food supply source for Louisburg. Settlement was concentrated in two main areas: Port La Joie on the south shore and St. Pierre on the north. The former offered a deep sheltered defensible harbour while the latter, located on a much more shallow bay, was an ideal fishing station. Outside these areas there were a few scattered settlements along the north, east and south coastlines of the Island. Before the French were driven from the area there were

three sites of settlement along the north shore in the area now part of the Prince Edward Island National Park. They were Tracadie, Etang des Berges, and Rassicot.

Tracadie was the earliest inhabited locale in the park area having a grand total of 4 families numbering 20 persons all of whom had arrived in 1728 from Acadia.⁸ In 1730 the effects of a bounteous growing season were felt among the few subsistence farmers of Tracadie. Thirty hogsheads of grain were produced. By 1731 the settlers had only increased by two families yet they were reportedly well on their way to self-support having found the land fertile once cleared of the large oak found there.⁹ Tracadie was surviving, its location being an important factor in its early occupation. French settlement seemed to spread up the East River, known under the English as the Hillsborough River. From the upper reaches of the East River it was not far overland to the southern shores of the Tracadie Bay. This dividing land of no more distance than two miles was the same one mentioned previously as being used by the Indians. It was a natural conveniently short portage or carrying place as it is referred to in Figure 2. This figure also indicates the location of Etang des Berges named on the map Etang du Barge. Known by the English as Stanhope this place did not thrive as a French settlement and it was later getting started than was Tracadie. De la Roque's census of 1752 is the first record of the area and

it states that only two families were found there.

Tracadie's population was 64 persons by 1752, an average of 8 to a family, which indicates how very slowly the French were developing the area.

The third settlement made by the French in the park area was at Rustico called at that time Rassicot after Rene Rassicot who came there from Normandy as early as 1724.¹⁰ As in the case of Tracadie there were few residents of Rustico during most of the French regime. The place had so little importance that it is not mentioned in the Census of Sieur de La Roque taken in 1752. Unfortunately neither this census nor the census of 1753 list Rustico and they are the last before the deportation. The full effect of the influx of Acadians on Rustico is not known. Ten years after the deportation there were only 25 persons at Rustico Bay but with the increases in population prior to the deportation it seems only reasonable to assume there were many more who had settled there between 1755 and 1758. The French at Tracadie suffered a similar fate, their numbers having been reduced to 57 persons, some of them involved in the fishery as were the Rustico Bay residents.¹¹

The British Colonial Period

The Seven Years War took its toll on Prince Edward Island. In 1758 the French and Acadians were deported with little justification according to many historians.

"Whatever justification there may have been for the expulsion of the Acadians from Nova Scotia in 1755...there was none for the deportation of the Acadians in St. John's Island in 1758."¹² All human suffering aside, the state of the Island's development was set back years by the deportation. Where there was a population of some 5,000 souls in 1758 there were only a few hundred when the British gained possession in 1763. The 12 year period from 1758 until the first substantial British settlement began in 1770 was an almost totally unproductive period in terms of immigration. Moreover it would take the British more than thirty years to about 1805 before it can safely be said the population equalled what the French and Acadians had achieved.

Very little immigration was achieved during the 12 years to 1770 however one very important event did take place, the Island of St. John was surveyed by Captain Samuel Holland in 1764-65. It divided the Island into townships, parishes and counties, the most important division being the 67 townships or lots. The townships were assigned by means of a lottery conducted by the Board of Trade and Plantations and so it was that 67 tracts of land, most in the 20,000 acre range were doled out to persons owed favours by the British Government.¹³ In return for the lands the proprietors had to agree to several terms and conditions. They agreed to pay quit rents to the Crown; to reserve acreages for church and and schools; to settle the

lots within 10 years to a density of one person for each two hundred acres and with persons who were protestants from outside British Dominions. Also the proprietors faced forfeiture if after four years they had not settled 1/3 of the land.¹⁴ No proprietor was in the business to lose money thus the people they brought to the land became the source of the quit rent revenues. Immigrants who were searching to escape the tyranny of the feudal system in Great Britain were coming to the wrong place when they embarked for the Island of St. John in the late 18th century. Little wonder that British settlement proceeded so slowly during the period as it would have taken a combination of desperation on the part of both proprietors and the immigrants if the Island were to be populated. Nonetheless a few immigrants did arrive during the 1770's. The land system though did not produce the revenue to the Crown it was supposed to with the result being the fiscal poverty of the Colonial Government on top of a poverty of numbers of immigrants. The proprietors generally did not live up to their agreements to populate the townships; however, some of the park area townships were to a degree the exception.

There are five townships which are of concern in the park area and they are number 23 (Cavendish area), 24 (Rustico area), 33 (Brackley Point area), 34 (Covehead-Stanhope) and 35 (Tracadie area). Although these townships stretch considerably further south than the area directly

affected by the park they provide a reference point used by most statistical and descriptive analyses from the time of the survey (see Figure 3). It can be seen from Figure 3 that the townships of concern are bounded on the West by township twenty-two which fronts on Grenville Bay (New London Bay) and on the East by township thirty-six which fronts on Bedford Bay (Tracadie Bay). Between these are Harris Bay (Rustico Bay) and Harrington Bay (Covehead Bay). Early immigrants did not have the benefit of such maps, instead they were confronted with a sprawling bay with flatlands behind it in the Bedford Bay area while to the west they were confronted by slightly more rolling lands which developed into high sandstone cliffs in the Cavendish area. Flowing into the bays were many streams and rivers though no river save the Hillsborough River with its mouth at Charlottetown Harbour on the south side was of any appreciable size. A passage written in 1806 describes the geographic features the immigrants were up against.

Though some parts of the coast have a low flat look, the greatest part of the face of the country is much waived and often rises into beautiful swells, and being much intersected with arms of the sea, creeks and rivulets presents everywhere a vast variety of fine situations for building and improvements. The heads of the rivers and creeks are all more or less bordered by salt marshes, producing annually large crops of strong nutritious grass, without trouble or cultivation....¹⁵

In another place the above writer described Grenville, Harris and Bedford Bays as "barred" referring to the first

salient feature of the area encountered by vessels of immigrants. There were sand bars and sandhills almost obscuring the narrow entrances to the Bays.¹⁶

In the early days of settlement of the Island descriptions similar to Stewart's quoted above helped attract immigrants to the Island of St. John. The north shore area was the only area outside Charlottetown, the colonial capital, where any people had arrived to take up the farmland. Settlement along that shore ranged from Malpeque in the west to St. Peters Bay in the east during the 1770's. The principal groups in the park area were the Acadians of Rustico, the Montgomery settlers of Covehead, and the MacDonald Highlanders of Tracadie. Very minor attempts had been made at populating the Cavendish area as early as the 1770's.

The settlement of township number 23 was begun about 1772 when a retired military man named William Winter received a grant of the township from Walter Patterson, Governor of the colony. Winter moved his family to some location in the Cavendish-North Rustico area close to the eastern boundary of his township. It was not until the year 1790 that another family moved to the area so it lay dormant while settlement developed in townships to the east.

Immediately to the east was township twenty-four where there was a heavy Acadian population which had a parish at South Rustico soon after the British take-over

and Father James MacDonald, a Highland Priest, administered to their needs until his death in 1785.¹⁷ Their numbers grew, meanwhile township 24 was owned by proprietors Francis MacLean and Charles Lee, who did not care to bring colonists to the area. Until the late 1780's when the township was sold the Acadians were therefore left alone not bothered by persons wishing to collect quit rents on behalf of the proprietors.

The greatest activity occurring in the park area during the 1770's occurred in townships 34 and 35; the former under the auspices of James Montgomery, Lord Advocate for Scotland, and the latter by Highlander John MacDonald, Laird of Glenalldale. Immigrants brought by both these gentlemen not only got the settlement of these townships started, some spilled over into neighbouring townships such as township 33 in the case of the Montgomery people. It is safe to say that because of the effects of these two proprietors much of the significant advances made in north shore settlement in the 18th century came about. Excepting efforts by merchant and proprietor Robert Clark in township 21, the New London area, these were the first major British efforts at settling Prince Edward Island.

James William Montgomery (1767-1803) was an influential Scot who owned several townships, but it was on township 34 that he concentrated his efforts at making his investment pay. Montgomery was at once one of the better

proprietors in terms of encouraging settlers and one of those who perceived the venture as a business proposition. It was a business venture that did not pay however, largely because much of any proprietor's time was spent in "...the Island's legal and political machinations" thus the improvement of the holdings suffered as did those of other proprietors for similar reasons.¹⁹

Montgomery was more than a man who sought to make a successful business of settling township 34, he was also very well known as an innovative agriculturist responsible for introduction of "horse hoeing and advanced horse-breeding practices." He was a businessman more than a developer and he was serving as Lord Advocate for Scotland at the time of his becoming involved in Prince Edward Island lands. As such he controlled large amounts of patronage thus Montgomery must have had considerable means to draw upon to choose the people he wanted to live in Prince Edward Island. Yet on the Island Montgomery was plagued by the antics of his agents David Higgins and David Lawson. Of the two it was Lawson who was most involved in township 34 as it was there that he administered Stanhope Farm on behalf of Montgomery.

Lawson accordingly went to St. John in 1770 and carried some servants with him to that part of the Country where he resided, and established a very good farm upon which he made several trials of Flax, which answered his expectation in all respects, but the soil proved unfit for the growth of Hemp, which requires a rich deep soil, the reverse of which is the soil of the Island.²¹

This excerpt from a letter to Governor Fanning reveals Montgomery's tendency toward experimentation and innovation in agriculture. Unfortunately for Lawson, a Perthshire flax farmer, he signed up on a profit sharing basis for a term of 7 years during which time he and the 50 servants he had with him were to have produced a profit to be shared with Montgomery. Simply put there was no profit to be made and Montgomery's more elaborate plan to develop production of raw material such as timber and fish as well as flax to supply Scottish manufacturies did not materialize.²²

Part of the reason for the failure of Montgomery's overall endeavours lay in Lawson's management of Stanhope Farm. Lawson was a farmer, not a manager or bookkeeper, and after years of Lawson's failure to forward quit rents²³ Montgomery authorized his son who was stationed at Halifax to act on his behalf. On the Island he found that Lawson

had received payment of all rents and of the Cattle, and money advanced to Settlers, and that he had never paid any Quit rents, and on the whole judging it improper to employ him further, granted a Power of Attorney to a Mr. Douglas, at that time appointed Comptroller of the Customs
....²⁴

The failure on Lawson's part was hardly all his fault, circumstance played a part. For instance from 1772 to 1777 a water powered grist mill had to be built three times because of fire and floods before on the third attempt it was finally stabilized.²⁵ There were successes amidst the failures as Stanhope Farm did well, consisting of a large

70' by 20' house, a large barn, 100 acres clear, and "breeding herds of cattle, sheep, horses and pigs" in 1774, only four years after its beginning. As such Stanhope Farm represents a success unequalled in the park area in the early 1770's. Unfortunately the servants took advantage of the generous terms under which they worked the land (unlike tenant farmers), cashing in their indentures after 4 years and scattering with their share of the farm's assets including good breeding stock.²⁶

Stanhope Farm went to new tenants after Lawson was evicted in late 1788 and the irksome Montgomery-Lawson affair was eventually brought to a close.²⁷ The new tenants were an American Loyalist family headed by Stephen Bovyer. From the beginning of Stanhope Farm it was recognized as a relatively more intensive campaign to settle the area than was occurring in other areas of the Island. It succeeded in getting some people to the area and the farm stood on its own for awhile however in the long run it was plagued by large and, because of Montgomery's system of increasing rents based on the expectation of increased revenue, higher rents. The Bovyers, for example, could not pay the 50 pounds sterling per annum because there were insufficient markets for their produce which compounded the already desperate situation caused by a severe lack of cash on the Island.²⁸

The communities of Stanhope, Covehead and to a degree Brackley Point, (some stragglers went there) got their start as a result of Montgomery's settlement efforts in lot 34. This contribution was an accomplishment that got that area of the Island off to a start years before other areas did and in a fashion atypical in its intensity and seriousness. For his efforts in bringing members of the Scottish labouring classes to Prince Edward Island Montgomery is perceived as a more commendable proprietor than others and though a product of his time i.e. an investor more than a developer, he deserves credit for his accomplishment.

Fifty settlers had been transported and supplied, a large (by Island standards) but unprofitable farm had been created, a series of unsuccessful business ventures had been attempted and the losses put on someone else's account.²⁹

Most importantly people had been brought to the area so that the Island benefitted under difficult circumstances by a businessman's interest.

The Immigrants

Caught among all assessments of early attempts at settling the island were the immigrants. Described as the "labouring poor" in Montgomery's case many were glad to be caught up in what was the beginning of a period of substantial Scottish emigration to North America. The results are evident in the park area as Scottish settlers eventually

populated the Cavendish and Brackley Point areas as well as Montgomery's Stanhope and John MacDonald, Laird of Glenalladale's Tracadie. The people brought to Tracadie in 1772 by John MacDonald were 200 Catholic Highlanders who had suffered bitter persecution in the Western Highlands.³⁰ English and Irish immigrants arrived much later in the park area. The former were always trickling in with a known concentration in the South or 'Anglo' Rustico area during the first couple of decades of the 19th century. At the same time a group of immigrants arrived in New Glasgow area whose origins were in the vicinity of Glasgow, Scotland. The first half of the 19th century was a period of rapid growth in population on the Island generally and it was during this time that Irish immigration occurred especially in the 1840's at the time of the Irish potato famine. By 1921 people of Irish origin were living in park area townships 34, 35, 24 and 23 moreso in the first two than in the latter. An area of Irish concentration was located to the west of lot 23 in the Hope River area.³¹

Population statistics and general descriptions³² for the townships during the British Colonial period reveal the growth in services both social and economic as well as the growth in population.³³ Township 35 had, for instance, in 1798 a population of only 131 persons, many of whom would have been connected with the MacDonald Highlanders. The situation was similar in other townships, number 34 had

a population of 158 souls, number 33 had 67 people, number 24 had 237 people, and township 23 had a population of 45 people. The total for all park area townships was 638, not very impressive considering it represented 30 years work by the British. Over the subsequent 30 years the picture improved dramatically as the total reached 3,998, over 4 times the 1798 level. The most heavily populated areas were lots 34 and 24 and these remained so until mid-century at which time lot 34 fell behind lot 23 while lot 24 maintained the largest population.

Meanwhile the Island's population was increasing at roughly the same rate as that of park area townships rising from roughly 7,000 in 1805 to 47,000 in 1841. The increased population during the first half of the century was due to the combination of natural increases and increased immigration.³⁴ The early 1800's was the period when the Island filled up. The increases which occurred from 1841 to 1861 and brought a further 30,000 persons to the Island helped populate only the remaining interior regions as other areas were populated by the 1850's. Roads and other services such as mills and stores were well established by the 1850's. Figure 5, the H. J. Cundall surveys 1851, registers a number of landmarks in the park area. Of note are the several mills, roads, bridges, and locations where ferries would have to have been used in the park area.

One of the earlier examples of new roads is the 1824 map of the road in Covehead (Figure 4). When compared with Figure 2 , the late 18th century map of lot 35 made originally for Hon. Alex. Maitland but later added to the property of Capt. John MacDonald, it shows the growth of settlement and transportation systems in the area. In the earlier case there were no roads, only portages while by 1824 the authorities were bothering to survey such a short piece of road as the one pictured at Covehead in Figure 4 . The surveying and mapping of new roads established by the 1820's continued through the 1850's as indicated on Figure 5 . This map indicates the network of roads in place by 1851, placed there by means of Statute Labour. Between 1770 and 1820 there are many references to the appointments of road overseers and the application of Statute Labour in various petitions to Executive Council recorded in Executive Council Minutes. The first survey of the park area, Captain Samuel Holland's effort of 1765, was published in 1775 and it approximates trails or 'roads' to the north shores of lots 34 and 33 (Figure 3). The cluster of buildings in the Stanhope area would seem to represent Stanhope Farm while those at Tracadie represent the settlement of Capt. John MacDonald's Highlanders.³⁵

The greater population achieved during the early 19th century was accompanied by petitions for services and favours by residents to Government however Government was

no more active than to appoint overseers of roads and grant occasional requests. For example David Lawson's petition for a grant of Rustico Island is recorded in a Minute of Executive Council 11 October 1774. The request was granted under the condition that part of each end be reserved to supply ten tons of hay for the use of an innkeeper at Stanhope.³⁶ In another case Executive Council agreed to a plan of a bridge over Winter River (Chapel Creek), Rustico, laid before it together with a proposal that the inhabitants of Rustico would complete the bridge in lieu of the current year's statute labour.³⁷ The statute labour system was the only means people had of building roads and the system lasted until well into the 20th century, notably in the 1920's and 1930's in its application to "breaking the roads" after a heavy winter snowfall. The roads, mills and churches as registered on the foregoing map served an expanding population which by 1855 had reached the following totals in park area townships: 1753 in lot 23; 2,212 in lot 24; 1,091 in lot 33; 1,502 in lot 34; and 1,194 in lot 35.

The growth in population occurring on the Island during the British Colonial period occurred in spite of a very important issue -- the land question.³⁸ In 1767 the British Colonial Office held a lottery by which influential persons in Britain became owners of the townships into which the Island had been divided by Capt. Samuel Holland two years earlier. The land question arose because the

Island could well have done without this feudal system of land ownership and the people who thought so questioned the success of the system which required that the proprietors, as a condition of their possession, bring out a quota of immigrants to clear and occupy their townships. These tenants would lease the lands paying quit rents according to the quality of lands leased. In the meantime most of the proprietors remained in London and if they had any interest at all in their agreement they appointed an agent in the colony to collect the rents for them. The park area townships are unusual in respect of proprietor interest as illustrated during the foregoing discussion on James Montgomery and also as indicated by the dominant presence of Capt. John MacDonald in township 35. Very little land on Prince Edward Island was owned by occupants and this remained the case until after 1873 when one of the terms by which the colony joined Confederation was the Canadian Government's contribution toward the purchase of the proprietors' lands. Throughout the British Colonial Period successive administrations tried various approaches to the problem but the proprietors held so much influence with the British Colonial Office that no solution resulted. Little wonder that the right to own the land one occupied dominated the political scene for the duration of the British Colonial period.

Park area townships averaged about 20,000 acres in

size and as late as 1848 high percentages were leased, not owned, by tenants. The land holding system, whether by freehold or by any of a number of leasing arrangements, varied from township to township. A greater number of straight leases existed in lots 35, 34 and 23 while more variations existed in lots 24 and 33 indicating that proprietors may have had a tighter hold on their lands in the latter cases. In lot 35 only 4,000 acres were owned (held in fee simple) by occupants while 11,600 acres were leased. The remaining acreage was held under separate and varying agreements with the proprietor. In township 24 on the other hand the acreage held in fee simple was about half the total leased; however, the varying types of agreements such as 'verbal agreement' where the proprietor still had the upper hand added significantly to the number of leased acres. The end result in township 24 was proprietor domination but with less direct leases thus it takes on merely an administrative difference.³⁹

The solution of the land question came with Confederation as the Canadian Government provided the funds necessary to purchase the townships still owned by the 'absentee' proprietors. Prince Edward Island was characterized, in the 1870's, and indeed remained so into the 20th century, by an agricultural landscape punctuated by tiny villages and crossroads. The beginnings of this picture of the Island can be seen in Figure 5, and over the thirty years 1850 to 1880 the villages developed into the entities

portrayed in Meacham's Atlas 1880. The villages apparently existed to serve the agricultural area surrounding each.

Elements of the area's Social History

L. M. Montgomery, author of several novels, the most famous being Anne of Green Gables, was born in New London in 1874 and lived most of her life until her marriage in 1911 at her grandmother's house in Cavendish. Because of her literary work Prince Edward Island and the Cavendish area in particular gained a reputation as a "calm and peaceful" rural landscape. Absent were the harsh days of the struggle for local land ownership and the struggle for responsible government. Still dominant though was the independence nurtured by a hundred years of separate colonial government. The population of the province had peaked at 110,000 in the late 1880's several years before Montgomery wrote her first book in 1904-05. Montgomery's writings are based in the social history⁴⁰ of a densely populated Island which had seen great changes in its political status only a few years previously. The political changes meant little in the daily existence of most Islanders, rather their lives revolved around local people and happenings. The church, whether Catholic or Protestant, was a dominant fact in the lives of people and education was an issue in the late 19th century, particularly as it related to religion. In as much as religion separated the people of 19th century Prince

Edward Island it created two basic groups, Catholic and non-Catholic in the park area.

The Island has remained one of the most densely populated areas of the country since the late 19th century. This has meant a number of things in terms of the people and their social milieu in the Prince Edward Island National Park area. In the first place the park area covers a very broad area of Island central north shore. There are 26 miles of parkland straddling five townships and four bays along which there once were as many as 30 post offices⁴¹ (circa 1900) and almost as many school districts. Clusters of buildings at bridges, wharves or cross roads formed the basis of communities such as New Glasgow, Oyster Bed and Covehead. This highly decentralized society was at its peak between 1880 and the first World War in the Island generally. Park area residents recalled longingly the latter part of this period and the very beginnings of the new age brought by telephone, electricity and motorized transportation which arrived after the first World War.

The very fact there were so many post offices, schools and churches (10 between Cavendish and Tracadie Cross in 1851, Figure 5) in the park area meant that people didn't have to move out of their immediate communities for the necessities. People did not have to be as mobile so that a child in Cavendish in the 1890's for instance considered it a treat to go to Charlottetown or as

was more likely the case to Summerside.⁴² Indeed young children stayed home for the longer journeys, their travelling being restricted to the occasional trip to New Glasgow, a going concern at the time.

New Glasgow was a typical very busy country village before the turn of the century. It provided a number of services from tailoring, to blacksmithing, to undertaking. It was the shipbuilding era which had led to the build-up of New Glasgow while the railway's arrival in Hunter River in 1873 eventually contributed to the decline of New Glasgow although many shops and services continued to be located there after the turn of the century.⁴³ New Glasgow always had a doctor and in the 1890's it gained a cheese factory, adding to its prominence. In many ways New Glasgow served a wide area from Cavendish to Oyster Bed. Rivals included North Rustico and Rusticoville, but they served more as landing and shipping ports as well as fishing centres. New Glasgow was a village which supplied most needs while a trip to Charlottetown was only necessary once or twice per year. As to other village centres in the late 19th century there were few that reached the proportions that New Glasgow did. To the west of the park area Stanley Bridge was a substantial community, important for shipping and also having a cheese factory in addition to the usual village services. To the east of New Glasgow Commercial

Cross (South Rustico) was most similar yet offering fewer services than was New Glasgow.⁴⁴ Commercial Cross was more of an Acadian area although there were several English families, hence the name Anglo Rustico.⁴⁵ New Glasgow has a far greater English settled area to draw from.

The Acadian and English were two separate societies in the 19th century, as much because of the religious difference as the language difference. There were certain areas that were English and certain that were French. In Rusticoville for instance at the turn of the century the west side of the Hunter River was Acadian and the east was English. The English of the east side extended to South Rustico where another strong dividing line existed. The Acadian of the west side extended to the present day North Rustico proper area where another dividing line existed.⁴⁶ In short the area bounded on the west by Cavendish and on the east by Brackley Point was an area where a maximum potential existed for relationships between the French and English not only in terms of the park area but in terms of the Island generally. Individual and personal relationships between the two seemed to be good at most times however it was only about 30 years ago that group barriers between the two began to break down. The end result, in terms of the factors of concern to some older residents of the area, has been a decrease in the amount of French spoken, an increase in the number of French names and families, and a decrease in the

number of Protestants in areas such as South Rustico where sizeable representation actually settled.⁴⁷ These things began to happen gradually starting about the first twenty years of the 20th century.

The fact that the English and Acadians began to become somewhat less socially separated facilitated greater mingling between Catholics and Protestants because the Catholic population was largely Acadian. Even as early as the turn of the century, in Cavendish, children of some Protestant families who were not too strict were allowed to mingle and be friends with Catholic children; however, it is doubtful that these Catholics were Acadian, more likely they were Irish from the Hope River area immediately west of Bayview-Cavendish area.

The role of the Acadians in Cavendish seems fairly clear-cut from a number of sources including the writing of L. M. Montgomery.⁴⁸ The people of Cavendish as did the English of surrounding districts recognized the Acadian characteristics of a willingness to work for very little pay.⁴⁹ There was little evidence collected in the course of this study to indicate that the Acadian labourer was any different than other labourers, it was just that large numbers of Acadians lived close-by. As far as can be determined with little evidence a labourer was just as liable to sleep in the loft regardless of his racial origin.

The role of the hired man in the early 20th century society of the park area is an interesting characteristic of that society. There is suggested in the statements of several informants a kind of floating labour pool from which a more or less steady hired man could be chosen.⁵⁰ Not only were hired men available but so were transients. Robinson's Island seems to have been an especially popular area with transients as Wilbur Robinson recalls that wanderers would come to people's houses and just stay -- "no board, no nothing."⁵¹ He names a favourite visitor, Morgan Henchy, whose presence in their private home is particularly clear by the fact that his favourite chair was nicknamed Morgan Henchy's chair. Figure 6 shows preparations for a photo session at the Robinson's home with the family clustering together and Morgan Henchy's chair off to the left. Whether or not he was in fact present and intended to be in the photo is not important, the fact was he had started a family tradition.

The fact that a transient such as Morgan Henchy was welcomed at the Robinson home on Robinson's Island is not surprising since indications are that homes used to be more open to visitors and strangers. The Robinson home is a particularly good example not only of this but of the popularity it enjoyed as a place for socializing especially during winter when it was easy to reach by the ice. Among the social events that mattered to people of the park area

in the early 20th century were locally produced plays and concerts, the art of story telling among a group of friends, and visitation within communities.⁵² Several informants named popular party-places within their own social circles.⁵³ The circle of friends was smaller in those days with a popular local tradition being for individual families to simply visit a number of homes within the community once or twice during the year.⁵⁴ In the cases of larger parties similar to those held on Robinson's Island for example in the 1920's and 1930's, persons would gather from outside communities such as South Rustico, Winsloe Road, Brackley Point Road and sometimes from as far as Covehead.⁵⁵

Social life in the park area at the turn of the century varied from English areas to French areas and from Protestant to Catholic. The common factor in all milieus at the time and for the latter half of the 19th century was the density of population. There was a variety of places that one could visit for a party, card playing or gossip in winter or picnics in summer. The circle of friends seemed all the smaller because there was so much that could be done in terms of socializing within the communities. Human activity in the park area was at a peak in terms of active participants and presumably in terms of intensity after complete settlement of the land was reached in the mid to latter 19th century. Although the picture had changed somewhat because of automobiles and improved transportation by

the time the Prince Edward Island National Park arrived in 1936 the basic communities were still intact. There were hold-overs from the shipbuilding era such as New Glasgow and Wheatley River which were finding new sustenance in the agricultural strength of the area after the turn of the century. But all north shore or park area communities were losing their position due to innovations begun by the introduction of the railway and the increased emphasis on over-land transport resulting thereby. The park area strengths lay in limited harbours once adequate in the days of sail for export and import which became totally obsolete by the time the park was established. Thus the many small bustling farming and fishing communities, though still intact, were in the 1930's a part of the past in a centralizing society.

FARMING THEME

French-Acadian Period

Agricultural activity during the French-Acadian period was limited on the Island, especially in the present-day park area. One exception to this was at Bedford Bay, where a considerable settlement flourished, and where agriculture played a prominent part.¹ There, considerable lands were cleared, allowing agriculture to become much better established than in either of the present-day Rustico or Stanhope areas.² With the strong emphasis in the Bedford to Rustico area on the fishery, however, it is not surprising that agriculture was not as well-developed here as compared with the Island as a whole.

No accurate record of land areas cleared by the French and Acadians is available, though Warburton puts it at ten to eleven thousand acres. One of the attractions of the Bedford and Stanhope areas, and one which retarded land clearing, was the large area of marshland. "The principal agricultural settlements were in the neighborhood of marshlands, where the settlers could procure food for their cattle."⁴

The quantity of produce from Acadian farms is difficult to calculate, though it is known that they did produce sizeable crops of wheat and other cereals. One plausible

estimate of productivity mentions a figure of slightly greater than fifteen or sixteen bushels of wheat to the acre.⁵ Unfortunately the Acadians, and the British who followed, did not practice any conservation methods, with the result that certain areas were 'cropped out.'⁶ In addition to this exhausted land, the British who followed received the much maligned⁷ livestock of the French. This livestock existed because the Acadians who were not deported salvaged what they could. The slow rate of English settlement brought significance to what had been salvaged. The Acadians' shipments to Louisbourg, the vital French fortress on Isle Royale (Cape Breton), never amounted to much though the intention was quite the opposite. Before a steady, productive relationship could develop the Acadians were forced in 1758 to flee their cultivated lands in the face of British deportations of some of their number. The only park area in which the Acadian population managed to survive the calamity was Rustico, where seven years later a parish was formed among the several French families who had either fled to the area, or returned to their small quantities of cleared lands later. The Acadian people never returned to Tracadie or Stanhope.

Early English Farming to 1825

Very few changes took place in farming during the first three quarters of a century of British occupation on

Prince Edward Island. Indeed until the 1850's farming was still considered a subsistence occupation, still in the pioneering and clearing stage. The change in nationality of the farmers brought with it few technological changes. The immigrants used what implements they had brought with them, which in the 18th century did not differ significantly from those of their French-Acadian predecessors. Prince Edward Island was behind the rest of British North America in application of the new technology and theories of animal husbandry at a time when such was being equated with success in agriculture.⁹

It was not until the 1827 population census was published that information useful in measuring farming activity became available. Prior to this only miscellaneous descriptions of early settlement provide some hint of early farming activity. Among the suggested farming centres of the day were Tryon, Belfast, Grand River and Dunk River.¹⁰ The absence of a park area location probably indicates that farming was less developed in that area, though outstanding efforts such as Stanhope Farm existed (see Settlement Theme).

Farmers were almost certainly isolated during this early period, particularly those in north shore communities such as Cavendish, Rustico, and to a lesser degree Stanhope, which was linked to Charlottetown by one of the first roads on the Island, in service since the 1780's. This isolation naturally restricted the flow of knowledge and information

on improvements in farming, so with a goal of improving this situation a Charlottetown based Farmer's Society was formed in 1811. Unfortunately, it is doubtful that it had any effect on the north shore farmers in its efforts to promote progressive agriculture.¹¹

There were certain natural assets of the area which would have been difficult to overlook by even the most inexperienced of farmers. Fertilizers were always needed on Island farmlands, and were readily available along Island shores. In fact, this was a favourite topic among farmers, in the press and in other publications, even during the very early years of settlement. Two readily procured sea-fertilizers were seaweed and musselmud. The former was more commonly used during this early period, as the processing of the latter required more advanced technology not available to Island residents until later in the century.¹² The seaweed was available from creeks and estuaries where it would be gathered in summer and spread on the land. Availability is one thing; however, there is no evidence that either was widely or effectively utilized much before 1830.¹³

The poor quality of the livestock paralleled the questionable use of the land during this period, putting the immigrant farmer in an even worse position. Although by the later years of the 18th century the principles of scientific breeding were well established, the animals were generally small, their breeding was not controlled, and their numbers

were too large to be fed adequately. Part of the reason for these problems was the prevalence of herds originating with the Acadian stock of the 1750's. Also there was little indication that proprietors cared what kind of stock tenants had (see Settlement Theme). The new British residents took what was available, poorly developed livestock notwithstanding.¹⁴ The irony of the situation was that had better stock been available, the immigrants might not have recognized their superiority, let alone preferred the better breeds. They were not born farmers, and certain of them, notably the Highlanders and 'bog-trotters,' had a great deal to learn. Therefore two areas of the north shore -- Cavendish and Tracadie -- were disadvantaged from the first arrival of British immigrants. The role of the inexperienced in a harsh pioneer environment was especially difficult.

Indifferently, in great part, they tended their cattle, sheep, pigs and fowl or tilled the land for potatoes, oats and hay. Yet this, with the wood from the woodlots, yielded subsistence and, if they had not had to pay rent, they might have become more soundly established.¹⁵

Obviously there was land to clear, and the British immigrants must have appreciated those clearings already made by the Acadians at Tracadie and Stanhope. The agricultural base they had managed to establish by the 1830's was no more than subsistence level, sufficient to prevent the need to import basic foods. Yet a pioneer agriculture during this period was forced to share the economic spotlight and limited manpower with the established lumbering

industry, especially in the eastern and western ends of the Island, though this was not such a problem in the park area. There, a third economic activity, fishing, tended to be more of a distraction from the land in the Rustico, Tracadie and New London areas, as well as elsewhere on the Island. Though it is possible to overemphasize the importance of agriculture at this time on an Island-wide scale, it certainly retained the major importance in the park area. Up to the 1830's Prince Edward Island was more completely self-sufficient in agriculture than either New Brunswick or Nova Scotia, despite its primitive nature.¹⁶ Since some park lands were among the earliest cleared, agriculture was relatively better established in this area at this time.

New Era 1825-1860

Agricultural Promotion Begins.

A new agricultural era began on Prince Edward Island with the arrival of Lieutenant-Governor Ready in 1825. Ready strongly believed in promoting improved agricultural practices, though very limited innovation was occurring before the 1820's. The rhetoric of the period stressed the need for organization and dissemination of information helpful to the farmers, which suggests that backward practises were widespread. The introduction of technological advances in this fashion by far preceded their general availability and application among Island farmers.

Included in the technological changes advocated by Governor Ready were the first threshing machine, in 1828, and the first reaper, in 1830.¹⁷ Previous to 1830, farm work was done exclusively by hand, with primitive implements including the spade, hoe, sickle, scythe and axe. "A plow was added for most households, often including a broad sock or share like that of the Lothian plow, especially rigged for stumps, perhaps a forerunner of the stump-jumping plow."¹⁸ Fortunately, the Island soil lacked large stones, thus there was no need to complicate the basic two-wheeled cart by the necessity of iron wheels. A very important implement of the early settlers, these high-wheeled carts changed little over the years, and were always useful in such pursuits as gathering moss, seaweed or dulse from the seashores.

There was little that was scientific in farming practices in the period when Governor Ready sought to make improvements. Seed, for example, must have constantly been imported from Britain and the rest of North America, but no records were kept.¹⁹ Census records for the year 1832 are available to give some indication of crops grown in the north shore area. Barley was being grown in substantial quantities, flax was produced in small quantities, and pea crops were being produced, in diminishing quantities, among the Acadian population. Turnip planting was increasing. North shore residents had easy access to a kind of hay

called marsh hay which grew in the marshlands along the north shore, and was popular in parts of Rustico and Covehead Bays for instance.²⁰ It remained accessible if considerably less popular into the 20th century. As early as 1832 marsh hay was becoming less a necessity for animal feed because it was being replaced by such mainstays of cultivated hay fields as red clover, white clover, and timothy. No figures are given in the 1832 census on oat and potato production, however both were important.

The potatoes and cash grains were all barter crops of some importance; a few farmers had surplusses to sell and some of these...were exported. The other crops fed the settlers or, probably to a lesser degree than was desireable, their livestock.²¹

The quality of stock as well as the amount of knowledge necessary to keep them was increasing during the 1830's, both out of necessity. Prior to the first decade of the century there had been few stock importations. Governor Ready was one important figure who recognized this need and encouraged importation of stock. Among the imports were blooded stallions, Alderney, Suffolk and North Devon cattle, and sheep of the Reicester Southdown breeds. Cattle lines came to be dominated by the Ayrshire and Shorthorn blood in the 1830's and 1840's.²²

Governor Ready's efforts and the natural result of increased immigration made farming a more scientific activity by the 1830's. During that decade one might have expected to observe horses, sheep, swine and cattle on the

land in the north shore area. From 1805 to 1833 the horse population, essential to the Island's farms until the 1950's, increased substantially to 6,000. Sheep increased in number to 50,000 as grazing lands became more available with clearing and fires.²³ Sheep were more common in lots 23, 34 and 35 among the greater Scottish concentration of immigrants, though they were certainly not uncommon among the English immigrants of lot 24.

Sheep were more numerous than were swine in most park area townships in 1833. The early-cleared areas of lots 23, 33, 34 and 35 provided them with grazing land. In lot 24 the Acadians were not partial to sheep, while in lot 36 the tenants were too poor to have many sheep. The Acadians of lot 24 did however have a sheep to swine ratio of 2-3 to 1, though the poverty-stricken areas to the east of Tracadie Bay had a ratio of 1-2 to 1.²⁴ Meanwhile in the other lots sheep outnumbered swine by more than three to one. The numbers of sheep in relation to pigs increased in the following twenty-two years, with 4-5 times as many sheep in lots 33, 34 and 23, and 2-3 times as many in lots 34 and 35.²⁵ During the seven years 1848 to 1855, the distribution of sheep changed, with increases in lots 23 and 24, indicating a decrease in intensity of land use.²⁶

Agricultural exports, and indeed all exports, were led by oats and potatoes by 1843.²⁷ The availability of sailing vessels facilitated the export trade in the early

19th century, creating shipping centres of note at Rustico and New London by 1858.²⁸ Exports and the means of exportation may have been improving in the 40's and 50's, but until that time such improvements were retarded by the consuming task of clearing the land. From 1827 to 1833 the acres occupied increased from 337,000 to 388,000 and acreage improved increased from 60,000 to 95,000. Comparative statistics for individual north shore townships are not available; however, among the townships in 1833 heavy concentrations of improved land showed in the New London and Rustico Bay areas.²⁹ Improvement of crops and livestock must have been last on the minds of the non-agriculturally oriented immigrants who managed to become passable farmers by the 1830's. The early arrival of immigrants in the park area was thus of advantage by the 1830's. By that time their advances were sufficiently consolidated that they were in a position to talk, along with everyone else concerned with agriculture, about the highly proclaimed "High Farming" so popular in other North American centres.

High Farming-1840's and 1850's

"High Farming" talk was quite common in Island newspapers and propaganda from the 1830's onward. The actual "high farming" revolution arrived here much later than it had in the rest of North America. The rhetoric was beginning to pay off as farmers cultivated more acres more

intensely than had their forefathers. Turnips were considered a principal indicator of high farming, and their production on the Island increased five-fold during the period 1847 to 1854. In this case high farming seems to have been both the end product and the process. Turnips, it was claimed, could carry three times as many cattle through the winter as the equivalent acreage in hay. Both were grown "most intensely as part of a more advanced farming."³⁰ The incidence of this advanced farming, which amounted to little more than the application of some new knowledge already being applied elsewhere, was quite substantial in the park area. 'High Farming' was particularly popular in townships 23, 24, 33 and 34, where turnip and hay production were much higher than in the less advanced townships 35 and 36.³¹

The production of three other crops, potatoes, wheat and oats, increased during the late forties and early fifties. The general characteristics of each were that potato crops were associated with subsistence; wheat was an early favourite, yet an unsuitable crop; and oats were the most popular, important and valuable.³² Potatoes were most often found in early settled areas such as the Hope River area, notably an area occupied by Irish immigrants. The potato acreage in all park area townships was thirty percent of the oat acreage at most, dipping to under twenty percent in lot 33.³³ Wheat followed a pattern of

improved land, as did potatoes. Wheat was a favoured crop among Loyalist, Acadian and some English settlers. The park area was not settled by Loyalists, but wheat production did increase between 1847 and 1855 in Acadian areas, among them lot 24. The only other park lot to experience an increase in wheat production was lot 23, and it, also, was due to Acadian preference.³⁴ Oat crops were favoured by Scottish settlers, thus they were quite frequently found growing in park townships. Strangely enough lots 35 and 36 experienced very small gains in oat production to 1854, while in the other lots increases were among the best on the Island.³⁵ The lot 34 area to the south of the immediate Stanhope coastal area was a prosperous farming area,³⁶ and it enjoyed increases in oat production equal to any lot in the Colony. Oats became important commercially as a cash crop after the signing of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1854.

Out of this discussion of the crops of the early 'high farming' era comes a definite correlation between the ethnic origin of the settlers and the types of crops they grew. The English and Irish were in the middle positions, according to their tastes, on a scale that went from the Acadians to the Scots. "The English were clearly more wheat-minded in an intermediate position between the eaters of wheaten bread and oatmeal porridge."³⁷

The improved production of hay, turnips and oats in the 1840's and 1850's was accompanied by important improvements in livestock size and quality. More demanding, but more productive livestock was being raised aided by more readily available necessities such as feed and winter shelter.³⁸ These were some of the tangible results experienced at the beginning of the 'high farming' period. Their achievement was due to many factors, not the least of which was the effort to organize farmers, promoted by Governor Ready thirty years before. The need for agricultural reform had been noted by early 19th century visitors to Prince Edward Island. Had they been able to return at mid-century their dismay at the woeful agricultural efforts would not have been repeated. As early as one week after Governor Ready's Speech from the Throne in 1827 the Central Agricultural Society was formed. By 1843 fourteen such societies had been formed, though none of these were in park areas.³⁹ The distances to Charlottetown from Stanhope or Rustico were not prohibitive, so the Central Agricultural Society may have served the area. The aims of the Central Agricultural Society were to promote improved agricultural practices through spreading knowledge; to improve farm implements; to encourage the growing of good seed; to improve methods of clearing and improving lands; and to encourage wool carding, wool spinning, and the dyeing and dressing of cloth. The Central Society was to act as a

clearing house of imported seed and implements to the local societies. Education was a principal function; witness the existence of a library during the 1830's and 1840's.⁴⁰

Better husbandry was seen as the major means of improving farming methods by the society, community and press of the 1830's.⁴¹

The farmers of the park area must have shared many of the concerns of the Society. They, too, must have welcomed machinery manufacture and importation, and livestock importation. The importation of livestock was an expensive though necessary proposition and it could not have gone unnoticed by park area farmers. Among them was Stephen Bovyer, grandson and namesake of a Loyalist who took up land in the Stanhope area in 1787.⁴² The grandson invented a threshing machine in the 1830's.⁴³ The Agricultural Society in the meantime was much more successful in the importation of seeds and implements than it was in importing livestock. In acting as a clearing house for machinery it often advertised its current stock of imported machinery, such as every component for constructing winnowing machines or quantities of Wilkie's Metal Plough mounting.⁴⁴

One area where the Agricultural Society achieved little success was in promoting exhibitions, fairs and ploughing matches. Though the last two were better accepted, public apathy generally negated the Society's efforts in this field. It was not until 1889 that a Provincial

Exhibition Association was formed, indicating a change of values on the part of Prince Edward Island society as a whole. Prior to this, such affairs were simply not emphasized by Island society.⁴⁵

The Agricultural Society changed from 1845 to the 1860's, the irony being that its membership structure was changed to the benefit of the more wealthy members at the same time that the agitation for escheat of the proprietorial lands and reform of government were most in the public mind, in the late 1840's.⁴⁶ These poorly timed changes made popular support, always difficult to measure and perhaps even questionable during the best years of the Society, a thing of the past. The importation of seeds and implements came under the control of the private businessman, in part an inevitable parallel occurrence as private concerns saw the opportunity for profit in importation.⁴⁷

At least one segment of the farming industry on Prince Edward Island -- the seed and implement supply -- was becoming an established industry by mid-century. This was to be expected for with the passing of the pioneer era farming was also well-established, as most of the population concentrated on farming. Second and third generations either improved the original homestead or cleared new land. Some farmers fished as well as farmed but on the whole there were not many fishing establishments, for instance, in 1855 and 1861, only 37 and 89 respectively. There were only a

small number of persons who considered themselves part-time farmers, wood-cutters or labourers.⁴⁸

High Farming Achieved: 1860-1890

The 'high farming' rhetoric of the previous thirty years was finally showing results by the 1860's. Farming entered a prosperous period, not unrelated to the general prosperity of the Island in the 1860's.⁴⁹ Few major changes were visible or threatening, and home manufacturing was thriving. Butter and cheese were made at home and any outside services required on the farm were available in most farming communities. These included grinding grain for flour, sawing lumber, making shingles, blacksmithing and carding wool. The Island's population at this time was heavily rural, with only a few small villages.⁵⁰

The park area was similar in settlement and economic activity to the rest of the Island. Typical livestock found on the farms included sheep, cattle, oxen and horses,⁵¹ the latter being the service animals on the farm, the procurers of income. The number of cattle was an important indication of farming enterprise. Townships 35 and 36 were less prosperous farming areas, and had fewer cattle.⁵² By the 1860's cattle breeds were vastly improved over the poor Acadian stock that originated the herds, with strong Ayrshire and Shorthorn blood showing. It is not known how quickly these bloodlines showed up in herds in the park

area.⁵³ During the 1860's and 1870's Hereford and Angus beef breeds, and the more specialized Friesian and Channel Islands dairy breeds were introduced on the Island.

Sheep numbers, though high prior to the 1850's, were not increasing as quickly as the cattle numbers, though through this period they still outnumbered cattle two to one. Their numbers were higher in the better developed, more widely cleared long-settled areas such as the park townships. Their overall importance, however, was only about one third that of cattle, and this proportion became even less after the sheep population on the Island peaked in the 1880's.⁵⁴ In sheep to cattle ratios in the 1850's, the park area farms maintained a position comparable to the best-developed farms elsewhere on the Island.⁵⁵ Sheep products such as wool and meat were important for domestic use and for export, but it was the dairy products which were to have the greatest effect on farming in the late 19th century. Again the effect was minimized in the park townships 33 and 34. The only areas of the Island having greater concentrations of cattle were eastern Prince County townships, which had heavily Loyalist populations, which favoured oxen for a much longer period, and which succeeded at farming.⁵⁶

The extent of manufacture of the principal dairy products, butter and cheese, in the park area was comparable with Island-wide trends. Butter was the more commonly made

commodity, yet the area qualified as a generally high-quantity cheese-making area.⁵⁷ In 1861, twenty-seven thousand pounds were produced in fairly even quantities among the park area lots, while seventy-five thousand pounds of butter were produced. Butter production was less evenly distributed among the lots, being higher in lots 33 and 34, possibly because of demand from the nearby Charlottetown market.⁵⁸ By the end of the 1860-1890 period, changes that would move such activities away from the homes were occurring in the dairying industry and in farming in general on Prince Edward Island, as butter and cheese factories became established.

Several conclusions concerning farming in the park area to 1890 are apparent. Most park area lands, including lot 34 west through lot 23 were good farmlands, early cleared and productive. Lands to the east of lot 34 were of a lower quality as farmland, though they were cleared and settled just as early. Thus the level of farming in those two lots was always less advanced than the rest of the park area. The state of farming was also related to cultural factors, such as the Acadian preference for wheat or the Scottish preference for oats.⁵⁹ Farmers were quickly approaching a new era when cash received for such things as dairy products would become very important to individual farmers.⁶⁰

New Dairy Industry and Mixed Farming -- 1890-1941

The cheese factories and creameries which aided the establishment of the dairy industry on Prince Edward Island commenced operation in the 1880's, though slowly at first, as only four existed by 1890. Between 1891 and 1896 the number increased rapidly to 36 factories which produced 1.6 million pounds of cheese annually. The trend continued over the following four years until forty to fifty factories were producing 4.5 million pounds per year.⁶¹ The commercial importance of the dairy industry continued to develop quickly until World War I. The industry was seen at the time as a revolutionary trend in farming, levelling off after World War I. In the park area the beginnings of the industry were evidenced for instance by an increase in the dairy cow population occurring in lot 33 to 1891. The lot 33 area was closest of all to the Charlottetown market, with the cheese factory in Winsloe helping to meet the demand. Meanwhile cheese factories served their respective areas at Mt. Stewart, Dunstaffnage, New Glasgow and Stanley Bridge for various periods from the 1890's on.⁶² Although no estimate of market size is available it would likely have been small in each case. The factories bought small quantities of milk from an average of seventy-five farmers.

Factory cheese was a new phenomenon in the 1890's, and its superior quality was what put home manufacturers out of business.⁶³ Home-made cheese became less popular

though many continued to make it. Production of factory cheese peaked about 1900, fell back to two million pounds per annum by 1920, and stabilized at about one million pounds in the 1930's. Cheese was the more important dairy product in the early years.

Butter manufacturing was slower to move out of the homes and into the factories. In 1901 creamery butter production was listed at 562,220 pounds, while home-made or 'dairy' butter production was at 1,398,112 pounds. It was not until 1931 that 'dairy' and factory production was equal. In sum, there had been a surge in factory-produced butter in the 1890's, some peaks in the early 1900's, but no take-over of the market by factory butter until after 1931.

Park area farmers enjoyed most of the financial return from the Stanley Bridge and New Glasgow factories. The Dunstaffnage and Winsloe factories were more removed from the immediate park area, though they may have served some farmers in the area from Brackley Point to Tracadie. Their operations would have been similar to those occurring in and around the Stanley and New Glasgow factories.⁶⁴

The New Glasgow and Stanley factories were among the largest producers of cheese on the Island, especially in the early years of operation. Over the years the production remained steady. The volume of milk processed to

make cheese was among the top eight on the Island during the recorded period 1901 to 1903.⁶⁵ The comparative statistics varied over the years as other centres grew and declined; however, the New Glasgow and Stanley factories were distinguished by their consistency and longevity. In cheese production, again for the years 1901 to 1903, both factories ranked among the top half dozen on the Island.⁶⁶

The New Glasgow Dairying Company and the Stanley Bridge Dairying Company were similar in size. About the same number of farmers supplied milk for cheese to each for similar prices at the turn of the century.⁶⁷ The Stanley factory started as early as 1890; the New Glasgow one by 1894.⁶⁸ The farmers who supplied the Stanley factory were larger producers, located in the Cavendish, Bayview and Hope River areas. The New Glasgow factory served the Rustico, Wheatley River, Oyster Bed and possibly Brackley Point farmers. The factories replaced the former individual buyers of the farmers' milk. Previous to their appearance, for example, individuals would cross Rustico Bay from North Rustico and Rusticoville to the Buntain Farm in South Rustico, and take home a quantity of milk in the cans they had brought with them. This was an additional market which lasted until milk routes were established in the North Rustico area in the 1920's.⁶⁹ Of course, milk sales on such an individual basis provided neither a substantial nor a dependable income. The amount sold to the New Glasgow

factory was probably not large, but the monthly milk cheque formed the backbone of many farming operations,⁷⁰ the percentage of farmers benefitting being much higher during the first decades of the 20th century. Most dairy cattle were kept as part of a mixed farming operation.

The importance of the manufacture of dairy products was outlined in the report of the Secretary-Treasurer of the Prince Edward Island Dairy Association to that Association's annual meeting in 1903. The report noted that in spite of improved quality of the product and the best price ever paid, the production of cheese had increased only slightly, while that of butter had actually decreased. The "limit of profit and quantity" had not been reached, yet efforts to attain them had apparently dropped off, amid general prosperity accruing from other lines of farming. The Secretary-Treasurer concluded that other lines of farming would again become unprofitable, thus it was best to maintain the dairy industry at a high level to fall back on "...and not at the very low position it was in 1892, but a going and remunerative business."⁷¹ According to the report the future of Co-operative Dairying hung in the balance. The degree to which the cheese and butter factories were producer-owned co-operatives varied throughout the Island. Most companies were financed by forming a company, and selling shares to the producers, who would thus benefit from its operation.⁷²

The dairy and related manufacturing industries continued to prosper. Butter replaced cheese as the chief product of many factories in the 1930's. The production of cheese ceased at New Glasgow in 1930 when 118 suppliers sold 842,206 pounds of milk from which 69,911 pounds of cheese were made.⁷³ Four years later the Stanley Bridge factory produced its last cheese, 55,466 pounds from 652,037 pounds of milk received from 62 patrons. Capacity had been reduced to about one third of production at Stanley in 1902, though the number of patrons was unchanged.⁷⁴ Among the reasons for the decline in cheese manufacturing was the increase in competition suffered by the imposition of tariffs on dairy imports to the United States (McKinley Tariff). The United Kingdom Market was dominated by Denmark, New Zealand and other cheese producing areas.

In 1946 the Stanley Bridge factory closed down production in the butter manufacturing plant, thus closing its doors completely. At the time milk production was said to have suffered due to the purchase of lands in the area for the National Park.⁷⁵ There was also competition from the larger dairies in the Charlottetown area such as Central Creameries, which as early as 1928 had been operating in Summerside, Charlottetown and Souris. Meanwhile the New Glasgow Dairying Company survived, manufacturing butter on a similar scale to several other small creameries which also survived into the 1970's.

Mixed Farming and Robinson's Island

Farming in the park area during the first decades of the 20th century was no different than elsewhere on the Island. The popular description for farming operations was "mixed," and "mixed farming" was most often the type carried on, until the trends of the 1960's called for more specialization. Even in official records, denotations such as 'beef' or 'dairy' used in describing farms do not come into use until the 1941 census. Although the dairy industry got its start in the 1880's, milk production per cow per farm remained low until the mid-20th century. At the turn of the century purebred livestock raising and specialized crops were not at all predominant. The improved husbandry realized through applied knowledge of the High Farming era helped make purebreds and specialization the next obvious step, though not reality. Instead farmers kept several types of animals including cattle, hogs, sheep, chickens and horses. They grew diverse crops such as potatoes, oats, wheat, turnips and hay. Some of these crops were used as feed for their livestock, and some were sold as a cash crop. 'Mixed Farming' was really no different than High Farming, but serves as an intermediate stage between high farming and the specialized, one-crop farming of the late 20th century.

The chief characteristic of the 'Mixed Farming' era as far as livestock ratios were concerned was the increased

number of swine and the decreased number of sheep on Island farms. It is difficult to overemphasize the importance of pigs both as a cash source and as a domestic convenience from the late 19th century onward. By the mid-1930's their number had surpassed that of sheep, the latter having been in decline since the 1880's. The trend may have begun as early as the reciprocity period, when swine numbers increased by one hundred percent between the years 1855 and 1861.⁷⁵ At any rate, by 1931 "...the high farming areas were again well-defined by the pig-sheep ratio, but by the use of the ratio in inverse form as compared with the middle of the nineteenth century."⁷⁶ Pigs, associated with pioneering self-sufficiency in the previous century, were in the 1930's found in high fertility areas where management skill was high; that is, in the high farming areas where they yield greater profits than sheep. In the 19th century, wool was the more valuable cash crop.⁷⁷

Four of the six townships which lost lands to the National Park in 1936 had among the best farmlands on the Island no matter what historical agricultural period is discussed. The intensity with which farming was pursued varied in some areas, such as in the Rustico area, where the Acadians were less inclined to farming. In townships 34, 35 and 36 the immediate farmland losses to the park were not as serious, as fewer farmers and less good farmlands were affected. The farmland behind the coastal

sections was excellent in township 34, while not so productive in lots 35 and 36. Except for the culturally related difference defined by A. H. Clark in Three Centuries and the Island, and mentioned in the foregoing account of agriculture to the early 1900's, farming did not vary greatly from one end of the park area to the other, except in intensity due to the better lands lying to the west.⁷⁸ Rather than dwelling on farming in each of the areas, the following is a look at farming on Robinson's Island, itself a part of township 24, and situated in Rustico Bay.

Farming was the mainstay of Robinson's Island residents from the 1830's. The importance and success of farming on the island⁷⁹ coupled with the ease with which many people talked of the island make it an obvious focal point for the oral segment of the farming theme. There were some unique aspects to farming on Robinson's Island, the transportation difficulty being the obvious, and in many ways the most important one. It was not at all a remote island, being separated from the 'mainland' by only a few miles of Rustico Bay on one side, and by a few hundred yards of channel on either end.⁸⁰ Will Robinson had his boat landing and wharf at the end of his lane on the south side of the island, and from there no point of land was too far to reach by rowing.

Robinson's Island was good farmland, several hundred acres in all. It was first occupied by the Robinson family

in the 1830's, and their descendants farmed it until the 1930's. One reason for the fertility of the land was the quality of the soil, at least one informant said there was no better upland on Prince Edward Island.⁸¹ A second reason was the ready supply of natural fertilizer on the farm: mussel mud, lobster bodies and dulse. Dulse was a kind of seaweed that was spread on the land by farmers, and it was brought to the beaches by storms in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Mussel mud was dug at a location close to the south side of the island, and at Oyster Bed. Mud was spread so thickly on the island, it was reported, that the land became so rich the hay and grain "laid down."⁸² Mud was not much used after the introduction of lime in the early 20th century. Until this time as well purchased fertilizers were not needed.⁸³

Crops that were grown on the island included the standard hay and grain, with vegetables as required by the residents. "There was any abundance of stuff to live off of if a person had to."⁸⁴ For the animals too there was enough to eat; beef and pork were sold in winter. Potatoes were grown on the island but fed to the pigs, much to the chagrin of young Wilbur Robinson. In the teens and early twenties potatoes were selling for \$2.00 per hundredweight, but Wilbur's father insisted on continuing the old practice of fattening the pigs with the potatoes.

"'Gee, man,' I says, 'Why not sell them potatoes and get the price for them?'
 'No,' he says, 'What would you feed the pigs with?'
 'Well....I'd have killed the pigs!'"⁸⁵

Percy Carr, a former resident of Oyster Bed, recalled a later period, the 1920's and 1930's, on Robinson's Island. At that time only half of the island was occupied, that by Will Robinson, father of Wilbur. The other, the east half, was owned and operated by Cleve Robinson whose main farm was his large home farm on the Portage Road in Brackley Point. Hay from his half of the island was stored on the island until the winter, when it was taken across the ice to Brackley Point. Farming activity on that half of the island seems to have been minimal at that time, as Earl Skeffington of Brackley Point, a nephew of Cleve Robinson, could recall that hay and grain were the only crops grown there. Transportation difficulties and the adequate size of Cleve's home farm may have led to the growing of only basic, easily cared for crops on Robinson's Island. Cattle were pastured among the sandhills and on the uplands after the crops were harvested.⁸⁶ Skeffington inherited the Brackley Point farm and Cleve's half of the island. The pasturing of cattle continued on a rental basis, then once the park took over, for four or five years under the rental arrangement he pastured forty to fifty acres there. There were two separate areas to each half of the island; the upland area and the sandhill area. The hay and grain grew in the upland

areas, much of which is presently overgrown with trees.

The transportation of goods and animals was always a difficulty for all concerned. When Cleve Robinson was farming his half of the island from Brackley Point, there were several seasonal peaks in activity. Cropping time, hay-making and harvest were all busy times when children took full advantage of the opportunities for boat-rides to and from the island. Another activity involving transportation was when the cattle were being put across to the island in the spring and brought back in the fall. They were walked from the farm in Brackley Point eastward around the bay to the end of the sandhills and the edge of the channel which divided 'Little Island' from the mainland, and then swum from there to the island. There were some dangers involved in this maneuver but, as with all transport in the island's history, no loss of human life ever occurred.⁸⁷ It was customary to swim the animals to the island on the 24th of May, when children would be home from school for the holiday and able to help with the herding. Those cattle that were to be sold immediately were returned to the mainland in mid-October.

The cattle grazed on 'mouse hay' until the uplands were clear of their crops. This 'mouse hay' was a fine grass, coated with salt, which the cattle loved, and which received its name from local residents. The hay cut from the uplands was stored in barns on the island until winter

froze the bay, when it was taken to the mainland in sleighs, sometimes at the rate of three sleigh loads per day.⁸⁹

Cleve Robinson's combined farm was about five hundred acres in size, approximately two hundred acres on the mainland and three hundred on the island. Thus, his operation was quite a large one compared to the fifty to seventy-five acres which was the normal size of Prince Edward Island farms during the first decades of the 20th century. Consequently, they always had a hired man, and sometimes two or three. The 'help' was easy to find in those days, and was especially needed at hay-making, harvest and potato digging times.⁹⁰ Children and youth came in handy in this respect. Earl Skeffington recalls looking after his uncle's chores on the island when he was old enough.

It is not known when the Robinsons vacated Cleve's half of Robinson's Island; however, it was not until a few years before the park takeover that Will Robinson left his half of the island. Wilbur's experience of living on the island while farming it was different from Cleve's farming from Brackley Point. Wilbur recalled the days in the first decade of the 20th century when two families lived on the island, one on the east end and one on the west.

Technological change was slow to reach Robinson's Island for several reasons. One, which was more or less universal, was cost. Farmers had to pay cash for their

purchases, and there was not much of that commodity being made. Will Robinson sowed grain seed with an antiquated shoulder basket apparatus during the first decade of the 20th century. Transportation difficulties made the removal of large pieces of machinery to the island almost impossible. There might also have been an element of reluctance on the part of the Robinsons to change to newer methods of farming, as was the case with other farmers in the area.⁹¹

In 1905 the Robinsons bought their first binder, a used Massey Harris purchased at Rod Matheson's auction sale in Oyster Bed. In 1915 they finally replaced their horse powered treadmill with a motor, the modern way of driving the threshing gear.⁹² Their first threshing gear had been a 'shaker,' which allowed the chaff and grain to fall down through to the barn floor, where they were separated by a set of 'farmers.' They later got a threshing gear which did the separating itself. These changes took place roughly between 1905 and 1915.⁹³

The problem of transporting heavy machinery or large cargoes of any kind to and from the island was solved to some extent by the use of a scow, or large broad boat (see Figure 8). Many people in the bay area had these scows for heavy work such as the transporting of seaweed from the island beaches to the mainland. They would carry up to ten cart loads of seaweed. The Robinsons obtained their first scow after 1905.

Farmers did not have much machinery by today's standards in the first decade of the 20th century although, in terms of the "High Farming" movement of fifty years before, it represented quite an advance. The Robinsons had less than the norm, perhaps because of their location. At this time their farm machinery included a single plow, a set of spring-tooth harrows and a set of home-made wooden spike harrows.⁹⁴

Will Robinson sold his half of the island to Percy MacAusland in 1926, though he was allowed to live on the island for some time after this. Except for a period between 1910 and 1912 or 1913, when the Robinsons moved to Harrington (about the time Mrs. Will Robinson died), the island had been occupied and farmed. When Will Robinson finally left, the island's traditional agricultural role was coming to an end, mostly because MacAusland was not a farmer, rather he only spent his summers there. One informant noted that with his departure it became increasingly difficult to maintain the farm's 'longer' fences. The top 'longers,' which were wooden poles five axehandles long, disappeared each year, stolen "by the French in Rustico." In winter they would come and carry them off for use as firewood. "...after [Will] moved off the fences moved too."⁹⁵

The farm on Robinson's Island was not a typical P.E.I. farm in one respect. It had an additional agricultural resource: cranberries. Cranberries were not

cultivated, they simply grew in wild abundance, requiring little human effort outside of the picking. In the fall people flocked for miles around to the rich rewarding sand-hills and damp, low-lying areas to the west end of the island. Today the paved roadway cuts through what was once a giant cranberry patch.⁹⁶ Many of the people who picked the berries were Rustico Acadians, under supervision of the Robinsons, Will, Neil and Cleve. About September 25 every year the Robinsons would start the harvest, welcoming any who wanted to pick. Supervision was to assure that "they picked them clean." The pickers were assembled in groups, forming a large circle and picking toward the centre.⁹⁷ Markets existed for the cleaned and graded product among Charlottetown wholesalers and the odd grocery store in Charlottetown. Local park area general stores didn't need to retail them, as everyone had their own supply either picked by themselves or given by neighbours. The market price before 1920 was twelve cents a quart, but few besides the Robinsons were interested in selling and quantity. Most people picked simply for their own use (see Figure 9).⁹⁸

Cranberry picking on Robinson's Island was an event shared by as many people from surrounding communities as wished to participate. There was no picking allowed before the crowd assembled about 7:30 a.m. on the first day. They picked, under supervision, until dusk, which at that time

of year would be about 5:00 p.m., and returned every subsequent day, for a season that could last up to two weeks. The best season recalled by informants easily lasted two weeks, during which time over four hundred bushels of berries were harvested.⁹⁹ The pickers were paid by being allowed to take home half of the berries they had picked, hence the term "picking on the halves." At one time the wage was only one third of what they had picked, but finally the French rebelled, demanding to be allowed to take more home, and refusing to work until this was granted.¹⁰⁰ The berries were a quality product which, though known only locally at first, came to be favourably compared to the famous Cape Cod and Nova Scotia cranberries.¹⁰¹ The annual event of picking berries on Robinson's Island made good sense to all involved, especially the pickers, who all wanted to get in a few berries for the winter. The largest number of people to pick berries in one day on the island was one hundred and fifteen.¹⁰²

The cranberry producing days of the island were numbered, but not over, when Percy MacAusland purchased half of the island from Will Robinson in 1926.¹⁰³ MacAusland's intention was to eventually purchase the entire island and develop it as a tourist resort and cranberry farm. He never did realize the first, but, after a few initial years of neglect,¹⁰⁴ he did develop the cranberry resource. He shipped cranberries from his half of the

island under the brand name "Garden of the Gulf." His market was Ottawa, to which he shipped from October to December each year, and he received a premium over Nova Scotia and New Brunswick berries. Packaging consisted of a modern, standard U.S. box labelled and carrying his name.¹⁰⁵

Percy MacAusland was most anxious to change from the old system of 'picking on the halves,' as this method of payment greatly reduced (and in some years eliminated) his profits. His plan was to introduce the cranberry 'rakes,' and pay the pickers "three and five dollars a day." After assuming ownership, however, he continued in the old method, patiently waiting to acquire the entire island before initiating the changes. His goal of profit on the business was never realized, as the personally tragic year of 1936 came too soon for him to implement his plans.¹⁰⁶

Cranberries were the only unusual crop produced on Robinson's Island.¹⁰⁷ Everything else was much more typical fare. When it came to marketing of produce, Rustico was the busiest spot in the park area. This activity declined drastically at the end of the sailing vessel era, at the end of the first two decades of the 20th century. In the height of the market period, however, potatoes and turnips were being shipped at 15-20 cents per bushel and 10 cents per bushel respectively. One of the highest prices recalled by Guy Rollings of North Rustico was 27 cents per bushel, during the pre-War period. They drew an even better price

after the war started.¹⁰⁹ Among other products shipped were beets and carrots, most of which were shipped to Sydney, Cape Breton, where coal was picked up for the return journey.¹¹⁰ One man who was actively involved in the coastal trade at the turn of the century was Christopher LePage of Rustico. He ran a successful general store and merchantile business at Rusticoville, shipping from that wharf to Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Cape Breton and the Magdalen Islands. The shipping of all exports including farm produce from north shore ports had pretty well ended when Christopher LePage's family had matured. Due to the initiation of the car ferry service in 1917 at Borden, decreasing amounts of shipping took place from the ports of New London, Stanley Bridge and Rustico between the two world wars.¹¹¹ Most of the shippers had been backed by Charlottetown merchants; however, this was not enough to ensure the survival of the small shippers when, during the depression of the 1930's, there was decreased demand for their services.¹¹² By this time overland destinations were well-established for park area produce. Hunter River, Kensington, Summerside and Charlottetown were all railway depots, and some were markets in themselves. For instance, Charlottetown had always been a market for a certain amount of produce taken in on specified market days, usually once or twice a week.¹¹³ For the sale of larger volumes of produce, points such as Hunter River and Kensington in the west, and York and

Bedford in the east, gained importance with the coming of the railway in the 1870's.

Markets for farming produce were less accessible from points in the park area by the 1930's. The railroad still dominated (though in the next thirty years this was to change drastically), but the coastal trade had disappeared almost entirely. Farmers were becoming involved in specialized, one-crop or product farming by the 1940's, such as potatoes, or pure-bred dairy herds. Many of the old practices and services disappeared with the coming of specialization. One example of this was the use of mussel mud fertilizer. Potato crops required the use of lime, which was brought in to the Island by train, thus obviating the need for the locally-available mussel mud. The general trend over the period 1890 to 1950 was to fewer, larger farms, and overall decline in acreage of improved and cropped lands. In spite of this trend farming held its own in park area townships 23, 24, 33 and 34. This was the former 'high farming' area, and did not include much of lots 35 and 36.¹¹⁴

The end to be achieved through education was greater export value for goods produced. The principal change, equal in scope to Governor Ready's scheme of seventy years earlier (though not so disadvantaged in terms of the attitudes and aptitude of the farming population), was the adoption of intensive farming, producing more specialized

and refined goods. The Department of Agriculture first annual report described the reform it advocated:

The old system of extensive farming -- the cultivation of large areas in the production of the coarser and cheaper foodstuffs, such as oats and potatoes, will speedily give way to the new system of intensive farming -- the production of the finer and more valuable food stuffs, bacon, beef, mutton, cheese, butter, eggs, poultry and fruits in such quantities as to enrich the producer and swell the money value of Prince Edward Island's exports into millions. And then the man behind the plough will no longer think of himself or give others occasion to speak of him as 'only a poor farmer.'¹¹⁷

As optimistic as it is telling of the popular perception of farmers at the turn of the century, this report advocates increased industrialization that would see the farmers become producers of commodities for industrial purposes.¹¹⁸

There was evidence in 1901 of early activity in at least one producer group besides the Dairy Association, and that was the Fruit Growers' Association. Their report was included with that of the Department of Agriculture in 1901, and indicates that they were concerned with providing a means of describing prominent orchards on the Island, in addition to providing information. Other organizations reporting in that year were the Farmers' Institutes and the Prince Edward Island Exhibition Association. These organizations indicate the priorities of government involvement at the turn of the century.

The Farmers' Institutes were organized about 1901 when twenty of the thirty-three institute districts into

which the Island was divided (presumably by the Department of Agriculture) were organized and received \$50.00 each from the government. Only three of the twenty institutes were located in park area townships: Marshfield, Lot 34; Mount Stewart, Lot 37; and New Glasgow, Lot 23.¹¹⁹ The Northern Farmers' Institute was located at New Glasgow. It reported a membership of fifty, with a balance on hand of \$85.00. The President was William Laird of New Glasgow, and the Secretary was William Moffat of Mayfield.¹²⁰ The following year was an interesting one. Three meetings were held, with a total attendance of three hundred. Fees totalling \$44.80 were collected from the fifty-six members, and at the meetings they heard a total of six papers or addresses. Experts in different fields gave these addresses, aided by the Department of Agriculture.¹²¹ Membership in the Northern Farmers' Institute was about fifteen to twenty people lower than the institutes in Marshfield and Mount Stewart in 1905. In that year they had sixty members and were described as 'strong and active.' With that size of membership, those participating would have represented an area within a few miles' radius of New Glasgow.

Roland Buntain recalls some Institute activity in his "very young days." It was "fairly active for a few years" but he recalls it mostly for the fact that it led to the establishment of the 'Egg Circle.' This was another co-operative effort, and it was very successful from about 1910

to the 1930's. The eggs would be collected by a local collector and taken to market once per week. These Egg Circles went out of business because the private buyers raised their buying prices above that of the Circle, and indeed above that necessary to make a profit, in order to put the Egg Circles out of business. This hurt almost every farmer in the district, because almost everyone belonged to the Circle. The co-operative system of Egg Circles and cheese factories was seen as being "really a wonderful thing for farmers,"¹²² yet in the 1930's a time when co-operatives should have been seen as being most necessary, they were becoming less and less a force in produce marketing.

Farming: Conclusion

Farming has been the most important economic activity engaged in by Prince Edward Islanders. There were many times when, without the produce of the land, the residents would not have survived. The task of survival was made all the more difficult by the lack of expertise of the first immigrants. Improvements were slow to come; indeed, there is evidence in the land ownership history of the province that suggests that the settlers were entirely on their own when it came to farming skills and knowledge. They were forced to pay rents they could hardly afford -- when hounded to do so by the agents of the absentee

proprietors. They were situated on lands which were not, for the most part, previously farmed, and they were almost helpless in their struggle to survive.

During the first few years of the 19th century, technological changes came, followed by improved stock and seed importations at mid-century. Farming was a well-established industry by the 1850's on the Island. The prosperity of the third quarter of the century brought a high point in the rural population on the Island. Farmers raised sheep, cattle, swine and horses. Parts of the park area were settled for one hundred years by this time, and it was a 'high farming' area. As such, it was one of the best on the Island.

Specialization began to creep into farming on Prince Edward Island when, in the 1880's, dairy products became important as a source of income, especially with the demand created by the co-operative cheese factories. Education of farmers continued, though it was not until the 1890's and early 1900's that specific farmers' groups began to appear in the park area. Specialization continued in the 1920's with the introduction of the large potato crops.

Marketing of farm produce depended upon sailing vessels, truck wagons, trains, and possibly a few motor vehicles before the 1940's. Farmers found their own markets at the local store, at the Charlottetown markets,

on their own doorstep, at the local wharf, or at the local railway station. Potatoes and oats were the biggest cargoes, followed by livestock.

The pace of change was always slow in all Island locales. The quality of stock and seed, and the degree of technological advance all changed gradually. The Island's isolation doubtless was the major contributing factor in this.

FISHING THEME

Introduction

The fishery of Prince Edward Island went through four stages before the mid-20th century. The first period ended about mid-19th century and it included the exploits of the Acadian and French fishermen of the Island. After mid-19th century the industry began to accelerate as residents began to take more than passing subsistence-related interest in fishing. An Island-based fishery was begun at the time complemented by generally good economic times. The next period was a transition period when the old ways and results peaked and the new technology was introduced. Factories for processing lobsters were well established by this time and in fact lobsters were responsible for about one half of the returns received in the industry. This third period occurred between the 1880's and 1920's. During the fourth period important changes took place when motor-driven, larger boats replaced the sail and smallness of the 19th century. Crossing the boundaries of these periods were political factors such as the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 and natural factors such as the cyclical patterns of fish stocks and economic factors such as fishermen-owned co-operatives for processing the catch.

Though not blessed with the better harbours of the Island a number of areas developed a fishery. The most important of these was Rustico, it being the only area where more than a handful of people depended entirely upon the fishery for a living. Even areas such as Tracadie, where perhaps the next largest contingent of people who fished was found, had its share of part time fishermen-farmers. Other Park areas where fish were landed and/or processed included New London, Cavendish and Covehead.¹ The sum total of the industry was not as impressive nor as important as that of farming. As compared with the Maritime Provinces fishing efforts made in the Park area were miniscule and no different from what was happening in other inshore fishing communities of the Island. What follows deals with the developments in the industry generally and reveals when certain milestones occurred. The Park area may be seen to have followed the general trend; however, specific reference is made to such things as the obvious importance of Rustico and Tracadie in the French period and establishment of processing factories between Cavendish and Tracadie later on.

The Fishery to 1850

There was only minimal interest in Prince Edward Island's tiny fishery during the 18th Century. The interest varied from the French period to the British period but

neither nationality seriously developed the industry. It was entirely too small an area to be concerned with when the fishery meant large offshore operations by European and American fleets. During the French period fish were landed on the Island sufficient for local supply and fishing was encouraged so that adequate supplies would be available for the fortress of Louisburg. Agricultural supplies from Isle St. Jean were more highly prized than others, however, with fishing downplayed in relation to them. The French powers "stroved to force its agriculture, or prevent its fishing by restricting the fishing to the two harbours of St. Peters and Tracadie."² The fishery had this relationship to farming very early in the Island's history and it would be a long time before it would change.

With the possible exception of the 1750's fishing in the Park area by the French was carried on exclusively in the Tracadie area. The industry did not necessarily involve local people directly in fishing, the one obvious reason being that the inhabitants were few in number. French vessels from Louisburg therefore used the Tracadie and St. Peters areas as service and supply centres. With the increase in population due to immigration of Acadians expelled from Acadia in the 1850's fishing activity may have spread west from Tracadie as far as Rustico, but again the numbers were small and the future of the industry was at the very least clouded in the 1850's.

When the English took over the Island of St. John the waters of the Gulf were still teeming with mackerel, cod and herring, a fact which indicates that the industry during both periods was relatively simple to execute since the supply was guaranteed. During the early years of settlement fishing was particularly important along the dune-sheltered harbours of the north shore; New London, Tracadie, Rustico and St. Peters among them.³ The 1770's and 1780's were years when fishing was more important than agriculture though the fishery was interrupted by the American Revolution only to revive again after 1784.⁴ Apart from the fact of the Revolution the existence of American vessels in the Gulf of St. Lawrence from the earliest days of British control remained a part of the Prince Edward Island fishery until after the Island joined Confederation. Their larger vessels plied the deeper waters of the Gulf farther offshore and as such found a kind of boundary. There is little evidence that residents of the Island ever wanted to develop a fishery that would challenge even a small part of the American fishery in the Gulf. The Americans were largely ignored until the mid-19th century and even then the possibility of an Island fishery that was anything more than a dory-based inshore effort was very remote. Prince Edward Island was small with few resources to throw into the development of a fishery, but at the same time the calls for the development of such an industry were

legitimate because for almost one hundred years of British rule the inshore fishery was neglected beyond the immediate needs of the residents. The fish showed in the diet of residents more than in the exports.

The basic diet of potatoes, oatmeal, salt cod and pickled herring established for the Highland settlements in their early years did not alter much in over a century. There foods⁵ were, of course, common to the whole island.

The Island fishery of the late 18th Century was based on cod, plentiful from the French period onward.

Apart from herring, and more important, was the cod fishing off the north shore, chiefly by hook-and-line from small boats within a few miles of land.⁶

The herring fishery was just beginning and it "promised well." In comparison with agriculture, however, the fishery had fallen behind by 1800. Then when the Napoleonic Wars began the industry declined further. There was little change in the fishery during the first half of the 19th Century. During that time the fishing was left mainly to New Englanders who came in large numbers to fish the Island waters.⁷

1850-1890

It was at mid-Century that the fishery came into prominence again, this time with an impact that signalled the beginning of the established fishing industry. During

the ten year period 1848-1858 the export of fish increased in response to an American demand while forest products, once an important component of the shipbuilding trade, declined sharply in exports.⁸

The reason for the increased activity in the Island fishery at mid-century was the Reciprocity Treaty signed with the United States in 1854. For twelve years the colony reaped the benefits of free trade with that country and in fisheries in particular rapid expansion occurred. The Americans were allowed access to Island shores for the purpose of drying nets or curing fish. The Treaty, aided by local legislation which allowed non-British subjects to hold property along the shore for commercial enterprises, resulted in an influx of American capital. From 1850 to 1861 the number of fishing establishments increased from no more than 5, through 37 in 1855, to 89 in 1861.⁹ There were 2,318 persons engaged with 1,239 boats in the industry in 1860 and their main products were dried cod, salt herring, alewives (gaspereaux), mackerel and fish oil.¹⁰ A rough estimate of how many of these came from the area between New London and Tracadie would be 150 boats.¹¹ This would mean that approximately 12% of the Island fishing boats came from the area.

The fishery in 1860 was clearly on an upswing that would take it to a high at the turn of the century and drop off after that to its 1860 level by 1950. More so than in

the rest of the Island the industry declined during the period in the north shore bays and inlets.¹² The only place showing an increase was the West Covehead area where the number of fishermen increased to 30. Other areas dropped substantially: Cavendish lost all of its 10 men, Rustico Bay lost 40 of its 150 men and New London Bay lost 30 men.¹³ Significant areas for which no declines were mentioned were Tracadie and Tracadie Cross, each of which had 10 men and the east side of Tracadie Bay which had 20 men in 1860.

Activity in the 1870's continued to increase as landings of all varieties rose during the decade. Also, the number of those employed in fishing or fish processing increased to 5,792 from 1,646. The number of vessels and boats increased to 2,729 from 1,183. The peak value in fishery production occurred in 1881 at around \$2,000,000 but by the late 1880's it was down by half, remaining at roughly \$1,000,000 for several decades.¹⁴

It was during these peak decades in the fishery that the lobster and oyster industries were prominent, in fact a surge in production occurred in the 1870's. From 1876 to 1910 the Island exported 867,226 barrels with a substantial part coming from Tracadie Bay which rated with Bedeque and Hillsborough Bays as major producers outside Malpeque Bay. Rapid advances were being made in the lobster industry during the 1870's so that by 1882 100,522 cases

carrying 4,875,104 pounds were exported. The first packing had occurred in the 1860's and "before the turn of the century lobsters had become the leading fisheries product, contributing 52 percent of the value of fish production in 1897 and 59 percent in 1904."¹⁵ This trend continued into the 20th Century until lobster constituted three-fifths to two-thirds of the value of the catch by mid-Century.

The business of preparing fish for market was one which thrived on Prince Edward Island in the late 19th century. The principal products for export were the traditional cod and the relatively new lobster. The cod fishery had remained steady during the Reciprocity period though the cod was not usually the number one export. The cod was shipped dried and salted, the traditional practice being to dry the gutted fish on stands or "flakes" usually erected in close proximity to the shore thus eliminating unnecessary transport of the fish. There was a problem with making 'dried cod' on Prince Edward Island in that the hot summer sun would burn it "and in the main cod-fishing areas of the north shore, sand from the almost continuous dunes is blown into the drying fish."¹⁶ Nevertheless, long after the discovery that lobster could be canned this remained a favourite way to process cod. Lobsters to be marketable had to be cooked and canned. Individuals and companies got into the game, thus by 1901 there were 227 lobster canneries on the Island processing the harvest of 283,916 traps.¹⁷

There were likely more canneries in the park area than records indicate. There was at least one in Cavendish, five at North Rustico, one on Robinson's Island, two at Covehead and one at Tracadie.¹⁸ At Tracadie there was the Grand Tracadie Packing Company operation in the early 20th century. Two at Covehead were the Covehead Packing Company Limited, incorporated 1915, and Longworth and Company fish packers known in many Island parts at the turn of the century. The one on Robinson's Island was the Portland Packing Company, an American concern which set up in the late 1800's. Among the five at Rustico were the Portland Packing Company, two fishermen-owned companies and the Pineau brothers' factory, all operating at various times between the 1890's and the 1900's.

The scene on each of the beaches and at each factory would not have varied greatly (see Figure 14).¹⁹ The lobsters were brought to the factories by the boatload and the inside workers, often women from the community, prepared and packaged them.²⁰ The capacity of the factories was small and the lobsters were so plentiful in the early 1900's that the three factories that operated at North Rustico could not handle the catch, thus a limit was established by the packers.²¹ The lobsters were plentiful, especially after a bad fall storm.²² The canneries continued operation although they declined in numbers so that by the 1940's there were 67 canneries on the Island "reduced

from some 200 at the beginning of the century, and destined to be further reduced by amalgamations and efficiency advances to a dozen by 1970."²³ The trend in the 20th century was toward consolidation, the result being the loss of packing enterprises in Cavendish, Covehead and Tracadie. Factories survived in the Rustico area in the early half of the century because of the continued supply and a degree of local control guaranteed by the strength of co-operative approaches in the area. About 1908 fishermen involvement began when a number of fishermen rented a factory and did their own packing.²⁴ All the factories except the Portland Packing Company were owned by fishermen though not necessarily on a co-operative basis. It was in the 1930's that the Co-operative Movement got its start in the area, a product of the Antigonish Movement. It was in the mid to late 1920's that all five factories in the Rustico area operated.²⁵

The Rustico area experienced a broad cycle in the two hundred years since the French ruled the Island. The general exploits of the French in the Gulf Fisheries are well known. By the mid-19th century the days in which the French sent vessels into the Gulf had passed. The Islander newspaper editorialized "we have yet to learn that either at Rustico, Three Rivers or Souris there is one French fishing establishment, or that there is, or for years past has been, one vessel, owned by Frenchmen, engaged in the

gulf fishery!"²⁶ This statement indicates that the French were not heavily involved in the fishery as owners of establishments, yet there is little reason to believe that there were not many Acadian fishermen at the time. Indeed by the mid-20th century A. H. Clark was observing that in spite of the decline in the Rustico area fishery

...there are widespread indications that the Acadians do a good share of the fishing and predominate among the fishermen even outside of their major areas of settlement.²⁷

The reference to outside areas may have included both Covehead and Tracadie.

A radical change in the fishery occurred with the introduction of motor-powered fishing boats during the second decade of the 20th century. The first motor-powered fishing boat arrived in Rustico about 1915 and it was a few years before all the fishermen had them. The change from sail to motor was scorned and feared at first by some fishermen.²⁸ The 20th century also brought prominence to new fish types, the principal one being lobster. Prior to this cod, haddock and mackerel had predominated though lobster had gained with the establishment of processing factories in the late 19th century. Of these the haddock was the least plentiful. The most plentiful, the mackerel, was in the greatest abundance during the Reciprocity years. Unfortunately for Island fishermen the mackerel were taken by American vessels.²⁹ Mackerel have

since been a common fish available on the Island;³⁰ however, until the lobster industry developed only the cod was a dependable, popular source of income.

Conclusion

The benefit of the fishery in the park area was restricted to specific communities such as Rustico and Tracadie. The fishery served as a supplement to farming among many, especially during the good years, that is the Reciprocity years and the turn of the century. Fish caught over the years varied; however, in one case at least, that of Rustico, the number of fishermen involved may not have changed drastically during the 20th century. In the late 19th century the lobster fishery began in earnest, prompted by the establishment of processing factories. Finally the industry was always an inshore one leaving the offshore areas for the bigger fishing concerns.

SHIPBUILDING THEME

Introduction

Shipbuilding was the glamour industry of 19th century Prince Edward Island. It created many jobs, made a few people wealthy and made many others proud as they gathered and cheered at launchings¹ that must have been quite commonplace, particularly during the peak decade of the 1860's. On a per capita basis the industry was prolific when compared with rates in the other Maritime provinces, yet the vessels produced were relatively small. The most common size for Island-constructed vessels during the peak period was 200 to 300 tons, with the second most popular class being 25 to 100 tons.² Their size was more than adequate to provide the necessary means of exporting Island products. The need to export products led to the development of the industry as vessels had to be built for this purpose and the phenomenon of conveying goods to and from the Island in Island-made vessels must have solved countless marketing problems. In this sense the success of the farming and fishing industries aided the development of the shipbuilding industry.

The shipbuilding industry contributed fairly consistently to the Island economy for the sixty years from its establishment about 1820 to its decline in 1880.

Unfortunately for succeeding generations, those who built ships indiscriminately removed from the Island its good stands of hardwood. Conservation practices for the first half of the century admittedly were not a mainstay of farming; however, compared with farming and fishing, shipbuilding was never a long term subsistence industry to which residents were forced to turn. Rather it remained for a relatively short period and had a marked impact on individuals and the Island as a whole. Farmers and fishermen helped out in the woods and were a source of labour at the shipbuilding site. In this sense shipbuilding was a supplement to farming and fishing, but it also had an impact all its own among those who lived by their shipbuilding-related skills, especially in areas of the Island where the industry was most prolific. Also there was the considerable spin-off effect on such businesses as sawmills and blacksmith shops.

The first hint that the demand for Island timber was going to accelerate occurred in the first decade of the 19th century when the Napoleonic Blockade of European ports severed Britain's trade links with Europe. Britain could no longer import vital lumber supplies from her traditional source, consequently new sources had to be developed. The British North American colonies, Prince Edward Island among them, were an obvious choice. It was economically feasible for various British interests to build vessels at the source of supply. Prince Edward Island, however, had no

vessels in which to transport the lumber. Eventually various Island entrepreneurs began to meet the demand in the first decades of the 19th century. Steady growth occurred during the 1820's and 1830's and this growth continued until the peak was reached in the 1860's. Decline began in the late 1870's and accelerated quickly about 1880 and afterward. At this time steam vessels had taken over and the demand for wooden vessels dropped as it became more difficult to build them because of depleted forests.

The general trends which hold true in shipbuilding over the Island apply to activity within the National Park area. It is known when the industry started, when it peaked and when it declined in fifteen separate locations or communities in the area.³ That is a large number of communities for a twenty-six mile shore line. The abundance of bays and inlets on this particular section of the north shore helps account for the proliferation of shipyards, yet all four bays, New London, Rustico, Covehead and Tracadie were not among the deepest nor the least treacherous on the Island. In fact all four were guarded by visible sandhills and underwater sandbars.

The following text deals with several questions arising out of the shipbuilding era. Who built the vessels, who financed them and where were they built? How many vessels were constructed per community and how did the communities fare comparatively among themselves and in the

Island context? What was the impact on individual communities?

Number of Vessels Built

There were well over 500 vessels built between 1785 and 1911 in the park area. This figure is a minimum because it originates with ship registry statistics on Prince Edward Island. A few vessels, perhaps two to five percent per year (at times totalling only five or six vessels), used in the British trade were built on the Island, took a load of timber to Britain, and were only registered upon arrival. Shipbuilding sites were found round the shores of the park area bays. The bays of New London and Rustico were clearly the leaders in number of vessels built, with Covehead and Tracadie far behind. At least 290 Island-built vessels were built in Rustico Bay and at least 180 were built in New London Bay. It is only safe to say, on the other hand, that at least 20 vessels sailed out of Covehead Bay and that at least 5 sailed out of Tracadie Bay.⁴ No Prince Edward Island vessels were very large, the largest of all being the 1,795 Ton Ethel built at Charlottetown and launched in 1858. Generally a vessel of 1,000 Tons was considered very large. One of the largest to be built in the park area was the 571 Ton Superior registered at New London on the 22 July 1845 and

built there by John MacKenzie for Alexander Rankin. Few, on the other hand, were smaller than the 5 Ton Margaret registered at Rustico 14 June 1852 and built and owned there by Lewis Gallant. The average size was close to the 200-300 Tons reported for the Island as a whole.⁵ As such they were larger than schooners, fitting into the brig or brigantine class of vessel.

Within the New London Bay the vast majority are registered at New London, but in fact there were several sites from Hope River to Granville Creek on the east half of the Bay where they could have been built. Meanwhile the other given point of registration in the New London Bay area was French River, but only four relatively small vessels were so registered. All were built during the peak period between 1866 and 1874.

One of the first of the approximately 180 vessels built in New London Bay was the 149 Ton Hopewell built by John Cambridge in 1786. One hundred and two years later William Bell, a New London merchant, built the 17 Ton Eliza M, one of the last to be registered at New London. The average number of vessels built per year was at least 1.75. The peak period began in 1864 and continued through 1869 with the average number of vessels produced at 8.3 per year. The nineteen year period prior to 1864 was also quite productive at an average of 4.3 vessels per year. Prior to this period again from the late 18th century on, a

vessel was being produced on an average of once every two years, and more frequently so toward the 1840's.⁶ The decline in shipbuilding in New London Bay began abruptly during the 1870's when the average per year dropped back to 1.2. During the 1880's only two vessels were built, both were quite small.

The Rustico Bay area provides a much greater array of sites readily identifiable and consisting mainly of Rustico, Grand Rustico, New Glasgow and Wheatley River. Even to this day all retain the reputation in oral tradition as substantial shipbuilding centres. There is some confusion caused by the two locales, Rustico and Grand Rustico.⁷ From 1785 to 1841 fifty-two vessels were built and registered at Grand Rustico. After 1841 Grand Rustico, as a point of registration, fell into disuse and all registrations were made under the name of Rustico. Until that time both had been used with Grand Rustico being the more frequently used by a margin of two to one. It was in Grand Rustico that in 1785 the Nancy was registered, the property of James Curtis, Esquire. This was the earliest vessel registration found for the area and it is in fact one of the earliest on the Island.⁸ It was not until the 1790's that vessels began to be registered at Rustico. From that point on at least 113 vessels and probably many more were built and registered at Rustico.

The peak period at Rustico occurred very early in comparison to what was happening elsewhere on the Island and in New London Bay in particular. It began slightly earlier than the next earliest community, New Glasgow, starting in 1845 and continuing through 1851. During these seven years 43 vessels were constructed or an average of 6.14 per year. The seven year period immediately following showed an average of 3.71 vessels per year. After 1858 the activity seemed to disappear from the area as the average dropped back to one per year during the 1860's. There were a few scattered registrations, exceeding by very little a total of 25 between 1858 and 1911 when the last registration occurred.⁹

The remarkable thing about the shipbuilding of Rustico was the considerable activity taking place in the early years of the industry. The period 1785 to 1809 saw at least 37 vessels built in the Rustico and Grand Rustico areas combined.¹⁰ This was an average of 1.54 vessels per year and the tonnage ranged from 22 to 114 tons. This trend continued at least at that level, sizes reached 225 Tons, until the above mentioned peak period began in the mid-1840's. The designation 'Grand Rustico' was used proportionately less in the late 1830's, and it disappeared in the early 1840's.

The third important shipbuilding community in Rustico Bay was New Glasgow located about three miles

upstream from Rusticoville on the Hunter River. Long before Rusticoville got its name New Glasgow people were building ships. One of the first to be built there was the 169 Ton Minerva registered 8 November 1824. Approximately 90 vessels later the schooner Laurel was registered in the name of New Glasgow Mills merchant James Laird on 8 August 1892. The Laurel was the last vessel built at New Glasgow. The average number of vessels built per year was 1.32 for the sixty-two years of activity. The peak in activity came between 1847 and 1857 inclusive when an average of 3.9 vessels were built per year at New Glasgow.¹¹ From 1857 on seldom were there more than two vessels per year built at New Glasgow, but even at that the accomplishment was significant given the lack of water depth below as well as above New Glasgow today.

Among the largest vessels built at New Glasgow were the 412 Ton Concordia built in 1847 by Robert Orr for James Peake of Charlottetown, and the 424 Ton Cambria built in 1854 by owner/builder William Orr of New Glasgow. The smallest vessel built and registered was one of 10 Tons while the average size for the sixty-eight years was approximately 140 Tons. During the peak period 1847-1857 only one in four was below 140 Tons. Not only were they numerous, they were large vessels that were built in the New Glasgow area. The average size diminished accordingly in the 1860's and afterward, dropping back to and holding

at approximately 70 Tons until construction ceased.

Wheatley River was the fourth major shipbuilding community in the Rustico Bay area. Activity commenced at least as early as 1840 when the 207 Ton Marie Jane was built for John, Donald and Robert Matheson by James and Charles Kelly. The last vessel to be registered as built at Wheatley River was the 169 Ton Clansman built and owned by Alex MacMillan of that place in 1862. Shipbuilding was pursued for a much shorter period, about twenty-five years, than it was in neighbouring New Glasgow. At least 28 vessels were built there averaging about one per year ranging in size from 17 Tons to 241 Tons.

The peak period of activity in Wheatley River came within the same ten year period as New Glasgow's, 1847 to 1857. The peak in Wheatley River, however, was restricted to six years, 1850 through 1855, when an average of 2.67 vessels were built, four in each of 1850 and 1851 and two in each succeeding year. Outside this six year peak period one vessel per year was built between 1845 and 1862. Although shipbuilding may have begun as early as 1834, no consistent activity occurred until twelve years later in 1846. The average size of vessels built during the peak period was 145 Tons, while the average size for the period of decline to 1862 was 178 Tons. Though smaller in numbers the last vessels built at Wheatley River were considerably larger in size.¹² For some reason vessels ceased to be

registered under Wheatley River from 1862 onward. The decline in numbers of vessels built seems to indicate a lack of interest in the area from builders, which adds support to the view that vessels simply were not built there any more, as opposed to the notion that they were built there but registered elsewhere.

Outside the New London and Rustico Bay areas comparatively little shipbuilding was carried on at any time.¹³ Where the other bays had seen hundreds built, Covehead Bay was the building site of approximately 14 vessels. This number may be increased slightly because some of the 9 built at Brackley Point may have been built on the Bay. Even fewer vessels were built on Tracadie Bay, a total of only 5 at Grand Tracadie, Tracadie and Corran Ban.¹⁴ Tracadie does hold, however, the earliest registration, 1783, the 11 Ton Endeavour owned by William Creed. Though there was so little activity in Tracadie Bay that it hardly matters, it and Covehead Bays were early scenes of shipbuilding. A 13 Ton vessel, the Jennet, was built in 1786 at Covehad and 5 more followed by 1816. Meanwhile at Brackley Point 4 were built before 1818, beginning in 1809. All but one of the 9 built there were registered before 1841 and the ninth came in 1848 bringing an end to a limited shipbuilding effort when most other areas were reaching a peak. Meanwhile in Covehead the industry dragged on with 11 of the 14 vessels built there completed by 1847.

Activity in the shipbuilding industry peaked earlier in most of the National Park area than it did elsewhere on the Island. Following the rule were communities such as Grand Rustico, Rustico, New Glasgow, Wheatley River and the less important areas such as Brackley Point and Covehead. The exception to the park area trend was New London Bay which peaked as did the rest of the Island in the 1840's and 1850's producing about five per year; however, it did not have nearly the early 19th century production that the Rustico Bay area had.

Shipbuilders, Owners and Yards

Shipbuilders and owners who operated in the park area hailed from all over the Island. There among the New London, New Glasgow and Wheatley River names were the Charlottetown, Summerside, Bedeque and Murray Harbour names. The Peakes, the Cambridges and the Popes joined or merely contributed temporary financial backing to the MacKays, the Orrs and the Hodges of New London, New Glasgow and Rustico respectively. The indigenous shipbuilders often relied on outside capital, and often the initiative to build was taken by those outsiders. Regardless of which was more important in the decision to build ships, the same builders if not owners were often involved, and of course the labour supply changed very little within communities.

Covehead and Brackley Point were not important shipbuilding centres, nevertheless a look at the registry for vessels built there reveals a few important facts about the industry. Since many of the ships built at Covehead were built early in the 19th century they tend to have been built by locals, in fact at least seven of nine built before 1846 were locally built. The largest ever built was the 129 Ton Mary built in 1869 by William Warren Lord and John Jardine Webster of Charlottetown. This was the only one built at Covehead that was over 100 Tons, thus the limited size and number of vessels built at Covehead might have discouraged interest from outside builders though these men were not always motivated by the potential size of vessels that could be built in a particular area. Furthermore, because it was shallow Covehead Bay did not have the potential that those to the west had.

In spite of the fact that few vessels were built in the Covehead and Brackley Point areas a preliminary survey of shipyards in 1972 identified a number of yards in the area.¹⁵ They were small and might better be called sites rather than shipyards. Figure 10 shows the approximate locations of some of the shipyards as indicated in the survey report. Yard number 1 is located on land once owned by the Auld family at the mouth of Auld's Creek. This presumably is where John Auld built the 16 Ton Nancy in 1816. Yard number 2 is associated with David Lawson who lived

there in 1880 according to Meacham's 1880 Atlas of Prince Edward Island. Yard number 3 is located along the east side of MacMillan's point and it is suggested as only a possible site. Yard number 4 was located somewhere up Black River; however, no coinciding name is given. It is possible, however, that this is where Ewen MacMillan and John Matheson built the 178 Ton Lady Mary in 1841 on what would have been Matheson land at that time. Yard number 5 is located on land owned by Charles Gregor again according to Meacham's Atlas 1880. Yard number 6 is certainly on Rustico Bay, however, it is included here because it was where Neil MacCallum of Brackley Point built vessels. He and his younger brother James built vessels for the Newfoundland market and inter-colonial trade with that colony. Neil was master builder and James sailing master and in the 1830's they were joined by cousin Charles Gregor and the three of them built for the British market.¹⁷

At Brackley Point the story was similar to that of Covehead Bay. What shipbuilding there was, occurred before 1850, and was sporadic and inconsistent. Unlike Covehead there seems to be a higher concentration, about 50 percent, of owners not easily identifiable as Brackley Point names. Also about 50 percent of the vessels were over 100 Tons; these were larger than those built at Covehead. The largest vessel located was the 178 Ton Lady Mary built in 1841 by Ewen MacMillan and John Matheson of Brackley Point.

West of Brackley Point the Rustico Bay area was one of the greatest shipbuilding areas on Prince Edward Island. During the period to the 1840's there was no predominance of any one builder or builders. What was striking in comparison to the mid-century period was the high proportion of Acadian names. Roughly half the ships built at Grand Rustico and Rustico were Acadian built and owned.¹⁶ Gallant and Peters appeared often among the names.

The peak period began in the mid-40's at Rustico and from then until the decline began in the early 1860's the comparison with the earlier period is remarkable. It might be said that shipbuilding was pursued seriously during this period as the average tonnage was at least 140 Tons and there were many vessels built. The remarkable fact is that only one owner was Acadian and only ten others were Rustico people. Instead owners from all over the Island were active at this time in Rustico. Seventeen were owned fully or in part by Francis Longworth of Charlottetown while 5 more were owned by William Longworth. Nine were owned by James Peake of Charlottetown and 8 were owned by the Orrs of New Glasgow. The Orrs built many more than they owned. The remaining 22 were owned by people who came from across the Island.

By the early 1860's shipbuilding activity had slowed to a snail's pace at Rustico. Rustico people owned approximately half of the 10 ships built, while at least 2

of the remainder were owned by Charlottetown people. It appears that the major operators had pulled out of Rustico by this time; as a result local production almost ceased.

Seven shipbuilding sites have been found in Rustico Bay and they are identified on Figure 10. Site number 7 at Rustico Island was active in the late 18th century producing two vessels, both built by Englishmen. Likewise site numbers 8, 9 and 10 were very likely in operation in the very early days, the names associated with each being Simeon Gallant, Marin Martin and Stephen Gallant respectively. Site numbers 11 and 12 were actually at Rusticoville and were owned by Christopher LePage and Joe Gallant respectively and they would not have been as old as the three previous ones, LePage for instance having built a vessel in the 1890's.

Off to the west end of Rustico Bay is the mouth of the Hunter River. The Rusticoville sites have been mentioned; however, upstream lies a very important area in terms of the role of local involvement in the shipbuilding industry in the park area. It was the Orr family of New Glasgow that was involved in the building of at least half the vessels built at that place and in the ownership of almost as many. Prior to 1841 at least 9 vessels were built and all but one were built by an Orr; James, William or Robert. The Orrs owned none of these and there were no repetitions of owners. When the activity peaked in the

area, however, the story changed with the Orrs having at least one third ownership of 24 of the 56 vessels built. Nineteen of these in turn were owned solely by Orr. The Orrs maintained their reputation as builders by constructing 38 of these 56 vessels. They also built vessels at Rustico during the 1840's and 1850's. The other important influence in New Glasgow building was James Peake of Charlottetown who solely owned 20 vessels built there between 1845 and 1863.

During the decline a pattern similar to the Rustico pattern emerges where the local people continue building a few after the major names disappear. The Orrs were involved to a lesser extent between 1864 and 1879 when New Glasgow people owned 11 of the 16 vessels built.

New Glasgow seems a tiny place to locate at least five shipyards; however, this was the case. The task was made easier by the fact that two of the yards were downstream, number 13 on Figure 10 close to Rusticoville and number 14 at New Glasgow Mills. The former was larger than the yards at Rusticoville and it was started by the Orrs in 1824.¹⁸ The latter was owned by shipbuilder and merchant Jimmy Laird who was more active after the peak had passed in New Glasgow. Two other sites upstream at New Glasgow were found and they were John Darrach's, number 15 on Figure 10 and Bagnall's located on the west bank several hundred yards upstream from the bridge. The Darrach site

was active from the peak period to 1884 when the family left for New Zealand.¹⁹

The fourth community which was a shipbuilding concern in the Rustico Bay area was Wheatley River. Vessels were built up close to the village and east of there at Crooked Creek.²⁰ Only the period from the mid-40's to the mid-60's is important in this case. Duncan MacRae was a major builder owning in full or in part 10 of the 26 vessels built between 1845 and 1863. The site where he built is number 17, Figure 10, while a second site used by Archibald MacMillan was located in the village area but its exact location is not known. Archibald MacMillan was second most prominent in the area, building 4 ships and assisting with 2 others. The remaining 10 were built by outsiders.

The final park area to consider in terms of vessel ownership is New London. Unlike Rustico, vessels produced in New London Bay held a 50-50 chance of being locally owned. During the years prior to the peak, i.e. 1845-1863, about the same percentage were locally owned as non-locally owned. Even during the peak period, when in other areas outside ownership was highest, local ownership stood at 50 percent. During this period slightly less than one third were Charlottetown owned with Douse being the name most often appearing. At all times the New London vessels showed an assortment of names from other Island centres such as Summerside and Bedeque.

Moving from the east the first site on New London Bay is located on a tributary to Hope River, downstream from Bayview Mills. Here Tim Cullen and John Andrew built vessels.²¹ There were very likely other sites in the area; however, the next one identified was at Stanley Bridge, on the east side, where John Squarebriggs built for George William MacKay, number 19, Figure 10. Almost directly across the Stanley River but slightly to the south was another yard with no name of builder given, number 20, Figure 10. It was upstream from Stanley Bridge that considerable building took place. One yard on Granville Creek, number 21, Figure 10 and a second on Trout River, number 22, Figure 10 must have accounted for a great many of the vessels to come out of New London Bay. It was at the latter site that John Morris built vessels during the peak period while it was at the former that the Bell brothers, William, Andrew, James and John, operated during the same period.

Community Impact

Shipbuilding had a profound effect in the development of many Prince Edward Island communities; Port Hill, Bedeque, Mt. Stewart and Murray Harbour among them. Within the National Park area the effect was most noticeable in Rustico and vicinity and New London and vicinity. Stanley Bridge and New London were the most important centres in the

New London area but unfortunately most registrations were made under the New London name regardless of the location of the shipyard. The impact on the separate communities is therefore more difficult to assess. The whole New London Bay area seems too large an area -- incorporating Bayview, Stanley Bridge, New London and French River -- from which to draw applicable general conclusions.²² Meanwhile the impact on areas such as Brackley Point and Covehead to the east would hardly have been sufficient to warrant comment. The only area for which the information exists for a preliminary analysis of the impact of shipbuilding in the communities is Rustico Bay.

There are two variables which are the major influences on the impact of shipbuilding in an area and they are the number of vessels built and the ownership of the vessels built. Presumably the spin-off effect is constant in most areas; that is, the lumber industry is given a boost and blacksmith shops were kept busy. Sailmaking was somewhat different, there always being the possibility that in the case of outside owners, sails were made in a centre such as Bedeque or Charlottetown where the major builders had headquarters. On the other hand, an owner such as Peake from Charlottetown may well have been content to finance an Orr-built vessel in New Glasgow, thus a sailmaking loft in New Glasgow or Rustico associated with the Orrs would have sufficed. Regardless, the spin-off effect

in the community outside the actual shipyard had good potential as there was an influx of capital into communities indirectly through the sale of the vessels. This capital caused activity in the community which would not have occurred otherwise. A community such as New Glasgow, for instance, would not have developed the services it had if there had not been shipyards.

Although the details upon which to base an analysis are lacking, the shipbuilding industry must have brought an industrial air to the communities of Rustico Bay. At any time from the mid-40's to the late 50's the peak activity in the area could have been observed. An imaginary tour in 1850 aboard a small vessel from Wheatley River through Rustico Bay and up the Hunter River to New Glasgow would have exposed one to the construction sites of at least fourteen vessels. This voyage would have covered only twelve miles, and that much only because of the many small inlets and mouths of creeks that would have to be negotiated. Many jobs were provided and the demands for goods and services were substantial during its peak in the 1840's and 1850's in the Rustico Bay area.

The shipbuilding experience and impact could not have varied greatly among the three principal areas on Rustico Bay. New Glasgow and Wheatley River both hold reputations in their oral traditions as shipbuilding centres. It is very likely in fact that shipbuilding put

them on the map. New Glasgow, for instance, was a thriving shipbuilding centre within twenty years of its settlement in 1819. The spin-off effect remained prominent, giving economic meaning to the community. It was not until the Prince Edward Island Railroad went through Hunter River about 1875 that a locale close to New Glasgow offered a service that New Glasgow did not. Shipbuilding seems to have been a main reason for New Glasgow's existence in its early history. It brought wealth and good repute to the local residents, specifically to the likes of master shipbuilders of the Orr family. Outside of the Orr family the main participant was James Peake of Charlottetown, and the fact that he was involved so heavily financially in the New Glasgow industry must have led to a certain relationship between the community and Peake, one of the Czars of the Island shipbuilding era. The people of New Glasgow could not help but be aware of his presence as well as the presence and reputation of their own Orr brothers, builders turned owners. The result of the activity in the experience of the average citizen of New Glasgow during the peak period, 1847-1857, was the sight of four new vessels every year leaving the slipways.

Where New Glasgow managed a high proportion of local ownership throughout, Rustico experienced a loss in local ownership as shipbuilding reached a peak. As was shown in the section on shipbuilders, the number of Acadian

people owning vessels was reduced dramatically by the 1840's. Among the outside interests, hardly surprisingly, were the Orrs of New Glasgow, both as builders and owners. The growth of shipbuilding was something of an indigenous activity involving local owners and activities throughout the years to the 1840's, while once the peak period was reached an intrusion of sorts occurred and Acadian involvement in the industry declined. If the ever present Acadian labour supply was utilized by the shipbuilders then the impact of the takeover by English interests might have been minimized within the context of the entrepreneurial game. At any rate the amount of activity in the industry in the Rustico area was hardly equalled anywhere else on the Island over the full shipbuilding period. The impact must have been substantial, breathing life into shipyard areas such as Rusticoville and perhaps adding new weight or even establishing the 'Anglo' in Anglo Rustico.

The full impact of the era of wooden ships and iron men in the National Park area is presented sufficiently by the use of the imagination and a few shipbuilding statistics. It lasted a substantial number of years, at least sixty, though historically its longevity does not compare well with the basic fishing and farming activities. It helped establish villages such as New Glasgow and Wheatley River, leaving them to serve the needs of the farmers and fishermen once the shipbuilding decline came.

Though shipbuilding provided a means for exporting various products it gobbled up the forests of the Island without replacing them. In short, over a period of some seventy-five years it made many wealthy, both at home and abroad, but left Island woodlands in a more deprived state than when it arrived. It was quite a good thing while it lasted and in the mid-19th century there was little reason to see why it would not last.

TOURISM THEMEIntroduction

James Peters, a resident of Rustico, petitioned the colonial government in 1813 for assistance in improving the tavern he operated at Rustico. Specifically he prayed for "assistance to furnish his tavern there with three feather beds."¹ In those days a tavern was not much more than a house so designated by licence issued by the colonial government. Guests would expect to find a kitchen or parlour, round which the host lived during their stay, and bed and breakfast. They were the forerunners of the hotels resembling more boarding houses than the hotels of the last quarter of the 19th century. Governments licenced taverns from the earliest days of British rule and they served as the official overnight stations at a time when anyone living along the rivers and shoreline that intersected the main roads could expect visitors at any time.

Over one hundred years after James Peters sought assistance to better provide for the travelling public the Prince Edward Island Tourist Association was formed and Aubin Arsenault, Justice of the Supreme Court and former premier of the province, became its first president.² Its goal was to attract more tourists for the province and some of the stumbling blocks to be overcome included an eight

dollar return fare on the car ferry and miles of unpaved roads. "In many cases, tourists came across to Borden and after experiencing a few miles of driving through thick clouds of dust, promptly turned around and headed back for the mainland."³ Whereas James Peters had sought the simple comfort of feather beds, his 20th century descendants sought inexpensive transport on modern car ferries and pavement for dirt roads. The request for feather beds was refused by Executive Council and nothing more was heard.⁴ The Tourist Association continued to press for the desired improvements in the late 1920's and early 1930's eventually succeeding in having the fares reduced to \$3.00 return. Paved roads from Charlottetown and Summerside to Borden appeared in the late 1930's. Whether or not a feathered bed did a happy traveller make in the early 1800's there is no doubt that public interest in pleasing visitors to Prince Edward Island had increased substantially by the 1920's. It was not at all a century of intense public involvement, rather in the 1920's public involvement was just beginning. Even then in spite of the fact that roads would soon be paved and Canadian National Railway car ferry rates would be lowered it was not until 1941 that the provincial government gave the Association its first \$2,500 subsidy. The next year the government voted \$10,000 toward the Prince Edward Island Travel Bureau and publicly funded tourist promotion was finally underway.⁵

Travel in and around Prince Edward Island in the early 1800's could not have been regarded as anything but a necessary evil. Those who indulged must have had good reason such as clergy, government officials, agents of proprietors, or observers of the Island possessed of a flair for recording what they saw in a manner sure to attract immigrants. There would have been taverns or boarding houses for the traveller within the park area at long settled places such as New London, Brackley Point and Covehead. Those fortunate enough to have larger houses in these tiny communities would put up passers-by for the night. The use of the area by pleasure-seekers or sightseers during the late 18th and early 19th centuries was very likely limited. Its potential could not have gone unrecognized, however, because at mid-century or shortly thereafter a few north shore homes such as Shaw's in Brackley Point and MacMillan's at Stanhope were becoming institutionalized guest homes. The majority of their guests at that time would likely have been persons out from Charlottetown for a few days during the summer. They would have been nonetheless tourists; however, it was not until the 1860's that clear evidence appears of appreciable numbers of vacationers arriving from outside the colony. Encouraged and excited by the age of steam a few began to frequent the park area shores initiating its reputation as they took their leave of their homes in the Canadas and in the United

States for a summer-long vacation on Prince Edward Island.

The following segments of the tourism theme deal with the changes that took place in 'tourist operations' in the park area from about the mid-19th century through the age of leisure to the initial era of mass travel and vacationing in the 1930's. The growth of north shore hotels is seen as partially a result of promotion of the assets of the area in newspapers and through informal means. The hotels resulted in part from the normal traffic through the area by mid-century as well. The shipbuilding industries and the existence of pedlars must have encouraged the boarding houses of the time. There were two groups of hotels, the first appearing in the 1860's and 1870's and the second at the turn of the century. The next development after the hotels were the smaller boarding houses which started shortly after the first World War. The first cottages open to the public appeared later in the 1920's. Private cottages on individual plots had been in the area, particularly at Stanhope and Tracadie, since the turn of the century.

The Age of Leisure

For most Islanders the age of leisure experienced by the wealthier classes of the 19th century meant nothing. Not that life on the Island was all hard work and no play; rather, that only the well-to-do mercantile class of

Charlottetown fully partook in the age of leisure as it was experienced at the tourist establishments of the north shore. It was in the 1840's that the first hints of consciousness of the possibilities on the part of the residents of Charlottetown began to appear. At that time one local newspaper, the Islander, was lauding the arrival of adequate hotel accommodations in the town and warning local entrepreneurs to invest in similar endeavours. The hotel so proclaimed was the Victoria Hotel owned and managed by a Mr. Israel Fellows of St. John, New Brunswick who ran a hotel by the same name in that city. It was advanced by the Islander that the many "respectable and intelligent" citizens liable to be attracted would invest in the Island as had Mr. Fellows, hence the warning:

Our present capitalists may continue to refuse to open up our resources, for the advantage of themselves and the Colony at large; but, if they do, our resources will yet become known to strangers, and they who are now unknown to us shall possess them.⁶

The Islander measured the viability of such an investment by the existence of a 'migratory season' already experienced every summer. The newspaper publicly expressed the hope that the Hotel would become known throughout the sister colonies in time for the new season.

Charlottetown in 1843 had long been known as "Sleepy-Hollow" among its colonial neighbours, thus the long established need for a hotel in the town. "The want of it has, hitherto, prevented our beautiful Island from being the

annual summer resort...to numbers of the respectable inhabitants of the adjacent Provinces...."⁷ 'Respectable' people were clearly on the move in the 1840's but Charlottetown, and presumably the north shore area, was not attracting them. Promotion of hotels and advocacy of the tourist trade such as was practiced in the above case aided the cause as did the advent of steamer service to the Island. Visitors were arriving by steamers owned by outside concerns, thus prompting the incorporation and subsequent operation of the Prince Edward Island Steam Navigation Company in 1842.⁸ Several years passed and by 1869 the company operated three steamers on the different routes serving Charlottetown.⁹ The next year the Islander reviewed the company's record stating that it had "for several years provided for the comfortable conveyance, tri-weekly, of passengers to and from Shediac and Pictou...."¹⁰

During the thirty years between 1842 and the early 1870's changes did take place in available accommodations in both the Charlottetown and park areas. Whether or not all accommodations available in 1870 were as good as those offered by the Victoria Hotel in 1843 is debatable and in fact was debated in arguments for better accommodations made in 1871. In 1864 there were twelve establishments listed under the general heading of Charlottetown Hotels, their total capacity being 218 guests with the average capacity of about 18 showing less than a 50 percent

deviation either way.¹¹ Also during the decade there were many boarding houses with more than 100 said to exist in 1869.¹² This evidence seems to indicate that in terms of quantity the accommodations gap of the early 1840's had been filled over the ensuing twenty years. The implications for the park area were that more people were leaving the town during their stay and going to the north shore area. This was definitely the fact by the 1870's as evidenced by the number of hotels, once boarding houses, operating there.

The park area hotels resulted in part from the demand for more and better accommodation. Accommodations were vital as were any promotions the Island received as a summer resort. Persons who had stayed on the Island were most important sources of information on how the accommodations and attractions rated. The year 1871 was an important one as the Patriot newspaper, itself sometimes critical of accommodations, copied, from off-Island newspapers, letters which evaluated such things as attractions, transportation and accommodations available for visitors. The letters were unreserved in praise on some points while quick and careful to qualify in other areas. The letters, in addition to comments made by guests in hotel registers and in person, served the purpose of judging the accomplishments of the Island establishments.

The attractions sited were much the same as those used in tourist brochures 100 years later which still

emphasize "...the balmy, bracing air, the repose and the restfulness, and the fragrance of clover fields...."¹³

Another writer was more disdainful of those who did not seek or share the values so obvious in Prince Edward Island but who instead favoured the more fashionable American resort towns.

Newport, Saratoga, Long Beach and many other places of similar character, are well enough for people of fashion, whose days and nights are a continual round of what they call pleasure; but serious, sober people, who wish for rest and refreshment to fit them in body and mind to resume the grave duties and work of life, would prefer different company and surroundings -- where fast, flash women and men of the world are not found. Such a place is Prince Edward Island.¹⁴

It was a sedate crowd that was expected to enjoy the Island's attractions. Coupled with the beauty and pace of Island life was "the characteristic hospitality of the islanders" and the fact that there are neither many of them nor their visitors. Upon reaching the Charlottetown wharf by steamer from Shediac, New Brunswick, one writer observed the wharf was little used by crowds of travellers since the Island was little known.¹⁵ When a vessel did arrive, however, there could be five or six dozen tourists on board.¹⁶

Improved transportation was destined to make the Island a popular summer resort. The direct railway link anticipated in 1871 between Portland and St. John was expected to boost the numbers wishing to travel to Prince Edward Island. A direct rail link between St. John and Shediac expected the same year was to remove completely from

steamer travel all but the last leg, Shediac to Charlottetown, of the journey from the Boston area to Prince Edward Island.

If the letters from observers of the facilities for tourists are to be believed the local newspapers were justified in calling for more and better hotels. The one good thing was the cost, it was much lower than rates elsewhere. The hotels would not satisfy those accustomed to hotels found in American cities, yet the minimal requirement of comfort was assured.¹⁷

The problem of inadequate facilities was being addressed almost every time tourist needs were discussed in the press during the early 1870's and later on at the turn of the century. As was the case in the early 1840's the Islander came close to scolding the principal real estate holders in Charlottetown for their alleged disinterest in hotel accommodations. The Islander proposed a two branch system with one hotel located in the city and a second at the north shore at Covehead or Stanhope for instance, close to sea-bathing.¹⁸ Again, the proposal that at least two new hotels be constructed was related to the anticipated increase in tourist traffic as a result of the Boston to St. John railway. The importance attached to this railway helps explain the general concern for accommodations in the early 1870's.

Several notable hotels were constructed outside Charlottetown in the 1870's. They included the Island Park Hotel at Bedeque Bay, the Ocean House (Seaside Hotel) at Rustico, and very likely the Lorne Hotel (Acadian Hotel) at Tracadie. The Island Park Hotel is of no particular significance to the north shore area except that at 125 rooms, it was possibly the largest built on the Island at the time and it thrived from its opening in 1873 to 1877. The pains which the owners took to appeal to the fancy of the visitors is evident in the bridle paths and carriage track included on site. Steamer service over the three quarters of a mile to Summerside was made available by the owners as well. The Island Park Hotel along with Charlottetown and south shore hotels had the distinct advantage of a south shore location.¹⁹

The concept of lavish facilities and elaborate developments on site was not new for Prince Edward Island when it was used to enhance the Island Park Hotel in 1873. Though perhaps to a lesser degree, the idea was used in building the Ocean House at Rustico in 1871. It would appear from descriptions and circumstances surrounding the Ocean House and the later well known Seaside Hotel that they are one and the same. The Ocean House was a two story building measuring 60 x 35 feet built by Mr. Nelson of the City Hotel in Charlottetown in an effort that showed "considerable enterprise." It featured an ice house, a seventy foot long bowling alley (an alternative to the "hateful vice of gambling"), a dining room that sat forty guests comfortably

and twenty-one bedrooms providing large sleeping accommodations. This hotel was quite conveniently located on what has to be the very site of the Seaside Hotel as placed in Meacham's Atlas of Prince Edward Island 1880.

In front are the Rustico sand hills, covered with grass. Behind them is excellent surf bathing, and between them and the shore is a narrow sheet of water, well adapted for boating, for which every requisite is provided. Hunter River, with its fine trout is close at hand, while mackerel, perch, lobster...may be had in abundance.²⁰

Besides being an example of a first class hotel the Ocean House represented the fulfillment of the proposal made by the Islander newspaper only a year earlier. It may have been however that its stature as a second hotel run by Mr. Nelson produced financial problems for him resulting in a change of ownership as early as 1875.

The Seaside Hotel was run by John Newson, a Charlottetown cabinetmaker and merchant. The hotel register gives the opening date 18 June 1875 and a grandson of the proprietor writes:

I am inclined to believe that the opening date... is the date that my grandparents commenced operation.... I am also inclined to the view that they took over the hotel from someone else I am under the impression, for which I can give no authority, that he had supplied the furniture to the hotel...that default was made in payment, and that he had to take over the operation to salvage his investment.²¹

It would seem that the man from whom John Newson had to salvage his investment was Mr. Nelson of the City Hotel. Newson was more successful in operating the hotel as it

closed for the last time 22 August 1902 apparently still under Newson ownership. The Seaside Hotel was different from other park area hotels of the 1870's such as Shaw's Hotel at Brackley Beach and Point Pleasant Hotel at Stanhope. The sole function of the Seaside was as a resort hotel serving visitors in summer and abandoned in winter while the others were year round residences of their farmer-owners.

It would appear that a second of the four park area hotels of the 1870's was solely a summer resort. The Lorne Hotel pictured in Meacham's Atlas 1880, page 121, seems to have had no other purpose. While not altogether safe to assume that the Lorne Hotel was also built in the 1870's, no mention was made of it as a fine example worthy of emulation in the foregoing excerpts from newspapers. Very little is known of its history except that at one point between 1880 and 1895 it must have changed its name or was replaced (since it is doubtful two large hotels existed simultaneously at Tracadie Harbour) by the Acadia Hotel. The hotel was owned by an American fish buyer in the 1890's by the name of Hall²² so perhaps it was he who changed the name to the Acadia Hotel. The hotel burned one busy summer night c.1903-04 sending the many boarders fleeing. The fire occurred only two or three years before the one which destroyed the Seaside Hotel. Mrs. Lorne Noonan was born Catherine MacDonald at Tracadie in 1894 and she does not recall seeing the hotel. The hotel was a loss to the community, as it had provided work for residents in summer.²³

The Lorne or Acadia Hotel located about six miles east of the Seaside Hotel (Figure 13) had a number of similarities to it. The distinguishing factor may have been the local ownership of the Seaside, a local ownership which brought it closer in essence to the family-run Shaw's and Point Pleasant Hotels. The latter of course were on farms and though their clientele were readily identifiable and their hotel businesses well established, farming had to be the main stay in those early days. Something of a revealing parallel existed with the Seaside Hotel, grandson Newson writes:

...my grandfather was a serious-minded and studious man and one not likely to be interested in running a summer hotel, especially as he had his own furniture business on Richmond Street in Charlottetown to attend to.²⁴

Not only was a steady course of employment necessary in the case of both the farmer and the cabinet maker but the notion of a summer resort was somewhat frivolous and very likely undependable. Grandfather Newson preferred to mind the store in Charlottetown while grandmother and children made the annual June transfer to Rustico.

One winter night in 1905 or 1906 the Seaside Hotel burned the same night that the proprietors had been out to do some work. They had of course heated the building during the course of the day, perhaps a little too much for the poor condition of the chimneys. The business had not been too active for the last two or three years which seems to suggest that 1902 was the closing date. Regardless, this

disaster, described as "probably accidental" put an end to one of the most popular summer resorts on the Island in the 1870's and 1880's.

The two remaining hotels that date at least to the 1870's and probably beyond are Shaw's of Brackley Point (Figure 11) and the Point Pleasant Hotel of Stanhope. Both started out as boarding houses. The latter, built by Angus MacMillan possibly during the first quarter of the 19th century up until 1940, had been known variously as MacMillan's Hotel, Point Pleasant Hotel, the Cliff Hotel, and Stanhope Beach Inn. It may have welcomed guests from its construction onward making it one of the oldest surviving functional hotels or boarding houses in the north shore area. There are other houses just as old and older and of sufficient size to have welcomed visitors from the early 1800's onward, but few have continuously functioned as has Point Pleasant Hotel. Shaw's Hotel of course is one, having been operating as a guest house and hotel since the 1870's and possibly as early as the 1860's.²⁶ Again as a boarding house it and several others in the Brackley Point area may have been favourites much earlier than the 1860's. According to the story told by the present proprietor, Gordon Shaw, the first guest to come to Shaw's was a sick child who had to leave her home in Charlottetown for the summer to be cured. Shaw's was also supposed to have had the first golf course on Prince Edward Island. Located among the sandhills which

created a punch bowl effect guiding the ball into the cup at the base of the hill.²⁷

The summer resorts of the late 1860's to 1900 period were favourites of the upper classes on Prince Edward Island. The hotels boasted then even more loudly than today of who they had attracted from among the Island's and the country's VIP's. Guests came from various parts of Canada and the United States. In the case of the Seaside Hotel there visited lieutenant governors, former premiers, fathers of Confederation and so forth up to the vice regal visit of the Marquis of Lorne in 1879 one year after his appointment. The ordinary guests of the hotels would have to be very well-to-do in Island terms to afford the \$2 to \$2.50 per day charged in 1878.²⁸ They were the respected ladies and gentlemen of the society and their activities in and around the resort areas reflected this. You didn't have to be a registered guest to take part in the summer social events at the resorts.

Everything favored the carrying out of the Hop at Shaw's Hotel...Monday evening. The weather was perfection; not an uncomfortable breeze...the verandas and tents in the weird light of the Chinese lanterns seemed hardly less than fairyland. The half holiday in Charlottetown rendered it possible for the guests to come earlier, so that by tea time a full representation had arrived.... Promptly at eight o'clock Major Howes started on the Grand March in the dancing hall, which had been profusely decorated for the occasion by Miss Howes and her assistants It was a bower of flags, bunting, Chinese lanterns, evergreens, ferne flowers, sheaves of oats and barley, arranged by artistic hands.²⁹

There they danced and dined for the evening some forty-five invited guests from Charlottetown ablely representing the professional and successful classes of that town and complimenting the several hotel guests. Refreshments were served under the tents on the lawn. It was truly one of the mid-summer events not to be missed by the Charlottetown establishment.

The Wealthiest of All

Prince Edward Island's north shore did not fail to attract its share of wealthy and prestigious persons who had a taste for the beauty and solitude of the area. The person who left the most impressive monument to 19th century capitalism was Alexander Macdonald, something of an oil baron, who was exceptionally well connected with Standard Oil of New Jersey. He was in fact an early partner with John D. Rockefeller in Standard Oil Company and all indications are that his summer home 'Dalvay House' built at Tracadie in 1896 (Figure 12) was less consistent if anything with the luxury he and his family enjoyed in their home, also called Dalvay and located in suburban Cincinnati, Ohio.³⁰ Accustomed to travel and a life of riches evidently as great as any who graced the shores of Prince Edward Island, the Macdonalds decided to construct their summer house in time to open it during the first week of July, 1896, only three months after the laying of the foundation.

The story of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Macdonald's chance discovery of the site and Mrs. Macdonald's instant appreciation of the attributes of the area for summer home purposes is well documented, as is the description of the new building.³¹ Dalvay House was used as a summer home for several years, but after Macdonald's death in 1910 it was visited only once by family members and that was in 1915 when granddaughter, Princess Rosspigliosi, arrived to have her baby at the summer home only to leave quickly when her husband, the Prince, returned to fight for his native Italy in World War I. Between 1915 and 1931 ownership went through Macdonald's caretaker, a Mr. William Hughes, to a gentleman of Montreal, William O'Leary, who in turn sold it to Captain Edward Dicks. Captain Dicks' name was notoriously linked with rum-running activities during the 1920's and early 1930's on the north shore of the province. Dicks went bankrupt and Dalvay was bought by one of his creditors, Honourable George DeBlois, Lieutenant Governor of the province, who later sold it to the National Park.³²

There was a mystique about Dalvay House that was a combination of fairy tale and history book. There was Alexander Macdonald, almost regal in the trappings of his lifestyle yet benevolent and friendly in his personal encounters, and a devout Christian who disdained gambling and regularly attended historic St. James Presbyterian Church at West Covehead.

On one occasion, while accompanying some guests to the station, he met one of the local farmers on the road who stopped briefly to talk to him. When they resumed with their journey, one of his lady guests remarked, 'Why do you bother with these people?' He was not favorably impressed with his friend's superior attitude and replied, 'these are good, honest people and one person is as good as another.'³³

This was clearly not expected of someone who in most ways seemed so distant from local residents, it undoubtedly made a lasting impression on residents. The people regarded him as plain and nice, if a curiosity of major proportions. His summer home provided work for anyone wishing to act as domestics and for men who sought outside work. It was not likely financially remunerative for the workers, it didn't have to be, people just went there out of curiosity and in awe. Preparations would have to be made, for instance, for the many balls and dances he threw for his usual home full of guests. One of the best pianists in Charlottetown was hired to provide music at these parties. Macdonald was good to his workers, throwing a big dance every summer for the staff. A violinist played at these gatherings. Then too there were the parties to which his friends and his granddaughters' friends from Charlottetown were invited.³⁴ When one builds a private mansion in a country where summer resorts such as the Seaside Hotel were finding operating difficult, one is bound to attract attention. There was Alexander Macdonald an extraordinarily wealthy Scotsman at home among the people of Tracadie and Charlottetown.

Farmers -- Open Your Homes

The existence of boarding houses during the 19th Century in the park area is difficult to record except in cases where establishments developed along the lines of Shaw's and Point Pleasant. At least two inns existed in the Stanhope area about the 1820's, one of them, Leitch's, was located where the Stanhope Golf Course is today.³⁵ By 1871, however, important increases in the number of travellers interested in the north shore area must have been occurring to prompt the Islander to address the farmers of the north shore area.

Farmers residing on the North Shore, who have comfortable residences, and would be disposed to accommodate, during the summer season, tourists seeking the cool air and sea bathing...of this Island would...find lots of applicants were they to make it known in some public place in this city.³⁶

It looks as if there was potential among both local townspeople and among those landing by steamer. It was not until the turn of the century, however, that some action came from certain of the farmers of the north shore. About that time three new establishments opened, Gregor's Hotel at Brackley Beach, Rollings Hotel at North Rustico, and The Firs at Brackley Beach. Gregor's Hotel, later known as Gregor's-By-the-Sea, was first called Sea View Hotel and run by a man by the name of Houston about 1903. There were a few boarders at the Sea View but it did not amount to much. It was

bought by Gregors whose family homestead was just across the Brackley Point Road about 1903 and run for a short time by its original name, but it was later changed to Gregor's Hotel. Gregor's expanded in 1914 building a reputation among locals for a good table. After 1914 they had about twenty-five rooms. All the while the Gregors farmed the land and later got into fox breeding to supplement their income from the hotel.³⁷

Both the Firs, run by the John MacCallum family, and the Rollings Hotel, run by the Rollings family of North Rustico, supplemented main incomes from other activities. Unlike Gregor's they never reached full hotel status rather they operated more as guest houses, particularly Rollings' house. Rollings' started taking guests and serving meals about 1904 and as such it was one of the few places where a traveller could get a meal between Summerside and Charlottetown.³⁸ The Firs started taking guests in 1901, it being an addition to the milling and farming operation at the original MacCallum homestead.³⁹

If farmers were beginning to open their homes at the turn of the century, the pace had really quickened by the 1920's when the transfer from horse and buggy days was underway. In 1919 Neil MacCallum built MacCallum's Hotel and Herbert MacCallum ran it but it fell into disuse in the late 1920's only to be purchased and renamed in 1934 by the MacCallums who owned The Firs. As Brackley Beach Lodge it

was hotel size but it operated very much as a farm with its own supply of milk, cream, butter and eggs. Only ten of the twenty rooms in the three story structure were opened that year.

Elsewhere in the park area important trends had started. Cavendish residents began to open their farm houses to guests in the second decade of the 20th century as people began to flock to the area made famous by author L. M. Montgomery. It was L. M. Montgomery who took Cavendish out of the tourism doldrums creating out of the Cavendish area an imaginary land for children and grown-ups. Her first book, Anne of Green Gables, published in 1908, brought fame to the author and that part of Prince Edward Island. There had never been a hotel or well established boarding house in Cavendish until the demand created by her writings which continued through the publication of her twenty-third book, Anne of Ingleside, in 1939.

Cavendish was a community of sober, hard-working Presbyterian farmers who didn't have much use for on time to attend to visitors, at least not as a way of life. Nevertheless in 1921 Mr. and Mrs. Jeremiah Simpson built a large new house and soon opened it up to tourists, an ideal location because the Simpson farm went down to the sandy shore. Meanwhile the Ernest Webb family had raised the roof on part of their house between 1914 and 1920 and by 1922 they were taking guests in their farm. As was the

case with the larger tourist establishments elsewhere in the park area, both these homes built up steady clientele over the subsequent twenty years. As to the period before these homes were opened, visitors staying at the Rustico hotels, the Seaside and later Rollings', would likely have visited the Cavendish area. Cavendish people were certainly conscious of them as L. M. Montgomery herself referred many times to activities at the mythical White Sands Hotel, activities which in real life may have occurred at the Rollings Hotel or the Seaside Hotel of Rustico as far back as the 1880's and 1890's.⁴⁰ They would have been conscious of tourists as visitors in the area in the late 19th century; however, it was not until after Montgomery's book brought admirers that some of the conservative farming population of Cavendish began to open their doors to tourists. Given their conservative nature one can assume that the welcoming of tourists was based on no idle whim.

Goodbye Horse and Buggy

The First World War and the booming twenties signalled the end of horse and buggy days and the beginning of the horseless carriage on Prince Edward Island. The change profoundly effected the nature of the tourist business. Gone were the days of the 'carriage trade' when the pleasures of the north shore places of rest were enjoyed

most frequently by the rich and leisurely classes. The only clientele a hotel need think of attracting were those who fully appreciated the implications of the specifically directed promotions.

The Ocean House is well kept; the helps and waiters there, as at the City Hotel are civil and obliging; and Mr. and Mrs. Nelson are kind and attentive, and spare neither trouble nor expense to provide a good table, and make their boarders feel at home. Sampson, as agreeable a driver as ever travelled a road, with a carriage and pair, keeps up constant communication with the city, and a direct connection with Summerside is secured through Mr. Bagnall's coaches.⁴¹

Though the term 'carriage trade' refers to the class of the visitor, before the coming of the railroad in the mid-1870's the term applied quite literally to the mode of transportation necessary to reach the distant north shore. Newspapers in 1869 advertised that though there were no railroads there were several 'handsome teams' available for hire in Charlottetown and "ready for the road."⁴²

The carriage trade continued through the turn of the century and several establishments continued to attract prestigious persons. By the 1920's, however, a change was occurring and the middle-classes were finding an Island holiday more accessible. The people who visited the Simpson and Webb homes in Cavendish tended not to be very wealthy. They were people who had to save money and put it aside for a holiday. Likewise in the 1930's the majority that stayed at Brackley Beach Lodge were "moderately well off people" who if beset by a major appliance or car

breakdown would have to forfeit a vacation. That lodge and presumably others of its early 20th century vintage never charged the prices that would attract the wealthier people.⁴³ By the 1920's then there had emerged a new class of hotel or guest house that catered more to the middle-class in definite contrast to the Shaw's, Point Pleasant, Gregor's, and the Seaside and Acadia of earlier times.

The final phenomenon that occurred in the area before the park took over in 1936 was the growth of cottages. Stanhope during this century has always been a favourite area for individual cottage plots, and by the 1930's there were a few in the Cavendish area. Tracadie had one or two summer homes as well.⁴⁴ Transportation had so changed by the late 1920's that tourists were motoring to the Island and staying for short periods of time in contrast to the months that persons of the 'carriage trade' had remained during the 19th Century. In 1928 Mrs. Katharine Wyand of Cavendish started the first group of cabins in Cavendish opening them to visitors wishing to rent them by the night or week, reflecting the increased mobility of the age.

With the perceived potential for profit from increased numbers of tourists coming to vacation in the north shore area, tourism in the optimistic 1920's and the depressing 1930's was again becoming a business conducted outside the homes of residents. People saw great potential for tourism as an industry. Among them were Mrs. Wyand,

Percy MacAusland, the man who wanted to develop Robinson's Island into a wealthy person's paradise (see Park Theme), and Herbert MacCallum, who sufficiently reinforced during construction Brackley Beach Lodge (MacCallum's Hotel) to enable additions of floors in the future.⁴⁵ In a sense they may have been dreaming because, like the summer resorts of the 1870's, they intended to make these enterprises show a profit on their own strength. They were in every sense investments designed to make profit and as such were in contrast to the majority of hotels and boarding houses in the area which were primarily extensions of farming or other operations. Whether or not the economic reality was precisely so in all north shore 'resorts,' it was a fact that most tourist establishments that had to the 1930's remained in business were part of a larger more basic enterprise. The coming of the automobile and the increase in tourist numbers resulted in a new demand for services and presumably a desire for preservation of attractions since the park was not long in coming to the area.

Conclusion

The north shore of Prince Edward Island has been recognized since the very beginnings of productive tourism promotion on the Island, the mid-19th century, as an area of great potential. In the early days local capitalists

were reprimanded for not taking an interest in the area. Accommodations were criticized and the importance of the establishment of sufficient ones was urged. The attractions of the early days remained consistently the chance to rest and relax at least until the National Park arrived.

The emphasis placed upon accommodations resulted in an increase Island-wide of such facilities in the 1870's. The Park area received its share totalling at least four establishments catering to tourists and pleasure seekers. The 'carriage trade' was the substance of 19th Century tourism on Prince Edward Island. The middle-classes did not make an impact until after the first World War, coming then from Montreal, Ontario and the United States. This created a new class of hotels or guest houses in the Park area distinct from those who got their start catering to the carriage trade.

Transportation was as important an issue in the tourist industry of the area as were accommodations. The 1920's brought the automobile and the middle-class, whereas the mid-19th century had brought steamers full of upper-class 'gentry.' The railway, both on and off the Island, made important advances in the 1870's enhancing accessibility to the Island in general and to the north shore area in particular. Automobiles gained greater access to the Island with the addition of a car ferry designed to handle railway cars on the Borden to Tormentine run in 1917. All these

factors were important to the different stages of tourist development in the park area.

The park area attracted wealthy and prestigious people to its shores during the 19th century. It continued to do so in the 20th century but by this time its beauty had been popularized by the hand of L. M. Montgomery. The popularity and beauty coupled with the fragility weighed significantly in the selection of the area as a National Park in 1936. Although many tourists had been attracted to the area, the underlying characteristic of the tourist industry to 1936 was that it was out of necessity integrated with farming or other endeavours of the tourist operator.

PARK THEME

Prince Edward Island must have seemed a small place to try to squeeze a National Park into when the idea was about to come to fruition in the early 1930's. The immediately obvious drawback was population. Prince Edward Island was the most densely populated province in the country, whereas other parks had been established in wilderness areas of Canada. The 7.65 square miles officially declared parkland in 1937 contained some of the best and some of the worst agricultural land on the Island. Upwards of eighty property owners¹ were affected along the twenty-six miles of coastline and all of them could not be pleased.

The following deals with some of the events occurring about the time the park was established focusing primarily on the controversy which arose over the park. The turmoil that developed over the way the provincial government expropriated lands produced some high-sounding rhetoric and unusual group actions among the people of the area. Their concerns and actions are an important part of the Prince Edward Island National Park because they reveal much about the political and social nature of residents. So intense were feelings at the time that forty years later they are recalled passionately but not necessarily talked about, at least not with someone 'from the Park.'²

Lobbying for the Park

Prince Edward Islanders wanted the National Park in the mid-1930's. As early as April 1936 letters were appearing in the Charlottetown newspapers calling for the establishment of the park in different areas of the Island.³ Between this date and mid-August 1936, when the eventual decision was becoming more obvious, eighteen such letters appeared in the Charlottetown Patriot and thirteen appeared in the Charlottetown Guardian.⁴ The letters appeared because it was known that government action was imminent. The impetus for establishing a park had begun as early as 1923 when the Member of Parliament for Queens, D. A. MacKinnon, expressed to the Commissioner of National Parks that a park was desirable in the province. The proposal more or less died because of lack of funding. It was revived again in 1930, this time with the implicit support of the Provincial Publicity Association, in other words the tourism promoters. Again it was not until 1936 when Premier Thane Campbell regenerated the proposal or request for a park that federal government action finally came. This time Prince Edward Island argued successfully that in the face of moves to establish national parks in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick that it deserved similar treatment.

When federal action was finally imminent and letters began to appear the competition was quite keen with some letters rebutting others. An "Observer" writes in

the Guardian 9 July 1936 that:

'Islanders' in general are quite alive to the beauties of "the Island," and that each Islander thinks the most beautiful spot includes his own school district.⁵

It seems quite obvious that once it came it would be 'their' park at least as much as it was to be a National Park.

Equally obvious was the fact that many didn't quite know what the park was intended to be, nor did they care as long as 'it' was put in their area.

Community chauvinism was in some ways healthy, certainly producing no shortage of ideas as to what the park ought to be. One correspondent puzzled whether the park was for reverting to nature, or for the tourist, or the pleasure seeker. Worst of all was the park "for the convenience of those who make wassail in the contents of the kegs borne shoreward by the waters of the Gulf?"⁶ The north shore area was a favourite area among those involved in the illicit liquor trade so popular since the days of prohibition.

A more serious interpretation of the future role of the park appeared in a Charlottetown Guardian editorial:

What is the National Park for but to draw tourists to a province?
If we want to sell what we are most anxious to sell -- our tourist attractions -- then surely our unique sand dunes and delightful opportunities for surf bathing should be ever kept in the forefront of the picture.⁷

This crass, over enthusiastic support for the park and for its establishment in the north shore area in particular

illustrates the degree to which local interpretation was at odds with the federal government's version of what the National Park ought to be. Though widespread and reflective of the recent growth in tourism activity on the Island, the Guardian editorial was not the only version of the future parkland. One writer was prophetic when he foresaw a great deal of difficulty in getting wild land "suitable for such a place." He favoured instead what might be called the 'whole Island theory' whereby "the money might be spent to better advantage in picking out half a dozen of our best spots on the beaches and making them suitable for such purposes as bathing and fishing, with roads built to them."⁸ In other words, spread the money around. This idea of treating the whole Island as a park found favour with the Womens' Institutes of Prince Edward Island at their annual convention in 1936. Prior to this the District Convention, which encompassed representation from north shore area Institutes, strongly favoured this plan so that all districts would benefit.⁹ The Womens' Institutes of Prince Edward Island were often leading proponents of change and can be assumed to be reflective of community opinion on the Island. The task of the provincial government was not to be an easy one.

Legislation and Choice of Site

The 7.65 square miles of shore front property chosen as the site for the park was officially proclaimed parkland in the Canada Gazette on April 27, 1937 under terms of the Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island Parks Act, 1936. Federal government inspectors had chosen the site and approval was given by the provincial government. From the time the site was chosen in September 1936 to the date of the proclamation the provincial government carried out its responsibility for procuring the necessary lands under an act entitled An Act Respecting the Establishment of a National Park which had become law in June 1936.

Twenty-two sites were viewed during the summer of 1936 by Parks personnel F. H. H. Williamson and W. V. Cromarty. Many sites were rejected because their proponents advocated on the basis of local requirements. The federal personnel chose the twenty-six miles of sea shore and recommended it to the provincial government.¹⁰ Their choice did not please every Islander but it did have the potential to please many living along the north shore between New London and Tracadie Bays. The scale of the park was quite grand by Island standards, encompassing directly lands from more than a dozen communities.

Indeed, less than a week after the public disclosure of the report recommending the site, the provincial

government announced that it had decided, after consultation with Members of the Legislative Assembly, to approve only two thirds of the area recommended. The provincial government favoured a more limited park consisting of the area from New London Bay to Tracadie Bay because "a National Park could be more effectively established and maintained in the more limited area decided upon...."¹¹ Part of the reason the Dalvay area was eventually included was that National Park officials pressed for and achieved its inclusion in 1936.¹² Dalvay offered scenic and recreational strong-points as well as valuable buildings for a park-operated hotel.

The choice of the north shore area was explained in terms of the assets of the area, one being the excellent beaches to which tourists are attracted. "Up to the present it seems to us that this outstanding asset has been but little capitalized...." Recreational factors such as boating, fishing and bathing were important in the choice of the site. This, coupled with the traditional tourist activity in the area, added a certain credibility to the notion that the park ought to be developed and controlled intelligently in recognition of the factors that made for the popularity of many seaside resorts.¹³ The Williamson and Cromarty version of controlled development was quite a different matter than the free-wheeling approach to selling tourism advocated by the Charlottetown Guardian. Even so

the Williamson and Cromarty version was far from a proposal designed to protect a valuable national wilderness resource. They cited the beaches as the number one asset and strongly encouraged their use. They saw the role of the dunes as one of luring visitors rather than that of a unique wilderness area to be protected from over use. Meanwhile general confusion existed in the public mind:

....there was considerable confusion of thought in the minds of the proponents as to what constitutes a National Park and that local requirements were being considered, rather than standards of National proportions and quality.¹⁴

Background to the Park Issue

Tourism Growth, 1920's and 1930's

Tourism was growing in importance in the north shore area in the 1930's even more than federal government officials recognized. There were seaside hotels or cabins in the Tracadie, Stanhope, Brackley Point, North Rustico and Cavendish areas. The greater number of motor vehicles in use after the first world war made the beaches accessible to many people. Cavendish was noted for a handful of guest homes and cottages by the early 1930's. As early as 1938 the National Park was having an effect on tourist facilities in central Prince Edward Island. "Cottages and cabins for the accommodation of tourists seem to be rising mushroom-like in the central part of the province."¹⁵ The reason

given for the increase was attributed to Lucy Maud Montgomery's writings and the favourable publicity they gave Prince Edward Island. Moreover the cumulative effect was expected to be "an influx of tourists within the next few years beyond the fondest expectation of the most sanguine."¹⁶ Another correspondent from the Cavendish area stated he had fifteen years in the tourist business during which time he served "the very best class of people."¹⁷

Tourism was an activity that was increasing in importance in the early 1930s, and ideally the park would have a major role to play" . . . the majority see a great future for the tourist business by the establishment of this National Park."¹⁸ The concept of a National Park obviously had certain selling points. The one most often referred to and perhaps the strongest argument used was the positive effect the park would have on tourism. In the face of a growing tourist industry there seems to have been a distinct lack of importance placed upon any preservation ethic by either local residents who publicly supported the park or by Williamson and Cromarty in their reasons for site selection.¹⁹

Island Political Situation

The Island political situation was an important factor in determining the course of the park issue when it was most hotly debated during the two years following the

spring of 1936. A Liberal sweep of all thirty seats in the Legislative Assembly occurred in 1935 and when the park question was debated the government was headed by Thane A. Campbell of Summerside. In a no-opposition situation some facsimile of a democratic system had to be maintained with the result that back benchers sometimes criticized their own government. Also there tended to be less cabinet solidarity. Criticism from internal government sources was severely outdone, however, by the Conservative press which gladly rallied round its sense of duty, exaggerating only slightly the reality of the partisan press on Prince Edward Island in the 1930's.

The partisan Charlottetown newspapers, indeed the only Charlottetown newspapers, were the Charlottetown Guardian and the Charlottetown Patriot. The former was unofficially the Conservative 'organ,' the latter the Liberal 'mouthpiece;' thusly they bantered back and forth over the park issue. As the park issue developed, so did the rivalry between the two papers, with charges and counter-charges being laid. For example in October of 1937 one was accusing the other of inconsistency. The Liberal champion attacked by the Guardian was B. W. LePage, M.L.A. for 2nd Queens, while the Conservative attacked by the Patriot was party leader Dr. W. J. P. MacMillan. The Guardian maintained that a Conservative government would have allowed landowners right of appeal to the courts. It accused the Liberals of

denying rights gained hundreds of years ago.²⁰ Similarly the Guardian on one occasion states that two letters it had printed were "in reply to alledged misstatements appearing in the Liberal press."²¹ Rarely did there appear in the Patriot a letter favouring the actions of those who protested some aspect of the park issue. What happened in the local press over the park issue was clouded with political wrangling and one-upmanship. The reasons for an issue in the first place stemmed from the way the park was being established.

Establishing the Park

Prince Edward Island is the ideal teapot for any tempest at the best of times but inject a major government action, especially one that didn't allow for public information and planning, and a storm similar to the one that brewed over establishing the Prince Edward Island National Park results. Regardless of the circumstances of locale, when expropriation is used people are liable to say that you can't fight the government.²² In the case of the enabling legislation passed by the province in 1936 the accusation was justified, as no right of appeal to the courts was provided for either the landowner or government where agreement could not be reached. The legacy of ill-feeling which resulted has yet to completely disappear after almost half a century.

Sometime after the proposed park site was announced in September 1936 the government appointed commissioners to assess the value of farmlands to be affected by the park and report their findings back to Executive Council. Executive Council then ruled on the appropriateness of the evaluations and paid the claimants accordingly, depositing the payment for those who refused all offers in the Court of Chancery.²³ The government used this tactic successfully, settling the majority of the cases by April 1938 when the Premier reportedly stated that sixty-nine of the eighty-five claims had been "settled by complete accord and satisfaction and agreement."²⁴ A high percentage of the sixteen claims outstanding were likely claims by persons involved in "The Committee of Dispossessed Landowners."

The establishing of the National Park was an important chapter in Prince Edward Island's history and it was made all the more important by the role and actions of the Committee of Dispossessed Landowners. This committee organized opposition to government tactics and legislation. Meetings were held and letters were written that reveal the strength and focus of the opposition as well as their deeply felt reactions to what was happening. The government arguments, attitude and actions are also presented in local newspapers.

The committee became active during the spring or summer of 1937. On 25 August 1937 it was in a position to

organize a delegation of upwards of forty persons, bring them to Charlottetown and attempt a meeting with the Premier. The delegation represented Bayview, Cavendish, Rustico and Tracadie while a petition presented to Executive Council carried fifty-three names of persons from all areas adjacent to the park except Brackley Point.²⁵ The Premier was absent on this particular occasion so a representative committee was established to wait upon the government and they were successful in gaining audience with Premier Campbell. He told the delegates that an amendment to allow a right of appeal would have to go before the Legislature and that Executive Council would recommend approval of such an amendment only if all machinery currently in force were brought completely to a halt.²⁶ The writing was on the wall, for despite the fact that the committee had good support the government did not need to negotiate with individuals who were committee members until it was necessary because there was always someone outside the committee with whom a settlement could be made. Meanwhile the committee struggled on but it was impossible for the committee to attract all landowners in the area to its cause. With little thought of the overwhelming challenge, the committee held public meetings, notably in York and Kensington, with the latter being larger and more supportive of the Committee.²⁷

There was a large dose of rhetorical and political content in some of the letters appearing above the names of the dispossessed:

The whole North Shore of Prince Edward Island from New London to Tracadie is seething with discontent and a sense of out-raged justice. Scores of farmers discovered overnight 10 per cent to 50 per cent of their farms had been wrested from them by an outrageous piece of legislation which has not left them with sufficient land in which to organize a satisfactory rotation of crops.²⁸

This very likely marked the first time the whole area had a common, unique experience. As such it got the park off to a difficult start for beneath the immediate rhetoric there remained a lasting expression of deep loss and distrust of its purpose. Farmland was being removed from the hands of the farmers for allegedly inadequate compensation and through denial of the right of appeal. In Cavendish alone more than eight hundred acres were to be removed from cultivation.²⁹ These were the cornerstones of the committee's complaint.³⁰

At least one person, however, was concerned with local public planning for the park:

Why not have a part in planning same? As it has been forced upon us, who should have more right that we to see that it will not only insure a measure of financial safety but morale as well.³¹

Again there reoccurred the theme of who was the park for, the local residents or the tourists. The same Cavendish resident disapproved of yielding up his land "for fool-hardy drivers who will come with loaded cars . . . and return to the

mainland by the next boat."³² There was a sense of propriety about the way things had been run up to then, with those who had the habit of coming out from Charlotte-town to the beach always being able to gain quiet access to it. Others put the problem of who the park was to benefit on a different level.

It is beyond the middle class masses, who cannot afford, without cars, to use it for pleasure or recreation. It is situated for the pleasure of tourists and the purse proud rich, the remaining 80,000 have no part in it except to sweat their lives earning the taxes squandered to create it.³³

The element of class consciousness pervades Island life and it re-occurred in respect to the park.

Similar letters indicate that Islanders were fully aware of the emphasis being put on the inclusion of Dalvay in the park (see Tourism Theme). Some feared the park would become the exclusive domain of the rich visited by the common herd "chiefly on Sunday afternoons or when entertaining guests from the mainland."³⁴ H. K. Hemming was a recently arrived public servant whose printed comments in favour of the park prompted the above reaction. In reply he stated he meant no offence, but he must certainly have failed to win any sympathy when he amazingly and unwittingly concluded with:

I am at present at Shaw's on Brackley Beach and the water to-day was a Fahrenheit temperature of 73 to 78 degrees, according to depth which reminds one of Bermuda.³⁵

The north shore hotels were certainly the bastions of the rich and leisure seeking in the residents' view. It hardly mattered if they were 'rich but nice' or 'nice but rich,' there was room for the fear that the whole park and not just the hotels would become the preserve of the visitor.

The provincial government of Thane Campbell confronted entrenched attitudes and a basic conservatism when it forged ahead with implementation of the provisions of An Act Respecting a National Park 1936. Unfortunately for all concerned the strategy used was more or less one of carrying a big stick but not necessarily swinging it at a predetermined target.

Although the Executive Council was given power to compel the landowners to accept settlements, the Government has not yet made use of that power, and it is anticipated that in almost every case a satisfactory settlement will be reached by voluntary agreement.³⁶

As of 17 February 1938 there were no forced settlements of claims according to the Charlottetown Patriot. Indeed the government was quite successful in negotiations as many were willing to part with their land for quite a decent price.³⁷

The opposition in the press was also necessary because of the undemocratic way the park had been introduced and was being forced upon people. The commissioners sent to assess the lands by the provincial government received few kind words.

Heelers have persuaded a number of the farmers that their land would be taken, that they had

no say in the deal and if they did not take what they were offered, they would not get anything.³⁸

As if this were not enough it was alleged that once government received the assessments of the commissioners it proceeded to establish remuneration on a selective basis. One Charlottetown Guardian correspondent accused the government of implementing the evaluations of the Higgs Commission only

to certain people in high places, as for instance, Liberal party organizers and workers and a few distinguished city personages who, it is presumed, might have been troublesome and had better be hushed.³⁹

In other cases evaluations were said to have been slashed. Such charges were somewhat inflammatory but using hindsight they can be seen to be not entirely without foundation. Political party 'workers and organizers' aside, thirteen of the claimants whose lands were expropriated were Charlottetown residents and eight of those were reimbursed at the rate recommended by the Higgs Commission. Overall, however, only seventeen claimants were reimbursed at this rate, thus at eight out of seventeen it might be said that Charlottetown residents did very well. Executive Council decreased by 10 to 32 per cent all but six of the remaining sixty-seven recommendations placed before it by the Higgs Commission.⁴⁰

There was another side to the political battle and that was told by a correspondent in the Charlottetown Patriot who expressed doubts about the legitimacy and spontaneity of the Committee of Dispossessed Landowners.

It must be rather amusing to the citizens of this Province to see two Charlottetown lawyers of the conservative faith holding meetings on behalf of a half dozen farmers of Cavendish whose land has been legally expropriated by our Government for our National Park. It is still more amusing when it is known that one of these lawyers in framing a Prohibition Act some years ago inserted a clause disallowing an appeal to the higher courts.⁴¹

Another Patriot subscriber indicated that the government too had some popular support in its attempts to guarantee that entrance to the park be free and open to rich and poor alike rather than just to those who could afford to build summer homes in the area.⁴²

Eventually the tempest that raged on Prince Edward Island reached the House of Commons receiving there brief but emphatic discussion led by comments from the Right Honourable R. B. Bennett, Leader of the Opposition. Bennett feared that citizens had been deprived of their rights in the setting up of the park. He argued there was a federal responsibility because the federal government had initiated the process. It was a charge that required little in the way of response for the expropriation was clearly the task of the province and any mishandling was its responsibility. The statement which did come from the Minister of Mines and Resources, Honourable T. A. Crerar, all but promised that the federal government would introduce legislation making changes in the park boundaries during the current session.⁴³

Back home the cynics were busily charging that the only reason Bennett raised the issue was because the "Tory Organ" (Charlottetown Guardian) and a few rabid partisans had prevailed upon him to do so.⁴⁴ Apparently there was no escaping the political fight on the Island. Some changes were made in the boundaries of the park even as the issue was brought up in the House of Commons. It was pointed out in the House by Finance Minister Dunning that the golf course at Stanhope Beach Inn, though originally intended for inclusion, was excluded after reconsideration. Without a golf course the hotel, only recently re-opened and the golf course added at a total expense of \$40,000.⁴⁵ could not hope to attract guests.⁴⁶ Individuals affected by the planned park considered themselves less fortunate feeling that others, whether individuals or hotel companies, had political influence.

Some of the land expropriated has since been released to the owners. Some owners have received special consideration. Unfortunately I have no influential friends at court. I am unable to bring any political pressure to bear; but I still have confidence that the people of this Province will not continue to permit an intolerable injustice.⁴⁷

Less than one month previous to the appearance of this letter the Charlottetown Guardian called for the disclosure of property assessments presented to government by the Higgs Commission. The newspaper also requested public disclosure of the amount of money paid to claimants to date, prompted

by the following report of a statement reportedly made at one of the public meetings:

The brother of a prominent member of the Government said that in certain instances "too much" had been paid, and boasted that he personally had used his influence in getting one complainant 'some extra money for his property.'⁴⁸

Unfortunately no public information was ever released and the assessments made by the Higgs Commission remained unknown. According to the information available⁴⁹ payment ranged from a low of about \$5 per acre to a high of \$1,548 per acre on a lot with cottages that had to be removed. Approximately twenty out of eighty claimants received more than \$50 per acre with eight of those receiving substantially more than \$100 per acre. The lots with houses or cottages on them and simple cottage lots alone were among those eight. Twenty-two were settled for between \$40 and \$49 while the remaining thirty-eight settled for less than \$40 per acre. Approximately seventy of the properties affected were assessed for tax purposes at under \$30 per acre. Almost half the settlements were on the average nearly \$10 per acre higher than the assessed value; however the other half of the settlements were for amounts substantially greater than the assessed value. To learn why this was so would require a detailed analysis of each property affected. It is equally difficult to tell what proportion of the total value of a farm the expropriated lands comprised. The only consolation is the argument often found in the Charlottetown Patriot:

Surely the judgement of nine members of the Executive should be as fair and equitable as that of one judge of our Supreme Court or of our County Courts.⁵⁰

There was concern among government ranks for the protection of the treasury and for the efficient implementation of the Parks Act.⁵¹

In March of 1938 there were still several who had not settled; however, there was an air of increasing desperation and frustration about the letters that were appearing. The next month the province announced in the Legislature that only sixteen of eighty-five claimants were unsettled. The members of the original committee were whittled down considerably from over forty committed and many sympathizers of sixteen holdouts -- and it's not known for sure if all were part of the committee. The air of resolve is violated by a hint of anticipated defeat in the following letter dated March of 1938.

I consider that I have been unfairly and unjustly treated. I consider that a vital principle of justice has been violated by the Provincial Legislature. I intend to press my claim for an impartial hearing until my request is granted or until I have been forcibly ejected from my property.⁵²

Forcible ejections were few, if any; rather in each case the money was simply left in the Court of Chancery to await the claimant. The method worked in almost all cases. "A few of them 'kicked up' but oh, they took their money after awhile."⁵³ Apparently a few held out for several years and the popular belief today is quite clearly that some never took payment.⁵⁴

The Aftermath

Immediate

In its haste to create a National Park for Prince Edward Island the provincial government made a couple of grave mistakes in the name of efficiency. There was no official opposition in the provincial legislature, thus it was up to the backbenchers to voice criticism. One that eventually spoke out was W. F. Alan Stewart, M.L.A. for the First District of Queens, when he wrote:

I think the Government made a mistake in not making a preliminary survey of the area, to sound the attitude of the land owners, in not having the land owners represented on the arbitrating commission, and abiding by the decision.⁵⁵

In a manner consistent with all other actions throughout the park issue someone informed the Charlottetown Guardian of a possible motivation for Stewart's actions. Since he had voted for the Park Act he was only now begging forgiveness because he found himself "in the boiling cauldron of his constituents."⁵⁶

The other major mistake the government made was in appointing itself the final court of appeal. Many who supported this position through the columns of the Charlottetown Patriot failed to recognize any conflict of responsibilities. One correspondent even argued that the Cabinet, with no axe to grind and with a special duty to perform "would be a fit and proper court to decide questions of land values, and also to safeguard the treasury."⁵⁷

It just was not so in the minds of several north shore landowners. The provincial government was not seen to be treating landowners fairly. On the one hand the Higgs Commission had met with individual landowners and discussed price and a basis for agreement, however reluctantly reached, was achieved in many cases. Meanwhile the government, which has not met with the landowners, proceeded to pay less than 100 per cent of what Higgs had recommended in all but seventeen cases.

Regardless of whether the provincial government made serious errors or not, it and many Island residents wanted a National Park and all were prepared to force the issue to a rapid conclusion. It took a federal Member of Parliament, speaking in the House of Commons, to point out a serious flaw in the handling of the matter. Referring to the need for study by the M.P.'s, W.A. Walsh, M.P. for Mt. Royal said:

. . . I have no doubt that as they study the effects of the act . . . they will agree with me that the human side of the situation has not received adequate attention from the powers that be.⁵⁸

Meanwhile somebody in the fall of 1937 had been busily fencing lands that were not considered sold by their owners. Moreover a new value system of a distant bureaucracy seemed to be creeping inland with the park fences. Again it was Jerry Simpson who best articulated the regrets of the people.

I can never tell to my dearest friends the feelings that press my heart these days, as I watch these operations by men whose answer to all questions is that, 'they have a contract.' Apparently they care for naught else.⁵⁹

Long Term

The birth of the Prince Edward Island National Park was accompanied by severe complications; nothing to prevent the birth, rather it was an emotional wrangle that through no fault of the park would colour its relations in its new home. It was not that the park was not welcome because it was welcomed by many and true to prediction it would provide many jobs over the years, contracts or otherwise.

A large part of the problem was the nature and role of the park was not understood by residents. Apart from the one report by park personnel Williamson and Cromarty there were few announcements explaining the idea of the park. Basic information regarding the park was coming from no one, especially not the provincial government whose task it was to secure the necessary lands as inexpensively as possible. The saving of treasury funds was an important factor and typically with expropriation cases it ended up in conflict with what was a fair price to award an individual. The fact that what information there was available was coloured by politically biased media further clouded the issues.

- Simpson obtained the land from William Winter.
Rent: One shilling yearly.

- (D) To: Andrew Clark From: D.S. Rennie & sister
& brother
Dated: Aug. 14, 1840 Registered: June 10, 1841
Liber: 49 Folio: 105
This is the western part of Clark - 165 acres

Wm. Simpson Jr.

- (E) To: Andrew Clark From: Robert Orr (ship-
 48 acres Lot 23 builder, New Glasgow)
Dated: Dec. 31, 1854 Registered: Nov. 3, 1863
Liber: 81 Folio: 694

1. This is 48 acres to west of Clark land, formerly owned by Wm. Simpson Jr. -- then David Simpson. Do not have record of Simpson to Orr.

(F) To: David Clark From: Andrew Clark & wife
Sophie Elizabeth
Charlotte

Dated: July 21, 1864 Registered: Jan. 4, 1865

Liber: 83 Folio: 374

This land commences at the N.E. angle of land leased to D. Simpson. Deed of Release of this land dated Aug.13, 1840.

(G) To: President & Directors,
Cavendish Hall Co.

From: Wm. D. Clark & wife
Janie

Dated: Nov. 9, 1885 Registered: Aug., 1888

Liber: 28 Folio: 670

Plot on Lot 23 for \$5 -- 625 sq. yards for hall.

(H) To: Mary Eliza Clark From: John C. Clark (of Bayview, son of Andrew)

Liber: 35 Folio: 415

For \$150 John turned his share of his parents' estate to his unmarried sisters -- Mary Eliza, Matilda, Jane Murray Clark.

(I) To: Trustees From: Wm. Darnley Clark
Cavendish Baptist
Church

Dated: Feb. 6, 1903 Registered: Apr. 15, 1903

Liber: 49 Folio: 269

Land where present Baptist Church is located.

1. (J) To: Leander & James O. Simpson of Hope River From: Mary Elizabeth, Matilda & James Murray Clark (Jane, Sec.H)
 180 acres on Lot 23
 Dated: Dec.29, 1903 Registered: Jan.8, 1904
 Liber: 50 Folio: 540
 *Land runs across road.
 Land formerly owned by Andrew Clark -- sold here by his children.

- (K) To: Cavendish Hall Co. From: Wm. Darnley Clark
 Dated: Oct.6, 1904 Registered: Oct.7, 1904
 Liber: 51 Folio: 584

2. Leander & James O. Simpson bought this land in 1903 from children of late Andrew Clark. James O. Simpson then held the land, then his son Eric Simpson who sold to the National Park in 1978 (oral -- no transactions for James O. & Eric).

3. (A) To: John McNeil From: William Winter
 Dated: Sept.22, 1803 Registered Nov.29, 1803
 Liber: 12 Folio: 53
 Adjoining lands some time ago purchased by John McNeil from Wm. Winter, having 48 chains in front on Gulf of St. Lawrence -- to include 400 acres.
 *This is first McNeil transaction I have. From Cavendish. Its History -- Its People, it says McNeil had 500 acres land.

- (B) To: Margaret McNeil (widow of John) From: Rennie Trustee's
 106 acres on Lot 23
 Dated: Mar.17, 1825 Registered: Oct.12, 1826
 Liber: 33 Folio: 394
 *This to be known on Map as #6.

3. John McNeil's property was divided between his wife and 3 sons in 1825 -- the individual divisions have been given numbers 4, 5, 6, 7 on the map.

4. (A) To: John McNeil Jr. From: Trustees of David Rennie
 Dated: Dec.14, .1829 Registered: May 16, 1834
 Liber: 41 Folio: 122
 Lease 999 years. Rent 5 pounds.
 *Black box #288 is same as Liber 41, Folio 122.

- (B) To: John McNeil From: D.S. Rennie, J.G. Rennie, Wm. F. Rennie, Robert Rennie, Janet E. Rennie
 100 acres
 Dated: Feb.27, 1838
 Black Box #285.
 Lease for 999 years. Rent 1 shilling/acre.

- (C) To: John McNeil From: David Rennie & sister Janet Emma
 Conveyance 100 acres on 23 for 125 pounds.
 Dated: Aug.9, 1842 Registered: Aug.6, 1855
 Liber: 71 Folio: 11

- (D) To: John McNeil From: Daniel Hodgson & wife Margaret Leah
 100 acres on 23
 Dated Jan.1, 1869 Registered: Jan.28, 1869
 *McNeil had leased land from Rennies, dated February 27, 1838. Now 1868 land in possession of Hodgson and McNeil now his tenant. Hodgson now sells to McNeil, 75 pounds is purchase price.
 Liber: 90 Folio: 376

- (E) These last transactions must be to John McNeil III, John II estate was 200 acres, 2 separate tracts of

4. 100 acres each. 1st tract, 9 Aug. 1842, Liber 71, Folio 11. 2nd tract, Liber 90, Folio 376, "By virtue of under dues...respectively became vested in the said David Hodgson. McNeil bought from Hodgson.
Liber: 11 Folio: 669
Dated: Nov.23, 1878 Registered: Oct.7, 1879

5. (A) To: Malcolm McNeil From: Rennie family
Release 94 acres on 23
Dated: Mar.28, 1838 Registered: Mar.28, 1838
Liber: 45 Folio: 327
Only transaction for this piece of land.

6. GREEN GABLES
 - (A) To: Margaret McNeil From: Rennie Trustees
(widow of John)
106 acres on Lot 23
Dated: Mar.17, 1825 Registered: Oct.12, 1826
Liber: 33 Folio: 394

 - (B) To: David McNeil From: David Rennie Trustees
Lease for 999 years, 100 acres on 23
Dated: July 25, 1831 Registered: Mar.17, 1840
Liber: 47 Folio: 284
Yearly rent 1 shilling sterling/acre.

 - (C) To: David McNeil From: Trustees of Rennie
Date: July 25, 1831
Black Box Deed #55

 - (D) To: David McNeil From: James McNeil
Dated: Nov.30, 1868 Registered: Feb.28, 1873
Liber: 1 Folio: 297

6. Release & Conveyance 30 acres on Lot 23 for 35 pounds.
 *Might be back part of Green Gables Golf Course.

(E) To: Sarah McNeil From: David McNeil
 50 acres for 50 pounds
 Dated: Oct.10, 1871
 Black Box Deed #55
 David sells the western half of his farm to Sarah.
 50 acres with a frontage of 6 chains on the road.

(F) To: David McNeil From: John Hawkins & wife
 Hannah, James Bentley
 & wife Ellen
 Hannah & Ellen children of Sarah who died on or about
 9 March 1885. They inherit from Sarah and sell to
 David for \$500.
 Dated: June 28, 1886 Registered: July 15, 1886
 Liber: 24 Folio: 910
 *See Liber 35, Folio 436 -- must be same land.
 To George R. McNeil From Hawkins, Bentley & Pierce
 McNeil.

7. (A) To: James McNeil From: Trustees of Rennie
 Dated: Sept.27, 1825 Registered: Nov.23, 1825
 Liber: 33 Folio: 120
 (Also -- Dated 28 Sept. 1825, Liber 33, Folio 121 --
 where James paid 100 pounds -- Folio 120 is a
 lease for 1 year with rent 5 shillings.)

(B) To: James McNeil From: David Rennie Trustees
 (James Stewart, John Bell, Wm. Irvin, Wm. Mills)
 Dated: Mar.21, 1831 Registered: May 6, 1837
 Liber: 44 Folio: 346
 113 acres on Lot 23. 1 shilling/acre rent.
 Runs from Portage Rd. west 12 chains then south to
 Gulf thence east to Portage Rd. thence north along
 Road to commencement.

(G) To: James McNeil From: Mary & Clementina McNeil

7. Mary & Clem turn their shares of their father's estate to their brother James for 10 shillings each. He also had to provide them with fit board and lodging and if they married within 6 months he had to pay them 70 pounds. If they died unmarried he had to see they were "decently interred according to the rites of Christian burial."

Dated: Feb.25, 1861 Registered: Feb.27, 1861
Liber: 78 Folio: 632

- (H) To: Mary & Clementina From: James McNeil
McNeil

200 acres on 23 for 10 shillings

Dated: Nov.7, 1868 Registered: Jan.20, 1869
Liber: 91 Folio: 658

Reserving from the 200 acres 30 acres in the rear
boarding on Higgins land formerly Wm. Lockerby.

- (I) James McNeil From: David McNeil of
Manchester, Delaware
Co., Iowa, U.S.A. &
wife Jane Robertson

Dated: June 27, 1868 Registered: July 28, 1868
Liber: 89 Folio: 926

In consideration of natural love and 10 shillings
David released his claim on their father's estate.

- (J) To: Pierce McNeil From: Mary and Clementina
McNeil

Dated: Jan.19, 1882 Registered: --
Liber: 16 Folio: 154

Mary and Clementina sold their land north of
Cavendish settlement road to the Gulf Shore for
\$1,100. Contains 50 acres.

*This land shall be marked #8 on the map.

(K) To: William McNeil From: Mary & Clementina
McNeil

30 acres on 23, \$1 and natural affection.

William was the minor son of Cyrus McNeil. This 30 acres commenced at N.E. angle of land owned and occupied by David McNeil on the side of Portage Road. Runs north along road 25 chains west 12 chains to D. McNeils then south 25 chains until it strikes north boundary D. McNeils thence east to place of commencement. Part of 113 acre farm deeded to James McNeil from Robert Rennie 1 Nov. 1852.

8. To: Pierce McNeil From: Mary & Clementina
McNeil

See J above.

9. (A) To: William McNeil & From: David, Robert, Janet
son James Emma & Wm. F. Rennie

Lease 105 acres on 23

Dated: Feb. 10, 1840 Registered: Mar. 11, 1840

Liber: 47 Folio: 272

Immediately east of Cawnpore Road
Also blackbox deep #56

(B) To: Wm. & James From: Rennies
McNeil

Blackbox - Deed #57

Date: Feb. 10, 1840

On this copy Wm. passes his interest in the land to Alexander Marquis McNeil. Enclosed with this is a letter dated Sept. 8, 1868 whereby Wm. releases his claim to James' 52 1/2 acres - 1/2 of the 105 acre farm.

10. To: George McNeil From: Alexander McNeil
10 acres on 23 - \$130
Liber: 25 Folio: 715
Dated: Dec. 29, 1882 Registered: Dec. 11, 1886

This is 10 acres located on the bottom of #9 farm on the east side of Cawnpore Road.

11. (A) To: Charles McNeil From: Robert Rennie
 31 acres on 23, 23 pounds
 Liber: 65 Folio: 552
 Dated: Jan.26, 1853 Registered: Jan.26, 1853
 To the east of MacLure's and on the boundary on Townships 23 and 24.
- (B) To: Charles McNeil From: Robert Rennie
 Lease 60 acres on 23
 Liber: 66 Folio: 407
 Dated: Sept.14, 1853 Registered: Sept.16, 1853
12. (A) To: Alexander McNeil From: Trustees of Rennie
 100 acres on 23 5 shillings - lease for 1 year
 Liber: 33 Folio: 231
 Dated: July 18, 1825 Registered: Jan.28, 1826
 Land west of MacLures.
- (B) To: William A. From: Estate of Alexander
 McNeil & Charles McNeil
 McNeil wife Mary Alexander died 1864
 and leaves \$100 to each
 William MacKay of Clifton & wife Ellen Mary
 John Burtain of Rustico & wife Amelia
 Jeremia McNeil of Crapaud & wife Eliza Ann
 Margaret Craswell of Rustico, widow of James
 Sarah McNeil of Cavendish, spinster
 William Donald of Park Corner & wife Louisa
 Matilda McNeil of Clifton, spinster
 & Helen McNeil, widow of Alexander
 Liber: 20 Folio: 54
 Dated: Dec.10, 1850 Registered: Feb.20, 1884
 Land west of MacLures.

12. (C) To: William McNeil From: Benjamin McLeod &
 Land on Lot 23 - \$50 wife Sarah (Wm's
 sister) children of
 late Alexander.
 Liber: 29 Folio: 538(?) 738(?) 238(?)
 138(?)
 Dated: Mar.5, 1889 Registered: Mar.5, 1889
 Land west of MacLures.

13. To: Charles McNeil From: Daniel Hodgson
 Jr.
 Lease 50 acres on 23
 Liber: 71 Folio: 861
 Dated: Apr.2, 1855 Registered: Mar.1, 1856
 Land situated to the west of late Charles McNeil
 and east of the Laird's.

14. (A) To: James Simpson From: William Winter
 Lease 200 acres on Lot 23
 Liber: 15 Folio: 58
 Dated: Sept.29, 1805 Registered: no date
 Land adjoins Wm. Simpson Jr. and runs back from the
 Gulf in parallel lines so as to make 200 acres.

(B) To: Robert Simpson From: Trustees of David
 Rennie
 Lease for 99 years 75 acres on 23
 yearly rent 1 shilling 6 pence/acre
 Liber: 43 Folio: 173 (or 178)
 Dated: Dec.15, 1830 Registered: Jan.15, 1836
 Land borders on boundary line of Township #22 and
 23 and faces on the Gulf 15 chains in width.

(C) To: Robert Simpson From: Robert Rennie
 90 acres on Lot 23, 110 pounds
 Liber: 67 Folio: 212

17. (A) To: John Simpson From: David Rennie & sister
 100 acres on Lot 23 & brothers
 Liber: 47 Folio: 291
 Dated: Mar.14, 1838 Registered: Mar.17, 1840
 Land already in Simpson possession by a one year
 lease dated the day next before the date of these
 presents.
 Land is west of John McNeill's land and faces, 12
 chains in width, on the Gulf.

** There is a gap here that looks as though the 1813-
 1900 index wasn't searched, however, it was as I
 have "no good" transactions from that period.
 See card index.

(B) To: Neil Simpson From: Ellen Jane Simpson
 200 acres on 23 (widow of William
 John)
 Liber: 54 Folio: 934
 Dated July 31, 1906 Registered: Dec.26, 1906
 This 200 acre parcel includes that land numbered 16
 on map. This parcel runs from Clarks to MacNeils
 and faces on the Gulf. This land crosses the
 Cavendish road.

(C) To: Roger W. Simpson From: Neil Simpson
 70 acres Lot 23 \$2,700
 Liber: 56 Folio: 56
 Dated: Mar.9, 1907 Registered: Mar.28, 1907
 This parcel of land also runs from Clarks to
 MacNeils and faces on the Gulf, yet it contains
 only 70 acres as it is only on the north side of
 the Cavendish road.

(D) To: Roger W. Simpson From: Ellen Jane & oths
 70 acres on 23. \$1 to each Charlotte Elizabeth,
 spinster, Ella Simpson, Nurse, Vancouver.
 Liber: 58 Folio: 115

17. Dated: Apr.3, 1909 Registered: May 7, 1909
Same land - north of road facing on the Gulf.

(E) To: Wilfred Simpson From: Roger W. Simpson
70 acres Lot 23 \$3,500
Liber: 59 Folio: 788
Dated: Jan.8, 1910 Registered: Jan.18, 1910
Same land - part of 16 & 17 - only northern side of road.

18. From transactions for land Parcel #19 we see David Robertson lived here also from Photocopied map (Archives) circa 1840? and map from land registry.

19. (A) To: Henry Robertson From: David Rennie
Lease 100 acres on 23
Liber: 27 Folio: 300
Dated: Jan.26, 1821 Registered: Mar.19, 1821
12 chains on the Gulf - west of Charles McNeil and to the east of land occupied by David Robertson.

(B) To: Henry Robertson From: David J. Rennie & brother & sister
106 acres Lot 23
Liber: 49 Folio: 198
Dated: July 9, 1841 Registered: July 13, 1841
First a release then by Indenture dated 10 July 1841 buys land 132.10 pounds.

(C) To: Henry Robertson From: H. Robertson (Sr.)
(Jr.) & wife Mary
600 pounds, 106 acres
Liber: 72 Folio: 396
Dated: June 17, 1856 Registered: July 2, 1856

19. Land (18) formerly owned by David Robertson is owned by Rev. Isaac Murray. This (19) borders on the Gulf for 12 chains.
- *From Cavendish. Its History, Its People we see the Robertson farm become the farm bought by the Green family. It was sold to the National Park in the early 1970's by Milton Green.
20. (A) To: John Lockerby From: Robert Rennie
100 acres on Lot 23, 100 pounds
Liber: 65 Folio: 627
Dated: Jan.4, 1853 Registered: Feb.24, 1853
Land bounds on Henry Robertsons east boundary and faces the Gulf.
- (B) To: Alexander Laird From: John Lockerby
100 acres on 23 - 800 pounds
Liber: 91 Folio: 575
Dated: Jan.5, 1869 Registered: Jan.5, 1869
Land borders on Henry Robertsons east boundary and faces 12 chains on the Gulf.
Laird was Lockerby's son-in-law.
- (C) To: William Laird From: Alexander Laird
100 acres on 23, \$600
Liber: 36 Folio: 801
Dated: Nov.17, 1893 Registered: Mar.26, 1894
Land runs along Robertsons east boundary 12 chains wide on Gulf.
21. (A) To: Alexander Laird From: David S. Rennie & Janet Emma
80 acres on 23, 120 pounds
Liber: 56 Folio: 448
Dated: July 4, 1842 Registered: Apr.9, 1847

21. Land runs along east boundary of land in possession of John Lockerby - 9 chains, 60 links, facing on Gulf of St. Lawrence.

*From Cavendish - Its History Its People we see that Alexander Lairds son John lived on this farm and after John Laird his son-in-law Wesley Smith took over. In 1936 after the National Park bought their home at the Sandspit area of New London Bay Alfred and Annie Moore bought the Laird (Smith) farm from Wesley Smith. The Moore's son Herbert still farms this same farm.

For Land Parcel #20 - John Lockerby's grandson (Alexander Lairds son) William Laird lived there. About 1910 he sold to Nelson MacCoubrey. MacCoubreys son Ira still owns this farm.

22. Roderick MacLure - is mentioned in the land transactions for Parcel #11 and 12 and is shown on the 2 photocopied maps yet I have not been able to find any transactions. Except -

Liber: 92 Folio: 482
 Dated: Feb.23, 1870 Registered: Mar.11, 1870
 To: Wm. McLure From: John Laird
 No description other than 50 acres on Rustico Capes.

23. Lot 22 -

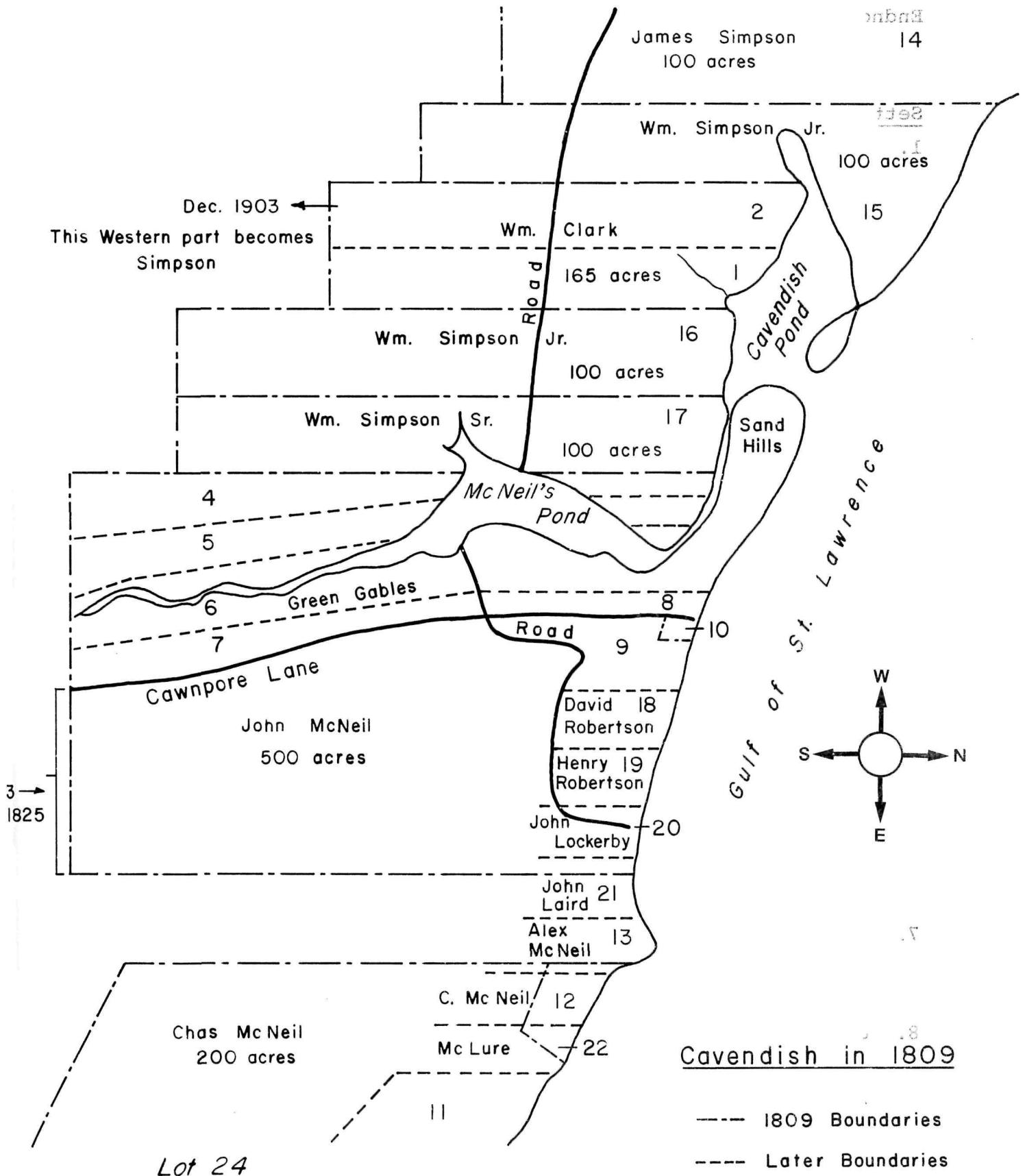
To: David Jim Moore From: James Beales
 200 acres on 22 - \$2,595.58

Liber: 3 Sept. 1848 Registered: Sept.4, 1848

Land bounded on east by boundary line lots 22 and 23 - west by Shepherds Pond - then by New London Bay to the Sandhills.

This land remained in Moore family until sold to National Park in 1936.

Lot 22



Endnotes

Settlement Theme

1. John Maloney, "The First Centuries: 'And in the Beginning,'" Canada's Smallest Province: A History of Prince Edward Island, ed. Bolger, F. W. P., (Charlottetown: The Prince Edward Island 1973 Centennial Commission, 1973), p. 2. Maloney relied on interpretation of archaeological sites, the analysis of folklore, and the accounts of explorers and missionaries for information on the early Micmac people.
2. Preliminary archaeological researches were done during May 1974. Human History files, Prince Edward Island National Park, a two page typewritten report titled, "Report on Canada Council Grant #S-74-0108: Archaeology of Prince Edward Island."
3. Louis Pellissier, "The Native People of Prince Edward Island," Exploring Island History, ed. Harry Baglole, pp. 17-18.
4. Bernard G. Hoffman, "Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the 16th and 17th centuries," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1955). Microfilm, Robertson Library, University of Prince Edward Island, pp. 552-53.
5. Maloney, Op. Cit., p. 5.
6. Ibid., p. 10.
7. D. C. Harvey, The French Regime in Prince Edward Island, (A.M.S. Press, New York, 1970. Original edition printed 1926, New Haven), p. 243.
8. J.-Henri Blanchard, The Acadians of Prince Edward Island, (LeDruit and Lecleve, Commercial Printer, Ottawa and Hull: 1964), p. 26.

9. D. C. Harvey, pp. 64, 68.
10. Alan Rayburn, Geographical Names of Prince Edward Island, (Ottawa, Dept. of Energy, Mines and Resources, Ottawa, 1973), p. 107.
11. J.-Henri Blanchard, p. 69.
12. A. B. Warburton, The History of Prince Edward Island (Saint John, N.B. Barnes and Co. Ltd., 1923), p. 85.
13. A. H. Clark, pp. 48-50, 264-69.
14. F. W. P. Bolger, "Momentous Issues in the Island Story," Canadian Collector, Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 9. (Prince Edward Island Centenary Issue, 1973).
15. John Stewart, p. 24.
16. Ibid., p. 4-7.
17. J.-Henri Blanchard, p. 72.
18. Georges, Arsenault, "Le Systeme Des Proprietaires Fonciers Absents De L'Ile-Du-Prince-Edouard et Son Effet Sur Les Acadiens," Revue de l'Universite de Moncton, Vol. 9, Nos. 1, 2 and 3 (October 1976), p. 68.
19. J. M. Bumstead, "Sir James Montgomery and Prince Edward Island 1767-1803," Acadiensis, Vol. VII, No. 2 (Spring 1978), p. 77. Bumstead goes into some detail as to Montgomery's early life and upward mobility to one of the most powerful political positions in the Scotland of George III, that of Lord Advocate for Scotland.
20. Ibid., p. 78.
21. Canada. Public Archives (hereafter cited as PAC), MG23, E6, Correspondence Montgomery to Governor Fanning, Edinburgh, 30 April 1798.
22. Bumstead, p. 80. Montgomery's more elaborate plan was directed specifically to the lot 59 area, another of his holdings in the eastern part of the Island.
23. Montgomery's scheme allowed the occupants of the 30 farms let on 1,000 year leases on lot 34 in the Stanhope Farm area free rent for the first four years with rents then coming and in effect for 10

year periods at the beginning of which there would be slight increases i.e. 3d per acre for ten years, 6d for next ten years and so on. Correspondence Montgomery to Fanning, 30 April 1798.

24. PAC, MG23, E6, Montgomery to Fanning, 30 April 1798.
25. Bumstead, p. 82.
26. Ibid., p. 83.
27. Ibid., p. 89.
28. Ibid., p. 85. Bumstead states that the revolutionary war affected the decline in Stanhope Farm the net effect being a loss of tenants apparently because the war in addition to the rents caused many to retreat to the woods. In total the Bumstead article goes into much valuable detail on early settlement in Lot 34.
29. Ibid., p. 101.
30. See Rev. Allan F. MacDonald, "Captain John MacDonald, 'Glenalladale,'" (Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report, 1964), for a good account of the proprietor personally and the conditions and circumstances surrounding the establishment of Tracadie 1772 until MacDonald's death in 1811.
31. A. H. Clark, p. 126. Clark discusses ethnic origin of immigrants and general population for the period 1800 to 1873 in chapters 5 and 6 of his book where there are found many references to the park area townships.
32. See John Stewart, An Account of Prince Edward Island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, North America, (1806, reprinted by S. R. Publishers Ltd., Johnson Reprint Corporation 1967). On pages 168-69 and 208-18 the park area lots are very briefly described as to settlement 1770-1806.
33. All population statistics used are available in print on microfilm at the P.A.P.E.I. The years are 1798, 1833, 1841, 1848, 1855, and 1861.

34. A. H. Clark, p. 66. Clark lists a number of areas including New Glasgow, that were affected.
35. In addition to referring to Figure No. 3 one might seek out a copy of the Lot 34 map listed second and dated Pre 1850 in Fred Horne, "Cartographic Survey of Prince Edward Island National Park". Manuscript on file, Historic Resources Research Section, Parks Canada, A.R.O. Halifax, February 1978, p. 21.
36. Prince Edward Island. Public Archives (hereafter cited as P.A.P.E.I.). Executive Council Minutes, Vol. I, 1770-1814.
37. See: Alan Rayburn, Geographical Place Names of Prince Edward Island, p. 34. See also: "Cartographic Survey," p. 19, second map listed under 'Lot 34.'
38. See F. W. P. Bolger, "Momentous Issues in the Island Story," Canadian Collector, Vol. 8, No. 1, (Prince Edward Island Centenary Issue), pp. 9-12, for a brief outline of the issue.
39. See Georges Arsenault, Op. cit. for a discussion of the proprietorial system and its effect on the Acadians of lot 24.
40. One of the more obvious examples was the relationship between the fictional Avonlea Debating Club and the Cavendish Literary Society 1886-1924. The former is the centre of attention in chapter 19 of Anne of Green Gables, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1967) while the minutes of the latter are held by P.A.P.E.I.
41. Doug Murray, "List of Prince Edward Island Post Offices", Private Collection, Cross Roads, Prince Edward Island. Mr. Murray is a postal historian by hobby and he generously provided a list of Post Offices from New London lot 21 to Afton Road lot 36.
42. Maggie Buntain, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 14, S1-290.
43. See Elbert 'Buck' Hill, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 18, S1-170 and S2-360 for further detail on life at New Glasgow. Also Meacham's Atlas 1880.

44. Meacham's Atlas 1880.
45. Alan Rayburn, Op. cit., "Anglo Rustico."
46. P.E.I.O.H.: Leta Andres, Tape #20, S1-045; J. L. LePage, Tape No. 17(A), S1-420 and (A)S1-448. It is important to note that the use of the term 'Acadian' is at odds with 'French' used by most English in the area.
47. P.E.I.O.H: J. L. LePage, Tape No. 17(B), S2-231 through 268 and (B)S1-495; Bert Blaquiére, Tape No. 12, S1-053.
48. The author (see Figure 7) demonstrates a sensitive appreciative awareness of the skills of the "black-eyed French Canadian girls who bound (sheaves of grain) quickly and chattered ceaselessly. I used to find a great fascination in watching them," The Maritime Advocate and Busy East, "Come Back with Me to Prince Edward Island," vol. 26, no. 10-11 (May-June, 1936), p. 5.
49. Jerry Gauthier, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 10, S1-007.
50. P.E.I.O.H., Jerry Gauthier, Tape No. 10, S1-050; Wilbur Robinson, P.E.I.O.H., Tape No. 2(A), S2-060- and S2-260.
51. Wilbur Robinson, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 2(B), S1-435. Henchy apparently was a recurring visitor.
52. Bert Blaquiére, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 12, S2-024, S2-075, S2-236.
53. Card Index, P.E.I.O.H. (Historic Resources Research, A.R.O.) under main subject heading Social and sub-headings such as parties, dances, recreation, and Robinson's Island.
54. Elaine MacCallum, P.E.I.O.H., Tape No. 4, S1-318, and J. L. LePage, P.E.I.O.H., Tape No. 17(B), S1-440, (B)S1-397.
55. For specific descriptions of the Robinson Island parties see P.E.I.O.H., Mrs. Earl Simpson, P.E.I.O.H., Tape No. 21, S1-196 to S1-380 and Wilbur Robinson, Tape No. 2(B), S2-030.

Farming Theme

1. A. B. Warburton, A History of Prince Edward Island, Saint John, N.B., Barnes & Co. Ltd., p. 81. The fishery was also very important, and it is interesting to note that Warburton reports that Louisbourg in fact preferred the fishing to be restricted to Tracadie and St. Peters, thus forcing the development of farming in other areas, such as the south shore of the Island.
2. Two maps come into play here, PAC H₃/204-1764, "A Sketch of the Island of St. Johns in the Gulf of St. Lawrence," and PAPEI D-204.35-c. 1800 "Lot 35, No. 2, no name. Map of Lot 35, property of Hon. Alex Maitland, includes Lot 36 property of Spence and Mill and part of Lot 34 property of John Dinn." On the first map a large area of cleared land is shown from Harbour of Tracadie to Petit Rustico. Due to the inaccuracy of the map generally the cleared land is taken to indicate agricultural activity in the present-day Tracadie to Stanhope areas as opposed to no agricultural activity in Rustico at the time.

The information on the second map indicates a cleared area at Etang du Barge (Stanhope) separate from the Tracadie Harbour settlement. This seems to mean that the French had a substantial clearing at Stanhope; however, we must not rule out the possibility that the cartographer, at this late date (c. 1800), was using the French name for an area partially cleared by British immigrants.

3. A. B. Warburton, p. 76.
4. A. B. Warburton, p. 81. Another source was W. H. Warren, "Remnants of Acadian Dykes," in Prince Edward Island Magazine, Vol. 2, No. 1, (June 1900). He mentions the dykes found in some areas but seems not to have surveyed the Tracadie, Stanhope or Rustico areas,

perhaps because the marshland was not as extensive there as it was in the Dunk River area on the Island's south shore.

5. A. B. Warburton, p. 76. Lord Selkirk in 1805 says that the crop of wheat in his area, one formerly occupied by the French, was about 12 to 15 bushels per acre, but that the area was 'cropped out' as a result of earlier French cultivation.
6. Presumably the Bedford Bay area suffered in this regard.
7. A. H. Clark, Three Centuries and the Island (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), repeatedly mentions the poor Acadian breeds of cattle in particular which penalized agricultural development on the Island to mid-19th century, presumably partially on the grounds that had they not been readily available as stray or as bargained-for from individual Acadian farmers, better stock would have been imported.
8. D. C. Harvey, The French Regime in Prince Edward Island, (AMS Press, New York, 1970) (original 1926), 265 p., p. 195.
9. Lorne C. Callbeck, "Economic and Social Development since Confederation," pp. 328-54 of Canada's Smallest Province, ed. F. W. P. Bolger. The only change was in the introduction of the two-handled plough in 1810, pp. 335-50.
10. A. H. Clark, p. 72.
11. It is not known if north shore farmers were involved in the society. Even the more active societies of the 1830's to 1860's period had no local branches in the park area (see further discussion within this theme).
12. David Weale, "The Mud Diggers," The Island Magazine, No. 5 (Fall-Winter 1978), pp. 22-30. Weale explains that the term 'mussel mud' was a bit of a misnomer, as

the composition of the mud included oyster shells (highly valued for their lime content) as well as mussel shells and various other ingredients, depending on the location of the bed.

13. A. H. Clark, p. 78.
14. A. H. Clark, p. 76.
15. A. H. Clark, p. 208 (see Settlement Theme for discussion of rental structure).
16. A. H. Clark, p. 80.
17. L. C. Callbeck, op. cit., p. 335-50.
18. A. H. Clark, p. 78.
19. A. H. Clark, p. 76.
20. Brackley Point is the jut of land which separates these Bays. Duncan MacCallum, the first permanent settler of Brackley Point, arrived in 1771. A descendant, Hubert MacCallum, wrote, sometime after 1920, "But it was not beauty alone that induced him to settle in the place, but the endless amount of hay which the marsh produced." Brackley Point in Earlier Days, a seven-page pamphlet by Hubert MacCallum, written c. 1930 (privately published c. 1950). Hubert also records that the marsh from which the early settlers took hay "extended about three miles north of the present shoreline."
21. A. H. Clark, p. 74.
22. A. H. Clark, p. 76.
23. A. H. Clark, p. 77. They were still dominated by an inferior, long-legged, white-faced, fine fleeced breed. They did not improve until the 1850-1870 period (Clark, p. 110).
24. A. H. Clark, pp. 77-79.
25. A. H. Clark, p. 115.
26. A. H. Clark, pp. 114-15.
27. A. H. Clark, p. 117.
28. A. H. Clark, p. 119. Other possible park area shipping centres, Covehead and Tracadie, are not listed for

that year. They were never as important as New London and Rustico, and New London was the most important of all. In 1858, all New London exports were valued at 9,500 pounds sterling, while Rustico's were 1,200 pounds sterling.

29. A. H. Clark, p. 73. Also, Clark records (p. 70) that the acres of improved land per capita were 3-4 in Lots 33, 34 and 35, while they were 2-3 in Lots 23, 24 and 25.
30. A. H. Clark, p. 110.
31. A. H. Clark, pp. 108-110.
32. Potatoes were popular in newly settled areas because they were easy to plant among the stumps. A potato blight similar to the one in Ireland struck the Island in the 1840's, but fortunately disappeared quickly, minimizing the resulting damage.

Wheat was almost always a poor third to potatoes and oats. There was a market for wheat in Nova Scotia but this was unfortunate, because it encouraged its production on the Island long after it was recognized as an unsuitable crop (Clark, p. 76).

Oats were far more important in older settled lands because they had better yields than wheat in the relatively poor, overused soils. The 1832 census shows most of the lots in the park area as preferring oats, with the ratio of wheat to oat production being less than 50 percent in Lots 23, 33, 34 and 36. Lots 24 and 35 were at the opposite end of the scale, the reasons being a preference for wheat, and possibly better managed land able to sustain wheat.

33. A. H. Clark, pp. 104-07.
34. A. H. Clark, p. 74.
35. A. H. Clark, p. 104.

36. The York, Marshfield areas in the south of the lot have always enjoyed better farmland than the Stanhope area. In other words, this lot, more than any other in the park area, differs in farmland value north to south, with the richer farmland in the south.
37. A. H. Clark, p. 104.
38. A. H. Clark, pp. 102-110.
39. Elinor Vass, "Early Agriculture on Prince Edward Island and the role of the Agricultural Societies, 1827-1845," an undergraduate paper prepared for Special Studies in History at U.P.E.I., (December 1975), p. 5. Hereafter Vass '75. Available at Confederation Centre Library, Charlottetown, P.E.I.
40. Vass '75, p. 7.
41. Vass '75, p. 9.
42. Harry Keilly, History of the Montgomery Settlers, 1770-1970 (privately published by the author in commemoration of the bicentennial), p. 117.
43. Vass '75. Vass quotes from 31 October 1837 advertisement for this Machine appearing in the Royal Gazette.
44. Vass '75, pp. 24-25.
45. Elinor Vass, pp. 1-5. "The Royal Agricultural Society, 1845-1965", undergraduate paper, University of P.E.I., (April 1976), pp. 1-5., thereafter cited as Vass '76. In 1845 the society became the Royal Agricultural Society, functioning with no more than a half dozen associate societies, none of which were in the park area. Membership was divided into classes; the higher the membership paid, the greater the likelihood of becoming a governor. Vass calls the society an elitist one, linked in the popular mind with the Establishment or Family Compact. For the farmer, lectures under the best of circumstances were never so important as land ownership (Vass '76, p. 16).

47. Private individuals were offering the Royal Agricultural Society successful competition, thus diminishing its role.
48. A. H. Clark, p. 119. In all, 2,318 were listed as so engaged part-time.
49. Reciprocity with the United States 1854-1866 aided the prosperity of the Island considerably by providing a U.S. market for many Island products, agricultural and otherwise.
50. Maps of Prince Edward Island, such as the C.E. Lake 1863 (the 'Lake Map') and Meacham's Atlas of Prince Edward Island 1880, are cluttered with the names of farmers, each holding land parcels often no larger than 100 acres.
51. Oxen were better suited to areas where clearing the land was important. Available statistics, dating from 1833 onward indicate that horses were more widely used in all park townships, with twice as many horses as oxen in Lots 23, 24, 34 and 36 as early as 1833. A. H. Clark attributes the predominance of horses to three things: an Acadian preference, an advanced state of farming, and larger tracts of cleared land. All of this is not to say that there were no oxen in park areas, even into the 20th century (Clark, pp. 112-13).
52. A. H. Clark, p. 217. The Acadian areas of Lots 23 and 24 also had fewer cattle and were less successful farming areas.
53. Because of the large Acadian population in the area one is tempted to speculate that there would have been a greater number of poor quality cattle. It seems just as feasible to speculate in the opposite direction, and suggest that the mixing of breeds occurred early in the English settlement and there was no greater tendency to poor quality stock in those areas bordering on Acadian settlements.

54. A. H. Clark, p. 191.
55. A. H. Clark, pp. 113-14. Park area townships had populations of between 16 and 20 head of sheep for every 10 head of cattle, led by Lots 24, 33 and 34 with 18 to 20 sheep per 10 head of cattle. Lots 23 and 35 had 16 to 18 sheep, while Lot 36 had only 14 to 16.
56. A. H. Clark, pp. 111-12. Cattle to people ratio: Lot 36, 60 to 70 head per 100 people; Lot 24, 70 to 80 head per 100 people; Lots 35 and 23, 80 to 90 head per 100 people; Lots 33 and 34, 100⁺ head per 100 people.
57. A. H. Clark, p. 186. As early as 1828 small quantities of butter were being exported. By the 1850's half a million pounds were being made each year. Home-made butter was, by the 1880's, an important source of cash income for many farmers.

Home-made cheese was also produced and exported in the early 19th century. Production reached a peak in 1881 at 176,000 pounds, but declined to 10,000 pounds by 1911 because of the growth of the cheese factories.
58. A. H. Clark, p. 187. Again, Lots 35 and 36 produced less.
59. Clark repeatedly draws such relationships.
60. Granted, it was a small part of farming, but it was paid to farmers for quantities of home-made butter and cheese. There were other examples of farmers receiving cash for goods; however, it was the sale of milk and cream on a regular basis to factories that established regular cash invoices for farmers.
61. A. H. Clark, p. 186.
62. The Agricultural Historians, History and Development of the Dairy Industry in Prince Edward Island, (Charlottetown, P.E.I.: Department of Agriculture

and Forestry, 1978, with the assistance of the New Horizons Program). The Stanley Bridge factory closed in 1946. The New Glasgow factory still operates as a creamery. The Dunstaffnage factory operated past 1946. The Mount Stewart factory fell into decline by 1913, according to F. L. Pigot in A History of Mount Stewart, (published by the author, 1975). The Dunstaffnage factory received cream from areas east of Charlottetown, as far away as Baltic.

63. The Agricultural Historians, p. 15. Dr. James W. Robertson, Dominion Dairy Commissioner, held meetings in three Island centres in 1891 with a view to establishing an Experimental Dairy Station in the province. In 1893 ten companies applied for charters, none of them in the park area.
64. The other factory in the area, the Mount Stewart factory, was a small concern which lasted only a few years, and probably did not draw much on the park area, excepting perhaps the Tracadie area, which was not noted for its agricultural production.
65. Factory by factory reports are not published until several years after this, when they appear in the Department of Agricultural annual reports. However, the statistics contained in the reports from the 1920's on indicate continued healthy productivity and patron participation at each of the factories.
66. Department of Agriculture, Annual Reports, 1901-1903. In butter production statistics they ranked less impressively.
67. Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1902. From this report came the statistics for the following table, which illustrates the closeness in size. By the next year the net value to patrons varied by only \$700.00, but ironically the lower number of patrons again produced the greater return.

Cheese Production

	Stanley Bridge	New London
Milk to Cheese	1,664,405 lb.	1,068,904 lb.
Cheese	154,612 lb.	102,791 lb.
Net Value to		
Patrons	\$12,602.40	\$8,315.34
Patrons	140	151

68. The Agricultural Historians, pp, 17. 25.
69. R. Buntain, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 15(B), S1-190.
70. C. C. Pratt, a ninety-year old resident of St. Peters, recalls the erea as one of the Agricultural Historians, p. 18: "So the concept of getting cash for milk was indeed an easy prospect...." There were few sources of cash, otherwise.
71. Prince Edward Island Dairy Association Annual Report, 1903, p. 5, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1904.
72. The variance occurred in how strictly the company supervised the selling of its shares. Some, for instance, were sold to certain public-minded citizens "who wished to help a good enterprise," (The Agricultural Historians, p. 15). The co-operative spirit sometimes extended to sharing collecting duties among farmers who picked up the milk in cans with truck wagons, usually twice per week.
73. These statistics were considerably below the 1902 level.
74. A. H. Clark, p. 257.
75. A. H. Clark, p. 198. As opposed to a 10 percent increase in the number of sheep.
76. A. H. Clark, p. 203.

77. A. H. Clark, p. 204. Park area townships, in the company of only seven other townships, showed the greatest number of pigs on the Island. All of the accompanying seven were among the better farmlands. In fact, the Charlottetown area was in the center of the Island's most intensely agricultural townships among which are included this group noted for their production of hogs.
78. Informants in verifying this revealed strong local religious and community ties.
79. Admittedly it is confusing; however, 'the island' is Robinson's Island, while 'the Island' is Prince Edward Island. The latter is used sparingly in this section.
80. No Shore Road existed before the park came, thus the distance from Oyster Bed to Stanhope overland was prohibitive. Thus such was seldom undertaken, unless for a very good reason, such as an extra special social event, an annual get-together or party, or important business such as horse trading see (Social Theme).
81. Earl Skeffington, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 1.
82. P. Carr, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 3, S1-176. It is difficult to determine for certain whether Mr. Carr was hinting that the richness and resulting 'lying down' of the hay was a precursor to the current recreational activity on the island's beaches.
83. Earl Skeffington, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 1, S1-075.
84. Wilbur Robinson, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 2(A), S2-340. It was difficult to get produce or stock off the island in winter for sale. Though he sounds confused at this point on the tape, he is trying to convey the greater difficulties of winter survival on the island. Often sufficient ice for travelling would not form until late in January.

85. Wilbur Robinson, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 2(A), S2-350. The old habits in farming would die hard, as this exchange indicates. It was not until the late 1920's and early 1930's that the very first large-scale acreages of potatoes were grown on Prince Edward Island. Note, however, that the \$2.00 per hundredweight seems high given the pre-war price quoted later in the text and given also the relatively low prices since the 1920's.
86. P. Carr, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 3, S1-060.
87. Earl Skeffington, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 1, S2-109. Over the years the odd animal was lost by drowning.
88. Earl Skeffington, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 1, S2-109.
89. Earl Skeffington, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 1, S1-470. The loads were hauled directly across the bay to the Brackley Point farm. The deepest point of the ice-covered bay was about 15 feet, and this was about mid-way across.
90. Earl Skeffington, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 1, S2-109. The potato crop was not large, not much more than that grown for domestic use by the majority of farmers at this time. When Earl took over the 'mixed farming' operation it was still quite large, consisting of 40 cattle (beef and dairy), several pigs, and 14 horses. Meanwhile, prior to the 1930's Will Robinson had been building up an Ayrshire herd on the other half of the island (Wilbur Robinson, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 2(A), S1-340.
91. Wilbur Robinson, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 2(A), S2-025. It was not until about 1912 that Will used a seeder regularly. Wilbur describes the process of sowing by hand as an effective one, allowing the listener to infer that there was no impetus for change.
92. Ibid., Tape 2(A), S1-200.
93. Ibid., Tape No. 2(A), S1-245.

94. Ibid., Tape No. 2(A), Sl-440.
95. Earl Skeffington, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 1, Sl-460.
96. See discussion of this in Park Theme.
97. Wilbur Robinson, P.E.I.O.H. Interview Notes, May 1978.
98. Ibid.
99. Roland Buntain, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 15(B), Sl-410. Mr. Buntain supplied most of the information on the activities surrounding the picking (in fact, he includes much information on his tapes). He estimated the season lasted ten days at least, with every second season a little longer because of the cyclical nature of the fruit crop. This particular crop would have occurred c. 1934; Buntain supervised from 1932 to 1936.
100. Wilbur Robinson, P.E.I.O.H. Interview Notes, May 1978.
101. Roland Buntain, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 15(B), S2-001.
Also Percy MacAusland, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 8.
102. Roland Buntain, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 15(B), S2-325.
103. MacAusland purchased the west half of the island proper, plus Hall's or Little Island, plus a 50 percent share of the unsurveyed one and a half miles of sand dune area rich in cranberries at the west end of the island.
104. Roland Buntain, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 15(B), Sl-001.
105. Percy MacAusland, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 8, Sl-274. This packaging was an asset, he claimed almost defensively. It was also innovative and one cannot help but surmise that the local reaction was appropriately resistant to this change, and as such was a sign of success. Only a few people were familiar with the packaging; however, mainly the Buntain family of Rustico (Buntain, R., P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 15(B), Sl-410).
106. Percy MacAusland, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 8, Sl-306. His bitterness, well known at the time and today among those who will listen, was not necessarily understood.

He had taken a risk by investing in the island but he lost through no fault of his own. The compensation he was offered was not at all up to his expectations of gain, and the resultant frustration was seldom equalled. It is expressed on this segment of the tape.

107. The other park area with abundant cranberry fields was the Dalvay-Tracadie area. Whether these were used by the general public, or restricted by private owners, is not known.
108. New London, to the west of the park, handled greater volumes.
109. See comments from Wilbur Robinson recorded on P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 2(A), S2-350.
110. Guy Rollings, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 5(B), S1-182.
111. J. L. LePage, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 17(A), S1-476.
112. Guy Rollings, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 5(B), S1-182.
113. Rollings tells the tale of one unfortunate farmer of Bayview who lost six pigs out the back of his wagon on the way to town, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 5(B), S1-182. Market Days were social as well as business days (see Social Theme).
114. A. H. Clark, p. 218.
115. The Agricultural Historians, p. 94.
116. Department of Agriculture Annual Reports, 1901-1908.
117. Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1901, p. 5.
118. For a discussion of how this trend was seen by one prominent Islander, see Ian Ross Robertson, Sir Andrew MacPhail and the Philosophy of Conservatism 1864-1938, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1975.
119. Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1901.
120. Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1901, p. 8.
121. Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1902, p. 11.
122. Roland Buntain, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 15(B), S2-430. He adds that the New Glasgow Dairy Company started as

a Joint Stock company. They ran on a "sort of a co-operative basis" because there never was a yearly dividend on the shares, as any profit was put into improvements. He assumed that the Stanley factory ran the same way.

Mr. Muntain explains on tape more detail on how the Egg Circles worked.

Fishing Theme

1. Fishing as a supplement to farming is evident by the existence of landings and fishing stages that dot the shore line -- at the shore end of farms, in township number 24 especially. Meacham's Atlas 1880.
2. A. B. Warburton, Op. cit.
3. A. H. Clark, p. 64.
4. John Steart, An Account of Prince Edward Island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, North America, 1806, (London: W. Winchester and Son, Strand), p. 243. Trade at this time was with the West Indies and Great Britain thus the difficulty in continuing the fishery during the revolution.
5. A. H. Clark, Op. cit., p. 68.
6. A. H. Clark, Op. cit., p. 64.
7. A. H. Clark, Op. cit., p. 146.
8. Ibid., p. 117.
9. Marven Moore, "The Island and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854," in Exploring Island History: A Guide to the Historical Resources of Prince Edward Island, Baglole, Harry, ed., Belfast, P.E.I., Ragweed Press, 1977.
10. Clark, p. 146.
11. This estimate is based on the assumption that there were between 50 and 70 boats operating out of Rustico Bay from the 1850's. Beecher Court (P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 22, S1-426) states that when he was a boy

in the 1890's there were that many boats out of Rustico and that the number has not changed since then.

12. Clark, p. 148. The number of men employed in the fishery in 1950 was 2,166 including 1,935 fishermen and 231 cannerymen and packers. There would not have been so many of the latter in 1860.
13. Clark, p. 147, Figure 88. Most of the fishermen of the New London Bay area were concentrated on the west side of the Bay with only 10 located in the Stanley Bridge area.
14. Clark, pp. 146-48.
15. Clark, p. 148. Oyster production during the early 20th century suffered from disease which struck the famous Malpeque Bay area. The greatly reduced production of 5,000 barrels per year then came chiefly from Bedeque Bay and the north shore bays of Queens County.
16. Clark, p. 146.
17. Clark, p. 148.
18. For further information on Grand Tracadie Packing Co. see John Fred Watts, P.E.I.O.H. Interview Notes; for the Rustico area companies see Jerry Gauthier, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 10.
19. See Jerry Gauthier, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 10, S1-245 for a description of the lobster packing process as he supervised it at North Rustico c. 1908 to 1916.
20. The benefit of the factories to the community was felt most by those who worked in the factories. The source of labour at the Portland Packing Company's factory in Robinson's Island was the French of Rustico. For further information see Wilbur Robinson, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 2"A".
21. Beecher Court, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 22, S1-175 and Jerry Gauthier, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 10, S1-290.

22. Guy Rollings, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 21(A), S2-387.
23. Eugene Gorman, Deputy Minister of Fisheries for Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown Guardian, P.E.I. Centennial Issue, Summer 1973, Fishing Section, p. 3.
24. Jerry Gauthier, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 10, S1-305. For further information on the Rustico Co-operative Movement in the 1930's see Bertram Blaquiere, What Fishermen Can Do: The Story of North Rustico, (no place of publication, Adult Education League of Prince Edward Island, 1939).
25. Jerry Gauthier, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 10, S1-320.
26. Islander, 29 May 1868.
27. Clark, p. 149.
28. Roland Buntain, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 15(A), S1-235; Beecher Court, Tape No. 22, S1-160; Guy Rollings, Tape No. 5(A), S2-373.
29. Clark, p. 146.
30. Beecher Court, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 22, S1-135. Mackerel numbers have moved in cycles since the early 20th century. Prior to that there had been a decline in the mackerel fishery after the Reciprocity years causing hard times before the lobster packing facilities of the Portland Packing Co. came in the 1890's. Mackerel were also popular among those who farmed and fished because the effort involved in equipment preparation was less.

Shipbuilding Theme

1. See the following for brief descriptions of launchings. P.E.I.O.H., Jerry Gauthier, Tape No. 10, S1-400; Elbert 'Buck' Hill, Tape No. 18, S1-376; James L. LePage, Tape No. 17(A), S2-295.
2. A. H. Clark, Three Centuries and the Island, p. 250. Clark notes that in 1866, 127 vessels of 31,932

Tons, averaging approximately 250 Tons, were built. Four years later the average was about 270 Tons based on 53 vessels of 14,312 Tons. This size vessel was popular in the English market. The smaller classed vessels, 25-100 Tons, were used in the coasting trade and in fishing. Vessels of 50-150 Tons were used in export trade with Newfoundland.

3. The communities are Rustico, New Glasgow, Grand Rustico, Covehead, Tracadie, New London, Wheatley River, Brackley Point, 'Black' River, French River, Caven-dish, Corran Ban, Grand Tracadie, Rusticoville and North Rustico.
4. Shipping Registers 1770-1824 and 1834-1920.
5. Ibid. For purposes of determining the largest, the Ship-ping Registers at P.A.P.E.I. might be more thoroughly combed with particular attention to the years not examined for this report.
6. Shipping Registers, op. cit.
7. Alan Rayburn, Geographical Names of Prince Edward Island, (Ottawa: Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, 1973), p. 105. Indicates that Grand Rustico refer-red to the general area of Rustico Bay.
8. Shipping Registers, op. cit. There could not have been any more than two dozen built on P.E.I. at this time.
9. Three of these vessels were constructed at Rusticoville and North Rustico and are here included for conven-ience.
10. In addition, two vessels were built on Robinson's Island the 33 Ton Rising Sun in 1786 owned by Thomas Haszard Sr., Thomas Haszard Jr., William Haszard, St. Peters, merchants; and the 36 Ton Nelly in 1786, owned by James Lawson and William Lawson, both mariners of Stanhope.
11. Ibid. This could easily be rounded off to four because any error is more likely to have been one of ommis-sion in registration at the time.

12. Ibid. The average size of 178 Tons was exactly the same as New Glasgow's average for the same period 1856 through 1862.
13. Though not mentioned in the text a total of four vessels were registered as built at Cavendish between 1840 and 1854.
14. Shipping Registers. op. cit. Their sizes ranged from 11 Tons to 215 Tons.
15. Karen Lloyd, and Reg MacDonald, "Shipbuilding Sites," a report compiled from interviews held with residents in 1972. A copy is held by the Prince Edward Island Heritage Foundation. No shipbuilding sites were found in the Tracadie Bay area as might be expected from the lack of activity there.
16. As was the case with the Covehead vessels the vast majority were under 100 Tons and only 10 were over. The smaller vessels very likely would have been used for fishing, the coasting trade or sold in Newfoundland.
17. Hubert MacCallum, Brackley Point in Earlier Days, c. 1950, p.3.
18. Lloyd and MacDonald, op. cit.
19. Lloyd and MacDonald, op. cit.
20. Although I cannot quote a source on the Crooked Creek locations, reliable information was given me by an oral source.
21. Lloyd and MacDonald.
22. Presumably the subsequent discussion of what happened in the Rustico Bay area applies to a degree to New London except there were more vessels built over a wider area and by many more owners than was the case in Rustico.

Tourism Theme

1. PAPEI., Minutes of Executive Council, Vol. 3, June 22, 1813.
2. Aubin E. Arsenault, "Memoirs," p. 144.
3. Ibid., p. 146.
4. PAPEI, Minutes of Executive Council, Vol. 3, August 4, 1813.
5. Aubin Arsenault, p. 145.
6. Islander, 15 December 1843.
7. Ibid.
8. PAPEI, Acts of the Legislative Assembly, 1842.
9. Islander, "Hotel Accommodation," 9 July 1869.
10. Islander, 12 August 1870.
11. Islander, 12 August 1864.
12. Islander, 9 July 1869.
13. Patriot, 19 August 1871. Copied from the New York Independent. Observations made by Theo L. Cuyler D.D. as a result of summering on the Island.
14. Patriot, 21 October 1871. Copied from the Congregationalist. Observations made by Hon. Neal Dow.
15. Patriot, 19 August 1871, Cuyler's observations.
16. Islander, 21 July 1871. "On Tuesday last the steamer Georgia, from Montreal, arrived here having some five or six dozen tourists on board."
17. Patriot, 21 October 1871, Dow's observations.
18. Islander, 12 August 1870. This was the beginning of what was to become the Seaside Hotel at Rustico.
19. Guardian, Centennial Edition, 1973. The hotel, built at a cost of \$80,000, was located on an island in Bedeque Bay.
20. Patriot, 19 August 1871. This quote and the preceding information in the paragraph is taken from an article entitled "The Ocean House."
21. Frank Jost Newson, "Seaside Hotel, Rustico Beach, Prince Edward Island," p. 1. A narrative dated 31 January

1978, 31 pages including appendices. Subsequent evidence in the Land Registry Books, P.A.P.E.I., seems to bear out the date of the take-over. In a transaction dated 8 December 1876, Liber 6; Folio 547, Newson bought six acres of land surrounding the hotel from adjacent farmland of Robert Buntain.

22. Aubin Arsenault, "Memoirs," p. 170.
23. Mrs. Catherine Noonan, P.E.I.O.H. Tape NO. 19(A), S2-390.
24. Frank Jost Newson, p. 1.
25. Roland Buntain, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 15(C), S1-175, and Maggie Buntain, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 14, S1-355. Both discuss what they can recall of the Hotel area and Mrs. Buntain recalls the night of the fire.
26. Gordon Shaw, and Louise Shaw, P.E.I.O.H. Interview Notes, May 1978. The Shaw's have an original hotel register dating 1879 to 1971. Gordon maintains that guests may have started coming as early as the 1860's.
27. Ibid.
28. Prince Edward Island Heritage Foundation, Seaside Hotel menu for the vice-regal visit among the Hotel materials donated by Frank Jost Newson.
29. Patriot, 1 August 1890, "Gaities at Shaw's Hotel, Brackley Beach."
30. Cincinnati Historical Society Correspondence, July 1978. P.E.I. National Park Human History files.
31. Aubin Arsenault, "Memoirs," p. 170, repeats the tale: "Mrs. Macdonald turned to Mr. Macdonald and said, 'I should like to build a summer home at this place. Let's see if the owner will sell.'" Arsenault is one of the more dependable sources along with Mrs. Wilfred MacDonald's narrative on the history of "Dalvay-By-the-Sea" available in Prince Edward Island National Park Human History files. A less

dependable and somewhat contradictory source is Neil Matheson, "Across the Island," Guardian newspaper April 3, 1970. For yet another version more consistent with Arsenault and MacDonald see Pioneers on the Island, published 1958, P.E.I. Collection, U.P.E.I.

32. Aubin Arsenault, "Memoirs," p. 173. See also "Park Theme" for a brief discussion of the importance of Dalvay and the controversy surrounding its inclusion in the park.
33. Mrs. Wilfred MacDonald, "Dalvay-By-the-Sea," p. 2.
34. Mrs. Catherine Noonan, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 19(B), S2-200.
35. Mrs. Shirley Lawson, Interview Notes, 14 February 1979. According to Mrs. Lawson a second one, Sea Side Inn, was run by Angus MacMillan c. 1820's and was the same one which burned in 1966 belonging at that time to the Warren family of Stanhope. For further information researchers might consult recently indexed information on the history of Stanhope, Stanhope Women's Institute.
36. Islander, 21 July 1871. A similar sentiment from the visitor's perspective is expressed in Dow's letter appearing in the Patriot, 21 October 1871.
37. Walter Gregor, Interview Notes, January 1979.
38. Guy Rollings, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 5(A), S1-125.
39. Edward MacCallum, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 23(A), S2-144.
40. Such references to the presence of tourists and tourist-related summer activities repeatedly occur in many of Montgomery's books, a prime example being Chapter 33 of Anne of Green Gables entitled 'The Hotel Concer'. The hotel guests organized a concert conscripting local talent, all in aid of a local charity.
41. Patriot, 19 August 1871, "The Ocean House."
42. Islander, 9 July 1871.
43. Elaine MacCallum, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 4, S2-226.

44. Mrs. Catherine Noonan, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 19(A), S2-334, S2-380 and S1-390.
45. Elaine MacCallum, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 4, S2-261. Mrs. MacCallum describes the dimensions and building materials during the interview.

Park Theme

1. National Park Records, Public Archives of Prince Edward Island (hereafter P.A.P.E.I.), Accession No. 2640.
2. Percy MacAusland, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 7. This tape records one person's passionate fight. It is exceptional in that few would so readily speak openly about the issue.
3. Letter to the Editor, Guardian, 18 October 1937, signed 'Inquirer.'
4. Charlottetown Guardian, April to August 1936; Charlottetown Patriot, April to August 1936. Areas advocated included West River-Bonshaw, Foxley River, Bedeque, Charlottetown area, Pownal area, and Brudenell area. Conspicuous by their absence are all the areas eventually chosen.
5. Charlottetown Guardian, 9 July 1936. "Observer" calls the sentiment gratifying in itself; however, the pettiness of the arguments emerges when he answers the accusation of another writer that there were snakes at Dalvay and sand flies at Cavendish. "Observer" retaliated by saying there were ghosts at West River, an early Scottish settled area on the Island's south shore noted for its tales of ghosts and haunted places.
6. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 18 October 1937, signed 'Inquirer.'
7. Editorial, Charlottetown Guardian, 15 July 1936.
8. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Patriot, 29 April 1936.

9. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 23 October 1937.
10. The report prepared by Williamson and Cromarty was printed by the Charlottetown Patriot, 17 September 1936.
11. The Charlottetown Patriot, 22 September 1936. There were political elements involved as well. A story printed in the Charlottetown Guardian, 23 September 1936, indicates that strong opposition to including Dalvay had emerged among members of Government caucus, forcing the exclusion of the site. Stanhope was scrapped as well at this time.
12. W. F. Lothian, A History of Canada's National Parks, Volume One, "Prince Edward Island National Park," p. 97. Dalvay was important to the selection of a park site. Lothian maintains there were efforts to include Dalvay as part of the park regardless of where the larger park area was to be placed.
13. Williamson and Cromarty, Charlottetown Patriot, 17 September 1936. The plan for development ought to centre round the thousands of tourists arriving annually to enjoy beaches and bathing. "It is felt strongly that...we should encourage the concentration of people to satisfy the gregarious instinct which is a very real and constant factor in the popularity of many seaside resorts."
14. Williamson and Cromarty, Charlottetown Patriot, 17 September 1936.
15. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 8 June 1938, from Mrs. Katherine Wyand of Cavendish. There is a singular failure to recognize that the park had anything to do with such an increase. There seemed to be as well a resentment under the surface at the park's involvement and rumoured involvement in the tourist business in the Cavendish area.
16. Ibid.

17. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 16 October 1937, from Jerry Simpson of Cavendish.
18. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Patriot, 25 October 1937, signed 'Progressive Citizen.'
19. Take for example the points in favour of the site chosen as identified by Williamson and Cromarty, paraphrased they read: 1. Beaches; 2. central location; 3. ready accessibility by highway and sea; 4. surf bathing; 5. deep sea fishing; 6. boating and canoeing; 7. natural vegetation that would be an amusement to visitors; 8. many sheltered places; 9. hinterland, especially Winter River Valley (soon withdrawn from final park area); 10. hiking country; 11. salt and fresh water areas for angling; 12. picturesque drive and sea vista east of Cavendish. Either preservation, unique land formations or wilderness characteristics such as sand dunes was not a priority at the time or the Parks personnel sensed and observed such a strong emphasis among the populace that no other emphasis was compatible with establishment of a park.
20. Editorial, Charlottetown Guardian, 14 October 1937.
21. Editorial, Charlottetown Guardian, 12 March 1939.
22. Percy MacAusland, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 8, S2-153. Others have of course mentioned the belief in passing.
23. An Act Respecting a National Park 1936, Journals of the Legislative Assembly 1936.
24. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 11 April 1938, from W. E. Bentley representing Sydney Ranicar, one of the claimants.
25. Charlottetown Guardian, 26 August 1937. A copy of the petition with signatures is held in P.A.P.E.I., Accession No. 2640.
26. Charlottetown Patriot, 3 September 1937.

27. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 12 March 1938, from Jerry Simpson. At least one other meeting was held on 23 September 1937 at Corran Ban and reported in the next day's Patriot.
28. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 23 August 1937, signed 'One of the Dispossessed.'
29. Farmers were aware that National Parks were placed in wilderness lands, pointing out that in one community alone more than 800 acres would be removed from cultivation (Cavendish). Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 23 August 1937, signed 'One of the Dispossessed.'
30. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 12 March 1938, from Mrs. Katherine Wyand, Cavendish.
31. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 16 October 1937, from Jerry Simpson.
32. Ibid.
33. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 27 August 1937, signed 'Taxpayer.' A Patriot 'Subscriber,' 30 August 1937, called 'Taxpayer' a low calibre person and the Guardian the same for publishing the letter.
34. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Patriot, 4 August 1936, from M. F. MacKinnon, possibly a Tracadie resident (see Editorial, Charlottetown Guardian, 15 July 1936, which sees Dalvay as an asset capable of attracting wealthy people of leisure 'to spend their summer and money on our shores').
35. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Patriot, 11 August 1936, from H. K. Hemming.
36. Charlottetown Patriot, 17 February 1938, an article on the Editorial page.
37. Percy Carr, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 3, S2-130; Guy Rollings, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 5(A), S2-325. The highest price Rollings could recall was \$50 per acre. In fact 20 of the 76 settlements listed in P.A.P.E.I. No. 2640,

received more than this. Four of the 20 included a house or cottage(s) while three others were for plots (cottage) only. Of the 20 these 7 and one more were well above \$100 per acre and were all non-farmland while the remaining 12 were below \$100 per acre and farmland. Recreational use brought the higher return.

In spite of this popular perception of what was a decent price there was a rational dissenting voice. In the Charlottetown Guardian, 5 March 1938, Jerry Simpson wrote: "My cranberry patch alone brings in twice as much as the interest on what they offered me for land, water rights and everything."

38. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 5 March 1938, from Jerry Simpson. The "heelers" were four government-appointed commissioners, none of whom were farmers, sent to assess the lands.
39. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 23 September 1937, from Sydney Ranicar, went on to state that settlements of a few small holdings in the Cavendish-Rustico area occurred because a certain member of the Executive Council held mortgages on them.
A previous letter appeared in the Guardian of 23 August 1937, and signed 'One of the Dispossessed' claims that the Higgs recommendations were cut by 10 percent to 40 percent. "In other words the Executive spent the taxpayers money...and then... ignored the commission's report and proceeded themselves to re-value all the properties which they had never seen and in total ignorance of the special circumstances that were involved in many cases."
40. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Patriot, 29 October 1937, signed 'Taxpayer.' This writer went on to express his faith in the Government to treat the claimants fairly.

41. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Patriot, 30 August 1937, from 'Subscriber.' Exactly how much popular support existed is not known directly, rather most of the opposition was directed against the method of expropriation and not the principle of the park or the park directly.
A letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 27 August 1937, signed 'Taxpayer,' focuses, by way of a somewhat exaggerated accusation, the objections of the opposition. "No one objects to expropriation as adopted in all civilized countries. The objection is to a species of land grabbing, without compensation, under pretence of expropriation in its just form."
42. Hansard, 15 February 1938.
43. Editorial, Charlottetown Patriot, 1 March 1938. The Patriot likely had a point but there certainly was no other official Public Forum because there were no members of the opposition elected to the Provincial Legislature.
44. P.A.P.E.I., Accession No. 2640. Correspondence between the Officers of the North Shore Hotel Co. Ltd. and the Clerk of the Executive Council in which the officers present their case for retaining the golf course.
45. Hansard, 15 February 1938. Regardless of whether there is a parallel or not this exception on the grounds stated could not have rested well with the likes of Jerry Simpson of Cavendish who argued the merits of his ever flowing stream and the value of his cranberry patch in his farming operation without succeeding in having his farmland excluded (Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 5 March 1938, from Jerry Simpson).

46. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 12 March 1938, from Mrs. Katherine Wyand of Cavendish.
47. Editorial, Charlottetown Guardian, 18 February 1938.
48. P.A.P.E.I., Accession No. 2640. List of properties affected by park.
49. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Patriot, 28 August 1937, signed 'Subscriber.'
50. Editorial, Charlottetown Guardian, 24 August 1937. Claims Government had a reputation for appointing itself sole court of final appeal. This was the case with the 'Road Act,' 1936 when Government claimed it would be hampered in carrying out act provisions involving expropriation if it were not the court of final appeal.
51. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 12 March 1938, from Mrs. Katherine Wyand.
52. Guy Rollings, P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 5(A), S2-325.
53. Colin MacAusland (P.E.I.O.H. Tape No. 7, S1-170) maintains that his father, Percy MacAusland, in 1942, took \$5,000 offered him for his half of Robinson's Island only on the grounds that it was partial payment. As to other persons who may have held out for a similarly long period of time, it is widely believed that Jerry Simpson of Cavendish and Tom Doyle of North Rustico never took the money offered.
54. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Patriot, 20 October 1937, from W. F. Alan Stewart, M.L.A. for the First District of Queens.
55. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 22 October 1937, signed 'Voter.'
56. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Patriot, 29 October 1937, signed 'Taxpayer.'
57. Hansard, 15 February 1938.
58. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, 16 October 1937, from Jerry Simpson.

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Prince Edward Island Oral History. The following persons contributed most to this history. A list of those contacted and suggestions for future interviews is being forwarded with this report.

Mrs. Leta Andrews, of New Glasgow Mills

- Born 1901, Rusticoville.
- Wife of Blair Andrew, operator of the mills.
- Tourist operator since 1948.

Bert Blaquiere, of North Rustico

- Born 1912, North Rustico
- A school teacher for 2 or 3 years, 1930's.
- Retired fisherman.

Maggie Buntain, formerly of Rustico

- Born 1879 in Cavendish
- Married Walter Buntain of Buntain Road.
- Farm located next to Seaside Hotel.

Roland Buntain, formerly of Rustico

- Born 1903.
- Retired farmer of Buntain Road.

Percy Carr, formerly of Oyster Bed Bridge

- Born 1896.
- Retired farmer and labourer.

Beecher Court, of North Rustico Harbour

- Born 1888.
- Retired fisherman.

Jerry Gauthier, of Rusticoville

- Born 1887, North Rustico
- Retired labourer.

Elbert 'Buck' Hill, of New Glasgow

- Born 1891, New Glasgow.
- Retired blacksmith, Hill and Stevenson of New Glasgow.

James L. LePage, formerly of Rustico

- Born 1892, Rustico.
- Retired farmer whose farm was on Buntain Road.

Colin MacAusland, of Montague

- Born 1941.
- Son of Percy MacAusland.

Percy MacAusland, of Montague

- Born c. 1895 at Cape Traverse.
- Former owner of Robinson's Island c. 1930-36.

Edward MacCallum, of Brackley Point

- Born 1901, Brackley Point.
- Farmer, miller (MacCallum's Mill) and tourist operator ("The Firs")

Elaine MacCallum, of Brackley Point

- Born 1917, Brackley Point.
- Operates Brackley Beach Lodge.

Mrs. Catherine Noonan, formerly of Grand Tracadie

- Born 1899.
- Grew up in Grand Tracadie.

George Pineau, of North Rustico Harbour

- Born c. 1892.
- Former keeper of the North Rustico Light.

Wilbur Robinson, formerly of Robinson's Island

- Born 1895, Robinson's Island.
- Retired labourer.

Guy Rollings, of North Rustico

- Born c. 1893, North Rustico.
- Retired farmer.

Mrs. Earl Simpson, of North Rustico

- Born 1896, on Robinson's Island.
- Lived and worked in Cavendish area as housewife and chambermaid.

Rupert Simpson, of Bay View

- Born 1901.
- Operator of Simpson's Mills.
- Farmer.

Earl Skeffington, of Brackley Point

- Born 1905 at Loyalist Road, died 1978.
- Retired farmer.

Fenner Stewart, of Kensington

- Born c. 1930, Brackley Point.
- Chief Guide to Green Gables, 1968-1978.

Anita Webb, formerly of Cavendish

- Born 1911 in Cavendish.
- One of Webb family that owned Green Gables until 1936.

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Figure 1

Road Map, P.E.I., 1942. Though not the actual boundaries of the park the coloured area describes the area covered by the study. (See "Cartographic Survey," February 1978).
(Courtesy Public Archives of Nova Scotia).



Figure 2

Map of Lot 35, property of Alex Maitland
c.1800.

(Courtesy Public Archives of Prince Edward
Island)



Figure 3

A map of the Island of St. John, surveyed
by Captain Samuel Holland, published 1775.
(Courtesy Public Archives of Prince Edward
Island)

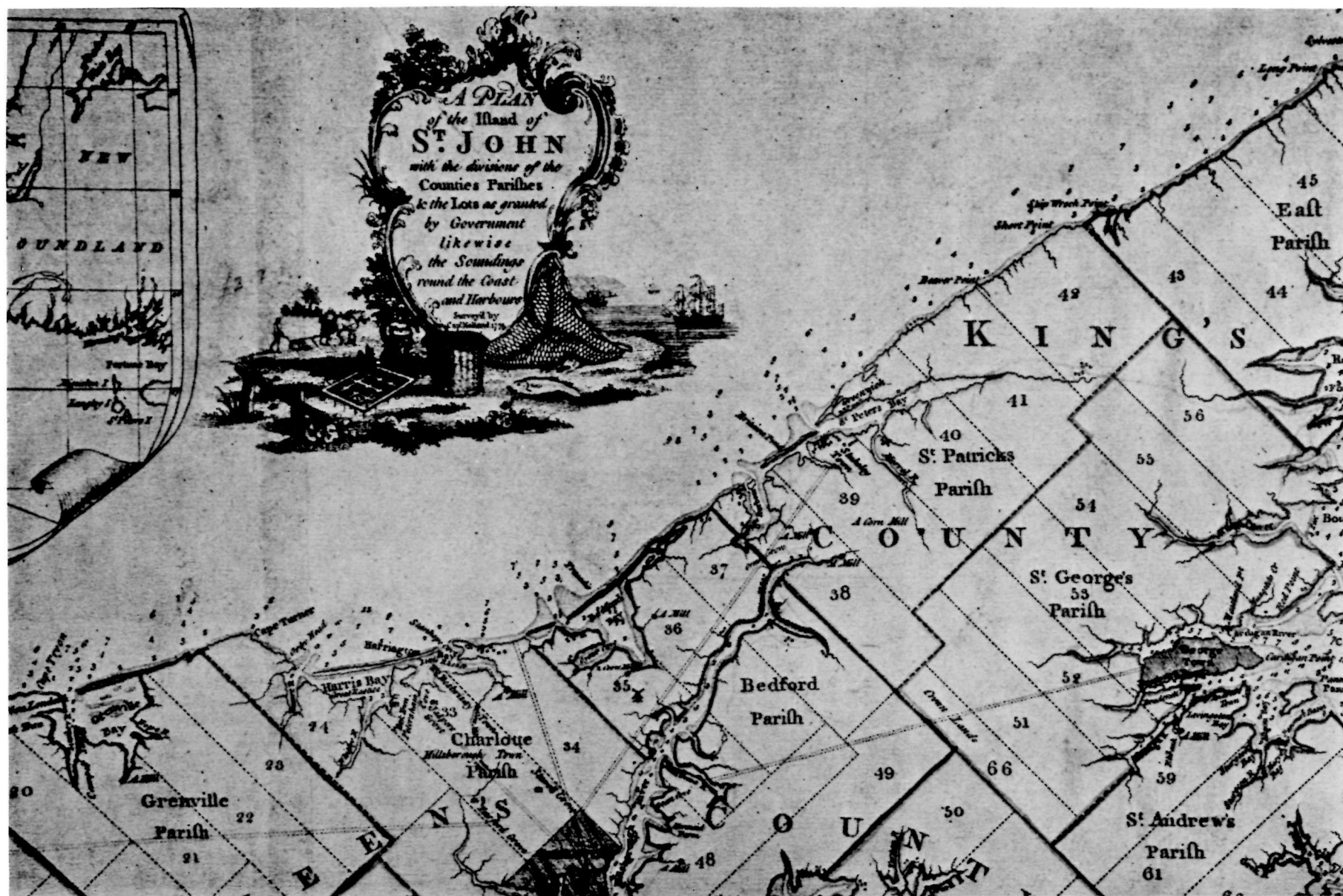


Figure 4

Road from Stanhope Road to Covehead, drawn
under order of Governor Smith.

(Courtesy Public Archives of Prince Edward
Island)

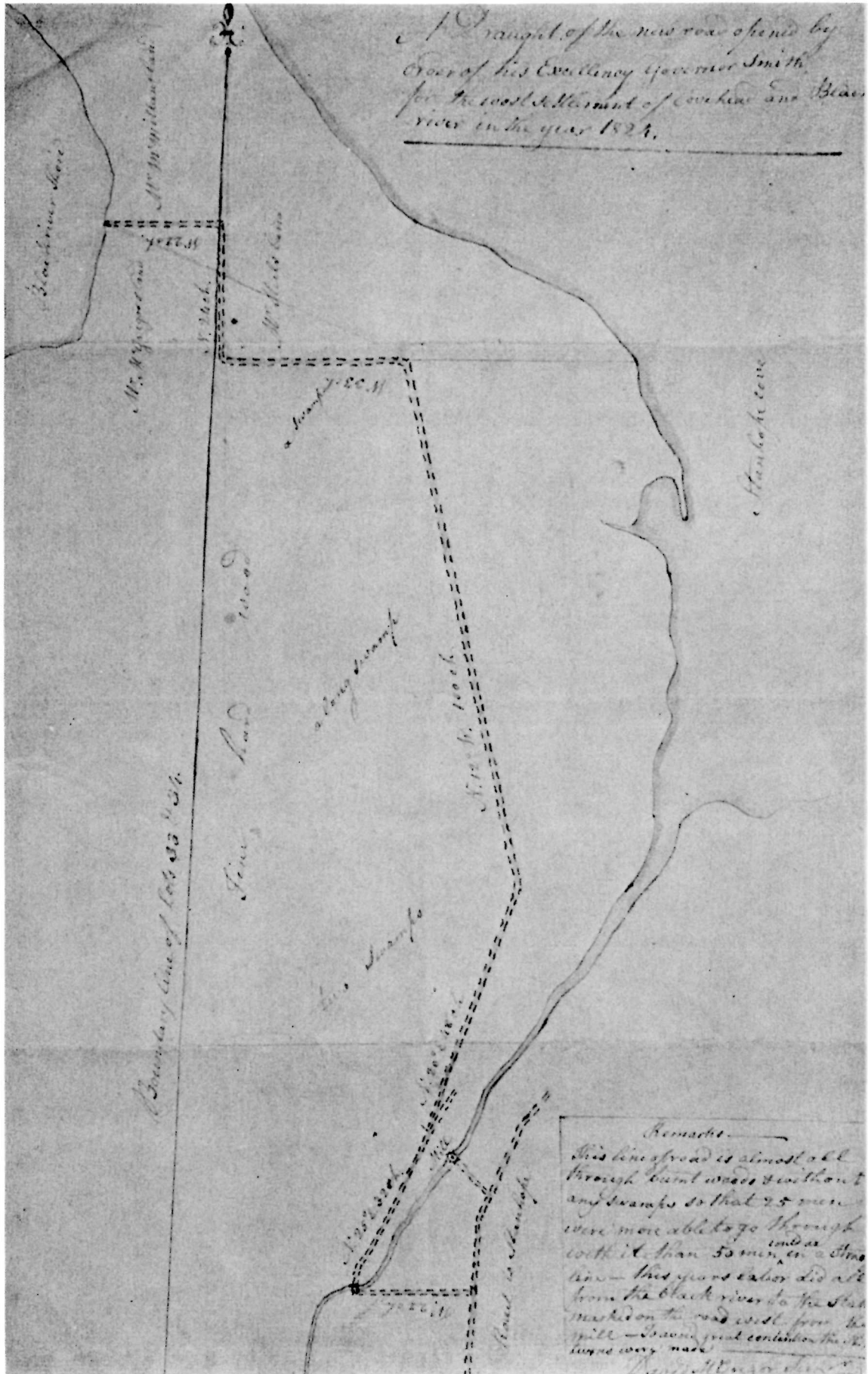


Figure 5

Prince Edward Island in the Gulf of St.
Lawrence from the latest surveys by
H. J. Cundall 1851.

(Courtesy Public Archives of Prince Edward
Island)



Figure 6

Preparing for photograph session,
Robinson family members at Robinson
home, Robinson's Island, c.1901.

(Courtesy Wilbur Robinson)



Figure 7

L. M. Montgomery, c.1920.

(Courtesy Anita Webb)



Figure 8

Cleveland Robinson taking cart aboard boat
to Robinson's Island.

(Courtesy Percy MacAusland)

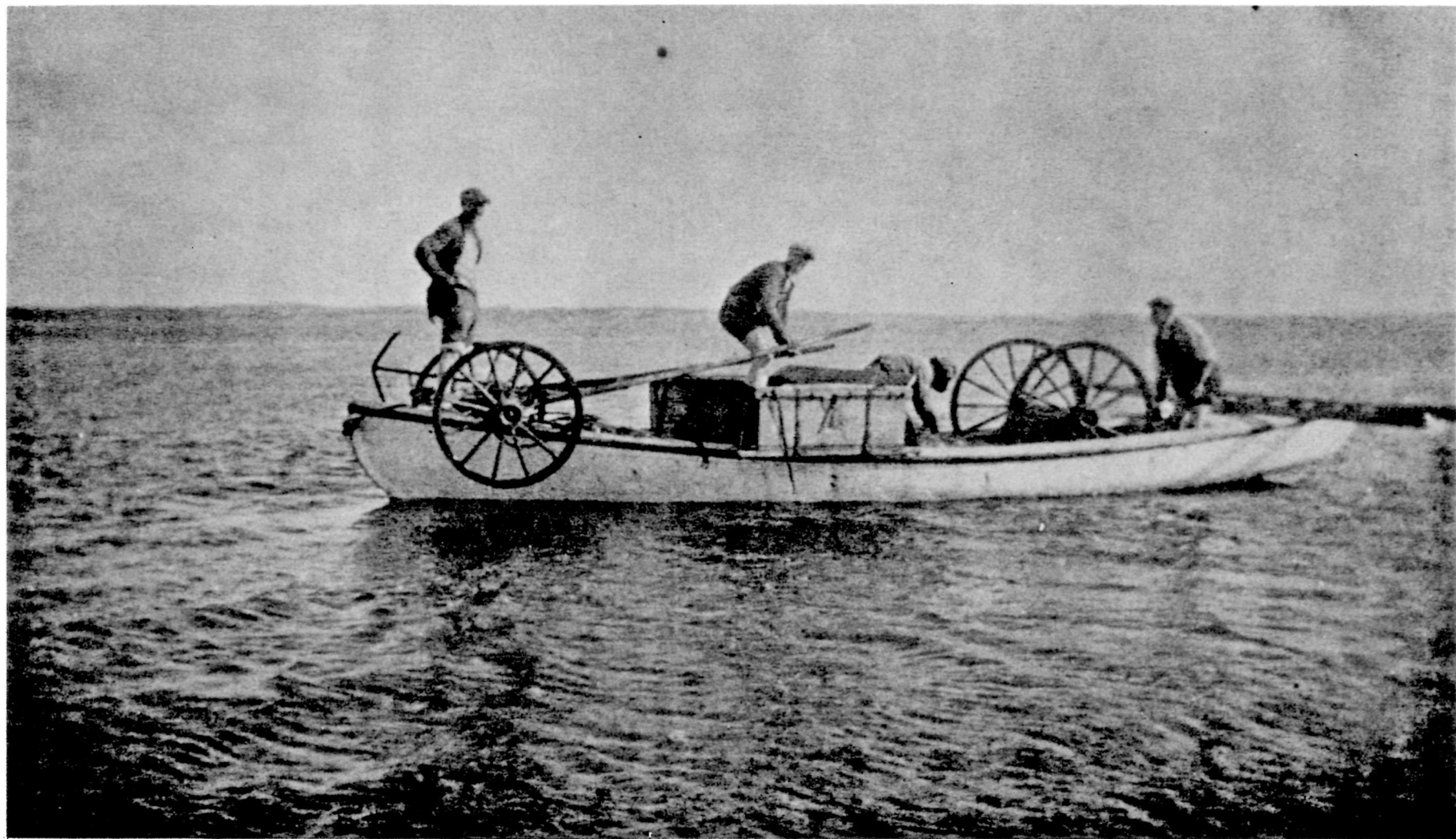


Figure 9

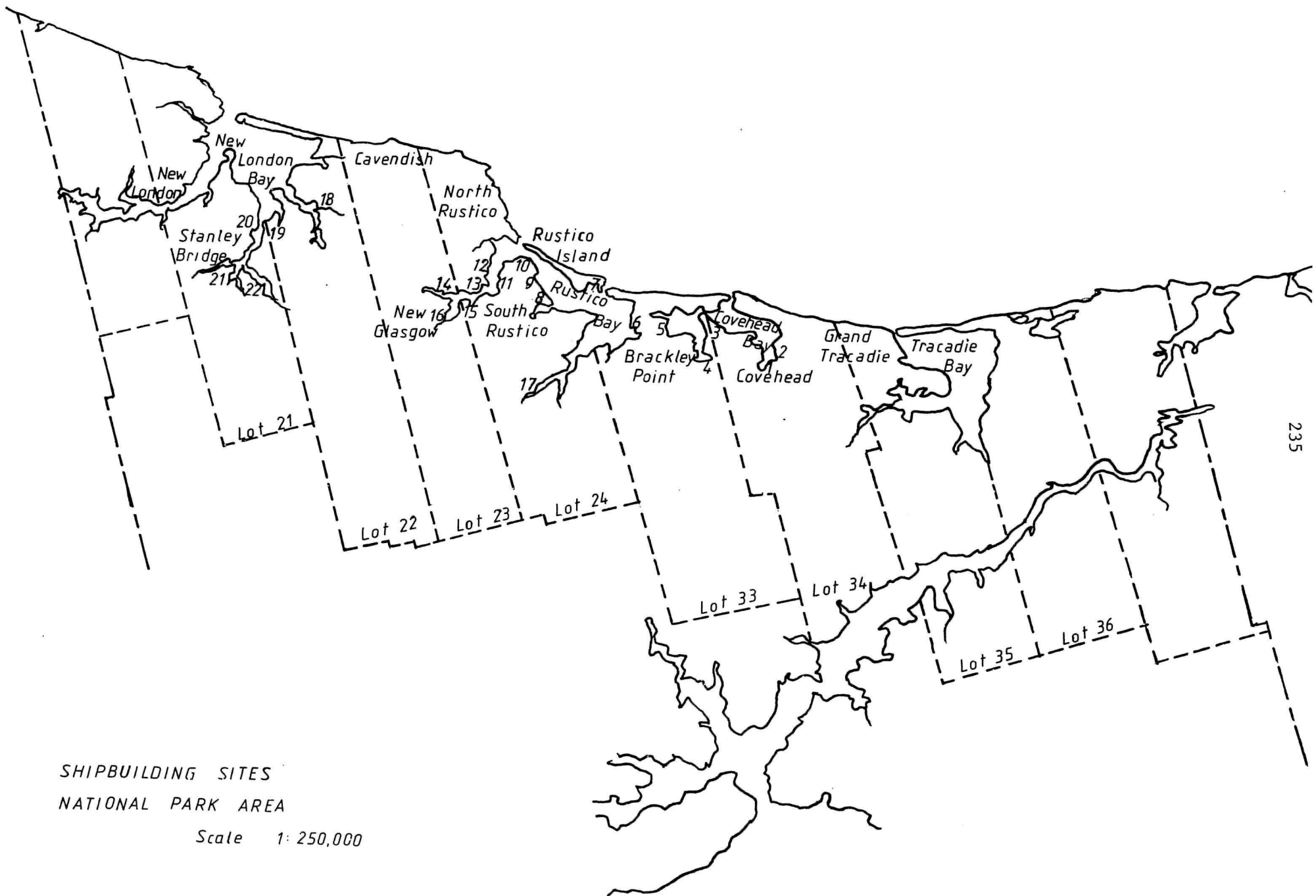
Cranberry Harvest, Robinson's Island,
c.1933.

(Courtesy Percy MacAusland)



Figure 10

Shipbuilding Sites, National Park Area
(Drawing by Mary Burke from Energy Mines
and Resources Original)



SHIPBUILDING SITES
NATIONAL PARK AREA

Scale 1:250,000

Figure 11

Shaw's Hotel, Brackley, August, 1891.
(Courtesy Prince Edward Island Heritage
Foundation)



Figure 12

Residence of Alexander MacDonald, "Dalvay,"
Tracadie, July 4, 1896.

(Courtesy Prince Edward Island Heritage
Foundation)

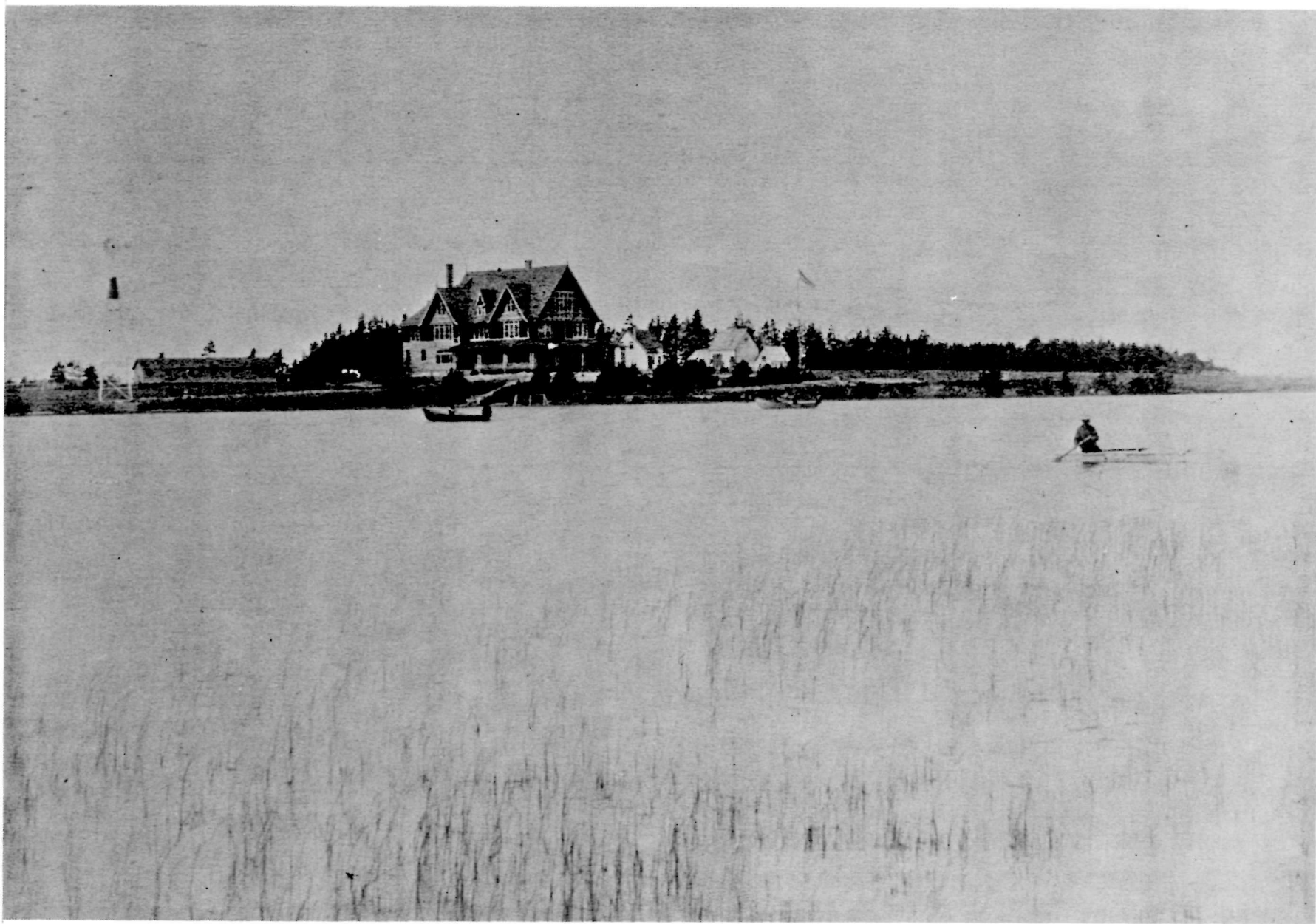


Figure 13

"Seaside Hotel," Watercolour by William
Critchlow Harris, 1854-1913.

(Courtesy Confederation Centre Art
Gallery and Museum)

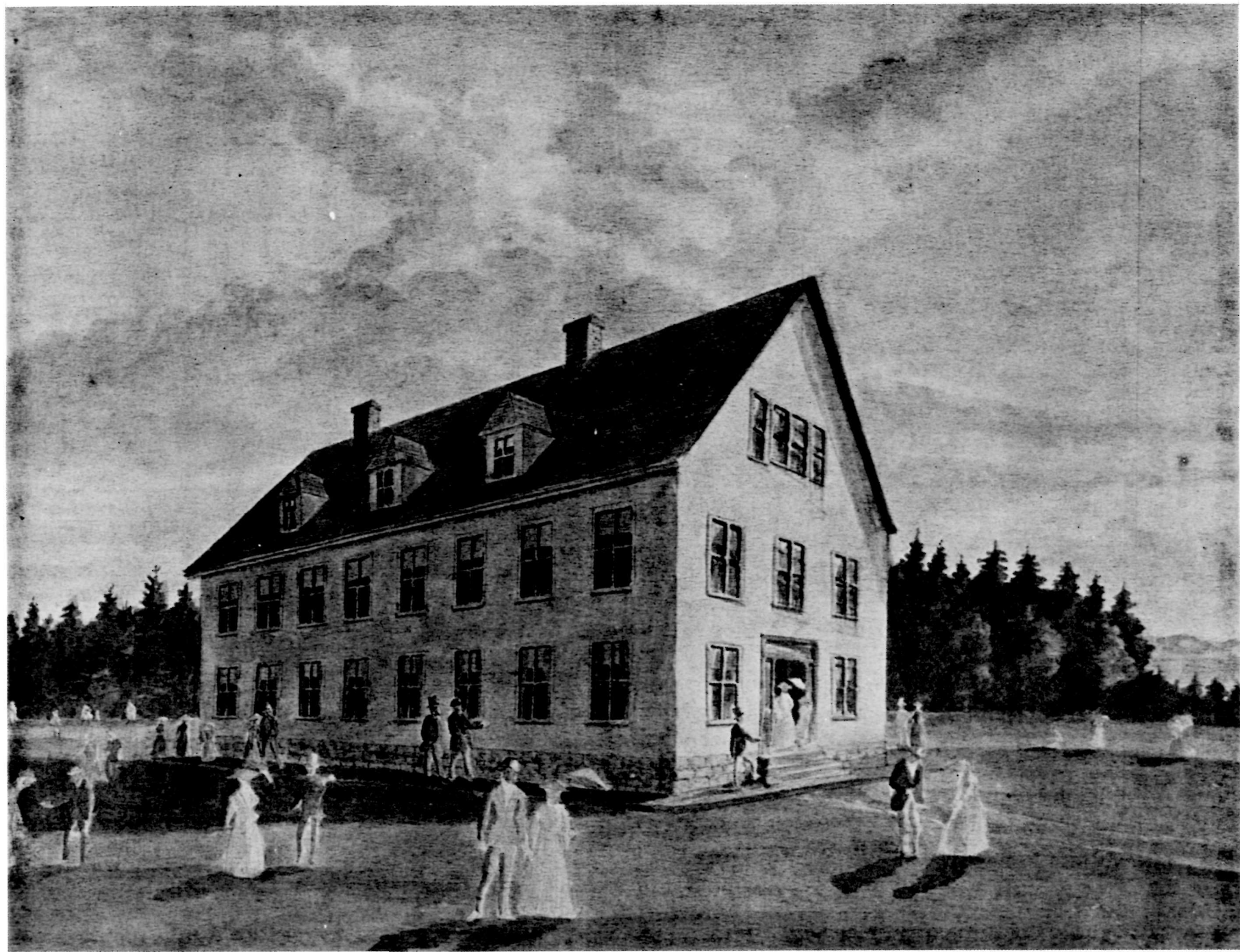
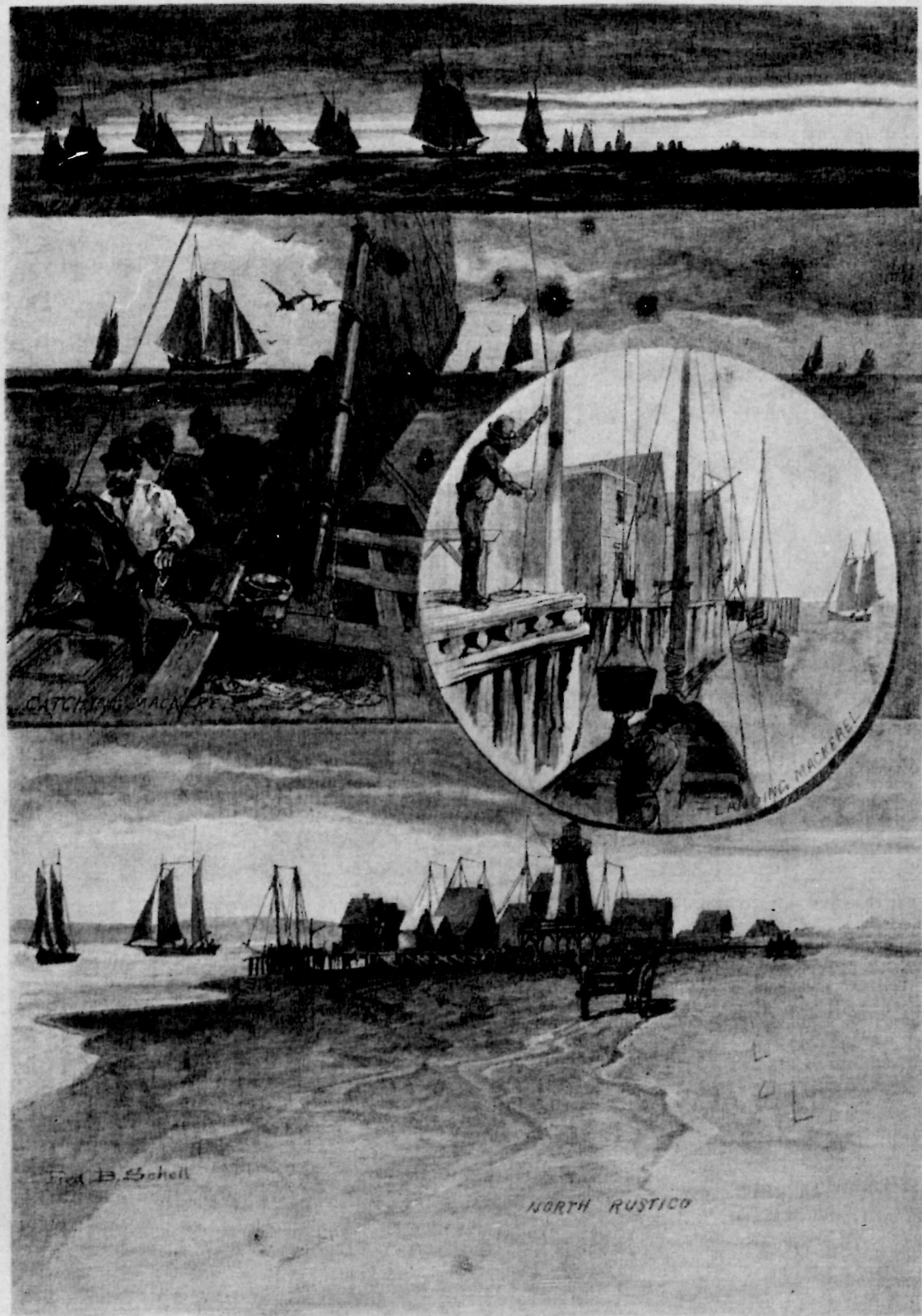


Figure 14

"Mackerel Fishing North Rustico" by
F. B. Schell, c.1890.

(Courtesy Confederation Centre Art
Gallery and Museum)



MACKEREL FISHING.

