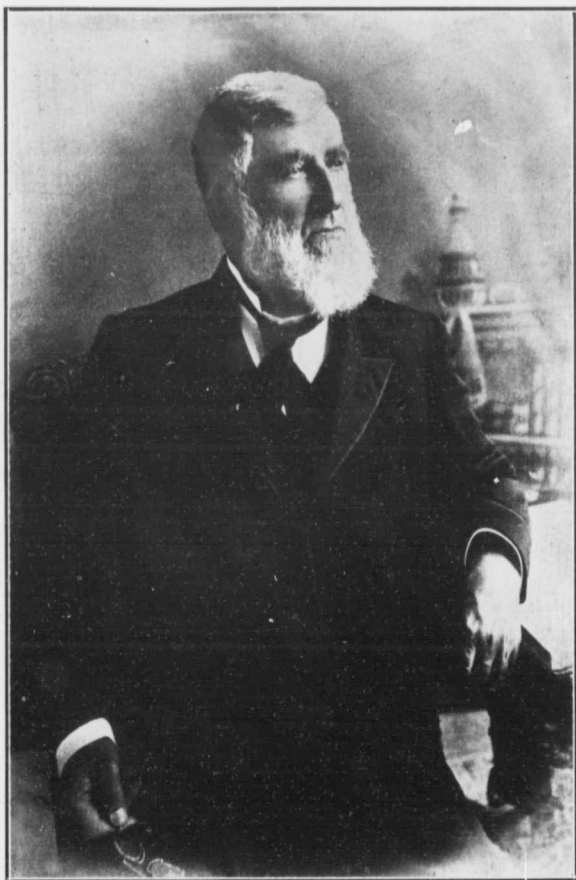




LIFE OF JAMES WILLIAM CARMICHAEL
and
SOME TALES OF THE SEA



JAMES WILLIAM CARMICHAEL

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Life of
James William Carmichael
and Some Tales of the Sea

By

JOHN H. SINCLAIR



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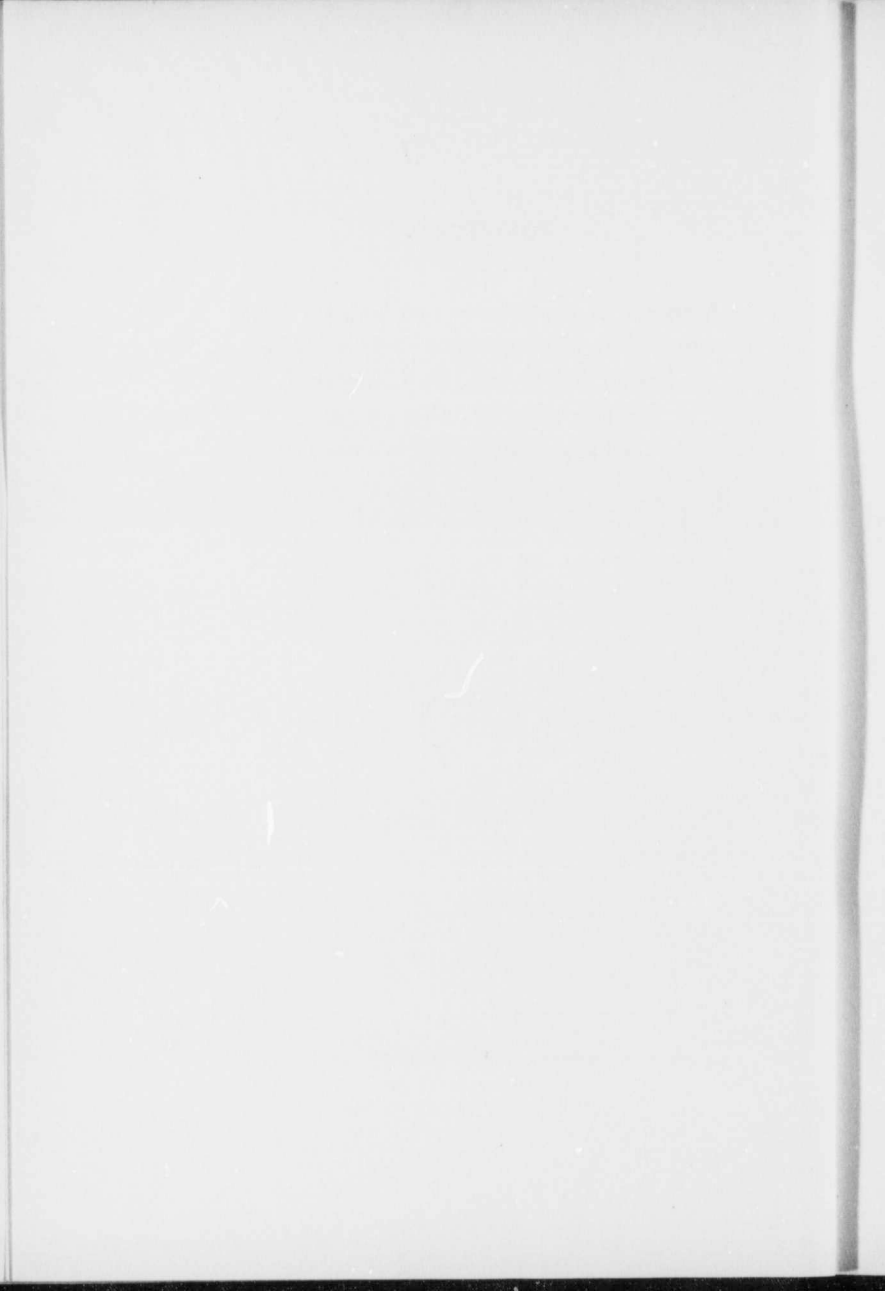
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FOREWORD.

A tribute of appreciation and affection by a son-in-law whose years of intimacy gave him an insight into the character of the man whose life he has attempted to portray in this volume.

Errata. Page 35, 1833 Silica, read 299 for 399.

Page 35, read last for largest.



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Preface

I DO not purpose offering any apology for the appearance of this modest volume; it is not intended to be anything than a short and imperfect sketch of the life of one of the best men I ever knew.

I suppose there is no task more tantalizing than the task of attempting to write the life of an active man of business. One feels that if he were able to tell the story as it occurred it would be a very fascinating story indeed. But the material is not at hand. The years have gone by quickly and your active man of business has been occupied day by day with the work that came to his hand. He has had little time to write anything beyond what was needed for immediate use. He rarely preserves papers or documents, so that when the survivors gather up the crumbs they cannot make much of them.

No one realizes more than I do my inability to present the subject of this sketch as he really was. To those who knew him personally no mere written account can be of service. To those who did not know him personally, the picture will be a very imperfect one indeed. How can we by mere words give a true picture of a man's life? Thomas Carlyle says: "that a well written life is almost as rare as a well spent one". In undertaking this task I do not forget that everything savoring of flattery must be avoided. Nothing would have been more distasteful to the man whose memory I desire to preserve. He was ever mindful of St. Paul's injunction not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think. Perhaps his fault was that he erred the other way. He did not have a proper conception of his own ability. Had he been his own biographer, he would have put himself down as a failure. He would

have considered it necessary to apologize for the wasted years. In the latter part of his life his constant regret was that he had accomplished so little.

Rembrandt has said that "a picture is complete when the painter has expressed his intention, even if he did not succeed in working out all the details". There are deeds undone and battles unfought that do not fail to exert their influence, and will at last meet with their reward.

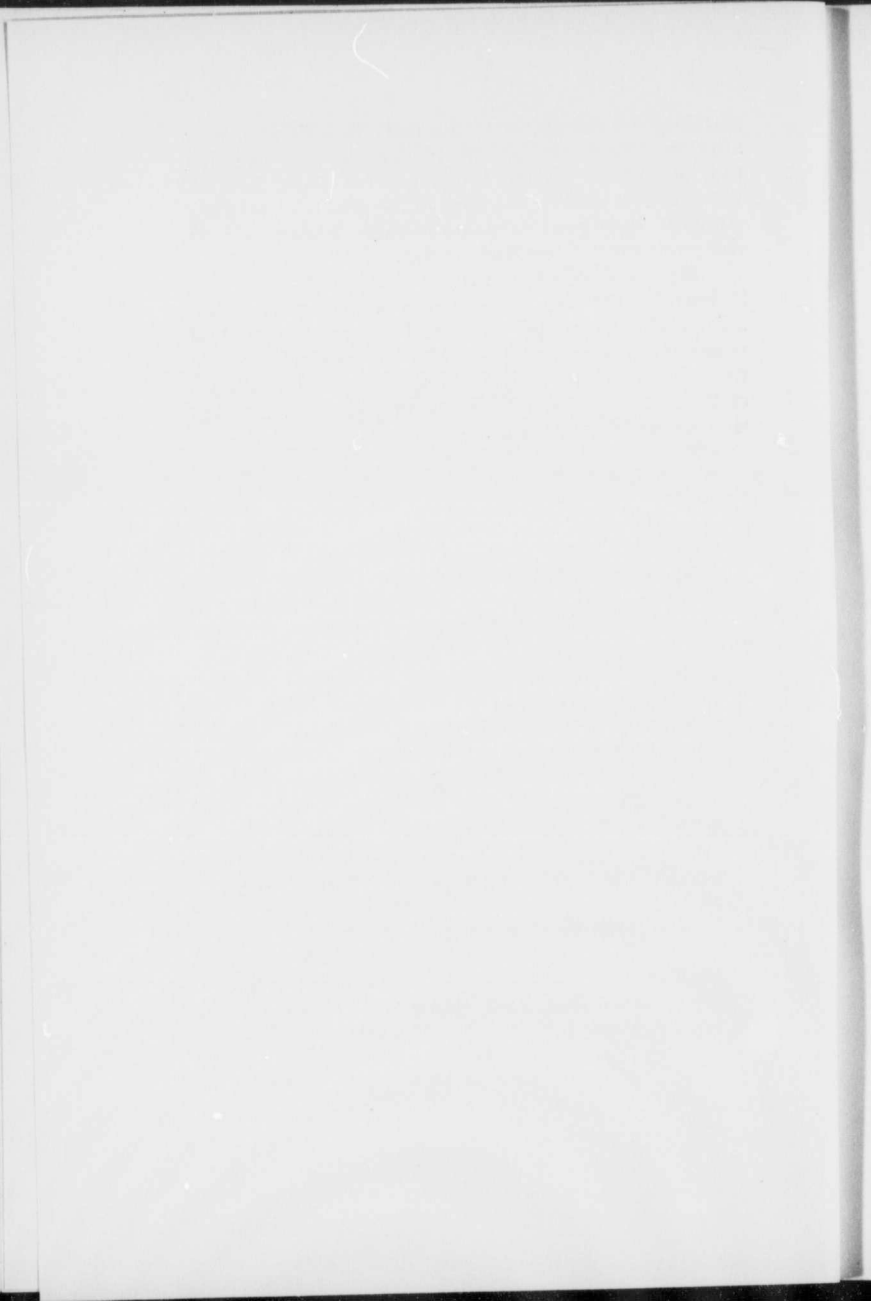
Every Nova Scotian is proud of his Province, proud of its history and especially proud of the men who, during the century just closed, won for this Province such a foremost place among the dependencies of the Empire. The Province that produced these men will, let us hope, produce others like them. In the meantime let us cherish their memories and emulate their example.

James William Carmichael was always courageous and always sincere. He stood for high ideals in both public and private life. For more than half a century he was the undisputed leader of the Liberal party in the County of Pictou, and his influence extended far beyond the bounds of his native County. He was in active business during the whole of that period, but had leisure and industry enough to keep in touch with the progress and expansion of the country and the trend of thought among its public men, and he never failed to impress his views and his personality upon those with whom he came in contact. His influence on his contemporaries would not be lost or forgotten even if no written account were preserved. At the same time it would be a misfortune if we failed to perpetuate some record of a life so well spent and so fruitful of good results.

In the preface to "Old Mortality" Sir Walter Scott describes an aged Cameronian who, with hammer and chisel, wandered among the glens of Ayr and Galloway

searching for the graves of the martyrs and, who, year after year devoted his time to cleaning and renewing the inscriptions on the tombstones of those Scottish worthies who died for the faith in the great Covenanting struggle. It is good for us all to share, when we can, in this pious work of commemoration.

My chief object in writing this sketch is to pass it down for the help and guidance of those young Canadians who have their lives still before them, and of whom much is expected and who will need all the help we can give them to hold to the good old traditions of their fathers, and realize the high ideals of the men who are no longer with us.



CHAPTER I.

Forbears.

JAMES Carmichael, the grandfather of James William Carmichael was a native of Aberlour, Banfshire, Scotland. He emigrated to America in 1778. He first settled in Pictou. In 1783 he obtained a grant of land and settled on the southern side of the Harbour. He died March 16th, 1836. The quaint old record in the family Bible informs us that Ann, his spouse, died September 30th, 1830, aged 82 years. She was a native of Morayshire, Scotland.

In those early days a town was laid off at Fisher's Grant called "Walmsley", but it was only a town on paper and even the name has been forgotten. The whole East River valley at that date was a forest, from Pictou Harbour to Sunny Brae and beyond. The Indians claimed certain rights to the land. The white settlers were anxious to conciliate them. Mr. Carmichael recognized the Indian's title and submitted to the formality of securing a transfer of a small lot claimed by them, forming part of his homestead. One of the relics of those early days still in the possession of the family is an old deed which reads as follows: "We, Major Paul and Sapier, the two Indian Chieftains of the Pictou tribe, for ourselves and in the name of the other Pictou Indians, for a certain sum of money now paid to us by Mr. James Carmichael make over to him and his heirs, one acre of cleared land, less or more, joining the Indian Cross, reserving the burying ground to ourselves. Given under our hand at Walmsley the 26th day of August 1784."

Present

John Fraser

+

Sapier

Major Paul.

In 1784 after the close of the American Revolutionary war a detachment of the disbanded 84th Highland Regiment arrived in Pictou and took possession of the lands awarded to them in the upper settlements of the East River. The same year Thomas Fraser (deacon) settled on the land known as New Glasgow. Thomas Fraser had occupied his farm at West New Glasgow for twenty-five years before the first plot of the town was laid off near the bridge. The block of land between the Court House and Matheson's Foundry, fronting on the River, was originally granted to Alexander Mackay, the father-in-law of the late John Mackay Esquire. Mr. Mackay's clearing was a considerable distance from the river. Here he subsequently built the stone house still owned by his descendants. This man seems to have had a premonition that a town was to grow up at this point, for while it was still little better than a forest he had the land surveyed off in town lots, which he offered for sale to the public. His first purchaser was "Daddy Chisholm," who purchased a lot on the east bank of the river directly south of the present bridge, on which he subsequently erected a house. "Daddy" Chisholm's christian name was William. He was a Cleugh, and Cleugh's daughter married Alexander Cameron. Her heirs still own the lot in question, which has been in the possession of the family for over a hundred years. The date of William Chisholm's deed from Alexander Mackay is 1809. This is regarded as the date of the founding of New Glasgow. Chisholm however does not appear to have settled on his lot until some years later, which is shown by an extract from the following letter still in the possession of his descendants.

Abercrombie Point, Pictou,
December 2nd, 1814.

Dear Children.—We received yours of date 15th August last, and are happy to understand that you and yours are well, after the long voyage. We have not heard from Alex since we wrote you last.

We are glad to hear that provisions of all sorts are not low with you, which is the same here at present. We have peace and plenty through Canada so far. We only hear rumors as you do.

We observed in your letter concerning the land that is granted to people that come to settle in this country. If you have to pay for the land, why should it be called a grant? When any person petitions for land to the Governor and Council, the latter will grant as many acres as they think proper and you will have to pay for your grant so much for every hundred acres. And as for the land we bought from Squire Mackay, we cleared a little on that, as it lies along the river nearly two miles below where we live, which is but half an acre of land, where a new town is beginning and where there are a few shops and tradesmen; yet we paid forty pounds currency for the land from Squire Mackay and it is on the bank of the river, and so is the lot where we live—house and shop—as the bearer of this can tell you or answer any question about us.

Call on Simon Fraser, who is to send another ship here next summer with passengers. We hope you will send the oldest of your daughters with him, and we will pay him for her passage, that is to say if there are neighbors coming from the place.

You were wishing to know whether we had any cows or horses, sheep or pigs. We have some sheep and we keep one pig, but we have no cow or horse, that would require a servant. A servant's wages here are from £30 to £50 per annum, and servant girls'

£6 to £12. If you could work at the blacksmith or
tinsmith business you might do well here.

Wishing you and yours well, we are your dutiful
parents

(Sgd.) WILLIAM CHISHOLM.

Favored by
Collector Fraser.

* * *

James Carmichael, a son of the James Carmichael
above referred to, was born at Fisher's Grant on Jan-
uary 29th, 1788. When about 23 years of age in com-
pany with a Scot named George Argo, he moved up
the river and purchased a lot of land and erected a
building on the site now occupied by the office of J. W.
Carmichael and Company Limited. The deed, which
bears date June 15th, 1811 is from Alexander Mackay
to George Argo and James Carmichael. The consider-
ation was £12, 10. Here Carmichael and Argo who
were the real founders of New Glasgow, opened a
general store. There were few cash transactions. They
exchanged goods for country produce and ton timber,
and being the only merchants at date in the East River
Valley, they soon built up a flourishing business.

Timber was the chief export in those early days.
Haliburton, in his History of Nova Scotia, published
in 1829, says that "from the year 1805 to 1819 upwards
of one hundred sail of vessels were annually loaded in
Pictou Harbour with timber for the British Market."
This trade dates back as far as 1774. The timber was
the farmer's chief source of income in those early days.
Some of the pioneer merchants also built up a profitable
business by exchanging these cargoes for British goods,
which in turn they sold to the farmers at a good round
profit.

Haliburton evidently held the opinion that "New
Town Glasgow" as he calls it, did not have a very

promising future before it. Referring to its origin he says: "At the head of deep water on the East River of Pictou there is a small village which was commenced in the expectation of its becoming a depot for the fertile and populous country in its neighbourhood, but the formation of extensive works a mile and a half further up the river at the Albion Coal Mines by Messers Rundell, Bridges & Co. of London, will naturally attract thither, both the population and trade of the neighbourhood."

The firm of Carmichael and Argo were active in pushing the timber trade, but before the close of their first year in business their store with all its contents was destroyed by fire. After this misfortune the partnership was dissolved. Carmichael rebuilt the store and carried on business on his own account. On the 29th of January, 1812, he married Christian McKenzie, a sister of Captain George McKenzie to whom reference will be made at a later stage. Mrs. Carmichael is described by those who knew her as a woman of strong personal character, exhibiting in no small degree the energy and determination that characterized her brother. In any crisis in her husband's business affairs he always found her a wise and safe counsellor. She died in 1856.

About 1829 Carmichael embarked in ship building and laid the foundation of the business that at a later date was continued on a larger scale by his son. One of his earliest ventures was a schooner called the "Perseverance", designed for the West India trade. On her completion she was loaded with a cargo of fish and other produce for Jamaica. The Captain, supercargo and crew all belonged to Pictou County. The venture was looked upon as one of considerable importance by the people of New Glasgow. On everything being completed, the "Perseverance" sailed out of Pictou Harbour on her adventurous voyage and was never again heard from. Mr. Carmichael had previously

forwarded money to his agent in Halifax to have the vessel insured. After all hope of her turning up again was abandoned he claimed his insurance and then discovered the agent had fraudulently pocketed the premium and that the insurance had never been effected. The loss of his property and of those valuable lives is said to have made him despondent, but encouraged by his wife, who was of a cheerful and sanguine disposition, he embarked in new ventures of a similar kind, most of which were successful.

Shortly after this he launched the "Two Sisters," commanded by his brother-in-law, Captain George McKenzie. She was a trim brig of about 180 tons and was loaded with timber for Glasgow. The days of large ships, even in Great Britain had not yet come. Of the 750 vessels built in the United Kingdom in 1830, only ten were above 500 tons. The Clyde, which has since become such a famous port, was then a little better than a shallow muddy stream.

The "John Geddie" was commenced in 1846 and completed the following year. She was the first ship built under the sole superintendance of the late Thomas Fraser (Foreman). Mr. Fraser was a born captain of industry. He was popular with the workmen in the yard as well as with his employer, and all were desirous that his first venture as Foreman should turn out well. The day for her launching arrived and, to quote the language of an eyewitness, "When the final tap was given to the wedge she slid into the water like a duck." "Everybody cheered and the Foreman was the hero of the hour." The workmen insisted on celebrating the event. A half holiday was proclaimed. A procession led by William McLeod, carrying a bucketful of rum, free for all, paraded the principal streets. The bagpipes were played by the late Mr. Donald Ross, then a young man. The chanter was decorated by a gay ribbon contributed by Miss Sarah Chisholm, afterwards Mrs.

(Capt.) Dand, and the airs played were those martial ones so dear to the heart of the Highlander. The festivities closed that night with a good oldfashioned dance at Chisholm's Hotel. Henceforth the "Foreman's" reputation was assured. It is stated that while rum was supplied by the bucketfull, there was not a single case of drunkenness during the festivities.

Other ventures followed. Year by year new keels were laid and ships were built and launched and sent to sea. Some had good luck and some had not. Each has its own story which we cannot now dwell upon. Mr. Carmichael continued to build ships and carry on a general mercantile business at New Glasgow up to the date of his death in 1860. Rev. Dr. Patterson in his "History of Pictou County," refers to him as a "Man distinguished for his kindness of heart, his public spirit and his readiness in every good work."

CHAPTER II.

Early Days.

JAMES William Carmichael, the subject of this sketch, was born at New Glasgow on December 16th, 1819. James seems to have been a favorite family name of the Carmichaels for generations. The first of the race in this County bore that name and it has been handed down to son, grandson, great grandson and great great grandson, in all covering a period of over one hundred years.

Young Carmichael received the rudiments of his education in the common school in New Glasgow. When a half grown boy, he was sent to the shire town to take a course in Pictou Academy. The Academy even at that early date, next to Kings College, Windsor, was the principal seat of learning in Nova Scotia. The story of its origin and its early struggles form one of the most interesting chapters of our Provincial history. The founders of the Academy aimed at establishing a school after the model of the Scottish Universities, capable of imparting a scientific, literary, and classical education, and where young men could be trained for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. The first step was to obtain legal permission for its existence, which in itself was at that time no easy task.

In the early days of the last century in Nova Scotia, higher education was practically denied to all excepting Episcopalians. King's College at Windsor was founded in 1788. It secured a monopoly and held it with a deadly grip. The clergy of the English Church regarded the proposal to extend these privileges to Dissenters as little short of treason. The Governors of King's College, which at that date was the only college in Nova Scotia

having the power to confer degrees, secured the right to make by-laws which should have force of law. Here is one of them:—

“No member of the University shall frequent the Romish mass or the Meeting Houses of the Presbyterians, Baptists, or Methodists, or the Conventicles or places of worship of any Dissenters from the Church of England. No degrees shall be conferred till the candidate shall have taken the oath of allegiance and obedience to the Statutes of the University, and shall have subscribed to the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England and the three Articles contained in the 39th Canon of the Synod of London held in the year of our Lord 1603”.

One scarcely cares, even as a matter of history, to refer to the intolerant and narrow views adopted and attempted to be carried into effect by prominent men of the Church of England who, in those early days, had full control of the affairs of the Province. One cannot help expressing astonishment that such a by-law as the above mentioned was possible in Nova Scotia only one hundred years ago, and it is worthwhile quoting it as a milestone to mark the progress that we have since made. The Episcopalians also claimed the sole right to marry by license. Under the law, marriage licenses could only be issued by the Governor of the Province for the time being. The Governor who was always in those days an Episcopalian himself persistently refused to address marriage licenses to any excepting the church clergy. The Dissenters claimed to be placed on an equal footing, but it was not until 1818 that they were able to procure an act of the legislature requiring the Lieutenant-Governor to treat all clergy alike, and making it impossible for him to discriminate. The Dissenters, as they were called by the dominant Church, comprised about four fifths of the population and of course formed a large and

influential class in the Province. In Pictou the inhabitants were practically all Dissenters. They set to work determinedly to secure their rights. The struggle lasted for years and was fought out with great bitterness, and finally the reformers won. In 1816 an act of incorporation was granted and henceforth Pictou Academy, which has done so much for the industrial, business and professional life of Nova Scotia, secured the legal right to exist. But the Dissenters at first did not have the control. In the original charter no one was eligible to act as a trustee unless he was a member of the Church of England.

"I, A. B. appointed one of the Trustees of the Pictou Academy, do declare that I do profess the Christian religion according to the principles and forms of the Church of England."

This was amended in 1819 when the oath of office was made to read as follows:—

"I A. B. appointed one of the Trustees of the Pictou Academy, do declare that I do profess the Christian religion according to the principles and forms of the Church of Scotland." This was one step in advance, others came later.

In 1817 the Academy which had been previously carried on for some time as a Grammar School was reorganized and started under the able management of the Rev. Thomas McCulloch, but the agitation in regard to it in the legislature and in the country continued for years. The Episcopalians controlled the Council and vetoed any bill that in their judgment made too great concessions to the Dissenters. The second Bishop Inglis was an astute politician as well as an ardent churchman and he kept a watchful eye on these pestilent Presbyterians in Pictou. He was an ex-officio member of the Council and had the ear of the Governor. In his opinion these dissenters were little better than rebels. It was unsafe to entrust them with

higher education lest they should use it for treasonable purposes. In one of the debates in the local legislature R. J. Uniacke jr., remarked that in his opinion "the Antiburgers ought to be looked after".

As an illustration of how prevalent this idea had become, the story is told that in the year 1809, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Prevost visited Pictou, and some busy-bodies made representations to him regarding the loyalty of Dr. McCulloch. The fact came to the Doctor's ears, and he met the slander by forwarding to His Excellency a certificate of Mr. Hugh Denoon and other Justices of the Peace at Pictou, asserting that he (Dr. McC.) regularly prayed for the King every Sunday. It must not be supposed that all the Episcopalians sympathised with this unreasonable attitude on the part of the Bishop and some of his associates in the Council. On the contrary, Mr. T. C. Haliburton and a number of other leading Churchmen were openly in favour of doing justice to the Dissenters. Nor did the troubles of the Academy all come from the Episcopalians. At a later stage the attitude of the Church of Scotland became adverse and the institution was torn by internal strife. These were the days of political and ecclesiastical factions. The Kirkman hated the Antiburger and the latter was not slow to respond in kind. The man who ventured to desert one camp and join the other was regarded by his old friends as a traitor and a Judas. The battle was fought out in the press and at the polls. The late Jotham Blanchard, Editor of the "Pictou Patriot," took a leading part in the controversy and out of it grew the agitation for responsible government, which forms such an interesting chapter in our Provincial history. For many years the Academy was the battle ground of the two contending parties.

Young Carmichael became a student at the Academy during the period when the Institution was the

arena of these fierce disputes, and no doubt he was inoculated to some extent with the prevalent Anti-burger ideas. Among his class-mates were William, afterwards Sir William Dawson, late Principal of McGill University, Montreal and Peter McGregor, afterwards Rev. Dr. McGregor of Halifax. The students were subjected to a strict mental drill. Card playing and doubtful amusements were forbidden, and they were required to wear scarlet gowns, similar to those worn at that date in Glasgow University. On Sunday the Scriptures were read and explained in one of the class-rooms, at which exercise the students were required to attend unless their parents or guardians expressed a wish to the contrary. On leaving the Academy, young Carmichael entered his father's store as a clerk and occasionally went as super cargo on the trading vessels of the firm. In those days New Glasgow was but a small village comprising two or three stores, a blacksmith forge, a schoolhouse, an inn and a few dwelling houses. As business increased every merchant of any importance had one or more schooners. There was little or no cash. The "truck" system was then in vogue. People bartered what they had for what they wanted. The trading schooner was a sort of floating store; she was fitted out with an ample supply of goods and cruised from place to place along the coast, anchoring wherever the business warranted the delay, trading with the fishermen and taking salt herring, cod, mackerel etc., in return for goods. Some places the sales were made on credit and payment collected the following season. There were some famous fishing places on the coast such as, Fox Island and Chedabucto Bay to which hundreds of fishermen flocked during fishing season. These points were favorite resorts for the trading schooners.

Mr. Carmichael when a young man on one of these trips, while anchored off Fox Island witnessed a sort

of field fight, in which seventy-five or one hundred men were engaged. The quarrel arose out of some trivial incident. The men quickly took sides and it ended in the usual number of black eyes and broken heads.

As a shop keeper Mr. Carmichael was popular; if he did not make much money at this period, he made a great number of warm friends. While credit was given to customers for dry goods, hardware, etc., the usual rule was that flour must be paid in cash. He evidently ignored this rule and old men in various country sections have told the writer that their lifelong friendship with Mr. Carmichael commenced in gratitude for giving them flour on credit when they had no cash to pay for it and could not get it anywhere else.

He married in 1851. In the "Eastern Chronicle" of June 12th in that year I find the following item, recorded among the Marriage Notices: "At Guysborough, on Thursday the 5th inst. by the Rev. John Campbell, St. Mary's, James W. Carmichael Esquire, New Glasgow, to Maria, second daughter of Duncan McColl Esquire.

A letter relating to the marriage turned up among the papers of the late Rev. John Campbell. The envelope shows that the postage charged for carrying the letter from New Glasgow to Glenelg, Guysborough County was four pence halfpenny.

The following is the letter.

New Glasgow, 15th May 1851.

My dear Mr. Campbell.—I propose taking to myself a wife. Would you be so kind as to assist me in doing so, and for that purpose be at Guysboro on 5th June (Thursday). (I believe six o'clock). I am commanded that you be the parson, and I know that you will make it convenient to oblige me on this occasion. I shall be happy that Mrs. Campbell accompany you.

I am authorized to say so. I am very much hurried and cannot be particular in my composition. You will understand I think. We launched a ship on Saturday and although the ladies are very important, the ship must not be neglected. Between them I am quite busy. With best respects to Mrs. Campbell and yourself

I am yours sincerely,

J. W. Carmichael.

Mr. McColl whose daughter Mr. Carmichael married, was a native of Argyleshire, Scotland, and emigrated to Nova Scotia early in the last century. He married Caroline, daughter of the late Hon. Robert Cutler of Guysborough and became a resident of that town, where for many years he held the post of Customs Officer. He died on October 13th, 1860.

In those early days, transportation was carried on entirely by water. Sailing packets were in vogue all along the coast. Captain James Foot ran a packet between New Glasgow and Halifax, carrying passengers and produce, and bringing back goods. Captain William Currie carried on a similar business between the same points. There was also a packet to Boston and another to Mirimachi. At that date there was a grist mill in nearly every section, and the farmers had large quantities of oatmeal, pork, eggs, and butter to dispose of. Each of the leading merchants employed a cooper the whole year round making barrels to pack the oatmeal and pork and beef for shipment. Ton timber was the principal export.

CHAPTER III.

Growth of Shipbuilding.

THE centre of the industrial life of New Glasgow was the ship-yard. Ship building was the one great industry of Nova Scotia in those early days. There were no trade unions then and labour was plentiful and cheap. As an illustration of the wages paid ship carpenters at that period—Mr. Donald Ross informed the writer that in 1846, when he began work as journeyman carpenter in New Glasgow, he got only eighty cents per day, and his board was two dollars a week.

About this period and later on in the fifties, during the prosperity that the Province enjoyed under reciprocity with the United States, ship-yards sprang up everywhere. A variety of causes contributed to this result. Among them may be mentioned cheap labour and the maritime habits of the people. Between 1840 and 1880 this province having regard to its wealth and population grew to be one of the great ship-building countries of the world. The Crimean war put an end, for the time being to the trade in lumber between the Baltic ports and Great Britain. There sprang up in the British market an increased demand for our lumber. Ships were in demand to carry it across. The raw material for wooden ships was abundant and cheap. With a ten per cent. tariff the anchors and chains and rigging and sails were imported at a moderate cost. If the builder could complete the hull, some merchant in Scotland or England would furnish the sails, rigging and tackle, either on credit or secure himself by taking a bill of sale of the ship. Besides, the ordinary Nova Scotian is and always has been a sort of fisherman,

mechanic, farmer and always more or less of a sailor. He has the tang of the sea in his blood. He would rather plow the water any day than the land. As Joseph Howe puts it in his poem on "The Coaster":—

"We build our own shallops and rear our own crews,
And life has for us sweet endearment in store,
For though luxury's fetters our souls never knew,
Bright eyes bid us welcome when peril is o'er.

Thus we coasters enrich the fair land that we love,
And if dangers should threaten, the cutlass we'd seize.
And our hearts and our sinews in battle should prove
That the spirit of freedom is nursed by the breeze."

Nova Scotia owes much to the ship building industry. The capital that is now employed in carrying on the manufacturing industries of the Province was largely the profit earned by wooden sailing vessels during the latter half of the century recently closed. Besides, the ship building industry had important results, apart altogether from money considerations. It tended to make the people self reliant. It fostered a spirit of enterprise and adventure. The character of the people of the Province was moulded to no small extent, and I think I can also say broadened, by reason of the fact that this industry enabled them to rub shoulders with other men and races the world over.

The following story was told by Howe in one of his Confederation addresses. Let me give his own words:—"Some time ago I went into a house in the township of Yarmouth. There was a frame hanging over the mantle-piece with seven photographs in it. 'These are my seven sailor boys'. But these are not boys they are stout powerful men, Mrs. Hatfield.' 'Yes' said the mother with the faintest possible exhibition of maternal pride, 'they all command fine ships and have all been round Cape Horn'."

In hundreds of Nova Scotia homes in every County, the talk around the fireside of a winter evening was of such places as San Francisco, Melbourne, Cape Town, Yokohama, Shanghai, Negasaki or Hong Kong. The children grew up hearing of tales of the sea and of foreign lands, for in the case of every family some uncle or cousin or brother was a captain or mate or sailor on some of the many deep-sea vessels then owned throughout the Province.

Ambitious men all over the Province qualified themselves for masters by the hundreds, and the Nova Scotia flag soon became to be known all over the world. Considering the sparse population of the Province during that period and the lack of capital, the progress made in the development of this important industry is remarkable.

"The fact is now established," says the Hon. William Annand in his letter addressed in 1866 to the Earl of Carnarvan "that the people of Nova Scotia, to say nothing of boats and small crafts that swarm around our shores, have more than a ton of registered shipping for every man, woman and child in the Province, having in less than one hundred and twenty years, in proportion to numbers, beaten every other maritime people on the face of the Globe—those of Great Britain and the United States included."

CHAPTER IV.

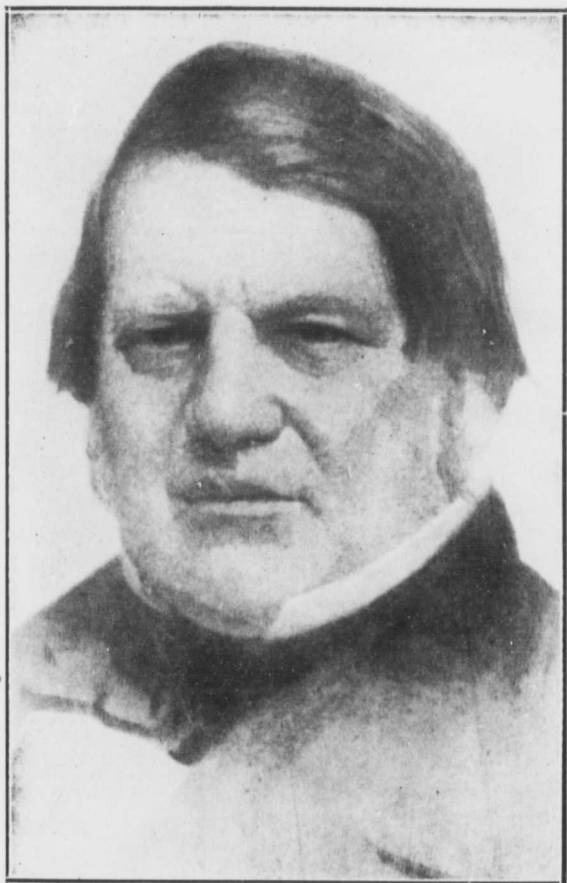
Captain George McKenzie.

IN New Glasgow in those early days most of the active business men were either ship builders themselves or had interest in ships; but the man who more than any other made New Glasgow known abroad as a ship building centre was the late Captain George McKenzie, who was born in Halifax on December 12th 1798. His father died when he was about four years of age, and his mother after the death of his father moved with her family to Fisher's Grant. His sister Christian, who was eight years older than himself, subsequently married James Carmichael.

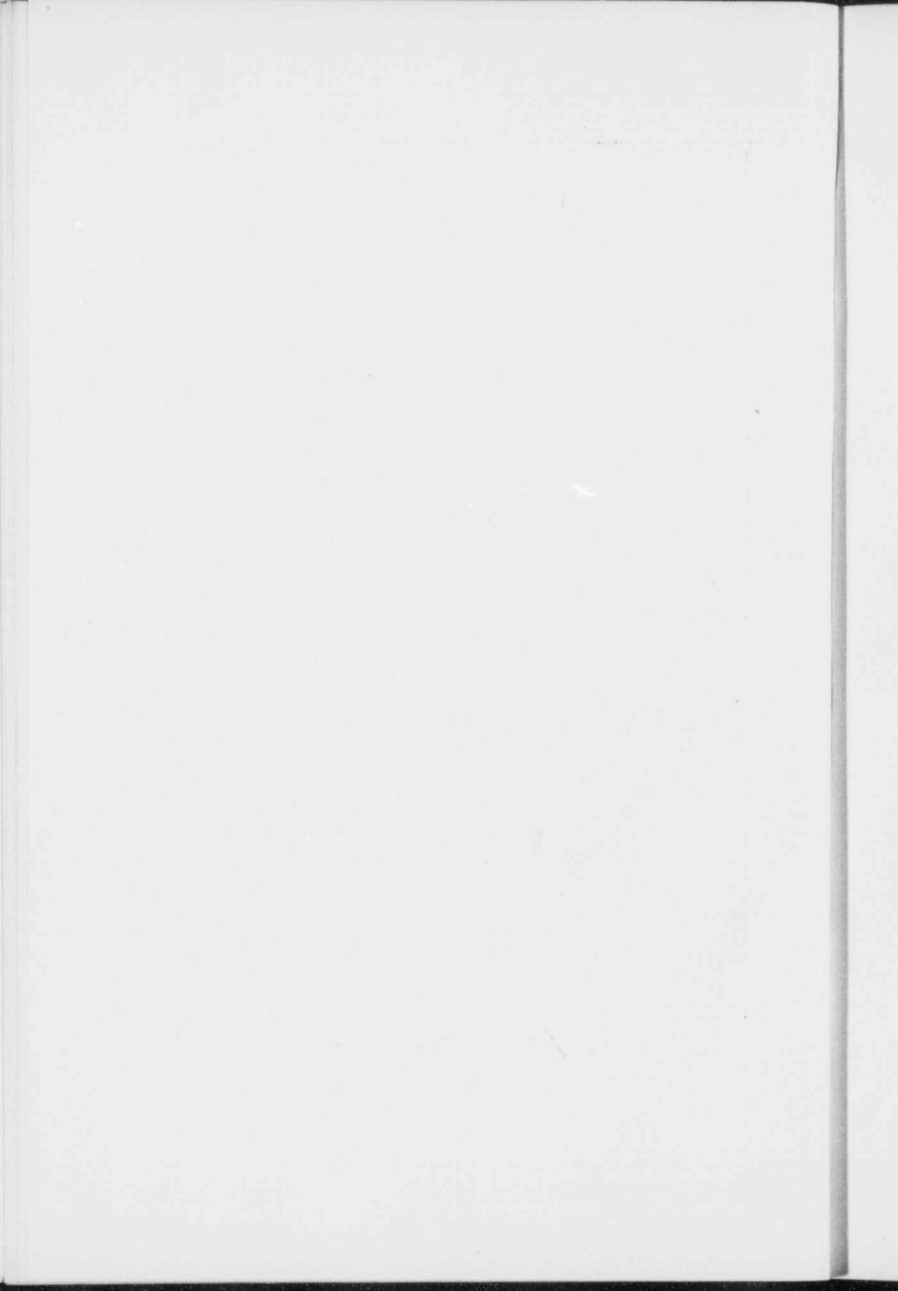
In 1821, when McKenzie was about twenty-three years of age, he embarked on his first building venture. He became associated with John Reid of Little Harbour. They launched a schooner at Boat Harbour in the autumn of that year and called her the "James William" in honor of his young nephew, James William Carmichael, then about two years old. Nearly one hundred years later the firm of James William Carmichael & Company Ltd., launched the first steel schooner built in Nova Scotia and revived the old name by calling her the "James William".

McKenzie soon became known as a young man of ability and energy and was appointed foreman of Mr. Robert McKay's shipyard in Pictou, a post which he held for about three years.

After some years of seafaring life, McKenzie, about the year 1840, removed to New Glasgow, and established himself as a ship builder. His first operations were carried on at Shipyard Point near Trenton, but he soon moved to town and most of his ships were built



CAPTAIN GEORGE MCKENZIE



in the yard still known as the "Ship yard" situated on the east bank of the River, directly south of Dalhousie Street. He married Sarah McGregor, a daughter of the late Dr. McGregor, who survived him several years and died in 1881. He commenced with the construction of small vessels, but it was not many years before he out-stripped all his competitors and turned out ships of the then enormous size of fourteen hundred tons.

The "Hamilton-Campbell Kidson" was built by him in 1851. She was named after some of his business associates in Glasgow. Her net tonnage was 1444. She was one of the largest ships of her day. Joseph Howe, in one of his orations, describes the sensation she would have caused by reason of her great size if she had dashed in among the naval vessels composing the British Fleet at the time of the Spanish Armada. She made a voyage to Glasgow in the spring of 1852, commanded by the Captain himself, who, with characteristic daring, pushed his way up to the City. This was before any very extensive dredging had been undertaken. The Clyde at that date was crooked and narrow and the "Hamilton-Campbell Kidston" was the first large ship that had found its way up as far as the city. Her arrival created quite a sensation among the Glasgow merchants. The Captain was dined and presented with some valuable silver plate.

CHAPTER V.

The Nephew as a Builder

AS McKenzie gradually dropped out of the business the work was taken up by his nephew James W. Carmichael and prosecuted with increased vigor. The nephew was always proud of his distinguished uncle and during his long business career as a ship owner, extending over nearly half a century, he continued to perpetuate his uncle's memory by flying the initial letters "G. K." on the House Flag of his firm.

The late Thomas Fraser, known as "the Foreman" referred to in a previous chapter directed operations in Carmichael's shipyard for many years and won for himself among his compatriots a reputation for ability, and energy that few men have attained. Fraser, like Captain McKenzie, was one of those men who had the faculty of doing things. Others would work and blunder along and do their best, but "the Foreman" could see the end from the beginning, and made his plans accordingly, and seldom failed.

About the year 1847 the Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces established a mission in the New Hebrides; the late Dr. Geddie being their first missionary. The event was one of importance from the fact that Geddie was the first Foreign missionary sent out by a Colonial Church anywhere in the Empire. The group of Islands in the South Seas where these early pioneers of the Church labored was far removed from the ordinary routes of travel and in the early sixties the Church was asked by the Missionaries to furnish a suitable Mission ship. The children of the Presbyterian Church in the Maritime Provinces, in Scotland and in the Australian Colonies were appealed

to. The proposal that the Church should have a ship to carry the good tidings to those lonely islands of the sea met with a ready and enthusiastic response from young and old, and the necessary funds were soon forthcoming. The contract was awarded to Mr. Carmichael. The very best material was secured and the best available skill employed in her construction. She was launched in 1863. Her timbers were hachmatac; she was iron kneed, copper fastened and rigged in the most approved style as a brigantine. She was painted white and was said to be one of the finest clipper ships built in Nova Scotia. The first blacksmith work done by Mr. Graham Fraser, then about starting business in New Glasgow, was in connection with the iron work of the "Dayspring". She sailed for Australia on November 7th, 1863. The following were her officers:—

Master	Captain William Fraser of Pictou.
First Mate	Hector Currie.
Second Mate	
and Carpenter John C. Reid.	

An Englishman named Rowley was steward and Mr. H. A. Robertson, later Rev. Dr. Robertson, Missionary of the Presbyterian Church in Eromanga, was assistant steward. The "Dayspring" proved to be an excellent sailor. Mr. J. C. Reid, who remained on her for nearly two years is the authority for the statement that during that period she outstripped every other vessel that she came across. After several years of useful service as a missionary packet between Australia and the New Hebrides the "Dayspring" was driven ashore in a storm near the Island of Tana and became a total wreck.

The first steamer built at New Glasgow was the "Richard Smith". This boat was built at Shipyard Point by the General Mining Association. She was

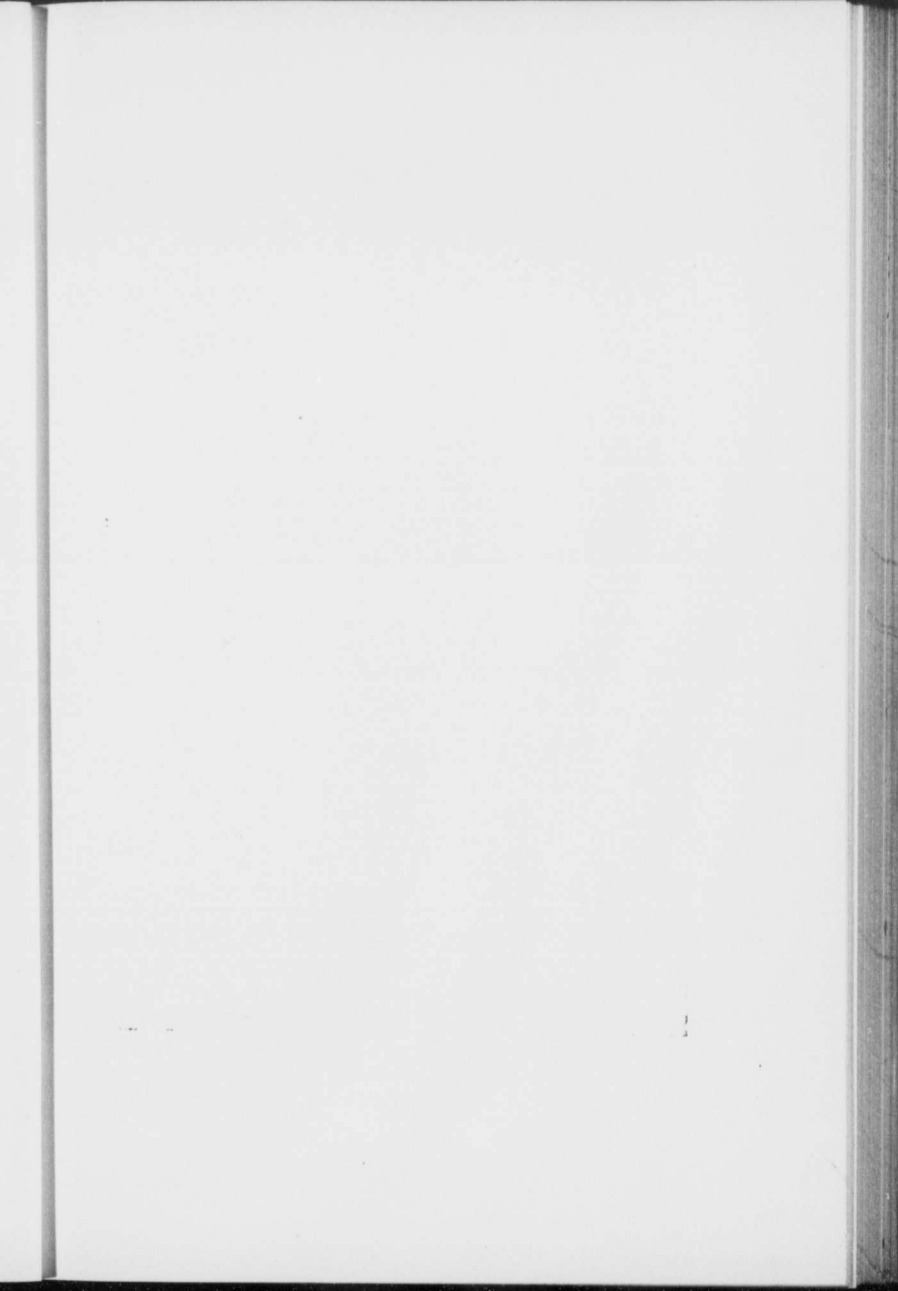
the first boat to carry on a passenger service between New Glasgow and Pictou. Later on followed the "Pocohontas", "Albion", "Pluto", and "Dragon", all owned by the G. M. A. The S.S. "George McKenzie" was built in 1854, and did service on the river for about ten years, when she was replaced by the "East Riding" built by J. & J. Carmichael. The late Carmichael McKay was captain of both the "George McKenzie" and the "East Riding". Captain John Campbell of Pictou commanded the "Pluto" and the "Dragon".

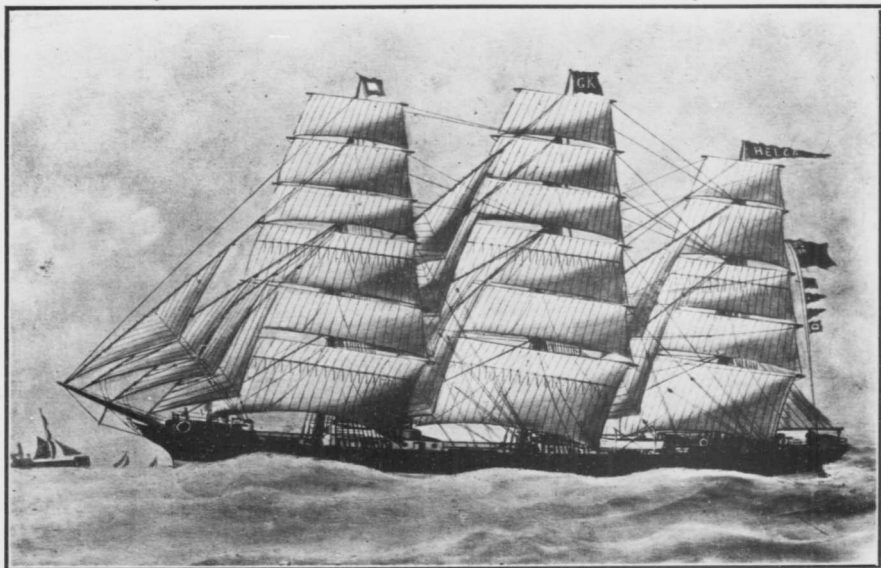
Among the ships built by James Carmichael, the father of James W. may be mentioned the "Alert", "Gem", "Egerton", "Hyndford", "John Geddie", "Janet Kidson", "Georgina", "Lulan" and "Phantom".

The first ship registered in James W. Carmichael's name is the "Helen Stairs" 129 tons. She was built in 1851. The second is the "Spey", also a small vessel. In the year 1858 he embarked in the business on a larger scale and continued to prosecute it up to the date of his death, covering a period of over fifty years.

Between 1857 and 1903, either alone or associated with others, but almost invariably the leading partner and largest shareholder. He built and sailed the following ships:—

Date	Name	Net Tonnage
1858	Bedouin	293
1859	Orlebar	285
1859	Ticino	130
1860	Prince	308
1861	Cabot	597
1862	Viking	597
1863	Normandy	449
1864	Wimburn	489
1865	Charlotte Geddie	500
1867	Valkyria	634
1869	Othere	647





SHIP "HELGA"

Date	Name	Net Tonnage
1869	Saga	499
1870	Gunhilda	699
1870	Norn	400
1871	Ragnar	993
1872	Tamora	457
1873	Astrida	999
1873	Embla	572
1873	Lathella	600
1873	Halgerda	1087
1873	Caberfeidjh	500
1875	Steinvira	1099
1876	Thiorva	1174
1880	Sulitelma	964
1881	Arnguda	978
1883	Silica	399
1885	Brynhilda (Iron)	1400
1888	Helga (Steel)	1675
1890	Swanhilda (Steel)	1999
1893	Micmac steamer	1600
1903	Pontiac steamer	2072

The "Silica" was the largest wooden vessel launched in New Glasgow. She was built to the order of an American firm and was designed for the cryolite trade between Greenland and the United States. The iron and steel sailing vessels and steamers mentioned in the above were built on the Clyde.

CHAPTER VI.

The Carmichael Captains.

THE shipmasters of those days were resourceful men. The early Nova Scotian Captain could not only sail his ship, but he could build and repair her. Prior to 1850 the aids to navigation on our rugged coast were few and far between. The Light Ship, the "Groaner", the gas buoy, the submarine, the wireless telegraphy were all unknown. Even lighthouses were rare. The Provincial Governments of the Maritime Provinces were slow to undertake the expense of buoying and lighting the coast. The first lighthouse, erected at the entrance of Halifax Harbour, was paid for by the proceeds of a lottery carried on under the management of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. One thousand tickets were sold to the public at £3 each, making £3,000 prize money. 15% of this sum, or £450 was set aside to pay for the erection of a lighthouse at Sambro. The balance was paid to the winners.

Everybody knows that the success or failure of a ship as a commercial venture depends very largely on the Captain. Were any reference to be made to Mr. Carmichael's success as a ship owner, due credit should be given to the ship masters who commanded his vessels. These men with the characteristic pluck of the Nova Scotian sailor, faced the dangers and hardships of sea-faring life year by year. In fair weather and in foul they stood by the helm and brought their charges safely to port.

A shrewd, wide awake master will make money for his owner, where a man lacking in these qualities will return from a given voyage with a balance on the wrong side. Honesty is of course of prime importance.

The captain is often entrusted with the receipt and disbursement of large sums of money in foreign ports where many opportunities present themselves to fleece his employer. Mr. Carmichael was specially fortunate in the selection of his captains. He always treated them well, and in return they gave him faithful service. Their advice was sought and usually taken. The relations between them grew into mutual respect and in many cases into life long friendship. He trusted them and they loyally responded. I question if any ship owning firm in Nova Scotia, can find on its books the names of so many able and experienced seamen. The following is a partial list of the captains who at different dates during the last sixty years commanded ships of the firm:—

John Waters	Pictou
Donald Cameron	Pictou
Duncan McGregor	Merigomish
William McGregor	Merigomish
Angus Chisholm	New Glasgow
Alexander Scott	Pictou
Kenneth McKenzie	Pictou
Hector McKenzie	Pictou
John Garvin	Pictou
Stewart Garvin	Pictou
David Sutherland	Pictou
Joseph Foster	Fisher's Grant
William Stamp	Pictou
William Fraser	Liverpool, England
John McKenzie	Pictou Island
William Hayden	Ireland
Peter Graham	New Glasgow
Robert McIntosh	New Glasgow
John G. Graham	New Glasgow
Richard Meikle	New Glasgow
John H. Meikle	Pictou
Colin Fraser	New Glasgow

CHAPTER VII.

Decay of Industry.

THE Carmichael ships were largely engaged in foreign trade. The House Flag of the Firm was a familiar sight in all the great seaports of the world. Its reputation and credit, as the years went by became well established. The Firm became known from Shanghai to San Francisco, and was everywhere a synonym for business integrity and honest dealing. The decline of shipping in the Maritime Provinces is shown by the following statistics:

	1878.	1905.
	tons	tons
Nova Scotia	541,715	198,976
New Brunswick	315,906	49,045
Prince Edward Island . .	54,871	11,924
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	912,492	259,945

These figures show a decrease of 652,547 tons in 27 years. The change from wood to iron in ship construction began about the middle of the last century. It took years of experience, however, to convince the ordinary ship owner that iron and steel were superior to wood. It was almost incredible to be told that an iron vessel is lighter than a wooden one of the same size, or that with iron the same strength could be obtained with less weight. These facts in the course of time began to dawn upon the minds of British ship owners and the transformation commenced.

"The Roseneath" 739 tons, built in 1857, was the first iron ship seen in Halifax Harbour. Her advent

created no small stir among the craft, but others came and the sight in course of time became one of frequent occurrence. The "Roseneath" was a sailing packet and made regular trips between Glasgow and Halifax. It was, however, about twenty years after the advent of the "Roseneath" before the change from wood to iron and steel began to affect adversely the ship building industry in Nova Scotia.

There were other causes tending to the decay of the industry. About that period (1870 to 1880) there were scores of large Nova Scotian sailing ships doing a profitable business in the oil trade, between the United States ports and Europe. The advent of the tank steamer promptly put these vessels out of business. The Ocean Liners, which multiplied so rapidly about that period, soon captured the trade that the sailing vessels formerly had. But all these causes combined were not sufficient to drive the Nova Scotian ship owner out of the business if he wished to remain in it.

About the year 1876, when iron began to take the place of wood, it is estimated that there were about fifteen million dollars of Nova Scotian capital invested in large ocean going ships, and while the Nova Scotian owner could no longer build at home, he was still free to invest his capital in iron and steel vessels built in Great Britain.

At this crisis in the history of the industry a high protective tariff was adopted by the Canadian Government. Everybody had visions of tall chimneys and large dividends. A sugar refinery was started in Halifax. Cotton mills were projected in Yarmouth, St. John and Windsor. The Steel industry sprung up in New Glasgow, and many Nova Scotians, who had made their money in ships, hastened to withdraw it from that industry and invest it in these new ventures. Not so Carmichael. He understood the shipping business and believed in it. The ship owner cannot always

expect to escape hard times and lean years, and the changes that in course of time must come to every industry. Like other business men the ship owner is born to trouble as the sparks fly upward. As in Shylock's day, so in our own, "Ships are but boards, sailors but men; there be land rats and water rats".

These vicissitudes of the trade, however, could be met and overcome, but when the changes above referred to made it practically impossible to build ships in Nova Scotia, most of the owners gave up the battle. The old House Flag "G. K." that for fifty years had been seen in most of the world's great seaports must still be kept at the mast-head of some kind of a ship.

Mr. Carmichael faced the situation with promptness and courage. He accordingly placed an order for his first iron ship the "Brynhilda" with a prominent builder on the Clyde. Later on followed the "Helga" and "Swanhilda", both fine steel vessels. The "Micmac" the first steamer owned by his firm, was built in Glasgow in 1893. She was 1600 tons net. She was substantially built. Her machinery was first class and she proved in all respects to be an excellent boat. After fourteen years of constant use she went on the rocks on the coast of Newfoundland. The story of her wreck is told elsewhere in this volume.

Year by year the transformation went on. Gradually wooden vessels were disposed of and replaced by iron and steel sailing ships, and when they in turn became unprofitable some years later, by steamships of the most modern and improved type.

The change from sail to steel tonnage has gone on rapidly all over the world. British shipping has for many years had a great lead in the world's carrying trade, and if Britain loses that lead it will be a bad day for the Empire. I suppose that there is no department of our modern life in which we have made greater

progress than in the navigation of the seas. It is claimed that the first steamer to cross the Atlantic was the "Savannah". This ship sailed on May 24th 1819 from the city of her name in Georgia for Liverpool, and took twenty-seven days to make the passage. She was a full rigged ship and depended more on her sails than on her steam. She was so constructed that when the wind was favorable her paddle wheels were detached and hauled on deck. During the whole twenty-seven days she was only operated eighty hours by steam power and owing to her mixed character, her title as the first trans-Atlantic steamer has been disputed. On September 29th she started on her return trip to the United States, calling at a few European ports on the way, and arrived at Savannah on November 30th. She was so little of a success under steam that her boilers were taken out and she was subsequently used as a sailing packet.

CHAPTER VIII.

Advent of Steam.

THE first vessel to cross the Atlantic by the use of steam alone was the "Royal William" commanded by Captain John McDougal. Between 1820 and 1827 the leading public men of lower Canada and of Nova Scotia were considering plans for increasing inter-provincial trade. The Legislature of lower Canada accordingly voted £1500 as an annual subsidy to establish steam communications between Quebec and Halifax. This was supplemented by the Legislature of Nova Scotia, voting £720 for the same purpose. A joint Stock Company was formed, called "The Quebec and Halifax Navigation Company".

There were 235 shareholders and among them were Samuel, Henry and Joseph Cunard of Halifax. In the winter of 1830-31 the long talked of steamer was launched at the "Cove" Quebec. Her dimensions were—length of keel 146 feet, breadth of beam 44 feet, depth of hold 17 feet 9 inches, tonnage 1370 (builders measurements). She was launched in the spring of 1831, and christened by Lady Aylmer, wife of the then Governor General. She was towed up to Montreal where her engines (200 horse power) were installed. She started for Halifax on August 24th, 1831 with 20 cabin and 70 steerage passengers. Her arrival in Halifax was the signal for a public demonstration. She made several trips but was not a financial success and in 1833 she was sold at auction to satisfy the demands of creditors. Her new owners decided to send her to England. She was despatched from Quebec for London by Pictou on August 3rd, 1833. She was delayed at Pictou until the 18th of August when she

sailed, arriving at Gravesend on September 11th, after having steamed the whole way across. She was afterwards sold to the Government of Spain and used as a war ship. In 1895 Lord Aberdeen, Governor-General of Canada, placed a brass tablet on the wall of the corridor leading to the library of the House of Commons containing the following inscription:—

“In honor of the men by whose enterprise, courage and skill the “ROYAL WILLIAM” —the first steamer to cross the Atlantic by means of steam power—was wholly constructed in Canada and navigated to England in 1833. The pioneer of those mighty fleets of ocean steamers by which passengers and merchandise of all nations are now conveyed on every sea throughout the world. Ordered by the Parliament of Canada, June 13th, 1894.”

Some seven years elapsed before another attempt was made. The honour of starting the first really successful Trans-Atlantic steamship line was reserved for a Nova Scotian. The Hon. Samuel Cunard took the matter in hand and after securing the co-operation of some leading merchants in Great Britain, and having obtained the promise of a subsidy from the Admiralty for carrying the mails, the great project was launched. The first steamer of the line was the “Brittania”. She sailed from Liverpool for Halifax on the 4th of July 1840. The service was commenced with four paddle wheel steamers. These ships were really sailing vessels into which engines had been built. They trimmed staysail, mainsail, topsail, topgallant and royal in response to every change of wind. The passengers’ quarters were aft. The galley was forward. The food had to be carried along the open deck in all kinds of weather. The staterooms were small and stuffy and dark. No electric light or electric bells or electric fans.

Compare the "Brittania" with the Cunard boats of to-day, or with some of the great Trans-Atlantic liners with their seven decks, one above another, their music rooms and smoking rooms and dining salons, gymnasiums and baths, barbershops and electric elevators, etc., and you cannot fail to be struck with the wonderful progress that has been made and that still is being made from year to year. The average speed of the "Brittania" was only eight knots; but the designer of every new boat had something new to offer. Each addition to the fleet did a little better until we come to the latest, which has increased the rate of speed by over three fold.

And so the wonderful transformation goes on. Who can say where it will end? In the United Kingdom of late years, while the tonnage is increasing by rapid strides, there are practically no new sailing ships being built. By reference to the published statistics it will be found that of the total new tonnage launched in 1905-28, eighty-seven per cent is composed of steam tonnage, and only about one per cent of sail tonnage. One cannot help heaving a sigh of regret at the passing of the winged ship. The square rigger cutting her way before the favorable breeze with her sails all set was indeed a thing of beauty, in comparison with the dingy, smoky tramp steamer. But the steamer has come to stay. She is never becalmed, she is always in a hurry. If she is not steaming ahead, she is loading or discharging. In her case, there is no long waiting for news. By means of signal stations and wireless telegraphy, her position is easily ascertained. Since these changes there is little of that uncertainty, and of that glamor of romance, that in the olden times surrounded the life and doings of the sailor.

CHAPTER IX.

Names of Ships.

IN an appendix to this volume will be found a list of the ships built at New Glasgow between 1840 and 1883. Prior to 1840 the registry of shipping for Nova Scotia was kept at Halifax, but unfortunately the old books have not been indexed or cared for by the Customs Officers at Halifax, and consequently no exact information is available regarding the ships built in Eastern Nova Scotia during the early years of the last century. A glance at the list in the appendix will show that many of the ships referred to were named after friends and relatives of the builders, and others were named to commemorate current events. Take a few examples:—

"The Three Councillors" was a barque of 280 tons built by James Graham in 1844. In the conflicts over the struggle to establish Responsible Government in Nova Scotia, it became necessary in 1844 for three prominent public men, Howe, Uniacke, and McNab, occupying seats in the Executive Council of the Province, to resign as a protest against the action of Lord Falkland, the then Lieutenant-Governor, regarding the Constitution of the Council. A general election followed and the three ex-Councillors as they were called, were the heroes of the hour. Mr. Graham embalmed this bit of Provincial history by naming his barque, just then launched, *"The Three Councillors"*.

"John Geddie." Early in the year 1847 Rev. John Geddie sailed from Newburyport, Mass. in the brig *"Eveline"* on his adventurous voyage to the New Hebrides. For years he had devoted his time and energy to the task of persuading the Presbyterian

Church of the Maritime Provinces to undertake this mission. He was at last successful. Little at that date was known concerning the inhabitants of these islands, excepting that they were savages and cannibals. Even those who did not favor Geddie's proposal admired his courage. The keenest interest was felt in his departure and James Carmichael Sr. commemorated the event by naming his new brig of 391 tons after this pioneer missionary.

"The Lulan." In 1848 this ship was also built by James Carmichael Sr. and called after his old friend, a well known Indian Chief, then living at Fisher's Grant. She was considered a large ship at that date, 472 tons. The Indian was naturally flattered and excited at the great honor conferred upon him, and when asked what he would do in return, he replied "I will build 'im big birch bark canoe and call 'im 'Old Carmichael'."

"The Kohinoor." The famous diamond bearing this name has an interesting history. If we are to credit Eastern legends, it was well known in India five thousand years ago. It was brought to Delhi in the fourteenth century and later on fell into the possession of the Grand Mogul. At the sack of Delhi in 1730 it was carried off to Afghanistan; thence it became the property of the East India Company. This Company presented it to Queen Victoria in 1850, about the time that Captain George McKenzie was preparing to launch a bark of 314 tons. It seemed the proper thing to call her "The Kohinoor".

"The Light Brigade." In 1855 the Queen's subjects in all parts of the Empire were thrilled by the story of Balaklava.

 "When can their glory fade?
 O! the wild charge they made
 All the world wondered."

In memory of this famous cavalry charge Mr.

Donald McDonald called his ship, built that year "The Light Brigade". The "Alma" and "Sebastopol" both about the same period by Captain McKenzie, took their names from well known battles of the same war.

"*The Rechabite.*" The name of this ship, built by Roderick McGregor and William Forbes, indicates the growth of temperance sentiment in New Glasgow more than half a century ago.

"*The Prince.*" In 1860 our late King, then Prince of Wales, visited Nova Scotia and in honor of this event Mr. Carmichael called his next ship "The Prince."

"*The Radama.*" In 1862 those interested in Foreign Missions were cheered by the news that Radama, the Queen of Madagascar had been converted to Christianity. In order to perpetuate her memory a ship, launched that year by Roderick McGregor and William Forbes was called "The Radama."

"*The Micmac.*" This was the first steamer owned by the Carmichael firm. She was built on the Clyde in 1893. There is a curious story told in connection with her name. At a luncheon given in Glasgow on the occasion of the launching of the ship, Mr. Dunsmuir, the builder, in his speech to the assembled guests, remarked that he supposed her name was intended as a sort of double compliment to the two great Celtic races "Mic" for the Irish and "Mac" for the Scotch. Subsequently Captain Meikle, in talking to a newspaper reporter who was in search of copy, told him what Mr. Dunsmuir had said and explained at the same time that he was altogether mistaken—that "Micmac" was the name of a well known tribe of Indians in Nova Scotia. The newspaper next day, in referring to the ship's name, said that she was called after a mixed tribe of Indians in Nova Scotia who were half Irish and half Scotch.

CHAPTER X.

Political Struggles.

FIFTY years ago there was much more interest taken in Military affairs in Nova Scotia than there is today. Our neighbours to the south were not as friendly as they are at present, and the accepted theory in Nova Scotia was that we should be prepared for any emergency. The Fenian Raid in 1866 rekindled afresh the military spirit of the Province. Mr. Carmichael took an active interest in the organization of the Militia. By referring to the Military lists of the early sixties, it will be seen that he was Lieutenant-Colonel of the 5th Regiment of Infantry for Pictou County; Vice-President of the Pictou County Rifle Association and a member of the Council of the Provincial Rifle Association of Nova Scotia.

Mr. Carmichael early identified himself with the Liberal Party and became an active politician. He was an inveterate reader and was well posted in current events, both at home and abroad. He cordially adopted the political creed outlined by Jotham Blanchard in the "Colonial Patriot" and afterwards embraced and carried to a successful issue by Joseph Howe. His first opportunity to come before the public as a speaker arose at the general election of 1859. This was a very exciting contest, not only in Pictou, but all over the Province. Carmichael's uncle, Captain George McKenzie, was one of the Liberal candidates for East Pictou. Howe led the Liberal forces and won a signal victory. McKenzie was a man of action and few words and the advocacy of his cause on the hustings fell almost altogether upon his nephew. At a joint meeting held at Blue Mountain during this campaign, Carmichael

was received with so much cordiality by his Anti-burger friends that one of the Tory candidates nicknamed him "The Lion of the Tribe of Judah". A devout Presbyterian deacon in the audience, shocked at this irreverent use of one of the Scriptural names for our Saviour, reprimanded the speaker and asked him if he knew the meaning of the expression he had used. The incident was used against the Conservative candidate in the district and on election day is said to have resulted in several votes for McKenzie and his colleagues.

Mr. Carmichael was then in active business in New Glasgow, was well known throughout the Country, and was personally popular. He was not a fluent speaker, but was a very effective one. He knew his subject thoroughly, had the virtue of earnestness and was scrupulously correct in his facts. His opponents differed from him, but no one ever thought of questioning his truthfulness or his sincerity. He addressed public meetings all over the constituency, challenged and met his opponents in public discussion, was received everywhere by his friends with enthusiasm and came out of the fight a sort of Antiburger champion. He was looked upon as the rising hope of the Liberal Party in Pictou County, and after this contest became their acknowledged leader, and no man ever had a more loyal and devoted following.

For several years prior to 1867, public men were considering and discussing the question of a union of the British Provinces of North America under one Federal Government. Various causes combined to bring about this union. Upper and Lower Canada had been united since 1840, but it was a union in name only. The two races could not agree on any single man as leader of the Government. Hence we find the double headed administration of "McDonald—Dorion", "Hinks — Morin", "McDonald — Cartier",

"McNab—Tache", etc. The constitution under which they were united provided for a Legislative Council and an Assembly. The Councillors numbered twenty, and were appointed by the Crown for life. The Assembly consisted of eighty-four members, one half from Upper Canada and the other half from Lower Canada. The antagonism between the two sections was so great that practically no business could be done. They could not so much as agree on any one place for the Capital of the United Provinces. The Governor had the power to move the seat of Government from place to place, and he attempted to please everybody by changing it every year. Whenever any important question came before this extraordinary Legislative body, the forty-two stalwarts from Upper Canada voted against the forty-two stalwarts from Lower Canada and the result was a dreary and hopeless deadlock.

After some years of this experience, the progressive men of both Provinces began to cast about them for a remedy; and when a union of all the British American Provinces was mooted, the idea was readily embraced by the public men of both Upper and Lower Canada. Besides, our relations with our neighbours to the south, after the close of the American Civil War, were not as cordial as they are today. The Fenian raid aggravated the existing feeling of unrest and, both here and in the Mother Country, it was felt that the Provinces should be united for mutual defence. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island were negotiating for a union of the Maritime Provinces at the time when the larger union was projected. All these circumstances paved the way for the important step which culminated on July 1st, 1867 in the birth of the Dominion. There has been some controversy as to who is really the father of Confederation. Sir John McDonald was of course the leading spirit. There is no doubt however,

that George Brown's generous course at a critical stage in the proceedings had a good deal to do with bringing the union about. If he had stood out, Sir John in all probability would have failed. The following interesting bit of history is abstracted from a letter published recently by Sir John Carling.

During this deadlock period Brown and Carling were fellow passengers on a railway journey. A conversation took place between them in which Brown suggested a coalition of both political parties to break the deadlock by changing the legislative union of the two Provinces into a Federal one, leaving to each the management of its domestic affairs. His suggestion and offer of support were carried by Mr. Carling to Sir John McDonald and this casual conversation in a railway train was the germ of the larger scheme accomplished in 1867. When the proposal reached the stage when it had to be dealt with, Brown generously sank his differences with Sir John and threw the whole weight of his influence as a party leader in favor of union. Public opinion in Nova Scotia was shaping in the direction of a union of the Maritime Provinces.

In 1867 Carmichael was not the choice for Pictou. E. M. McDonald was nominated, also Basil Bell for the Local House. E. M. McDonald later on got an offer of a seat in Lunenburg and withdrew; Bell also withdrew, agreeing to support the Antis. Carmichael and Doctor George Murray were then nominated.

CHAPTER XI.

Howe a Unionist.

AS early as 1849, in an open letter addressed to the Hon. George Moffat, President of the British American League, Montreal, Howe speaking for the people of the Lower Provinces, used the following language:—

“We desire free trade among all the Provinces, under our National flag, with one coin, one measure, one tariff and one post office. We feel that the courts, the press, the educational institutions of North America would be elevated by union; that the intercommunication by railroads, telegraphs, and steamboats would be promoted; and that if such a combination of interests were achieved wisely and with proper guards, the foundations of a great nation in friendly connection with the Mother Country, would be laid on an indestructible basis.”

The idea of a union of the Colonies was therefore not new in Nova Scotia. So far as I have been able to learn, the first parliamentary discussion on the subject took place in our Local Legislature in 1854. A resolution favoring union in a general way was moved by the late Hon. J. W. Johnstone, who supported it with an eloquent speech. Howe, who was accustomed to oppose Johnstone in nearly everything, while he did not commit himself to any particular scheme, followed with his well known speech on the larger question of the organization of the Empire. This speech is said to be one of the most brilliant of Mr. Howe's parliamentary efforts. His scheme embraced Parliamentary representation of the Colonies at Westminster. People

listened to his eloquence in a good natured way, but his proposals could scarcely be said to be taken seriously.

Prior to this discussion, in 1850, seventeen years before the British North America Act was passed, Howe delivered a speech in reply to an address given him by the citizens of Halifax on his return from a visit to England, in which he took occasion to refer to this question.

He was referring to the importance and necessity of an Intercolonial Railway. The language he uses, in the light of subsequent events, is so much like prophecy that I venture to quote a passage. He said:—

“Sir, to bind these disjointed Provinces together, “to give them a homogeneous character, fixedness of “purpose and elevation of sentiment which they so “much require, is our first duty; but after all, they “occupy but a limited portion of that boundless her- “itage which God and Nature have given to us and to “our children. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are “but the frontage of a territory which includes four “millions of square miles stretching away behind and “beyond them to the frozen regions on the one side, “and to the Pacific on the other. Throwing aside the “more bleak and inhospitable regions, we have a mag- “nificent country between Canada and the Pacific “Ocean, from which five or six noble Provinces might “be formed, larger than any we have at present, and “presenting to the hand of industry and the eye of “speculation, every variety of soil, climate, and re- “source. With such a territory as this to over-run, “organize and improve, think you we shall stop even “at the western bounds of Canada or even at the growing “commerce of the Ocean beyond, and the sails of our “children’s children shall reflect as familiarly the sun- “beams of the south as they brave the angry tempests “of the north,”

Thus in those early days Howe saw visions and dreamed dreams. The vision of a greater Canada stretching from ocean to ocean took shape and form before his mind's eye; but by some strange turn of fortune's wheel, when the time arrived for him to realize his vision in part at least, he found himself engaged in a determined struggle to prevent its realization.

CHAPTER XII.

The Quebec Scheme.

IN 1864 the Conservative Party was in power at Halifax. Sir Charles, then Dr. Tupper, was Provincial Secretary and Premier. Howe was not at that time a member of the Legislature. He had retired in 1863 to assume the duties of Fishery Commissioner, to which office he had been appointed by the Imperial Government.

In the summer of 1864, certain prominent members of the Legislature of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island met at Charlottetown, with a view of formulating a scheme for Maritime Union. They were visited while there by Sir John McDonald, Sir George E. Cartier, Sir Edward Galt, George Brown and other leading public men from the Upper Provinces, who pressed upon the attention of the delegates the larger scheme embracing a Union of all the Provinces. No decision was reached. It was proposed by the Canadian delegates to hold a further Conference at Quebec at such date as might be named by the Governor-General. This proposal was agreed to. A subsequent Conference was accordingly held, opening on the tenth of October 1864 at Quebec, where after several days spent in discussion and deliberation, the scheme was adopted which was subsequently embodied in the British North America Act.

The terms of the Quebec Scheme of Union were not well received in Nova Scotia. The Liberal Party, led by the Hon. Stewart Campbell of Guysborough, favored delay. Dr. Tupper, in the session of 1866, threw down the gauntlet by moving a resolution authorizing the appointment of delegates to proceed to England

and take such action in conjunction with the delegates from the other Provinces as might lead to the adoption of the Quebec Scheme by the Imperial Parliament. The fight was now on. A long and animated discussion took place. The speeches made during the course of this debate should be read by every student who desires to study the political history of Nova Scotia.

The Anti-Confederates stoutly contended that the question should be submitted to the people at the polls. This argument gained force from the fact that this was the last session of an expiring Parliament. It is said that behind the scenes Dr. Tupper had difficulty in holding his own supporters together. Mr. James Fraser (Downie) one of the representatives of Pictou and a staunch supporter of the Tupper administration both spoke and voted against the resolution. The resolution was finally carried however by a majority of 31 to 19.

The delegates appointed to proceed to England were Dr. Tupper, J. W. Ritchie, W. A. Henry, Jonathan McCully and Adams G. Archibald. Mr. Howe now appeared on the scene. He resigned his Fishery Commissionership and became the Leader of the Anti-Confederate Party. His old friends and admirers were delighted to have him back in harness, and in a few weeks he was surrounded by a strong and enthusiastic party. They raised a fund to defray expenses, and Howe, along with Mr. Annand and Hugh McDonald of Antigonish, was despatched to London, armed with a monster petition, signed by 31,000 male adults of the Province, praying for delay, at least as far as Nova Scotia was concerned, until the people would be given an opportunity to pronounce upon the scheme at the polls.

The Imperial Government paid scant attention to the petition or to Howe's appeal. The Anti-confederate delegation secured the sympathy of the

Hon. John Bright, at that time a noted figure in the Imperial Parliament and when the bill came up for discussion in February of 1867, Bright delivered an eloquent speech warning the House against attempting to coerce the people of Nova Scotia. Notwithstanding Bright's eloquence and the efforts of the delegates, the bill was pushed through and became law. The month of September following, found the country in the ferment of an election. If the people of Nova Scotia have a natural bent for anything, it is politics. They are as prone to political warfare as the sparks to fly upwards. They have had many strenuous contests during the past century, but none more exciting than the election of 1867.

CHAPTER XIII.

Carmichael's First Election.

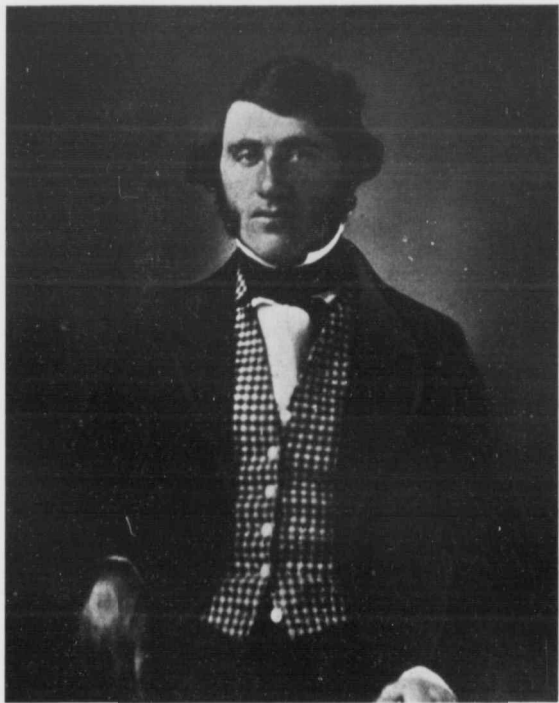
THE case made by Howe and his associates, appealed with great force to the rank and file. The financial terms were unfair to Nova Scotia. The people were ignored and denied the right to pronounce on their destiny. The Quebec Scheme was denounced by a large section of the press. The date of the election was fixed for the 18th of September. Public meetings were held everywhere. Howe, always eloquent and forceful surpassed himself in this campaign. Carmichael at this crisis threw in his fortunes with the Anti-Confederates. The Liberals met in Fictou to nominate their candidate. Their first choice was the late James Ives. Mr. Ives declined to run. The nomination was then tendered to Carmichael. He promptly accepted and threw himself vigorously into the fight. His opponent was the Hon. James McDonald, afterwards Chief Justice. Mr. McDonald was an able and effective stump speaker, an able campaigner, and did his best to rally his forces, but the tide was against him. When the contest was over the vote stood—Carmichael 2011, McDonald 1653; giving the former 358 of a majority.

In a letter published in the "Weekly Citizen" at Halifax during the heat of the controversy, Carmichael takes the ground that in this struggle it is not with the principle of union that we have mainly to do, but rather with the unjustifiable attempt to force the proposed union upon a free people. The letter itself is a somewhat fierce and aggressive attack on the then editor of the "Presbyterian Witness" who, it appears, was using arguments to justify the course taken by the leaders of the Union party that were abhorrent to the Anti-

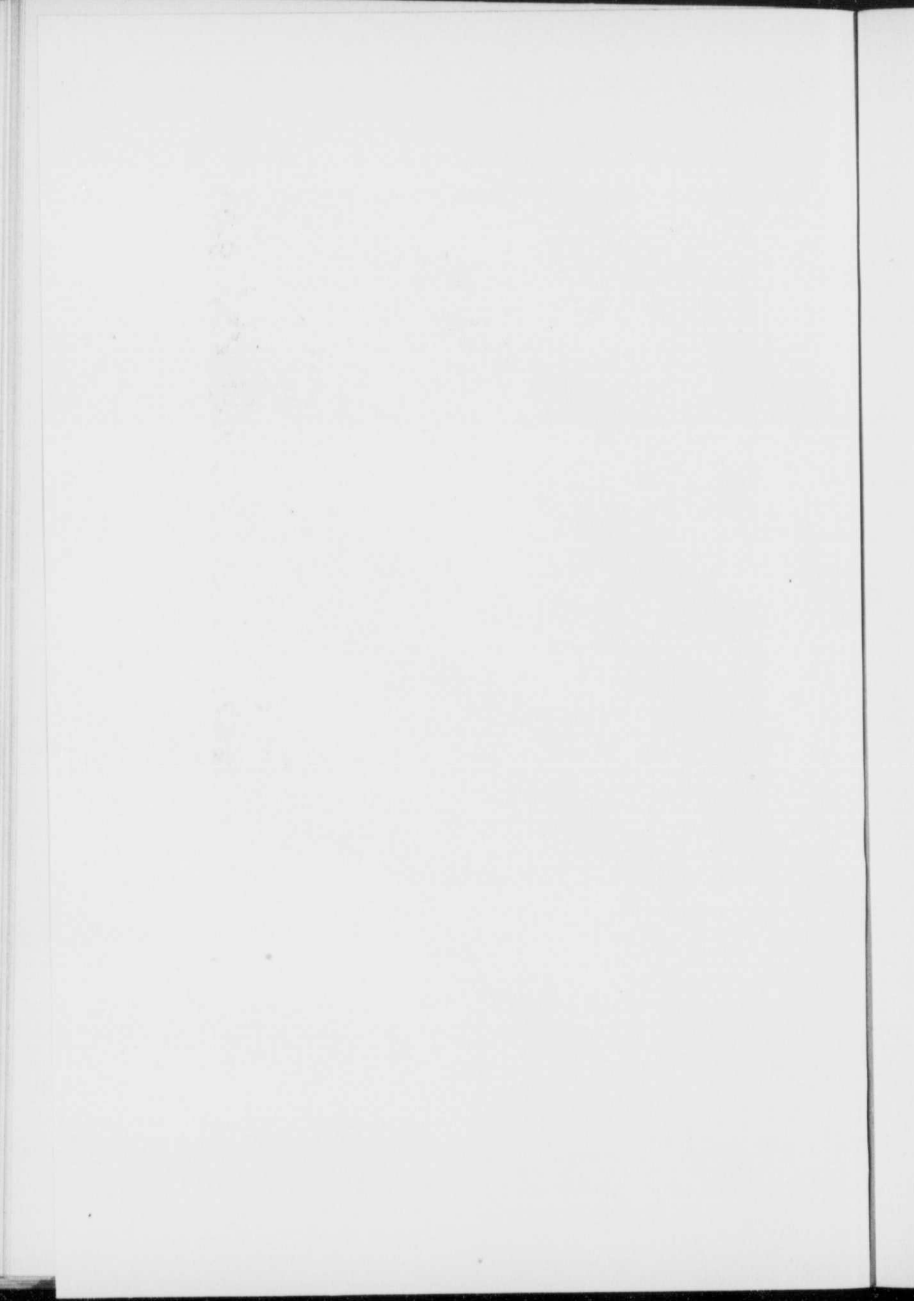
Confederates. During the course of the campaign an attempt was made in certain quarters to raise a religious cry against Carmichael.

In the excitement of the election of 1859, which is known in local history as the "Protestant Alliance Election", it appears Carmichael had made use of some strong language in speaking of the Roman Catholic Church. Bailey's Brook was then, as it is now, a Catholic stronghold. A public meeting was advertised at Bailey's Brook and the question arose whether it was safe, under the circumstances for Carmichael to attend. In spite of advice to the contrary, he determined to face the music. Both sides were represented and the meeting was crowded. No sooner had Carmichael begun to speak than a man in the audience arose and asked him if, in the election contest of 1859, he had called the Pope, Anti-Christ. He frankly admitted he had done several foolish things in his life and that was one of them. The frank manner of his reply disarmed opposition. The man sat down and Carmichael went on with his speech. He got a good hearing and before he left he won back all his old friends who had left the party during the contest of 1859. When the ballots were counted at the Bailey's Brook poll on election day, the tally stood, Carmichael 71, McDonald 68. The result, not only in Pictou but all over the Province, was a signal victory for the Anti-confederate party. Both the Provincial and Federal elections were run on the same day. The rout of the Confederates was complete. When the votes were counted it was found that the "Antis" had won thirty-six out of thirty-eight seats in the local House, and eighteen of the nineteen seats for the Federal. Dr. Tupper was the only Confederate candidate returned to the Commons, while Blanchard of Inverness and Pineo of Cumberland were the only ones returned to the Local

Assembly. Notwithstanding the crushing defeat in Nova Scotia the Confederates carried the other Provinces, and John A. McDonald, afterwards Sir John, became Premier.



JAMES WILLIAM CARMICHAEL



CHAPTER XIV.

Repeal Agitation.

CONFEDERATION was now an accomplished fact. The Anti's flushed with their great victory at the polls, determined to agitate for a repeal of the Union, in so far as Nova Scotia was concerned. Howe was confident that if he could get his case fairly before the Imperial Parliament he would win out. The party met, and a second delegation consisting of Howe, Wm. Annand, J. C. Troop and W. H. Smith proceeded to England with instructions to press, not for better terms, but for complete separation. This mission, like the former one failed, and Howe returned a disappointed and broken man.

Shortly after the return of the delegates, many of Howe's supporters became suspicious in regard to his attitude, and all sorts of rumors were afloat. Mr. John Styles, then of Washington, formerly Editor of the "Mechanic and Farmer" of Pictou, hearing that Howe was about giving up the agitation, addressed an open letter to him in September of 1868, respectfully enquiring if there was any truth in these reports, to which Howe replies as follows:—

"In answer to your letter I may say that up to this hour I have accepted nothing and done nothing inconsistent with the general tenor of my life. I am dealing with the difficulties around me with a single eye to the good of my country; but let me add that treason and filibustering expeditions to tear the Province to pieces are not included in my programme."

In another letter addressed to the "Eastern Chronicle" on the 24th of October following, Mr. Howe, in reference to these rumors, said:—

"When I returned from England, twice defeated I would have been justified as Lee was in laying down

my arms, and had I done so and accepted the situation, my honor would have been as untarnished as that of the unsuccessful soldier is at this day. I have not laid down my arms nor accepted the situation, but am still laboring in the interests of my country and utterly regardless of my own, to make the best of a bad business and to recover what I can out of the wreck that has been made of our Provincial organization."

It seems however, that after Howe's return from England he had set his heart on a compromise and was negotiating with the Dominion Government for more favorable terms. These negotiations appear to have been carried on without the knowledge or concurrence of his party, and resulted in what is known as the "better terms." On reaching an agreement with Sir John McDonald, Mr. Howe at once accepted office as Secretary of State in the McDonald Administration and came down to Hants for re-election. His opponent was Goudge, afterwards the Hon. Monson Goudge. The contest was one of the most bitter and exciting political battles ever waged in Nova Scotia. Many prominent Anti-Confederates followed Howe. Old party lines were breaking up. Men everywhere were taking sides. The Anti-Confederates regarded the deserters as traitors. Bitter feelings were engendered and friendships which had endured for a life time were severed. Mr. Carmichael shortly before his death gave the writer a graphic account of Howe's great public meeting at Windsor on the occasion of his withdrawal from the Anti-Confederate Party, one of the incidents of the day being that Mr. Carmichael and the late Honorable William Stairs, life-long friends and both Liberal in politics prior to that date, spent the afternoon walking out into the country arm in arm, each earnestly endeavouring to persuade the other, and finally parted like Abraham and Lot, each man taking his own course.

CHAPTER XV.

A Fly in the Ointment.

STAIRS was a devoted follower of Howe prior to Confederation and remained true to him as long as Howe lived. While Howe led the repeal forces, Stairs backed him with his influence and his money, and when Howe finally gave up the struggle as hopeless and threw in his fortunes with the Confederate Party, Stairs adopted the same view and promptly followed him into that camp. Among Stairs' papers was found the following tribute to Howe:—"Howe died of a broken heart, so deeply wounded by those who had been his friends, and should have judged him as stirred by higher motives than anything personal to himself. They might have trusted him. He saw further than they did. But broken-hearted as he was he felt sure he had acted rightly by his country, and dying, had the comfort of an approving conscience. He never said of them a bitter word, he loved them deeply and was too much hurt to say other than 'they knew not what they did.' That, which was to them the action of a false man was the setting aside of himself as a party leader and accepting the Confederation of the Provinces. It was the grandest act of his public life. Had he done otherwise he would have wrecked (for his lifetime at least) the important position Canada now occupies in the world's affairs."

Howe won the election in Hants, but there was a fly in the ointment. The rank and file of the old Liberal Party was largely Anti-Confederate. Howe had been their idol for a generation, his change of front was sudden. He seems to have carried on his negotiations with the enemy without taking his old friends

and associates into his confidence. When it became known that he had decided to accept office under Sir John A. McDonald, as the colleague of his life-long opponent, Dr. Tupper, many of his old political friends regarded his conduct as unworthy and treacherous, and to a man of Howe's warm hearted nature, even success was but a poor compensation for the loss of his friends. This incident in Howe's career is referred to by Hon. George Ross, in his life of the late Alexander McKenzie in the following language. After referring at some length to the anxiety of Sir John McDonald and the other leaders at Ottawa to conciliate Howe, Ross says:—

“In the autumn of 1868, Sir John McDonald visited Halifax for the purpose of endeavouring to reconcile Mr. Howe to Confederation: and as a result of this visit Mr. Howe took a seat in the Government, as President of the Council, and also came to an understanding with Sir John that Nova Scotia should obtain “better terms” than were allowed her under the British North America Act. There could be no objection to the acceptance by Mr. Howe of a seat in the Government, although his sudden change of front on a question which he deemed of such vital importance to his Province, was strangely abrupt. Even the “better terms” which he obtained did not remove the main objection which he urged, namely that Confederation was thrust upon the people of Nova Scotia without their consent. He was, therefore, open to the triple charge of accepting a seat in a Government which he declared had inflicted the great wrong upon Nova Scotia, of having abandoned a vital principle in constitutional government, and of having bartered away provincial rights for a trifling financial consideration. No doubt the withdrawal of his active opposition weakened the Anti-Unionist cause very greatly, while his acceptance of a seat in the Government destroyed forever his influence as a leader.

No deserter in the hour of battle ever drew down upon himself the malediction and contempt of his companions more completely than did Mr. Howe by his acceptance of the conditions offered him by the Government as the price of his support."

Howe never felt at home among his new found friends. It was known that on more than one occasion he held divergent views on matters of public policy. While Secretary of State he openly attacked the Washington Treaty, although Sir John had represented Canada in the negotiations and had been one of the Commissioners that agreed to its terms. The following correspondence, which passed between Sir John and Howe disclosed the latter's attitude in regard to the scheme for building the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Ottawa, December 1872.

My dear Sir John.—After a night of anxious consideration of the scheme of railway policy developed by Sir Hugh Allan and his friends yesterday, and apparently acquiesced in by my colleagues, I have come to the conclusion that I cannot defend that scheme or be a party to arrangements which I believe will be a surprise to Parliament and the country, and fraught with consequences deeply injurious to the best interests of the Dominion. I shall as rapidly as possible put upon paper the views I entertain of the measure as presented, and of the policy that ought to be pursued, and hope to be able to place them in your hands in the course of the afternoon. I regret sincerely the separation from old friends which this divergence of opinion must necessarily involve, but I apprehend it cannot be avoided, and am quite prepared to make the sacrifice rather than throw over for the sake of office, my conscientious convictions,—

Believe me, Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) Joseph Howe.

Sir John promptly replied to Howe's note as follows:

My dear Howe,—I have talked matters over with our colleagues and they desire to meet your views as much as possible. You need not prepare your paper, and I will be glad to see you in the morning.

Yours always,

(Sgd.) John A. McDonald.

Howe did not then withdraw as he threatened to do. His retirement at that juncture would have been very awkward for the Government. On the 6th of May following, Howe was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. In looking back, however, from this date over the history of the forty years that have elapsed since Confederation, one is forced to the conclusion that Howe did right in abandoning a struggle that had become hopeless. All the same it was hard on his old associates and required more Christian charity than most of them possessed to forgive all at once his sudden change of front. One can better imagine than describe the feelings of Carmichael and the other Anti-Confederate representatives of Nova Scotia at Ottawa when, after the Hants election, they saw their late chief and trusted leader led into the House of Commons to be introduced to the Speaker, leaning on the arm of Sir Charles Tupper. It would be easier even at this date to give Howe credit for sincerity of purpose, if he had declined to accept office in Sir John's administration.

CHAPTER XVI.

Dawson Elected by One.

MR. Carmichael for the third time became the standard bearer of the Liberal Party in Pictou.

On this occasion Mr. John A. Dawson was his colleague. The Conservative candidates were Messers. McDonald and Doull. The contest was a very exciting one. The election took place in the month of February 1874. Both the meetings and the weather were stormy. When the battle was over and the boxes open and the ballots counted it was found that the Liberal candidates were elected by narrow majorities; Mr. Dawson beating Mr. Doull by only one vote. The following are the figures:

J. W. Carmichael.....	2178
John A. Dawson.....	2124
Robert Doull.....	2123
James McDonald.....	2110

Numbers of people since that date have laid claim to the honour of having elected Mr. Dawson. The writer does not feel competent to give a verdict upon that question, and will leave it for some future historian to wrestle with. At all events Dawson was elected and any one of the two thousand one hundred and twenty-four Liberal voters could have changed the fortune of the day with the stroke of his pencil. This incident will remain as a striking illustration of the responsibility of the individual voter at an election.

The Conservatives claimed that the election had been won by resort to corrupt practices. A protest was entered and the famous *ad hoc* court was convened.

Mr. Johnstone, afterwards County Court Judge at Halifax, presided. The Court met at Pictou on the 15th of September 1874. Mr. Robert Doull, one of the defeated candidates was the petitioner. He was represented at the trial by Messrs. S. G. Rigby and W. A. Johnstone. The respondents were represented by Messrs. R. L. Weatherbee, J. D. McLeod and D. C. Fraser. The Court House was crowded. The trial lasted for nearly a month. It opened on September 17th and closed on October 13th. Among the witnesses called and examined under oath were Messrs. D. C. Fraser, Robert McConnell, John Logan, James McLean Bookseller, Isaac Grant, R. P. Fraser, John Yorston, A. J. Patterson, James D. McGregor, Hugh Murray, A. C. Bell, J. Fisher Grant and a host of others. One of the amusing incidents of the trial was in connection with the attempt to examine Mr. W. G. Crearar. Mr. Crearar was summoned as a witness on behalf of the respondents. When called he refused to give his testimony until his fees were paid. The judge ordered him to be examined, telling him that his fees would be paid by the Dominion Government if the respondents failed to pay him. Petitioner's counsel excitedly ordered him not to answer a single question until his fees were paid. The judge warned him at the peril of imprisonment not to leave the Court House. Arguments and counter arguments were made on this question. Mr. Crearar was finally sent to his seat to compute the amount of his fees when the defendant's counsel suddenly discovered that they did not want his evidence at all and he was allowed to stay there. There was a good deal of excitement during the course of the trial and not a little bitter party feeling displayed. On one occasion the lawyers came to blows and it looked as if the fight might become general, but order was restored.

The result of the trial was no doubt a great disappointment to the defeated candidates and to the

whole Conservative Party. They made accusations which they failed to prove. The charges were dismissed by a judge who had been a life long Conservative, and Messrs. Carmichael and Dawson were confirmed in their seats.

One of the sad features of this incident was, that while Mr. Carmichael was passing through the worry and turmoil of this election trial, his wife, who had been an invalid for about a year was making her last brave fight for life and was nearing the end of the struggle. She died on the 16th of December, 1874.

CHAPTER XVII.

Duty on Coal.

MR. Carmichael's wide knowledge of Commercial and fiscal affairs, his ripe judgment and disinterestedness of purpose soon made him an acknowledged authority among his fellow members. He became an ardent admirer and close personal friend of the Hon. Alexander McKenzie. This friendship lasted as long as McKenzie lived. To Carmichael, McKenzie was and continued to be the Sir Galahad of Canadian public life. The correspondence that passed between them shows that he was deep in McKenzie's confidence and discloses some interesting facts regarding the relations that existed among the Liberal leaders of that date. Mr. Carmichael also had the good fortune to win the confidence and esteem of Hon. Edward Blake and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and the friendships thus formed lasted as long as he lived.

The period of McKenzie's administration (1873—1878) was a period of severe depression. Trade was dull, money was scarce, crops were poor, prices of farm produce were low. In the cities and towns work was scarce and thousands were out of employment. These latter, as well as many of the business men looked to the Government for some relief. Sir John McDonald, then Leader of the Opposition, made the most of the situation. The coal trade in Nova Scotia was in a depressed condition. The abrogation of the reciprocity treaty with the United States had a disastrous effect on this trade and it had not yet recovered from the blow. The prices were low, the market was limited and a good deal of unrest prevailed in the mining districts. Both mine owners and workmen looked to

Parliament for relief. At this crisis, during the session of 1876, Mr. Newton L. McKay, M. P. for Cape Breton, in the House of Commons at Ottawa made the following motion, namely:— "That a humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor-General for a return of the number of tons of coal imported into Canada during the past year from the United States, and for the correspondence between the Canadian and United States Governments regarding the removal by the latter of the duty imposed on coal, exported from Canada to the United States."

Mr. McKay advocated the imposition of a duty on coal, asserting that it would drive out American coal and create a market for Nova Scotia coal in the Upper Provinces and in this way relieve the existing distress. Mr. Carmichael seconded McKay's motion. He admitted the distress but could not agree with the proposed remedy. Carmichael was a Free Trader of the old school. With him the cause of Free Trade was the cause of justice. He saw no good in protection either for coal or for anything else. It was evil and only evil continually. He well knew that his constituents in Thorburn, Stellarton and Westville were clamoring for this protection and that he would incur their illwill and resentment by the course he was about to take, yet he came out squarely and fearlessly in support of what he believed to be sound fiscal policy, and made a vigorous Free Trade speech.

No action was taken by the Government and the hard times continued. The local Conservative press and certain agitators in the various mining districts were busy persuading the miners that Carmichael's Free Trade theory was the cause of all their troubles. A large majority of the Pictou County miners at that date were ardent Conservatives. It was an easy matter for their leaders to convince them that they had been badly used and they decided to retaliate by burning

Carmichael in effigy. The movement is supposed to have started in Thorburn. An effigy was prepared. A crowd collected. Big Lauchy McDonald assumed the leadership. The "Vale" engine with five flat cars attached, all loaded with miners carrying the effigy, steamed for New Glasgow. Another crowd from the Albion Mines and Westville approached the town by way of the old railway on the western bank of the river. The burning was to take place somewhere on the West Side, where these two detachments could meet. The fortunes of war upset their plans. The Thorburn invaders formed into procession and started to march down Provost Street. The New Glasgow boys met them a short distance below Primitive Church, now Bent and Cohoon's Corner, and a skirmish took place, and the effigy was captured. Both the effigy and some of those who defended it emerged from the melee in a battered condition. Again they rallied, but this time a report spread among them that a detachment of the New Glasgow fire brigade was prepared to deluge them with water at the next corner. This news had the desired effect. The crowd broke up and took to their heels. A second attempt some days later was more successful. This time the crowd stole quietly down the Old Mines railway, shortly after six o'clock in the afternoon when the New Glasgow people were mostly indoors. They reached a point near the coal shoots on the West Side and put a match to the effigy before they were observed. Someone blew a steam whistle at one of the factories to give the alarm. The forces quickly mustered and a battle with stones ensued, at which no one was very much hurt. These disturbances were supposed at the time to have the effect of consolidating and strengthening the Conservative party in the mining districts.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Protection Discussed.

NOT only in the coal mining districts, but also in the cities and towns and especially in the manufacturing centres the doctrine of higher duties to foster and build up our manufacturing industries was gaining ground. Then it was stoutly contended that the foreigner would pay the taxes. This was an attractive argument, as most of the people were quite tired of paying them themselves, and willing to resign the privilege to any eligible substitute. Besides, the United States had erected their tariff wall against us, and flesh and blood liked the notion of retaliation.

The Opposition, led by Sir John McDonald embraced these views. Mr. McKenzie appears to have hesitated. At one stage it was said that he contemplated making some concessions, but division among his supporters prevented any definite action. At this stage, on the 21st of February 1876, a commission was appointed to enquire into the causes of the existing depression in the manufacturing, mining, commercial, shipping, lumber and fishing industries of the country with power to take evidence, send for persons and papers, etc. Mr. Carmichael was selected as a member of this commission. The Hon. David Mills was Chairman.

Some idea of the attitude taken by the supporters of the Government may be gathered from the speech of Mr. Mills, on moving for the appointment of the Commission. He said "I am of opinion that we are suffering to a very considerable extent from commercial depression in consequence of our intimate commercial relations with the trade of the adjoining Republic.

I think it was a sound principle that was laid down many years ago, by a distinguished English Statesman, that one nation has the same interest in the commercial prosperity of another nation with whom it is carrying on trade to a large extent, that a merchant has in the welfare of his customers. It is not easy for the merchant to remain prosperous while his customers are impoverished, and it is not easy for the people of this country who are engaged in commercial pursuits to be in a highly prosperous condition while those with whom they are dealing are suffering from financial depression. It is said by those who are in favor of seeking relief from the present depression by legislation in this House, that we might improve our condition by an alteration of the fiscal policy of this country. I am not going to say, Sir, whether that is the correct observation or not. I am not going to say whether we might restrain over importation, if there has been over importation by a protective tariff. I am not going to discuss this question. I am free to say that I believe that high duties upon imported articles have not always secured that object elsewhere, but whether they will do so in this country or not, I will not in anticipation of any information that may be obtained on this subject by the Committee pronounce an opinion."

This language might be described as cautious. It is certainly non-committal and would indicate that the Leaders wished to gain time to make up their minds before committing themselves or the party to any definite policy. The enquiry opened on the 2nd of March 1876, and lasted for over a month. A large number of witnesses were examined and some very interesting facts elicited. The published report of the investigation alleges that they examined witnesses "upon the lumber trade, the coal mining interests, the importation and refining of sugar, the manufacture of agricultural implements, of saws, stoves, gas fittings,

leather, boots, shoes, of type, of steam engines, of slate, cotton and woolen fabrics and of shipbuilding." The printed evidence comprises some three hundred pages. The Commission found that the trade of the country was greatly depressed in all the various branches covered by their investigation, and reported that the causes of this depression were quite beyond legislative control. That it was not in the power of Parliament to provide a remedy.

CHAPTER XIX.

Sir John Adopts Protection.

IN the meantime Sir John McDonald was eagerly watching the trend of events and when it became known that the Government had decided to adhere to the existing tariff he began vigorously to preach the gospel of protection. The attitude of the Government and the prevailing hard times gave him an opportunity which he did not hesitate to embrace. In the following session, March 1877, Sir John again returns to the charge and moves the following somewhat famous resolution in amendment to the motion to go into supply—viz:—

“That the House is of the opinion that the welfare of Canada requires the adopting of a national policy which by a judicious readjustment of the tariff will benefit and foster the agricultural, mining, manufacturing and other industries of the Dominion—that such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow countrymen now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of employment denied them at home, will restore prosperity to our struggling industries now so sadly depressed, will prevent Canada from being made a sacrifice market, will encourage and develop an active inter-provincial trade and moving as it ought to do in the direction of reciprocity of tariffs with our neighbours so far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for this country eventually a reciprocity of trade.”

It will be seen by this resolution that Sir John MacDonald at that date did not care to take the risk of declaring squarely for protection, but proposed only

a readjustment of the tariff, arguing that a probable result of the move would be to bring about reciprocity with the United States.

After a protracted debate this resolution which afterwards embodied the battle cry of the Conservative Party in the general election of 1878, was lost by 114 to 77 votes.

During the Session of 1876 in addition to his speech on the coal mining industry before referred to, Mr. Carmichael also spoke on the general question of protection to a proposal to establish a Canadian Lloyds and to exempt Canadian ships from the operations of the Imperial Merchants' Shipping Act. This controversy over the best trade policy for Canada, which commenced in 1876, has not yet ceased and even at this date one hears on every side widely varying expressions of opinion, sometimes no doubt based on party feeling and sometimes on genuine conviction. In short it is one of the most difficult and bewildering subjects with which our public men have to deal.

CHAPTER XX.

Our Legislators Decide to Pray.

IN the Session of 1877 a movement was made to open the proceedings of the House of Commons each day with prayer. This practice has prevailed for about thirty-six years, but it is interesting to record that for the first ten years after Confederation no audible prayers ascended from that Chamber. The following letter written from Ottawa by Mr. Carmichael to his daughter Christian (afterwards Mrs. W. G. Matheson) gives an interesting account of how the change was brought about.

House of Commons,
24th Feby. 1877.

My dear Christian.—My last letter said you would leave for Halifax on Wednesday and therefore I presume you are now formally installed at Aunt Anna's, and believing you would be pleased to hear from me induces me to write more than that I have anything to say that will be worth communicating.

You would no doubt be pleased to know that the House of Commons had decided to open their proceedings with Prayer and doubtless many would say that there was nobody had more need. Mr. McDonald of Toronto was the mover and it required to be a man of known character and consistency to make such a movement. As it was there was plenty of ridicule and sneering, quietly of course. Some proposed silent prayer, others thought there was no more need of Prayer than on opening a Dry Goods Store, etc. etc., but only *one* was found bold enough to move publicly that the subject should be dismissed. I had the honor

to be one of the Committee appointed to consider this matter and to that extent contributed to its accomplishment. We had four Catholics, four Presbyterians, four Methodists and I think one Churchman on the Committee, and all agreed first that Prayer was desirable. Then we had to discuss the form. Most of us proposed to have the Lord's Prayer alone, but others thought this was too bare and that we must have Prayer for the Queen, etc. So we at last agreed to take the Senate Prayer and cut it down shorter, and it stands, Prayer for the Queen, Prince of Wales and Royal Family, Senate and House of Commons and Lord's Prayer. Then we had to decide as to the person who would officiate and on this point we had some discussion and difficulty. We all felt that to recommend a Chaplain would defeat the whole thing, and our choice was really limited to the Speaker and Clerk. I favoured the Clerk feeling that the Speaker would refuse to officiate and then we would fail, but the Speaker was decided on and we so reported, and rather unexpectedly, the report was received and adopted without an objection, and the duty accepted by the Speaker, and now every afternoon at three before the doors are opened, prayers are read by the Speaker, the Clerk saying AMEN. The House is pretty well filled with members and the attitude most reverent and the service well performed by the Speaker. Mr. McDonald is highly pleased with the success of his move and quite delighted with the spirit in which it has been accepted by the House. It was feared that as in some other legislative bodies there would be sitting down, speaking, and all kinds of things going on during prayers, but so far everything is in order and nothing to be desired so far as the apparent reverence is concerned. Now I will have wearied you about this prayer matter, but I began about it and so had to finish.

I was dining informally, not dress, on Thursday with Mr. Donald A. Smith and a very distinguished

company, three Cabinet Ministers, Sir A. T. Galt, Holton Young and Dymond, and had a very good dinner. Tonight I dine at Blake's, but have by no means dined every place I was invited.

Your Father.

The following is the form of prayer recommended by the Committee and adopted by the House. It is read by the Speaker every afternoon at three o'clock, the Members standing and the Clerk saying "Amen". Since the death of Queen Victoria the necessary changes have of course been made to suit the present reigning Sovereign and Prince of Wales.

"O Lord our Heavenly Father, high and mighty, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, the only Ruler of Princes, who dost from Thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth; Most heartily we beseech Thee with thy favour to behold Her most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, and so replenish her with the grace of thy Holy Spirit that she may always incline to Thy will and walk in Thy way: Endue her plenteously with Heavenly gifts; grant her in health and wealth long to live; strengthen her that she may vanquish and overcome all her enemies; and finally after this life she may attain everlasting joy and felicity, through Jesus Christ Our Lord. Amen.

Almighty God, the Fountain of all goodness, we humbly beseech Thee to bless Edward, Prince of Wales, the Princess of Wales, and all the members of the Royal Family; endue them with Thy Holy Spirit; enrich them with Thy Heavenly Grace; prosper them with all happiness; and bring them to Thy everlasting Kingdom, through Jesus Christ Our Lord, Amen.

Most Gracious God, we humbly beseech Thee, as for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and Her Majesty's other Dominions in general, so

especially for this Dominion, and herein more particularly for the Governor-General, the Senate, and the House of Commons in their legislative capacity at this time assembled; that Thou wouldst be pleased to direct and prosper all their consultations to the advancement of Thy Glory; the safety, honour and welfare of our Sovereign and Her Dominions, that all things may be ordered and settled by their endeavours, upon the best and surest foundations; that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety may be established among us for all generations. These, and all other necessities for them, and for us, we humbly beg in the name, and through the mediation of Jesus Christ, our most blessed Lord and Saviour. Amen.

“Our Father which art in Heaven, Hallowed be Thy name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil,—Amen.”

This form of prayer continues to be read by the Speaker or his deputy at three o'clock each afternoon, when the House is in session, the English and French versions being used alternately.

CHAPTER XXI.

Three Successive Defeats.

IN the general election of 1878, as everybody will remember, the Government of McKenzie was defeated with the result that Sir John McDonald was again in the saddle. The Liberals were routed in Pictou County and Mr. Carmichael was again at liberty to devote his whole attention to his private affairs. The loss of a seat in Parliament never caused him any personal regret. He was willing, if need be, to sacrifice his own convenience for the sake of his Party or of the country, but when the country decided against him, as it did on a number of occasions, he accepted the verdict most cheerfully and was glad to be relieved from the responsibility.

During the subsequent years, some of which were critical years for ship owners, he devoted himself with renewed energy to business. The change from wood to iron and steel, combined with the other causes before referred to were having a most disastrous effect on this most important industry, and while owners all over Nova Scotia were either closing up their business or going into bankruptcy, he was busy studying new methods and embarking his capital in the most modern type of steel ships produced at that date on the Clyde.

He again became a candidate in the general election of 1882 and this time he was beaten by about 300. He never sought nomination from his party, but when it was tendered to him he cheerfully accepted and did his best in a manly straight forward way to win. In their day of adversity he was undoubtedly the strongest candidate available for the Party. Altogether he contested the County six times in only two of these contests

was he successful. He had implicit faith in the principles of the Liberal Party and had no doubt that in the end they would triumph. He had great admiration for Sir Wilfrid Laurier. They became acquainted during the McKenzie administration and, although there was a very decided difference in their ages, they became fast friends, and their friendship deepened as the years went by. He watched with the greatest interest and delight the steady growth of Sir Wilfrid's popularity and influence until he finally won the highest place in the gift of his countrymen. He was greatly pleased when appreciative remarks were made about Sir Wilfrid in the press and often drew them to the attention of his friends. He was delighted with the courage and ability that he displayed in dealing with the Manitoba School Question.

When the general election of 1896 was approaching he was becoming an old man. Three years more and he would reach the four score mark. His health was still good and he had lost none of his mental vigor. There was a general feeling in the County that the tide was running in favor of the Liberal Party, and Mr. Carmichael's old supporters throughout Pictou County were anxious that he should win one more election.

Among his correspondence prior to that contest are found the following letters:—

Arthabaskaville, 7th Dec. 1894.

My dear Carmichael.—I thank you very sincerely for the good news which you are kind enough to send me. I would feel very much obliged to you if you will send me reports of the speeches at Pictou and New Glasgow, if they were reported.

I hope there is no danger for Fraser in Guysborough. We cannot afford to lose him. He is more than a trump card. As a stumper he is our best man. In our Western tour he took all the crowds by storm.

The prospects are good from all quarters. The West will do well. Ontario is being turned upside down. I dread only one thing. I dread money. Were we this time to meet the Tories on even terms, they would be whipped out of sight. I am happy to say that my health is good. My wife is also quite well. The western dry air agreed with her perfectly.

We both send love to all our good friends in New Glasgow. We hope to see you in Ottawa next session. When I say *you* I mean the whole of the family. You will close the house and bring the key in your pocket.

Believe me, my dear Carmichael, as ever

Yours most truly.

(Sgd.) WILFRID LAURIER.

Montreal, Jan. 1/96.

J. W. Carmichael, Esq.,
New Glasgow.

Dear Mr. Carmichael.—I write to wish you a very happy New Year. If you will pardon the liberty I take in saying it, I hope that you will not run in Pictou. I fear, that, much as it would contribute to party success, it would be purchased, or I should say, might be purchased, at too great a price. I fear the excitement and strain would be too much with your burden of years. The vitality which might carry one through a number of years of quiet home life, in a community where the very life is an example of so much value, with all the years of honored integrity behind it, might yield suddenly to the intense strain that would be put upon it. Please pardon this liberty of friendship but I am very deeply impressed with the conviction that I have expressed in this matter.

"Well another year has gone. How swiftly our

store of them is running out. How few remain, one, two, three, ten, twenty? And then the great beyond where years are dropped. How our friends one by one are going home, and a kind Father gently cuts a tie at a time and makes it fast beyond, until at length most of the earliest and strongest ties of life are there. The greater part of our being is there before we know it, and the breaking of the last ties here is but a little thing. How dark the evening of life would be without the grasp of those ties that unite us to a better life. How bright it is towards the close when we have a confident hope that it is but nearing the beginning of an endless life where highest powers find highest employ and delight, in what way we know not, but in the best. All care, worry, wrong, sin, doubt, separation, forever in the past. As the time is so rapidly drawing to an end in which to do our work in life I suppose the lesson is to renewed activity in doing it, that less or more both ourselves and the world we live in may be the better when the end comes. I met a few days ago a definition which ran somewhat as follows, 'Laying up treasure in heaven is the cultivation of those virtues of character which we shall have forever'. I suppose the doing of that is best attained by unselfish seeking of others' good, so that both giver and receiver are blessed. Well, well, how easy to think and speak of—how hard to attain. But I must stop.

Very sincerely yours

(Sgd.) E. SCOTT.

Notwithstanding Mr. Scott's advice, when the nomination was tendered to him, he again accepted and threw himself vigorously into the contest. On this occasion Mr. E. M. McDonald of Pictou was his colleague. The Conservative candidates Messrs. Bell and Tupper were returned, but with reduced majorities.

CHAPTER XXII.

Primitive Church Organized.

IN religion Carmichael was a Presbyterian. From his father he inherited a deep seated reverence for sacred things, but the influences that burned most into his mind when a young man were the sincere Christian piety of his mother and the stalwart, manly, robust nature of his Uncle, Captain George McKenzie. Mr. Carmichael was one of the original founders of that Presbyterian Congregation organized in New Glasgow in the year 1845 as "Primitive Church". Primitive Church was an offshoot from James Church, which latter had the distinction of being founded by the celebrated Doctor MacGregor. The building occupied by Primitive Church congregation stood on the corner of Provost and Forbes Streets, the site now occupied by Roseland Theatre. It was destroyed by fire in 1874.

On the 13th of October in the same year, Knox Church and Primitive Church were amalgamated, forming the congregation of United Church. Mr. Carmichael cordially supported this union. He was always extremely modest and in his published address delivered on the occasion of the Semi-Jubilee of United Church in 1899 he gave all the credit to others, but it is well known that his personal influence was a large factor in this happy event. The Rev. Robert Cumming, who at that date was pastor of Knox Church and who was in a position to know all the details that led up to the Union, gives the following account of it. After referring to the disastrous fire which swept away so much of the Town of New Glasgow in 1874 and reduced Primitive Church to ashes, he goes on to say—

"It seemed to me the way was open for a union of the two smallest congregations of the town. Accordingly I broached the subject to the late Hugh Ross and to Daniel Rose. Both of these gentlemen were very non-committal. They suggested that I should talk the matter over with the representative men of the other Church. I then spoke to Mr. Andrew Walker, Mr. P. A. McGregor and others. They gave me no definite reply but wrote to Mr. Carmichael, who was then in Ottawa. He telegraphed back "Unite and keep both ministers". He threw the weight of his influence in favor of Union and beyond all question he deserves more credit for the securing of it than any other man."

He became Chairman of the Board of Managers of United Church at its formation and held the position until his death and took a prominent part in all its various enterprises. He held the view, in common with many others in United Church, that every Christian Congregation, while responsive to the calls of charity in a general way from outside, had a special obligation in regard to its own members. If hungry, they must be fed: if in need, they must get assistance, not from the Town or the overseers of the poor, but from their fellow church members—in other words that it is a lasting disgrace to any church calling itself a christian church to permit any of its members to "go on the poor".

During his whole life he took an active interest in all the various enterprises of the Presbyterian Church. For many years he was President of the New Glasgow Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society and occupied the chair at its annual meeting up to the date of his death. He was a generous giver and never failed to influence those about him in the same direction. He was not in favor of Church endowments. He held the view that accumulations of invested funds tend to deaden and destroy the life of a church and that the ideal Church is the one in which the members as a whole

are trained to respond readily and voluntarily to every call made upon them from week to week to carry on the work of the Church.

He never took a prominent part in religious meetings but no one seemed to doubt his sincerity on that account. The plain prosaic fact is that the majority of church members serve Christ best by doing their own business in a Christian spirit and in seeing that Christian work is not left to lag by the withholding of money. Often the backbone of a Church is not in the workers in evidence, but in the quiet, faithful people who are always in their places, who are earnest in their prayers, who are liberal in their gifts, who take no offence and who have the great and beautiful virtue of loyalty.

On the temperance question he held extreme views. He deplored the ravages of strong drink and sympathized with every legitimate effort to lessen the evil, but had no faith whatever in the legal prohibition of the traffic. He contended that the State had no more right to prohibit the use and sale of intoxicating liquor than it had to prohibit the teaching of heterodox views. This opinion was in direct opposition to that held by most of the clergy of the Presbyterian Church, and many a battle royal in defence of his position took place when he met them.

While he always had a reason for the faith that was in him and entertained very positive views in controversial questions, he was always ready to learn or unlearn. Even in his old age he had a singularly open and alert mind. Whether it was the folly of prohibition or the heresy of protection, or Gladstonian Home Rule for Ireland, or Henry George's theory of taxation of land values, he soon made himself master of all the current arguments, and when he once convinced himself of the soundness of a new idea, he was quick to adopt it, untiring in his advocacy of it, and always ready on a moment's notice to demolish any antagonist who ventured to attack it.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Heroes.

IN his later years he spent all his evenings at home with his pipe and his newspapers and his books. He kept close track of current events. To the very last he kept in close touch with the young people of his acquaintance who often broke in upon him of an evening and were always welcome. He read extensively but he had some favorite books that he continually went back to. Among his heroes of history were Sir Harry Vane and Oliver Cromwell. He never tired reading that thrilling passage in the account of Vane's trial where the prisoner could have saved his neck from the headsman's axe by going back on his principles. "Ten thousand deaths for me," exclaimed Vane, "ere I will stain the purity of my conscience". So dressed in his best attire he went joyfully to the block. Among the distinguished men of his own day he had great admiration for the Honorable Mr. Gladstone, Henry George, Rev. Dr. Cairns of Edinburgh and Dr. R. W. Dale of Birmingham.

He had the keenest sympathy and the most enthusiastic admiration for Mr. Gladstone at the time when he staked all to secure Home Rule for Ireland. When it became known that his old friend Mr. Edward Blake decided to throw in his fortune with the Irish party he was greatly pleased and subsequently wrote him the following letter:—

New Glasgow.
24th March, 1893.

My dear Mr. Blake.—Ever since it was made public that you had determined to accept the Irish invitation, I had it in mind to write you but felt it was like obtrud-

ing when you had so much to engage your attention. The fact of receiving a paper containing your Bath speech addressed by your own hand, reminded me that I had neglected a duty in not doing my part, however insignificant, in strengthening your hands. Allow me to say that I entirely approved of your determination to actively promote the great cause in which you are engaged, and felt and feel that it was a Providential dispensation that you were induced to decide as you did. To my mind there is no greater question before the world to-day, and the right solution of which, involves more important results: that solution can only be had by doing justice, and I am firmly convinced the means now advocated is in that line.

It grieves me much to learn that the Presbyterians of Ulster are so determinedly opposed to Home Rule, but notwithstanding their attitude and accepting their sincerity, I am certain that the only cure for the evil they fear, priestly domination, is the very measure they oppose. I need hardly say that I have followed with intense interest your course so far in the contest, and in common with those who know you best am not surprised at the commanding position you occupy in the counsels of the Empire. I believe that God rules, and although I have not written you I never forget you and the G. O. M. in my prayers. God bless you.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. Carmichael.

Mr. Blake in his reply, after referring to the difficulties to be encountered in the struggle, said:—

“I believe we must win in the end, I hope before long, but as to times and seasons all is still in the dark. The issue is in the hands of the British people and there is an immense deal of prejudice, bigotry and misrep-

resentation to overcome. I have been speaking all over the Kingdom, for I soon found out that as far as public speaking was concerned it was that that was wanted. I am tired out but your letter has refreshed me."

But Mr. Blake did not win. His cherished scheme of Home Rule was doomed to defeat. The issue, as he said, was in the hands of the British people, and the British people were against him. Mr. Blake never took that position in the Imperial Parliament that his Canadian admirers expected him to take, but he was always listened to with attention and respect. On the occasion of his retirement *Punch* suspends for a moment its usual manner to say this of Mr. Blake:—

"The announcement that the member for South Longford has resolved to quit the Parliamentary stage was received with genuine regret in all quarters. The present House scarcely knows Edward Blake. As far as I remember he has not risen in it to take part in debate. In earlier times, dating back fifteen years, when he took the bold and perilous step of exchanging a familiar Colonial Legislature for a seat at Westminster, he was not insistent in speech making. When he did interpose he bestowed upon the House the fruits of statesmanlike instinct, wide culture, and long experience in public affairs. Nothing less like the typical Irish Nationalist member could be imagined than the grave and reverend seigneur, who in slow, well-ordered speech reasoned with the adversary. Loyal in every thought, honest in every fibre, he sat among the Irish Nationalists, but he was not of them. Feeling the weight of years, the burden of accumulated labor, perhaps a little disappointed with life at Westminster, he quietly withdrew, carrying with him the esteem of all who have known him in public and private life."

CHAPTER XXIV.

Birthday Congratulations.

ON the occasion of Mr. Carmichael's 76th birthday, December 16th, 1895, his admirers were desirous that some steps should be taken to celebrate the event. This was difficult to manage as he had a special dislike to notoriety of any kind and they had to content themselves with a call. The word was passed around and in the evening he held a sort of levee in his library, when his townsmen, old and young, crowded in to shake hands with him and wish him many happy returns. Notwithstanding his native modesty he was highly pleased with these little attentions from his friends. We quote below the remarks of the Eastern Chronicle on this occasion:—

“To-day, seventy-six years ago, Mr. James W. Carmichael was born. We believe we are voicing the opinions of the people of the County when we say that all classes congratulate him very warmly on attaining his seventy-sixth birthday. Few men, if any, have been so closely connected with the growth and history of the County as he has. In his youth he was associated with his father in general business and ship building. The business he has carried on for fifty years was a continuation of his father's, so that father and son have been in closest touch with the County for seventy or eighty years. Latterly he has confined his attention altogether to ship building. He has built during his life over forty ships. Perhaps the awarding of the contract for the building of the Mission Brig “Dayspring” by the children of the Presbyterian Church in Australia and the British Provinces was the highest tribute ever given to any ship builder in Nova Scotia.

"In his service has been trained a large number of seamen as good as ever commanded or manned any ships in the world. Cautious, but progressive, aggressive but never speculative, he has had fewer losses than any ship owner in Nova Scotia. He has never permitted any man to lose his wages or go unpaid for supplies furnished. Wherever Nova Scotia ships are found there his name stands for all that is honorable and trustworthy.

"His busy life has never prevented him from being first among those who actively interested themselves in all that pertains to our development as a people. As a safe adviser—a trusted counsellor—a liberal benefactor, a generous and true friend, he has been tried and he has borne the test, and while his opponents may not agree with him in his political views, they agree at least on one point, that he is of the highest type of public man that the County has produced. With none of the methods of the professed politician, he has what is infinitely better—an honest desire to appeal to men's reason by means worthy of a freeman and in accordance with Christian teaching. He has represented this County twice in the Dominion Parliament and will soon do so again. The people know they can trust him to do the right. They will never have to explain his actions as contradictory, or apologize for his wrong doing. Such a man is an honor to any Country, and its interest cannot be confided to safer hands. We extend to him our warmest congratulations on his seventy-sixth birthday.

"Such a man as Mr. Carmichael does not grow old, but rather increases in strength. We trust he may long be spared to the County whose interest he has done so much to promote, and to its people whom he has so signally benefited and so uniformly honored."

The prophesy contained in the above article, that he would soon again represent the County of Pictou in

the Commons, failed to materialize. His party, as everyone remembers, scored a great victory in June following, but the County of Pictou remained in the Conservative column.

CHAPTER XXV.

Called to the Senate.

I N 1889, at the urgent solicitation of some of the leaders of the Liberal party, he was persuaded temporarily to accept a seat in the Senate. He was then in his eightieth year and would naturally have preferred the quiet of his own home. However, after some delay and hesitation he yielded and was sworn in and spent part of that and the three following Sessions at Ottawa. This gave him an opportunity of renewing old acquaintances and forming new ones. He took little interest in the proceedings of the Senate and spent most of his time in Room sixteen among his chosen friends of the popular branch. Many of his old friends and admirers who were disappointed at his defeat in the general election of 1896, were pleased to see him back in public life in any capacity. The newspapers, both Liberal and Conservative, approved of the appointment. The Toronto Globe gave an interesting sketch of him on that occasion and referred to him as a man who for more than a generation had stood in the forefront of Nova Scotian Liberalism. The Globe draws attention to the fact that he sat in the House of Commons for two terms, from 1867 to 1871 and from 1874 to 1878, and that besides being a supporter of Mr. McKenzie during that period, he became one of that gentleman's warmest personal friends.

The news had gone abroad in the press that he had declined the proffered seat in the Senate on account of his age. Apart from his age altogether he felt he would be out of his atmosphere in the Upper House. During this period he received the following letter from Hon. Senator Wark of New Brunswick, who was then in his

96th year and continued subsequently to attend at Ottawa until he was one hundred years of age;—

Fredericton, 5th Jany. 1899.

Dear Mr. Carmichael:—I was delighted at a report a few days ago that you had been appointed to a seat in the Senate, but regret to learn from another report that you will not accept the appointment on account of your advanced age. I sincerely hope that the last report is not true. I hope you are still strong and healthy and able to serve the country several years. I have now attended the Sessions every year for thirty one years and hope to do so next Session, if not prevented by sickness in my family, but you may think me no rule as in a few weeks, if spared, I will enter my 96th year. But I may mention that we have one member born in the same year and month that you were, who still takes an active part in the business of the House and we have one a year your senior and five others from three to seven years older than you. So you would find yourself a good way from the head of the list. I sincerely hope, therefore, that you will accept the appointment.

I remain, dear Mr. Carmichael.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd.) David Wark.

Among the congratulations that poured in upon him on this occasion the following letters from Principal Sheraton, late of Wycliffe College, Toronto and Principal Grant of Kingston, will serve as samples:—

Wycliffe College, Toronto,
Feb. 2nd, 1899.

Hon. J. W. Carmichael,
New Glasgow.

My dear Mr. Carmichael:—Accept my heartiest congratulations upon the most deserved honour which has been conferred upon you. If the Senate of Canada were reconstructed of such material as you are now bringing it, the difficult problem of its existence and usefulness would be solved most readily. I am very glad for the sake of the Senate and the sake of Canada that you have accepted, and I am sure that you are doing so at great self sacrifice, but I hope that you may be protected and strengthened and be enabled to do good work for our country. I know your regard for Laurier and I think he deserves it. I am sure he is doing nobly in the face of great difficulties and misrepresentations. The new feeling of confidence which prevades the country is one of the best testimonies to the success of his policy.

We look forward to seeing you sometimes in Toronto. This has been an unusually trying winter, with extremes of temperature although our frost here never gets so far down as it does north and east of us.

Again accept our heartiest congratulations, and believe me, dear Mr. Carmichael.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgnd.) J. P. Sheraton.

Queen's University,
Kingston, Ont., Jany. 18, 1899.

My dear Mr. Carmichael.—I am glad that you did not persist in your refusal to become a Senator. As long as we have a Senate we should have our best men in it. When a minister, I used to say as long as liquor is sold in my parish I would like to have the best man in the parish entrusted with its sale. You may think the illustration unfortunate, but I am sure you will understand. As I am getting old myself, I have no sympathy with your notion that you are getting too old for good brain work. May God bless you and spare you for many years service. With all kindest regards to your household.

Ever sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) G. M. Grant.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Resigned the Senatorship.

MR. Carmichael never felt at home in the Senate, and after several attempts at resigning his seat, which for one reason or another were unsuccessful, he at length succeeded. About the commencement of the Session of 1903 he asked permission to be relieved from the responsibility of the office and his resignation was accepted and shortly afterwards the Hon. James D. McGregor was appointed to the position. Mr. McGregor in Mr. Carmichael's younger days had been his chief lieutenant in his numerous election contests, and enjoyed the esteem and confidence not only of the leaders but of the rank and file of the Liberal party, and by common consent he was looked upon as the man on whom the mantle should fall. The resignation of a seat in the Senate is so unusual that the incident occasioned a good deal of comment. Among the press notices an editorial item from that staunch Conservative journal the "Pictou Standard" will bear repetition.

"The Standard" says:—

Senator J. W. Carmichael has resigned the Senatorship and Mr. J. D. McGregor has been appointed to fill the vacancy."

"It might be said that Mr. Carmichael's appointment to the Senate met with the approval of the Conservatives as well as the Liberals. He was considered by those who could not support him politically, an honorable man and one who would not stoop to the tricks of a small politician. As political records go, his was amongst the best, and although he met defeat on

several occasions they were not by any means due to want of respect for the man, or distrust of his honesty. A man of strong convictions and outspoken, this no doubt cost him the support of men who conscientiously differed, but none the less respected him. His retirement from the Senate is regretted by the party opposed by him all his life, probably as much as by his own party, but Mr. Carmichael, who is an old man, very naturally desires to have the few years at most left him of this life spent in ease and removed from the worry and turmoil of a public life, and we cannot but respect the wish."

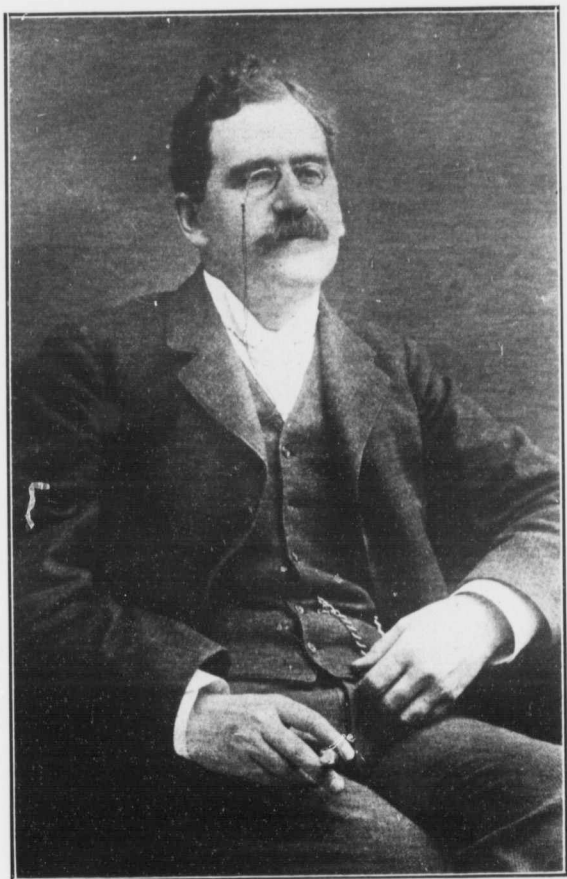
"The Toronto Globe" on the same occasion made reference to the event in the following language:—

"The resignation by Mr. Carmichael of his seat in the Senate is a somewhat notable event, partly because of the nobility and usefulness of the man, and partly because of the rarity of such resignations from the Upper Chamber, Mr. Carmichael is a resident of New Glasgow in the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia. He has had a long and successful business career, and he was for two Parliaments a member of the House of Commons. This was from 1867 to 1871 and from 1874 to 1878, and both in Parliament and out of it he was Mr. McKenzie's steadfast and self sacrificing friend. At his age and with large private interests he finds attendance in Parliament irksome and therefore resigns his seat. His successor, Senator McGregor, is also a resident of New Glasgow. He has been a member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, and thus brings to his new sphere of activity, experience as well as comparative youth. If such appointments became the rule, the process of vitalizing the Senate would soon be found effective".

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JAMES M. CARMICHAEL

CHAPTER XXVII.

Death of his son James M. Carmichael.

MR. Carmichael's last years were saddened by the untimely death of his only son James M. Carmichael, who passed away on March 30th 1902, in the full vigor of his manhood and at a time when his father, then an old man had become accustomed to lean upon him for companionship and advice. He also looked forward to him to perpetuate the family name and carry on the business, and now that hope was gone. During this trying time he showed great fortitude. He cheerfully went on with the work that came to his hand and said little about his loss even to those dearest to him, but we may well suppose that his grief was all the deeper and all the harder to bear by reason of his lack of power to speak about it.

Perhaps the most striking feature of James M. Carmichael's character was his strict conscientiousness and his ardent desire to be just and fair in all that he said and did. He would not wander from the truth himself or permit those about him to do so. If by any accident he used a rash or unkind word he was quick to make amends. In all the relations of life he was loyal and true. His life was not a long one, but it was by no means a failure, for after all the greatest good fortune that a man can achieve in this life, be it long or short, is integrity of heart. The father's hopes were wrapped up in the son and on that chill April day as the white haired man stood beside the open grave on the hill, he was a pathetic figure. Let us draw a veil over the scene, and let us not try to sound the depths of his sorrow as with slow and halting steps he walked away from the spot where so many of his hopes and plans lay buried forever.

His own time was fast approaching. He continued to go to his office each day as usual and while his mental faculties were as vigorous as ever, his step was gradually becoming slower, and for some time before his death he seemed to have premonitions that the messenger would soon come, and in the end he came swiftly.

Only three days before his death he received a letter from Hon. W. J. Stairs of Halifax, and his reply was the last letter he wrote. In this letter he takes occasion to say that he "certainly did not feel old". He never did. The following are the letters:—

April 27th, 1903.

Dear Mr. Carmichael.—You and I belong to a set now fast ebbing away. Our paths have in some ways been on the same line. When they changed, it was because both of us trusted the outlook before the country. Which course was positive and which negative I cannot venture to assume. It has now gone into the past. My feeling is *God bless you* and may the quiet of your remaining days be as happy as any era of your past and good life. Excuse personalities. It is not often we are called upon to express them. My respects to James D. McGregor—may he live long and keep the good name he has secured.

With regards to your daughters,

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) W. J. Stairs.

New Glasgow, N. S.,
29th April, 1903.

My dear Mr. Stairs.—I thank you for your kind letter of the 27th. I confess that I prize highly the good opinion of those whom I esteem and your kind note calls to memory how few there are remaining of the class I have in my mind as contemporaries. Indeed yourself and our mutual friend the Lieutenant Governor, are, I believe, the only ones remaining.

Some few weeks ago I proposed visiting the city and told your sons, John and George, who called upon me, of my intention, but a slight indisposition interposed and prevented my doing so. I am at present wonderfully well and certainly do not feel old, but any slight physical exertion exhausts me.

With very kind remembrances to Mrs. Stairs, I remain.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) J. W. Carmichael.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Messenger.

ON Thursday, April 30th, he went to his office at the accustomed hour and attended to business as usual. He spent the evening in his library and received some friends who called to see him, and to all appearances he was in good health, but without any apparent warning on the following morning (May 1st, 1903) about nine o'clock the messenger came. The medical opinion was that his death was caused by heart failure. At all events that big, manly, generous heart that had beat strong and true for over eighty-three years suddenly stopped, and that life which had come to be regarded by those who knew him best as a sort of benediction, was ended.

His was a striking and unique personality. No mere pen picture can describe him. His stalwart form, his broad honest shoulders—the right one appearing to be hitched up slightly higher than the left—his frank, open face, his shaggy eye-brows, ever kindly blue eyes that lit up and flashed when his interest was awakened, his mass of white hair, a tuft of which seemed inclined to creep down over his forehead, his picturesque figure, his striking white beard, his soft grey hat tipped slightly to the front and left side, the stick that came down heavily at each step, the brusque, but kindly greeting as he suddenly stopped a friend on the street or on the bridge—all these come back vividly as we remember New Glasgow during the last twenty years of the past century.

Everybody knows that one cannot describe a man's personality in mere words. The larger his influence on the lives of others, the more difficult is the task. We

speak of men inheriting their characters, and no one will deny that environment counts for much; but that alone is character which a man has chosen and persisted in all through his life and battled for. Properly speaking, there is no character that is not earned. It was said of the late Mr. Gladstone that he had so lived and wrought that he kept the soul alive in England. I think it was John Morley who once remarked that "the soul will be best kept alive in a nation where there is the highest proportion of those who deem it a part of a man's religion to see to it that his country is well governed."

A man of clean life and clear vision and keen insight, Mr. Carmichael never compromised his principles. His ideals remained with him and events only strengthened the force of his convictions. He never sold the truth to serve the hour, nor swerved from what he believed to be the path of duty. It will be the testimony of all who knew him well that both by precept and example he helped to raise the standard of political and commercial life in the community in which he lived. There was no price on him, he was never in the market. He was unique among his contemporaries and typical of all that is best in the characters of the great men that Nova Scotia produced during the century that has lately come to a close.

He never appealed to men on the lower baser side, but spoke to them as if they were actuated by the purest motives and capable of great things. He never tired of quoting the vision that Isaiah the son of Amos saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem, and pointing to it as the true rule to guide us in this new land in these latter days—"Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment; relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow."

Occasionally he became despondent and expressed his fears that in these years of creeping apathy, men had come to care nothing for that which is high—nothing for the old and kindling dream of righteousness. But these despondent spells soon disappeared. His normal condition was one of hopefulness. He had courage and could stand by a losing cause. He had implicit faith that the right would always win in the end. Is the thing right or wrong? If it be right, it cannot ultimately fail. All was well if all was well at the last. We have triumphed gloriously if, in the end the battle for the right is won and justice vindicated.

His mind was ever open to a new idea and when once convinced his course was clear. He became a determined and enthusiastic advocate of every cause that he espoused. When the late Henry George propounded his doctrine of the taxation of land values, he at once became interested. He studied his published works, subscribed for his newspaper and read all the current literature on the subject. He ended up by adopting George's views and to the day of his death he was a strenuous advocate of this reform. So far as I know there were none of his friends or associates convinced. This made no difference, once convinced in his own mind he never abandoned an idea for lack of sympathizers.

To the last day of his life he stoutly adhered to Free Trade, because he believed it to be right. The fact that it was not gaining ground counted for nothing with him. He brushed aside the arguments of expediency, and even in the darkest days, when the tide seemed to be setting against his pet theory, one listened in vain for a single faint hearted word from him. There is something admirable and at the same time pathetic in the life of a man who sees the light in advance of his time; braves the hardships of a pioneer; blazes a path for advancing thought, and yet does not live to see his

cherished ideas realized. To quote from Dr. Henry Drummond:—"It is given to some to work for immediate results and from year to year they are privileged to reckon up a balance of success. But these are not always the greatest men. The men who get no stimulus from any visible reward, whose lives pass while the objects for which they toil are still too far away to comfort them; the men who hold aloof from dazzling schemes and earn the misunderstanding of the crowd because they see remoter issues, who even oppose a seeming good because a deeper evil lurks beyond—these are the statesmen in the kingdom of God."

CHAPTER XXIX.

Characteristics.

CARMICHAEL was a man—every inch of him. There was no bending or drooping or swaying; no round shoulders, physical or mental; nothing willowy to the wind. He was stalwart, enduring, gnarled, sound as an oak. No one ever flattered him with success; no one ever saw him cower; he never sneaked, he never ran away. His party liked him for that. The man in the ranks always admires the fair, strong fighter with the big chest and the open face, who gives and takes with a smile and an even mind.

Not only was he the idol of his own family circle, but in addition he was unusually rich in his friendships. He was ever loyal to his friends. It often happened that the man who has many friends has no friends, but in his case many of the friendships formed in earlier years lasted all through life. In his numerous political contests it was well known that there were a number of men in the constituency whose sympathies were with the opposite party but whose votes were, on every occasion, cast for him, simply because he had won their hearts by some act of kindness. To the last day of his life he was always strengthening old friendships and making new ones. Under a somewhat brusque exterior he concealed one of the kindest hearts. His was a truly enviable popularity, a popularity for which he never stooped an inch.

He never became listless or apathetic. He was endlessly interested in everything—in the state of the crops, the anxieties of the farmer, the condition of the laboring man, the various election contests, not only in Canada, but in Great Britain and the United States as

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well, in the administration of justice in our courts, the conduct of the press, the trend of public opinion, the new books that his friends happened to be reading—in short in everything that was going on around him.

He was extremely modest. He wrote little and what he did write was seldom made public. His dislike for notoriety often prevented him from taking a more prominent part in controversies where he was well qualified to speak. He detested publicity. His loyalty to truth, his hatred of injustice and his strong individuality were, I would say, his chief characteristics.

He habitually felt more than he said. It was an effort for him to appear on a public platform or to write anything for the press. He was not a fluent speaker. He was well posted on all public questions and the respect entertained for him by the crowd always secured him a good hearing. When he did write for the press he expressed himself with clearness and force.

He was always at his best of an evening in his own library with his pipe well filled and an ample supply of matches at hand and some friend who held opposite views, to argue with him. Very often his antagonist was a clergyman and the subject of discussion was some such question as the Single tax, Prohibition, or Free Trade, and in these cases it was a delight to listen. He was extremely careful that there should be no misunderstanding as to his attitude on public questions. In politics he raised no false hopes; he made no promises. His deeds were often better than his words.

For the last twenty years of his life his library was a sort of debating club. Night after night he sat in his old arm chair at the end of the table propounding his views, often very advanced ones, on the great questions of Church and State and social existence.

Any man who had opinions of his own on any live question was made welcome and was given a fair hearing, but the man who came there feeling satisfied with

himself and the world around him, often left with his idols shattered and his cherished theories demolished. The clergy scarcely escaped. At times he told them frankly to their faces they were in error, not merely only did he tell them but he convinced them, or at all events silenced them by force of argument.

He was a diligent Bible student all his life and held fast to the traditions. His tread was meek and reverent in the secret places of the Most High, and those who knew him best could not but feel that his footsteps were surprisingly familiar there. He never made any parade of his religious convictions, and only those who had seen him in those trying hours when illness and death closed upon those dear to him could understand the depths of his nature and the profound reverence of the man for the truths of that religion of which his life was a vital profession of faith.

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TRIBUTES and LETTERS





EXTRACTS FROM OBITUARIES.

At Rest.—*Morning Chronicle.*

Hon. J. W. Carmichael, of New Glasgow, ex-Senator, entered peacefully into his eternal rest yesterday morning. In recording his retirement from the Senate only a few days ago, the *Morning Chronicle* said: "Mr. Carmichael is well entitled to rest with dignity and honor. He has spent his whole long useful, successful, admirable life in the service of his country—public or private. Whatever he has done, he has at all times done well. There is not a single stain upon his record. He has been as scrupulously correct in his personal as in his public acts. He has been true to his family, his friends, his business associates, his native town, and his political party, as to his country and his religion. He has not hesitated to give even that final proof of loyalty to party, to wit, standing up against his party for his party's good. In short he has been at all times, and is now a credit and nothing but a credit, to himself, to his party, and to his country. He will bear with him into retirement, as he has always in public borne, without abuse, the grand old name of gentleman."

We have only to add, now that Mr. Carmichael is gone out of the bounds of time and space, that we believe every word of the foregoing to be true as it was well deserved.

To his bereaved family and friends we offer our most sincere sympathy. They will surely find much comfort in the thought that, even as he lived, so will he sleep well—after a life which was for him no fitful fever, but a steadfast, purposeful, worthy career.

George Patterson, M.P.P.

"Who that has looked under those bushy eyebrows and seen the kindly humour gleaming in those eyes, needed to be told that Senator Carmichael had a ready ear for the sorrows of the common people and an open hand to alleviate distress; and no one who remembers his public career, who recalls how he met defeat after defeat, rather than sacrifice principle, and how he chose time and again reverse, rather than questionable victory, can doubt that he had that chastity of honor which would feel a stain like a wound."

James A. Fraser.

"In public affairs he early took a prominent part, and in the days prior to Confederation he was the recognized leader on the hustings of the part that followed Joseph Howe.

In 1867, and again in 1871 he was himself elected to the Dominion Parliament, and whatever may be said of his Parliamentary career, friends and opponents alike are as one in admiration of his steadfast adherence to principle. On several occasions he suffered political defeat, for he had the misfortune to be the champion of views in trade matters at variance with those of the majority of Pictou County electors."

Hon. W. S. Fielding.

Senator Carmichael might be called a model man. Throughout the strife, inseparable from the part he took in political affairs, he at all times enjoyed in the largest degree the respect and esteem of the community in which he lived. He was a student—a thinker. On all the important questions of the day he had decided opinions, and always the courage of his convictions. His last

public act was indicative of the character of the man. He had reluctantly accepted a seat in the Senate. He had not sought the place and only agreed to fill it when urgent representations were made to him that his appointment would be gratifying to the Government and to a large circle of old Liberal friends throughout the country, of whom he was a particularly fitting representative. When he found himself less vigorous than usual this year he decided that unless he was able to attend the session he could not retain the position and he insisted on the acceptance of his resignation."

Hon. Wm. Ross.

I knew him well. I can safely say that he was one of the finest men I ever had the pleasure of being acquainted with. He was a staunch supporter of the McKenzie Government and a great admirer of Sir A. A. Dorion and Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He would talk with me for hours over the broad Liberalism of Quebec, which he appreciated, and spoke of so much."

Hon. A. C. Bell.

The late Mr. Carmichael retained the respect and the friendship, not only of those with whom he acted, but as well of those to whom he opposed his strong personality and great influence.

Halifax Herald.

But it was not in politics that Mr. Carmichael made his finest record. It was his honorable business career and exemplary private life that won and ever held the unstinted respect and regard of all who knew him. Of strict integrity, honorable in all things, a kindly and benevolent man and public spirited citizen, Hon. James W. Carmichael leaves behind a record to be respected and a memory that will long be held in honor.

Pictou Standard.

We have not always been able to agree with him, but men of all shades of politics have learned to listen to him with respect and to give him credit for honesty of purpose.

Free Lance.

Years ago an old Conservative gentleman speaking of him remarked to the writer, that Carmichael was a good man and a Christian, which showed that those who enjoyed the privilege of knowing him intimately learned to appreciate not only his business abilities, but his solid worth as the highest type of man.

Hon. A. G. Jones.

"As a public man, his actions might take rank with some of the very foremost of our leaders. His judgment on all matters of importance was very sound and he exercised an influence on all great questions that made his views regarded with the highest confidence and respect".

A Tribute by Mrs. Harrington.

On the casket containing the mortal remains of Hon. J. W. Carmichael lay a beautiful wreath of ferns, sent by Mrs. Harrington of Halifax, daughter of the late Dr. Geddie, the great pioneer missionary to the New Hebrides. The wreath bore this touching inscription, "Aneiteum ferns, a tribute to my father's and mother's friend and the generous superintendent of the building of our first "Dayspring"." It will be remembered that the mission vessel "Dayspring" was built by Mr. Carmichael in New Glasgow about forty years ago.—*Morning Chronicle.*

The New Glasgow Liberal Club.

The New Glasgow Liberal Club embrace the opportunity afforded them by the elevation to the Senate of Canada of Mr. James W. Carmichael, to place on record their appreciation of his services to the Liberal party in the Province of Nova Scotia, and more particularly in the County of Pictou.

They recall with gratitude the invaluable assistance he gave to the candidates of that Party in '50 and '63, his triumphant leading to victory in '67 and '74, and his no less splendid services on those occasions when success did not crown his efforts, especially during the campaign of '96 when he had reached an age which naturally inclines above all things to rest and repose.

They gratefully recognize that Mr. Carmichael was enabled to remain so long the Leader of his party in this County, not by political artifices nor by studied efforts to secure popularity, but because of sterling honesty of purpose and action and inflexible integrity. Mr. Carmichael was always of those who, "whatever record leaps to light, they shall not be ashamed."

While congratulating him upon his elevation to the Senate as a fitting, if tardy acknowledgement of the work he has done for his party and country, they desire to express it as their deliberate opinion that were the Senate wholly composed of men of the character, ability and intellectual strength of Mr. Carmichael, it would go far to make that body respected and respectable. And the ardent wish of the members of the Club in which they feel they voice the sentiment of every Liberal in the County, is that he may be long spared for the performance of those high duties to which he has been called."

(Signed)

W. A. McIntosh, *President.*

R. M. McGregor, *Secretary.*

New Glasgow Liberal Club.

LETTERS.

Inverness, Scotland,
Dec. 1845. Eight o'clock at night.

My dear Cousin.—You will see by the date of this that the eventful year 1845 is just about taking its departure and sinking into the eternity of the past. Well, well, let it go, it was no favorite of mine from its commencement, and now I will dedicate its few remaining minutes in intercourse with my worthy trans-Atlantic blood relations, just leaving sufficient time to say my prayers before 1846 commences. Your letter and Annie's I received today, which we consider very early at this tempestuous season of the year, when a late pastor of ours (Parson Thomas) used to pray, God to have mercy on all who went down to the bottom of the sea in ships, and who see wonders in the deep.

The Inverness railway has not yet received the sanction of Government. We are all quite pleased that Sir Robert is in again, as he is such a friend to railways. You will no doubt be fancying now that I am a share holder to a large extent, but alas, no such thing, though some of my friends are. You remember the beautiful Miss Tair, she is now married to a Mr. Gordon who was in the way of making a fortune by railways when the crisis came on, but he says he does not despair yet, and has no intention of hanging himself. He has promised that I shall be his second wife, and this is the true cause of my interest in railways. I intend going soon to Edinburgh to visit Mr. and Mrs. Gordon with Mrs. Gordon's consent.

The Inverness General Assembly was the finest comedy you could possibly conceive. Four or five hundred men, draped in black with white neckcloths,

declaring that they had done all the good that ever was done on earth and none of the evil. St. Paul's description of his sufferings in the cause of truth was poor compared with the experience of these martyrs, patriots and heroes. We had one of the clergymen living with us, a Supralapsarian Calvinist. I am done with Theology, or I would explain the term, but you will find it in Evan's sketch on the Confession of Faith. I behaved well and did not reveal my sentiments out of pure pity to him, as I know he would not have slept a night in the house if I did, and there was not another bed in the whole town. All the good people kept awake the whole fortnight that the ministers might get their beds, and the middling pious slept on tables and chairs with carpets over them. The wicked kept their own beds, and sure you would not envy them their dreams. My punishment for keeping mine was a fit of rheumatics, which has now left me. Margaret is still in Banff with Olivia the charming. I am supporting her absence with christian resignation. Miss Forbes and I are quite friends, she thinks I will be converted yet, because I write her letters in Margaret's absence.

I read nothing but Shakespeare, all minor works are beneath my notice. My favorite play is Hamlet. I read it every Tuesday (I am serious here). The substance of all the sermons that were ever written, printed or preached is divinely condensed in the King's soliloquy, commencing with "Oh my offence is rank etc." I intend some day writing an essay on the great man. I often sit down to commence it, but I always find my thoughts too big for words, and when I first began him, it was with no prejudice in his favour. I was provoked by the universal esteem he was held in, and I like to find that the world thinks wrong, and I was determined to prove it if possible in this case. Well, at first everything went on to my mind vastly well, his faults, his inconsistencies, his doggeral, his want of a

moral generally speaking, his whole pages of nonsense, sometimes, his unskillful plots frequently, all rose up to my delighted view, but truth will speak, I now glory in his great and many faults, faults that as Dr. Johnson remarks would obscure any other man's merits that ever lived; but I will stop, for sure am I that your unsympathizing mind is at this moment wholly occupied with ship building, lumber and cash, etc.

Many thanks for your kind and generous gift to Margaret and myself, your kind wishes would have been undoubted by us without this proof. As it is we will purchase something that will remind us always of America. I wish you could make a railway across and I would go to see you all in the summer and come back in the winter.

And poor Peter has gone "aloft". Well, well, he will always be Peter Grant to me, for although he left me nothing, I liked the gruff, sulky, honest man.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) Catherine Grant.

Ottawa, May 3rd, 1880.

My dear Carmichael.—Pardon me for not sooner answering your letter. With the greatest desire to be punctual in such matters I have not been able to keep up with my correspondence. We are about closing the work of the Session and I am clearing up arrears. The session has been a sad one to me. My fast friend Holton has gone and now my still older and, if possible, better friend George Brown is dying from the Assassin's pistol.

I have had no heart for the rough and tumble of political life. You would observe that I resigned the

Leadership. On Tuesday I called my old colleagues together and informed them of my determination. Except Scott they all objected, but I think my course was the best, simply to announce my retirement and give no reasons.

I have some thoughts of going to the seaside for three weeks this summer and if so will try and see you for a day. This, however depends on certain business arrangements and I may not be able to accomplish my wish. I was far from well ever since last May and I want very much complete rest for a season.

I am yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) A. McKenzie.

Toronto, May 21, 1881.

My dear Carmichael.-So the vacancy has occurred, and now I suppose you are already preparing for the fight. I am very sorry for your sake that it should not have been delayed till '83, for the prospect of two contests in Pictou is certainly serious, but these things are not arranged to suit us and there is nothing for it but to fight when the enemy throws down the gauntlet.

I had intended long ago to answer your interesting letter, but the pressure put on me by the sudden removal of my partner, Mr. Boyd, has been great. I hope in about ten days to get freedom for a rest so as to be ready for my summer campaign. I enclose you my programme for Nova Scotia which I am despatching to various persons. We have not yet concluded our arrangements, so that I don't know for sure whether my wife will be with me in Nova Scotia. Many thanks for your kind invitation which we accept heartily for one or both of us.

We expect to reach Pictou on Friday the 5th, leaving on Monday the 8th August. But all these arrangements are now subordinated to those for your great struggle, and I am sorry to have to trouble you with them at such a time. Pray let me have a line from you early on the subject of the election, telling me what you can, and believe me with best wishes for you and for the cause and kind regards to your household.

Faithfully yours,

(Sgd.) Edward Blake.

Toronto, June 10, 1881.

My dear Carmichael.—I need not say to you how grieved I am. That you should have had to go through such a siege for such a result is painful in the extreme. I did not count on success, but I did count on a very close thing with a chance of success. When you have been able to arrange the result and form a notion of the causes, pray oblige me by a line explaining them. There is always for you one great consolation—that you have done your duty to the full and if the people prefer darkness to light, after all it is their loss. Of course our friends will be damped by the decisiveness of the defeat, but only for a time I hope. We are made of sterner stuff than to give up while we believe ourselves in the right, and yet I hope to see Pictou give a fairer verdict in 1883.

Adieu my dear friend. I did, at the bottom of my heart nourish the hope that I might have addressed this letter to the member for Pictou, but after all you are what you are, even tho' the people for the moment decline to recognize you.

Yours truly,

Edward Blake.

St. John, July 16, 1881.

My dear Carmichael.—My wife, like other women, has changed her mind, she goes to Halifax when I leave N. B. and proposes coming to New Glasgow on her way home on the 5th or 6th of August, so as to spend a day or two with you and me, leaving New Glasgow when I do. She will write you the day of her arrival and hopes you will forgive her and Sammy, after declining your kindness for thus intruding themselves upon you. I shall be over from the Island on the 4th or 5th and will telegraph to you. I think it very likely that the Huntingtons may come, but they will get accommodation at the Hotel.

In great haste.

Yours truly,

(Sgd.) Edward Blake.

Toronto, June 25, 1882.

My dear Carmichael.—Very many thanks for your letter of the 21st. I am truly glad that the Party is in the temper you describe. The despondency to which you refer often affects me. But I have determined to work all the harder and spare no pains till after the next general election; and it will be time enough then to think "what next". If there be good plain proofs of substantial corruption, either in quantity or quality it will be, I think your duty and interest to protest, but if the case be flimsy it might be otherwise. They say that the corruption in Colchester was glaring and I have strongly pressed a protest there. Will you kindly let me know by letter addressed care of Hon. J.

Burpee, St. John, N. B. the points on the tariff on which the people in your locality are unfavorably affected, and also the points of policy which you have observed important on either side of politics. A full statement from you would be very valuable to me not merely in Pictou but elsewhere.

In haste with every good wish,

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) Edward Blake.

Toronto, January 3, 1884.

My dear friend.—I must write you a line to wish you and yours all happiness for the New Year.

I doubt not you have followed with great interest the political movement. Things have worked not so ill for us this year. Our views as to C. P. R. and N. W. lands and tariff are being realized. Our opinions as to Provincial rights in the matter of escheats and of liquor licenses have been verified. Our predictions as to the effects of the tariff have been largely proved true both as to its doubtful gains to manufacturers, its injurious results to consumers, its uselessness or worse to farmers, and the positive loss inflicted by this excessive taxation in the whole community.

I think the public mind in Ontario is more disposed to receive and consider the truth in these matters than at any former time since 1878. In fact it has been a hard battle "to hold the fort" for the last three or four years; but we may now hope for some change in the public sentiment and are in a condition to make more active demonstrations against the enemy. Not that I hope to do much in the House, but I do hope to affect the people somewhat.

Pray let me have your sentiments and at the same time give me some account of N. S. affairs—cod fishing, shipping, glass, iron, etc. etc.

We had a hard fight in the bye elections and were afraid of being bought out, but the spirit of our people rose. They organized vigilance committees and largely thwarted the foreign emissaries of corruption.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) Edward Blake.

Ottawa, 29th May, 1885.

My dear Mr. Carmichael.—Many thanks for your letter of the 26th. I was quite sure that you were watching with interest our proceedings here. The task which has devolved upon the rank and file of the Party has been exceptionally arduous, and they have certainly developed a capacity for debate beyond our most sanguine expectations. Public opinion has been considerably aroused but I will confess to you that I am ashamed and disheartened to think that such proceedings as have taken place should be required in order to arouse public opinion. The truth is that an almost deadly lethargy seems to have seized hold of the public mind, and I am somewhat doubtful of the permanently good results of the very strong medicines that we have been obliged to administer. The general condition of the country is most serious and things will, I fear, be worse or rather the bad condition will become very much more apparent before there is a turn for the better. Canada at this moment staggers under its load, but I should not feel so doubtful of its future if that were the only difficulty however serious. What makes me tremble is the

lack of a high standard of political morality, the absence of a national feeling and the inattention of the masses of the people to public concerns,

Ever faithfully yours,

(Sgd.) Edward Blake.

Ottawa, Jany. 26th, 1884.

My dear Mr. Carmichael.—Many thanks for your letter of the 23rd, and for the various valuable suggestions it contained. I cannot pretend to you that I have not often felt just as you imagined me to be feeling, and indeed since I came here and observed once again how things are going, these feelings have recurred. It seems to be highly probable that our opposition to improper concessions to C. P. R. Ry. will simply result in certain supporters of the Government insisting as the price of their support, upon further improper concessions to themselves or to their Province, and I sometimes think our efforts to prevent wrong, result only in the commission of still further wrongs. However, one must work and hope for the best.

With reference to the Local Railway aid policy, the whole thing was vicious, but local interests were so strong in many quarters that even from the opposition a united vote could not be obtained. I could do no more than indicate the dangers and difficulties which beset such a policy.

I am sorry to hear that some of your industries are in so unfortunate a condition. I believe, however, your story could be repeated of almost every locality. It is extraordinary how rapidly our predilections have

been verified. I will hope to hear from you from time to time and oftener than heretofore. Your letters always refresh me.

Yours ever,

(Sgd.) Edward Blake.

Toronto, Jany. 14th, 1886.

My dear Carmichael.—Many thanks for your letters, both of which I valued much and which were both helpful to me in different ways.

The only thing that I cling to in the midst of great discouragements is the conviction that in the end right will triumph; and the recollection of the long struggles for the right in times past, leads me to the view that it is our discipline and that the struggle itself is a life-giving and energetic force. The temptation is to use unworthy methods to help on the end; and it is wonderful how many good men are blinded by their eagerness.

Our present condition is most perplexing. I have decided on my line on the question of Riel—a line which will satisfy no one, I daresay, and expose me to much clamour and insinuation, but which I think to be right. With best New Year's greetings and affectionate regards

Yours truly,

(Sgd.) Edward Blake.

NOTE.—After Riel had paid the death penalty, a Mr. Landry, a supporter of Sir John's administration, moved a resolution affirming—"That this House feels

it its duty to express its deep regret that the sentence of death passed upon Louis Riel for high treason was allowed to be carried into execution.

In the division that followed, the "yeas" were 52, "nays" 146. Blake voted with Landry, while a number of the leading men of his own party, including Sir Richard Cartwright, Alexander McKenzie, William Patterson, etc. voted with the majority.

Toronto, Sept. 21, 1887.

My dear Carmichael.—I have to thank you for your letter. I am glad you liked the photo; but indeed I felt a sort of assurance that you would receive it as it was intended—a memorial of assurance of our old friendship.

I will not enter at length into the discussion of the interesting topics on which you touch. I am at this time trying rather to keep current politics out of my head and to do nothing diligently, but I find it very hard work.

As to the tariff, knowing as I did your own view, that it ought to be lowered to about 10% as once expressed to me, I did not hope for your approval of my line, which was based on the absolute impossibility as I conceived, of any great reduction for a considerable time in view of revenue requirements. I am bound to say to you that tho' no doubt there was great anxiety among our friends on the subject, the conclusion reached commanded my own intellectual assent. It is true that many reformers have misapprehended that conclusion, but re-reading my speeches of 82, 86, and 87, and particularly my Malvern speech, I confess myself unable to see that it is open to ambiguity, or that any other course is practicable now than I proposed then.

I have never admitted the principle of protection. I have always expressed myself against restriction. I have never favored restriction for restriction's sake. In the very speech in question I pointed out its evils, but I have failed to see any mode of dealing with our revenue requirements which would not create a very considerable protection. The way to treat this subject practically is to sit down and try to make a tariff, and when that attempt is made I fancy difficulties at present evaded or overlooked will arise and that my views will meet more general acceptance.

As to Prohibition, I was in real truth very reluctant to wound the feelings of sincere friends by saying what I did. But, right or wrong, my views were the sincere result of all the thought I could give to the subject, and I have not changed them yet.

I am now mainly concerned to take, in your eyes, my full responsibility for what I said about the tariff. I may have been wrong, but I *could* not have been so wrong as if I had spoken what I did not believe to be right.

As to commercial union, I can't enter into it now on paper but I think the advocates of it have not faced the difficulties or the questions involved, and if I were to speak now, I should have to press for a solution of some of these, or to give my own, which inclines to the view that the measure has tendencies which its promoters deny. The tendencies may be right, or inevitable, but ought they to be denied or ignored? I think not. They should be met and dealt with. I agree with much which you say about our moral conditions. It is the *root of all the evil*, and till it mends, no cure is possible. Our religion seems unreal and unpracticable. Surely the great political sphere should afford opportunities for the exaltation of the principles of virtue and morality but the ministers adopt the views of their flocks that these are really out of place in politics. And the

masses seem to me to fall lower and lower in this regard, till the heart fails and hope dies within the breast. I suppose it was this, more than all other things together, which broke me down so that I was obliged to give up the struggle.

I am sorry that business looks so dull in your quarters. With us the agricultural interest is certainly depressed, and the value of farm lands is reported to me as depreciated within a few years from 25% to 33½%.

Faithfully yours,

(Sgd.) Edward Blake.

Arthabaskaville,
June 27th, 1896.

Dear Mr. Carmichael.—Your success was more than we expected. Only 71 for Sir H. Tupper is really a defeat for him, and you deserve a great deal of credit and congratulations. I am sorry we won't have you with us at Ottawa, especially now that we are in power.

Your congratulations and those of all the family were received with great pleasure. We know they are sincere and come from the heart, but my dear Mr. Carmichael, if you don't come to Ottawa as a member you will always be welcome at the Premier's house and we hope to see you there before long—not only you, but all the family. Our hearts will be the same in Ottawa as they were in Arthabaskaville. It will only be a greater pleasure there as we can do more for your enjoyment there than here.

My husband is feeling better. I am glad it is over too, for it is a dreadful strain. It is a dreadful experience to go through.

Kindest regards and much love from the Premier
and myself.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) Z. E. Laurier.

Jany., 1897.

Dear Mr. Carmichael.—Let me offer you our warm-
est and best wishes for the new year, just beginning.
May it bring all the good that life can give—health and
plenty for yourself and those around you.

We have had a busy time before Christmas. We
passed a few days at our old home, passed a very enjoy-
able time with Henri and Gertrude and their families.
All were well and happy. Then we had to take our-
selves away for the Montreal banquet, given in honor
of my husband on the 30th. You know by the press
already that it has been the greatest success ever wit-
nessed in Montreal, the great tory city where at present
they all claim to be Liberals. You may imagine what a
proud wife I was to see such an enthusiastic greeting.
Everyone says my husband made the speech of his life
and I think so myself, but as the last is always the best,
let him continue.

I received Carrie's letter some time ago. She
knows that if I did not write since this is none of my
fault. I'll expect her during the Session. I want a
housefull of nice girls to make it gay, besides nice people
like yourself. You must promise a visit to the Premier
and come without fail.

I received a very pretty bon bon dish from Jessie
for which I thank her very much. Much love to all
from the Premier and myself, and wishing you many
and many happy returns of the New Year.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd.) Z. L. Laurier.

May 24, 1898.

My dear Mr. Carmichael.—Did you ever hear of Ralph Erskine's Sonnet on smoking? I have found it in his works and at the risk of being blamed for encouraging bad habits in myself and others, I send you a copy in my bad hand which the young eyes of your daughter Nan may make out.

Ralph, one of the founders of the Secession Church in 1733, was a much more genial man than his brother Ebenezer, and quite as deep and true a Christian, though he did two unclerical things—he smoked and played the fiddle.

I am yours

(Sgd.) Allan Pollok.

Sonnet is printed on
pages 144 and 145

New Glasgow, N. S.
December 19th, 1898.

Dear Sir.—I would have liked to have given you a hasty call and to have shaken hands with you last Friday evening, but was unable to do so as I was visiting a family bereft of most of their worldly possessions by fire that same evening. Therefore this letter, imperfect as it may be will have to serve the double purpose of an apology as well as congratulations upon entering upon another year of your life.

As far back as I can remember anything, I have heard my mother speak of your father and mother in the highest terms. When father and mother came to this place sixty years ago, they found warm friends in your father and mother, who in many ways did a great deal to make their lives more agreeable. This was in the days of the old Kirk, and when my father espoused

the cause of the Free Church and consequently had to make some sacrifices and endure considerable hardship, there were scarcely any more enthusiastic in the movement and who gave all their help and influence than your father and mother. They were always ready and willing at that critical period to assist the struggling Church and cause which I have no doubt, needed all the encouragement and assistance it could get. Often have I heard my mother say—in her earlier years here, did she want anything, did she require assistance in forwarding some scheme or other, did she want counsel from some experienced person about an intricate matter, all she would do would be to go to Mrs. Carmichael and her clear foresight and ready wit would soon settle the matter to her satisfaction.

All such little incidents as these, revived in my memory by the knowledge of your birthday, are pleasing to me. I am glad that I know them and I am sure you will also be pleased to know that the good deeds of your parents in the long ago are known even at this late day.

All your friends must rejoice that you have been spared to live to the age you have arrived at, and that you enjoy a goodly measure of health and vigor. And more than that, that you are able to take a lively interest, in some cases an active interest, in public movements and in public questions. My hope is that you may be spared many years yet to go in and out amongst your many friends and witness yet many more changes that seem so prolific in this wonderful scientific age of invention.

With the best of wishes, etc., I am dear sir,

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd.) William D. Stewart.

Halifax, Dec. 24, 1898.

Dear Uncle James.—I noticed a few days ago in our newspapers that you had reached the good old age of 79, and in common with your many friends throughout the Dominion I join in congratulating you and trust that it may be God's will to spare you for a number of years yet as a fine example of the Christian merchant and gentleman.

It is a good thing for one who has lived to such an age to feel as you do, that he enjoys the respect, esteem, and confidence of his fellow men of all classes and creeds to such an extent, for I think it shows that notwithstanding imperfections which are inseparable from sinful man, it can at least be said that "he tried to do his duty".

I send you under separate cover a little book containing many wise utterances of that great statesman so lately laid to his rest and whose memory will be revered for many years, which please accept with the season's greetings and in the hope that in God's good Providence you may be spared to us a goodly number of returning anniversaries.

I remain, your loving nephew,

(Sgd.) George Mitchell.

Brooklyn, N. Y.,
Jany. 14, 1899.

James W. Carmichael, Esq.,
New Glasgow, N. S.

Hon. and Dear Sir.—Having just read in the editorial column of the "Pictou Advocate" bearing date the 6th inst. the remarks of the Editor—Senator Carmichael on your appointment to the Senate.

Permit me to tender my very cordial congratulations on your elevation to the same, with my fervent wish that you may long be spared to grace the position with honor to yourself and the Dominion of Canada. I most heartily endorse the opinion expressed and statements contained in said paragraph.

Although political opponents in the past, during the seven years I had the honor of representing the noble County of Pictou in the Provincial Parliament, I am pleased to state it never interfered in private life with our personal friendship or business transactions, more especially in the hour of adversity you did not think it beneath your dignity to proffer a helping hand.

Hoping you may see your way clear (altho advancing years might point otherwise) to accept, accompanied with the approving smile of an All Wise Providence, directing your pathways through life to the pearly gates above, is the prayer of your sincere friend,

(Sgd.) Hugh J. Cameron.

Glasgow, Park Terrace,
Jany. 9, 1900.

Dear Mr. Carmichael.—I hear of you from Captain Meikle and others. It's a long time since we first met and I believe altho' we have done a great deal of business together so far as I remember we have never had an unpleasant word. Our friendship has been true and real and I believe with our sons as well as others of our families the same true friendship will continue.

I am 80 years old in a few weeks and cannot now be long here so that we are not likely to meet here again, but I am not without hope we shall meet where there is no parting.

This dreadful war we must all deplore. Many people here think it was quite uncalled for. The loss of life will be great.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd.) Jno Black.

Halifax, N. S., 11 April, 1902

My dear Senator.—I was much grieved to hear of your great bereavement in the death of James, your only son. I, too, know what it is to lose an only son. There is this difference between you and me, that I have had to bear my loss longer than you have in the course of nature. But there are always circumstances to counterbalance this or any other fact that might be mentioned, and there are peculiarities in every bereavement and every sorrow.

Very well do I remember James as a little child running about with a rollicking motion on the street in front of your cottage which stood on the site of what is now your office. It is hard to realize that one so much younger should go before us, but how many you and I have seen going before us into the unseen world. Life is full of mystery and no more of the future is revealed than we can know or is needful to strengthen us in the path of duty. "Now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face, etc." In our weakness and ignorance we can do little more than leave all in the Hands of Him who does and will do according to His pleasure and for our profit. His works are perfect and however much we may be perplexed we know that all shall be right in the end.

I desire to be kindly remembered to the girls and to your circle.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) Allan Pollok.

Kensington Gate, London,
May 3rd, 1902.

My dear Friend.—I have just received the sad news of your son's death. My wife and I join in the expression of a deep sympathy with you in your grief. We have never forgotten the few happy days we spent in your house, and I need not say, I trust, how strong are the ties between you and me. I very well remember the last time I met your son, when he stopped me in the park here and we had a chat. It is sad when men are taken in the midst of their work. But I know he had long been delicate and anyway these things are beyond our comprehension.

Good-bye my dear friend.

Ever faithfully yours,

(Sgd.) Edward Blake.

Pine Hill, Halifax,
May 1st, 1903.

Dear Miss Carmichael.—I was very much saddened this afternoon by the word that reached the city of the departure of your father. Though at his time of life one is prepared for such a message, it comes with a great shock especially when it is so sudden.

Your father was one of whom as a Canadian I was and am always proud and I regard it as one of my great privileges to have known him so well. I shall never forget those delightful evenings at your fireside when his pure blue eye would sparkle, his fine white head of hair almost quiver with some earnest word, or again when he would fairly shake with humour.

He was never an old man to me. He was always young, and he was so kind to everyone else—so unselfish, so independent, so utterly upright, and with what to me was the crown of his noble character, so profoundly reverent, and of such childlike faith in God.

(Sgd.) Robert Falconer.

Ottawa, May 1st, 1903.

Dear Friends.—I cannot express to you the extent of my sorrow at the sad news of the death of our beloved friend Mr. Carmichael. I could hardly believe my eyes reading the news page.

If friendship, true friendship, is of any use you know you have ours entirely. The love and admiration we had for him still remains for the daughters. We must all be thankful that he was spared from a long illness and we live in the hope that we may meet again.

(Sgd.) Z. E. Laurier.

On the occasion of the trip to Great Britain taken by the Misses Caroline and Anna Carmichael in the S.S. "Micmac" shortly after the death of their father, accompanied by Hannah and Drummond Matheson, a sort of Round Robin was prepared for them en route by the friends assembled at Parliament in Ottawa, as follows:—

Dear friends.—As you sail on Saturday next, I am sending you a few mementos from myself and some friends of your late father and yourselves.

I received Carrie's letter for which I feel grateful. Be assured that no words of mine could fully express my love for your father. I am sending a poor "In Memoriam". It contains the truth, though poorly expressed. I wish you a very pleasant voyage, as well

as health and happiness while abroad. Let not sorrow for your loss overmaster you. I would remind you that he, in all his bereavements, bore himself as became a Christian. Commend me to Mrs. James and family.

May God bless and keep you safe while abroad and may you return to your friends as soon as convenient in the fulness of comfort and health. Your return will be hailed with joy by all, and by no one outside of your relatives with more pleasure than by myself and family.

Ever yours,
(Sgd.) D. C. Fraser.

Ottawa, June 23rd, 1903.

May you sail under a cloudless sky and be rocked to sleep by ocean's murmurings and melody. May the sun shine brightly on you wherever you travel, and may God have you in his care and keeping through all your life.

This round robin was signed by the following M. P's. and Senators:

John Lovitt	Thomas McKay
Joseph Matheson	W. S. Fielding
W. Templeman	John Charlton
L. P. Brodeur	Wilfrid Laurier
James Sutherland	D. C. Fraser
C. H. Parmelee	Chas. S. Hyman
F. H. Borden	Wm. Paterson
H. J. Logan	John V. Ellis
Sydney Fisher	M. K. Cowan
F. B. Wade	David Wark
(Signed)	C. F. McIsaac
	Alex Johnston
	H. R. Emerson
	John Tolmie
	Arthur Kendall

Yours sincerely
(Signed) George Landerkin.

**Extract from a letter of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's
to Miss Carmichael, December 5th, 1905.**

"I feel the loss of your father, who from the earliest days of my political career always was my warm friend. At all times I relied upon his active sympathy, upon his wise judgment, upon his valuable advice. I have come to this point in life that I dare not look behind and count all the dear ones who have fallen by the way. Though it is my good fortune to count many new friends, these old affections cannot be replaced."

Dear Sir.—I beg to acknowledge receipt of a number of the "Hansard" containing the official report of the Debates in the House of Commons. Thanks for your generosity in this respect, and I trust you will continue your benefactions during the Spring, as I am anxious to see the arguments of our great men for and against Free Trade and Protection, a many sided and complicated question. I may note in this connection that I received all the debates from the opening of Parliament to Page 148, but from that page to 165 a break occurs. I see by the debates that you have on two subjects broken on your wonted silence. First on the shipping question (which appears to be the hobby of the Hon. Peter Mitchell) in relation to the establishing of a Canadian Lloyds, and secondly on the coal question. This latter subject has caused the Tories to crow loudly in this county and to misrepresent your motives and action in this matter, with their wonted malice and disengenuousness. I don't pretend to give any matured opinion on this subject but I think if the Americans want to take off the duty on our coal it would be far more to our advantage than to impose a tax on the people of Ontario which would increase the price for

them without affording us the facilities to give them a reasonably cheap article. But while admitting your views, as you gave expression to them in Parliament, were in the main correct, what do you think of them as a matter of policy? Was it prudent for a representative of a coal producing county to act as you saw proper to do? Did you not fancy you saw the "Standard Man's" countenance, when you gave the long wished for opportunity of attacking you. You must, with your usual astuteness, have foreseen all this and yet with tragic heroism you gave utterance to sentiments which are no doubt your honest ones, but which in the view of your opponents seal your doom as the representative of this coal producing County.

There are many who think you gave a "valuable impulse" to the so called Liberal Conservative reaction which is so much talked of in this County. But when the subject is properly understood it is more than likely your conduct, however impolitic, was right and justifiable. It may be necessary for you to address a letter to your constituents, explaining this subject in all its bearings and during the recess it is likely you will do so, as it is much needed in order that the people may fully understand a subject in which they most undoubtedly feel a deep interest. So much for your first speech, so much talked of here.

Yours etc.

(Sgd.) Alexander Machardy.

IN MEMORIAM.

My Friend and Teacher the late Senator Carmichael.

My eldest trusted faithful friend,
Who kindly formed my untutored mind,
In truth of things he better kened
Than others. Things mixed with dross
In meaner minds, but to his calm
Penetrating glance clear as the sunlight.
Those things that do concern the poor
And rich alike. Things underlying man's
Best and highest interest and state
In life's stern struggle and his future life
When toil shall cease and all things new begin.
To him I owe much I have learned
Of true economy within the state—
How best to govern so that all
Might have their share of God's good gifts
Of wealth and labor; so that each,
And not the chosen few, might share
The Father's bounteous plan for all.
In vision clear with prophet eye
He saw the future, and so far
As in his power, he fashioned
Life's duties to speed on that future.
To sham and glitter he was ever
A sturdy foe, and though born to rule
He lived his days content to serve.
His life was one long tribute to
The higher life he saw and lived.
Though I and others knew him great,
He was himself the very soul of modesty;
With childlike trust and rugged faith
He served the Master. To him, to see and live

And speak the truth, to him was more
Than party triumph or all earthly gain.
His ripened years, made mellow
By much severe and trying sorrow,
Grew sunny under every crushing blow
Till full of undisturbed and perfect trust
He bade good-bye to life with joy
And calmly fell asleep to waken
To hear his Father bid him welcome
In that bright home for which his life prepared him.
Oh, what a blank to those he loved
His going home has made
In Church and State, both which he served,
But to his kin be this the solace—
That he has left to them a richer dower
Than he or they or earth could purchase,
To me, where can I find so true,
So honest, or so wise a counsellor.
Yet I shall not repine, but aim
To live the things he taught me, and
So copy him that I may win with him
The higher, purer, better life,
And to the blessed land he now inhabits
I so may choose my steps with faith like his
That from my last sleep here, I too shall waken
And in a happier clime "Bid him good morning".

(Sgd.) D. C. Fraser.

SMOKING SPIRITUALIZED.

in Two Parts.

PART I.

This Indian weed now withered quite
Tho grown at noon, cut down at night,
Shews thy decay
All flesh is hay.

Thus think and smoke tobacco.

This pipe, so lily like and weak
Does thus thy mortal state bespeak
Thou'rt even such
Gone with a touch.

Thus think and smoke tobacco.

And when the smoke ascends on high
Then thou beholdest the vanity
Of worldly stuff
Gone with a puff,

Thus think and smoke tobacco.

And when the pipe grows foul within
Think on thy soul defiled with sin,
For then the fire
It does require,

Thus think and smoke tobacco.

And such the ashes cast away
Thus to thyself thou mayest say
That to the dust
Return thou must.

Thus think and smoke tobacco.

PART II.

Was this small plant for thee cut down?

So was the plant of great renown

Which mercy sends

For nobler ends.

Thus think and smoke tobacco.

Doth juice medicinal proceed

From such a naughty foreign weed?

Then what's the power

Of Jesse' flower

Thus think and smoke tobacco.

The promise, like the pipe inlays,

And by the mouth of faith conveys

What virtue, flows

From Sharon's rose,

Thus think and smoke tobacco.

In vain the unlighted pipe you blow;

Your pains in inward means are so

Till heavenly fire

The heart inspire

Thus think and smoke tobacco.

The smoke, like burning incense towers

So should a praying heart of yours

With ardent cries

Surmount the skies,

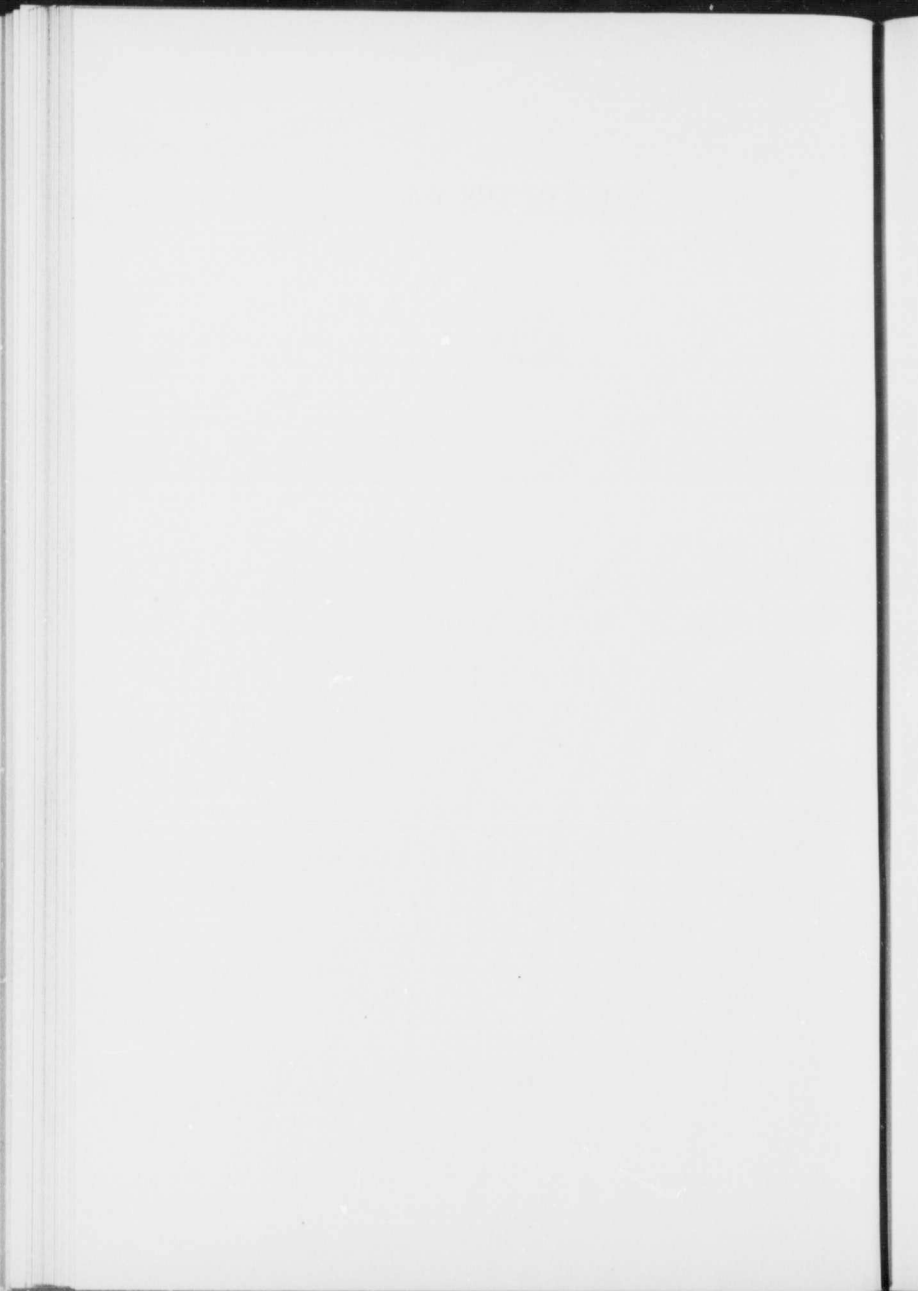
Thus think and smoke tobacco.

—*Ralph Erskine.*



TALES OF THE SEA





Stories of the Sea.

The writer has often had an interesting half hour talking to one and another of the old salts who commanded Nova Scotian ships in the early days. If one could collect the sea stories that are the folk lore of every harbor and hamlet on the coast of Nova Scotia, it would form a very interesting chapter of our history, and do much to keep alive that love of adventure which has been always characteristic of our people.

The following tales of the sea may prove of interest to those who knew the ships and the men referred to:—

The Captain's Return.

Captain George McKenzie about the year 1848, on the occasion of one of his voyages to Britain, was given up for lost. He had a good passage over; his ship arrived safely in Glasgow with the usual cargo of ton timber. He sold both ship and cargo and took passage home in a boat belonging to the Collins line, called the "Atlantic", plying between Liverpool and New York. When more than half way across the ship met with an accident to her machinery and became disabled. It was the beginning of winter and the weather was stormy. The prevailing wind was westerly. The "Atlantic" was one of the old fashioned paddle boats and made little or no progress under sail against head winds. For days she stubbornly maintained the unequal struggle, but she was only drifting.

The captain became alarmed at the situation of his ship. There were a number of other sea captains among the passengers besides McKenzie. A consultation was held and a variety of opinions expressed as to what should be done. The Captain appealed to McKenzie. The latter without any hesitation advised that they should take advantage of the prevailing westerly wind and put back to Liverpool.

After several additional days were lost vainly battling with the gales McKenzie's advice was accepted. The ship's paddles were chopped off to make her more manageable. Her course was reversed and she was headed for Queenstown where she arrived after a long and stormy passage.

This was before the days of the Atlantic cable and the ship being long overdue, was finally given up for lost, but to the surprise of everybody, several weeks later McKenzie suddenly arrived in Halifax. The report reached Pictou first, and the late A. J. Patterson skated up the river to carry the news to New Glasgow. When it spread around, it gave rise to the wildest rejoicing. Work in the shipyard was suspended. The next day was by common consent declared a holiday. The hero was to arrive by the coach that came by Mount Thom. A procession was formed with a piper at its head. When the crowd met the coach they set up a rousing cheer. McKenzie at first in the confusion could scarcely realize what it was all about, but when he took in the situation he was annoyed at them for making so much fuss about nothing and ordered them off home bluntly telling them that they were a lot of - - - fools. They took no offence, as it was well known to them all, that in his heart he was pretty well pleased at the general rejoicing over his safe return.

An Unlucky Voyage.

The "Saga", a barque of 499 tons was built in Carmichael's ship yard in 1869. Her first voyage was a very unfortunate one, resulting in the loss of several lives. She was launched in September and promptly loaded at Pictou with coal for Montreal. She was commanded by the late Captain Angus Chisholm.

After discharging her cargo of coal she loaded grain for Bristol. At Bristol, Captain Chisholm left the ship

and Captain John Garvin took charge. His crew consisted of the Captain's two brothers, Stewart Garvin mate, David Garvin carpenter, and eight sailors. Captain Garvin's wife and child were also on board.

At Cardiff she loaded coal for Cuba. While discharging at Santiago, Thomas Forbes, one of the crew, contracted yellow fever. He only lived a few days; he became sick on Tuesday and was buried at Santiago on Friday.

The ship, after being fumigated, removed to another Cuban port and proceeded to load sugar and molasses for New York. Notwithstanding all the efforts made to free the ship from disease she carried the germs of the malady with her. Alex Mann was the first to succumb. The plague soon spread among the others. The victims, in addition to Thomas Forbes, were Captain John Garvin, his brother David, William Betts a German and Johnnie Ford, the cabin boy. The ship called at one of the Bahama Islands where the Captain's wife and child and a sailor named Lycon left her. She came to New York in charge of Stewart Garvin and after satisfying the quarantine laws and discharging her cargo he brought her back to Pictou.

It will thus be seen that in making her first round trip she changed her captain three times and lost more than half her crew by death. The only survivors of the original crew who returned in her were Stewart Garvin, Roderick Graham of New Glasgow, John Glover and Alex Major.

A Rudderless Ship.

The "Thiorya" launched in 1876 was a barque of 1174 tons. At the time of the following incident she was commanded by Captain John George Graham.

On her voyage from Savannah to Liverpool she encountered a heavy easterly gale about mid ocean.

The wind ceased as suddenly as it began, leaving the ship helpless and the big waves running like hill-tops. At this juncture the ship, in an effort to climb one of those enormous billows, had just reached the crest, but not having sufficient pressure in her sails to carry her over, fell backwards and, her stern striking the water with great force, she broke her rudder.

Her situation for the time being was critical, as a rudderless ship in mid-ocean is a helpless affair.

A number of plans were tried. The one that was successful was a device by which a large cask connected with the wheel by spars and chains hung over each quarter and it was found that the course of the ship could be changed by submerging one cask while the other hung high out of water.

Captain Graham, despite his novel steering gear, made a good passage across. At the "Tuscar", some one hundred and sixty miles out of Liverpool, on a fine Sunday morning he sighted a tug. He cleared everything off so that the tug would not discover that he was disabled. He began bantering with the Captain of the tug, who of course was anxious for business. Captain Graham professed to be quite independent and informed the Captain of the tug that he could get to Liverpool as quickly as he could himself.

The tug was going to Liverpool anyway and she could well afford to tow him in for the price of her coal. The bantering ended by the Captain agreeing to give the tug £35 for the job. When the Captain of the tug discovered that he had towed a disabled ship for the paltry sum of £35 when he might have made £500, there was some profanity in the air, but Captain Graham reminded him that a bargain was a bargain, and that he must stick to his agreement. The underwriters were so pleased with Captain Graham's management of the business that they made him a present of forty guineas.

A MURDERER ON SHIP BOARD.

The story of the escape of Butler, the Australian desperado and murderer and his flight from Sydney to San Francisco in the "Swanhilda" in the disguise of a sailor, created a great deal of interest at the time and was graphically described in all the great daily newspapers of the United States, and Australia. The following account of the incident is from the pen of Captain Colin Fraser, at the time Master of the "Swanhilda."

"I arrived in Newcastle, N. S. W. in the four masted barque "Swanhilda" on October 13th, 1896. The next day five of my men deserted. Men were very scarce at the time and several ships were then detained waiting to complete their crew.

On the 15th Captain Brooks, Manager of the Sailor's Home told us there were four men in the House who had recently been paid off from an American ship. They wanted to go in the Swanhilda and would wait until she was ready. There was another man, he said, who would also go if we were going to San Francisco direct. We were chartered to deliver a portion of the cargo at Honolulu and the balance at San Francisco, the charterers having the option of ordering me direct to San Francisco. I was of course, glad to get the men as they were so scarce, and on the 18th of November when Mr. John Brown of J. & A. Brown told me he was going to send me to San Francisco direct, I at once called on Mr. Brook to see if the man who wanted to go to San Francisco was still in the House. He replied that he was still anxious to go to 'Frisco. I then told him to have the five men at the Shipping Office at 10 A.M. the next day when I would sign them on the articles.

They were all there on time. The four who were paid off from the American ship I knew were all sailors,

but the fifth, who was so anxious to get to 'Frisco, did not look just like a sailor, so I asked him if he were an able seaman and if he had any discharges. As he did not offer to produce them, I asked him to let me look at some of them. He then turned his back on the other men and commenced fumbling in his pocket. Seeing that he hesitated I asked him again to let me look at them. He then partially pulled a parchment document out of his pocket and I saw at once that it was a Board of Trade Certificate. I did not look to see whether a Master's, Mate's or second Mate's as either was quite good enough for an A. B.

He then signed the articles. After signing he turned around to me and asked when the ship was going to sail. When I gave him the date he pulled the certificate out of his pocket, opened it out and put it in my hands. On looking at it I saw that the name was Lee Millington Weller and that he had passed his examination in London some ten or twelve years previous to this.

Occasionally we get men in the forecabin who have been Master or Mate in years gone by, and thinking that possibly he had to get away from Australia I simply said "that was too bad", (having reference to going in the forecabin when he should have been officer) and passed him back his certificate.

The crew were all on board on the morning of November 23rd: Weller being the last to turn up, about an hour before we sailed. Towards the evening, when we were some distance off the Harbour, while the Mate and I were walking the poop, I remarked to him that there was one man among the new hands shipped who had a Master's certificate and he enquired who he was. I had forgotten the name, but on going to the chart room and referring to articles I told him it was Weller.

About a week after this while the mate and I were talking he remarked that I must have been mistaken

about Weller having a Master's Certificate, and on my asking why, he replied that he was no sailor. The mate was a thorough seaman himself and I thought that he probably gave him some fancy work to do which he could not expect him to be handy at, as having a master's certificate so long he might not have been in the forecandle for years. The mate then said it was not that, but that he was no sailor anyway. I replied that he could steer all right as I had seen him at the wheel and he was big and strong, quite able to pull and haul and he would just have to make the best of him until we got to 'Frisco.

Nothing out of the ordinary happened until about a week after this, or when we were fourteen days out from Newcastle. About 2 P.M. I noticed a steamer coming up on our starboard quarter and as in sailing ships we were always anxious to get reported by passing ships I told the second mate, whose watch it was on deck, to hoist our signals. We kept them flying quite a long time and I had just told the second mate to have them hauled down, as they did not appear to see them when I saw the steamer run up the answering signal. We then hauled down our signals and dipped the ensign to him. To my surprise however, instead of keeping her course to the N. E. the steamer altered her course and headed down on the "Swanhilda".

I could not understand why they did this, and the only conclusion I could come to was that probably a recent shoal had been discovered which was not on the chart and the steamer being a coaster and acquainted, saw we were heading for it and wanted to warn us. I made this remark to the second mate in hearing of the man at the wheel.

The steamer still kept heading towards us and when they were quite close on our port quarter, ran up the signals which read—"Heave to, I have something important to communicate". I at once ordered the

mainsail and cross-jack to be hauled up and backed the main and cross-jack yards. In the meantime the steamer had stopped, lowered a boat, and in a few minutes the second officer of the steamer was on board.

When he came on the poop he had a bundle of newspapers in his hand. Introducing himself, he said that Captain McBeth sent his compliments and thought I would like to see this (referring to the papers). I asked him what it was and he replied "*A great murder case*".

I asked him into the chart room when he showed me a paper folded so as to show about a half column marked with pencil. I read the article over and found that several murders had been committed. It was headed "The Mountain Mystery." This article gave an account of having discovered the body of a young man named Preston and saying that the murderer, Butler, had been traced as having sailed in the "Swanhilda" and also that detectives had been sent to meet the ship at San Francisco, two going direct and one by way of London to get the necessary extradition papers.

Having read over the article I said to the second officer of the Steamer (which proved to be the "Tanbo" bound for Auckland, New Zealand to the Island of Raratonga) that I had no man on my articles by the name of Butler. Of course he might have shipped under an assumed name, but so far, I told him, my crew had been exceptionally well behaved and there was not a man amongst them that I would pick out as a murderer. However, I said, "You or no one on board the steamer can identify him and I want you to tell Captain McBeth that I am much obliged for the information and will just have to keep on my guard in the future."

Before going away the Second officer of the "Tanbo" gave me another bundle of papers which was a whole week's file of an Auckland paper, with wrapper addressed to Captain—S.S. "Tanbo".

I saw the Second Officer and boat clear of the ship and then we proceeded on our passage. Just after they left it occurred to me that if by any chance I had this man on board it would be just as well to let the remark I made to the second mate about the shoal account for the steamer stopping, knowing that the man at the wheel would spread the report forward. So I went on deck and altered the course a point to the southward. I then went back to the chart room and opened the bundle of papers. All of them had some reference to the "Mountain Mystery" but I think the second one I looked at gave an account of having discovered the body of another of Butler's victims, viz. Captain Lee Millington Weller. Then the whole thing flashed upon me in a moment. Having Weller as able seaman in the fore-castle, the suspicious circumstances at the shipping office and the mate saying he was no sailor, I was now almost certain that Butler had committed all these murders and then taken the name of Captain Weller. However I read all the articles carefully and cut out all the items having reference to the murders. The steamer by this time was out of sight and the question was—what was I going to do?

After carefully considering the matter for some time I decided to tell all to my mate Thomas Meikle, whom I knew I could trust. So when he was going below at eight o'clock I gave him the cuttings from the papers, telling him to read them over carefully and after doing so to come up to the chart room and let me know what he thought of them. This he did, and when he came to the chart room remarked "We have got the man anyway", "What," I asked, "Do you think we had better do with him?"

He replied, "I suppose we will have to put him in irons". "No" I said, "this was my first thought too, but we are two months distant from San Francisco and if we put him in irons now we will have to have one man

out of each watch to watch him and that will make us three hands short."

"Seeing that all his victims were carefully buried and no cry of any of them having been missing at the time we sailed, I don't think he has any suspicion that the murders have been discovered, and he will probably be on his good behaviour until landed in 'Frisco. However he is in your watch and I want you to watch him carefully, without letting him know that you are watching him, and if he misbehaves in any way in connection with his duties we will put him in irons. If not, we will just let him go on as at present and turn him over to the authorities on our arrival."

It turned out just as I had anticipated. We had not the slightest trouble with him during the passage and from several things that happened I knew that he had no idea he was suspected. At the same time he must have been anxious to get away from the ship as the evening before our arrival he knocked at the chart room door and when I told him to enter he did so, closing the door after him. He then asked if I would kindly let him go on our arrival in 'Frisco as he would not like to have his friends know that he had been before the mast. I, of course promised to let him go, knowing the police would be after him before he could get on shore.

We arrived off the Faraclonnes on the evening of February 1st, 1897 and about 9 P.M. were spoken by a tug-boat captain who enquired the name of the ship. When I replied "Swanhilda" he at once steamed away without even asking if I wanted a tow.

In about an hour he returned towing a pilot boat and, hailing the ship, asked me to heave to for the pilot, and commenced a long yarn, saying it was customary for ships to get their orders outside sometimes to proceed elsewhere. Fearing he would say too much I cut him off as quickly as possible and in due course got the pilot on board, but he was only a few minutes on

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board when the tug captain commenced talking again, evidently trying to find out something about the murderer.

I saw there was going to be trouble if he was allowed to remain within speaking distance and I asked the cost of towing. On getting his reply (\$150.00) had the tow line made fast and proceeded.

The Pilot now produced a long typewritten letter from the Chief of Police at 'Frisco. The Chief of course assumed that I did not know I had the man on board. so after describing some of the murders, he went on to say that he was a most desperate character, they were most anxious to get him and as he would escape or commit suicide rather than be taken he went on advising me what to do, viz. take my chief into my confidence, make some excuse to call the man aft and then put him in irons.

After reading over this letter I told the Pilot it would now be unsafe to call Weller (as we called him) aft for anything, as after the way the tug captain had been talking he would be sure to be suspicious and if he was the desperate character they thought he was we would never get him.

The Pilot then said that all the Pilots on the Station had a copy of this letter and they all had instructions to see that I carried them out in full. This of course I would not do, and told the Pilot that he would simply have to attend to the piloting of the ship, being careful not to speak to any one, and I would attend to turning the man over to the Police on our arrival. The Pilot now told me all the arrangements that had been made for our reception.

The detectives had been camped on the wharf for about a fortnight and had arranged with the Pilots that if we should arrive during the night we were to burn a flash light when passing a certain point. The detectives would then come off and make the arrest

before we anchored. After getting all this information I called the mate and repeated it to him, at the same time telling him that when we passed this point he was to keep all the men employed forward, leaving only the second mate and one boy aft with me, and when the Police launch came along side I would call it the doctor's launch, which is always the first to board ships on arrival at 'Frisco. I also told him he was to keep the men forward until I called for them to come aft for the Doctor's inspection, and as it would be dark I cautioned him to keep alongside Weller for fear I would miss him, as it was very dark just before daylight on the morning of Feby. 2nd.

At the appointed time the flashlight was shown and in a very short time the Police launch was alongside, when City Marshall Baldwin, several 'Frisco detectives, two Australian detectives and a number of newspaper reporters came on board. Seeing so many men, I was afraid that if Butler saw them he would be suspicious, so I ran down on the main deck and met Detective Bunner, who appeared to be in charge. He asked me if Butler was on board and if he was in irons. I replied that he was here but not in irons. He seemed much exercised over this, but I told him the man was quite safe and if he would send all the men he did not require for the purpose of making the arrest, back in the launch I would turn the man over to him. The reporters then went back in the launch and the Australian detectives hid on deck. I then called to the mate to muster all hands aft for the doctor's inspection.

As it was quite dark several of the men passed me but I did not recognize Butler and as I told the mate to keep near him I was afraid that I had missed Butler, so I approached the mate and he pointed behind me when I recognized Butler and immediately put my hand on his shoulder saying to Bunner, "This is your man."

The detective immediately pointed a revolver at

him, at the same time telling him to hold up his hands, and several detectives seized him. Butler seemed to be quite cool—much more so than the detectives, and asked Bunner what all this meant. He was then taken into the forward cabin, where the warrant was read over to him and when the ship was brought to anchor he was taken on shore and lodged in jail.

Butler was charged with several cold-blooded murders. There was proof that he had committed no less than five. His usual plan was to go out to the bush prospecting for gold and return to town after a few days with a wonderful story of a new discovery. In this way he would induce some prospective purchaser to accompany him to the woods, murder him and rob him of his money and clothing and cover up the body in the hole dug to show the supposed gold mine.

The evidence against him was clear and convincing, but the San Francisco lawyers found numerous reasons for opposing the extradition papers. The proceedings lasted three weeks and cost the Government of New South Wales \$7,500.

Butler's exploits were placarded on all the bulletin boards. It was the talk of the street. People crowded to the jail and Court House to see him and secure some memento. The ladies sent him flowers. A large firm of shoe dealers bought his old boots at a fabulous price and exhibited them in their window. The same was done with his hat and a cigar that he had partly smoked. With the money made in this way he was able from day to day to keep up the legal contest. However it came to an end. The extradition papers were finally issued and the prisoner ordered back to Sydney.

After he learned the result of these proceedings he attempted to commit suicide in the jail and was only prevented from doing so by the officers. In conversation with a visitor to the jail he said that if he had known that plans were being made during the voyage

for his capture at San Francisco, that there would have been no Captain Fraser to tell the tale, and no "Swanhilda". His trial came off shortly after his arrival in Sydney when he was found guilty and promptly hanged.

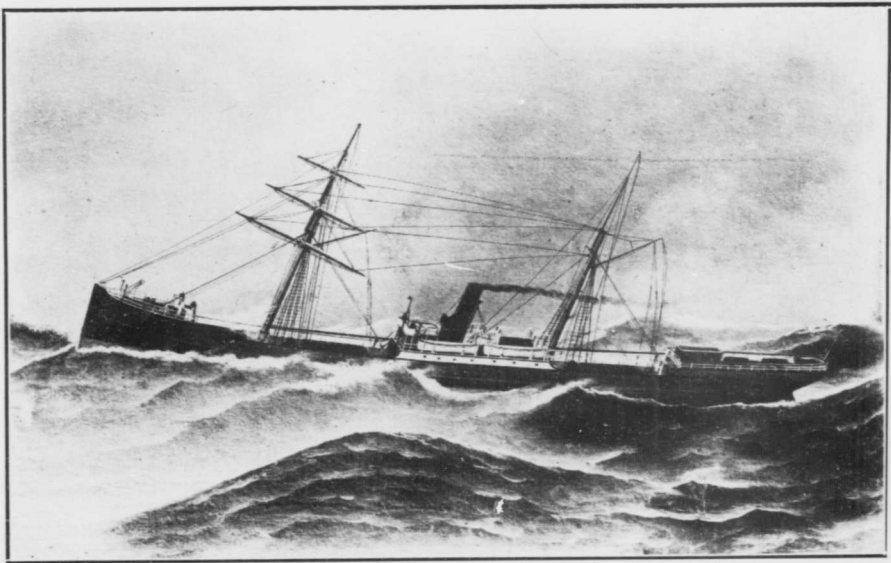
"WRECK OF THE MICMAC."

The following account of the wreck of the Steamship "Micmac" was written by Donald C. Sinclair, one of the passengers.

The "Micmac" had been three days out and had run into fog. She was now on the dread Newfoundland coast which has become the grave of many a fine ship. The steamer was proceeding carefully—the Captain and Chief Officer on the bridge and a man for'ard peering into the gloom. Every two minutes the whistle boomed out a warning, greatly to the amusement of Tanto, an Irish terrier owned by the Captain. He would rush to the whistle, bark, rush back again and wait for the next blast.

The "Micmac" was a British ship of 1600 tons register and was owned by J. W. Carmichael & Company Limited, was bound from St. John, N. B., to Liverpool with deals. Besides her crew of twenty-four she had four passengers, two of whom were young girls, nieces of the Captain, crossing the ocean for the first time.

Slowly and carefully the ship felt her way through the fog, stopping every hour to take soundings. Eight bells went; the watch was relieved. The second mate came on deck, but the Captain remained silently in the corner of the bridge. Soon the port watch were all asleep and everything was quiet. Two bells went. The man on the lookout cried "Lights are burning bright, sir." "All right", answered the Captain for the second mate was aft sounding.



S. S. "MICMAC"



The Captain blew a blast on the whistle as usual. With the echo, which returned immediately, came a crash, then another and another as the gallant ship pounded on the rocks. There was no confusion. The engines were reversed at full steam astern and the helm put hard over. The mate rushed on deck, called all hands, who were soon assembled amidships, and orders were given to swing out the boats. This was done quickly and quietly. As the orders to lower away was given, the steward and his assistants stood by with bags of biscuits and canned meat which was placed in the boats.

But what were the passengers doing all this time? They were awakened at the first shock and, getting up quickly, dressed in warm clothes and got on deck. The girls kept perfectly cool and did not show the least sign of fear. When they reached the deck everyone was busy. The Captain stood on the bridge blowing mournfully on the whistle an appeal for help. The boats were now secured level with the rail, ready for immediate use. The Chief Engineer was sounding the tanks, while the officers got the depth of water fore and aft. The fore peak and Number One holds were full of water and Number Two had about two feet. The rest of the ship was dry. The pumps were started and the water in Number One hold was held in check.

Soon some lights appeared on shore and in a few minutes a boat was alongside manned by four fishermen in oilskins. From them it was learned that the ship was about eight miles north west of Cape Pine. The sea was smooth and the ship rested easily, so that nothing remained but to wait for daylight. The men stood around in groups on the deck, quietly discussing the situation. The most composed man on the ship was the cook, who had the galley fire burning and soon all the men were drinking strong coffee.

The two young ladies went below and set about

packing their belongings and when that was finished laid down to get a little sleep, but sleep was almost out of the question as the sea rising a little, the ship began to pound and at each pound she would quiver all over.

When day broke it was possible to see our position. We had struck on the eastern side of a little cove almost under a high cliff which towered away to starboard. The stern was so near the shore that you could almost reach the cliff with a ladder. On the port side there was a little cover where about one hundred fishermen spent a few months in the summer, following the cod along the coast. In a short time scores of boats were alongside and the deck was crowded with men in bright yellow oilskins. They were very curious and examined everything carefully. The two chief points of interest were the galley where the cook was busy preparing breakfast, and the engine room where they gazed with wonder at the ponderous machinery. The cook gave them bread and a great pan full of stew which they crowded around like a flock of chickens about a dish of scraps, all seizing whatever they could and eating ravenously.

Word was despatched to St. John's for assistance the messenger having to travel eight miles over bog and barren to the nearest telegraph office.

The ship showed no signs of breaking up so all hands stood by her. It was a lonesome feeling, everything was quiet except for an occasional quiver as she pounded on the rocks, and the throb of the pumps which were kept going.

The crew wandered aimlessly about or sat in the fo'castle smoking and telling their experiences in former disasters. In this way the long day wore on. Dinner was eaten by a silent company in the cabin. It was now felt that the ship was doomed and must be abandoned.

More boats arrived during the afternoon and the crowd on the cliffs above gazed with hungry eyes upon the ship which they hoped soon to plunder. The cook

still kept cheerful and during the afternoon carefully scrubbed out his galley, although he felt that he might have to leave it at any moment.

As night approached the sea arose and it was thought advisable to land the girls in case the men might have to take to the boats during the night. Accordingly a boat with a couple of hammocks was sent ashore and a shack was prepared for their reception. As soon as tea was over the boat from shore was alongside pitching about at a great rate. The boys then went down the side ladder, landing safely in the boat, the girls were put into the life-boat which was well secured with a painter fore and aft to keep it from being dashed against the side. Two sailors took their places, one by each fall, ready to let go the blocks the moment the boat struck the water. Then she was lowered away. When about five feet from the water the falls were let go and she struck with a splash. The fishermen's boat was soon pulled alongside, the girls were quickly transferred and the boat, getting clear of the ship, set out for the shore. A man who stood in the stern steered with a long oar. When the shore was reached the boat was turned around and backed down, stern first on a buoy from which a rope led to the beach. This rope was taken on board the boat, the oars taken in, and every one laying hold of the line the boat was soon pulled ashore. When she struck the beach all the men jumped out, catching hold of her and with the aid of the people on shore pulled her up high and dry. The passengers were then escorted by the whole population to the shanty which had been prepared for them. It was a hut about 10 x 6 x 4½ feet, made out of small poles covered with bark and with a sod roof. At one end was a fireplace made out of ship plates, a grim reminder of some former wreck. A chimney of wood led from this to the roof. A wooden bench around two sides completed the furniture, the natives crowded in until there was hardly

standing room. They would push each other over on the bench and gaze curiously at the strangers. After a good many hints they took their departure and the four young people prepared to get a little rest. The girls took the hammocks, while the boys laid down on the floor beside the fire. They had hardly got settled when a knock came to the door and two men walked in. They introduced themselves as the policeman and wreck commissioner from St. Mary's, seated themselves on the bench and after getting the particulars of the disaster showed no signs of leaving. Finally, after much persuasion, they left and things became comparatively quiet. The sound of the surf on the pebble ridge and the gusts of wind which rocked the house combined to make the feeling a lonely one.

The long night wore on. There was little sleep in the shanty as it was bitterly cold and wood was scarce. The floor was hard and draughty so that all were glad when the day broke. The steamer was still resting in the same position, but the sea was higher and the wind fresh and she was pounding continually.

Breakfast was the next thing on the programme. A fire was lighted and soon a teapot was simmering, it being held by a hook swinging from a bar in the chimney. The box of canned goods was opened and all four squatted on the floor around it. The ones nearest the fire made toast, while the others opened cans of tongue, milk, cocoa, etc. Soon all fell too with a will, but hardly had they started when the door was opened and a head was stuck in. "Good morning, how did ye's rest", said the head. After this salutation the head withdrew and breakfast was proceeded in peace. But soon the same head came through the doorway and behind it a long body which seated itself by the door. He was here this time to stay and no mistake, so a plate of tongue and a half loaf of bread were given him. He carefully set aside the knife and fork and then settled down to eat.

Eating with these people is not a recreation—it is a grim and serious business. In an astonishing short time he had cleaned up his plate with the last remaining piece of bread and, with not so much as “thank you” took his departure. The dishes were then put away and cameras in hand our party started out to inspect the village. It was built under the shadow of high cliffs down which tumbled two tiny water falls which, uniting, rushed on to the beach where the water disappeared in the pebbles only to reappear a few feet distant and flow into the cove. The huts nearest the beach were made partly of spruce boughs and were used chiefly for drying fish. There was in all about a half acre of level ground which was crowded with these huts. The population was about one hundred and fifty, all strong men clad in long leather boots, rough jerseys and trousers. They spent their time during the summer in fishing along the shore, going up the bays and into the interior in the winter. But there was no thought of fishing that day. All eyes were on the wreck and everyone was waiting for the crew to leave so that they might get a chance to plunder. They were very polite to the passengers, asking each one in turn “How did ye’s rest”? which seemed to mean “good morning” in Newfoundland.

After looking over the village our four friends started to climb up the cliff and walk out to the point which over-looked the wreck. The wrecking steamer had just arrived from St. John’s and a survey was being held. It was soon seen by the party on the cliff that the ship was to be abandoned as the crew set about tearing off the brass and removing the compasses, glasses, etc. to the boats to be transferred to the tug.

When the young people returned to the cove all was bustle and excitement. The news had reached the shore that the ship was to be abandoned and everyone that could move rushed axe in hand to the boats to

board the "Micmac". The boats now came ashore to convey the passengers to the wrecking steamer, and it was with a glad heart that they bade farewell to Broad Cove.

The boat, with its three stalwart fishermen, was soon launched through the surf and set out for the tug which was quickly reached. She was pitching about in great style and it was no easy matter to get on board her safely, for one minute her rail would be almost under water and the next moment you would be gazing at her bottom. The only way to get on board was to jump when the little boat was on the crest of a wave just before the steamer started to roll. The girls behaved like Trojans, jumping at the right time, and soon all were safely landed on the tug's deck.

In the meantime, they had been far from idle on board the wreck. Rope, brass, and fittings of all kinds were transferred to the "Ingraham", for such was the name of the wrecking steamer. The sea was rising and the Captain of the "Ingraham" decided that it would be dangerous for him to remain alongside the wreck any longer. The order was given, "pack your clothes and get ready to leave the ship at once." Everyone was busily engaged and it was then that the Newfoundlanders got their innings. Everything began to go. The cook went aft to get some flour out of the store-room and was followed by a hungry gang who started to help themselves. Several hams on the wall took their fancy, but the cook was going to have a say in the matter. Seizing an axe which lay near he made for the nearest fisherman who, with his comrades turned and fled forward pursued by the cook. The galley stove was covered with pots in which soup, fish, meat and vegetables were cooking. While the cook had been aft a raid had been made on the galley. The soup could not be carried in the boat so one chap stuck his hand into the soup pot and, seizing the meat in it made off. Another removed

the roast from the oven, and the cook just got back in time to see the fish kettle and three pies go over the side. Everything movable was finding its way into the fishermen's boats and it was with difficulty that the crew held on to their belongings.

The clothes of the crew soon arrived on the tug and finally a boat load of men. Then came the last boat, bearing the officers, engineers, cook, steward and the Captain, who was the last to leave the ship. As the boat came round the stern a sea hit the vessel with a splash, sending a sheet of water over the boat and its occupants and in this way the "Micmac" bade the crew farewell.

The tug's anchor was raised and with the life boats in tow started off for St. John's. She arrived there next morning and all hands were safely landed.

APPENDIX I.



Ships built in New Glasgow and registered in Pictou, between 1840 and 1883.

Name	Builder	Tonnage
1840.		
Bee	George McKenzie	33
John	George McKenzie	181
Alert	James Carmichael	53
Minstrel	B. L. Kirkpatrick	399
Eliza	George McLeod	377
Sesostres	George McKenzie	632
1841.		
Mary	Adam Carr	74
Clesostratus	George McKenzie	435
Ann	Murdock McKenzie	75
Euclid	George McLeod	501
New Glasgow	B. L. Kirkpatrick	34
Aurelean	B. L. Kirkpatrick	471
Sesostres	George McKenzie	561

Name	Builder	Tonnage
1842.		
Gem	James Carmichael	73
Margaret	James Chisholm	60
Helen	John Smith	45
Volant	Thomas Graham	236
Adam Car	Mary Car & Wm. Fraser	335
Betsy	James Graham	43
1843.		
Pythagoras	Thomas Graham	236
New Glasgow	B. L. Kirkpatrick	34
Helen	John Smith	45
Egerton	James Carmichael	307
Clipper	B. L. Kirkpatrick	132
George	Alex Cantley	44
1844.		
Three X. Councillors	Thomas Graham	51
Nantilus	James Graham	280
Syren	B. L. Kirkpatrick	96
Planter	B. L. Kirkpatrick	92
1845.		
Oregon	Thomas Graham	338
Dispatch	Frederick Green	24
Aberfoyle	B. L. Kirkpatrick	496
Hyndeford	James Carmichael	510
Caroline	B. L. Kirkpatrick	60
Linden	B. L. Kirkpatrick	306
Sutledge	Thomas Graham	163
1846.		
Rover	Thomas Graham	81
Sarah	James Chisholm	92
Invermore	B. L. Kirkpatrick	549
Brunett	B. L. Kirkpatrick	174
John McKenzie	George McKenzie	905
Bess Grant	Thomas Graham	360

Name	Builder	Tonnage
1847.		
John Geddie	James Carmichael	391
Cora Linn	William Graham	84
Blonde	B. L. Kirkpatrick	672
Rover	George McKenzie	881
Argo	B. L. Kirkpatrick	187
Janet Kidston	James Carmichael	899
1848.		
Georgina	James Carmichael	107
Thomas Graham	Chas. & Wm. Cantley	99
Lulan	James Carmichael	472
Aunt Mary	Thomas Graham	385
1849.		
Phantom	James Carmichael	126
Matilda	Donald Green	54
Isabella	Alexander Cantley	68
Bessie	John Crerar	230
Ann Black	George McKenzie	502
Glasgow	Thomas Graham	296
Clarence	George McKenzie	565
1850.		
Rambler	Thomas Graham	182
Montgomery	George McKenzie	848
Kohinoor	George McKenzie	314
Pluto	Samuel Amard	37
Ripple	George McKenzie	108
Ripper	Thomas Graham	128
1851.		
Bride	Thomas Graham	396
Pursuit	Charles Cantley	135
Osprey	Frederick Green	65
Hamilton Campbell Kidston	George McKenzie	1444

Name	Builder	Tonnage
Helen Stairs	James Wm. Carmichael	129
Bloomer Lass	Thomas Graham	124

1852.

Roderick	Wm. Forbes	148
Catherine Glen	George McKenzie	1326
Orator	Alexander Cantley	128
Fanny Bloomer	Thomas Graham	142
Maria	George McKenzie	131
Ottaman	Donald McDonald	145
Caroline	George McKenzie	126
Ann Menett		211

1853.

Annie	Thomas Graham	248
Sonora	Thomas Fraser	173
Coronet	Donald McDonald	169
Henry Poole	George McKenzie	240
South Boston	Wm. Forbes	197
East Boston	George McKenzie	199
South Pictou	Thomas Graham	213
Argus	Thomas Graham	236
W. H. Davies	George McKenzie	876
Custos	Thomas Graham	288
St. Mungo	George McKenzie	492

1854.

Kalka Pira	Thomas Fraser	288
Shooting Star	Donald McDonald	290
Pilot	Thomas Graham	302
Black Swan	Wm. Forbes	306
Voltigeur	George McKenzie	350
Magna Charta	George McKenzie	1465
Stentor	Thomas Graham	380
Prima Donna	Donald McDonald	319
Meteor Flag	George McKenzie	591

Name	Builder	Tonnage
Alma	George McKenzie	1108
Fat Killer	Thomas Graham	207
George McKenzie	N. G. Steamship Co. of N. G.	48

1855.

Elizabeth	Thomas Graham	176
Light Brigade	Donald McDonald	302
Mary Ann Duffus	Alexander Cantley	338
Isabella Hamilton	George McKenzie	296
Mechanic' Own	John Milne	228
Eleanor I. Davies	Thomas Graham	173
Black Watch	George McKenzie	481
Sebastopol	George McKenzie	992

1856.

Roger Stewart	Thomas Graham	412
Canrobert	Thomas Fraser	362
William Milne	John Milne	185
Archibald Glen	Wm. Dand & Angus Chish- olm	392
Highland Brigade	Donald McDonald	370
Disraeli	George McKenzie	779
Christian	Thomas Graham	197
Paragon	Rodk. McGregor & Wm. Forbes	348
Beaulieu	George McKenzie	141

1857.

Annie Laurie	George McKenzie	276
Nina	Thomas Graham	229
Spey	Jas. Wm. Carmichael	91
Alkmaar	George McKenzie	254
Coquette	George McKenzie	123
Dred	John Fredk. McDonald	139
Ida	John Milne	222
Helen Morrow	Donald McDonald	393

Name	Builder	Tonnage
Mary	Thomas Graham	431
Mary Bell	Donald McDonald	124
Margaret Grant	Thomas Graham	144
William Kidston	George McKenzie	792
1858.		
Tyra	Donald McDonald	276
Bedouin	Jas. Wm. Carmichael	293
Rechabite	Rodk. McGregor & Wm. Forbes	327
1859.		
Ardina	John Milne	216
S. D.	Wm. Dand & Angus Chish- olm	227
Orlebar	Jas. Wm. Carmichael	285
Glengarry	Donald McDonald	288
Ticino	Jas. Wm. & John Robert Carmichael	130
1860.		
Tana	Malcolm McGregor & Jos- eph C. Graham	156
Scotland	James McKinnon	299
The Prince	Jas. Wm. & J. R. Carmich- ael & Donald Cameron	308
1861.		
Lifu	Finlat Cameron Malcolm	297
Cabot	McGregor & J. C. Graham Jas. Wm. Carmichael	597
Kenmoore	John & D. S. Crerar	507
Pathfinder	Wm. G. Crerar	506

Name	Builder	Tonnage
1862.		
Radama	Rodk. McGregor & Wm. Forbes	348
Katherine Maude Viking	Donald McDonald Wm. Stairs & J. W. Carmichael, Angus Chisholm & Thos. McColl	337 597
Dunkeld	Donald McDonald, John & D. S. Crerar	378
1863.		
Katherine Jane Iona	Hugh McKinnon J. Crerar & Donald McDonald	378 367
W. Greenough	D. McDonald, J. R. Noonan & Hugh Munroe	252
Lochiel	Findlay Cameron & J. C. Graham	348
Normandy	J. W. Carmichael & D. Cameron	449
Dayspring Norn	Rev. Jas. Bayne Jeffrey McColl	312
1864.		
J. C. Morales	Peter Crerar	513
Lord Clyde Rambler	George McKenzie Jas. McKinnon & D. McDonald	1010 296
Wimburn	J. W. Carmichael, Jas. McGregor jr., & P. A. Gregor	489
1865.		
Let Her B Boomerang	James Hyland Peter Crichton	169 379

Name	Builder	Tonnage
County of Pictou	George McKenzie	683
Edgar Cecil	Daniel Ward & Daniel Anderson	434
1886.		
W. Gordon	Wm. Gordon Donald McDonald & Daniel Mc- Donald, Robert & George	237
John Doull	Doull	549
1868.		
Minnie Gordon	J. C. Graham Finlay Cam- eron, G. W. Underwood & John Millar	436
1869.		
Othere	J. W. Carmichael & others	647
Saga	Jas. W. Carmichael	499
1870 .		
Adriatic	J. T. Ives Jno. Ferguson & others	436
Gunhilda	Jas. W. Carmichael	499
1871.		
Ragnar	Jas. Wm. Carmichael & others	993
1872.		
Tamora	J. R. Noonan & others	499
1873.		
Donald Ferguson	Thos. Graham & others	586
Astrida	Jas. W. Carmichael & others	999
Commissioner	Chas. Jas. Graham & others	399
Embla	Jas. Wm. Carmichael & others	592
Sacramento	Jas. Little & W. R. Read	568

Name	Builder	Tonnage
	1874.	
Halgerda	Jas. Wm. Carmichael	1087
Assiniboine	J. H. Fraser, Alex Fraser, Duncan McKaracger & others	566
	1875.	
Alpha	Thos. Fraser N. G.	25
Steinvora	Jas. Wm. Carmichael	1099
	1876.	
Maria	Jeffrey McColl	323
Laura	Jeffrey McColl	328
Thiorva	Jas. Wm. Carmichael	1174
Sylph	Jas. Bowman	2
	1878.	
Hilda	Jeffrey McColl	719
	1880.	
Suliteima	Jas. Wm. Carmichael	964
	1881.	
Arngunda	Jas. Wm. Carmichael	978
	1883.	
Silica	Jas. C. McGregor	299

Eratta. On page 35 the ship Silica should read 299 tons.

APPENDIX II.

**The following is the Record of Pictou County in
Federal Politics Since Confederation.**

Date	Candidates		Total		
			Vote Cast	Con. Maj.	Lib. Maj.
1867	James W. Carmichael	(L)	2,011		358
Sept. 18	James McDonald	(C)	1,653		
1872	James McDonald	(C)	2,327	205	
Aug. 15	Robert Doull	(C)	2,328	315	
	James W. Carmichael	(L)	2,122		
	James Kitchen	(L)	2,011		
1874	James W. Carmichael	(L)	2,178		68
Feb. 5	John A. Dawson	(L)	2,124		1
	James McDonald	(C)	2,110		
	Robert Doull	(C)	2,123		
1878	James McDonald	(C)	2,747	314	
Sept. 17	Robert Doull	(C)	2,681	305	
	James W. Carmichael	(L)	2,433		
	John A. Dawson	(L)	2,378		
1882	John McDougald	(C)	2,709	312	
	June 20 Chas. H. Tupper	(C)	2,681	361	
	James W. Carmichael	(L)	2,397		
1887	John A. Dawson	(L)	2,320		
	John McDougald	(C)	3,413	490	
	Feb. Chas. H. Tupper	(C)	3,334	595	
	A. C. Bell	(L)	2,923		
	John D. McLeod	(L)	2,739		
	1891 John McDougald	(C)	3,369	660	
	March Chas. H. Tupper	(C)	3,411	688	
1896	James A. Fraser	(L)	2,723		
	John Yorston	(L)	2,709		
	Adam C. Bell	(C)	3,503	166	
	Chas. H. Tupper	(C)	3,577	288	
	James W. Carmichael	(L)	3,337		
	E. M. McDonald	(L)	3,349		

Date	Candidates		Total Conser. Lib.	
			Vote	Maj. Maj.
1900	Chas. H. Tupper	(C)	3,623	100
Nov.	A. C. Bell	(C)	3,615	177
	E. M. McDonald	(L)	3,523	
	Jas. D. McGregor	(L)	3,438	
1904	E. M. McDonald	(L)	4,148	
	Adam C. Bell	(C)	3,716	432
1908	E. M. McDonald	(L)	4,336	
Oct. 26	Chas. E. Tanner	(C)	4,037	299
1911	E. M. McDonald	(L)	4,211	274
Sept. 21	Adam C. Bell	(C)	3,937	

