IN THIS ISSUE:
In Search of Port La Joye
The Case of E.O. Brown
Elections and Privilege, II
Carrying the Mails
James Jeffery Roche
Passenger Lists
The Island Magazine is a semi-annual publication of the human and natural heritage of Prince Edward Island.

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## CONTENTS

**Number 27 Spring/Summer 1990**

### Letters

2

### Articles

3  
The Search for Port La Joye: Archaeology at Île Saint-Jean's First French Settlement  
*Rob Ferguson*

9  
The Case of E. O. Brown  
*John Sutherland Bonnell*  
*with Margaret Bonnell McCuaig-Johnston*

15  
Parliamentary Privilege and Electoral Disputes on Colonial Prince Edward Island, *Part Two*  
*J. M. Bumsted*

22  
Carrying the Mails, 1763-1861  
*Alison Ann Heckbert*

31  
James Jeffrey Roche: Irishman, Islander, and Boston Man of Letters  
*Thomas B. O'Grady*

### Genealogy

38  
More Elusive Immigrants, *Part Two*  
*Douglas Fraser*

### Reviews

42

### Contributors

45

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*Cover:*  
The sound and the fury: Robert Harris, *Voting in Charlottetown*, pencil-and-ink sketch, 1872.
Letters should be mailed, with your name and address, to The Editor, The Island Magazine, The Prince Edward Island Museum and Heritage Foundation, 2 Kent St., Charlottetown, P.E.I., C1A 1M6. Because of space limitations, it may not be possible to publish all letters. The Magazine also reserves the right to edit for length and clarity.

A Little Learning

This letter is to raise a small point re the article by Dianne Morrow entitled “A Little Learning: Early Education on Prince Edward Island,” which appeared in Number 26. In the caption for the photo on p. 33, the author calls into question a schoolboy’s spelling prowess by noting his use of the form “substraction.” The Oxford English Dictionary (1933) gives “substraction” as an alternate spelling to “subtraction.” The OED calls it “illiterate,” but gives a quotation from Carlyle from 1827, implying that the form was in standard usage at approximately the same time the schoolboy used it. It therefore appears that young John Tanton may have been equally adept at spelling as he was at sums.

David K. Cairns
Dieppe, New Brunswick

More adept than the editor, who actually wrote the caption, not Dianne.

Ghosts in the Machine

The article “A Beginner’s Guide to Island Land Records” (Number 25) provides valuable assistance to anyone using Island land records in connection with genealogical research. There is an error on page 40 though; fortunately, it does not impair the usefulness of the article. In his survey of the Island, Samuel Holland laid out 14 parishes, not five.

In the same issue, a gremlin has been at work in your cartographer’s office. On the map of Prince Edward Island on page 21, two lots have been designated Lot 61. The northernmost of the two is Lot 59. Also, the lot immediately north, designated as Lot 56, is actually Lot 66.

W. Earle Lockerby
Mississauga, Ontario

Our thanks to Mr. Lockerby — and our apologies to Lots 61, 59, 56, and 66.

More Bear Facts

With respect to “Bear Facts,” in Number 22 (Fall-Winter 1987), my mother, Maybell (MacEachern) MacDougall, born in Cardross, Prince Edward Island and 96 years old but very alert mentally, tells me her grandfather — I think his name was John — was widely known as “John the Bear Killer.” I’m quite sure she said he had killed 56 bears in his lifetime.

Catherine (MacDougall) Conrad
Cornwall, P.E.I.

Help Wanted

On 12 July 1790, 328 Scottish Catholics sailed from Drimindarach bound for St. John’s Island (Prince Edward Island). The passenger lists for these vessels were printed in The Island Magazine, No. 1 (Fall-Winter 1976). Does anyone out there have further documentation that would indicate if these emigrants disembarked on Prince Edward Island or where they subsequently settled? Information can be mailed to:

James Lawson
100 Hazelwood
Box 1223
Hudson, Quebec
JOP 1H0

Thank you.

War and Remembrance

Your recent article on the Boer War (“Islanders and the Boer War,” Number 26) prompts me to write you a personal story. Perhaps it will put another face on the stories of war, more from a woman’s point of view.

As a child on one of my infrequent visits to the City, I was shown the Boer War monument by my grandmother. She asked me to read the names of Taylor and Riggs. This is the story she told me.

That grandmother was Mary Jemima Crossman. On that hot day in July 1903 when the Boer War monument was unveiled, Mary was there to give moral support and comfort to her sister Sadie. Sadie had been betrothed to Alfred Riggs, who did not return. That day the two sisters were there to remember Alfred in a special way. Guarding the monument were Island militia; one of them fainted in the heat and fell at the feet of Mary and Sadie. That is how Mary met her future husband, George Yorston of Georgetown, my maternal grandfather. So, in a funny way I am who I am because of that monument.

I was not able to find out if Sadie was what we call “officially” engaged. Certainly, there was an understanding between her and Alfred. Sadie did eventually marry; indeed, she married twice, and is buried in Vancouver. Her effects were here in our home, and when I became interested in them, my grandmother Mary was able to talk a bit more about her and remind me of this story, which might otherwise have been lost. She died in 1961.

Bea Mair
Georgetown, P.E.I.
**THE SEARCH FOR PORT LA JOYE:**

Archaeology at Île Saint-Jean’s First French Settlement

View of Port La Joye and its proposed fort in 1734. Three buildings on the Gallant property lie immediately to the right of the fort. A fleet of Micmac canoes crosses the water in the lower right corner of the sketch. Port La Joye was a meeting place for the annual distribution of gifts from the King of France to the Micmac people.

By Rob Ferguson

Such accidents are not uncommon in Island history. While crossing the North River in April 1737, a treacherous season for travellers, Michel Haché-Gallant broke through the rotting ice and drowned. At his death Gallant was in his mid-70s, the patriarch of a large, extended family of Acadian colonists, and had spent 17 years in the French settlement of Port La Joye on Île Saint-Jean. Besides his considerable progeny, he left behind a farm near the colony’s administrative headquarters. Eighty years later New England militiamen put it to the torch.

Two and a half centuries later, in 1987 and 1988, a team of archaeologists from the Canadian Parks Service located and unearthed a dwelling on Haché-Gallant’s land, seeking insights into the first French settlement on Prince Edward Island.

**Port La Joye**

The colonization of Île Saint-Jean was begun as a private venture by the Comte de St. Pierre, who had received conditional title to the island in 1719 from the Duke of Orleans, Regent of Louis XV. Previous attempts at settlement by Europeans had been limited and impermanent. In 1720 St. Pierre sent three ships from Rochefort, under the command of the Sieur de Gotteville, with farmers, fishermen, craftsmen, and 30 soldiers of the Compagnies franches de la marine for the colony. Port La Joye, situated on the southeast shore of present-day Charlottetown Harbour, became the military and administrative centre of the colony.

By 1721, 16 French and 4 Acadian families had established farms on long, narrow plots of land along a small stream at Port La Joye, raising cattle, sheep, and pigs and growing crops of grain and peas. Immigrants also came to the colony from New France. By 1725, however, the Compagnie de l’Île Saint-Jean was being assailed by its creditors in France, and most of the French settlers returned home. A map of the settlement in 1730 shows that many of the properties at Port La Joye were taken over by the sons and married daughters of an early settler, Michel Haché-Gallant.

After the failure of the Comte de St. Pierre’s venture, the remnants of his settlement were administered by the Crown. In 1726, a company of 25-30 men of the Compagnie franches de la marine was sent from Louisbourg to protect the...
Joye dig to detect changes in the electrical properties of the soil. The size of the garrison remained essentially unchanged during the French years, and it proved little obstacle to invaders. In 1744, war broke out between France and Britain. The following year the great French fortress of Louisbourg fell to a force of New England militia. In the aftermath of that disaster, Port La Joye was abandoned by its inhabitants and garrison. A British force arriving on the island later that summer burned the buildings and left the village in ruins.

Four years later, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle returned the colony to the French crown. Port La Joye again became the military and administrative centre, but little of the farming community was re-established. A number of temporary wooden structures were built for the garrison on the site of the previous fort.

In 1755, Port La Joye became an important port of entry to the island for Acadians fleeing the mass deportation from Acadia. Three years later, however, Port La Joye was itself used by the British as a base for the expulsion of Island Acadians from the newly conquered territory, and the town's history came to an end.

The Archaeological Search

The historical value of the Port La Joye site has long been recognized because of the prominence of the earthworks of Fort Amherst, built in 1758 by the British conquerors and occupied for the next ten years by a small garrison. This part of the present park was extensively excavated by John Rick of the National Historic Parks and Sites Service in 1963. Of the substantial occupation by the French and Acadians — the garrison defends, government buildings, church and farm houses — no visible trace remains; two hundred years of farming have levelled the ground. It was in recognition of the importance of Port La Joye as the first permanent European settlement on the Island and the home of its Acadian ancestry, that the Canadian Parks Service initiated an archaeological survey for its remains in 1987. The search for Port La Joye had begun.

The archaeological crews were largely composed of Islanders, including professional archaeologists and students. These crews provided excellent work and dedication, including several days of volunteer labour at the end of the 1988 season to complete the research.

Before commencing work at the site, a search through the historical documentation (compiled by Barbara Schmeisser of the Historical Research Section in Halifax) gave us a good indication of the community layout. Armed with this information, we began the survey by shovel-testing along transects, or lines, across five areas, including the site of the garrison, the property of Michel Hache-Gallant, farm sites on the west bank of the stream, one on the south bank, and a possible farm site at the back of the Gallant property. Where results seemed promising, we expanded our efforts to larger, more controlled excavations.

The survey was greatly aided by the use of a conductivity meter to record electrical properties of the soil below the surface. Readings are used to create contour plans showing changes in the soil. These changes could be caused by differences in the composition of the soil, the presence of rock, or even quantities of metal objects. We hoped the technique would reveal undisturbed cellars, stone foundations, wells, and other features deep enough to have survived the farmers' ploughs.

The Elusive Garrison

The computer maps drawn from the conductivity survey indicated a large square feature, equal in size to the original fort, located on the northern slope below the later British fortification. The buildings were large wood-frame structures on stone foundations, with chimneys of stone, brick, and clay. Several also had cellars. Plans for a large ditch and earth ramparts around the fort were never realized, but a simple wooden palisade may have been constructed around the buildings. Garrison facilities consisted of a soldiers' barracks, quarters for the commandant and officers, a storehouse combined with a chapel and quarters for the chaplain and surgeon, a bakehouse, a stone powder magazine, and a well. A small battery stood on the edge of the cliff below the fort.

Shovel tests in the garrison area revealed that the soil had been badly disturbed by later farming, except for one test, which revealed a deeper deposit full of hand-forged wrought-iron nails. A test trench, opened in 1987 and expanded in 1988, provided evidence of the 18th century military presence, including musket balls and gun flints. The relatively high social status enjoyed by French officers was suggested by pieces of beautifully decorated, fine tablewares that originated in the potteries of Rouen in France. Careful excavation yielded evidence of a temporary building constructed in 1749 for the new garrison. There were faint traces of building trenches into which the wood foundation of the structure was set, but the techniques we could not determine from the amount exposed by the dig which building we found. We were unsuccessful in locating traces of the more substantial earlier buildings, but the conductivity plans suggest areas where future testing might be profitable.
Excavations in one of the temporary buildings of the French garrison, constructed in 1749. Excavation crew (clockwise from lower left): Lisa Rankin, Mississauga, Ontario; Monica MacDonald, Charlottetown; Chris Blair, Fredericton; Jerry McCabe, Charlottetown.

Farm Sites, 1720-1758

Our team searched for farm sites to the west and south of the stream, but we could find no remains undisturbed by later farming activity. Nevertheless, concentrations of French-period materials found in the ploughed soils allowed us to identify two farmhouse locations on a narrow terrace overlooking the stream. The most telling artifacts discovered were shattered pieces of green-glazed earthenware bowls from the Saintonge potteries of France. These fragments are common in most 18th-century colonial French sites. The same two dwelling areas were detected by the conductivity survey, which revealed numerous irregularities in the areas where these artifacts had been found.

A similar concentration of artifacts pinpointed the location of a farm site on the south bank, but no intact remains were found there. Meanwhile, testing at the possible farm site at the back of the Gallant property turned up nothing.

The Gallant Property

Our greatest archaeological success came on the property of Michel Haché-Gallant, considered to be the first Acadian settler on Prince Edward Island and the ancestor of a large segment of the Island Acadian population. Gallant's origins are obscure. In a modern history of the family, Patrice Gallant speculates that he may have been the son of Pierre Larché, a Frenchman from Montdidier. In the mid-17th century, Larché was employed by Nicolas Denys, a persistent yet luckless entrepreneur who had established a trading post at St. Pierre, beside the present-day St. Peter's Canal on Cape Breton Island. Larché's wife at that time may have been Micmac. Denys' trading post at St. Pierre, which was partly excavated by a Canadian Parks Service team in 1985, is one of the most significant 17th-century sites in Atlantic Canada, and it may have been here that Gallant began his life.

Following the death of his father, Michel Haché-Gallant was sent by Denys to Trois Rivières in New France, where he was raised by Jacques LeNeuf de la Poterie. In 1676, at the age of 15, he moved to the Acadian village of Beaubassin to live on the seigneury of Michel LeNeuf de la Vallière. Gallant was in his late 50s when he left the fertile lands at Beaubassin to live at Port La Joye. By that time he had been married to Anne Cormier of Beaubassin for 30 years and had 12 children. He brought Anne and four of their children with him to Île Saint-Jean. Other children followed over the next eight years, establishing their own families in the colony.

Gallant's property occupied a long, narrow strip along the east bank of the small stream. A 1754 sketch of Port La Joye shows three buildings on his land. Two of these are dwellings, with pitched roofs, a central chimney, and doors facing the road to the garrison. The third building looks like a storehouse, with a hipped roof, a large central door, and no windows.

Discovery

Our search for the remains of the Gallant buildings began with lines of shovel tests. We discovered concentrations of French-period artifacts, but no intact remains. As a further test, we ran the conductivity meter over the property. This time we had notable success. A contour plot of the readings showed a large, square anomaly, five meters across. At precisely the spot indicated by the plot, we discovered a cellar pit cut into the bedrock. At last we had found the Port La Joye we sought.

The meter had detected the difference between sandstone bedrock and the loose loam that now filled the cellar. That fill consisted of 18th-century material not disturbed by later farming. When sod was stripped from an eight-meter-square area over the anomaly, the dark outlines of the cellar and foundation trenches were clearly evident.

A layer of charcoal, marking the destruction of the house by fire in 1745, separated the remains of the French
Excavation of the cellar in the Gallant property. Excavation crew (left to right): Colin Campbell, Reg Porter, Johanna Eliot, and Jerry McCabe, all of Charlottetown.

occupation from materials later used to fill the cellar. Below it were artifacts that had been left in the cellar during the years of occupation. Above was a thick deposit of fill containing numerous artifacts from the French period mixed with ceramics, glass, and metal pieces that probably originated with the British garrison of 1758. Farmers at the end of the 18th century probably filled the cellar with nearby earth and refuse in order to level the ground for their ploughs, thereby mixing up the artifacts of different time periods.

Because of the considerable agricultural disturbance, much of the architectural evidence at Port La Joye has been lost. Some comparisons can be made, however, with other Acadian houses excavated in the Maritimes in recent years. Archaeologists working in the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia have uncovered Acadian houses at Grand Pré, the Melanson Settlement near Port Royal, and Belleisle. These houses seem to have been one-room, wood-framed structures with end chimneys, exterior bake ovens, and central root cellars. The Belleisle house, for example, excavated by David Christianson for the Nova Scotia Museums Complex, measured 11.5 by 7.5 meters and was set on a dry-laid stone foundation. A chimney was built at one end, with a semi-circular oven on the back side. Some bricks were used, probably to line the hearth. The exterior walls were probably covered in planks and the interior walls were plastered with a mixture of clay tempered with salt-marsh grasses. Traces of roofing thatch were found, as well as pieces of window glass.

As might be expected, the house on the Gallant property shared some characteristics with these other excavated Acadian houses, but it differed in other respects. The house itself was a two-room, wood-frame structure, at least 9 x 10 meters in size, with a central chimney and a partial root cellar. Its wooden sill was apparently set directly into the ground. Within the charcoal layer, we recovered more than 1,000 hand-forged, wrought-iron nails, which must have been used for the wood frame and planked walls. The charcoal layer also contained over 1,000 pieces of window glass. Considerable quantities of clay were found in broad patches around the cellar, suggesting that the interior walls may have been plastered with earth. The cellar was about a meter deep, its a floor formed of bedrock. We found no evidence of roofing materials, but it is unlikely that thatch was used, since salt-marsh grasses were not available at Port La Joye and fodder for the livestock was in short supply. The roof was probably planked or shingled.

Most of the architectural hardware was of wrought iron, perhaps made on site by a blacksmith, or imported from Louisbourg. Among the pieces recovered from the Gallant property are a door-latch keeper, a strap hinge, and a large hinge pintle, as well as numerous construction bolts, nuts, and washers.

A few bricks, probably imported from Louisbourg, were found. They may have been used to line the firebox of the hearth. The chimney was probably constructed of local fieldstone set in clay or mortar, with a thick mortar finish covering the surface inside the house. The 1734 sketch suggests that the chimney was located in the centre of the house, unlike the Nova Scotian examples, but we found no trace of either the hearth base or an exterior oven.

Fragments of A Life

It is possible that the house we discovered was the one occupied by Michel Hache-Gallant and his family between 1720 and 1737. After Gallant's death in 1737, however, his widow rented rooms to officers of the garrison and, later, rented the whole house to the family of Lieutenant DeCoux. Our archaeological interpretation is thus complicated by a mixture of social contexts — Acadian and French, civilian and military, farmer and officer.

Artifacts from the excavated building mirror the material culture of Acadian sites in Nova Scotia, and help us to reconstruct life at Port La Joye. The large...

People used buckles instead of laces to fasten their shoes. This small buckle (shown enlarged) may have been used by a woman.
Kitchen bowls and pans of Saintonge coarse earthenware are the most common items of domestic use. While the Acadian settler is popularly considered to have lived a meagre existence, we find here, as at other sites, pieces of fine earthenwares that speak of economic successes. There are polychrome faience pitchers, bowls, and plates from Rouen, Brittany, even England. They may have originated with the officers renting the house. If, on the other hand, they once belonged to Gallant, they must have served as prestige items, emphasizing his status in the community. Similar wares are less frequent in the neighbouring farm sites.

Many goods were imported through Louisbourg, the French stronghold on Île Royale. They included construction materials, food, cloth and clothing, tools, tobacco pipes, ceramic dishes, and glass. The international aspect of this trade is reflected in ceramic artifacts from France, Germany, Britain, Italy, and New England. Among the artifacts, we also found lead bale seals, used to seal and identify the contents of packages shipped by merchants from France.

A shortage of hard currency forced colonial settlers and soldiers alike to rely on barter for much of their commerce. Three coins found in the cellar were probably hoarded because of the scarcity. One is a contemporary 18th-century copper liard de France. The other two are silver-alloy douzaines of the 16th or 17th century, badly worn and counterstruck with a fleur-de-lis to confirm new values. Old coins such as these were commonly used in Acadia and New France.

Within the cellar we unearthed numerous fragile brass pins, intended either for trade or for domestic tailoring of cloth from the bales. Whether or not the house's occupants participated in commercial business is not known, but they certainly enjoyed a degree of prosperity and had a ready access to supplies brought to shore on the beach in front of their property.

The self-sufficiency of Acadian settlers such as Gallant is suggested by the number of tools found, including auger bits, a chisel or caulking blade, and a saw-toothed curved blade. Scrap pieces of lead, copper, iron, and bone had been worked and then discarded.

Frances Stewart, an anthropologist with the University of New Brunswick, has studied over 2,000 bones and shells from the cellar. Her findings have expanded our knowledge of Acadian diet. While census reports indicate that cattle and sheep were kept by families at Port La Joye, pigs are more frequent than either in our sample. Among the bones we also saw evidence of domestic chickens and geese. It is clear, too, that the house's occupants collected oysters and fished for cod, bass, and dogfish. Some...
of the larger bones had been gnawed by a pet dog, whose own bones soon joined the household debris.

In an earlier issue of The Island Magazine, Dr. Ian MacQuarrie accused the meadow vole (Microtus pennsylvanicus) of causing the devastating mouse plagues of the 18th century.\(^1\) His thesis is supported by the discovery of at least five meadow voles skeletons on the cellar floor. When not swarming over the crops, they must have crept in smaller numbers into the cellars to nibble on stored foods.

We also found evidence of firearms in the excavated house site. The musket balls, lead shot, and gunflints were probably intended for hunting rather than defence. Game birds seem to have been the primary target. No wild mammal bones were unearthed, but Canada goose, duck, grouse, and possibly loon have been identified.

**Dénouements**

Anne Cormier, the widow of Michel Hache-Gallant, probably moved in with one of her children on the Northeast (Hillsborough) River when her house was rented to the DeCoux family. Her fate after the British takeover in 1745 is not recorded, but the line of descendants that she and Michel Hache-Gallant engendered forms the backbone of Acadian society on Prince Edward Island today.

What can we now say of Port La Joye? We feel confident that we have located the original site of the military establishment and that significant remains may still exist. And while the remains of the French settlement have been seriously damaged by later use of the land, we have on the Gallant property an important and tangible contact with the past. Was this Michel Hache-Gallant's own cellar? Chances are that it was. Were its contents used by the Gallant family or later French officers? Quite probably both contributed. Although questions remain, this excavation has already added greatly to our knowledge about everyday life on the Island during the French regime. As further research is done, it may have even more to tell us.

On completion of our work in 1988, we filled in the cellar on the Gallant property once more. This time, enough of a depression was left to mark the site, reminding us of the early French settlement at Port La Joye and the roots of Acadian culture on île Saint-Jean.

**Sources**

Piecing together a picture of Acadian life from archaeological research is a cooperative effort. Barbara Schmeisser, Historian with the Canadian Parks Service in Halifax, is preparing a manuscript on the structural history of Port La Joye. In the text I have referred to findings from a number of other archaeological sites. Among them are David J. Christianson, Belleisle 1983: Excavations at a Pre-Expulsion Acadian Site, Curatorial Report Number 48 (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum Complex, 1984); Andree Crepeau and Brenda Dunn, "The Melanson Settlement: An Acadian Farming Community (ca. 1664-1755)," Research Bulletin No. 250. (Ottawa: Environment Canada-Parks, 1986); Frank Korve-maker, "Report on the 1972 Excavation of Two Acadian Houses at Grand Pre National Historic Park, Nova Scotia," Manuscript Report Number 143 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1972); and Birgitta Linderoth Wallace, "The Nicolas Denys Site: Test Excavations, 1985," a manuscript report on file at the Canadian Parks Service, Atlantic Region, in Halifax. An important source on the Gallant family has been Patrice Gallant's Michel Hache-Gallant et ses descendants, a two-volume family history published in 1970. Analysis of the faunal remains was provided by Frances Stewart of the University of New Brunswick in her report, "Faunal Remains from the Hache-Gallant Dwelling, Fort Amherst/Port La Joye Historic Park," on file at the Canadian Parks Service, Maritime Region, in Halifax. While all of the individuals who worked on the excavations deserve praise, I would like particularly to thank Reginald Porter, whose contribution to the interpretation of the Gallant site was substantial. The conductivity meter was rented from Geonics Ltd. of Mississauga, Ontario. I am deeply indebted to Duncan MacNeill, President of Geonics, who has devoted extraordinary time and effort to recording, mapping, and interpreting the data, and has helped recover Port La Joye's buried past.\(^2\)

*That is, "Plagues of Mice," in Number 21 (Spring-Summer 1987).
By John Sutherland Bonnell
with Margaret Bonnell McCuaig-Johnston

The Prisoner

On 20 January 1908 a sensational trial began in the Supreme Court of Prince Edward Island in Charlottetown. Mr. Edwin O. Brown, 33, a lawyer with the Charlottetown firm of McLeod and Bentley, was charged with forging seven mortgages, the largest valued at $1,200. The case hinged on the question of Brown's sanity, and the trial was the centre of controversy. As the Crown prosecutor observed, it was the first case of its kind upon which a plea of insanity had been fought out in the Supreme Court. A city of only 11,500, Charlottetown did not see such events often, and hundreds of spectators turned out to watch the trial. Those too late to get into the courtroom had to be content to stand outside the brick courthouse on Queen Square.

As a boy of 15, I, too, stood there with my brother Dan, selling newspapers. Along with the others, we hoped to get a look at the prisoner, whose name was appearing daily in the front-page headline of the papers we carried around with us: "The King Versus E. O. Brown." It was about 5 p.m., and the court proceedings would soon be winding up for the day. As we waited impatiently, I had a sudden brainstorm: they would not bring him out the front with all these people crowded around. Taking a gamble, Dan and I ran around to the back of the courthouse. We hadn't been there five minutes when a policeman came to the door and looked around. There were only Dan and myself and two other people. He went back inside, and soon E. O. Brown came out and down the steps, handcuffed to a policeman. He was short and stocky, with a fair complexion, light brown hair, blue eyes, and a high, broad forehead. I thought he carried himself like Napoleon.

"Come to see the show, boys?" he asked, looking square at Dan and me, standing at the bottom of the steps. We did not utter a word, but simply stared, our eyes as big as saucers, as he was led away. I could not have guessed that this man, E. O. Brown, would change the course of my life, and lead me away from the path I had set for myself as a public school dropout.

The King Versus E. O. Brown

Brown had been arrested on 23 July 1907, and taken to the County Jail on Pownal Square, an old wooden building long since replaced. He was held there in a second-floor cell until his preliminary hearing the following January. During the intervening months, he received many visitors, including family, doctors — and clients, for he continued to practise law from his cell. Brown's preliminary hearing was held before Chief Justice W. W. Sullivan, in the large courtroom on the second floor of the red-brick courthouse. The high walls, extending two stories, made the proceedings seem particularly imposing.

On the first day of the hearing, Brown's lawyers — A. A. MacLean, W. A. Weeks, and Donald MacKinnon — argued that their client was mentally unfit to stand trial, that he suffered from delusions of persecution. The defence stratagem was to plead insanity so that Brown would not risk a jail sentence. Brown tried to interject that he was perfectly sane, but he was ruled out of order. After more than a week of conflicting testimony from numerous medical authorities, the jury ruled that the defendant was fit to stand trial. Brown's request for an adjournment in order to call witnesses from off the Island in his defence was denied by the Chief Justice, and the trial began the following day with Brown conducting his own defense.

Brown argued conspiracy on the part of a lawyer in his firm to deprive him of his salary — a charge that was denied —
and claimed that he was driven to stock speculations in order to acquire funds to pay his living expenses. While it was not stated explicitly, it was understood that the forged mortgages were in support of his stock speculations. His actions, he argued, stemmed from these "uncontrollable influences" combined with "hypnotic effect," which did not relate to insanity. Brown's defence was eloquent but disjointed and rambling. After nearly two hours he was cut short by the Chief Justice, who could not see the relevance of his remarks. Expressing fresh doubts about the defendant's sanity, he submitted the question to the jury. Two hours later it returned a verdict of "insane" and Brown was led, speechless, back to the County Jail.

So, 24 hours after he had been ruled fit to stand trial, E. O. Brown was found "insane" and was committed to the Falconwood Asylum for the Insane until such time as he was mentally fit for his trial to proceed. It was there that I met E. O. Brown several years later.

At Falconwood

I grew up in Charlottetown and left school in 1908, when I was 15, before completing Grade Eight. I had not been an accomplished scholar; indeed, I was thoroughly bored by the subjects taught in the public school. The only subject that interested me was public speaking, at which I quite excelled. However, an education past public school was not seen to be a necessity in those days, and my parents realized that I was not accomplishing much. Therefore, they let me have my way when I announced that I was leaving school.

I worked for a time as an assistant in a dentist's office, earning two dollars a week. But in 1910, when I was 17 years old, my father, who was the Supervisor of Falconwood Hospital, told me about a job available there as a ward attendant at the princely sum of four dollars a week. As a boy I had visited Falconwood with my father many times and I had enjoyed going with him on his rounds as he checked on all his patients. I accepted the offer immediately, and began to work full-time at Falconwood under my father's supervision.

The provincial mental institution was a large brick building housing 300 men and women on the outskirts of Charlottetown, where the Hillsborough Hospital now stands. From time to time

Brown was held until his trial in the old Queen's County Jail — "Harvie's Brig" — on Pownal Square. In 1911 it would be replaced by a new brick structure on St. Peter's Road.
As was the case with so many families in Bower, a sort of shack, where we could sit out of the sun. We got some planks and made a table, and would sit at each end of it, reading. Sometimes Brown would wander around the grounds nearby. That gave him some freedom, and allowed me to get some work done.

Brown's was one of the bedrock families in the community, fine, respectable people, all intelligent and widely read. As was the case with so many families in those days, they had invested all their resources in having one of their children educated. E. O. was the chosen one. He had been a voracious reader of classical literature and history, reading Shakespeare and Dickens from the age of eleven in addition to lighter works and general newspaper reading. He gained early entrance to Prince of Wales College at age 13, and later studied at McGill University, winning honours in mathematics. He taught at various schools on the Island, becoming principal for two years at the York high school before deciding to become a lawyer.

One day I hit on the idea of asking Brown to tutor me. I had been asking him questions from time and time and suddenly thought, here is a chance to have the help of an educated man as I get ready to write the Prince of Wales College entrance exams. Goodness knows, I needed help.

As it turned out, E. O. had a brilliant mind, and tutoring was a satisfying diversion for him. But what a pair we must have made: I, a lanky young man, already six foot two as a teenager, and he, a stocky five foot seven, on the far side of 35! In our relationship, though, I was the one who looked up to him.

E. O. helped me for hours every day with algebra, geometry, Greek, and Latin, subjects I had not reached by the time I left school. He had written the college entrance exams himself years before, so he knew, in general, what might be covered. He assigned me work, and I applied myself to it more enthusiastically than I ever had in public school. He was an excellent scholar and a careful teacher. He took a great interest in my

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Asylum? Falconwood and "Moral Treatment"

Canada's first mental hospitals had been founded during the 1830s as refuges for the mentally ill, places where they would be safe from society as much as society from them. Prince Edward Island's first insane asylum opened in 1847, but it soon proved inadequate to the colony's needs. Thirty years later, in 1879, it gave way to Falconwood Asylum for the Insane, an imposing brick structure on the banks of the Hillsborough River a mile northeast of Charlottetown. It was an expensive building by Island standards, having cost $90,000, and could accommodate 164 patients. But the need was greater than the capacity, and in 1902 a new wing was erected, adding another 126 beds.

In 1908, the year of E. O. Brown's admission, Falconwood was filled to capacity with 293 inmates. To attend them, the staff included only one doctor, who served as the superintendent, a supervisor, a matron, a nurse, and about forty nurses and attendants. Weekly training sessions were held for the staff of the institution, and two Charlottetown doctors attended on occasion to give lectures. Each year, three or four female nurses were granted diplomas in the Training School run by the institution. By and large, however, the staff was remarkably stable during this period, with little or no turnover from year to year. The hospital was governed by a board of trustees. In 1908, four of the six incumbents were members of the provincial legislature. The total cost of operating the institution for the year was $39,000.

Despite — perhaps because of — the prevailing ignorance about the nature of mental illness, the insane asylums of the mid 19th century had been places of optimism. It was widely felt that complete recovery was possible for most patients through "moral treatment," a therapy based on varying doses of kindness, discipline, hard work, entertainment and good diet. But by the turn of the century, optimism had given way to resignation in the overcrowded, understaffed Canadian institutions. Doctors now took it for granted that only a few patients were likely to recover from mental illness. In his annual report to the trustees in 1908, the superintendent at Falconwood, Dr. Goodwill, indicated that, of the 30 patients admitted during that year, 33 were considered to be "beyond hope of curative treatment."

Cases ranged from voluntary self-admissions to acute cases of long standing and congenital deficiency. Treatment remained loyal to the "moral" school. Patients (and staff) farmed 150 acres of the adjoining Government Stock Farm, raising food for themselves through their work therapy. There were annual Christmas concerts, staged by visitors from Charlottetown, and occasional "moving picture shows." Protestant and Roman Catholic chaplains paid periodic visits. To keep with the ideals of "moral treatment," the manual issued for the guidance of staff in dealing with patients was premised very strongly on the Golden Rule and the principles of kindness, respect, and sensitivity, in addition to order and cleanliness. While the understanding of mental disorders was slowly increasing, to a large extent, the approach at Falconwood was simply to make the patients as comfortable as possible, monitor their behaviour, and keep them under control. Patients died that year, nine were discharged, and three left without leave. It seems that E. O. Brown was not alone in deciding that Falconwood was not the place he wanted to live indefinitely.
Private room at Falconwood, early 20th century.

work, and I found him to be patient and cooperative, not at all a problem.

My tutor continued to be an insatiable reader, constantly reading historical, political, and philosophy texts borrowed from the Charlottetown Public Library. Attendants going into town on business would call in at the library to get books Brown had specified by letter, three or four books a week. When he had read them, he would send them back and get more. In politics, E. O. had been a Conservative, and he took an ardent interest in public affairs. He continued to read and to quote to me from philosophy and history books during the years I was with him at Falconwood, and I was able to absorb many of the things he learned through his eclectic reading habits.

Most of the time, E. O. was resigned to his incarceration at Falconwood, but from time to time he became extremely angry and lashed out at other staff members. He did not consider himself "insane," and he deeply resented being treated as such. On admission to Falconwood, he had anticipated his release in a few months and the opportunity to re-fight his case in court. In fact, in 1911, he petitioned the courts for another trial, but without success.

"Did you ever think," he asked me, "how difficult it is for a person who is a patient in a mental hospital to prove that he is sane? In a mental hospital, there is no use in either a sane or an insane man protesting that he is sane. He has to demonstrate the fact in a multitude of ways while he is under observation. If you were a patient in this hospital and a commission came here to investigate your mental condition, how would you establish your sanity? What would you say to them?" I had no answer for him.

In 1912, after two and a half years of intensive studying while working at Falconwood, I tried the college examinations and succeeded, due in large measure to E. O.'s tutoring. But after I entered Prince of Wales College, I continued to go back to Falconwood, as I had come to look on E. O. as my friend. Father was pleased that I was in college; so, although the ward was locked at nine, he would give me the keys for the ward and for E. O.'s room. I would sit with him until after 11 o'clock, getting his help with trigonometry.

But never, in all our hours together, did I mention to him that I had seen him outside the courthouse that day in 1908. That was his other life and I did not want to bring back memories for him; nor did I want him to associate me with those times.

After two years at Prince of Wales, I went away to Dalhousie University in Halifax. But twice our paths would cross again.

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The Fugitive

Early one fall evening in 1915, I was in my room at Pine Hill Residential Hall when I heard my name being called in the lower corridors. One of the students was shouting that a man was waiting to see me. I called down to send him up. There was a knock at the door, and, to my utter amazement, in walked E. O. Brown. I welcomed him warmly and asked him how the world he had got there.

Brown told me that he had escaped from Falconwood by getting hold of the three different keys needed to let himself out. He did not tell me how he had managed it, but it may not have been difficult. After so many years at Falconwood, he was not thought likely to plan an escape. And so, he somehow had obtained the keys, and one night he just walked down the stairs and out. He got passage on a steamer from Charlottetown to Pictou, Nova Scotia, and then took a train to Halifax.

I was amazed and overjoyed to see my old mentor. We talked for a while and I soon determined that he was very hungry. I took him right out for a big dinner, and then helped him find a room to rent. At the time, I did not stop to think that I could have gone to the penitentiary for aiding and abetting the escape of someone from an asylum for the insane. He was my good friend, E. O., in many respects a brilliant man, and I felt that I owed him a lot, considering the help he had given me with my studies.

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John Sutherland Bonnell's graduation photograph, Prince of Wales College.
The next day he went to a law office, looking for a job as a clerk. Of course, he could not admit that he was a lawyer, lest his identity be detected and he be sent back to Falconwood. So, for a time, he performed menial administrative tasks and errands for the lawyers, becoming increasingly frustrated. He was getting little money as a clerk — just enough to pay for his board and lodging — and he was still not eating proper meals.

One day, E. O. told me that he wanted to get into the army and go off to the war in Europe. I felt convinced he would be a good soldier and I offered to help him enlist. I called up a colonel I knew who was in charge of enlistment in Halifax. I told him that I had a man for him, but he would not be enlisting under his real name. The colonel said he would not lose any sleep over that. They were getting quite a few of those joining, and they would be glad to have him if he could pass the medical examination.

The next day E. O. went down and had his physical. He dropped in to see me that evening to tell me the good news that he had passed with flying colours. Meantime, I had received a letter from my father, telling me that E. O. Brown had escaped and that somebody from Charlottetown had seen him on the streets of Halifax. The individual had alerted the Charlottetown police and in a day or so, two constables would be going over to capture him.

I handed the letter to E. O. and his hand began to shake as he read it. We decided he should enlist incognito as far away as possible from Prince Edward Island. He had a cousin in Ontario, he said, and he could enlist there if he could get that far away.

I asked E. O. how he was doing for money. He said he had none. He had no change of underwear, and he had only one shirt and the socks he was wearing. So I gave him the money he needed for a train ticket to Ottawa, plus some extra for the trip. I was not flush myself, but I was glad to give him all I could spare, about $33.

That night, I went down to the train to see him off. We stood at the last car of the train, talking, while we waited. “Well,” said E. O., “if I come back from this, it will all be different. I’ll ask to be discharged in the far west, to start again. If I don’t come back, my record will be wiped clean.” Those were the last words he said, and there were tears in our eyes as we shook hands, perhaps for the last time. I watched him until the train disappeared from sight.

When I got back to my room at the university, I immediately sent a cable to my father in Charlottetown saying, “Saw Brown in Halifax. He left last night for England. J.S.B.” And he was indeed going to England, though by way of Ontario. My father apparently called off the constables; nothing appeared in the newspapers. Only a few people knew, and it was in Falconwood’s interest to keep Brown’s escape quiet. In fact, the Falconwood records show a blank for E. O. Brown where the “When and How Discharged” notation should be.

A few weeks later, I received a letter from E. O., saying that things were going well, and enclosing a money order for every cent I had given him.

Some time later, I told my father what I had done. He said nothing at all; but what could he have said? If he had commended me for helping my friend, he would have been condoning the escape of an inmate for whom he was responsible. Nevertheless, he knew that Brown posed no threat to society and I suspect that he did not lose any sleep over either E. O.’s precipitous departure or my part in it.

Members of the Brown’s unit, the 146th Overseas Battalion, pose in front of the Frontenac County Courthouse in Kingston. Brown is standing on the far right.
The Soldier

My final meeting with E. O. Brown took place after I finished my year at university and enlisted in the artillery. After early training in Halifax with my brother Dan, we were shipped overseas in August 1916 in a huge convoy of troop ships and cruisers. One day, I was walking the deck of the ship in mid-ocean when I saw three sergeants striding toward me, side by side. The one in the centre was E. O. Brown!

Brown excused himself from the others and we found a spot where we could talk. He looked well fed and had an air of prosperity about him. He quickly brought me up to date. He had enlisted in Kingston, Ontario, under the name Edward O. Browne rather than Edwin O. Brown, giving his profession "accountant" in order to cover his tracks. Apparently, the army tried its best to get him to take an officer's commission because his marks on the tests had been so high. But the commission might have involved some identity checks and his real name might have been discovered. It was too risky, he felt, and he was getting enough money for his needs anyway.

I was thrilled to see E. O. again. The odds against our being in the same convoy on the same ship, when each of us had enlisted at different times, in different battalions, and in different provinces, were unimaginable. But I was concerned not to destroy his cover by being seen with him by other Island boys, and so, when I saw him several times subsequently on the ship, I steered clear of him.

Later, when I was in France, I often wondered whether there would be a chance of our paths crossing. One day I got a letter from my father, saying, "You'll be very sorry to hear that your friend E. O. Brown was killed in action." It hit me hard, and I wept for the man who had helped me turn my life around. I owed my education to him, and all that I became in later years.

Epitaph

It was a full 70 years later that I finally learned, from his military records, what had happened to E. O. Brown after I last saw him. He spent months in the muddy trenches of France, within 15 miles of Armentières, where I was stationed. Indeed, many times I went into the town of Bethune, only a couple of miles from where E. O. was posted, and where he probably went on his time off.

For reasons that are unclear, Brown had reverted to the ranks at his own request, giving up his sergeant's stripes. On 18 August 1917, he was part of a major Canadian assault on Hill 70, overlooking the French town of Lens. At 4:15 a.m. that day, he was killed in action in hand-to-hand combat, one of 9,188 Canadian casualties in the capture of Hill 70. Today, he is still listed in Canadian military records and in the official Book of Remembrance under his pseudonym, Edward O. Browne.

He was buried, along with 481 other Canadians, in the Communal Cemetery Extension near the village of Aix-Noulette in France. How many people have paused in front of that headstone and wondered who Brown was, where he was from, what circumstances had brought him to France to stay? Not very many, I suppose. Visitors to the war cemeteries are usually looking for their own lost family and friends.

When we parted in Halifax, E. O. had said to me, "If I don't come back, my record will be wiped clean." Indeed, his offences have long since been forgotten, and the case of E. O. Brown is closed. But the man himself was a remarkable individual and a powerful influence on my life. He is not forgotten.

Sources

My grandfather has a vivid memory of his relationship with E. O. Brown, but tracking down the rest of the story was a difficult task extending over a period of three years. In particular, it was difficult to obtain Brown's military records, as we knew that he had enlisted under an assumed name, but were not sure what it was. The staff of the War Records section of the National Archives were most helpful in giving us access to the listings of the Browns/Brownes killed or wounded in the First World War. From this, we finally found the right file, including the date Brown was killed, though not the specific location. From historical texts on World War I, such as Maj. D. J. Corrigal, The History of the Twentieth Battalion and Col. G. W. L. Nicholson, Canadian Expeditionary Force: 1914-1919, we were then able to trace where E. O.'s battalion was at the time that he was killed. Records and photos of E. O.'s cemetery and headstone in France were kindly provided by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (Canadian Agency).

Several passages of this article first appeared in Dr. Bonnell's book Pastoral Psychiatry, as illustrations of the practices at an asylum for the insane in the early years of this century. Falconwood records and photographs were found at the Public Archives and Record Office of Prince Edward Island, including the annual Trustees' Report and an article by Dr. Goodwill about Falconwood and mental health care on the Island that first appeared in the The Bulletin, the journal of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene, in March 1929.

Almost verbatim coverage of the trial was found on the front pages of the Charlottetown Guardian, Patriot, and Examiner, respectively, during January and February 1908. A biographical sketch (probably written by Brown), which appeared in D. A. MacKinnon and A. B. Warburton, eds., Past and Present of Prince Edward Island (1906), provided information about E. O.'s background, education, and memberships. 
PARLIAMENTARY PRIVILEGE AND ELECTORAL DISPUTES ON COLONIAL PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

by J. M. Bumsted

Part Two

In Part One of his article, published in Number 26, Professor Bumsted outlined the evolution of parliamentary privilege and the role played in it by electoral disputes. In Part Two, he presents us with five case-histories.

Most of the cases that were singled out for detailed consideration by the House raised issues that passed beyond mere partisanship. Typically, the spotlighted election disputes illustrated the failure of the existing electoral structure in one or more particulars, often after a major shift in law, political practice, or electoral procedure. Frequently, they contributed to modifications of the existing system. Of the many cases discussed in the assembly journals after 1801, when the assembly gained full control over the election of its members, five seem particularly revealing: the King's County election of 1831; the Belfast elections of 1846-47; and three elections held in 1859, including the Georgetown election of that year.

The King's County By-Election of 1831

The King's County by-election of 1831 was an important one, for it brought William Cooper, for many years the leader of the so-called "Escheat Party," to the House of Assembly. The legislative hearings into the dispute over this election were extensive, and offer us our most detailed look at electoral procedures and practice in the early 19th century.

The general election of 1830 had brought considerable political change to the Island, chiefly because it was held following substantial alterations in franchise requirements. Two aspects of franchise reform had been particularly agitated in the 1820s: the extension of the vote to Roman Catholics, and the question of the property requirement of freehold or leasehold on an Island where large numbers of inhabitants did not hold proper leases from the proprietors of their township. The new franchise legislation of 1830 did not substantially alter property qualifications, but by allowing Roman Catholics to vote it did greatly increase the number of tenant voters who were likely to be hostile to the proprietary system and sympathetic to land reform and the so-called "escheat" movement. Thus, many members of the 1830 assembly were sympathetic to land reform, but they lacked both a leader and a program.

Leadership for a legislative faction committed to land reform was provided in 1831 with the candidacy of William Cooper in a by-election in King's County. Born in England, Cooper had settled in Prince Edward Island sometime after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, becoming in 1820 the successor to Edward Abell (murdered by a tenant while rent-collecting) as the agent of Lord James Townshend on Lot 56. During his tenure as land agent, Cooper succeeded in persuading many tenants to accept

*As recounted by Adele Townshend in "Drama at Abell's Cape," Number 6 (Spring-Summer 1979). Harry Baglole profiled Cooper in Number 7 (Fall-Winter 1979).
leases, probably arguing that only by so doing could they gain the vote to change the system. He was dismissed in 1829 under a cloud, but had come forward as a candidate in 1831 on the platform of "Our country's freedom and farmers' rights" (a slogan inscribed on a flag flown above Cooper on the hustings) to replace the deceased John Macdonald.

The by-election was called by the sheriff to begin at Georgetownon 13 July at 10 a.m., where three candidates — William Cooper, Angus Macdonald, and John Jardine — were nominated. The poll was kept open for two days at Georgetown without serious incident, and was then adjourned to St. Peter's on 20 July, where it was opened from 10 a.m. until 6 p.m., then adjourned until the following morning, at which time Thomas Irwin was nominated as a candidate. The contest was chiefly between Cooper and Angus Macdonald. The latter had strong support in the Scottish Gaelic-speaking districts of the county, as well as the backing of some of the major proprietors of the area, particularly Charles Worrell, who solicited votes for Macdonald and ordered those voting for others but indebted to him to pay their accounts immediately.

Throughout the entire procedure, all candidates challenged a number of prospective voters, usually requiring them to swear to the Oath of Qualification. At St. Peter's, particularly on the second day of polling, most of the challenging was done by Cooper. There were a number of reasons for his strategy. St. Peter's was not Cooper's home territory, he was known to be well ahead in the vote, and the opposition had been recruiting far and wide for voters. At least one individual attempting to vote under a false name was detected. Cooper offered to bypass the oath if someone who knew the voters stood by him, but this suggestion apparently was not taken up.

The business of swearing oaths delayed matters, and may well have angered the supporters of Angus Macdonald, many of whom were first-language Gaelic speakers being asked to take oaths in an unfamiliar language. As a result, the process of voting was greatly slowed down on the 21st, and an increasingly unruly and inebriated crowd congregated around the hustings ("a few boards, about ten feet long, placed on barrels — the width about twenty inches") outside James Anderson's barn. The candidates and their chief supporters, as well as the returning officer, stood on the hustings. Some of the crowd began shouting threats and curses at Cooper and his supporters, and several people were struck with sticks. At one point, according to one witness:

*A number of persons were shouting for Macdonald — some one said where is the man that will hurrah for Cooper? -- the person struck did so — when these friends rushed upon him — he ran and they pursued, some with sticks and some with stones — he leapt over Mr. Anderson's fence, and they after him — he was struck over the head with a stake which broke in two — I heard the blow from where I stood.*

Another witness described "a great deal of noise and disturbance," adding under cross-examination, "I never saw such an election as that, and hope I never will again."

Sometime after 3 p.m., the crowd became extremely restless and noisy, and one person was threatened with gaol by the sheriff for menacing the hustings. Thereafter, voting continued until seven in the evening, with great noise accompanying every administration of the Oath of Qualification, and with considerable jostling and intimidation in the back of the crowd. Around seven, while another voter's qualifications were under discussion, members of the crowd, which numbered about 150 people, pushed forward and pulled down the hustings, throwing those standing upon them to the ground. The candidates and poll clerks retreated at this point to the adjacent barn, and the returning officer adjourned for half an hour to swear in special constables, re-opening the poll at 7:30 p.m. at the door of the barn.

One member of the crowd (earlier threatened by the sheriff) pushed forward to the table and yelled to the crowd to pull him inside, "as he was in custody and his life was in danger. He was removed, but according to poll clerk Thomas Jaques:

Immediately after the riot commenced, sticks were thrown, and the Candles put out, when it became too dark to write — Mr. Cooper then was obliged to make his escape as they vowed vengeance against him. I can not mention any particular expression — I was afraid of my own life — large stones were thrown into the barn, and the wheel of a wheelbarrow with spokes in it was also thrown in.

A dozen persons burst through the back door. Only with difficulty did the returning officer manage to salvage the poll books. As the rioters searched the barn, uttering threats against Cooper, he hid in the stable loft until he was able to gain protection from a special constable carrying a bludgeon. After several more efforts to resume voting, the returning officer proclaimed a riot, adding that because of the riot he could not execute the writ, thus voiding the election.

**The Investigation**

The nine days of testimony on the events in King's County heard by the Committee on Privileges and Elections in January 1832 raised a number of questions, for the implications of the case were extremely complex. The case was being heard, of course, because both Cooper and Angus Macdonald had petitioned the assembly for redress, putting their own case in the process. William Cooper was clearly well ahead in the poll at the
time the election was voided, but there was considerable testimony that substantial numbers of voters preferring Angus Macdonald had not managed to vote because of the melee. Cooper had only limited support in St. Peter's to begin with, and available evidence suggests that many of those potential voters had been intimidated away by the hostile behaviour of the crowd, particularly on the second day. According to witnesses obviously favourable to Angus Macdonald, the eventual riot was the result of the crowd's frustration with the slowness of the polling process, and that tardiness was the fault of William Cooper himself. A contrasting suggestion was that the riot had been orchestrated by some of Macdonald's supporters to force a new election in which their candidate might do better.

The charge of collusion was made before the Committee on Privileges and Elections by its very first witness, Thomas Jaques. Jaques testified that upon returning to Charlottetown from St. Peter's, he had been told by Dr. James Conroy, "a gentleman who had been at the election," that "he knew the riot would take place — it was all settled the night before, between eight and ten o'clock." Dr. Conroy himself remembered the conversation about the riot differently? "I said I was not at all surprised at it, and I might have said that I knew it would come to that." He denied vehemently that he had ever heard anyone suggest that another election would be required were the poll books destroyed.

After considerable debate and discussion, the Committee on Privileges and Elections began with an attempt to issue a new writ. That motion was amended to direct the returning officer to "amend his return to the Writ of Election, and to insert the name of William Cooper as duly elected," on the grounds that Cooper would have been so chosen had not riots and tumults been "created for the express purpose of preventing the return from being made." Such an action was clearly within the competence of the House, but it was an extremely controversial solution, which was bound to disturb all but the most ardent of Cooper's supporters. Not surprisingly, the vote was close, the tie of eight members for and eight against the amendment being broken by the chairman of the committee, who voted in favour. The subsequent resolution that denied the allegations of Angus Macdonald passed the committee by a vote of 9-7.

The committee then reported its resolutions to the House, where they were listed in four parts; the first recognizing the "notorious and outrageous riots at St. Peter's"; the second agreeing that the returning officer had been right to close the polls; the third, that Cooper be returned as elected; and the fourth, that Angus Macdonald's allegations were unwarranted. Resolution two passed by a vote of 15-1, but resolution three divided the house equally, and the speaker broke the deadlock in favour of the resolution. An attempt to amend the fourth resolution to describe the Macdonald petition as not merely "frivolous" but "frivolous and vexatious" was defeated by two votes, 7-9. This parliamentary maneuvering completed, the House accepted all the resolutions and ordered the returning officer to the bar of the House to amend his return, which was done on 20 January 1832. It is worth noting that only the barest of majorities was to be found for the amendment of the return, and less than a majority for the amendment to the fourth resolution, suggesting that more than half of the House of Assembly did not fully support Cooper in 1832.*

The abuses documented in the King's County election did not lead immediately to electoral reform, although in 1834 the House agreed to consolidation and amendment of the election laws, agreeable to a resolution that "it is highly necessary and expedient, that the Elective Franchise be extended to all deserving Classes of His Majesty's subjects in this Island, to such an extent as the circumstances of the Colony will permit." The resultant legislation, which was blocked by the appointed Legislative Council, enfranchised some farmers who had not been able to obtain leases, but did not extend the vote more widely; perhaps William Cooper did not forget his stay in the St. Peter's hayloft.

A revised act to regulate elections was passed in 1836 (6 Wm. IV, chapter 5), but while it did some tidying up, it failed to deal with most of the features of elections that encouraged dispute and...

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*In 1834, for example, when the House amended the return that had declared John Lawson elected by one vote over J. F. Holland in Charlottetown and Royalty, it formally declared that the petition of Holland was "neither frivolous nor vexatious."
Land agent and merchant William Douse, a Tory stalwart, could be a hard man. "You will eat humble pie with me yet," he taunted Irish voters in 1846. The following March, he took refuge behind a group of election officials while the Irish over-ran the poll during the early stages of the Belfast Riot.

particularly, violence. The qualifying of voters would continue to be a major operation at election time, and the problems of multi-day, multi-poll elections would continue for some years, until the Belfast Riot of 1847 produced reform. Meanwhile, in 1844, the Assembly passed a new act regulating the procedures for dealing with controverted elections. The legislation included various guidelines for petition about elections and the requirement of a bond to be posted by the complainant, but it did not deal with the electoral procedures that encouraged controversy.

The Belfast Riots

The Belfast Riot (or Riots, since there were several incidents) has its undisputed place in Island mythology and folklore, but its significance for Island politics is less clear. While the riots can be seen as part of the Land Question, or as evidence of the ethnic-religious tension between Presbyterian Scots and Roman Catholic Irishmen, they are probably best viewed in the context of election violence that got out of hand. Given the conditions of polling at the time, the wonder is that Belfast produced the first fatalities during an Island election.

The district of Belfast in southern Queen's County had been settled originally by Selkirk settlers and latterly by Irish in the interior areas. In 1846, one of the candidates for the Third Electoral District of Queens was William Douse, a highly contentious and controversial individual who seems bound to draw violence to himself. An immigrant from Wiltshire, England, William Douse had become Lord Selkirk's agent in 1833. As such, he controlled the management of over 100,000 acres of Island land until the purchase of the Selkirk estate by the government in 1860. Douse had served on and off in the assembly since 1834, a firm Tory and supporter of the propertors' faction. He had strong electoral support from many of his tenants — some charged he exercised undue power over them, but the complaints were never documented — and was known as a man with a bad temper. In 1836 the Prince Edward Island Times had accused Douse of exploiting his tenantry. He had dealt with the charge by assaulting the editor of the newspaper, William Rankin. A cartoon in the James Pope Papers at the Public Archives of Prince Edward Island entitled "Dousing the Escheaters" shows him chasing land reformers with a club.

In the summer of 1846, Douse and Alexander MacLean ran in Third Queen's against reform candidates John Little and John MacDougall. The election saw the usual disruptions; one group of Irish Catholics from Vernon were eventually presented by a Grand Jury for riot and assault at the polls. The election also featured an unusual irregularity, in that the returning officer, contrary to the law of 1838, permitted votes to be cast for a candidate who was not present. John LeLacheur, who was one of William Cooper's associates in the earlier Escheat agitations and was returned to the current assembly for Third King's, received 96 votes. The assembly Committee on Privileges and Elections generously ascribed this irregularity to the ignorance of the returning officer, who declared Little and MacDougall as returned.

Naturally, there was a petition to the assembly, which dealt with the matter along strict factional lines, every question being decided by the margin of one vote. In February 1847, the assembly declared the election null and void. "Violence and intimidation being used thereat, to prevent the Electors of the said District from freely exercising their franchise." A new election was called.

Three points are worth making about this decision. One is that all parties agreed that electoral violence was an inevitable part of any hotly contested election on the Island. A second is that the Belfast election was clearly a party matter — and an important one. The election of two reformers from Third Queen's would put that faction a majority in the assembly; the return of Douse and MacLean would allow the proprietorial/conservative/compact group to control the house. Finally, it is worth emphasizing that it was the inconclusive election of 1846, rather than the by-election at Pinette Mills on 1 March 1847, that provided the controversy that caused the difficulty. Both sides came prepared for trouble in 1847, and they soon found it.

The Belfast riot of 1847 is not as well documented as that in St. Peter's 16 years earlier. The assembly did not hold extensive hearings in 1847 as it had in 1831 (although it thoroughly debated the question), probably partly because a number of criminal actions were pending in the courts and partly because everyone in the House was so horrified by what had transpired that there was little need for detailed investigation.

The events can be described briefly.

Alexander MacLean, William Douse's running mate.
Scuffling began shortly after the poll opened at 11 a.m. The Irish won the first encounter, which occurred at 12:15, apparently assisted by the fact that few of the Scots had sticks at this time. The Irish chased the Scots from the field, leaving William Douse hiding on the hustings and one voter, Malcolm MacRae, with a fractured skull that would later end his life. The sheriff attempted to resume voting, but the appearance of several hundred Scots from Flat River and Pinette, armed with sticks, soon ended that formality.

The two contingents met in open conflict. Reporting many years later, one witness recalled that, as the two groups came together, "the noise was like that of the simultaneous driving of wedges when a vessel was about to be launched." Another commented that soon after the initial clash, "the field was as if a number of butchers had been extensively at work." Blood showed up much better on a March snow, after all. The poll was soon closed and the combatants left to fight it out, which they apparently did until dark. In the end, many were injured and three men (including MacRae) were known dead.* The inquests and trials resulting from these events would go on for months.

The House of Assembly was forced to decide what to do about the aborted election that had served as the occasion for the Belfast Riot. It considered the lieutenant governor's suggestion that the election be held at Charlottetown, but rejected it on the grounds that such an action would disenfranchise electors and merely encourage another replay of the riotous by-election in a larger venue. Instead, the election was held at Pinette Mills in 19 March with 200 soldiers present. At this point, Douse and MacLean ran unopposed, thus increasing by two the strength of the conservative proprietorial element in an assembly involved in pressing for responsible government. This was probably the best evidence available for the need to separate the question of responsible government from other political issues on the Island.

Belfast also spurred the assembly to make electoral reforms in order to prevent any re-occurrence of the violence of 1846, which had provided the occasion for the riots of 1847. Simultaneous, same-day polling was introduced and the number of polls was greatly increased.

Fewer people would thereafter congregate at any poll, and the voting would be less subject to manipulation and intimidation. Nevertheless, electoral intimidation would not be totally eliminated until the introduction of the secret ballot after Confederation.

The Franchise of 1853 and the Election of 1859

With the passage of new legislation on electoral procedures (11 Vic., chapter 19) and the shift to responsible government in 1851, electoral disputes on the Island changed in tenor from violence at the polls to complex political maneuvering, both at the polls and in the house of assembly. The complicated franchise of 1853, which, it will be recalled, gave a second vote to some Islanders with property in an electoral district other than the one in which they were responsible for statute labour, was bound to cause disputation. Several classic cases under 16 Vic., chapter 9 occurred in 1859, when petitions of complaint were registered in the House of Assembly about undue returns in the 21st general elections held on the Island.

From Third King's, for example, Thomas Owen the younger complained that the sheriff had "struck off several good and legal votes" to which he was entitled and returned Ronald Walker as elected. The poll had ended with Owen the victor by 442 to 441 votes, and both candidates had demanded an investigation of certain votes by the sheriff. Although Walker had duly demanded the investigation within the appointed time (the procedures for complaints and protests having become increasingly detailed over the years), neither he nor Owen had specified by name three of the voters the sheriff had discovered to have voted improperly. The House held that only those voters protested by name could be challenged, and it thus overturned the original return and declared Owen elected. The vote in the Committee on Elections and Privileges was exactly the same as in the votes organizing the House (a strictly party matter).

Another case emerged from Princetown Royalty and Township. There, protests registered by scrutineers of a number of votes for the victorious candidate, Donald Montgomery, had been improperly entered in the poll book ("the particulars of the property on which persons claimed to vote, whose votes were questioned and marked objected, were not taken down on the poll book"). The House considered the protest, but never acted upon it, thus, in effect, leaving the return of Montgomery to stand.

The Georgetown Election of 1859

A more complicated and interesting case involved the poll in the Town and Royalty of Georgetown, in which Roderick Macaulay claimed election over Andrew A. Macdonald, who had been returned by the sheriff. This dispute produced an "Engrossed copy of Minutes of Scrutiny on Georgetown Election," re-printed as Appendix A of the House Journal for 1859. A number of voters were scrutinized at the meeting held at the Georgetown Court House on 25 March 1859.

Challenges fell under a number of categories: age qualification; statute labour qualification; residency and identity; and property qualification. The resulting evidence offers another fascinating window into the mid-19th century.

In the absence of detailed vital records, the question of voters' date of birth was always a problem. At the Georgetown election, Daniel Johnston's vote had been challenged on account of age, several witnesses testifying at the scrutiny that he was not yet 21 years of age. The testimony tells us much about the way Islanders kept track of one another. Charles Stewart testified:

I was not present at the birth of this Daniel Johnston. I do not swear to a day or an hour; but I know the time. To a certain degree, I must speak from hearsay. He was not more than two or three weeks old when I first saw him. I did not say exactly he was two or three weeks old; he was a few weeks. I guess he was not a few months. My wife wanted to go visit Mrs. Johnston after the boy was born. I drove her out there. . . . Peter Gordon was married at New Year's, and Dan. Johnston was born a few weeks after.

Peter Gordon had this to say:

There were parties there at the time he was born that told me he was born — some of the females that attended when he was born. One thing I can swear myself, he was not born when I was married. . . . The first time I saw Daniel Johnston alive was in February, 1839. He was not walking. He was sucking. He was in his mother's arms.
Alexander Robertson's vote was similarly challenged. In this case, his father testified that Alexander was not 21, adding that, on the night before the election, "I was down in the Town here, and I was told that they had his name down on the opposite side, to vote. I mean by the opposite side, the Tory side." According to David Logan, young Alexander had "told me he would vote for Haviland and McAulay, only that he was afraid of his father turning him out." Several witnesses testified that Alexander had joined the Sons of Temperance, where the rule was one had to be 18 to be admitted, in October 1855, and had probably been proposed by his father as a member. Ultimately, the father was recalled, to show a record that he had kept in a prayer book that Alexander was born 1 September 1838; the mother substantiated this date, which seems to have been conclusive enough despite the obvious family tensions revealed by his testimony.

The vote of Louis Nicholas under the statute labour qualification was challenged. Nicholas was a Micmac Indian, or at least "was addicted to the migratory habits of the Mic Mac tribe," as one witness testified. The legitimacy of this vote hinged on several questions. Were Indians British subjects liable to perform statute labour? Did they perform it? Alexander Robertson, a statute labour overseer argued:

He [Louis] was not required to perform Statute Labour, and did not perform Statute Labour. I don't know whether or not Louis Nicholas is a British subject. I will not swear he is not. My opinion is he is not... I will not swear that he is not liable to perform Statute Labour. I did not consider him liable or I would have called upon him.

Another overseer, George Parker, commented:

I did not think Indians were liable to perform Statute Labour until now. There are many things coming to light now-a-days that we knew nothing of before... I believe the Indian, Louis Nicholas, to be under British rule.

Such evidence tells us much about the standing of Indians on the Island in 1859, particularly since the objection to this vote was upheld.

Identity was occasionally a problem, particularly when those involved had common names and either were newcomers or were often away at sea. Voters difficult to identify in the community were often transients, whose vote was not encouraged, even by the relatively liberal 1853 franchise. The difficulty was complicated when it was not specified under which qualification a man had voted, and the question revolved around eligibility. Thus, there was much testimony over the vote of one Daniel McDonald, who had voted under the statute labour qualification. It was clear that there was a seaman named Daniel McDonald so voting whose vote had been challenged, but there was considerable difficulty in deciding whether Daniel McDonald of Launching, the younger son of John McDonald, was the man in question. If he was, several witnesses testified that he did not have a continuous twelve months residence at Georgetown as required by law. The vote of Dougald McLeod, an apprentice in Georgetown, was questioned on the grounds that he had not been in the town a year. Residency requirements, therefore, continued to restrict the franchise considerably, even after electoral reform.

Most of the challenges in Georgetown were over the property qualification. Richard Thornton's vote was challenged, for example, because he was not officially a joint tenant, while John Morrison's was questioned because he could not produce a deed to his property at the time of the election. Angus McDonald's vote on the strength of a pasture lot was also challenged because the scrutineers knew that his brother had used and occupied it for over 30 years. The brother testified that Angus was the owner. In a number of other instances, the issue revolved around whether or not the property was improved and, hence, of any ratable value. In most such cases, the vote was disallowed.

After considering all the documents, the House of Assembly decided that "out of the number of seventeen votes given for the said Andrew A. Macdonald, Esquire, and objected to by the said Hon. Roderick Macaulay, fourteen were illegal; and that six votes given for the said Hon. Roderick Macaulay, and objected to by the said Andrew A. Macdonald, were also illegal, which will thereby leave the valid votes given for the said Hon. Roderick Macaulay, 122, and the valid votes given for the said Andrew A. Macdonald, Esquire 119." Therefore, by the usual straight party vote, it declared Macaulay duly elected.

Conclusion

After 1859, electoral disputes on the Island became considerably more stylized and less interesting. But during most of the colonial period, they tell us a good deal about the political culture of Prince Edward Island and a substantial amount about Island culture generally. It would be tempting—but inaccurate—to focus mainly on the occasional instance of serious violence at the polls. Not only were such activities relatively infrequent, but considerably less destructive than in other jurisdictions of British North America, notably the Canadas. Moreover, the emphasis on violence obscures the utility of the electoral dispute as a frozen moment in time from which much can be learned about how our ancestors lived and behaved when they were not out bashing one another about with clubs.

From such disputes we discover much about early politics, and early politics as a reflection of colonial society on Prince Edward Island.
On 9 January 1792, Major Robert Gray, secretary to Lieutenant Governor Edmund Fanning, set out from Charlottetown with several companions, heading overland to Murray Harbour on pressing business. He hoped to rendezvous with the ship Assistance lying at anchor in Murray Harbour and sail with her to London. The harbour at Charlottetown was already frozen fast, and the aptly named Assistance was until spring Gray's last chance of a trans-Atlantic passage from the young colony. His party's ordeal was chronicled a few days later in Charlottetown's Royal Gazette and Miscellany.

From almost the first moment of their departure to the hour of their arrival at Murray harbour, they were incessantly assailed either by tempestuous winds, dreadful torrents of rain, or heavy falls of snow, which not only rendered their journey inconceivably difficult, but threatened them with immediate destruction, being obliged to encamp in the woods, without wigwam or other shelter from the inclemency of the weather, and sometimes passing frozen swamps that gave way almost every step, in which they frequently sunk so deep as to require each other's assistance to get out, it is miraculous, that in so perilous a situation, no one perished.... The day after the Major's arrival, the Assistance, having first been cut out of the ice, sailed with him for London.

What prompted Gray's arduous journey? He was carrying the mails: in this case, government dispatches bound for the colonial authorities in London.

Such trials of strength and endurance as Gray's journey were not unique. Indeed, they were typical of early mail service on Prince Edward Island. The story of that service graphically illustrates several factors that helped to define the developing colony: its slow growth, its winter isolation, and the of-
ten precarious nature of its physical links with the outside world.

Chain Mail

For the British colony of St. John's (later Prince Edward Island), postal communication with Great Britain and the neighbouring colonies was essential. Not only did it permit the essential exchange of government correspondence, but it provided colonists with a flow of newspapers and letters to combat the sense of isolation that afflicted a small island surrounded by ice for many months each year. The sense of expectation associated with the mails was captured by the Royal Gazette for 11 April 1792, which described the public as being on the "tip-toe of expectation" as they awaited the first mail shipment of the year. The editors of Island newspapers also depended on the incoming mails for the substance of their publications, and announcements such as this one from the Prince Edward Island Gazette for 18 April 1814 were not uncommon: "We stop'd the press this morning to wait the opening of a Mail."

And yet, for many decades, postal communication was a hit-or-miss affair. There was no question about jurisdiction. Until 1851, the colonial postal service was administered from Britain, with deputy postmaster generals supervising operations within individual colonies. The Island's deputy postmasters answered directly to the postmaster general in London until 1816, when the Island postal system came under the jurisdiction of Nova Scotia (where a post office, the first in British North America, had been established in 1755). In 1845, the postmaster in Charlottetown became a deputy postmaster general reporting directly to London once again.

Though the lines of authority were well defined, little provision was made for actual service to St. John's Island, created a separate colony in 1769. Letters arriving at Charlottetown could be collected there by recipients. Getting the mail to the colonial capital was another matter entirely.

From Halifax

Mail service to and from Prince Edward Island was not established on a regular basis until well into the 19th century. Individual letters might be sent directly on vessels trading with the Island. But in general, mail leaving Britain for the colony was enclosed with the Nova Scotia mail, and upon its arrival in Halifax was not consigned to anyone in particular. As a result letters and parcels were frequently lost.* Dissatisfaction with this arrangement prompted the Island House of Assembly in 1802 to have the lieutenant governor request that a separate bag be made up in London for the Island mail.

Once the post had arrived in Halifax, it was the responsibility of the Island government to send someone to retrieve it. During the navigation season, service was irregular, but reasonably efficient; there were always vessels coming and going between Halifax and Charlottetown that could be contracted to carry the mail. Nevertheless, there were problems. In 1812, Chief Justice Caesar Colclough alleged that it had been "about three years" since Lieutenant Governor DesBarres had agreed to the House of Assembly's request to set up a regular postal service to the mainland, including two crossings per month in winter. Because DesBarres had failed to act, wrote Colclough, "merchants and others have to send by subscription" a packet of their own. That mail service continued, winter and summer, is certain; how regular that service was remains a mystery.

In 1818, the Island government contracted the services of a "packet" (that is, a mail-boat). The idea was not a new one; the purchase of a small shallop to operate as a mail packet between Charlottetown and Tatamagouche had been proposed as early as 1805. Perhaps because the idea was too expensive (an annual subsidy of £45 was requested), nothing appears to have come of the proposal.

By 1825, the colony had evolved some very specific ideas about its packet service. A tender call, which appeared in the Prince Edward Island Register in April 1825, specified that the mail packet had to be "not less than 40 tons burthen," possessing "comfortable accommodation for passengers" and "capable of transporting horses and carriages." The packet would run once a week between Pictou or Tatamagouche and Charlottetown. By June of the same year, the schooner Mary was sailing a regular schedule every Tuesday evening out of Charlottetown.

Having a regular packet run to Pictou did not eliminate all summer postal problems. One mix-up was reported in the Prince Edward Island Register on 11 August 1829:

*The problem was compounded by the similarity in names between St. John's, Newfoundland, St. John's Island, and Saint John, New Brunswick, not to mention other "St. John's" scattered around the globe.
brought back the bag he carried from hence on Wednesday. The mistake was not discovered until the bag reached the Post Office. The packet was immediately dispatched back to Pictou for the right bag. Yesterday she again returned without it, as the Pictou Postmaster had served the good folks of Halifax precisely as he had done ourselves, by returning them their own bag.

Precisely the same thing had happened the previous summer. Despite such problems, the mail packet provided a vast improvement in the postal service. Before long, its comings and goings had become a routine part of Island life.

The Winter Crossing

Winter posed a far greater challenge to the primitive postal system. When a trackless wilderness, deep in snow, separated the Island's settlements, and treacherous ice flows cut the colony off from the outside world, carrying the mails became a perilous venture calling for extraordinary measures. In the early decades of settlement, attempts to get mail in or out of the colony during winter were uncommon, undertaken only in emergency situations.

In 1775, an early freeze-up caught Governor Walter Patterson by surprise. He had important government dispatches waiting to be sent to London, but all shipping had been curtailed by the ice conditions. In explaining to the Secretary of State for the Colonies the delay in forwarding the dispatches, Patterson advised, "I am endeavouring to persuade some Man, to attempt a passage in a small Canooe [sic] to Nova Scotia, and I hope I shall succeed if the Weather proves favourable."

Apparently, this venture from Wood Islands to Pictou was successful, and Walter Patterson is now credited with initiating the first winter mail crossing to Nova Scotia. The crossing by canoe was successfully repeated in 1777 under the direction of Attorney General Phillips Callbeck during the absence of the governor. Crossings with the mails continued from these points for the next 50 years.

When Major Gray carried the winter mail in January 1792, he was fortunate to sail direct to England from Murray Harbour; his ordeal was over once he was safely on board the Assistance. But it was more usual for any winter mail from Prince Edward Island to be routed through Halifax, and Patterson's courier followed what became for many years the standard route. Island mail carriers trekked to Wood Islands, then undertook the most dangerous part of the journey, across the shifting ice to Pictou, and from there travelled overland to Halifax.

Despite the experiments of Patterson and Callbeck, canoe trips to Nova Scotia in the dead of winter were rare in the early years. Mail-less winters were the norm rather than the exception, and by spring the thirst for news of the outside world was consuming. Imagine, then, the disappointment recorded in the Royal Gazette and Miscellany on 11 April 1792:

A fine new whale boat with Government Dispatches on board... was, on Sunday morning last, dispatched by his Excellency for the continent; but unable to approach nearer than within a league of the land, owing to the shore being encompassed with ice, she returned here yesterday.

By this unexpected circumstance, the public... probably will be deprived of intelligence for some weeks longer.

Matters improved but little with the century's turning. In a letter dated 1 March 1807, Lieutenant Governor J. F. W. DesBarres provides us with a thumbnail sketch of the winter mail system:

Nearly five months have elapsed since a line from England had reached the Island; judge then how comfortable any intelligence from these will be to us. In this view chiefly, the Indians, who, with my public despatches, carry this, are lured to proceed in an ice-boat to the Nova Scotia shore and thence to Halifax, where they are to deliver the bag of letters to Mr. Charles Hall, merchant, there, who will put the letters in a course of being forwarded to their address. Mr. Hall is requested by the postmaster of this place, at my instance, to collect all the letters and packets, directed for this Island, for which purpose the Indians will be kept waiting during four or five days at Halifax, by whom such bag of letters, as may be made up, will be brought thither.

By the following decade, couriers were being sent to pick up the mail in winter as a matter of course, and not just at times of dire necessity. While these crossings were made in something more seaworthy than a canoe, they remained strenuous and dangerous undertakings. One such crossing was described in the Weekly Recorder for 8 January 1811:

This Messenger who had been sent to Halifax for the Mails arrived in town on Sunday last after an absence of upwards of six weeks. The hardships this man has undergone in his return to this
Fortunately, Mr. Smith and another gentleman with the Mails were saved, but the horse was drowned before it could be extricated from the cariole.

Island, from Pictou, have been difficult in the extreme. Few seasons have been known more severe at their setting in than the present, in which this man has been several times exposed in the gulph in an open boat, encountering every hazard that snow storms and fields of floating ice could oppose to him, yet he has by perseverance, and the aid of divine providence performed his duty to the public, and is again restored to his desponding family.

By 1816, a regular mail run had been established between Halifax and Pictou, so that Island couriers needed only to travel as far as Pictou to deliver and retrieve mail.

Little is known about the intrepid mail couriers of these early decades. Local Micmac Indians, now anonymous, were employed by Lieutenant Governor DesBarres. In the early 1820s, Peter Smith was the mail carrier, travelling by packet in the open season and by ice-boat in winter. He received £5 per passage for the packet trip, £15 for the more arduous winter crossing. It was hard earned money, as this account from the Prince Edward Island Register for 31 March 1825 shows:

On Tuesday morning, Mr. Smith left town with the mails, but in attempting to cross the Hillsborough, the ice gave way about mid-channel. Fortunately, Mr. Smith and another gentleman a passenger with the Mails were saved, but the horse was drowned before it could be extricated from the cariole.

The end of the decade brought a fundamental change in the winter mail crossings. On a tour of inspection in 1827, Lieutenant Governor John Ready decided that a winter crossing between Cape Traverse and Cape Tormentine, New Brunswick, was a shorter and, hence, safer passage than the Wood Islands-Pictou route. The first trial of the new route was made in December 1827 (by either a Mr. McRae or a team of Neil Campbell and Donald Mclnnis — accounts differ). The shorter route was preferred, and by 1829 all mails were being carried by "the Capes" in winter.

On the New Brunswick side, a runner was employed by the Island government to carry the mail to Amherst where it was forwarded to Halifax. This system was still in operation at mid-century; Assembly debates for 1856 record a request for payment from the postmaster at Amherst for his "extra care and attention in receiving and dispatching the semi-weekly mail" between Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

The shorter "Capes" route did not eliminate the dangers of a winter crossing. In March 1831, a mail courier, his assistant, and a passenger were caught in a violent snow storm while crossing to the Island. A wave carried off their oars, leaving their ice boat to drift helplessly through the night. About 10 o'clock the following morning they were sighted off Egmont Bay and rescued "almost dead with cold and two of them frost bitten."

Concern for the safety of couriers, mail, and passengers eventually led to the passage of an act in 1834 "for the better conveyance of the mails in the winter season." The legislation provided specifications for ice boats (which must be at least 16 feet long), established regulations for passengers (no more than four, with a maximum baggage of 20 pounds each), outlined the number of crossings expected from the courier and what payment would be made. It also suggested that a compass should be part of ice-boat equipment.

Passage of the 1834 legislation put the winter mail system on a solid footing, if not a completely safe one. Much has been written about the ice-boat crossings: the struggles and mishaps, the boats and the courageous men who operated them. It is not necessary to repeat what has already been recorded, only to emphasize that carrying the mails in winter was a hazardous but necessary journey. As Alexander Monro reflected in 1855, "From the position of the island,
and the severity of the climate, there will always be an uncertainty and some difficulty in keeping a regular postal communication between it and the continent."

There was a measure of truth in Monro's observation; nevertheless, the sometimes perilous ice-boat crossings served their purpose. Together with the mail packet that operated during the navigation season, they provided a chain of communication between Prince Edward Island and the outside world. Meanwhile, the pace of change within the colony was prompting developments in internal postal communications.

Playing Post Office

Although Charlottetown had no postmaster until 1800, this is not to say that no one had been responsible for the mail. In 1787, Lieutenant Governor Fanning appointed printer James Robertson to look after his dispatches and such other mail as turned up. On Robertson's departure in 1789, another printer, William Rind, was given the appointment. He probably handled the mail from his printing office. John Ross (listed elsewhere as Clerk of the Council) succeeded him about 1798. Ross received official recognition on 23 July 1800 when he was appointed "Deputy Post Master" by George Heriot, the newly appointed Postmaster General of the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and their dependencies.

Ross died on 2 May 1802. The following day, 63-year-old Benjamin Chappell, craftsman, Methodist lay preacher, and diarist, was named deputy postmaster on an acting basis, an appointment confirmed by Heriot the following October. Chappell, not Ross, is now remembered as the Island's first postmaster.

The office of postmaster is usually said to have remained in the Chappell family for the next 40 years. In fact, this was not so. The position was a very small plum in a colony full of office-seekers, but a plum nonetheless, and it changed hands several times during the decade following Chappell's appointment. Although information about the appointments is sketchy and sometimes conflicting, it appears that Chappell was replaced in 1807 by James Chalmers. By 1808 Chalmers had given way to the flamboyant John Frederick Holland, a local politician and multiple office-holder. The dispatch listing him in that office notes that Holland received no salary as postmaster, "the fees [being] unequal to the expense." In 1812, both lawyer John Lobban and Lieutenant Governor DesBarres's son, James Luttrel DesBarres, are identified as postmaster in separate documents, presenting something of a puzzle for modern researchers. Nor were any of the appointments made or confirmed by the Postmaster General for British North America, who was technically responsible for the Island postal service.

After Governor DesBarres's recall, Administrator William Townshend restored Chappell to his post in November 1812, ending the merry-go-round of appointments. Thereafter, the Chappells did dominate the postmaster's job. On
Benjamin Chappell's death in 1825, Richard Chappell, his son, became postmaster. When he died in 1835, his daughter Elizabeth succeeded to the position, and when illness incapacitated her in April 1841, her husband, John Williams, briefly took over. Finally, in November 1842, Thomas Owen, Sr. was appointed deputy postmaster.

The post office was initially situated in Benjamin Chappell's own home on the northwest corner of Prince and Water Streets. Chappell had another building constructed on the rear of this property, facing King Street, and apparently moved the post office into it around 1812. When Thomas Owen took over the position, he moved the post office to a location under the Customs Office (possibly Mr. Peake's building on Water Street, possibly on Queen Square). Evidently, there was some feeling against Owen's decision. In 1843, the Assembly (sitting as a committee of the whole) declared that "the Post Master of Charlottetown should reside in the building in which the Post Office is kept, for the purpose of affording security to the mails while in his charge, and also in cases of emergency to provide access to the office at all hours." The recommendation seems not to have been acted upon. In 1851, the legislature would reverse its stand, enacting that the post office be moved into the old courthouse.

The Inland Mails

It was not until 1827, 50 years after the first winter mail crossing, that the Island government addressed the question of providing mail service within the colony. Before that date, the internal postal service was quite straightforward: all mail came to Charlottetown, and anyone expecting a letter came there to get it, alerted by word of mouth or by the local newspapers, which published from time to time lists of letters waiting to be picked up.

There had been at least one exception to this method. For a brief period in 1817, a modified system of internal mail distribution was attempted, when John Stowe was hired to carry the mail to Three Rivers and Richard Bagnall to carry the mail to Princetown. The service was discontinued in 1818 after a House of Assembly committee appointed to consider the public accounts reported that "the advantages arising therefrom was trifling in comparison with the Expenses incurred."

A change of heart was, perhaps, inevitable. As the colony's population increased, spreading into previously uninhabited regions, and new roads were constructed, internal mail distribution became necessary and, for the first time, possible. In his speech from the throne at the 1827 session of the Legislature, Lieutenant Governor John Ready remarked, "The establishment of an Inland Post cannot fail to be of essential benefit, as affording the means of a speedy and safe communication with our more distant population, and of conveying to them a knowledge of the Laws and proceedings of the Government, which, while it contributes to the security of the people, serves also to guard them against the effects of misrepresentation and misconception." Six weeks later, the Assembly asked Ready to initiate a mail service within the colony. The House suggested that the mail be carried once a week in summer and once a fortnight in winter along three routes. On 17 July 1827, the Prince Edward Island Register carried Postmaster Richard Chappell's announcement, establishing the exact routes, along with the areas they were to serve and the locations of the various post offices:

Western Route: For the south side of New London, to Richard Bagnall's on the Prince Town Road; for the west side of New London, Cascumpec, Tignish and Malpeque to Mr. Foule, at George Bearisto's, Prince Town; for St. Eleanor's, Miscouy [sic] and West Point to John Townshend's Traveller's Rest; for the Bedeque (south side), William Baker's; for Cape Traverse, Crapaud and Tyron River, James Bulprit's Tryon.

Eastern Route: For the head of Hillsboro River and Tracadie to Mr. Lodge's; for St. Peter's, Morell and Savage Harbour to James Burke's, near St. Peter's Mill; for Naufrage, East Point, etc. to Alexander MacDonald's, St. Margaret's, Lot 44; for Bay Fortune, Rollo Bay, Souris, and Grand River to Mr. Aitken's, Bay Fortune.

South-eastern Route: For Vernon River to J. R. Bourke's; for Three Rivers to John Norton's.

The mails for each route were to leave Charlottetown on Wednesdays at 12 o'clock noon with the southeastern and western carriers returning to town by Friday at noon and the eastern carrier at noon on Saturday. Two-pence postage was charged on each single letter and a halfpenny on newspapers.

On this basis, tenders were called for carrying the mails. Richard Bagnall, whose tender for the western route was accepted, advertised that he intended, "should sufficient encouragement offer, to establish a stage wagon between Charlottetown and Prince Town as soon as the new line of road and bridge are completed. Fare - 10s."

In July 1828 there was another call for tenders, and the following August changes were made to the summer schedule for each route. Henceforth, the carriers were to travel weekly, with the western and eastern mails leaving each Wednesday at noon and returning at Friday noon and Saturday noon respectively. The carrier for Vernon River and Three Rivers was to leave Monday morning at 9 o'clock and return Tuesday evening.

As the colony continued to grow, the internal postal service grew with it. Post offices opened and closed as routes changed and settlement spread. However, the number of post offices increased steadily from 10 (not including Charlottetown) in 1827 to 27 at the beginning of 1841. By the beginning of 1855, there were upwards of 48 post offices in the colony.
Routes and delivery times also changed over time, sometimes causing dissatisfaction. A government decision to carry the mails on Sunday inspired this from the Royal Gazette for 24 July 1832:

James Kelly, Lot 48, begs leave to return his sincere thanks to the inhabitants of Three Rivers and those on the way leading thereto for their kindness and hospitality to his son during the two years he has carried the Mail to and from Georgetown. And now, since the mail is ordered to return from thence on Sunday, he can carry it no longer, for reasons already assigned at the proper quarter. Being convinced that many of the inhabitants will feel disposed to take passage, or send packages or parcels on that day, he has to announce that, in compliance with their wishes, he has commenced running a Gig, which leaves the Ferry on Wednesday morning at 10 o'clock and Three Rivers on Thursday morning at 8, and will continue to do so for the summer if he receives sufficient encouragement.

The fate of Kelly's venture into the mail service is not recorded.

In December 1842 Deputy Postmaster Thomas Owen announced further adjustments in the mails. Henceforth, the mails for England and Nova Scotia were to be made up every Tuesday morning at 9.30, as would the mails for the western inland route. The eastern route was to be made up every Wednesday at 10 a.m., with the mails for Georgetown, Belfast, and Murray Harbour to leave every Saturday morning at half past nine.

The Warrant Book for 1843 records the names of the Island's mail carriers and their wages for 13 trips each. Thomas Crabb, who carried the western mails, including Sunday branch trips, received £93 5.6; Patrick Feehan earned £16 7.6 on the eastern route; and Samuel Lane received £19 10.0 for his run to Georgetown, including Sunday branch trips.

By Steam and By Stage

By mid-century, carrying the mails was becoming an increasingly sophisticated proposition, and the sight of the mail coach rumbling down Island roads had become a common sight. A newspaper article based on an address by W. L. Cotton gives a wonderful description of travel on the mail stage:

I came to Charlottetown in the month of February 1853. The means of conveyance to and from the City to which occasional passengers usually resorted was then the mail stage coach in summer and the mail stage sleigh in winter. In the rear end of both coach and sleigh there was a sort of hurdle to which the mail bags and other baggage were strapped. Inside the coach and sleigh there was room for six or eight passengers. Attached to the conveyance there were usually two, sometimes three or four horses. The driver carried a sort of shoulder strap a tin trumpet which he blew frequently to warn ordinary travellers to get out of the way of Her Majesty's mails.

Sleigh and stagecoach were not the only means of carrying the inland mails. In May 1854, an Act "to encourage steam communication between Charlottetown and certain parts of the Hillsborough and Ellot rivers" provided for the conveyance of mail by river steamer.

Steam was also facilitating postal communication with the mainland. In 1832, the Island government passed an act regulating "the conveyance of the mails by a steam vessel." Accordingly, the steamer Pocahontas was engaged to make two crossings a week between Charlottetown and Pictou in return for an annual subsidy of £300. She made her first crossing with mail and passengers on 11 May 1832. The act was allowed to expire in 1836, but by the early 1840s there was a weekly steamship service between Pictou, Charlottetown, and Miramichi, with calls at Bedeque and Georgetown once a week.

The service was expensive and met with difficulties at either end of the navigation season. Nevertheless, the Assembly continued to pursue the idea, and in 1852, £200 was awarded Hammat Norton of Pictou "provided he will run a steamer between Quebec and Pictou calling at Charlottetown, Shediac and Miramichi, coming and going, once a fortnight in accordance with his petition." By 1855, Alexander Monro could
report that for at least six months of the year the mails were carried by steamboat twice a week to and from the Island by way of Pictou.

Stamp Acts

In 1851, the same year that Prince Edward Island won responsible government, Britain surrendered its control over the postal system in British North America. “An Act for enabling Colonial Legislatures to establish inland posts” gave colonial governments authority over the “establishment, maintenance and regulation of posts or post communication.” Moreover, the Island legislature could set the rates of postage within the colony and keep the revenue derived.

In turn, the House of Assembly vested this new authority in the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council through “an Act to provide for the transfer of the management of the inland posts within Prince Edward Island.” Briefly outlined, this bill gave the government authority over post offices, postmasters, rules and regulations. It established rates of postage on letters and packets (exempting newspapers, parliamentary and similar papers); provided a reduced rate for books, periodicals, and pamphlets; and allowed for certain exemptions for seamen in Her Majesty’s navy. Letters were to be the first item unloaded from a vessel, and compensation was available for vessels carrying mails that were not regular post office packets. Conditions of employment for postmasters and letter carriers were outlined, including salaries. There was also a description of felonies and punishments relating to mail tampering. Finally, provision was made for altering or modifying the regulations in order to carry out or complete arrangements with the United Kingdom or other colonies.

The new system, which remained in effect for nine years, quickly proved successful. As population, prosperity, and literacy all boomed, the postal system’s infrastructure was adjusted accordingly. The Prince Edward Island Almanac for 1854 lists “P. DesBrisay” as clerk to Thomas Owen, who was now titled postmaster general. In 1855, Owen was given an assistant at an annual salary of £250, but even this proved insufficient, and two years later, provision was made for a second assistant.

Meanwhile, new postal routes and new post offices were added to the inland postal system. The 1858 Almanac identifies the postmasters of a few country post offices in eastern Prince Edward Island: L. Chasson at Rollo Bay, J. McDonald at Souris, A. McVean in Lot 47 (East Point), and William Underhay at Bay Fortune. The proprietor of the mail coaches on this eastern run was James Hughes. Government accounts for 1852 give names to some of the mail carriers; they also suggest that salaries had risen sharply. At £1.1.0 per trip, Patrick Mooney earned £52.12.0 that year for taking the mails once a week from Charlottetown to St. Peter’s, Bay Fortune, Souris, and East Point. Richard Bagnall, whose route led from Charlottetown to St. Eleanor’s via New Glasgow, Cavendish, New London, Park Corner, and Princetown, received £76.1.0, or £1.9.6 per trip. George Palmer’s fee was £1.2.0 per trip for taking the mail from St. Eleanor’s to Canso, Tignish, and points west, and bringing the return mails to Bedeque by way of Summerside.

The external postal service had also expanded, bringing the rest of the world closer than ever before—in summer, at least. In 1858, mails for New Brunswick, Canada, and the United States were made up three times each week, on Monday morning, Tuesday and Friday evenings. The mail to Nova Scotia went via Pictou on Tuesday mornings and Thursday evenings. Each Tuesday morning the mail left for Newfoundland, and on alternate Tuesdays, for England, Bermuda, and the West Indies.

While Island postage rates could not match the British penny post, they had come down somewhat since 1841, when trans-Atlantic postage charges in British North America were the equivalent of two or three days wages for a labourer. In 1858, postage on inland letters was 2 pence; to the British North American colonies, 3 pence; to the United States, 6 pence, and the United Kingdom, British West Indies, Bermuda, and Newfoundland, 9 pence.

By 1858, postage had become a bone of contention between Britain and the Island. Postage rates were not the issue, but who would pay them. Though the practice had been dropped in Britain, postage on Prince Edward Island was still paid by the recipient, not the sender, in 1858. In that year the Colonial Office began to press the Island legislature to adopt pre-paid postage. The Island resisted. Citing a report from Postmaster General Owen, Lieutenant Governor Dominick Daly argued against pre-payment, inferring that the expense would discourage the comparatively poor Islanders from writing to their kinsmen in Britain, who could better afford to pay the postage on letters arriving from the colony.

Unswayed by the arguments of Daly and Owen, the Colonial Office continued to insist on compulsory pre-payment. Accordingly, the necessary legislation was enacted in 1859, only to have it fall prey to politics. The appointed Legislative Council, which was dominated by Reformers, defeated the postal bill passed by the Tory majority in the elected House of Assembly. In rejecting the act, the
Council claimed, "the necessity of pre-payment of a letter, would, in all probability, put an end to all correspondence between the poorer inhabitants of the Island, and their relatives and friends..." The Address from the Throne opening the 1860 session of the Island legislature noted that pre-payment of letters was standard in the rest of British North America "and is productive of much convenience; I therefore feel assured you will give the matter your consideration, with the view of complying with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government, that it be adopted in this Colony." The thinly veiled order was obeyed, and an amendment was passed to the 1851 postal act, rendering "compulsory the prepayment of postage" on letters leaving the Island for the United Kingdom. By 1862, the principle of pre-payment had been extended to include the inland mails and the rest of British North America (except Newfoundland).

The legislation of 1860 also stipulated that, "Stamps, with their value printed on them, were to be sold and used as postage." The first postage stamps were issued on 1 January 1861 in denominations of 2, 3, and 6 pence.

**Postscript**

The issuance of postage stamps and the advent of pre-payment of postage marked another watershed in the development of the Island postal system. In terms of carrying the mails, the period from the establishment of Prince Edward Island as a separate colony to 1861 had been a time of challenge, change, and development. Written communication was Islanders' chief contact with the rest of the world, and was essential to government, business, and the maintenance of family contacts. Existing as an island colony in a northern climate had posed physical problems for the postal service, even as being an infant colony posed financial ones. But the frustrations that these caused were met for the most part by action and experimentation. The postal system clearly kept pace with the development of the colony. By 1861, Prince Edward Island had reached colonial maturity; by 1861, so had its posts.

**Sources**

This article began as a term paper for Father F. W. P. Bolger's Island history course at the University of Prince Edward Island. The sources for this reconstruction of early postal history are diverse and sometimes conflicting. The more important sources include references in the newspapers of the period (most of them noted in the text); specific bills contained in the collected acts of the Island legislature; the Assembly Journals and Debates; items in Colonial Office records; W. L. Cotton's Our Island Story (Charlottetown, 1927); A. B. Warburton's History of Prince Edward Island (Saint John, N.B.: Barnes & Co., 1923); Alexander Monro's New Brunswick; with a brief outline of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island (Halifax, 1855); Benjamin Bremner's An Island Scrapbook (Charlottetown, 1932); and various Prince Edward Island Almanacs. A number of specific collections in the Public Archives of Prince Edward Island contain suggestive documents pertaining to the Island postal system. Among these are the George Leard Papers, the Cambridge-Owen Papers, and the Smith-Alley Collection. Some broader context was provided by Eric Ross's "Post Haste," a look at colonial postal communications in British North America published in Horizon Canada.

Readers interested in the postal system should keep an eye out for a forthcoming book by Island postal historian G. Douglas Murray, "The Post Office on Prince Edward Island."
Posterity may — rightly — prefer to remember James Jeffrey Roche almost solely for his years with the Boston Pilot newspaper, professing him a modest but distinguished place alongside his editorial antecedents Thomas D’Arcy McGee and John Boyle O’Reilly in the pantheon of Irish-American history. Certainly, Roche’s affiliation with the widely circulated and highly influential weekly newspaper, dating back to 1883 when he joined the paper as assistant to O’Reilly, must be regarded as his most lasting contribution to American society and culture. A thorough consideration of Roche, however, reveals a figure more complex, more subtle, even more engaging than the mere advocate for matters Irish and matters Catholic in turn-of-the-century America. For the very qualities that so qualified Jeffrey Roche for his work on The Pilot — his integrity and his eloquence, his humanity and his humour — are reflected in his non-journalistic writing and in his public life as well, suggesting that while he was indisputably an Irishman both by birth and conviction, his remarkable personal successes in Boston — journalistic, belles-lettres, and social — may owe as much to his upbringing and his schooling on Prince Edward Island as to his “old world” ethnicities and sympathies.

In fact, to the extent that his background on Prince Edward Island can be reconstructed, it is arguable that Roche — esteemed in his lifetime as editor, poet, novelist, historian, biographer, and diplomat — deserves his place not only in American literary and social history, but in Island history as well. For while he may have differed in his attainments from most of the tens of thousands of anonymous Islanders — unemployed shipbuilders, displaced rural craftsmen, redundant sons and daughters of subsistence farmers — who out-migrated to “the Boston States” in the three decades following Confederation, he was surely no less a product of his specific environment than any other young man or woman brought up on Prince Edward Island in the middle years of the 19th century. Raised on the Island from early in his infancy and educated first at his father’s school in Charlottetown, then at St. Dunstan’s College, James Jeffrey Roche left for Boston as a young Islander evidently well prepared for the challenges of life in New England and beyond.

A True-Born Irishman

Although the Island community of Hope River has on at least one occasion claimed James Jeffrey Roche as a native son, he was by other reliable accounts born on 31 May 1847 in the town of Mountmellick in Queens County (now County Laois), Ireland. Dominated by an enterprising Quaker society, Mountmellick was in the middle of the 19th century a prosperous upland town. Its industries included malting, brewing, and the manufacture of tobacco products. Yet, for reasons unknown (though the spread of the Great Famine may have been a factor), Roche’s parents, Edward and Margaret (Doyle) Roche, had by early in 1848 emigrated to Prince Edward Island with Jeffrey and his older brother John, settling in the Hope River area where Mr. Roche assumed the post of school-
master in the district school for St. Ann's, Lot 22.

Despite this trans-Atlantic relocation, young Jeffrey Roche obviously maintained a distinct sense of his origins and heritage. Probably, this was easy; at mid-century almost one-quarter of the Island's population was of Irish birth or descent. No doubt, contemporary political and social conditions helped to preserve the ethnic identity of many Island Irish, for while the political climate of colonial Prince Edward Island was temperate by standards in Ireland, the painfully familiar issues of suffrage and tenants' rights (championed most fervently by Hon. Edward Whelan, the County Mayo-born editor of the Charlottetown Examiner and deputy leader of the Reform Party) were also part of the Island milieu. Reflecting general sectarian antipathy toward Catholics on Prince Edward Island, bitter controversies over compulsory Bible study in the public school system and government endowment for denominational schools also festered into the 1860s, further encouraging the tribal inclinations of the immigrant Irish population.

Surely these factors contributed to Jeffrey Roche's public assertions of his Irishness during his later, 40-year residency in Boston. As editor of The Pilot from 1890 to 1904, he was an articulate Irish nationalist and apologist, committed to the belief that "no man of Irish extraction need feel that he is a stranger in the nation which his countrymen did more than their share to make and conserve." He was also one of the founding editors, in 1897, of the unabashedly chauvinistic American Irish Historical Society; and as an associate editor assisting Justin McCarthy, Douglas Hyde, Lady Gregory, and other luminaries of Ireland's literary renaissance to assemble the ten-volume anthology Irish Literature (1904), he proved to be both a respected and informed promoter of Irish culture.

Apparently, Roche was recognized as an Irishman in his personal life as well. One acquaintance described him as "sparking, genial, ready of wit, quick with sympathy, clever at repartee, tender of suffering or distress, loyal in friendship, eager, alert, Irish." In a profile written on the occasion of his 50th birthday, he was actually exalted as an exemplary Irishman. Arguing that in New England "the drop of Irish blood is so needful to our morbid and introspective Puritan strain that we must not let it remain alien," this piece concluded of Roche and his fellow Irish:

We want for our sakes and for theirs the speediest assimilation possible, so that the wonderful composite race which is to be the flower of all humanity when we get thoroughly nationalized here in America may not lack the gorgeous flush and high thrilling and passionate ecstases of the warm Celtic nature.

A Schoolmaster's Son

Of course, Roche's awareness of his Irish heritage probably derived as much from his parents' influence as from social or political factors on Prince Edward Island. Certainly, Edward Roche, born in County Kilkenny in 1815, was a major influence on his son in other important ways, as the verses composed by Jeffrey Roche for his father's monument in the Roman Catholic cemetery on St. Peter's Road near Charlottetown attest:

A teacher with the perfect art
Learning's true secret to impart,
That school begins when schooling ends
And knowledge unto wisdom tends,
So live the lessons that he gave
Beyond the school — beyond the grave.

Although the elder Roche's formal qualifications as a schoolmaster are not extant, testimony as to his pedagogical effectiveness does survive. The 1849 Report of the Visitor of District Schools for Queen's County, for example, records that "With many embarrassments and impediments to the improvement of the pupils, the able teacher stationed here has succeeded, in little more than a year, in advancing the children to a stage unsurpassed by any of the schools of a longer standing." From his first teaching position in Hope River, then, Edward Roche began to establish the reputation which would gain him unqualified respect upon the family's permanent resettlement in the colonial capital of Charlottetown several years later.

Even more detailed is the Visitor's Report from 1862, by which time Edward Roche was established as headmaster at the boys' school on Pownal Street in Charlottetown. It was at this school that James Jeffrey Roche received most of his early education:

The house is commodious, the desks and seats are neat; globes, maps, a blackboard, and other apparatus are provided. . . . The scholars exhibit great activity, and the order was satisfactory. Great attention appears to be paid to Grammar, Arithmetic, and Geography. A searching examination of a class on the meaning of words, and the analysis of sentences in prose and verse, showed the process of instruction to advantage.

According to one personal reminiscence of life at the Pownal Street School, pub-
lished by a former student in the Charlottetown Herald almost 40 years after Mr. Roche had begun teaching there in the early 1850s, the atmosphere created by the headmaster was both instructional and inspirational:

As a schoolmaster he can to-day realize the affects [sic] of his superior qualifications for that position. He seemed to be endowed with a natural gift of opening up the minds of his scholars and labored most indefatigably for the best results. Implanted in his nature were those generous traits that won the confidence of his numerous scholars. . . . It is not, perhaps, given to many men to be able to point his finger to the four corners of the earth and name some one who has been the "handiwork" of his educational training. Within the pulpit, at the altar, on the bench at the bar . . . , in the mercantile office, in the editorial chair are scholars who long ago "went to Roche's school."

Continuing his nostalgic appreciation of the headmaster, the Herald correspondent identifies a number of Edward Roche's students from the 1850s and '60s who, like their classmate Jeffrey Roche, went on to distinguish themselves at home or elsewhere. One was Stephen O'Meara who, after completing his education at Boston's Charlestown High School, pursued a career in journalism, ultimately becoming chief editor of the Boston Journal; he was later named Police Commissioner in his adopted city, where he and Jeffrey Roche apparently maintained a friendly acquaintance.

A Scholar and a Gentleman

One measure of Edward Roche's respect within academic circles on Prince Edward Island is that while still a schoolmaster in Charlottetown (he was eventually appointed Provincial Librarian), he was also a regular member of the board of examiners for St. Dunstan's College, an institution of higher education established by the Diocese of Charlottetown in 1855. Enrolling in what was known as the "classical course" of studies (in this era the school did not grant degrees), Jeffrey attended the fledgling college in the early 1860s. By his own description the "youngest and smallest boy at St. Dunstan's" when he entered there, Roche took classes in a wide variety of subjects, including French, Latin, Greek, Rhetoric, Philosophy, and Chemistry. The examination results from 1860, probably his first year at the college, reveal that even at 13 years of age Roche excelled particularly in Religious Instruction, Arithmetic, History, Use of Globes, English Composition, and English Grammar. In his later literary life in Boston, especially as editor of The Pilot, he inevitably employed many of the skills related to these subjects of study; in fact, he was praised by his successor as "undoubtedly the best editorial paragrapher of America in his time."

Indeed, more than three decades after his own matriculation at St. Dunstan's, Roche had occasion to acknowledge the extent to which higher learning might train the individual not only how to "think, and study, and investigate," but also how to conduct himself in public and private life. Returning to his alma mater as the featured speaker at the Commencement Exercises for 1894, he echoed the college's advertisement of 30 years earlier, which described an atmosphere "favorable to discipline, decorum and good morals":

College education means no more than the use of the tools of knowledge — but that means very much . . . . It means the formation of great virtues, such as obedience, quick comprehension of the immediate duty. . . . Moral bravery . . . is something borne of high training . . . .

"Be each, pray God, a gentleman," he concluded his address to the class of '94, modestly but earnestly offering a lesson in living that he himself had practised in the years after leaving St. Dunstan's and his parents' home on Euston Street in Charlottetown to embark on his multifarious career in Boston and beyond.

A Common Bostonian

Actually, the years immediately following his departure from Prince Edward Island were relatively unremarkable for James Jeffrey Roche. Arriving in Boston in 1866, he found work as a bookkeeper in the commercial district of the city, and over the next 17 years he engaged in various business pursuits to support his new, young family. On 3 June 1875, Roche married Mary Frances Halloran, the 19-year-old daughter of Irish immigrants who had settled in Sacramento, California. Two years later, their first child, Florence Mary Roche, was born at 7 Cedar Square in the Boston neighborhood of Roxbury. By 1883 the Roches had relocated to 46 Elm Street in Somerville, where their second child was born. Named Arthur Somers Roche, this child would grow up to be an even more prolific writer than his father, publishing dozens of novels, countless short stories, several plays, and even some Hollywood filmscripts. Although Jeffrey Roche
would eventually move into a comfortable home on Harris Street in the affluent town of Brookline, the family was still in Somerville when Mrs. Roche died from pneumonia in February 1886. She was not yet 30 years old.

Despite this setback in his personal life, Jeffrey Roche began to flourish in his professional life during the 1880s. Shortly after his arrival in Boston, he had established himself as a writer of promise, serving as Boston correspondent for the Detroit Free Press and contributing, pseudonymously, verse and editorial material to other periodicals, including the Boston Pilot. Before long he was welcomed into the Catholic literary coterie centered around exiled Irish nationalist John Boyle O'Reilly and including such poets as Louise Imogen Guiney, Mary E. Blake, Katherine E. Conway, and James Riley. That Roche himself became the central figure of this circle is not surprising, considering his eventual prominence as the editor-in-chief of the official publication, a position he assumed not yet 30 years old.

Yet, as historians readily agree, Roche’s agenda for the paper was determined not by an obliviousness to the expectations of its traditional audience, but rather by an acute awareness on the editor’s part of the civic responsibility that attends journalistic authority. Thus, perhaps most notably, The Pilot became increasingly concerned with foreign affairs, particularly with the negative aspects of American imperialism following the Spanish-American War of 1898. On the domestic front, the most radical departure for the paper was its decision in 1904 to abandon its longstanding identification with the Democratic party: disgruntled with the Tammany-style politics associated with Irish Democrats, Roche strongly believed that the interests of Irish America might be more honestly and more effectively advanced through support of Theodore Roosevelt’s Republican party.

**A Proper Bostonian**

The mildly controversial nature of his editorial vision notwithstanding, James Jeffrey Roche prospered during his years with The Pilot. While his moderate tone differed noticeably from that of the charismatic and dynamic John Boyle O’Reilly, Roche was no less earnest in his championing of the oppressed of all ethnic groups, and his integrity as editor of an Irish-American newspaper fostering inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness was acknowledged publicly on many occasions. In 1893, for example, Roche was not only awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from the University of Notre Dame, but also was appointed to the Metropolitan Park Commission, a body responsible for overseeing the development of Boston’s “Emerald Necklace,” a series of parks designed by renowned landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead. In addition, he held for a time the president’s chair of the Papyrus Club (an organization of Boston newspapermen), and he enjoyed membership in such intellectual societies as the Round Table, the St. Botolph’s Club, and the 12-man Jury Club, which included on its select roster such eminent belletrists as Bailey Aldrich, Bliss Perry, and Judge Robert Grant.

That Roche should attain a conspicuous position among Boston’s literary and cultural elite is actually quite remarkable. Predominantly “Brahmin” or “Yankee” — that is, of native-born patrician stock — “proper” society in the city generally regarded even sophisticated and successful Irishmen with undisguised suspicion, if not unmitigated hostility. Thus, describing how the Yankees and the Irish of Boston “moved uneasily into the last two decades of the nineteenth century,” before entering “once more upon a long period of bitterness,” historian Oscar Handlin suggests the real significance of men like James Jeffrey Roche:

> In the longer perspective, it is clear, the possibility of coexistence never vanished entirely. There were always some men in every group who recognized the com-

John Boyle O’Reilly, Roche’s mentor at the Boston Pilot.
frequency today is his biography of his friend and mentor John Boyle O'Reilly. Written in a mere ten weeks and published the year after O'Reilly's death, this appreciative study continues to provide students of Irish-American history with invaluable details about the life of its fascinating, multi-faceted subject.

Convicted and transported as an Irish rebel, O'Reilly escaped from a penal colony in Australia to become, as editor of The Pilot, probably the most influential Irishman in America in his day. Significantly, however, John Boyle O'Reilly: His Life, Poems, and Speeches may also reflect revealingly on the character of its author: celebrating not only O'Reilly's patriotism and heroism, but also his qualities as a devoted family man and loyal manly companion, Roche obviously emphasizes values of intrinsic importance to himself as O'Reilly's protege and follower. His contemplation of one individual's ability to define a personal identity related to, but not fully dependent on, the sometimes competing notions of cultural identity and national identity may also record Roche's awareness of his own anomalous qualifications as editorial and belletristic heir to O'Reilly. Recalling the response to his friend's death, he writes, "Never was the worth of a great man so generally recognized. Lines of race, and creed, and party were forgotten when men wrote of this man, whose broad charity had known no such distinctions."

In his own lifetime, Jeffrey Roche the author was probably most highly regarded as a poet even more independent of "race, creed, and party" than was O'Reilly. Although never renouncing on principle his identity as an "Irish" writer — in fact, his work is represented in Justin McCarthy's anthology which he helped edit — Roche reflects his Irishness more by temperament than by substance. As one of his close friends has commented: "Opinions may differ as to Jeffrey Roche's place in American literature, for his work was essentially American in theme adorned by Celtic grace, inspired by the Celtic spirit and dominated by Celtic ideals." Printed in such respectable periodicals as The Atlantic Monthly, Harper's Monthly, Scribner's Magazine, and Century Magazine, his poems were subsequently collected in volumes published in 1886, 1895, and 1900. Ranging from devoutly Catholic verse and poems of social conscience in the first half of Songs and Satires to light verse, occasional poems, and patriotic songs in Ballads and Satires, Roche's poetry varies widely, from the dutiful to the irreverent, in its tone. It also varies widely in its quality.

At times, in some of his historical ballads composed for centenary celebrations, monument unveilings, and other "public" occasions, his verse is characterized by a compelling narrative ad-

A Prolific Man of Letters

That he did so with both humanity and humour is evident not only from the descriptions and recollections of James Jeffrey Roche by those who knew him personally as a man, but also from the wide-ranging variety and appeal of his non-journalistic literary work. The author of three volumes of poetry, two novels, a biography, and a work of popular history, Roche consistently proved himself a versatile — sometimes even an innovative — practitioner of the polite literary conventions of the time, though the only one of his books read with any
vanced by vivid descriptive passages and vigorous rhythmic impulse. While interested, as one commentator has put it, "in the heroic and romantic line, . . . with a strong seaward squint," Roche also wrote lighter verse that endeared him particularly to the Brahmin literary and cultural community of Boston. Displaying a charming satiric touch, he targeted with brilliant wit the foolishness, the follies, and the foibles of his fellow humankind, taking special delight in focusing on what he determined the excessive "intellectualism" of the proper Boston society which had so unconditionally embraced him. Typically, however, his poetry is not of remarkable literary merit. Suffering, ultimately, from predictability of sentiment, formality of diction, and rigidity of meter, it must — ironically — be described in the same terms used by Roche himself in his Introduction to The Collected Writings of Samuel Lover in 1901:

Among his songs . . . are lyrics of love, humour, and pathos, together with a few political and "occasional." The best belong to the first three classes. Those of the others are fair of their kind, which is not a very high kind, being, indeed, no better than if they had been written to order by the average Laureate.

Actually, despite Jeffrey Roche's contemporary reputation as a poet, his extended prose narratives — a work of Central American history published in 1891 and two slight but delightful novels published six years apart, in 1898 and 1904 — are much more satisfying. Only after some difficulty did Roche find, in England, a publisher for The Story of the Filibusters, his account of the exploits of General William Walker and his American soldiers of fortune in Nicaragua during the 1850s. Republished in America in 1901 and translated into Spanish in 1908, it was proclaimed "a classic" by journalist and novelist Richard Harding Davis, who confessed to Roche his own avid interest in the filibusters and his own "desire to write the story of their romantic and dare-devil deeds." . . . In fact, Roche's history presumes on the part of the reader a well-informed familiarity with, if not a pronounced predisposition toward, a subject that the author himself was personally enthralled by. (Among his cherished personal possessions was a calabash used as a drinking cup by General Walker.) The book thus has a restricted appeal, however exciting some of the narrated adventures may be individually.

More intrinsically engaging are Roche's two pseudo-Oriental romances, Her Majesty the King and The Sorrows of Sap'ed. On a cursory reading, these novels might appear to be no more than diverting literary exercises. Undeniably, the books are whimsical — even silly — in their premises: one is the tale of a Pasha's son brought up as a daughter to preserve him from his father's vulgar notions of masculinity; the other is the story of a king cursed in marriage by his great-great-grandson's fairy godfather. Neither seems to pretend to much more than clever entertainment, frequently of a punning sort. A more considered reading of the novels, however, suggests that they may ultimately reveal the true nature of James Jeffrey Roche as man, not just as a man of letters. For constantly evident behind the inventive imagination which made Jeffrey Roche so popular a figure in the Boston of his day is the same humane spirit which Roche admired in the fiction of fellow Irishman Samuel Lover:

He was listened to, not because of the justice of his plea, for far greater voices than his had cried in vain for years on behalf of the down-trodden, but because he invested his subjects with the charms of humour, pathos, and sincerity. The world, which turns a deaf ear to the cry of suffering, always stops to be amused, sometimes becomes interested, and on very rare occasions tries to right some fraction of a wrong.

More genteel than gentle, perhaps more genial even than genteel, both Her Majesty the King and The Sorrows of Sap'ed are nevertheless relentless in their satire of deceptive — if not downright deceitful — "institutions" ubiquitous in Roche's broad range of experience. Philosophers, poets, military strategists, mountebanks of every description, state occasions, monarchies, marriages of convenience, willful ignorance, literary conventions themselves — all are exposed by Roche in his own modest attempt to "right some fraction" of the "wrongs" that he perceived in his lifetime and his world.

Conclusion

Like so many of the young Prince Edward Islanders who left in the last half of the 19th century to seek either adventure or economic advancement in "the Boston States" and elsewhere, James Jeffrey Roche found little opportunity to return to his Island home in the years following his departure. His sole documented visit was for the Commemoration Exercises at St. Dunstan's College in 1894; apparently he was unable to return even for his father's funeral in April 1899. But he did arrange through
his boyhood friend Dennis O'Meara Reddin to have a monument placed on Edward Roche's grave in 1906, and there is evidence of other communication with Reddin (including a letter written only two weeks before Roche's death), indicating that more than four decades after leaving the Island, Jeffrey Roche still maintained at least occasional contact with acquaintances (and possibly family) there. Thus, when Roche died as American Consul in Switzerland on 13 April 1908, his loss was no doubt felt not just by his wife and two children (in 1904 he had married Elizabeth Vaughn Okie, the widow of a Boston doctor) and by those who had known him in Charlottetown, but also by those who had known him in Charlottetown, where he had spent most of the first 19 years of his life.

Actually, as the subscription list for his grave marker suggests, his passing was lamented widely. Appealing to his many acquaintances, members of the John Boyle O'Reilly Club, a gentlemen's luncheon group that Roche had belonged to in Boston, understandably received responses from all four "estates of the realm" of his long-adopted home: Mgr. Denis O'Callaghan of St. Augustine's Church in South Boston contributed; so did Eben S. Draper, Governor of Massachusetts; the publishers of the four major Boston newspapers each made a donation; so did a number of private citizens. But subscriptions were also received from distinguished individuals far beyond the boundaries of the city in which Roche had achieved his literary and social prominence; indeed, no less a personage than President Theodore Roosevelt himself, who had befriended Roche in 1893 and appointed him Consul, first to Genoa in 1904 and then to Berne in 1907, contributed to his monument. Dedicated in Brookline's Holyhood Cemetery on Memorial Day of the year following his death, the granite pillar erected by James Jeffrey Roche's friends and admirers bears a bronze tablet commemorating for posterity the generous spirit and the diverse talents of this Irishman, Islander, and Boston man of letters:

A writer, — he gave freely of his genius to humanity, that the strong might be restrained, the week strengthened and right might reign; a poet, — patriotism, heroism, and justice were the burden of his song; an author, — his kindly wit and gentle satire were turned on folly and hypocrisy; an editor, — his pen fought stoutly for the oppressed and persecuted of all races and creeds; a man, — he never surrendered his principles to temptation, keeping conscience clean and soul free.

Sources


The primary sources for this article are Roche's writings mentioned in the text. None of these books have been reprinted since their author's death. Secondary sources include both personal reflections on Roche and scholarly commentaries. Of the former, Joseph Smith's James Jeffrey Roche: A Memorial and Appreciation (Boston, 1908) is the most detailed. "Famous People at Home, XVI: James Jeffrey Roche," published in the literary tabloid Time and the Hour (June 1897), is also informative. The most helpful scholarly studies include Roger Lane's "James Jeffrey Roche and the Boston Pilot," published in the New England Quarterly (September 1960), and Francis R. Walsh's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "The Boston Pilot: A Newspaper for the Irish Immigrant, 1829-1908" (Boston University, 1968), and Matthew Jacobson's unpublished M.A. Thesis, "Editorial Dilemmas: U.S. Foreign Policy, the Boston Pilot, and the dynamics of Irish Catholic Dissent" (Boston College, 1986).

PART TWO
More Elusive Immigrants
by Douglas Fraser

This is the second installment of a two-part article on aggregate passenger lists for vessels arriving at Prince Edward Island from British and Irish ports. Part One dealt with the period 1842-1847. The present article will carry on to 1854.

Immigration at Mid-Century

Poor economic conditions in the homeland, the promise of prosperity in the New World, and thirst for adventure continued to lure thousands of immigrants across the Atlantic to British North America between 1848 and 1854. Hundreds of these chose the tiny colony of Prince Edward Island as their destination. While some of the immigrants who came here were poor and destitute, others possessed modest capital, often obtained by selling their property. Very few came with accumulated wealth.

Had these immigrants known the deplorable conditions many of them would have to endure on the voyage out or the hardships they would have to face upon arrival, it is questionable that many would have left their homeland. By 1848, however, the Island was not the wilderness it once had been. According to the census taken in that year, there were 62,381 inhabitants and 215,389 acres of cultivated land. Although the colony had been hit hard in recent years by bad crops and potato blight, by 1850, the Island was well on its way to recovery, and the future looked brighter for both immigrants and established settlers.

Meanwhile, enterprising land agents continued to flood British newspapers with advertisements that gave the impression of a promised land of milk and honey waiting to be settled across the sea. In an 1851 advertisement "To intending Emigrants and others," William Douse, an Island land agent, claimed:

One thousand respectable Families with large or small Capital, may find a home in this most healthful climate, free from fever, ague and Cholera. . . . Its excellent waters, its kind and remunerative soil under proper management — its convenience also by Steam and Sailing Vessels to and from Great Britain, are rare inducements, and may be considered as highly advantageous to intending Emigrants. . . . The land produces all kinds of hay, grain, Root Crops and vegetables. . . . Land is cheap, Rents are low. Here then is a Colony, within twelve days journey — free from all the burthens of high Rents and Taxation, and to which thousands of respectable families are invited to repair.

In one of a series of letters published in 1850 in Charlottetown's Royal Gazette, John Lawson cited statistics on immigration to Prince Edward Island for the previous seven years: 347 immigrants had arrived from England, 1,055 from Scotland, 1,214 from Ireland, 331 from British colonies, and 66 from other countries, for a total of 3,013.**

**The figures were cited by Lawson in No. 11 of his "Letters on Prince Edward Island," Royal Gazette, 26 November 1850.

Two years earlier, in 1848, "An Act to repeal the Laws now in force relating to Emigrants, and to make other provisions in lieu thereof" — passed in April 1848 — referred to "the increase of emigration to the Colony." But this observation was based on a backward-looking perspective. While statistical analysis from the limited available sources on this topic warrants much further investigation, the aggregate passenger lists presented here suggest a marked decrease rather than an increase in immigration in the period 1848-1854.

Thus, the lists tend to confirm that the period of significant immigration to Prince Edward Island was coming to a close after mid-century. However, one must caution that these lists are based solely on information obtained from two newspapers: the Royal Gazette for 1848-1853 and Hassard's Gazette for 1854. How accurately overseas ship and passenger arrivals were reported in these newspapers is unclear; nevertheless, fewer passenger arrivals are reported during this time period than in papers from
previous years. In fact, Hazard’s Gazette for 1854 does not list any passengers from overseas ports, although there were several ship arrivals. It is possible that newspaper editors placed less emphasis on reporting this type of information during the 1848-1854 period than previously, but even this is uncertain.

We are certain, however, that no official lists are known to exist for the period covered here, even though British law required that the master of every ship carrying passengers must deliver a list of all passengers to a customs officer at the port of embarkation and the port of discharge. As early as 1848, and possibly earlier, colonial law on Prince Edward Island also required that a new list of passengers and emigrants must be compiled at the Island port of entry and be submitted along with the original list to the customs officer at this end.**

How strictly these laws were enforced remains a question. Did the masters and customs officers ignore the rules imposed upon them? If they adhered to the law, what became of the lists? While one can hope that some will yet surface, the sad truth is that, if lists were kept, they were probably destroyed as outdated paperwork causing unnecessary clutter with no further use or value. Little did anyone know how priceless those lists one day would become to family historians, and how much research time they could have saved.

Acknowledgements

Special thanks to former student researchers Miriam MacLeod and Heidi Moses, who were hired in the Genealogy Division of the Prince Edward Island Museum & Heritage Foundation through the Challenge '86 Employment Program. Using the aforementioned newspapers, they compiled records of incoming ships and passengers for the period covered in this article.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>VESSEL</th>
<th>FROM</th>
<th>PASSENGERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>15 May</td>
<td>Mary Jane</td>
<td>37 days from Bristol</td>
<td>at Port Hill — 11 passengers. Lady Campbell, son &amp; daughter, Mrs. Campbell, His Excellency Sir Donald Campbell’s mother, Robert Longworth, Esq., Captains Jones, McDonald, &amp; Laing; and Mr. W. Hayden. at Richmond Bay. Miss Douse, C. Birch Bagster Esq. &amp; others at Georgetown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>16 May</td>
<td>Concordia</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>7 passengers. Mr. Badge, wife, 3 children, Mrs. Austen, Mr. Jardine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>16 May</td>
<td>Jessie</td>
<td>35 days from Liverpool</td>
<td>14 passengers. Mr. &amp; Mrs. Hunter, Mr. &amp; Mrs. Wilkinson &amp; 5 children, Messrs. McGregor, Lawson, Capt. Smith &amp; 14 in steerage. Mr. Brown, Mr. &amp; Mrs. Williams, Mrs. Blatch &amp; 10 in steerage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>19 May</td>
<td>Princess Victoria</td>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>21 May</td>
<td>Prince Edward</td>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>23 May</td>
<td>Mary McWhinnie</td>
<td>41 days from London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>14 or 15 June</td>
<td>Conquest</td>
<td>Bideford</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>15 or 16 Sept.</td>
<td>Fanny</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>18 September</td>
<td>Concordia</td>
<td>38 days from Plymouth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>23 September</td>
<td>Midas</td>
<td>Fleetwood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>23 September</td>
<td>Conquest</td>
<td>Bideford</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>25 October</td>
<td>Mary McWhinnie</td>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>31 October</td>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td>Dublin (left 22 Sept.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>18 November</td>
<td>Sophia</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>30 April</td>
<td>Fanny</td>
<td>Plymouth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>5 May</td>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>24 or 25 May</td>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td>(left 28 March)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>24 or 25 May</td>
<td>Prince Edward</td>
<td>34 days from London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>by 5 June</td>
<td>Union</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>by 19 June</td>
<td>Minerva</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>by 19 June</td>
<td>Civility</td>
<td>Bideford</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>19 June</td>
<td>Gratitude</td>
<td>Swansea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>by 8 July</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>England</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>9 August</td>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>35 days from Plymouth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**An Act for regulating the Carriage of Passengers in Merchant Vessels,” re-printed in Royal Gazette, 1 November 1842.

**This corrects a statement to the contrary made in Part One of this article.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>VESSEL</th>
<th>FROM</th>
<th>PASSENGERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>19 or 20 Aug.</td>
<td>Vixen</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>Mr. Henry of N.S., 2 Messrs. Thomson, 2 Messrs. Norton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>30 August</td>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>Mr. Robert Boswall and others at Port Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>4 September</td>
<td>Fanny</td>
<td>Plymouth</td>
<td>Mr. Thomas Tanton &amp; family, Capt. Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>4 September</td>
<td>Gleaner</td>
<td>30 days from Bristol</td>
<td>George Beazeley Esq., Lieut. R.N., Lady, Miss Simeona &amp; Margaret Beazeley, Messrs. Alexander &amp; Michael Beazeley, Mr. &amp; Mrs. Aldous and 3 children, Messrs. John Holl Griffith, Miss MacKie, Capt. Nowlan &amp; 5 others. at Richmond Bay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>24 September</td>
<td>Arthur</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>by 25 September</td>
<td>Civility</td>
<td>Bideford</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>1 October</td>
<td>Prince Edward</td>
<td>30 days from London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>23 October</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. David Lawson, Mrs. Hefsis, Mrs. Browne, &amp; 2 children, Rev. Jacob Gale &amp; Lady, 3 in steerage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>10 May</td>
<td>Fancy</td>
<td>Plymouth</td>
<td>Cabin: Miss Haviland, Mr. R. Haviland, Mr. R. Hensley, Mr. Agazis, Mr. &amp; Mrs. A. Agazis, Mr. Hales, Mr. Broad, Mr. Johnston, Capt. Lickis, Capt. Hogan, Capt. Knowlan, Capt. Mackay, Steerage: Mr. Webster, wife, and family, Mr. Skinner, Henry J. James, Mr. &amp; Mrs. Amony. Hon. Charles Worrell, Lieut. Lane, Capt. Michael Walsh, Capt. Jones, Messrs. David Mutch, Chas. McDonald, Baxter, one in steerage. at Richmond Bay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>15 May</td>
<td>Pink</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>16 May</td>
<td>Civility</td>
<td>23 days from Bideford</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>18 May</td>
<td>Prince Edward</td>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>18 May</td>
<td>Hornet</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>31 May</td>
<td>Lochiel</td>
<td>60 days from Liverpool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>12 June</td>
<td>Zetus</td>
<td>Liverpool &amp; Boston</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>23 June</td>
<td>Five Sisters</td>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>9 August</td>
<td>Diana</td>
<td>54 days from Swansea, Wales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>19 September</td>
<td>Fancy</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>10 or 11 Oct.</td>
<td>Hornet</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>19 October</td>
<td>Decision</td>
<td>Bideford</td>
<td>Capts. Salmond, McMillan, Master John McGill, &amp; others. 22 passengers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>21 October</td>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>Dr. Johnson &amp; family, Mr. Holl &amp; others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>24 October</td>
<td>Mary Ann</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>25 October</td>
<td>Prince Edward</td>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1 November</td>
<td>Prince Albert</td>
<td>Yarmouth [England?]</td>
<td>at Richmond Bay. Messrs. Shepherd, Stubbs, Tubs, Driver, G. Davies, Mr. &amp; Mrs. Conroy, Capt. Lockyer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>by 13 May</td>
<td>Carthagenian</td>
<td>left Swansea 2 April</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>25 May</td>
<td>Gleaner</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>11 June</td>
<td>Prince Edward</td>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>3 September</td>
<td>Carthagenian</td>
<td>49 days from Swansea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>VESSEL</td>
<td>FROM</td>
<td>PASSENGERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>10 September</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>at Port Hill. Passengers &amp; general cargo for James Yeo, Esq. with masters and crews for new ships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>16 September</td>
<td>Fancy</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>Miss Margaret Binns from Scotland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>27 September</td>
<td>Vernon</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>Misses Lord, Watson, Douse, Hodgson; Capt. Jones, Mr. James, D. Lawson; Messrs. Grey, Nicholson, Hunter &amp; Caclus, bound for Pictou; 5 others in steerage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>9 October</td>
<td>Civility</td>
<td>Bideford</td>
<td>John Douse Esq., Mr. Wm. Newman, 11 in steerage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>by 10 May</td>
<td>Falcon</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Masters &amp; crew for 2 vessels. J. M. Stark, Esq. &amp; Lady, Miss Rigg, Miss Watson, Capt. E. McMillan, Mr. John Lea, Lea &amp; 14 in steerage. Sir Alexander, in ... fell in with the Brigantine Banner from Liverpool for Arichat, dismasted and in a sinking condition; took off Capt. Dewolfe, crew &amp; 14 passengers, 23 in all, and brought them to this port.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>15 May</td>
<td>Mancred</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>at Richmond Bay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>15 May</td>
<td>Josephine</td>
<td>Swansea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>28 May</td>
<td>Sir Alexander</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In his preface, MacDonald writes that the book is “the story of a school, a society, and a vision.” (p. vii) The school is, of course, St. Dunstan’s (and its little-known predecessor, St. Andrew’s), the society is Roman Catholic Prince Edward Island, and the vision is the dream of higher education for both the laity and the prospective clergy of that society. In the process of telling the tale, the author has attempted to explore the interaction of college, Church, and constituency, and in most cases has done so relatively well.

The book opens with an examination of St. Dunstan’s predecessor, St. Andrew’s College (1831-1844). Although less is known about its short life than one would like, the author has painted as complete a picture of that institution’s existence as is possible. But the establishment of St. Dunstan’s in 1855 marks the real beginning of the study. One of the strengths of MacDonald’s book is observable here, for the Island Catholic excursion into the field of higher education is clearly presented against the backdrop of the prevailing religious climate, and particularly the Catholic/Protestant antagonisms. Unfortunately, one of the deficiencies of the study is obvious here as well. The actual life of the college — the daily routine of the student, who attended and why, what was taught, etc. — remains hazy in the mind of the reader. In fact, it is quite some time before one realizes that this college is not a degree-granting institution. These problems may, however, be more the result of inadequate sources than neglect by the author.

The lives of the numerous rectors and bishops who guided and directed the college do not suffer from a similar haziness. These character sketches are deftly drawn, sometimes sparkling in their clarity and richness of detail. In fact, it occasionally seems that a disproportionate amount of time has been devoted to these men, some of whom remained at the college for only a year or two.

By the time the author has reached the 1880s, more attention is being devoted to the life of the students, and St. Dunstan’s is beginning to take on a more concrete form for the reader. Interesting information on the attempted federation of Roman Catholic colleges in the Maritimes in the 1880s is presented, a parallel movement to what was going on among the Protestant colleges of Nova Scotia at the same time.

A recurring theme of the St. Dunstan’s story is that of economic difficulties, at times crisis. We are reminded once again of just how much is owed in this country to a handful of self-sacrificing, determined, forceful, and visionary individuals — men such as Peter McIntrye, Bishop of Charlottetown, and others. At times virtually single-handed, these men kept the torch of higher education in Canada burning, however faintly. In this matter, as with so many others, the book would have been strengthened considerably by comparing and contrasting St. Dunstan’s experience with that of other Canadian colleges and by placing the college in its proper North American context. It is the reader’s loss that such was not done.

St. Dunstan’s Quebec links, with the emphasis on the French classical approach to higher education, is stressed in several places. The college’s long and important relationship with Laval University is explored, and at least some of the implications of this formative influence discussed. Quebec’s lack of emphasis on science, commerce, engineering, and other “practical” subjects had a serious impact on St. Dunstan’s and the author quite rightly points out the increasing conflict by the early 20th century between the general Maritime approach to higher education and that championed by Laval. What is lacking, however, is any discussion of the long-term impact on successive generations of Island Catholic students of this philosophy of education, and of their impact in turn on their native province. Aside from the important area of Church leadership, how successful were St. Dunstan’s graduates in building influential careers in business, politics, engineering, etc.? Or were they hampered by the college’s slow move away from a purely arts program? To what extent was the province itself hampered (or helped) by such an approach?

The chapters on the 20th century show the increasing complexity, and at times uncertainty, of the college. The attempts to upgrade the faculty, the impact of the Antigonish Movement, the beginning of adult education, influences of the Second World War, and the influx of returning veterans, the admission of the first female students, the growing problems over student discipline — all these and many more are explored by the author,

Within the 78 pages of this beautifully designed book from the Institute of Island Studies, each of the 25 essays is a delight. We can comment on only a few here — do get your own copy and preferably read it aloud to a good companion, two-footed or four-footed, on Dalvay Pond or at your favorite outdoor readaloud spot.

There is possibly a little unevenness. The author is not a prolific writer and takes a few pages to find his voice and be comfortable with his style, but this slight flaw does not diminish our pleasure. The short form of these sketches by botanist, biology professor, and nature lover Ian MacQuarrie — complemented by John Burden's black-and-white drawings, an integral part of the book — connects us to the books of our childhood, and to Stephen Leacock's Sunshine Sketches and the fables of Aesop and James Thurber.

Although the author says that childhood memories and local stories were "insisting on equal place with the foxes and ravens... and twin-flower of the hills," as he interweaves the human with natural creation, it is natural creation that wins. In farming, "... how can you keep your mind on the hoe when the bobolinks flash overhead." "Just the usual evening routine. A few hundred kinds of plants, a few dozen kinds of animals live and die here in this quiet landscape... nothing more than the common drama of a country at peace."

This drama is played out not in idyllic nostalgia but in the details of the bitter-sweet relationship between man and nature. "Working with animals means birth and death; I try to be unsentimental but respectful toward both." From time to time he interjects such harsh images as "a raven relishes the eyes of a newborn lamb" or asserts with his wry black humor, "Appropriate for the necessities of life, such as dying." There is tragedy and fatalism: "Once... I saw my father cry, when he had to put down the old red mare... My father had raised her, and broken her, and worked her on every job on the farm — and that makes the difference."

One sketch stands apart from the others in the depths of joy and sorrow expressed: the author's great joy with his dog Mairi, and his great sorrow when she was struck by a car and killed. "I will never again have a Brittany, nor hunt that slope in the Bonshaw Hills." He returns to this thought in "Downstream" when he dreams of being granted three wishes. "My first wish would be to spend a day in the field again with my best Brittany, Mairi."

Much of human conversation he finds unpalatable. He is bored with his cats when their conversation turns to malicious gossip and the doings of the financial world. The weasel is disdained even more for this bureaucratic language and arguments. But the author also says, "Some of my better friends are crows — there is a nice two-way flow of conversation."

Then there is the sardonic humour of the clown. Even the "dark secrets" of the neighbours are cut down to size as he refers to carrying a hen on his head as his personal dark secret. This clowning, he adds kindly, "makes his border collie forget his arthritis for a bit."

He delights in belittling the mighty. "I have eagles... on my manure piles." In recurring, almost scornful, references to the pipes and their "barbaric sound," we see vestiges of the Highland Scot who nonetheless knows the Scottish tunes by name. To match "The Hen's March on the Midden," he recommends that "the rolling walk of the eagle should be translated into a good pipe tune, 6/8 time."

A bit of the poet, a bit of the cynic, a bit of the teacher, and a bit of the Highlander with a touch of the fey, under and over it all the man with a deep love for the hills of home who calls the birds and flowers by name. "Cemetery," the last piece, displays all these facets:

... daisy and clover, hawk-weed and golden rod, heal-all, wild rose and raspberry, and exotic lily, garter-snake, snowshoe hare, fox. This cemetery is not neglected... Five children dead in a September week... Berry-clusters on the mountain ash would be flaming. This tree wards off witches but can do nothing against diphtheria... I marvel at a man who can say, "He doeth all things well" in the aftermath of stark tragedy. It cheers me. The wind is soft on the southern slope... Time to be away.

J. Estelle Reddin

Let me declare my bias immediately: I love this book and read it through at one sitting. It is not only a record of the difficult birth of radio on Prince Edward Island through the struggles of a young and determined Keith Rogers, it is also a kind of political and cultural history of the times on the Island from the early years of this century through to about 1970.

The authors, Betty Rogers Large and Tom Crothers, are both writers and well qualified for this task. Mrs. Large particularly so, since she is the daughter of Keith Rogers. Not only was she a radio personality herself, but during her growing years she was surrounded by the terminology and paraphernalia of radio, thus giving her an easy familiarity with its mysterious workings.

For those who grew up with CFCY, this is like a homecoming after years of absence, a greeting of lost friends, a sharing of memories with those we had almost forgotten. The many names here will be familiar to Islanders and no fiction writer could ask for a better cast of characters. By actual count, 196 staff members served at CFCY during the period 1922-1971, some of whom, like Syd Kennedy and Keith Morrow, went on to bigger and better things with the CBC, while never forgetting their CFCY roots. The excellent index covers every aspect of the station's history and personality. The many names here will be familiar to Islanders and no fiction writer could ask for a better cast of characters. By actual count, 196 staff members served at CFCY during the period 1922-1971, some of whom, like Syd Kennedy and Keith Morrow, went on to bigger and better things with the CBC, while never forgetting their CFCY roots. The excellent index covers every aspect of the station's history and personality.

The photographs in this book are plentiful, providing a unique history of their own, while the descriptions from "The Merry Islanders" to "a youthful photo of Bill Brown, Ira Stewart, and Loman MacAulay, the latter an institution at CFCY for 45 years." There are even a couple of photos of reticent Bob Large, for many years the manager and program director, a quiet, reflective man, a reader, never himself front and centre in the news, just quietly providing the best in broadcasting to Islanders, and largely responsible for bringing about the reality of CFCY-TV.

A few years back, people could be certain they were tuned to CFCY, whether they were listening to "Backwoods Breakdown," or "Country Calendar," or "The Outports," or "The Shur-Gain Amateur Cavalcade," or "Women at Home," or Stuart Dickson reading the news. In those days radio stations had their own unique "sound," and no one who ever heard Bill Brown and Loman MacAulay harmonizing "He Flung Out His Arm and Wove At Me" could ever doubt that it was CFCY. He was listening to, or that this was a station where people enjoyed themselves.

In recent years, all the old names have gone, either dead or retired; the old programs have disappeared, and CFCY has become too much of a sameness. For a time earlier this year, the station even ceased airing death announcements to fit in with its "more music, less talk" policy. As J. T. "Mickey" Place, office manager and accountant at CFCY for 25 years, is quoted in the book: "Of late years... radio everywhere sounds the same..." It's too bad; there was a time when CFCY had character.

Out of Thin Air is dedicated to the memory of Keith Sinclair Rogers, and if "the Colonel" were alive today he would glide with pride at what his daughter and her co-author have accomplished. As I said at the beginning, I loved it. I laughed and I cried at the recollection of days when CFCY was a friend to every Islander. This book is a special bit of our history and it belongs in every Island home.

Michael F. Hennessey


In his recently published collection of short stories, J. J. Steinfeld writes of the wounded and the misunderstood of our society, those dispossessed individuals who cannot shake their own, our own, collective pasts. Although the title of Forms of Captivity and Escape would suggest that these wounded are not only captives but at least potential escapees, the dark world in which J. J. Steinfeld places them offers no respite, no escape.

Some seek to escape by exorcising their private or family demons, as does Isaac Katzman in "The Heart." He finds that having a concentration camp number tattooed on his left forearm to bridge the gap between his sheltered self and his dead relatives only makes the ghosts, the demons, grow "stronger, more muscular, the indefatigable beasts." (p. 139) As the ghosts from the past can grow stronger, they can also envelop and even possess those they haunt. In "Ida Solomon's Play," a woman writes and performs a play about her mother Ida's concentration camp experiences "to keep from jumping off my balcony," (p. 92) "to make sense of the past, to counteract my guilt, to justify remaining alive" (p. 99). She ends up unable to distinguish between her mother's life and her own, unable to differentiate between on stage and off.

There is much guilt and pain in these stories, most of it in reaction to the Holocaust, and this sense of powerless angst comes closest to being the collection's theme. Only a few characters do more than run from this residual shame. In "Dancing at the Club Holocaust," Reuben Sklar takes action and sets fire to a German-American cultural club, kicking in hatred at the club's patrons and dancing "a marvellous, masterful Totentanz, movement and heat and damaged decades coalescing, and for the first time in his adult life, he felt happy." (p. 21) In the collection's final story, "History," a nameless man bungles a 1929 assassination attempt on a rabble-rouser, who we discover has aroused "jackal screams of 'Heil! Heil!'" (p. 172), leaving the reader...
in no doubt as to the intended victim's identity. In spite of the lingering wonder this creates in the reader's mind (What would world history have been without Hitler?), the story suffers from a fault common to this collection: a sense of dislocation, of numbness.

Despite the inventiveness of plot in *Forms of Captivity and Escape*, the characters remain wooden and unreal; their motives are revealed all too clearly and painfully, but they themselves fail to come to life. For example, in "The Magician Who Knew Bosch, Beethoven and Houdini or The Magic of Money," we learn from Elias Crosskeep's monologue that he is obsessed with proving that he is "a real magician, the only real magician." (p. 27) His desire to prove his power before the whole world, with only one incarnation of ten left before magiclessness and darkness descend upon him, should provoke curiosity, even suspense, for the reader; instead, the reader must alternate between Crosskeep's reminiscences and his musings about which trick to perform without ever being able to feel or even care about his sense of desperation. Both Crosskeep and his fate have a potential which the story does not fulfill: they suffer from an inability to engage the reader common to this collection.

In short, then, compelling as these dark stories might initially sound, they ultimately fall short. Just as Steinfeld's characters experience at best a form of escape, this short story collection enjoys no more than a form of success. Despite evidence of diligent attention to all the parts that should make these stories work individually or collectively, those parts never quite come together. A miscellany of characters bruised by circumstances beyond their control, *Forms of Captivity and Escape* itself remains captive to an inexplicable dullness.

*Leslie MacLean*

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**Contributors**

**Douglas Fraser**, a native of Hopefield, Prince Edward Island is Genealogical Co-ordinator at the Prince Edward Island Museum & Heritage Foundation.

Charlottetown native **Alison Ann Heckbert** is on the staff of the Confederation Centre Public Library.

**Michael Hennesssey** grew up with CFCY in his native Charlottetown, where he is a short-story writer and dramatist. His most recent play, *Young Maud*, produced by Theatre Prince Edward Island and directed by Ron Irving, was staged in February 1990.

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Born and raised in Charlottetown, **Thomas B. O'Grady** is currently Assistant Professor of English and Director of the Irish Studies Program at the University of Massachusetts-Boston.

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**Dr. John Sutherland Bonnell** served as minister of New York's Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church — one of the city's largest and most influential — for 27 years. In addition, he is the author of 12 books; was co-chairman of the Council of Christians and Jews and president of New York Theological Seminary; and acted for many years as minister of National Vespers, a weekly radio program carried by 113 stations. Aged 97, he is retired and divides his time among New York, the Island, and Oregon.

**J. M. Bumsted** teaches history at St. John's College, University of Manitoba. He is the author of more than 60 books and articles, including nine pieces for The Island Magazine.

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The Prince Edward Island Museum & Heritage Foundation, publisher of *The Island Magazine*, is the provincial museum of Prince Edward Island. Its mandate is “to study, collect, preserve, interpret, and protect the human and natural heritage” of our Province.

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